

**The Inka Province of Vilcaswaman  
Religious Dynamics and the Expansion of the Inka State**

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## ABSTRACT

This dissertation deals with the religious movements which emerged in the Holy Spirit (A.D. 1497-1575) movement in response to the changes which were occurring in the establishment of the Kingdom of God on earth, which was a process in order to realize the Kingdom of God on earth. The Holy Spirit movement which emerged in the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth was a process of religious change which occurred in response to the changes which were occurring in the Kingdom of God on earth.


In order to obtain this information, I have gathered and analyzed all available information from the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth (Apostolic, Pauline, and other) and from the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth. This data has been analyzed in an attempt to determine the Holy Spirit movement which occurred in the Kingdom of God on earth. I have found that the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth was a process of religious change which occurred in response to the changes which were occurring in the Kingdom of God on earth.

As a result of this research, I have concluded that the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth was a process of religious change which occurred in response to the changes which were occurring in the Kingdom of God on earth. This data has been analyzed in an attempt to determine the Holy Spirit movement which occurred in the Kingdom of God on earth. I have found that the Holy Spirit movement in the Kingdom of God on earth was a process of religious change which occurred in response to the changes which were occurring in the Kingdom of God on earth.

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Except where otherwise stated in the text, this thesis represents my own original work.

  
Julian I. Santillana



## ABSTRACT

This dissertation proposes that religious concepts were the effective means by which the Inka State (A.D.1438-1532) commenced its expansion. Subsequently, they were consolidated in the establishment of the Province of Vilcaswaman. This model, which I propose in order to explain Inka expansion, is an alternative to the widely accepted theories which emphasise techno-economic factors as the principal cause for whatever success or substantive change which occurred in prehispanic society.

In order to sustain this argument, I have collected and analysed archaeological information from four Inka settlements located in the Province of Vilcaswaman (Ayacucho, Peru), and have supported this with both ethnohistorical and ethnographic data from the region. I have also included in an appendix a sample of the unpublished colonial documents utilized which are deposited in the Biblioteca Nacional del Peru in Lima, where I found much ethnohistorical information to assist the development of my thesis.

Analysis of the data indicated that the region of Wilcaswaman was a territory with very distinctive, local religious representations before the arrival of the Inka. During the Inka period this aspect was emphasized and included the continuation of certain local features as well as the introduction of others, which were copies from Cuzco or which were inspired by utilizing the name of an important Cuzqueno toponym for a new religious site in Vilcaswaman.

The four locations chosen for detailed field study represent different types of Inka settlement, both in size and function, in order to demonstrate the religious aspect of the foundation and consolidation of the Inka Province of Vilcaswaman. These religious features were observed in the provincial capital, Vilcaswaman, where a number of *waka* sites, including an *ushnu*, temples, carved rocks, springs, mountains, were recorded suggesting a probable *ceque* system, similar to that of Cuzco. There is also a large plaza and an elite residence. *Tiyaq* is an Inka storage site, located on top of a hill with a group of Inkas-by-Privilege from Cuzco and consisted of *canchas* with fountains, carved rocks and other non-worked, prominent outcrops. The fourth site Pomacocha, comprised a royal estate belonging to Amaro Thopa Inka, located to the northwest of Vilcaswaman. Its principal religious features included a lake, fountains, *paqchas*, carved rocks, ceremonial platforms and the mountain Mt Amaro. There is also a residence in the core of the site. At Pomacocha, I suggest that there is a clear representation of the symbolism of 'amaro', the serpent, in memory of its owner Amaro Thopa Inka.

The thesis concludes by proposing certain religio-political principles which seemed to have driven the Inka expansion in this area to form the Province of Vilcaswaman.

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## Preface

I have long been interested in the Inka. My interest grew from several sources. As a student in the Universidad de San Cristobal de Huamanga (henceforth UNSCH), in Ayacucho, I read three small articles written by two old teachers of the university, Tom Zuidema (1966, 1967a) and Medardo Purizaga (1967). Using written colonial sources they made a first study of the Inka in the Vilcaswaman region, with a special emphasis on the *mitma* who had settled mainly in the Pampas River basin. These readings spurred my first field trips to Inka sites in the region. At the same time I visited some peasant communities in the Pampas River as part of a course on Andean Ethnology, which was chaired by Carlos Ivan Degregori. These communities still had the same names they appear with in the *Relaciones Geograficas de Indias* (1965) and in the three articles cited above.

My interest for the Inka crystalised after I had the opportunity to participate in the Huanuco Pampa project (1971-1972) headed by Craig Morris. Years later, after graduating from the university, I participated in various research projects in Cuzco (1975-1978), Cajamarca (1982), and Chíncha (1985-1987). In-between each project I visited Inka sites in Ecuador and Bolivia, and had several fruitful discussions with my Cuzqueno colleagues, as well as with those researchers who arrive at the ancient capital of the Inka every year for weeks or months of research and to teach.

In 1979-1980 I returned to the Inka sites of Vilcaswaman, Pomacocha, Tinyaq, Huamanguilla, Quínuá and Sachabamba, preparing sketch maps of some of them, taking photographs, and making my first observations. I also surveyed the ancient core of the city of Huamanga, where several houses have colonial Inka walls (Kauffman, 1954; Huertas, pers. com 1997). This survey yielded a surprising find: a colonial house called Casa Vasallo, which still had some Inka walls standing, 3 niches, and a trapezium-shaped doorway.

In recent years I had access to various colonial documents thanks to the generosity of some friends, who let me go over these written sources in depth.

My fieldwork, the colonial sources read, and the stimulating discussion with other specialists made me go over the Vilcaswaman region anew. I thus realised, among other

things, that all Inka sites with visible remains were strikingly similar to those in Cuzco, and had all been built in the same style. There was, however, no adobe architecture, which Moorehead (1978) had shown formed part of the elite architecture in Cuzco. Last of all, I realised that the local population called some mountains and places with the same names that exist in Cuzco since early colonial times.

In 1995 I received a scholarship from the Australian government and the National University of Australia, where I was accepted in its Graduate Department of Archaeology and Anthropology. I returned to Peru, and to Vilcaswaman, in 1997 after the plan of my doctoral dissertation had been approved. My field work in the area was then resumed. Since the region was clearly special, what made it so?

The results of my research are presented in this dissertation. I posit that the Inka expanded to Vilcaswaman because of its religious importance. They understood that this region was the abode of several deities (*wakas*) whose prestige went beyond the locale where they lived. This characteristic was what most interested the Inka State, for these gods underpinned political power.

Our written sources say that Pachacutec Inka conquered the region; he then reinvented its sacred geography, and had temples and shrines built in new settlements like Vilcaswaman. His successors also had a special interest in the region, which was why they built more temples and shrines, and adapted several concepts of the sacred so that the true power of the Inka lay in the *wakas*.

These were the religious underpinnings of the new Inka province of Vilcaswaman. Without them, one cannot understand the *status quo* and the transformations that took place in the Late Horizon. After extending these notions and assumptions to all of Tawantinsuyu. I found that the structuring element of Inka society, which was present from its inception and conditioned its development, was its religious ideology. We can thus say that the success the Inka State had in this region was due to the efforts of its religious leaders and its practice. In the words of Paz (1995), "Religion cannot be separated from politics."

The above-mentioned premises are supported by archaeological evidence, written sources -chronicles and administrative documents- and ethnography. The first come from four sites, each of a different kind, which are a functional and significative sample that can let us to understand the region. The ethnohistorical data were used after a careful

examination of the information written in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries on Vilcaswaman and any other aspect of the Inka: events, individuals, places and objects which were somehow related to my the discussion of these four sites. The reliability of a chronicler and the degree of objectivity with which he recorded his data depends on the originality of his sources (Rowe, 1946; Murra, 1978; Pease, 1995; Parssinen, 1992), on his ideology, and on how mature he was. On the contrary, the data found in any source, even an original one, can be contradictory, distorted and even invented (as suggested by Malpass, 1993) when it was collected by colonial officials or chroniclers, who were biased and wrote following the dictates of their ideology.

To identify the sites or areas mentioned in the documents, as well as to interpret certain cultural components described in my documents I resorted to ethnography, to oral tradition and to the religious practices of the region's modern Quechua communities. I understand that the use of ethnographic analogies as an interpretive device is most limited, and that not all ethnographically recorded aspects of Quechua life are survivals from Inka times, nor are they unchanged. None of these modern practices represent the official Inka belief system, no matter how authentic and ancient they are.

No attempt was made to discuss some key concepts like State, empire and royal estate. I am well aware that the first two terms are still confusing, arbitrary, mechanic, inadequate, and are not taxonomically defined, and that their use is based on modern ideological components. Even so, *State* appears here as an *ad hoc* category. As such, the Inka State is defined as a polity with a wealthy institutionalised, centralised government that was structured by kinship, and where power was legitimised and supported by religion.

As regards the third term, royal estate, it is used here as a synonym for landed estate. Several scholars who explored this subject called this kind of estate royal lands and personal lands of the Inka (Rostworowski, 1993), or royal domain (Murra, 1978), while Rowe (1997) says royal land, sometimes using property and calling the owner royal proprietor. I follow these scholars because their work lets us glimpse a category of private possession. Property, however, is a category as yet unclear in the case of the Inka, and I am aware that the socio-political implications entailed by landed property, be it in the hands of *panakas* or of individual owners, are as yet unclear. Other crucial issues and terms used here, like the Inka chronology, the historicity of individual rulers, provinces or *ushmu*, are

discussed in the corresponding chapters.

Chapter 1 discusses the theoretical and methodological issues raised by this dissertation. The theoretical predominance of techno-economical variables as the determinants of social change, a position that assumes religious considerations are of secondary importance, is here rejected. This theoretical approach is the reason why religion, which permeates the life of all societies, is almost missing from Andean archaeology. The chapter then discusses the arguments for an interdisciplinary approach, and explains why not all chronicles that mention the research area are used. Finally, the archaeological procedures used in this study are presented.

Chapter 2 discusses the multi-ethnic milieu and the ideological representations of the Vilcaswaman region just prior to the coming of the Inka, in the Late Intermediate Period. The discussion goes back to far more ancient cultural periods and horizons, and traces what seem to be the historically invariant elements that defined the ways in which the Inka incorporated Vilcaswaman into Tawantinsuyu.

Chapter 3 defines the territorial and historical-social elements taken into account by the Inka when establishing the *wamani* or province of Vilcaswaman. The physical and ethnic components of the three *hunu* into which this province was divided are likewise presented. The chapter closes with a discussion of the significant number of ethnic groups resettled in this region.

Chapter 4 tries to reconstruct the urban core of Vilcaswaman. The different buildings are described and the possible size and population density of the site are discussed. Two remarkable characteristics are the number of *canchas* related with religion, and the various kinds of storehouses present in the urban core and in neighboring villages, which were seen by Cieza de Leon around 1548.

The variety and number of sacred elements present at Vilcaswaman defined Inka symbolism, a topic discussed in Chapter 5. In most cases these religious elements repeat the names and are of the same kind as those in Cuzco. However, some unique elements these elements had are examined, with a special emphasis on the shrine or *ushnu*, in an attempt to present new perspectives on these elements, which are usually discussed in a far too general fashion.

The presence of religious elements is not limited to major settlements. Chapter 6

presents the evidence for, and discusses, the sacred elements present in 2 small settlements. The first is a storage site with *Qolqas* (storehouses) called Tinyaq, the other a site whose buildings are far plainer than those of Vilcaswaman and which is known as Condormarka-Huamanguilla, and is one of the presumed *hunas* into which the province was divided.

The birth of Amaro Topa Inka, Pachacutec's firstborn, at the site of Pomacocha, some 10 km from Vilcaswaman, gave rise to one of the first provincial royal estates. It is discussed in Chapter 7. The archaeological evidence for the site is described and discussed, and is then compared with other settlements known in the Cuzco basin.

According to our written sources, Amaro Topa Inka had a very special persona. His life seems to lie 'betwixt and between' myth and history. These unique characteristics seem to concur with the ethnographic data and the archaeological evidence found at his estates in Cuzco and Pomacocha. The most important of these are the various metaphorical representations bearing his name -*amaro*- and the symbolism that of certain in objects and concepts, as is posited in Chapter 8.

Finally, the model of Inka expansion in the Vilcaswaman region here presented is not meant to apply to all of Tawantinsuyu. It is just one case, and no more. Even so, the research carried out at Vilcaswaman revealed cultural elements that run far deeper in time, and go far beyond the presence of the Inka in the region.

## Chapter I

### Theoretical and Methodological Considerations

#### Introduction

This chapter focuses on two subjects. First, it identifies what, I believe, are the most significant axes of the Inka system of government: religion, population policies and the royal *panakas*. This study is structured around these but emphasis on the religious side of Inka organisation. Second, this, like any study of the Inka, entails an interdisciplinary approach. The data provided by archaeology, ethnohistory and ethnology are essential for a better understanding of all aspects of the Inka or Late Horizon. Although claim to an "interdisciplinary approach" is a recurring and unpractised *leitmotif*, I will try to avoid using the term indiscriminately. I will likewise try to avoid extolling each approach when reviewing its contribution. However, the nature of the subject and the fact that the Inka organisation was essentially based on religious principles, has made me emphasise the religious data that appears in colonial sources, which were mostly written by Spanish priests. Such sources are many and are quite insightful, perhaps because they had been written by priests. Finally, the introduction includes a detailed description of the archaeological procedures used in this study.

#### 1.1. The Main Characteristics of Inka State Organisation

The success the Inka had in developing Tawantinsuyu was due to the State's organisational system, which was based both on political administrative principles and on a set of strategies and tactics executed by an efficient administration. Since the Inka State was not a pristine one, it must have inherited ancient organisational forms from earlier complex political systems, like the Middle Horizon's Wari and Tiwanaku, and assimilated more efficient institutional forms from equally complex and contemporary polities, like Chimor (Rowe, 1948, 1970; Conrad and Demarest, 1984) or Chinchá during the reign of the first kings.

This successful political system, then, was based on the fact that its institutions worked and on the application of various programmes of which in this dissertation I



emphasise only those that stand out from the perspective of the Vilcaswaman region. These include: a) the diffusion of a new religion; b) the execution of a policy of forced resettlement; and c) the establishment of new royal properties by the royal *panakas*.

The implementation of these three programmes in Vilcaswaman was a synchronous development that took place in the reign of Pachacutecq, when from the very beginning of the military campaign, he annexed the region. They were also applied by the two subsequent rulers, Thopa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac, but during which times more specific policies were enforced (*see* Chap. 2.1). In brief, the sources indicate that these policies were simultaneous and not sequential, and, after Pachacutecq, they were just improved or changed their scale. There is no ethnohistorical or archaeological evidence of any policy applied during the reigns of Waskar or Atawalpa.

#### **a. The Expansion of the Religious System**

In general, Andean society can be considered to be essentially religious, both in pre-Columbian and Colonial times, and remains so even now (Burger, 1993; Menzel, 1968; Kolata, 1993; Rowe, 1946; Kubler, 1962; Zuidema, 1989; Duviols, 1962, 1986; Lira, 1946; Urton, 1985; Ossio, 1973; Conrad and Demarest, 1984). Both the Andean *weltanschauung* and everyday life reflect this religiosity, which emerged in different ways. In several cases the Inka State, like previous political systems, remodelled ancient beliefs and re-adapted ancient shrines, in some cases assimilating them into their own system and preserving all of the beliefs associated with them (Molina, 1988: 170). According to the written sources, the State deities were heavenly gods, like the Sun, the Moon and Lightning, above whom was Viracocha, apparently the ancient Wari-Tiwanaku deity, who had, in turn, been re-adapted from ancient Chavin. Pachacamac, the traditional coastal god, was also included in the Inka pantheon. The official beliefs were not exclusive and all pervading and did not extinguish the many religions that existed, perhaps as many as there were nations.

The major temple was Coricancha in Cuzco, the abode of the Sun God. Here the local *wakas* of vanquished provinces, which had been captured and brought to Cusco, were held captive (Cobo, 1956: 108, 110, 145, 167). The Sun God was spread throughout all of the conquered lands and temples were built to it in the most important sites, especially on the highlands (Cieza, 1984, 1985).

The temples in Cuzco and the provinces were looked after by chosen women who lived in the corresponding *acllawasi*. The *wakas* or shrines around Cuzco were no less important (Cobo, 1956; Polo, 1916). In some cases, these were built intentionally, in others the shrines were just imbued with a sacred nature using some objects that had a particular connotation. The most important of these *wakas* were Guanacauri, Anahuarqui and Yawira, to which lands and retainers were allotted for their maintenance.

Perhaps the most distinctive trait of the Inka, one which distinguishes them from all other previous complex polities, is the diffusion of sacred icons embodied by rocks lined with blocks of stone, rocky outcrops ("sacred stones") and "sacred mountains" established throughout Tawantinsuyu, often by using the same names as in Cuzco (Cobo, 1956; Albornoz, 1988). This feature seems to have been the pan-Andean, Inka religious symbol throughout the Late Horizon, whose worship by the people had precedence over that of the *waka*, and apparently even over that of the *mallquis* (Arriaga, 1968: 203).

#### **b. Compulsory Resettlement**

The population group between 25 and 50 years of age was the most mature and productive age group. The full weight of the functioning of Tawantinsuyu fell on their shoulders (Cobo, 1956: 112,119). This is also the age group where men and women formed families. From this group came the retainers, producers and settlers called *mitma*, who settled in newly conquered land on orders of the State, in most cases displacing the native population (Rowe, 1946: 270). These populations were in some cases loyal to the Inka and the State, in others they were groups relocated as punishment in order to prevent any potential uprisings against the State.

The *mitma* could be groups of noble *orejones*, or just groups of common people. They fulfilled several tasks, but the political basis of their main role was to help control new lands. The success of Inka expansion was to a great extent due to this institutionalised translocation of peoples. Producing *mitmas* were mainly peasants, specialised craftsmen, herders, etc., Religious *mitmas* were in charge of worshipping the heavens and the major *wakas*. Warrior *mitmas* were in charge of consolidating Inka control and of preventing rebellions. Last of all were the *mitmas* who colonised sparsely populated lands so as to

integrate them, both in economic and social terms, into Tawantinsuyu (Cieza, 1984; see also Murra, 1978: 245-262; Pärssinen, 1992: 163-170; Espinoza, 1973).

This institution was certainly developed or adapted from similar forms present in Wari and Tiwanaku, but the settlement of groups of people in different areas was at first a way of securing various resources, a practice common in the Andes (Cieza, 1984; Murra, 1978: 249) applied by State or pre-State societies both before and after the Inkas.

### c. Royal Panakas and Royal Estates

The royal *panakas* were a group of relatives of the ruling Inka (or of a former ruler) who managed and used the ruler's estate even after his death (Conrad and Demarest, 1984; Rostworowski, 1988). This entourage of aristocratic descendants had to honour the deceased Inka's mummy or *mallqui* with offerings, worshipping it and enabling it to participate in public and private ceremonies, as well as preserving and transmitting the oral traditions of the dead king's glorious and divine life. As a *waka*, the *mallqui* took part in political and religious matters, and its counsel was requested as an oracle on important matters of Inka society. The dead body was present in Aukaypata in some festivals, and on some special occasions it was in Coricancha beside Inti (Pizarro, 1986; Cobo, 1956: 163-165; Molina, 1988: 78).

Actually, the basis of the power and prestige of the *panakas*, as well as their own preservation, lay in the property of palaces, agricultural land, forests, pastures and other resources which it held for the *mallqui*. Although at first the *panakas* had properties in Cuzco and adjacent areas, they also expanded to other distant lands, e.g. between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca (Cobo, 1956: 86-88), or between Cuzco and Vilcaswaman. Some of the features reproduced at sites in these areas included a Cuzqueño architectural and urban style; the Inka ceramic style; a maize-based economy using well built terraces; finally, a system of shrines similar to that of Cuzco was also established. These estates had a varied population composition: *yanas*, *mitmas*, women retainers and labourers, priests, accountants, etc. The royal *panakas* presumably replicated the State's institutions, whilst at the same time, and above all, appropriating the best maize-growing lands and the most highly qualified labour. Just like the State, the *panakas* held some of the most important assets in the Inka economy. Furthermore they held the most privileged social and

administrative position in the State, in connection with some of the major temples and *wakas* in Cuzco (Ziolkowski, 1997: 116-118).

The *panaka* was also the most dynamic institution in Inka society because it broke the State's monopoly by producing not only the goods most coveted in Tawantinsuyu, but also practised efficient economic and political policies and contained the most gifted individuals who controlled culture and knowledge (Conrad and Demarest, 1984: 123). These were skilled warriors and politicians who undertook the ritual and pomp of the State. The *panaka* was the most competent institution and it gave rise to the most significant changes that the Inka empire experienced in its final decades. It is clear that the *panaka* often clashed with the State's authority and institutions, so perhaps it was these groups who actually held power in Inka society. It is thus possible that the State's victories and defeats, its successes or mistakes, and its growth and failures were due to the *panakas*. The civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa which the Spaniards witnessed was the final outcome of the struggle between two *panakas* (Rostworowski, 1988: 164; Conrad and Demarest, 1984: 136-137). By then, the royal *ayllus* were a political corporate body of extended families.

## 1.2. The Subject of Study

The manifold subjects and issues, that follow from these three Inka institutional features can be approached from different theoretical positions and with different methodological approaches. This dissertation approaches these subjects in connection with the Vilcaswaman region, in an attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What was the socio-cultural configuration of the region before the coming of the Inka? Was it multiethnic? How was the Vilcaswaman region culturally managed before the Inkas, and how did the latter redesign it?

The archaeological data available for the cultural periods and horizons prior to the coming of the Inka show that the Central-South and Southern Andean areas had a religious bias which emerged in the establishment of *wakas* and routes followed first by gods and then by humans. The Inka apparently made a predominantly ideological "reading" of the region because integrative religious elements prevailed in the way they reorganised the area, with Cuzco as a model. It is possible that the official Inka doctrine held that the major

imperial *wakas* had to be replicated in the provinces; hence the features underpinning these ideological structures must have been built at the very moment that the provinces became established. In Vilcaswaman this predominance of religious elements was established mainly in the field and through local oral traditions, whereas in Cuzco the *wakas* were originally only known from colonial documentation. On the other hand, if the *ceques* were a device used by the State to organise space within Tawantinsuyu, then urban centres, like Vilcaswaman, would have fallen along similar pre-determined axes. In turn, Vilcaswaman itself would have reproduced the system in its hinterland.

2. How did the Inka State approach the annexation of Vilcaswaman to Tawantinsuyu? What model of submission/integration did the State apply in this region? On one hand, the Inka State, and each ruler in turn, applied different policies to expand their realm, of which war and diplomacy are the most well-known. On the other hand, the massive compulsive relocation of *mitma* populations was a policy universally applied to consolidate Inka control in the conquered regions. However, the model perhaps had internal variations whereby the Inka political strategy applied in the region left its decisive and unique stamp with the *mitma*. Within this same political reasoning, how did the State structure the borders of the *wamani*, and what variables defined its size and population composition? Did the urban layout of *mitma* settlements have symbolic elements similar to those of Cuzco?

3. Another characteristic that explains the expansion of the Inka State outside Cuzco is the establishment of "royal estates." This trait had different additional implications in the political, social and religious spheres in the final stages of Tawantinsuyu. Were there estates belonging to the *panakas* in Chinchaysuyu? Why were they established? To what *panakas* did they belong? The expansion of Tawantinsuyu apparently entailed the emergence of royal estates, but the way they were awarded varied. Besides, the new estates replicated many Inka religious components, both formally and conceptually.

Various colonial documents point out on the one hand that the best land around the Cuzco Valley was in the hands of the royal *panakas*, and on the other that it was under Pachacutec that new lands were awarded outside Cuzco. Cobo (1956) notes that the *panaka*

of Thopa Inga Yupanqui held land in Collasuyu, but one of its most important possessions, and perhaps one of the earliest, was in the Vilcaswaman *wamani* in Chinchaysuyu.

The following chapters will try to answer these questions. However, and as was already noted, it is not intended to give a full explanation of these issues, or of the policies followed by the Inka when expanding or establishing other provinces. This is just an approach to these issues, with a special emphasis on political and ideological questions. This approach is limited to Vilcaswaman but it is linked to Cuzco both conceptually and formally, in various ways.

### **1.3. The Ideological-Religious Sphere and the Limits of Techno-Economic Approaches**

A complex State-level organisation undergoes two crucial moments in its establishment: its rise as a distinct polity and its growth as a way of ensuring its consolidation and development. Both stages have been studied by various social sciences, each of which have explained the different "causes" that gave rise both to the rise as well as the growth of the State. For pre-Columbian Andean societies, most scholars have emphasised the "techno-economic" factor as the single or the major variable behind both "critical moments." For these scholars, this would explain the way every complex society functions, and therefore wars, conquests, annexations and the rise of institutions, as well as the development of social groups and the supremacy of certain cultural entities can all be explained through changes in the economic structure. However, in view of recent research, this approach can be held to be both limited and constraining when it attempts to explain the way complex polities work.

The influence of anthropology was decisive in this regard to show the significance ideological issues have for the functioning of pre-industrial societies (Lévi-Strauss, 1964, 1970; Geertz, 1980, 1983, 1987; Rappaport, 1967; Turner, 1967, 1969, 1975). Historians and sociologists had shown long before this that a society does not always exclusively follow an economicist course. Weber (1967) and Fustel de Coulanges (1965) had quite early realised the significance beliefs have as a dynamic factor for change and integration within a given society. As for pre-Columbian America, on the one hand, many scholars studied various religious aspects but without perceiving their ideological underpinnings, while only a few (Rowe, 1946, 1976; Bennett, 1953; Menzel, 1968; Coe, 1968; Flannery, 1972;

Flannery and Marcus, 1996; Willey, 1971; Zuidema, 1989) realised the implications that religious ideas had for the political, economic, social and cultural processes of Ancient America. For these scholars, ideas and institution are not peripheral, nor part of the 'superstructure' of an economic base. The data base was expanded and new perspectives on the study of ideology were broached by the long-term research of Pierre Duviols (1962, 1967, 1979, 1988), who emphasised the religious side of Andean culture, not only that of the Inka. In the 1980s María Rostworowski (1983, 1985) also expanded the written sources available on religious subjects. Nowadays the study of Andean societies is placing a greater emphasis on ideology as a driving force of change (Conrad and Demarest, 1984), and other studies show that urban structures were based on pre-existing cognitive representations where ritual was an everyday activity (Morris, 1990, 1991; Zuidema, 1989; Conrad and Demarest, 1984; MacLean, 1986; Reinhard, 1983, among others).

The often neglected, but groundbreaking, structural approach applied by Zuidema (1962), both in history and anthropology, found an empirical correspondence, albeit with some qualifications, in the organisation of urban space at Huanuco Pampa (Morris, 1985, 1990), where the logic of dual, tripartite and quadripartite divisions structured the urban layout. The anthropological studies of Wachtel (1990) bear witness to the survival and depth of the Andean division of space, as well as its social implications. Urton (1985, 1990) and several of his colleagues, all former students of Zuidema and Lathrap, have expanded knowledge of contemporary and colonial and presumably Inka ideology.

The approach of Conrad and Demarest (1984) is invaluable. Based on chroniclers and on Rowe's groundbreaking studies, they explained the role that ancestors had in Inka society and therefore paved the way for future studies. The pathbreaking study of van de Guchte (1990) on "sacred Inka stones" is invaluable and a solid contribution on one aspect of Inka symbolism.

The progress made in new sources, data and approaches in ideological-religious subjects notwithstanding, two issues are still pending. On the one hand, there is the almost lavish dependence on the data found in colonial chronicles and administrative documentation because there are no new sources, as was noted by Murra (1978), Pärssinen (1992) and Rostworowski (pers. com., April 1997). And on the other, almost no archaeological studies have focused on these issues. True, almost all of the published and

unpublished literature include names and concepts like *waka*, religious centres, *ushnu*, temples, etc., but no description or explanation is given as to their meaning. They are used in general terms. This apparently follows the same rationale of the reports and literature written in the 1970s and 1980s, where all unidentifiable sites were simply called "administrative centres."

However, to argue in favour of the "ideological thesis" does not exclude the role of other factors as "multi-causal" elements (Flannery, 1972) in the changes and functioning of societies, and in a general social theory. For instance, Murra's masterful study (1978) emphasises the economic organisation of the Inka but without downplaying the ideological component. D'Altroy's study (1992) on the Inka occupation of the Mantaro Valley is another case in point. Using Mann's proposal (1991) as a starting point, D'Altroy posits that political, economic and military power had a more direct impact on the control and strategies of the Inka State than was previously assumed. Although he does not deny the role of ideology, D'Altroy gives it a less significant role in social organisation and change.<sup>1</sup>

The implications of any religious ideology are believed to be crucial for an adequate understanding of the decisive moments lived by a preindustrial society, as it legitimises the political actions taken by States and rulers. Applied to the Andes, this would help explain many events that took place in the Chavin, Wari, Tiwanaku and Inka complexes. In the specific case of the Inka State, the expansive process found in ideology (religion and politics) is posited as its most effective way of annexing and consolidating new provinces. This characteristic prevailed over all others in the process of conquest. Of all component elements of Inka power, religious ideology is the one that appears as the "prominent" feature in the establishment and functioning of the Inka province of Vilcaswaman in Chinchaysuyu.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Even so, according to Mann's own conclusions (1991: 182-185), the model he propounds (1991: 114, 115), based on the superimposed and interactive sources of ideological, economic, military and political power and which is presumably valid for all societies, would have trouble in the case of Andean America, perhaps due to the sources used. We should bear in mind that in dialectics, mutations in theory feed on the strength of the data which invalidate propositions. In the case of ancient history, the validity of theoretical statements is even more relative due to the increase in new data available in specific historical contexts like the Andes.

<sup>2</sup> Religion is crucial in all societies because it simultaneously touches both the individual and the collective consciousness (Durkheim, 1993). Religion structures the mind and life, regulates and integrates the social life of a given group, genders identities, organises institutions and enshrines the State, as shown by the sociology of religion. It is a "historically organic ideology," and a natural habitat for human life (A. Gramsci in Guibal, 1981).



#### 1.4. The Need for a Juxtaposed Interdisciplinary Approach

In general, the study of society faces two unavoidable problems. On the one hand, there is the epistemological problems raised by the fact that the data cannot be fully recorded, and that no record certifies the truth of the facts (Lakatos, 1981; Foucault, 1976, among others). On the other hand, there are problems specific to each field as regards the usefulness of the data. The first of these issues is best left to the philosophy of science. As for the second one, researchers have to resort to an exegesis and to hermeneutics to ensure the utility of the data thus recovered. This point is of concern, insofar as the present dissertation uses three kinds of sources, each with its own data.

The study of the Vilcaswaman region entails the application of a group of strategies and tactics that can yield objectively significant data. The subject is essentially archaeological, but like most, if not all, subjects related to the Inkas it requires the use of Andean ethnohistorical and ethnological approaches as well. If it is intended to reconstruct political, religious and social spheres, for instance in the representation of Cuzco institutions at Vilcaswaman, then these three approaches must be combined. It is not believed that the borders between archaeology, ethnohistory and history can actually be established (Morote, 1986), but it is clear that the difference between these three fields lies in the inductive processes used, and/or the use of different techniques to recover data.

The usefulness of the data provided by both history and ethnology can be established, and how well they can be juxtaposed with archaeological data (Julien, 1993). It happens that most archaeological studies that use written sources never connect them with the archaeological data, or often the written source is summarised at the beginning of the study.

Ethnohistorical and archaeological studies with an interdisciplinary approach have been successful in the study of the Inka, particularly in regard to specific regions outside Cuzco. The most prominent among these are the studies that Murra headed in Huanuco in the 1960s, which were continued by Morris in the 1970s and 1980s (Morris and Thompson, 1985), and expanded in the 1980s by Grosboll (1993). Of equal importance were the studies made in the Titicaca basin in the 1970s and 1980s (Julien, 1983, 1993; Hyslop, 1976) the Mantaro basin in the 1980s (D'Altroy, 1981, 1992; Le Blanc, 1981; Earle et al.

1987); and the western Cuzco basin (Heffernan, 1989). Nowadays no systematic archaeological study of the Inka neglects using written sources. In fact, archaeology should take advantage of the different approaches available to ensure that the data thus collected are more reliable (in positivistic terms) and the resulting interpretation more valid. However, it is believed that while archaeologists lay ever more demanding criteria of reliability, they have, at the same time, constrained developing academic speculations through a comparison of their data with both ethnohistorical and ethnological sources. It is for this reason that the present dissertation also uses modern, local oral traditions as a comparative and explicative element.<sup>3</sup> Written sources have often given rise to archaeological studies (e.g., Huanuco Pampa), or resulted in the search of specific data, for instance the discovery of Condormarka-Huamanguilla, a site peopled by Anta *mitmas*, or of the shrines of Anahuarque and Capac Puquio, in the vicinity of Vilcaswaman. Archaeology, in turn, often verifies ethnohistorical data (Thompson, 1968; Julien, 1993: 179), or modifies, refutes, or expands them.

In the case of Vilcaswaman, archaeology by itself can collect the necessary data to develop religious and symbolic models that do not appear in the written sources, or are encoded in the chronicles of Polo de Ondegardo, Molina or Cobo, and in ethnological reports (Earls, 1968; Palomino, 1971; Quispe, 1969; Pinto, 1970; Morissette and Racine, 1973).

The data provided by oral traditions are likewise invaluable, even though their reliability is hard to establish since 500 years have passed since the time they were 'original.' It was thanks to the oral traditions of Vilcaswaman that the sacred mountains of Guancauri and Amaro were identified, and the religious connotations they have for the local populations were able to be understood. It was also through oral traditions that the territorial structure of the Anta people in Condormarka could be interpreted, who still identify themselves as such. Local oral traditions are a useful source, but just like any other source they must be thoroughly appraised because they have in fact changed, and their data has been altered in one way or another.

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<sup>3</sup> Contrariwise, historians in general do not use archaeological sources to attain a better understanding of their data, save for the highly creative studies by Salomon (1986), Ramirez (1990), Julien (1983, 1993) and Duviols (1962, 1980), among others.

In brief, acquiring any knowledge of the Inka requires the use of data drawn from these three kinds of sources. Doing so here is a major challenge.

### **1.5. Written Sources and their Problematic. Colonial Chronicles and Administrative Documentation. Nineteenth-Century Images**

The written sources used in this thesis were sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chronicles, administrative documentation dating to the time of viceroy Toledo (*tasas* or tribute rolls), the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, and some early documentation, in other words prior to the de-structuring of Vilcaswaman, which was stored in Lima's National Library and which dated to 1596, 1591, 1594 on petitions, sales and purchases of land in Vilcaswaman and its *anexas*.

Although most chronicles mention Vilcaswaman and different events pertaining to the Inka occupation of this region in one way or another, it was found that the most useful chronicles were the ones written by Cieza (1984, 1985), Betanzos (1987) and Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943). This research and the hermeneutic studies of Rowe (1946, 1985), Murra (1978), Pärssinen (1992), Pease (1995) and Julien (1993) show that the data these authors present are the most reliable ones available. The work of the priests Cristóbal de Molina (1988), Cristóbal de Albornoz (1988), Bernabé Cobo (1956) and other chronicles cited here are likewise relevant for a study of Inka religion. The reliability of the chronicles as regards the subjects studied in this dissertation will now be discussed.

Cieza, Sarmiento, and Betanzos were not the first chroniclers to write of the people, customs and settlements in Tawantinsuyu, but they were the first to write a history of the Inka (Pease, 1995: 191) that gave an overall account of the life, events, and everyday (and not so everyday) occurrences in the last stages of Andean pre-Columbian history. All three authors have been used not just for data on Vilcaswaman and its region, but also for Cuzco and Inka history in general whenever it cast light or explained something in that province. All three were Spanish officials commissioned to write their chronicles, and so they had access to a wider range of sources. As officials, they travelled over a great part of Tawantinsuyu, visiting various important sites and collecting data from many Indian informants, some of whom had lived in the time of Guayna Capac, in their own native language or through interpreters.

It is somewhat striking that the three most reliable chroniclers were all in Cuzco at about the same time. They quite possibly had access to the same administrative documentation, and spoke and questioned the same informants, such as an old Orejón or a *quipucamayoc*. Perhaps they exchanged data at some inn in Cuzco while they recalled their longed-for Spain (Villanueva, 1987). It is even possible that all three met with Polo de Ondegardo (1916, 1917), Molina (1988) and Domingo de Santo Tomás (1951), other chroniclers who were also in Cuzco in these same years. Perhaps the last two were informants of the other four chroniclers, since they had participated in the administrative endeavours of Vaca de Castro in the early 1540s in their capacity as clergymen and were skilled Quechua-speakers. Thus there are six Spaniards who wrote the most insightful and reliable accounts of Inka history. Of these, Betanzos stands out because he was fully bilingual and was married to a noble Inka woman.

The data provided by the informants of Bandera, Carbajal, Dávila Briceño, de Ribera, de Chaves, de Soria and de Monzón, among others, also date to this time (*Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 1965). Through interpreters they collected administrative data which are extremely useful to reconstruct the multiethnic and demographic composition of the ancient *wamani*; the geographic, ecological and cultural characteristics of the region; the physical and geographical characteristics of Inka sites; and the symbolic elements of the regional landscape. Many of their informants were some of the old *mitmakuna* who had been relocated by the Inka.

In this dissertation other sources were used for specific topics besides those already listed, such as Pedro Pizarro, Sancho de la Hoz, Blas Valera and Cabello de Balboa. Their data is not critically reviewed and reliance was placed instead on the work of Porras (1962), Rowe (1946), Pease (1978, 1995) and Pärssinen (1992), among other scholars who have established the reliability of these chronicles. These authors described sites and aspects of Inka political organisation, noted the symbolic characteristics of Inka religion, and gave an account of the life of the Inka kings which were useful to establish the argument of the thesis.

Cieza de León, Sarmiento de Gamboa, de la Bandera and Carbajal present enough data with which to reconstruct some of the region's pre-Inka cultural forms in the Late

Intermediate Period; the regional space as the Inka recreated it; and to establish some characteristics of Inka provincial organisation.

Cieza was found not just to be a historian or an insightful chronicler, but also an observer who made detailed and accurate descriptions of some formal elements of the sites he passed through. In his chronicle there is a detailed description of the geography and the landscape, including such details as the presence of some steps, stones with special features or a road. In the case of Vilcaswaman these details are crucial for a reconstruction of some of its architectural elements. Such, for instance, is the case of the two stairways that led from the plaza to the Temple of the Sun, one of which was subsequently buried and not revealed until conservation work in the 1980s. Several scholars had not paid due attention to Cieza's description and therefore reconstructed the temple with just one stairway, or placed it in an inaccurate location. Thanks to excavations undertaken in the 1980s (Cuentas, 1986) it is now known that there actually were two stairways, as Cieza had seen and recorded. Cieza collected much of these data *in situ*: thus far there is not a single element that he listed which cannot be archaeologically verified. Cieza's work was to a great extent an archaeological catalogue and an ethnographic record.

The objectivity of the data began with Cieza. His biographers may be right in pointing out that what developed his ability to notice several features that others would have found insignificant, was his adventuresome life in Colombia before he left for Peru. These experiences, in conjunction with his humanistic education, gave him a special ability to recount Andean life in the Inka horizon. Finally, the accuracy of his data and the historical matrix of his descriptions was in part due to the administrative documentation Gasca provided him with (Pease, 1995: 25), which was perhaps checked in Cuzco. It is possible that Cieza did not just use Betanzos as interpreter, as suggested by Aranibar in Villanueva (1987: XXXVI) but other Quechua-speaking Spaniards living in Cuzco at the time, like the clergymen Cristobal de Molina and Friar Domingo de Santo Tomás.

For this researcher, Cieza is an inexhaustible source. It is the most documented chronicle, at least as far as an archaeology outside Cuzco is concerned, as well as for the issues discussed in this dissertation. His data on the Chanka, the *mitma*, the recording of Inka provinces, the description he made of the Vilcaswaman core and the data on temples and shrines are worth noting.

Cieza's *Crónica* exhibits the *mentalité* of a Spaniard educated in the rationalism of a Europe on its way to modernity. This was in stark contrast with the Andean *weltanschauung* where history was not written in the Western style. The Andean *mentalité* was a mythical one, and still is in modern communities. This is a characteristic trait of non-modern, traditional societies where events, things, wars and so on appear in a sacred, ritualised and metaphorical way.

The life of Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa was full of adventures which not only took him to Peru but also led him to the Straits of Magellan and the Southern and Central Pacific Ocean. A good seaman, and an even better cosmographer and explorer, Sarmiento had a vast knowledge of the Andes and he travelled across Huamanga on Toledo's orders. It is clear that they were both in this region between December 1570 and February 1571. Unfortunately, all there is a brief account of the "Instrucciones" issued in one of the tambos in the area (Toledo, 1940). Surely more inquests were held and other *ordenanzas* were issued in these two months. Besides these '*Instrucciones*' there must be more data on this region in Toledo's papers which as yet remain unknown. Be it as it may, the point is that Toledo granted Sarmiento access to the administrative documentation in Cuzco. Rowe (1985), for instance, found similarities between the so called 'Probanzas' of Topa Inga Yupanqui's descendants and the writings of Sarmiento. Likewise his perspective and data on the topics covered in this dissertation were also due to his access to first-hand sources. The *Historia de los Incas* (1572), along with the "*Informaciones que [Toledo] mando levantar ...*," were confirmed by informants living in Cuzco, both natives and aliens, thus making Sarmiento's writings both original and reliable.

Betanzos, another early chronicler, was also one of the most rational ones. Born in Valladolid and long acquainted with the Andes, he apparently led an intense life a decade before preparing his famed *Suma y Narración de los Incas* around 1551. Throughout his life he took several contrasting positions, such as the side of the Pizarros against La Gasca, and then allying with the latter after his victory over the former. He then participated in the negotiations held in Vilcabamba with Sayri Tupac (Cobo, 1956: 104) and married a noblewoman, doña Angelina Yupanqui. Studies made by historians (Pease, 1995; Villanueva, 1987; Pärssinen, 1992) show that Betanzos' chronicle reflects the quality of his sources. His command of Quechua gave him an easy access to Andean informants, and he

even acted as interpreter on several occasions, e.g., for Pizarro and in the inquest Vaca de Castro held in Cuzco in 1541-1542. It was on this last occasion that he met and questioned several *quipucamayocs*. His data base was probably expanded thanks to his acquaintance with other Spaniards living in Cuzco at that time, like Cieza and Polo de Ondegardo; with clergymen, like Domingo de Santo Tomás, and with low-ranking officials, all of whom were in close and frequent contact with both noble and plebeian families of Cuzco who had lived in the final years of Tawantinsuyu.

However, the greater reliability of Betanzos is due to his condition as Indianised Spaniard after he had established his family around 1541. His wife, daughter and the Quechua language were the most useful tools that enabled him to have a more realistic perception of Inka culture. He no longer was able to be just a Spaniard. His wife, Angelina, was the daughter of Yamqui Yupanqui, brother to Pachacutec, had known Guayna Capac, and was the widow of both Atahualpa and Pizarro. Historians (Pease, 1995, among others) believe that she was his most reliable source. However, his marriage gave him new acquaintances among the *orejones*, *quipucamayocs* and other Inkas and commoners, who confided in him in his position as a new relative. This would have been the case of Paullo Inka, who also supported the Spaniards (Cobo, 1956: 103).

The formal structure of Betanzos' chronicle reflects the rapport he established with the local nobility in Cuzco. His text is more a reflection of the Andean oral tradition than of the 'rational' historical account then prevailing in the Spanish *mentalité*. If the *Suma y narración* is read as a Western, rational historical account, then there are "verbal defects" which are in stark contrast with the florid, descriptive style of Garcilaso, which was more akin to a "literary prose" (Villanueva, 1987: XXXVII). The absence of any punctuation marks, such as commas or full stops, and the presence of a metaphorical discourse fall within the style of the traditional Andean narrative.

Even so, there are some significant omissions in Betanzos regarding one of the most important individuals to be discussed in this dissertation. Betanzos profusely describes Inka rulers or their relations in his account of each reign. However, he only mentioned Amaro Thopa Inka occasionally (Betanzos 1987, Chaps. XX, XXII). He appears as an irrelevant and obscure personage, whereas, for other chroniclers, Amaro Thopa Inga was a prominent nobleman. It is not known whether this omission was intentional or not. It might be

because of Betanzos' solidarity with his wife's *panaca*, which was opposed to that of Amaro Thopa Inka.<sup>4</sup> This omission is in stark contrast with what Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943), Santa Cruz Pachacuti (1993), Murúa (1987) and Cabello de Balboa (1945) wrote, and they are therefore more reliable on this person.<sup>5</sup> According to recent studies not only does it emerge that Amaro Thopa Inka is a historical Inka, but that he also ruled as the "segunda persona" of both Pachacuti and his brother Topa Inca Yupanqui, representing the Payan and Kayau Inka (Pärssinen, 1992).

Three written sources have also been used that are crucial to an understanding of Andean religion, both the official Inka religion and that of local peoples during the Late Horizon. Cristóbal de Molina, Cristóbal de Albornoz and Bernabé Cobo, three Spanish clergymen fully convinced of their pastoral mission, mastered the native languages and thus gained access to Andean religious practices and beliefs. It was only because of their conviction when preaching the Catholic religion throughout the Andes as the new and exclusive religion, that they found out more about the Andean religious system, liturgy and ritual, far more than any other sixteenth- or seventeenth-century chronicler in the Central Andes. These three sources have been used because all three men were at some time in the Vilcas region, but only two of them, Molina and Albornoz, stayed there long enough carrying out specific missionary tasks to collect the invaluable data that is used to explain Inka and local beliefs and symbols in the Vilcaswaman province. The most noteworthy item in these chronicles is the list of *wakas* and ceques in Cuzco and in the provinces. This is no place to discuss whether these are independent sources, or who borrowed from whom, or what the original source of the data was. Among the most recent studies that have tried to answer these questions are those by Rowe (1979), Urbano (1988) and Duviols (1988); however, all agree that the data are reliable. This is particularly true of Cristóbal de Molina and Cristóbal de Albornoz. Both lived a long time in Cuzco and made extended visits to neighbouring areas, and had the advantage of using a wide range of sources and informants; and, they probably also saw many rituals being practiced.

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<sup>4</sup> Strangely enough, Amaro Thopa Inka is mentioned just a few times by Betanzos, who had more reliable sources. The first time Betanzos notes that he was a son of Pachacutec, then noting that Amaro Thopa Inka headed a campaign in Collasuyu. Yamque Yupanqui, also a son of Pachacuti, was the crucial personage for Betanzos. Did he intentionally omit Amaro Thopa Inka?

<sup>5</sup> Cabello had access to the papers of Cristóbal de Molina (Pease, 1995: 38) —and quite possibly to other sources too, according to the recent study by Pärssinen (1992).



Cristóbal de Molina wrote his *Relación de fábulas ...* around 1572, a task commissioned by Lartaún, the bishop of Cuzco (Urbano, 1988).<sup>6</sup> Molina was the parish priest of the Hospital de los Naturales in Cuzco. While working there, he became acquainted with the *mentalité* of his sick Indian parishioners, many of whom repented and were baptised *in articulo mortis*. His personal contacts with the natives, his knowledge of Andean beliefs and his command of Quechua made viceroy Toledo appoint him *visitador* of Cuzco and its provinces (Urbano, 1988) and a member of his council. These roles helped Molina expand the data base he already had of mainly Inka beliefs. His knowledge of these matters was so widely acknowledged that he was summoned to Lima for the 1582 Synod Assembly, where his rôle was somewhat akin to that of a modern anthropologist.

Cristóbal de Albornoz, another Spanish priest, wrote his *Instrucción para Descubrir todas las huacas ...* around 1583-1584 (Duviols, 1988: 143). Albornoz was apparently well acquainted with the area around Cuzco, and particularly with Chinchaysuyu. A first-class Quechua scholar and an extirpator of idolatries, Albornoz was much criticised for his deeds, both in Cuzco and in his inspection in the Vilcaswaman region.<sup>7</sup> His *visita* covered the Chanka, Aymaraes, Angaraes, Soras, Chocorbo, and other ethnic groups, and in every town he left instructions in the *libros de fábrica* of each church (Duviols, 1988). Thus far, no historian has studied these invaluable sources. Viceroy Toledo likewise appointed Albornoz *visitador* of Andahuaylas and Parinacochas, in the southern part of the present department of Ayacucho. His *Instrucción* is a first-rate source for the study of religion, and is discussed particularly in Chaps. 7 and 8.

Father Bernabé Cobo is a late chronicler. Unlike the previous two, he was in Cuzco in 1609-1613. In his second journey to the highlands he stopped at Huanta, Huamanga and Vilcaswaman, and he stayed some years in Collao (1616-1619), from where he moved to Arequipa. Cobo lived in Mexico for fourteen years and then he settled in Lima, where he died (see the introduction by F. Mateos to Cobo, 1956, vol. I). It is suspected that Cobo picked up some ritual aspects of Aztec society during his stay in Mexico which he then introduced into his discussion of some Andean ritual practices, such as the human sacrifices made by the Inka. He also seems to have brought with him some Aztec conceptions about

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<sup>6</sup> He also wrote a now lost *Historia de los Incas*.

the Sun which he then presented as if they had been believed by the Inka when he discussed the Andean solar deity.<sup>8</sup>

Cobo finished his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* around 1653. This is a systematic study, the result of a rational and planned design, executed in slightly over 40 years. Cobo's *Historia* actually is a history and an ethnography of the Inka. The sources he used to prepare his book is a much discussed subject (see Porras, 1962; Rowe, 1979, among others). It is not who borrowed from whom, but Cobo's historia is a sort of summary of both primary and secondary sources, and he clearly is not an independent source.<sup>9</sup> He certainly had access to documents of all kinds, including many chronicles (see the "Introducción" to Cobo, 1956, vol. I). He is believed by some historians to have had access to the now lost chronicle of Polo de Ondegardo. His documentation was most probably supplemented with the data he collected in brief and sporadic visits to areas around Cuzco and Juli, which were where he lived the longest in the highlands. Cobo's most invaluable data must have been collected after he had learned the Quechua and Aymara languages in the Jesuit school at Juli (1616-1619). True, he must certainly have had access to primary sources while in Cuzco (1609-1613) and in Collao. However, his direct access to any source in Cuzco must have been limited because at that time he was not yet a priest nor a *visitador*, just a student of theology (Mateos in Cobo, 1956, vol. I). It is possible that his most invaluable sources were his fellow clergymen who were well acquainted with the area and its customs.

Some of the later chroniclers, so-called because they wrote some seventy years after the collapse of Tawantinsuyu, by which time the last individuals who had lived in the Inka empire and witnessed the Spanish arrival had passed away, have also been used. The chroniclers in question are Murúa, Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, Guamán Poma de Ayala and Garcilaso de la Vega.

Murúa has held the attention of different historians like Pärssinen (1992) Pease (1995) and Rowe (1987), who are all quite critical of his writings and showed that not only was he well acquainted with several chronicles, he had also copied some sources. For this

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<sup>7</sup> Guamán Poma acted as his secretary while Albornoz was extirpating the Taki Onkoy movement (Duviols, 1988: 156, 157).

<sup>8</sup> This possibility comes forward from a comparison with the data in Conrad and Demarest (1984).

<sup>9</sup> María Rostworowski tells me (pers. com., April 1997) they all copied from one another.

reason, Pease (1995: 78) argues that his work is full of "stereotypes and prejudices." But the (unacknowledged) passages he copied from other authors, the introduction of foreign data (e.g. from Mexico), and the introduction of European narratives notwithstanding, Murúa did find some administrative data during his forty years of pastoral work in the southern provinces of Cuzco, Puno, and Arequipa, and forged quite close connections with Guamán Poma, from whom he almost certainly stole much information (Pease, 1995; Ossio, 1985). Two points are worth emphasising in Murúa as regards Amaro Thopa Inga and his connections with the Vilcaswaman region. On the one hand, Murúa gives data on his life decked with European myths and metaphors, as in his description of the affairs young Amaro Thopa Inga indulged in, while on the other, the sites and places he mentions in the Vilcaswaman region are real, as shall be seen in the following chapters. The information Murúa supplies about the estate of Amaro Thopa Inga is actually historical because it agrees with the data found in documents from the archives at Cuzco studied by Rowe (1985) and Villanueva and Sherbondy (1978). It follows that this chronicler either had access to Cuzqueño informants connected with the *panaka* of Amaro Thopa Inga, or to early administrative documentation, like that used by the above-mentioned historians.

Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1993) is another chronicler who has much data on Amaro Thopa Inga. Like Murúa, Santa Cruz Pachacuti has relevant data on sites found, and events that took place, in the Vilcaswaman region. However, much of Pachacuti's data is heavily weighed with allegories, and perhaps he even exaggerated, just like Murúa. In his learned study, Duviols (1993) showed that in Pachacuti's chronicle a Christian pattern was juxtaposed over Inka accounts, but even so this chronicle holds quite specific data on Amaro Thopa Inga, as well as on some historical aspects of the region under study. Great care must be had with the *Relación de antigüedades* for, in Duviols' words, Pachacuti manipulates his data. This means that the data he provides must be distinguished from his interpretation. It is not so much that his information is wrong, as that he intentionally biased his account and adopted a pro-Christian position. Furthermore, his data are confirmed by other chroniclers. Even so, it is true that all late chroniclers cannot simply be used as 'independent sources.'

The same can be said of Guamán Poma de Ayala, another 'historian' who prepared his stupendous *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* well into the colonial period (1615?).

Guamán Poma had access to some of the early chroniclers and other administrative documentation. His family had long been connected with the ancient *wamani* of Vilcaswaman, where it owned some land in Chupas, close to Guamanga (Prado Tello, 1991), and he himself was governor of the province of Lucanas, in southern Ayacucho. He acted as interpreter in the 1594 inspection of Guamanga by Solano Figueroa, and in Cristóbal de Albornóz's visita against the *Taki Onkoy* (Adorno, 1978). Even so, his data for the Vilcaswaman region are neither many nor scant. What is found in his chronicle instead are broad statements, as in the case of the mitma, which sometimes contradict other historical accounts, as in his account of the war between the Inka and the Chanka; the number of people from local ethnic groups connected with Choclococha; or the events related with Ancohuayllo. What does loom over his work is an Andean outlook, such as when he tends to describe Andean space in symbolic terms, and to present a sacred geography of the physical components of the Andes (Pease, 1995: 271).

The final late chronicler is Garcilaso de la Vega. Although barely cited in this thesis, the relevant passages discuss crucial events that presumably took place in the region. The crucial point concerns the Chanka because of their significance for this study. Garcilaso (1959), like Cobo (1956) and Oliva (1895) after him, significantly expanded the period of conflict between the Inka and the Chanka, which was here traced to the mythical Inka, for them Wiracocha was the victor in these wars.<sup>10</sup> In the case of Cobo, it seems that his data were derived from those of Garcilaso.

If the territory actually controlled by the Chanka is considered, Garcilaso is the only chronicler who locates this people in the immense expanse of land: from Apurímac to Ayacucho and Huancavelica. Cobo (1956: 73) simply placed them in Andahuaylas. It is doubtful that Garcilaso is right. Unfortunately, many of the scholars who have written on the Chanka this century freely cite him as if he was an independent and reliable source. All historians who have made a serious study of Garcilaso (Pease, 1995; Durand, 1962; Levillier, 1940; Pärssinen, 1992) have carefully identified the sources used to write the *Comentarios Reales* (1609). Levillier is even more critical because he has a very poor opinion of what Garcilaso wrote regarding Toledo, suggesting that he had no basis for his

claims, that he invented other things, and that he was simply poorly acquainted with the actual events. Rostworowski (pers. com., April 1997) claims that Garcilaso invented much, and even distorted the facts regarding the war with the Chanka, where his account gives Wiracocha as the victor, not Pachacutec, suggesting that the distortion arose probably because of the rivalries between different panakas, a rivalry in which Garcilaso took sides (Rostworowski, 1988: 58-59). Murra (1978: 228-236) is far more specific. He simply states that Garcilaso's assertions on the historical sequence and the "glories of the Inka dynasty" are most unreliable. In addition, several historians have noted the passages Garcilaso himself copied from Cieza or from Blas Valera, his friends, and his correspondence with other childhood friends in Cuzco before 1561, when he travelled to Spain (Porras, 1968).

Garcilaso's data is therefore on the Chanka unreliable. Following Pease (1995: 42) it is believed that this is "a personal interpretation," and not even an original one. Why did Garcilaso expand both the territory of the Chanka and their time span? He seems to have had some reasons of his own for this. Garcilaso presented a long and idealised account of Inka history (Pease, 1995: 375), lengthening the time taken by the Inka conquests and turning the conqueror kings into heroes. Bearing in mind these recent hermeneutic studies on Garcilaso, a comparison of his account with that given by other chroniclers, and by the Chanka themselves in answer to the inquiry held by Toledo and other officials at Vilcaswaman in 1571, show how garbled his narrative became due to his efforts to turn the mythical Inkas into historical ones. This comparison, in turn, helps to pinpoint both the temporal depth of the Chanka-Inka conflict and the land held by the rivals of Cuzco.

Garcilaso's argument seems to be a "Cuzco-centred" fabrication. He invented a great, powerful and ancient Chanka nation, so that it was not just 'any tribe' with whom the Inka had waged war. With their legendary and mythical origins, the Inka simply could not face a relatively weak warlike people. Garcilaso's 'political designs' made him claim that his ancestors defeated a powerful (but invented) nation, thus picturing the Inka as great and powerful. They were thus legitimate rulers and, since Garcilaso considered himself an Inka he invented a stable, long-lasting, heroic and great nation. Unlike Cieza de León, Sarmiento de Gamboa, or Viceroy Toledo and his own informants, Garcilaso apparently

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<sup>10</sup> Guamán Poma (1980: 87) concurs, but some pages later he simply says that the sons of Yahuar Huaca conquered the Andahuaylas Chanka, thus questioning his vague claim of a far bigger Chanka realm (1980:

never travelled to the region nor was he ever acquainted with the late Chanka. Did he collect the data in question when he was already in Spain, through his correspondence with his childhood friends? Perhaps the Guamanguino friar Jerónimo de Oré, who authored several books and with whom he had corresponded more than once (Tord, 1992), supplied him data on the Chanka? Were this so, it would be possible that Oré had willingly distorted Chanka history in an effort to prove that the ancient peoples of his region were quite complex, something that fitted remarkably well with Garcilaso's own project.

This distortion of reality and the facts are quite common among some chroniclers, and this exaggerated ethnic group, nation or region seems to have been a common occurrence in Andean historiography. People who write history are not free from the temptation to distort a given ethnic group for some political design.

As a result of the importance that *indigenismo* had in intellectual circles both in Peru's capital city and in the provinces, in the early twentieth century, several scholars who wanted to develop non-existing regional identities created 'imagined communities' (Anderson, 1991) with a grand ethnic past. So it was with the Chanka: a glorious history was crafted without any archaeological or historical bases, but this did not prevent such an account from becoming 'real history.' It was because of these accounts that in the 1940s-1980s it became commonplace to pinpoint frontiers and domains, and list facts as if these were actual historical events. These authors are still cited even now to 'prove' the existence of the 'great Chanka nation' as if their accounts were true, and as if they had been based on reliable historical events. In this case, Garcilaso has been instrumental for the invention and establishment of Chanka identity.

It seems that this ideologisation of history took place quite early and gave rise to a facile tradition of writing 'histories' without ever discussing any primary source. The lack of any critique and the non-reliability of the data found in the chronicles was a common practice in past decades, as is the case of both Chanka historiography and archaeology, where a tradition became a 'proven history.'

The most serious questioning of Garcilaso's claims arise with the statements made *in situ* by native informants who had directly participated in several of the final events in the regional life of Tawantinsuyu, or by first- and second-generation people who had settled

in the region who still recalled the accounts of their elders. These people told their story in front of Viceroy Toledo (1940) himself when he passed through Vilcaswaman, or to officials during other official inquests. The remaining citations taken from Toledo are valuable because they were collected on the ground, and their sources are among the most primary ones then available.

Three documents from the Biblioteca Nacional del Perú (Z303 [1586]; Z304 [1591]; Z891 [1594], all are included in the Appendix) are worth discussing. They are reliable local sources concerning the possession of new land on the borders of Vilcaswaman that belonged to the Guamanguino family of Guillén de Mendoza. Their importance stems from the data provided by the natives, two of the *caciques* of the Sora, who listed Inka sites, such as agricultural terraces, storehouses and houses close to the Temple of the Sun which have not been archaeologically recorded prior to this research, and which expand our perception of the size, population, and urban composition of the Inka core at Vilcaswaman. The data are analysed in Chapter 4.

Other later colonial documents were reviewed but these did not yield much archaeologically significant data but they did confirm, expand or provide new data on the region's sites, areas and native people, which are studied in chapters 3 and 4. These documents in the main were found by the historian, Lorenzo Huertas (1976, 1981). They are most valuable for the economic and demographic data they hold for colonial times.

Several adventuresome travellers also passed through this region in the nineteenth century. They left information that confirms the presence of certain sites or specific architectural characteristics of several Inka monuments. It is possible that the most important point about these documents is that they show in what condition these sites were in those years. The drawings by Angrand (1972) are used because they illustrate and explain some formal details in the Temple of the Sun, and Wiener's plans (1993) of the buildings which at that time stood where the present-day cemetery of the town of Vilcaswaman is now situated.

### **1.5.1. The Study of the Inka in the Research Area**

As regards historical studies, the research, that Zuidema (1966, 1967) and Purizaga (1967) conducted on the Inka occupation in this area, is very important. These are the most

significant studies thus far made of the Inka in the province of Vilcaswaman from a historical perspective. Despite the constraints ethnohistorical studies had to face in the 1960s, these two scholars were the first to introduce the study of Inka political organisation in the area. Both studies confirm that in this area knowledge of the Inka State owes far more to ethnohistory than to archaeology, as Morris (1988) has also noted.

Despite the significance of the Vilcaswaman site and the region itself, as can be perceived in the written sources, no systematic archaeological study has been made for the period after the collapse of the Wari-Tiwanaku State. There are descriptions of the Inka occupation in the area (Guzmán, 1959; Lumbreras, 1959, 1974; Torres, 1969; González et al., 1981; Ludeña, 1987; Benavides, 1976), and quite clear descriptions of pottery and architecture, with invaluable plans and drawings (Cosmópolis, 1981 in González et al., 1981; Chahud, 1966; Cuentas, 1986; Gasparini and Margolies, 1977), which are discussed at length in Chapters 4 and 5.

Two editions of colonial administrative documentation dating to Toledo's time are also worth noting. One of these, covering all of the region, was published by Cook (1975), while Presta (1991) published documents for the northern part of the Department of Ayacucho. Both collections of documents have expanded the available data base of *mitma* population composition in the sixteenth century. The Toledan documentation transcribed by Presta was by far the most useful of the two for this dissertation, because it supports the political division into *hunu* of the Inka province of Vilcaswaman.

It is likewise worth noting that from a broad, economic and symbolic perspective, the present state of knowledge of the Inka in Cuzco and its provinces certainly owes much to the masterful studies by Rowe (1944, 1946, 1967), Murra (1975, 1978) and Zuidema (1989). All studies of the Inka, including the present one, are based on these three. Finally, Pärssinen's study (1992) of Inka political organisation, which is a new and substantial contribution, has also been utilised.

Research in regions outside Cuzco has only recently begun. It has opened new perspectives on Inka organisation of space and society, such as in the studies by Julien (1983) on the Titicaca basin; Morris in Huanuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson, 1985); Grosboll (1993) on the eastern section of Huanuco Pampa; Earle et al. (1982, 1987) and



D'Altroy (1992) on the Mantaro River Valley; Brown (1991) and Matos (1994) on Pumpu; Heffernan on Limatambo (1989); and Bauer (1996) on the Paruro basin.

Research on sacred geography and the implications the sacred space had on the political and social spheres of Inka society continue growing with studies like those by Sherbondy (1982), van de Guchte (1990), Farrington (1992), Urton (1990), McLean (1986), and Reinhard (1983), among others. In this line, there is also the work by Anders (1986) and Kolata (1993) on the Middle Horizon, which have clear implications for the Late Horizon. All of these studies have contributed to the present dissertation in one way or another.

## 1.6. The Archaeological Approach

### 1.6.1. Selecting Sites

Nineteen Inka sites are known in this region. This figure is drawn from the data found in various written documents (Betanzos, 1987; Cieza de León, 1984; the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 1965; P. Pizarro, 1978; Toledo, 1940); from the data provided by local peasants, students and teachers at the UNSCH, and from by the present field survey (see Table I-1 and Map I-2). However, the above-mentioned sites are only those which have Inka architecture and were previously known, it does not include any sites with local but ceramic for an Inka occupation. The sample used in this dissertation is therefore just part of the as yet unknown total number of Inka sites in the region.

Map I-2 shows that all 19 sites lie well inside the boundaries that Cieza (1984) and Carbajal (1965) give for this province and fall along the N-S axis formed by the royal road between Uranmarka and Acostambo, and the E-W axis between Vilcaswaman and Huaytara. The sites are of different size and have varied architectural components, thus showing that there is a "hierarchy of sites," as had been suggested by Cieza (1984). The map does not include any possible *mitma* sites listed in several written sources, save for Condormarka and Quinua.

However, only 4 of the 19 sites, Vilcaswaman, Pomacocha, Condormarka and Tinyaq, have any visible architectural remains that make them specifically representative

D'Altroy (1992) on the Mantaro River Valley; Brown (1991) and Matos (1994) on Pumpu; Heffernan on Limatambo (1989); and Bauer (1996) on the Paruro basin.

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However, only 4 of the 19 sites, Vilcaswaman, Pomacocha, Condormarka and Tinyaq, have any visible architectural remains that make them specifically representative

and thus suitable for the collection of significant archaeological data. Besides, there are written colonial sources or research reports for 4 of these sites.<sup>11</sup>

On the other hand, in methodological terms, the important sample of data from these sites can be compared with that available for other sites, like Cuzco, Huanuco Pampa, Pumpu, Machu Picchu, Chinchero and Pisaq. However, no comparison can be made between sites, researched in this dissertation which were peopled by *orejón mitma* because of the lack of information. On this specific point, this study of Vilcaswaman is a landmark.

Theoretically, Inka political, economic and logistic criteria defined the location of their buildings in the provinces. However, the location of 3 of 4 of the above-mentioned sites does not follow this pattern, only the site of Tinyaq does not.

The geographical and ecological elements apparently exerted a major influence on the choice of site, i.e., the presence of mountains, water sources like lakes, springs and brooks, or small rock outcrops. These elements likewise satisfied religious needs, and probably had an aesthetic level that influenced the site chosen. In these cases the economic and logistic rationale could well be of secondary importance.

The sites of Vilcaswaman and Pomacocha comprise the ruins found in their core area plus an area of 5 km<sup>2</sup>. The sites of Condormarka and Tinyaq are circumscribed to the small urban core, where the buildings are concentrated.

### 1.6.2. Archaeological Fieldwork

The procedures used in fieldwork must be adapted to the specific characteristics of each region, site and subject under study. In general, the whole range of field methods was used: exploration, survey and excavation. The considerations behind the procedures and their application is now discussed.

The organisation and execution of the field work was somewhat eased by two factors. First, the data in Cieza (1984, 1985), Bandera (1965) and Carbajal (1965) to the

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<sup>11</sup> Although some scholars (e.g. Huertas, 1981) cite Vaca de Castro's *Ordenanzas* (1908: 445) to claim that Chupas was an Inka tambo close to Huamanga, it appears that it was instead a colonial tambo. It is true that Vaca reopened some Inka tambos, but he also had new ones built. The location of the Chupas tambo breaks with the chain of tambos and other settlements built along the Capac Ñan on the eastern slopes of Huamanga. It was built after the Spanish founded Huamanga and thus far no Inka site is known on the Vilcaswaman-Huamanga axis, nor does any branch of the Inka road pass through there. Many tambos like that of Chupas were adapted to the new urban axes built by the Spaniards.

realisation that the Inka sites in the region are different one from the other. Second, the prominent architecture found at one site, or the distinctive fine style of a given architectonic element ensured that there was some knowledge and importance already attached to certain places by the local. Several of these Inka elements are still part of their everyday life, thus letting the sites be rapidly identified.

Therefore there was a preliminary idea of the location, identification and role of the Inka sites. In addition, the written sources and the study of maps and aerial photographs showed that there was some kind of hierarchy according to size and distance between sites. These characteristics, therefore, showed that many Inka sites in the region were probably built according to a State-inspired plan, while others were not, e.g., Pomacocha.

In this case, the above-noted considerations ensured that a 'regional exploration' was not essential, hence what was needed instead was a 'micro-regional exploration' of certain sites. A regional survey would perhaps have been valid if the goals of this research had been different, for instance, if the intensity and sequence of occupation in a given region had been the focus, or if the location of the sites were unknown. As was already noted, the location of the Inka sites with visible architecture was already known.

Regional surveys had been an essential procedure used in other studies made in the Ayacucho basin (McNeish, 1969, 1970), in the Mantaro River Valley (Browman, 1970; Parsons and Hastings, 1977), and in the Paruro region of Cuzco (Bauer, 1996).

As a result of the specific goals of this study, the procedures applied at Vilcaswaman omitted settlements of local populations contemporary with the Inka as well as those of common *mitma*, particularly on the Pampas River basin, where according to written sources, their greatest number lived, and the present settlements (which have the same name as those that figure in the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*) were presumably built over or near to the settlements of the *mitma* populations in Inka times.

A micro-regional or 'intrasite' exploration sought to establish: 1) the real size of the sites; 2) the concentration or dispersion of the architectural components; 3) any structural differentiation between them; and 4) the function of these sites. Therefore, this procedure is one way to explain the nature of a site and an archaeological excavation is another that helps attain this goal. However, I am convinced that excavations at chosen sites should only be undertaken whenever the specific goal is to establish the occupational sequence, or

whenever the nature of an architectural element has to be established. Either way, excavations should not be extensive.

### 1.6.3. Exploration and Survey

In operational terms, the survey was undertaken visually and on foot. It consisted of locating and identifying sites, based on an inspection of architecture and cultural materials left on the surface. Aerial photographs taken in the aerophotographic projects undertaken by the Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional in 1961-1970 were also used, as well as land survey maps prepared by the Instituto Geográfico Nacional on a scale of 1/100,000, 1/150,000, and a map by the Oficina de Reforma Agraria on a scale of 1/25,000.<sup>12</sup>

The help of the local people in Estancia Pata, Ccantu Pata, Guancapuquio and the school teachers at Vilcaswaman; the peasant community and the school teachers of Pomacocha and Vischongo; and the peasants of Condormarka at Huamanguilla, who acted as informants or guides, was invaluable. Thanks to them, the area was covered 'chacra by chacra' and 'hill by hill,' recording agricultural terraces, water sources, enclosures, pools, and carved rocks. Almost all of the sites thus explored are in easily accessed geographical and ecological locations.

This procedure was applied both at unknown sites, like Pomacocha and Condormarka, as well as at relatively well-known ones, like Vilcaswaman, which itself had previously not been fully recorded.

The survey and the exploration were carried out at the same time. This yielded: 1) a written and graphic record of visible construction characteristics in association to elements of the surrounding landscape; 2) a record of the geographical features appearing in written sources; 3) a record of certain geographical features that held some special meaning to the peasants; and 4) the collection of surface ceramic materials at the sites of Vilcaswaman and Condormarka.

The survey also entailed the preparation of sketches, topographic work, and taking photographs. The description made for each site was as detailed as possible, noting the size, location, specific characteristics and a description of any object worth noting.

Three plans were prepared for Vilcaswaman:

1) A new plan was prepared for the Temples of the Sun and Moon from new observations and measurements taken from the extant evidence present in the *cancha* of the Temple of The Sun. This modifies the ones prepared by Gasparini and Margolies (1977) and Cosmopolis (in González et al., 1981).

2) Another plan was prepared for the *cancha* in the shrine or '*ushnu*;' among other architectural characteristics it includes the platform recorded in 1996 by archaeologists from the UNSCH.

3) Special care was taken in preparing a general plan of Inka Vilcaswaman, recording all known and unknown elements in the urban core and its surroundings, including possible quarries and the storehouse sector. This showed that Vilcaswaman's urbanism and architecture exhibit significant differences with other provincial Inka sites, known as 'administrative centres.' Terraces, not buildings, were the main unit raised here. This helped the discovery of other traits specific to this site. For example, there are none of the enormous, massive, agglutinated and continuous buildings found at Huanuco Pampa or Pumpu, with which Vilcaswaman is usually compared.

For Pomacocha, a plan was prepared that was at first limited to the area around the lake, but was then expanded to include a bigger area comprising the lake, the Vischongo River valley and the modern peasant community of Pomacocha. This plan proved invaluable because it helped 'stratify' the site by sectors and subsectors on the basis of architectural variations and concentrations which dispelled any doubts concerning the rigidity with which the site was planned.

Like Pomacocha, a plan was prepared for Condormarka without any previous reference. The site is unfortunately about to disappear because a new settlement is now developing there, perhaps as part of the forced resettlement program for peasants mostly from the puna. Perhaps a unique feature of the urban layout at this site is that at present there are more carved rocks than buildings.

The plan was far more easily prepared at Tinyaq. The aerial photographs from the Proyecto-1961 which clearly show the buildings, and where 95% of the walls are still standing, served as starting point. The survey and the mapping of the buildings showed a surprisingly standardised form of planning. The site consists of rectangular buildings and

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<sup>12</sup> The map by the ORA for Pomacocha had lots of mistakes, as was verified in this survey.

some carved rocks in the central part of the site. This last characteristic is something new in the region.

The surface collection of sherds is another non-destructive way of assessing the pattern of activities at a given site, which is why this method was used at Vilcaswaman. The collection of surface materials must be done after an initial exploration of the site, when a sketch map is prepared and the distribution of materials can be observed. These preparations were followed because it theoretically is of the utmost importance that the collection is done in association with the architecture, as this may provide invaluable data for a reconstruction of functional contexts. This procedure had been followed at Huanuco Pampa, and the same was conducted in this research program. The building was taken as the basic unit of reference; in large rooms the quadrants had to measure 2 x 2 m to ensure a more accurate recording. However, once on the field it was found that reality turned out to be quite different from what was expected.

At Vilcaswaman and its surroundings it was impossible to find sherds in streets and plazas because these are now covered with asphalt or recently paved with stones. No sherds were seen in the *cancha* of the Temple of the Sun, because in the 1980s several archaeologists cleaned the ruins to restore the temple and found abundant sherds, to which unfortunately no access was forthcoming.

Restoration work was also carried out in the *cancha* of the shrine, or '*ushmu*,' in the 1980s. Sherds had been collected in the process but access to these materials was denied because the officials at the INC claim to be reserving their analysis for the archaeologists who conducted the excavations. A similar project undertaken in 1996 in this same *cancha* by archaeologists from the UNSCH found an Inka burial that included ceramic objects. The Mayor of Vilcaswaman kindly allowed photographs to be taken of this finds for this research. In May 1997, the archaeologist Marcelino Huamani cleared and recorded the north-western side of the large building behind the *ushmu*. The ceramic materials presented in this thesis come from this sector. No surface materials were observed at Guancapuquio either some of the few sherds from Ccantu Pata were made available for study by schoolteacher Javier Arias. There are no surface materials in any the other sites explored around Vilcaswaman.

At Pomacocha not a single sherd was found in any of the sectors, only a small clay Inka musical instrument found in Sector I in the 1980s was available for study, and which is described in Chapter 8.

Pottery was found at Condormarka only in the area where some peasants were digging foundation ditches for their homes. The materials here presented come from these ditches.

Ceramic materials were extremely scarce at Tinyaq. The sherds found were small and not one of them was diagnostic. They were concentrated on the South-Western side. However, the archaeologist Cirilo Vivanco excavated at this site in 1996. Part of these materials were available for study.

#### 1.6.4. Excavations

Experience in excavations at Inka sites shows that surface materials in general reflect certain temporal and functional elements. However, at Pomacocha, the presence of two buildings with special architectonic characteristics encouraged a small-scale excavation. Besides, unlike Vilcaswaman or Tinyaq, Pomacocha has not yet been affected by tourist-oriented activities. Before excavation, one of these buildings (III-I) was a flat mound on top of which some walls were visible. The archaeologists from UNSCH who had recently visited the site had thought that it was an *ushnu*, probably due to its pyramid-like shape. Besides, the peasants reported that there used to be a cross at the site, a feature that almost always indicates a sacred place, usually an Inka site. It was therefore decided to establish through excavation whether it was an *ushnu* or not, and whether Pomacocha was indeed a royal estate because no record indicates the presence of an *ushnu* in any royal estate. The other building (III-4) is likewise unique because it is the only large (38.60 x 9.10 m) and crudely-built one. All other buildings in Sector III have fine masonry. Why and for what reasons was such a large enclosure built with such crude masonry? Why is there located at Pomacocha a building whose characteristics are similar to those of the "kallankas" found at Huanuco Pampa?

After examining the architecture of both buildings, it was decided to excavate there to establish their function, as well as the site's chronology. The excavations at both sites therefore took place at units randomly chosen. The excavations were made separating the



natural strata and recording the scant cultural contents three-dimensionally. The excavation was recorded with visual media, such as plans and profiles, photographs and by filling in "standardised excavation forms."

#### **1.6.5. The Study of Ceramic Materials**

The ceramic materials collected come from the surface collection made at Vilcaswaman and Condormarka. It is assumed that Vilcaswaman was the most important political and religious centre in the region and the "cabeza de hunu," while Condormarka was a settlement of Anta *orejones* and another "cabeza de hunu," in the northern part of the province of Vilcaswaman.

In statistical terms, the diagnostic ceramic materials form too small a sample for a conclusive interpretation. Instead they act as an index which helps explain: 1) the tasks carried out at the site; 2) the provenance of the materials which would further explain whether the wares were imported or were locally produced. Their shape and decoration were analysed with these goals in mind. A macroscopic study of the pastes was carried out with the Condormarka materials, in order to analyse both texture and the degree of hardness which could possibly show different wares. The study of the vessel shapes and decoration invariably has its starting point in the initial proposal made by Rowe (1944), and later expanded by Meyers (1975) and Bonavia and Ravines (1971).

Unlike the fully Inka State materials from the Vilcaswaman collections, some of the fragments from Condormarka might well not be Inka or non-local Inka. The materials from Vilcaswaman were presumably imported from Cuzco, but on this score the written sources (e.g. Garcí Diez de San Miguel, 1967) do not support this assertion, as shall be seen in the corresponding chapter.

Finally, Quechua names are used for these vessels because these labels give a proper name and a specific meaning to variations in size and shape. The names or codes usually used in archaeology leave aside substantial differences and meanings. The Quechua names used here are in most cases similar to those noted by Arnold (1993) in his groundbreaking ethno-archaeological study of traditional pottery in Quinoa, an ancient site settled by Acos *orejones* which lies in the area under study.

## Summary

First, the Inka made a sacred reading of the Vilcaswaman area, where they re-established Cuzco's religious matrix. The emphasis placed on analysis shows the precedence ideological considerations had over all other variables in the political control of space used by the Inka rulers.

Second, the conquest of the Vilcaswaman region took place after the Chanka defeat and was based on a special colonisation policy with *mitmas* that drastically changed the population composition of the region.

Third, the main result of the development of the Inka State was the spread of the royal estates, which apparently were ever more scarce in Cuzco. These trends entailed new ways of granting these estates, as was the case of Pomacocha, one of the sites studied here.

Fourth, the various Inka settlements built in the Vilcaswaman region (as shown in 4 of the chosen sites) incorporated sacred space into their layout, one of the most characteristic features of the Inka expansion.

The study of these topics, already difficult by themselves, requires the use of archaeological, ethnohistorical and ethnographic approaches.

The study of the written sources shows that Garcilaso de la Vega's data on the historicity of the Chanka, their domain, and other events that presumably took place in the region, are not reliable, while many of the claims made by Guamán Poma are contradictory and inconsistent as far as the ethnic groups and events are concerned (see Chap. 2.2.1). Cieza de León, Sarmiento de Gamboa and Betanzos are far more reliable. The data in Murúa and Pachacuti Salcamayhua can be held to be allegorical, as was typical of Europe in the seventeenth century (and in the Andean tradition too); besides, many of their claims are not based on independent sources. Even so, it seems that they did have access to first-hand primary sources as far as the Inkas and sites related with Pomacocha are concerned. Albornoz, Bandera, Cobo and Molina "El Cuzqueño" are our most competent informants on religion in general, and on the Vilcaswaman region in particular, but it is clear that Cobo in many often used secondary sources.

As for the archaeological study, 4 Inka sites, Vilcaswaman, Pomacocha, Condormarka and Tinyaq, were chosen that were representative of the province of Vilcaswaman

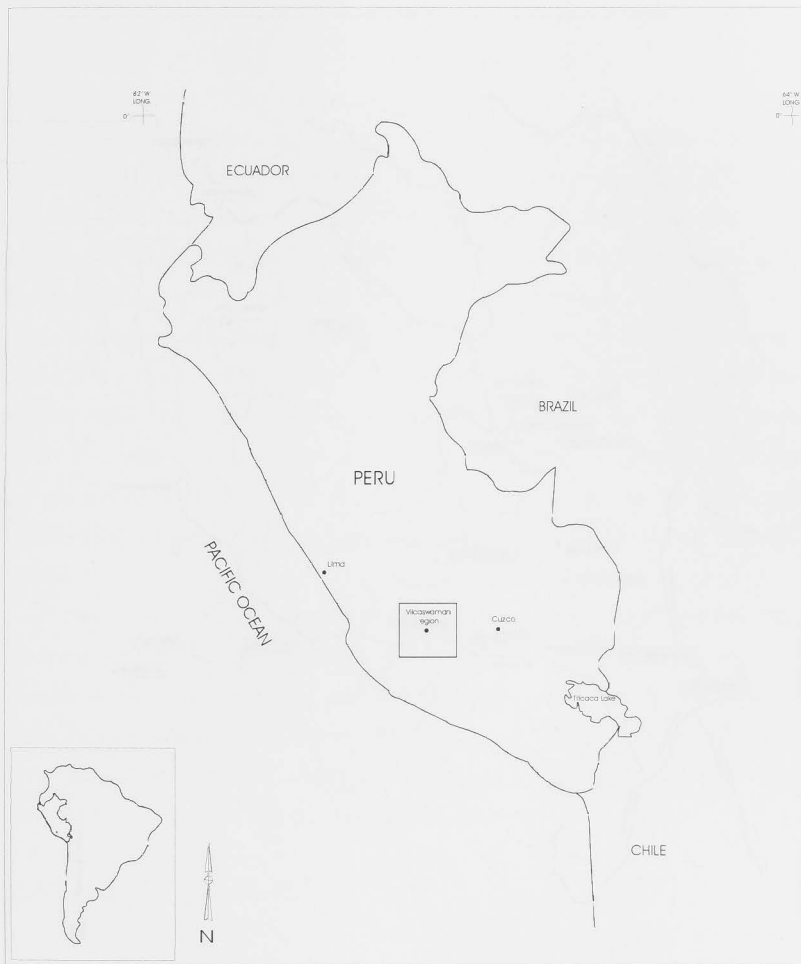
However questions remain, such as: Which Inkas were involved in the conquest of Vilcaswaman, and in other aspects of its life, both everyday and official life? Who were the Chanka, whom the chronicles give a prominent role in the war with the Inka? How did the Inka structure the region in political and social terms to build their province of Vilcaswaman?

**Table I-1**

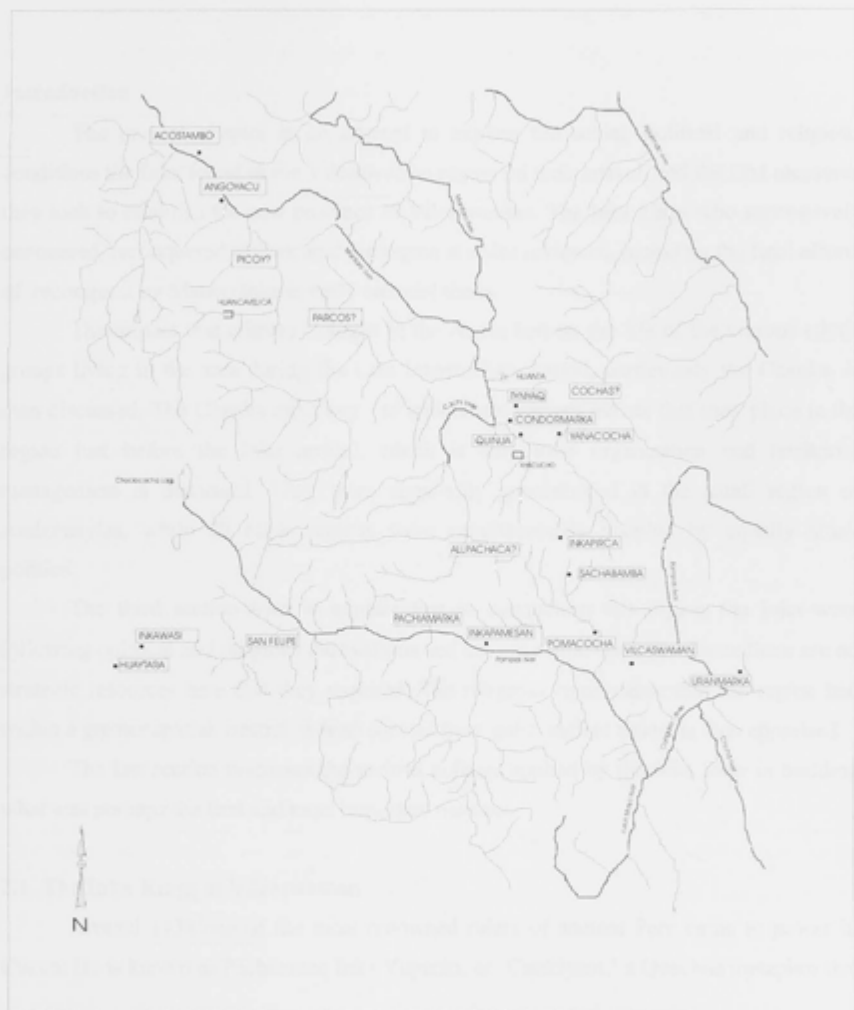
**Inka Sites in the Vilcaswaman Region**

Name	Arch. Event	Historical Record	Comments	Coordinates
1. Acostambo	X	Cieza/Car	Tambo	8633400N 494300E
2. Angoyacu	X	Cieza/Car	Tambo	8621500N 500400E
3. Picoy	X	Cieza	T/Sun	-
4. Parcos	X	Cieza	T/Sun	-
5. Tinyaq	X	—	Tambo	8565500N 587100E
6. Condormarka	X	Murúa	Capital of a hunu	8561800N 590200E
7. Quinua	X	Guamán Poma	Acos mitmas	8557500N 593500E
8. Yanacocha	X	—		8559600N 601100E
9. Allpachaca	X	—		8519700N 680200E
10. Ingapirca	X	—		8524100N 597200E
11. Sachabamba	X	—		8508200N 597800E
12. Pomacocha	X	Pachacuti	Royal estate	8496700N 600700E
13. Vilcaswaman	X	Cieza/Car	Prov. cap.	8490800N 601340E
14. Uranmarka	X	Cieza/Tol	Tambo	8488500N 644900E
15. Huamanquiquia	X	—	Shrine	8481100N 584100E*
16. Incapamesan	X	Pachacuti	Shrine	8497100N 578100E*
17. Pachiaqmarka	X	—	Tambo	-
18. San Felipe	X	—	Tambo	-
19. Cochab	—	Bet/Tol/Pr	Town	-

\*Still unconfirmed



MAP 1.1  
THE RESEARCH AREA



MAP 1.2

## INKA SITES IN THE PROVINCE OF VILCASWAMAN

## Chapter 2

### The Inka and the Vilcaswaman Region

#### Introduction

The present chapter is an attempt to explain the social, political and religious conditions the Inka found in the Vilcaswaman region on their arrival, and the first measures they took to establish the new province of Vilcaswaman. The Inka kings who successively conquered, reconquered and secured the region are also reviewed, including the final efforts of reconquest by Manco Inka in early colonial times.

The impact that climate changes in the Andes had on the life of the various ethnic groups living in the area during the Late Intermediate Period, particularly the Chanka, is then discussed. The Chanka are a key to understand various events that took place in the region just before the Inka arrival, which is why their organisation and territorial management is discussed. They were apparently concentrated in the small region of Andahuaylas, while all other regions were simultaneously peopled by equally small polities.

The third section tries to explain that in conquering this region the Inka were following political and religious motivations and not economic ones, insofar as there are no strategic resources here that they required. The religious significance that the region had within a greater spatial, central andean context from quite ancient times, is then appraised.

The last section discusses the various policies applied by the Inka State in building what was perhaps the first and most important *wamani*.

#### 2.1. The Inka Kings at Vilcaswaman

Around 1438<sup>1</sup> one of the most renowned rulers of ancient Peru came to power in Cuzco. He is known as Pachacutec Inka Yupanki, or 'Cataclysm,' a Quechua metaphor that

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<sup>1</sup> The study of the rise and development of the Inka entails two polemic, unsolved issues that cannot be ignored. First there is the problem posed by the chronology, the number of Inka kings and how long they ruled. Second, how mythical or historical the accounts the most reliable chroniclers gave of individuals and events in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries are:

1) This thesis has followed Rowe (1944, 1945), who established the Inka dynastic sequence based on Cabello de Balboa. However, several scholars have recently called for more accurate datings for the Inka

emphasises this Inka's image as an overall reformer of Tawantinsuyu, the Land of the Four Quarters, which comprised all or part of the modern Andean republics of Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Chile and Argentina. His rule was decisive for the development of the institutions that would define the Inka empire as a final stage in the political evolution of the Central Andes.

At first, Pachacutec annexed the lands close to Cuzco, and then began successful campaigns of conquest in distant lands. His successors expanded the Inka frontiers as far as the Pacific Ocean in the west, the jungle in the east, the southern lands, and the paramo and warm lands north of the Equator. Such an enterprise required dissuasive, persuasive and coercive strategies. These were times of permanent military campaigns.

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Horizon. This gave rise to several publications with radiocarbon datings (Kendall, 1974, 1985; Hollowell, 1987; Ziolkowski et al., 1994; Adamska and Michczynski, 1994; Bauer, 1996: 68,71) that could well change Rowe's proposal. Surprisingly enough, the analysis of the radiocarbon datings Adamska and Michczynski (1996: 35 and 48) made with an appropriate methodology seem to support Rowe.

In general it is thought that these datings are no more than "probabilistic statements" (Damp 1988), that are as such no more than a first and insufficient step. These are datings with a high 1-sigma variations whose calibrated ranges cover decades (see Tables 3 and 4 in Adamska and Michczynski, 1994: 46 and 47). This is far too long a span for Inka society, which was apparently short-lived.

Pazdur and Pazdur (1994: 25.62; see also Ziolkowski 1994: 7.23) correctly point out that there are several problems that make it difficult to get radiocarbon dates with 1-Sigma varies below + 25, so that the margin of error in Inka datings is less. Dates obtained from samples of wood like lintels in Inka buildings have a big margin of error because a lintel does not always come from a tree contemporary with Inka society, and may have even been reused.

In addition to the search for radiocarbon dates, the analysis of Inka ceramics must be continued along the line traced by Julien's pathbreaking study (1978), which Morris (1988) praised. Morris (1988: 236) also indicates that with the stratigraphic sequence she established at Hatunqolla and the analysis of ceramic form and style, Julien could, in fact, be giving temporal units of perhaps 30 years for each of the three strata

2) It is true that no 'literal,' 'direct,' or 'traditional' reading of colonial written sources can reconstruct Inka history. The limitations this kind of study has for the Late Horizon have been clearly noted by various scholars (among others: Murra, 1978; Zuidema, 1989; Duviols, 1979; Pease, 1995; Rostworowski, 1988; Bauer, 1996; D'Altroy, pers. com.). However, it would be rash to suggest that written accounts are of no use in reconstructing some aspects of Inka society. The task researchers have is precisely to turn accounts of Inka individuals or events invested with a mythical or ritual halo into something intelligible. It is thought that the available written accounts present historical events that myth and ritual render unintelligible. In fact, and as was suggested by Zuidema (pers. com., 2000) they are like the objects studied by archaeologists in that they have non-formal, abstract and allegorical elements that lie beyond a direct and formal statement. It is crucial that we uncover the history hidden behind mythical events. It is clear that all Inka events, all of their material culture and their various personages are metaphorically, symbolically or aesthetically expressed. It is precisely the desire to distinguish these crucial components that has made ethnohistory emphasise the internal critique of sources, and pushed archaeology beyond the description and taxonomy of its materials.

For example, one of the longest-standing concerns of scholars is Inka Pachacutec. Did he exist or not? Was there only one Inka Pachacutec, or were there many? A careful reading of the sources allows the proposition that he did exist: Pachacutec founded the State and reformed Inka society. In historical terms he is Inka Yupanki, as recorded by several sources. In metaphorical terms he was Pachacutec, as even more sources record. This is just a different, but still literal, reading of the sources.

Pachacutec founded the royal *panaka* called Hatun Ayllu (Sarmiento, 1943: 219-220). He redesigned the village of his forefathers (Betanzos, 1987: XVI) and turned it into a home of the gods, of rulers and courtiers, bureaucrats and servants, theologians and pilgrims, and acculturated provincial nobles (Cieza, 1985: 39). Local and foreign masons were brought in to carefully carve the stone into ashlar stones, inspired by the ancient ideas and techniques of the ancient people in the Titicaca basin, thus re-building Cuzco, the sacred capital city.

The palaces, temples and other public and private buildings "... *eran de los [más] hermosos que podían verse ... en estas tierras,*" marvelled Sancho (1917: 193), one of the first Spaniards in the land. He found more merit in the Inka buildings than in Spanish ones, such as the bridge at Segovia or even those of the Romans.

Pachacutec sacralised the city by rebuilding it in the imagined shape of the puma (Betanzos, 1987: 81; Sarmiento, 1943: 233), thus perhaps imitating the most representative animal of Andean imagery for the previous 2,000 years. He executed the sacred, political and social re-foundations of Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: Chaps. XIV, XV), turning several physical features in the cuzqueño landscape into shrines, like hills, springs, caves, stones, plains, rocky outcrops and terraces, which were distributed in 42 ceques, or imaginary lines, that projected outwards from Coricancha, perhaps following the structure of a *quipu* (Cobo, 1956: 169-186; Polo, 1917). A sacred space was constructed that would later be reflected both in the political sphere and in the everyday life of Inka society. This sacred Cuzco would then have to be replicated in all Inka provinces, big and small, as they were incorporated.

Pachacutec certainly was one of the first Inka rulers who followed a general utopian principle where society had to be based on religious systems rather than on a political power, as had previously been attempted by Wari and Tiwanaku. These latter societies had created an efficient symbolic catechism managed by illiterate preachers for equally illiterate, multilingual societies, where oral tradition reigned supreme.

In his first military campaigns in Chinchaysuyu, Pachacutec personally reached the Vilcaswaman region (Cieza, 1985: XLVIII). Several most important events took place here that would later define the nature of the Inka occupation in the region. Firstly, he founded a ceremonial centre at the present site of Vilcaswaman, where regional deities from most



distant areas, including *wakas* from present-day Ecuador, were worshipped (Pachacuti, 1993: 221-223). Then, his eldest son Amaro Thopa Inka was born at Pomacocha (Sarmiento, 1943: 191-192; Pachacuti, 1993: 223), a site close to Vilcaswaman. The focus of the life of Amaro Thopa passed from politics to the army, priesthood and finally to agronomy. This Inka, in turn, marked his birthplace with some specific economic and religious characteristics.

Pachacutecq founded the Inka settlement of Vilcaswaman and had the Temples of the Sun and Moon erected there (Cieza, 1985: 140-143). The architecture of these temples is the most remarkable of all the temples known in Tawantinsuyu.

While ruling from Cuzco, some captains of Pachacutecq, his brothers and his sons, also passed several times through this area consolidating Inka presence in the region (Cieza, 1985: Chap. XLIX; Sarmientode Gamboa, 1943: 192).

Throughout his reign, Pachacutecq was always interested in Vilcaswaman because he was well aware of the importance of the meaning of the site and its region had to the Inkas, and thus, in his old age, he had an "adoratorio" (*ushnu* platform) built There which was itself one of the most remarkable in all of Tawantinsuyu (Cobo, 1956: 82). Why did Pachacutecq specifically emphasise the replication of religious features of Cuzco at Vilcaswaman that were not found in other regions conquered by the Inka? According to the myth, Pachacutecq died when he was over 100 years of age (Toledo, 1940: 173; Sarmiento, 1943: 219).

Topa Inka Yupanki, the son and heir of Pachacutecq, was born in the Capac Ayllu panaka to his own sister. The new king inherited the kingdom around the year 1471. Like his predecessors, Topa Inka had to build his own estate with palaces in Cuzco, rural palace-resorts close to the Inka capital, as well as fields of maize, pastures, livestock and retainers, all managed by his *panaka*. During his reign, Topa Inka made good use of years of training in matters of State and warfare with his father and other skilled warriors, who were his relatives. Topa Inka consolidated the State's institutions, expanded his father's conquests, founded new temples and shrines, palaces, administrative centres, resettled loyal people close to the frontiers and increased the State's revenues, especially in *corvée* labour (Sarmiento, 1943: 225-235).

Topa Inka Yupanki was in the Vilcaswaman region on several occasions. As king, he had a palace built there, enhanced other buildings (Cieza 1984: Chap. LXXXIX), and commanded that agricultural terraces be built around it. He is also said to have been the ruler who most forcefully resettled *mitma* in the region. Why did he build a palace for himself at Vilcaswaman? Why did the region have such a privilege? We know that his *panaka* had possessions in other places, such as on the Altiplano (Cobo, 1956: 87-88). Was his palace just a symbol, or did he actually spend some time in the region?

Guayna Capac, Topa Inka Yupanqui's son born into the Tumipampa *panaka*, presumably became ruler around 1493 and he expanded Tawantinsuyu even more. He founded the city of Tumibamba in the likeness of Cuzco, where he chose to settle perhaps as a result of some disagreements with the Cuzqueño *panakas*. He died in his birthplace, apparently as a result of a virulent disease brought by the Spaniards, who at that time were already exploring the northern coasts of Tawantinsuyu. His mummy was then returned to Cuzco but not as a victorious general acclaimed by the people, because the city was by then riven by the maneuvers between rival royal *panakas*.

For some reason, Guayna Capac also had a special liking for the Vilcaswaman region. There he also built a new 'palace' for himself (Cieza, 1985: 186) in precisely the same *cancha* where the palace of his father, Topa Inka had already stood. It is known that there he presided over some of the major ceremonies in the Inka calendar, such as Ccapac Raymí (Pachacuti, 1993: 244; Cieza, 1985: 187). One of his sons was apparently in charge of the region in the final days of Tawantinsuyu (Murúa, 1922: 93). In addition, Guayna Capac granted land in the region to his dead Cuzqueño relatives in order to strengthen the State and the *panakas*, (Betanzos, 1987: 183).

At his death Huáscar, one of his sons, was named ruler of Cuzco, while Atahualpa, another son and potential heir, was in Quito. In 1532 they clashed in a cruel war in which Huáscar and his *panaka* were defeated. On the fateful afternoon of 16 November 1532, Pizarro and his men ambushed Atahualpa at Cajamarca, thus commencing the fall of Tawantinsuyu. Ancient Peru thus became joined to Western Europe by the sword.

No new facilities had been built in the region during the conflict between Huáscar and Atahualpa, nor any of the existing ones improved. No major event is mentioned either in these final days. The written sources simply mention the passage, stay, and provisioning

of the rival armies at Vilcaswaman (Betanzos, 1987: VIII, XI, XIII), as well as the rape and pillage of the city by Huascar's army, after it had been temporarily captured by Chalcochimac, one of Atahualpa's captains.

In the early years after the Spanish conquest another of Guayna capac's sons, Manco Inca led a rebellion and strove to reconquer Tawantinsuyu. Manco unleashed a military campaign against the Spaniards from Cuzco. He entered the tropical forest of Cuzco and moved between Vilcabamba, the jungles of Apurimac in Ayacucho, and the tropical forests of Jauja in Junín. The Spanish reply was to found San Juan de la Frontera, nowadays the city of Huamanga, as a forward base on the border between Condormarka and Quinua, two ancient settlements of Cuzqueño orejones. From there the Spaniards repeatedly organised expeditions against the rebel Inka, but to no avail.

Manco himself founded a new settlement called Rucguiri (Betanzos, 1987: 301), on the heights of the modern city of Huanta and close to the *hunu* of Condormarka-Huamanguilla, which replicated the layout of sacred Cuzco in what was possibly an attempt to stabilise his troops, and perhaps a utopian attempt to establish a new Inka city too. This would have been the last Inka settlement built in the pre-Columbian province of Vilcaswaman. The site unfortunately remains undiscovered and unknown because it was only in 1987 that knowledge of it was first gained, as a result of the publication of the second part of Betanzos' chronicle.

In the early stages times of the conquest began by Pachacutec, it is known that the Chanka were one of the ethnic groups who were settled in the south-eastern part of the study region; that they clashed with Viracocha Inka, Pachacutec's father, and that the latter's victory had enabled the Inka to build a State. But who were these Chanka? Was the war between the Inka and the Chanka an actual historical event, or is it instead just a myth? What ethnic groups lived in the area?

## **2.2. Pre-Inka Multi-Ethnic Composition of the Region**

Although the Central Andes comprises more than 80% of the 104 life zones in the world, this geographical and ecosystemic diversity is at present vulnerable (Morlon et al., 1982) and the same seems to have been true in past times. Natural disasters are a constant fact of life for the people of the Andean area. Such vulnerability is due to a series of

natural phenomena which appear sporadically and last for just a few months, but even so have a dramatic impact on life in a great part of the Andes, such as the El Niño (Shimada et al., 1991), or other major climatic changes that bring about droughts (Shimada et al, 1991; Thompson et al., 1979: 87), that have caused severe difficulties and even led to the collapse of several Andean societies.

The studies that Thompson (Thompson et al., 1979, 1985, 1987) carried out in the Qelqaya snowcap between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca show that severe climatic changes took place from around AD 900 onwards that placed severe pressure on the water resources and caused long-lasting droughts in the Central and South-Central Andes (Thompson, 1979, in Shimada et al., 1991).<sup>2</sup> These data have enabled some archaeologists to posit a new hypothesis which claims that climatic changes correlate with the social and political transformations that took place at different moments in the pre-Columbian Andes, both on the coast and in the highlands (Kolata, 1993; Moseley, 1992; Shimada et al., 1991). Kolata (1993) confirmed the findings made by Thompson with paleolimnological data which he and his team recovered in sediments from Lake Titicaca. He suggests that the disasters that took place in the final stages of Tiwawnaku were due to drought. In this way, first Wari and then Tiwanaku collapsed.

It is possible that the pan-Andeanization and regionalisation of Andean culture, its horizons and intermediate periods, were alternately predominant processes in pre-Columbian history as a result of these cyclical climatic crises that caused the erosion of the economic and social foundations of Andean polities. If this statement is correct, it has unforeseeable consequences for Andean history and anthropology. Does this mean that all theories that explain every major change in society through its internal developments will have to be discarded? Will we be forced to accept that the cultural involution that periodically took place in the Andes is at odds with the evolutionist theory that posits progress as a constant development and a historical destiny? Or that collapse is a recurring phenomena in the life of complex societies (Tainter, 1988: 5)?

Leaving aside all deterministic logic and causality, the drought became far more severe in the three decades after AD 1020, and was repeated once again around ad 1100 (Thompson et al., 1987; Shimada et al., 1991). This caused major social upheavals. The

struggle for survival replaced a stable human geography with another riven by chaos and wars, where *sinchis* (heads of ayllus and extended families) were in charge of very small bands, tribes, and perhaps even chiefdoms; it likewise caused a major ethnic displacement on the eve of the rise of the Inka State. Without adequate water resources, the most affected regions would have been the *kishua* zones, followed by the higher-altitude ones, where the water resources lasted longer, and where archaeologists have located the highest number of Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1400) settlements in the Central Andes. The ceramic types archaeologically identified in the study area, such as Arqalla and Qashisqo (two of the most characteristic ones: Lumbreras, 1959; Matos, 1959; Bendezú, 1983; Valdez, Vivanco and Chávez, 1990; González et al., 1987) come precisely from the upper Pampas, Cachi, and Warpa River basins, especially over 3,500 m asl, where they are always found in association with a few buildings, protected by enclosures or steep slopes. These characteristics are in contrast with the cultural tradition that preceded it in the area (Wari, Middle Horizon), which is regarded as being an urban, State-level society that settled below 3,000 m asl.

Mitchell (1981: 142, 143) points out that with all due limitations, an important climatological index to understand these displacements is the fact that evapotranspiration is greatly reduced at higher altitudes than in the *kichua* zone. It is perhaps because of this that the people in the colder ecosystems, like the Titicaca Altiplano, suffered difficulties for a longer period (up to Tiwanaku V, or Decadent Tiwanaku (AD 900-1200). This crisis must have also caused a reallocation of water resources in the time of the Kingdoms of the Altiplano and encouraged the development of high-altitude livestock herds (Shimada et al., 1991). However, these speculations are counterproductive because the devastating effects of the climatic change affected all species, and particularly the animals who were the most vulnerable because they were specialised in a given ecosystem, and because mankind had not yet developed more complex, control techniques for livestock. Besides, this speculation could be taken to mean that pastoralism had been a low intensity activity before the Kingdoms of the Altiplano. A Problem is that it is still not known the population density of

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<sup>2</sup> This assuming that the Qelqaya data do provide data on similar meteorological conditions.

the camelids managed by the polity of Tiwanaku, but it was surely higher than that of the later kingdoms. The study by Kolata and his team (1993) merely discusses agriculture.

Furthermore it surely is no accident that several written sources have recorded myths of 'cultural heroes', such as Manco Capac, Pariacaca (Ávila, 1987: Chaps. 6, 7, 8, 16; Rostworowski, 1988: 24) or the mythical Chanka founders, Uscovilca and Ancovilca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: Chaps. 12-13, pp. 162-163). These heroes travelled in search of fertile land, or formed lakes and opened ditches, some with magic wands and others, like the Llacuaz, with "... *un puñado de tierra*" (Rostworowski, 1988: 24).

The end result was that the Vilcaswaman region faced a condition of generalised *anomie* and was riven by strife 400 years after Wari collapsed around AD 900 (Santillana, 1999), a condition that would last beyond AD 1300 (Thompson et al., 1987). Small ayllus and tribes must have wandered throughout the central highlands in search of places with stable resources to settle in. It was a time when populations, even some from far away, resettled, in small pockets of fertile land in the Pampas River basin, such the Guanca groups from the Mantaro River Valley. It should not be forgotten too that, according to Murúa (1987: Book 4, Chap. VII), Lake Choclococha was given its name because some corn had been lost there and which grew after a battle between the Guanca and the Guamanes. This presumably took place in this war-torn period called the Late Intermediate Period. On the other hand, when Pachacutec entered the region in the early stages of his conquest of Chinchaysuyu, he found the Guanca already settled in Tayacaja-Huancavelica (Pachacuti, 1993: 221). If this is true, it means that the presence of various ethnic groups in the area was not solely due to a compulsory resettlement policy, applied first by the Wari and then by the Inka, as claimed by Zuidema (1996). In any case, these movements would have helped the population strategies applied by both these States.

It is wrong to assume that all sites in the southern part of this region called 'Guanca,' necessarily belonged to the Guanca ethnic group from the Mantaro region. This name, in most cases, refers to the rocks and boulders people found in their land, as was the case of the *repartimiento* of Atunrucana and Laramati in 1586. On being asked about the name of their town, the natives of Santo Tomás de Guanca replied that "... *por haber muchas piedras en los llanos que quiere decir guanca piedras grandes ...*" (Monzón et al.,

1965: 230). In other words, the name of this site was derived from a *wanka*: rocks or boulders that were frequently worshipped.

The displacement of ethnic groups inside and to the region did not end with the Inka. They continued in colonial times, either individually or in groups, as is seen in the 1683 *revisita* of the Chocorbos (Huertas et al., 1976). However, the colonial displacements might have been the result of political reasons, or to the "*suma pobreza de la tierra*," and not to extra-social causes.

### 2.2.1. The Chanka

The Chanka were one of the groups that lived in this region in the Late Intermediate Period. According to written sources, this tribal group waged successive wars against the Inka chiefdom, and it was precisely their defeat what gave rise to Tawantinsuyu.

The origins of the Chanka and their mythical displacement from Choclococha (Cieza, 1984: Chap. XC; Betanzos, 1987; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943) go back to a time just before the fourteenth century AD when the environment recovered its humidity somewhat, thanks to an increase in rainfall (Thompson et al., 1987). It was only towards the turn of the century that the Chanka became an essentially warlike people, the most numerous and important in the region.

Chanka history recounted in the chronicles and other documents apparently does not go back more than 100-150 years, including the original settlement of their founders Anco Huayllo and Uscovilca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 163), and extends only as far as the third decade of the fifteenth century, when their army, led by Astowaraca and Tomayhuaraca, was defeated by Pachacutec (Cieza, 1985: Chap. XLVI; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 168-171).

The first Chanka had lived in the time of the civilising heroes, Uscovilca and Ancohuayllo, and the last were the warrior chiefs who began the Chanka conquests, including that of Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: Chap. VI, 23, 24). A comparison with the relevant data found in other sixteenth century documents concerning other complex societies like the North Coast Chimor, shows that more data are available for the latter kings and their deeds than for the Chanka. When passing through Andahuaylas, the descendants of the Chanka, whom Cieza (1984: Chap. XC) interviewed, only named the two significant events

and individuals, both quite close to them in temporal terms. Cieza's informants still recalled the deeds of their founding fathers, who had been embalmed after their death and turned into *wakas* who presided over the march of their armies (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 163).

Betanzos (1987: Chaps. VI, VII, VIII and IX) provides some more details on the historicity of the founding fathers of the Chanka, albeit with some omissions. Betanzos says that at the time of Wiracocha Inka there were over 200 lords living around Cuzco, one of whom was a Chanka chieftain called Uscovilca,<sup>3</sup> who was followed by six captains. He marched against Cuzco and waged war first against Wiracocha, and then against Pachacutecq, who defeated him and had him put to death. Betanzos presents him as an actual warrior who fought the Inkas with Tomayhuaraca, another warrior to whom Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943: Chaps. 27-28) also gives a leading role in the war. The historicity of Uscovilca is further supported by the fact that the epic poem (*taki*) sung in honour of Pachacutecq as the victor of the Chanka said that he had vanquished Uscovilca (Betanzos, 1987: XIII, 61), and that the latter was remembered as the founder of the Chanka moieties in Andahuaylas, together with Ancovilca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 163).

On the other hand, even if the clashes between Inkas and Chankas began with the mythical Inka kings Capac Yupanki and Inca Roca are accepted, as claimed by Garcilaso (1959, II: Book IV, Chap. XV; Book V, Chap. XVII), in what is believed to be one of his most flagrant exaggerations, and that this is compared with the average time the rule of a historical Inka (Rowe, 1946), all of the wars do not go back more than a hundred years before 1438, i.e., in the mid-fourteenth century. Garcilaso apparently confuses events and individuals, and his account is not logical. When he mentions Capac Yupanki and Inca Roca he is discussing mythical Inkas in the traditional list of rulers, but these were actually historical kings. Capac Yupanki led an army in the time of Pachacutecq (Cieza, 1985: Chap. XXXIV; Pachacuti, 1993: 211, 214, 216; Pärssinen, 1992: 81, 221, 222), while the latter stayed in Cuzco. Capac Yupanki was a brother of Pachacutecq and was his 'segunda persona.'

The answers given by local officials in the inquiry held by Toledo on 27 January 1571 at the Tambo de Vilcas, on his way to Cuzco, support the claim that it was



Pachacutecq, and not any ruler before him, who defeated and conquered the Chanka. Don Alonso Caquia Guanuco and Don Juan Chanca Vilca, two curacas from Parinacochas, respectively aged 85 and 93 and born in the reign of Topa Inka Yupanki, declared that it was Tupac Inca Yupanki who had conquered the region. A few days later, two more local curacas appeared before Toledo in the Tambo de Piña on 31 January 1571. The curaca from Lurin Chanka was Don Pedro Asto, aged 80, also born in the time of Tupac Inca Yupanki, who stated that it was Pachacutecq who "...comenzo a conquistar estos reynos e después acabó de conquistar Topa Inga Yupanki su hijo." Was this curaca one of those who survived the dispersal of the Chanka? Don Cristóbal Guamán Arcos, curaca of Andahuaylas and also about 80, likewise answered that those kingdoms had been conquered by Topa Inga Yupanqui, the son of Pachacutecq (Toledo in Levillier, 1940, II: 47-52).

These statements merit some discussion. The answers given by three of the four men questioned state that Topa Inga Yupanqui had conquered the region, and only one that it had been Pachacutecq. It is thought that that this was because the answer was implied by the question and was obvious. The question reads: "*Sy es verdad que Topa Inga Yupanqui hijo de Pachacuti Ynga Yupanqui fue el que conquisto estos reynos.*" The following questions were also biased. Besides, not one of those questioned claimed that the conquest had been carried out by any of the mythical Inkas. These depositions are all the more reliable because they were all made by old men from local ethnic groups who had either seen the war, or had been told of it by their parents, who would have witnessed the Inka-Chanka war or took part in it. What cannot be denied is that the Chanka were a warrior people *par excellence*, who settled in Andahuaylas, displacing the native Quechua peoples (Cieza, 1984: 254) probably around the early fourteenth century (Rowe, 1946: 189), and who waged a war for supremacy with the Inka, who themselves had begun to annexe land following the logic of all Andean peoples around this time. John Rowe (pers. com., 1984) therefore suggests that one of the ways to prove the historicity of these wars would be by locating and excavating all of the *pucara* (fortresses) mentioned in the chronicles.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Betanzos does not name Ancovilca, not even as one of the first Chanka.

<sup>4</sup> This would be particularly relevant for in recent years the position that there were no Inka-Chanka wars, just rituals of conquest, has gained strength (Duviols, 1979; Pärssinen, 1992; Pease, 1995: 103; Ziolkowski, 1997).

Where did the historical Chanka come from? Or in other words, where was their homeland? Nothing is as yet known about this. All that is known is that they claimed to come from the *paqarina* (place of origin) of Choclococha, just like other ethnic groups, e.g., the Soras and Angaraes (according to Alborno, 1988: 169; and Cieza, 1984: 254). It is not thought that pastoralists living in the puna around this lake had conquered the land in the kishua zone and it must have been a people from this same kishua zone in the middle Pampas and Mantaro Rivers, or even more probably close to Parcos, in the present province of Lircay (Huancavelica). This is how the following passage in Betanzos (1987: Chap VI, 23-24) can be interpreted: "... estando este Uscovilca en el Pueblo de Paucaray que es tres leguas de Parcos entró en consulta con los suyos que orden deviesen tener para este hecho y viendo que su poder era grande acordaron en su acuerdo que debían ir sus capitanes a descubrir por la parte de Condesuyo tierras y provincias y así mismo por la parte de Andesuyo a lo mismo y que él así mismo con sus dos capitanes de los suyos y con la gente que le quedase fuese por el medio destas dos provincias derechamente a la ciudad del Cuzco y que desta manera sería señor de toda la tierra y que el de su mano sujetaría al Viracocha Ynga y así salió de su acuerdo y desde que hubo salido mandó que para un día señalábase juntase toda su gente en aquel pueblo e llano de Paucaray do él era natural y así se juntaron todos los suyos el día que les fue mandado ..." Betanzos (1987: 33) is even more explicit further on: "... que así mismo había enviado Uscovilca desde su pueblo Paucaray a descubrir y conquistar las provincias e pueblos que hallases ... hasta aquella parte de los chiriguanes que es doscientas leguas y más a donde llegaron desde este Paucaray ..." They then 'appropriated' this lake to enhance their origins and that of their founders. This was just a way of sacralizing their line of inheritance. What the chronicles tell is just a creation myth.

A Chanka informant knew that this lake was his most important temple, even in the mid sixteenth century when Cieza de León passed through. Again, this reference (and others) to the shrine of Choclococha has much in common with the perception the Inka had of the mythical Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo coming out from Lake Titicaca to found Cuzco.

The traditional regional historiography claims that the Paucaray mentioned by Betanzos (1987: Chap. XVI) is the modern site of the same name close to Huamanga, thus

establishing that the Chanka were native to the zone. However, no fewer than three sites in this region bear this name, and to relate them with the primeval Chanka site becomes problematic. First, the Paucaray listed by Betanzos and also mentioned by Pachacuti (1993: 221) is modern Parcos in Huancavelica, not the village close to Huamanga, mentioned by Morote (1974), and by Purizaga (1967, but with some reservations). Second, the Paucaray close to Andahuaylas probably was a Chanka site founded in memory of their homeland, the Paucaray in Parcos.

It is not easy to define the region in ethnic terms. The name, Chanka, has been traditionally bestowed upon it, and this name is still given to all of the Ayacucho, Apurimac and Huancavelica region, but not on the basis of a clear conceptualisation of ethnicity, nor on archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence.<sup>5</sup> This has overemphasised the Chanka culture and endowed it with the organisational forms of a complex society, something that apparently does not agree with the written sources or its material culture. Nor did the Chanka occupy a vast expanse of land, just a small core area in Andahuaylas where they had arrived after wandering through various lands in search of a place to settle.

Two elements found in the written sources help the perception of the low complexity of the Chanka polity. First, not a single source mentions a donation or any offering of reciprocity by the Inka to the Chanka. Second, that the war-like attitude the Inka had against the Chanka is the same that they showed against every other not-too-complex society, which was quite different from what they did when dealing with chiefdom- or State-level polities, when they used dissuasive weapons or diplomacy.

All of the ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence indicates that the Chanka occupied the Andahuaylas River Valley alone and divided into two moieties, Lurinchanka and Huranmarca (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 163)

### **2.2.2. Other Ethnic Groups in the Region**

The colonial documentation is often quite confusing and incomplete when it comes to identifying Andean populations, particularly in this region. Both ethnic groups that have been identified ethnohistorically (e.g., the Guanca), as well as groups of people called by

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<sup>5</sup> The historian Lorenzo Huertas (1992: 19, 30, 39 and 42) likewise questions the region's traditional historiography, which claimed that the Chanka occupied these three modern departments.

the name of their village, to which a suffix was added (Azángaros), are listed as if they formed nations. However, a careful reading of the sources shows that 10 major ethnic groups, including the Chanka, apparently lived in the region before the coming of the Inka (see the Late Intermediate Period Multi-Ethnic. Map II.1). These ethnic groups were the Angaraes (in what are now Acobamba and Lircay, in Huancavelica: de Ribera and de Chaves, 1965: 201, 202); the Guanca (in what are now Tayacaja and Huancavelica: Pachacuti, 1993: 221); the Asto (present-day Pampas); the Guamanes-Pocras (in modern Huamanguilla and Guamanga, and perhaps in Mayoc: Cieza, 1985: 143); the Tanquihuas (modern Vilcaswaman, Huambalpa, Vischongo, etc.); the Chanka (who were settled in Uramarca, Umamarca and Paucaray, east of the Pampas River, in the modern province of Andahuaylas: Sarmiento, 1943: 163); and the Chocorbos (in modern Castrovirreyña). No data is available for the people in the San Miguel Valley and the upper Apurimac River Basin. The Sora were more to the south (in the upper Chicha River Basin), as well as the Rucanas (in what is now Andamarca). As for the Tanquihua, probably the largest group, which was scattered over a big part of the Pampas River Basin, they certainly were not concentrated at the site of Huambalpa, as a literal reading of the sources would seem to imply.<sup>6</sup>

### 2.3. Cultural and Religious Representations Before the Inka

Leaving aside the above-mentioned saga, what was this region actually like in religious and cultural terms prior to the coming of the Inka?

It apparently was no mere chance that the Inka built Vilcaswaman in its present site, which is not exactly a fertile valley, nor does it hold any particular strategic resource. The most usually held view regarding the conquest of new lands by states says that States expand due to economic reasons. However, in the Andean case, it seems that other variables were at play, and that the economic factor was just one of them. It seems that in some complex societies the economy is supplementary or of secondary importance, and that many of the most far-reaching measures taken were due to extra-economic considerations. Such would be the case of the Inka conquest of the area under study. Where

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<sup>6</sup> Zuidema (1966: 70) presents data that seem to show that the Tanquihua occupied a far larger area.

they replicated cultural systems rather than modes of production, precisely in the same region where the Wari had based their power on ideological systems.

Besides, the region is topographically rugged and rocky, and little flat land is available for extensive or intensive agriculture. It has always been a usually autarchic region whose output lies at subsistence level. The impression one gets from some sources, like the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, is precisely the opposite that of alluvial and fertile lands. The various descriptions frequently mention "... *asientos ásperos, cerrados de cerros y páramos ... tierras frías ... dobladas*," while the rivers "... *no tienen en sus riberas ningún aprovechamiento ...*" It seems that a subsistence economy that combined agriculture and pastoralism prevailed in 1586, when these *relaciones* were prepared.<sup>7</sup> The small surplus, attained by States like Wari in the Middle Horizon, would thus have been possible because they used the valleys of Huanta, La Mar, and perhaps Andahuaylas. But Wari financed its power, its prestige, and its military campaigns with the surpluses produced in other areas, and perhaps thanks to the design and implementation of massive agricultural and pastoral techniques. This is precisely how the data obtained by McEwan (1987) for the Wari in Cuzco should be interpreted.

What, then, caught the attention of the Inka? What made them reproduce the major institutions of their capital city in Vilcaswaman? Could it be that the region caught their attention for political and religious reasons rather than economic ones? The answer is apparently in the affirmative. It was political because in the Late Intermediate Period, the hegemonic polities that vied with Cuzco for the supremacy in the south had their centre in the region; and it was a religious concern because there were several major *wakas* and oracles in the Vilcaswaman region. Instead of appraising the region's economic resources and manpower, as all expansive States do, the Inka interpreted the region in ideological terms (Albornoz, 1988: 163) and that they had to control this highly prestigious focus of political and religious power. These probably were the major considerations that made the Inka apply a special model for the integration of the area, and this is why Vilcaswaman is thought to be far more than a classical administrative centre of the kind found at Pumpu or

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<sup>7</sup> Despite all due limitations, this region's poverty also comes through in the data from ONEC (1974), the Ministerio de Agricultura y Alimentación (1980), and the *Reseña Económica* of Peru's Central Bank. The *Mapa de la Pobreza* (Poverty Map, in Degregori, 1986) shows that this region is the most destitute in modern Peru.

Huanuco Pampa. But although the Vilcaswaman region had been the seat of major religious centres in the Late Intermediate Period and in the Late Horizon, it was just one part of a vast land with a strong sacred nature that molded unique political representations. Perhaps the Inka victory over the Chanka ended the struggle between them to occupy a centuries-long sacred and symbolic space that extended from Lake Titicaca, in the southern Altiplano, to Pachacamac, on the Central Coast. Perhaps the Chanka retained the memory of the deeds and concepts of their forefathers, and dreamed of spearheading a crusade of reconquest. Zuidema (1966:1, 1989: 208) suggests that in their expansive stage, the Chanka "dreamed of rebuilding the ancient (Wari) empire".

It seems that the region that extended from Lima, Ayacucho, and Huancavelica to Tiwanaku, on the Peru-Bolivia Altiplano, had a centuries-long symbolic component that set a unique course for the history of this region. It seems that in pre-Columbian times, the Central Andes were quite clearly distinguished from the north and the south. Inside this region there were constant population displacements as they tried to control and occupy all of this area.

Historical hindsight suggests that it was no mere chance that when the Chanka became the most important polity in the area, they marched south along three fronts, on one of which lay Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: Chap. VI, 23-26). It is likewise no accident that the Guanca always clashed with people who lived to the south of the Mantaro River (Murúa, 1987: Bk. IV, Chap. VII), nor that the Cuzqueño claimed a divine origin from heroes born in Titicaca, to the south of the city, or that the major ceramic and architectonic characteristics present before the Inka, and which later influenced them, combined elements derived from three regions: Ayacucho, the South Coast, and the Altiplano, as was noted by Rowe (1960; 1963) and McEwan (1987) among others. The same reason probably lies behind their having built their major temples in this region, or acknowledging and adapting ancient local icons (Albornoz, 1988: 163). There must also be a reason why the god Cuniraya went to Cuzco and told Guayna Capac "... vamos, hijo, a Titicaca ..." (Ávila, 1987: 243). Finally, the essentially religious nature of this region (Albornoz, 1988: 194-195) made the Spaniards create hierophanies, such as the Virgin of Copacabana, on Lake Titicaca (Selles, 1997), the Virgin of Cocharcas in Ayacucho, and the Señor de Pachacamilla in Lima.

In terms of an anthropology of religion, Pachacamac and the island in Lake Titicaca were two "Omblicos Omfalos" from which a cult and a way of conceptualising the world spread to the Central and South Central Andes: "... los ingas creían que los límites de la tierra se encontraban en Titicaca y, por la parte del mar en las tierras de los pachacamac; mas allá no había otras tierras; ya no había más nada" (Ávila, 1987: 331). According to Albornoz (1988: 130), these were the two major *wakas* that connected all other Andean shrines, or as Duviols (1993: 112) puts it, "*Este Huariviracocha, como Cuniraya Viracocha ... recorre la tierra ... desde el Titicaca hasta el norte ... y así parece atestiguar una creencia antigua ... del dios sol que surge del lago Titicaca y de noche va a hundirse en la costa central, en Pachacamac.*"

This study therefore suggests that different axes connected the 'navels of the world' (Pachacamac and Lake Titicaca-Tiwanaku) at different times (see Plan II-2). New routes joining these two poles were established every time a complex society attained hegemony over this space, while the space thus created was peopled with different deities. At one time it was the southern coast, when the Chavín Staff God moved from the highlands to the coast some 1800 years before the Spanish arrival: a Chavín-style deity has been found in textiles from Carwa (Paracas), one of its stops on its way south where it would be subsequently reinterpreted at Pukara, and then at Tiwanaku.<sup>8</sup> The study of the routes followed by more ancient deities, like Kon and Ticsiwiracocha, across this region should prove interesting, for not only do the sources suggest it, some archaeological and ethnological data in the area support the idea that this was the route first followed by the gods. For example, between Abancay and Saihuite, there is an Apu called Konkacha. Was Kon, or Kon Kon, an ancient god far older than Pachacamac (Rostworowski, 1988), the one who travelled over this area? It could well be because this deity is a coastal god who perhaps originated in the highlands.

The symbolic study of this area is supported by some other data, showing that the routes along which strategic resources, ideas and gods flowed had developed in ancient times. The Ayacucho River basin was somehow connected with the coast in the Initial Period and in the Early Horizon, because Cupisnique-style ceramics have been found in the

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<sup>8</sup> It is possible that when this image left Carwa it established a new route joining Pisco and Ayacucho (see also Cook, 1994), from whence it moved to the Altiplano, but this is mere speculation.

modern city of Ayacucho. In addition, there is evidence of the manufacture of sheets of gold there at a far earlier date than in other regions, which had perhaps been used to represent an old deity (Grossman, 1972). In Chavin times, there is evidence of small temples and ceremonial pottery, e.g., at Chupas and Huancavelica (Cruzat, 1971; Lumbreras, 1974). The quarry from where Chavin de Huántar obtained its obsidian in the Janabarriu phase (400-200 b.C.) is at Quispisisa, in Huancavelica, some 500 km south of Chavin (Burger, 1993). Obsidian was also distributed to other Andean regions in the Middle Horizon (Burger and Asaro, 1977).

A new route was established in the Early Intermediate Period, through which coastal societies, like the Nazca, established some kind of contact with the Middle Pampas River, as is evinced by the discovery of Nazca (and Middle Horizon Wari) textiles in the tombs of Tucuco, at Huancasancos (Earls, 1981: 70).

Wari and Tiwanaku controlled this space during the Middle Horizon (AD 500-900) independently from each other but sharing a common religious system that focused on the major deity, the Staff God, symbolised by the figure that appears on the Doorway of the Sun at Tiwanaku (Lumbreras, 1980; Menzel, 1967; Cook, 1994). The cultural occupation of the Pampas River Basin in the Middle Horizon is evinced by sites with ceramics and architecture, like Ayawiri and Milpa (Earls, 1981: 67, 68, citing Isbell, n.d.), Ayani and Sachabamba. A ceremonial cup was found at this site, decorated with the image of the Tiwanaku god from the Doorway of the Sun (José Ochatoma, pers. com., May 1997).

The Middle Horizon city of Wari in Ayacucho, and the Late Horizon city of Cuzco were probably just the major points joining these two religious poles. This would explain why in the Middle Horizon, two *wakas*, Chinchacamac and Andahuaylas or Andahuaylillas, among others became children of Pachacamac (*see* Santillán, 1968; *see* also Rostworowski, 1977, 1992; Patterson, 1983, among others). Perhaps the *wakas* were established by preachers from Pachacamac, as was suggested for Chinchacamac by Patterson (1983: 154), while the one at Andahuaylas was established following the sacred axis.

Vilcaswaman lies between these two shrines. It is possible that here lived Willka, one of the twin sons of Pachacamac that some chroniclers mention. The Chinchacamac-Vilcaswaman axis was re-founded at a somewhat later time, presumably in the Late



Intermediate Period. Luis Lumbreras (pers. com., 1994) recalls having found Ica-Chincha-style ceramics when he explored the Pampas River, while teaching at the UNSCH. This expedition and the discovery are mentioned by Earls (1981), who took part in them. These data support even more the possibility that ideas flowed between these two centres before the Inka expansion.

According to Santa Cruz Pachacuti (1993: 221), Inka Pachacutec found seven *wakas* from different places in the Central Andes on arriving to the Vilcaswaman region. These were called Ayssa Vilca, Pariacaca, Chinchaycocha, Vallallo and Chuquiuaera, while the other two belonged to the Ecuadorean Cañari. This suggests that somewhere close to the site of Vilcaswaman there was an Andean shrine similar to Pachacamac. It is not thought that these *wakas* were at Vilcas, as suggested by Zuidema (1989: 448) and Purizaga (1967); instead, this shrine must have been the site called Guamanin or Guamani (Pachacuti, 1993: 223), which could very well be the mountain now called Guamani Pampa, on the heights of Chuschi and Pomabamba. All of the *wakas* mentioned by Pachacuti were taken to Cuzco, presumably to Coricancha, where the *wakas* of the defeated peoples were housed, in what was certainly the most prized trophy of the victory, the children of the Sun had won over other deities.

After the Inka conquest this sacred E-W axis became a W-E one, and it marked the initial route of Chinchaysuyu, where other, more significative Inka centres were built, as was noted by Hyslop (1992) and Heffernan (1996) among others.

It is thought that initially the Inka tried to join two "*umbilicus mundi*", Titicaca and Pachacamac, and in so doing turned them into the major centres of the Late Horizon's religious ideology. This space, particularly the route followed by the creator gods, cultural heroes and then by kings, became the most favoured sacred space. The mountains, lakes, rivers, caves, plains and boulders that lay in it became minor deities and cult centres, as is discussed in Chapter 5. The region became peopled with *wakas* and oracles that formed a sacred axis. Two axes thus left Cuzco, one to Titicaca (Hyslop, 1992: 19; Zuidema, 1989: 514-522) and the other to La Centinela in Chíncha (see also Santillán, 1968). It is argued that the sacred mountain called Amaro, which is at Pomacocha, some 10 km from Vilcaswaman, was one of the sacred points along this axis. Heffernan (1989, 1996) and

Farrington (1992) have also suggested that the first part of Chinchaysuyu, which is represented by Tillka, formed a kind of line of *wakas*.

Therefore the ancient sacred organisation of space and the sacred road between Pachacamac and Titicaca was not lost in Inka times, its representations were simply modified into the new regime. The Pampas and the Apurimac Rivers thus join the Vilcanota River (see Zuidema, 1989: 514-422, among others) as the most important sacred components of this axis, which became a 'Sun path,' perhaps in imitation of the routes taken by the ancient and powerful gods of earlier periods.

The north-east direction to Chinchaysuyu pre-determined where an Inka settlement would be built, and therefore Cuzco logistics and engineering were constrained by this conception. Under the Inka, the Chinchaysuyu route once again became sacred because it was the road taken of old by the gods, and, expanding Zuidema's original position (1989), because the most important ceque passed along there. For some politico-religious reason now rarely considered, the soil for the maize fields of the Sun in the Inticancha at Cuzco had been brought from Chinchá (Rostworowski, 1988: 77). Sites with the highest political and religious symbolism also lay along this road: Limatambo, Curamba, Sondor, Andahuaylas, Vilcaswaman, Inkawasi, Huaytara, Tambo Colorado, Lima la Vieja, La Centinela and Pachacamac. The location and construction of Vilcaswaman therefore followed some pre-established idea. On the other hand, the location of these sites was not just the reflection of geo-ecological criteria alone, nor of administrative logistics; above all it reflected abstract Inka concepts of Andean space.

In Inka times, goods flowed from the coast to the highlands along this route (Julien, 1993), and also ideas, political and symbolic concepts, architectural patterns, and *mullu* (spondylus shell), according to Rostworowski (1988). In spatial terms, it was as important as the road between Cuzco and Titicaca, which had been peopled with Cuzqueño elements.

The uniqueness of the site of Vilcaswaman is heightened by the fact that insofar as it was a '*cabeza de provincia*,' all major Cuzqueño festivals, such as the Citua (Molina, 1988: 96), Capac Raymi (Pachacuti, 1993: 248), and Capac Cocha, the most conspicuous Inka ceremony, according to Carbajal (1965: 219), who referred to it during his discussion of the sacrifices made in the 'adoratorio' or *ushmu*. Archaeologically this has been evinced by the discovery of two burials with their respective miniature offerings at Vilcaswaman in

1996 by UNSCH archaeologist. This would seem to confirm what was reported by Cieza (1985: 186-187) that Guayna Capac prayed and sacrificed animals, children and men on top of the “*terrado galano y primo*”.

A politico-religious movement took place in the region just a few decades after the collapse of Tawantinsuyu. In their desire for a return to Inka times, the native population claimed that the “*tiempo de guakas*” had come anew, and that these had been reborn (Molina, 1988: 130; see also the articles by Millones, Varón, and others in Millones, ed., 1990). This ‘rebirth’ was squashed by Cristóbal de Albornoz with the administrative help of Guamán Poma de Ayala, in an early version of the ‘extirpation of the idolatries.’ This, the *Taki Onqoy*, happened at the same time and in the same area as the political movement of Manco Inka, who claimed to be the new Inka king. Was this a new war itself in the name of the gods?

#### **2.4. Inka Political Principles of Integration Applied in the Region**

The presence of warlike peoples in the region, as shown by the war with the Chanka, and its sacred nature, as an abode of the *wakas*, made the Inka design a series of special policies and places for this region prior to the organisation of the *wamani*.

##### **a) Policies Applied to Pacify the Region After the Chanka Defeat**

The core area of the region saw several military campaigns commanded by Pachacutec. The first was led by the Inka himself (Cieza, 1985: 137, 140; Sarmiento, 1943: 187; Toledo, 1940: 440, 44, 58; Betanzos, 1987: 90-91). The second was led by his brother and co-ruler, Capac Yupanki (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 192; see also Pärssinen, 1992). It is thought that Capac Yupanki advanced as far as the central zone of Huancavelica (Parcos). In this campaign, he was helped by an old Chanka warrior called Ancohuallu, who requested his release and permission to command his own battalion (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 192-193). Cieza (1985: 142) says that Lloque Yupanqui was a captain in this campaign. The third expedition was led by Topa Inka Yupanki (Sarmiento, 1943: 208), who had to face the fierce resistance of the Angaraes (de Ribera and de Chaves, 1965: 202; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 210).

Another campaign was carried out in the region after Topa Inka Yupanki had become king, in order to consolidate his power there. According to Pärssinen (1992: 72), this was a military measure that all new rulers had to take to “confirm political authority among the provincial leaders”.

#### **b) Displacement of the Chanka Population**

It is not known exactly what happened with the defeated Chanka population. Written sources mention some warrior leaders, who probably joined the Inka army with their men. One of them, Ancohuallo, led the assault on non-Chanka populations in the Vilcaswaman region itself (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 192-193). But this show of loyalty did not put an end to the rivalry between the Inka and the Chanka. In anticipation of future disputes, the former tried to kill their erstwhile ally. The plot was uncovered by a relative and Ancohuallo fled to the tropical forest (Cieza, 1985: 144-145; Sarmiento, 1943: 194), perhaps to the Lamas region. Cieza (1985: 140-141, 144-145) adds that another detachment of Chanka warriors took part in the campaigns around Late Titicaca under the command of Astohuaranca and Topa Guasco. When they heard of the failed Cuzqueño plot against Ancohuallo, both requested permission from Pachacutec to return to their homeland. As a consequence, after the war between the Inka and the Chanka, the Inka State decided to enlist the experienced *Andahuaylino* warriors. The Chanka thus ‘financed’ the first Cuzqueño military campaigns, and it seems that they were still part of the imperial army at its collapse, because they fought in the war between Huascar and Atahualpa (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 257).

Other Chanka groups were instead resettled as *mitma* both inside and outside the *wamani* of Vilcaswaman. De Ribera and de Chaves (1965: 203) list 7 settlements “... *enteramente de indios chancas de la provincia de Andahuaylas ...*” in the modern province of Angaraes (Huancavelica)<sup>9</sup>, some 250 km to the north-west of Andahuaylas. The Chanka *mitma* shared the area with the native Angaraes and other groups of *mitmas* from Cajamarca, Cuzco and Huarochiri (de Ribera and de Chaves, 1965: 203; see Map II-3).

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<sup>9</sup> It should be noted that on the two occasions that they mention the Chanka, de Ribera and de Chaves point out that these *mitma* came from Andahuaylas.

Two possible cases of Chanka *mitmas* outside the *wamani* of Vilcaswaman are known. One group was settled in Macaji, a settlement in the highland province of Chimborazo, in Ecuador (Archivo Nacional de Historia, Fol. Indig. C-2, cited in Granda, 1987: 7). According to a 1690 *aviso*, the other group had been resettled lived in the "hacienda" "... de indios chancas en la doctrina de Zurite," close to Cuzco (Heffernan, 1996). The site is some 150 km east of Andahuaylas, and 30 km from Cuzco. This group might have been forcibly resettled for a closer supervision, or perhaps it was a group of Chankas, who had settled near Xaquijaguana after their defeat there by the Inkas (Betanzos, 1987).

Either way, the usual policy of the forced relocation of native populations, in some cases resettling them from one place to another after a given period of time, in others permanently, as was the fate of the Soras who remained in Cochabamba (Pachacuti, 1993: 297, 298). These resettlements were carried out from the time of Pachacutec to the reign of Guayna Capac.

Finally, Betanzos explicitly notes that Guayna Capac restructured some institutions in Cuzco and increased the personal income accorded to the *mallqui* of Pachacutec. Guayna Capac granted new land for his cult "... en los valles cercanos al Cuzco y que de allí trajesen el servicio de los que así labrasen y criasen a la casa de Inga Yupanqui y así traían frutas y maíz nuevo ... y demás desto mandó que los soras y lucanas y changas de Andahuaylas que fuesen de este bulto y a él le sirvieran porque fueron las primeras provincias que este señor Inga Yupanque en su vida conquistó y sujetó ..." (Betanzos, 1987: Chap. XLI, 182,183). This apparently happened some 50 years after the war.

## Summary

First, according to the glaciological studies by Thompson and his team (1987), major climatic changes took place during the Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1400) that gave rise to droughts in the Peruvian Andes, which, in turn, forced population to adapt and search for new environments with adequate water resources that would sustain them. Invariably, These new settlements lie over 3,500 m asl; the houses, agricultural terraces and pottery found in them had no technological ambitions and their plainness is in stark contrast with those of their Wari predecessors.

The Chanka were one of the groups thus relocated. They resettled in what is now the province of Andahuaylas. From where they began the wars that would take them to Cuzco and eventually to their defeat by Pachacutec. An Inka victory gave rise to the Inka State.

Second, the region here studied formed part of the sacred space that extended from Pachacamac to Lake Titicaca. The sacredness of this area preceded the Inka and probably dates as early as the Early Horizon. In a final act of the Late Intermediate Period, seven *wakas* found in this region were defeated by Pachacutec (Pachacuti, 1993).

Third, the special political and religious characteristics of the area, coupled with the lack of economic resources, stimulated the political and religious interest of the Inka for the region. The organisation of the province developed by successive rulers somehow reflects a significative religious reading.

Finally, for different reasons, each Inka ruler was at sometime at Vilcaswaman, and had a special interest in the place, as evinced by the construction of temples, palaces, agricultural terraces, etc., and by the celebration of State ceremonies. Of special interest in this research are the Temples of the Sun and Moon, the shrine or Ushnu, and the site of Pomacocha, which has palace and religious components where Amaro Thopa Inca, Pachacutec's first was born.

In brief, the Inka presence in the region had a dramatic impact on the social and political order. It restructured all of the existing social landscape, it moved the native population to other regions, and brought a significant number of foreign populations. Administrative positions and the control of roads and bridges were in the hands of the region's most loyal inhabitants, the Inkas-by-privilege from Cuzco. However, what was the way in which this province was organised? How did provincial Inka government operate?









MAP II.3

▲ CHANKA MITMA IN TAWANTINSUYU

## Chapter 3

### Vilcaswaman as an Inka Province

#### Introduction

The present chapter tries to understand how the Inka province of Vilcaswaman was organised. To this end it will first briefly discuss the extent of knowledge of this topic. On the basis of geographical, ecological and anthropological sources the subject of different life zones is approached and the presence of natural and cultural resources that would have influenced the rise of this province discussed. Second, a hypothesis is presented on the way this province was organised in political and social terms. This proposal says that Vilcaswaman was divided into three *hunu*: Parcos, Condormarka-Guamanguilla and Vilcaswaman, all within an area extending from Uranmarka in the south to Acostambo in the north. Finally, the new Inka political organisation is discussed that emphasised the relocation of local people to other sites both inside and outside the region, and their forced replacement in each *hunu* with *mitmas* of different statuses.

#### 3.1. The *Wamani* or Inka provinces. A Review.

The rise to prominence of Tawantinsuyu among the Andean nations was achieved through military conquest, diplomacy, persuasion and dissuasion, and was a process continuing even at the time of the Spanish arrival. The use of each of these modes depended on the political development and cultural complexity of the nation that was to be incorporated. Almost a hundred of them were incorporated into Tawantinsuyu in about the century or so it lasted (Rowe, 1946), and were administratively integrated as *wamanis* or "provinces," as the sources call them (Cieza, 1984; Cabello de Balboa, 1945; Santillán, 1968; Pachacuti, 1993; Pizarro, 1986; RGI, 1965; Poma de Ayala, 1980: 253).

In physical and geographical terms, the provinces melded into the various environments present in Tawantinsuyu. The highlands had a low percentage of intensively cultivated land, and a higher percentage of pastures and rainfall-cultivated land. The coast is essentially a desert and is cultivable only in valleys watered by the rivers that come down from the highlands. The *ceja de selva* was colonised only at certain sites for specialised

crops, such as coca; only a few small administrative settlements existed on the north-eastern area (Schjellerup, 1984, 1997).

The ecological diversity of the Andes favoured the presence of various strategic resources that were brought into the Inka economy and flowed towards Cuzco: luxury goods, such as sea shells from the tropical Ecuadorian coast; semiprecious stones and minerals from the western flank of the south-central Andes, and other fresh marine resources from the coast; and coca and cotton from the *yungas* that lie both to the east and west of the Andes. Meanwhile, the mountains, the high peaks and the snow-covered mountains called "Ritisuyu," the rivers and boulders were included as State shrines in the sacred geography that Cuzco melded into Tawantinsuyu.

In political terms, the existing geo-ecological diversity and socio-cultural heterogeneity was incorporated in a new Inka political geography based on the *hunu*, the *wamani* and the *suyu*. The latter, however, seems to have been a far more subtle division than the other two. It could be a referential concept that did not entail boundaries. Thus all newly conquered provinces could be included into any of the four *suyus* almost indefinitely.<sup>1</sup>

It is thought that very little what thus far known of the nature, number and extension of the provinces. There are many reasons for this, but it really is on the one hand the result of the fact that colonial sources present the data inaccurately, and in too general and contradictory a fashion, and on the other that neither ethnohistorians nor archaeologists have sought effective, new methodological approaches to this issue.

Archaeologists usually label any area outside Cuzco as an "Inka province", if it has some buildings of Inka style, and it is then given the name of whichever ethnic group appears in colonial sources. Conversely, an "Inka province" can be each of the regions occupied by local ethnic groups. This kind of distortion is to a great extent due to the fact that what appears in the chronicles is taken at face value, and because the chroniclers in general labelled as such every region with each and any kind of Inka settlement.

A careful reading of the written sources and the analysis of settlement patterns in the regions most studied archaeologically in no case indicates that each valley was an Inka

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<sup>1</sup> It is assumed that Pachacutec established the *wamani* or provinces, because he was the ruler who began the great conquests outside Cuzco.

province, or that each region occupied by an ethnic group was a province. Instead they show that a *wamani* comprised several ethnic groups or valleys. Rowe (1946: 185) suggested that several small tribes were integrated into other larger entities thus forming a province. He thus perceived that, from an Andean point of view, the essence of the *wamani* was an ethnic space (Pease, 1995: 124) and no more, but he did not expand on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

There are serious obstacles that hinder a complete understanding of how the *wamani* functioned both in the northern and southern lands, where the Inka presence was apparently insecure and where, according to all sources, wars and rebellions were an everyday matter, at least in the north (Murra 1978). In these circumstances it was surely difficult to enforce the decimal administrative census and turn the people into tributaries, two conditions underpinning the *wamani* in social and economic terms.<sup>3</sup>

Almost all written sources mention the provinces of Tawantinsuyu in one way or another. Some references are very broad, some sparse and others very detailed, such as those of Guamán Poma (1980) or Santillán (1968) on the hierarchy and administrative organisation. The best are by Cieza (1984) and Pedro Pizarro (1986), who provide a far clearer picture of the location and number of provinces. Cieza lists 39 provinces and Pizarro 33, but they do not specify the scope of this concept.

Even so, their data are not equally important. Pizarro travelled through the Andes while still a teenager, in the midst of a war of conquest, and wrote his chronicle, many years later, quite late in the century. His list of provinces and its depiction on a map seem to be inconsistent, but this might be due to a far too literal reading of his chronicle. In the specific case of the province of Vilcaswaman, Pizarro (1986: 221) says that "*Guamanga es otra provincia; de Xauxa al Cuzco ay la provincia de Andahuaylas, otra que se dice Parcos, de orejones; otras de Vilcas y algunos valles que ay hastal Cuzco, como Avancay, Aporima y Tambo ...*" This means that Guamanga and Vilcas were two different provinces, and that the former was located outside the area between Xauxa and Cuzco. What Pizarro seems to be listing as different provinces are political units that formed the province of

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<sup>2</sup> Pärssinen (1992: 294-302) made an insightful and ethnohistorically grounded study of the size a province had. For another approach to this subject see Brown (1991) and Daniel Julien (1993: 243-273)

<sup>3</sup> There are several detailed ethnohistorical studies for Quito (Caillavet, 1982, 1985; Salomon, 1980), and an interdisciplinary one for the Colla in the Lake Titicaca region by Julien (1983).

Vilcaswaman, as will be shown further on in this thesis. The other provinces he listed seem to have the same problem.

Cieza, on the other hand, has more reliable data. He collected his information directly whilst travelling across Tawantinsuyu and cross-checked it during his stay in Cuzco, where he had access to learned chroniclers and some Inka orejones, as noted in Chapter 1. It is worth pointing out the insight he had in listing that the major "cabeceras de provincia" were in the highlands (Cieza, 1984: 223), as well as his list of the provinces in Chinchaysuyu. It is thought that the so-called "cabeceras de provincias" or "*cabezas principales*" of Vilcaswaman, Xauxa, Bombon, Guanuco, Cajamarca, Guancabamba and Tumibamba not only lie along the Capac Ñan, the axis connecting the provinces, but that the archaeological sites that identify these "*cabeceras*" are equally distant from each other, a spacing of some 200-300 km, as required by the administrative logistics. In general, the internal composition of each of these major sites replicated the layout and religious buildings of Cuzco.

Formal aspects, such as the size and, up to a point, the nature of the *Wamani* probably varied according to the importance a region. There must surely have been several types: some newly conquered, some just established, others already consolidated, and still others undergoing restructuring, for each Inka apparently followed different criteria when designating or restructuring the provinces (Santillán, 1968: 380-381). There might have been three types: large *wamanis* with administrative centres, like Huanuco Pampa, Pumpu, Jauja or Vilcaswaman; middle-sized ones, with centres, such as Cochabamba and Huamachuco; and small ones, such as Hatun Sora, Ayabaca or Paucartambo. However, such a typology cannot be generalised to all of Tawantinsuyu. Instead, coastal *wamanis* appear to have been different from highland ones, presumably because they followed different management criteria. Based on written sources, Rowe (1946: 185) suggests that, in general, each major coastal valley was a province, but this proposal requires more study (see also Pärssinen, 1992: 294-301).

One point to be made here is that monumental sites, such as Vilcaswaman, Pumpu or Huanuco Pampa, do not necessarily correspond to what many scholars call "provincial Inka capitals," because most of the *wamanis* in Tawantinsuyu did not have this kind of centre. It is probable that these major centres followed another kind of political and spatial

organisation of Tawantinsuyu which Pärssinen (1992: 261-269) has termed Hatun Apocazgos but this proposal refers to one of the remote sectors of the territory and could well be just a stage in its conversion into a classic-type province. Was it instead just a matter of hierarchy? This is possible because in this case, there are several positions that do not agree on the location, frequency and number of the *wamani*. Even these monumental centres differ significantly between themselves, as shall be seen below. For instance, Vilcaswaman is structurally and conceptually different from all other centres, including Pumpu and Huanuco Pampa. The objections and problems for an accurate understanding of the *wamani* notwithstanding, this contentious point can be better understood with the help of certain ethnohistorical descriptions and some elements of the material culture.

Two new criteria can be posited that can help identify a provinces or understand its nature. The first is that storehouses entail a secular site, and temples and shrines a religious one. This is only valid for the Chinchaysuyu region. According to this proposal, first of all there would be a province with, on the one hand, a major site with a large-scale concentration of storehouses, *qolqas*, and, on the other, several secondary sites, each with a small number of storehouses. Thanks to archaeological studies, it is known that these exist in a significant number only at the sites of Vilcaswaman, Jauja, Pumpu, Huanuco and in unknown numbers at both Cajamarca and Tumibamba, i.e., in all of the "*cabeceras de provincia*" listed by Cieza. These *qolqas* are different from all other small-scale storehouses present in the same areas, generally as part of small towns, from whence the "tribute" flowed to the "*cabeceras*" for more permanent storage (Cieza, 1984: 206; Pizarro, 1986: 98-99).<sup>4</sup> Second, a province contained a major site where a Temple of the Sun and an ushnu of monumental dimensions were erected. Again, it is known from archaeology and ethnohistory that such temples exist in the "*cabeceras de provincias*" listed by Cieza. On the other hand, these major sites are also associated to the sacred mountains of Cuzco, such as Guanacauri, the Inka capital's major *waka*. Guanacauri wakas have been also identified at Vilcaswaman (Chaps. 5-6), Huanuco (Ortiz de Zúñiga, 1967, I: 27, 30, 39), Tumibamba (Arriaga, 1922) and Quito (Salomon, 1980: 257, 258).

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<sup>4</sup> "Los delegados de los Ingas cogían los tributos en los depósitos, que para guardar de ellos estaban hechos: de donde eran llevados a las cabeceras de las provincias, lugar señalado para residir los capitanes generales a donde estaban los templos del sol" (Cieza, 1984: 206).

According to the chroniclers, each major site acted as provincial administrative centre (Santillán, 1968; Cieza, 1984; Bandera, 1965) where that the *toxicocq*,<sup>5</sup> a governor who acted for the Inka in all matters, resided.

Below the "administrative centres" came the *hunu*, or districts, and governorships (Murúa, 1987), which in some cases corresponded to one of the *Hanan* or *Urin* moieties into which the *wamani* were divided (Santillán, 1968: 382; Polo de Ondegardo, 1916: 135). The buildings of these centres were nucleated and also built in the Cuzco style. The official in charge must have been a *Cuzco orejón*. The third administrative tier was formed by the *mitma* settlements and the local populations restructured by the Inka administrative system. These were nucleated villages built of *pirca*, however the homes of the *kuraka* or *llaqtacamayoc* could be in the Cuzco style.

The flow of goods, information and people within the *wamani* and from thence to Cuzco was ensured by a specially-built infrastructure that included roads, bridges, inns, and storehouses, all provided with guards, accountants, inspectors and *chasquis* (Hyslop, 1984; Rostworowski, 1988, among others)

The population density of a *wamani* is another as yet unresolved issue. According to some chroniclers (Santillán, 1968: 381; Cieza, 1984; Carbajal, 1965 *inter alia*), a province had a tributary population of 20-40,000 family heads. Other primary sources, as well as some contemporary scholars, cite higher numbers, some up to 150,000 inhabitants. The written sources suggest that the population of each province was of the order of 20, 30, or 40,000 inhabitants, depending on its size. None had the same size or the same population density, as was noted by Cieza (1985: 51) and Cobo (1956: 114). If a province was small, then surely its population density was low, as asserted by Rowe (1946) and Pärssinen (1992: 296-300). No exact figures can really be given. The population must have fallen somewhere in the above-mentioned range for the province of Vilcaswaman.

Two other issues remain regarding the Inka provinces: the *mitma* and the royal estates.

The policies applied by the Inka State dramatically transformed the population density and composition of the provinces, as follows from the written sources and the ever more abundant data provided by ethnohistorians (Murra, 1978; Espinosa, 1967, 1971, 1973;

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<sup>5</sup> Murúa (1987) calls them "auqui."

Rostworowski, 1977; Pease, 1978; Rowe, 1982; Pärssinen, 1992 among others). However, despite the progress thus far made as regards the number, identification and types of *mitma*, their settlements have yet to be located, and their relation with local populations is still unclear. How self-sufficient were they? How close or distant were their relations with Cuzco and their homeland? How fluid were relations between different groups of *mitma* in one same region? These questions remain unanswered and are crucial for an understanding of the way the provinces worked and were maintained.

From the scant data found in Cobo (1956) and Betanzos (1987), it follows that there were royal estates outside Cuzco. Were these part of a province, or were they instead autonomous? To what *panakas* did they belong? Who lived there? What was the nature of the architecture and urban layout of these enclaves? These are also crucial questions for an understanding of political power in the land of the Inka, and perhaps they hold the key to what was happening in the final years of Tawantinsuyu.

### 3.2. Vilcaswaman: the Land

In the Andes, a concept such as region, is ambiguous and artificial, and is subject to the different criteria followed by a given polity, be they *wamanis*, *hunas*, *huanqas*, provinces or departments. Regions always change and are continually being re-invented because both the pre-Columbian States and their successors have structured their domains, according to different geopolitical criteria. Thus a given region that at one time belonged to administrative unit X will later belong to unit Y and be of a different size and ethnic complexity.

The Vilcaswaman region had a multiethnic structure shortly before the coming of the Inka, in the Late Intermediate Period and was ruled by segmented tribal organisations (see Chap. 2). It would remain multiethnic under the Inka but as part of a *wamani* or province that comprised by the basins of the Pampas, middle Mantaro and middle Apurimac Rivers. The Inka achieved this by eliminating small polities, which were split into different "regions" or *wamanis*. After the fall of the Inka, the region's territory was expanded by the Colonial State through the system of *corregimientos* (Huertas 1981), so that what Arguedas (1958) called "the Pokra-Chanka cultural area" is a region that was invented and came to life only in the late sixteenth century.



It should likewise be pointed out that the longstanding multiethnic nature of this zone prevented its internal integration, so that what prevailed was a marked self-differentiation between ethnic groups, as is the case nowadays with Chuschi and Quispillaqta, which are both descended from different Cuzco *mitma* groups (Zuidema, 1966: 75), or the Iquichano in Huanta, who are engaged in a permanent conflict, not necessarily for land, with the neighbouring towns. Each of these groups believes it is different from its neighbours.

On the basis of written sources, the archaeological survey and a study of the region's geography, the Vilcaswaman region comprises part of the present-day provinces of Apurímac, Ayacucho and Huancavelica. To be more precise, it comprised the area extending between Chincheros in Andahuaylas, which was its south-eastern border; and the town of Acostambo, south of the Mantaro River, which was its northern border;<sup>6</sup> and from the *ceja de selva* along the Apurímac river, in the provinces of La Mar, Huanta and Churcampama, which was its eastern border; to the highlands of the provinces of Angaraes and Castrovirreyna in modern Huancavelica to the west and to the southwest the provinces of Victor Fajardo and Querobamba in Ayacucho.

This is an intermontane land defined by a few high peaks, and by narrow and deep ravines, such as those formed by the Apurímac, Pampas and Mantaro Rivers. Flatlands are scarce and are limited to small alluvial areas in the river basins. Barren slopes and mountains dominate the regional geography.

Although the Vilcaswaman region can be divided into ecological areas using the scientific terms coined by students like Tosi (1960), Pulgar-Vidal (1967) and Arnold (1993), and in agreement with Flannery and his team (1989) these terms did not mean much for the native peoples, past and present, and so they are not really relevant for this thesis, which is an attempt to give a cultural explanation of the way space was used in Inka times. However, unlike Flannery and his colleagues (1989), who basically identified two environmental zones, the *kichua* (the middle valley) and the *sallqa* (the puna), three are used here with the addition of the jungle: Andean peoples in this area include the *yunga* or *selva alta* in their daily life and in their beliefs. Coca comes from this region, where they

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<sup>6</sup> These geographical points coincide with the north-south limit the chronicles give for this province (Cieza, 1984; Carbajal, 1965).

settle or travel to in order to procure these leaves. From this region also come the *ukuku* and the Chunchu used in festivals. Although Flannery and his team only studied the northern part of the district of Huamanguilla, in the province of Huanta in Ayacucho, their results hold for other regions in the area under study. Besides, the essential point in the Andean perception of space is that it includes a symbolic reading of reality and not just a rational perception of land, as ecology does (Flannery et al., 1989).

The *kichua* region comprises an expanse that begins in the semi-arid zone in the valleys of the 3 major rivers at 2,000 m asl, and extends as far as the puna or *sallqa*, at around 4,000 m asl. This expanse is defined by its potential use in irrigation agriculture, mainly in maize production, and the abundant presence of animals of all kinds (Flannery et al., 1989). It holds the highest percentage, present and past, of settlements, both nucleated and dispersed. All archaeologically recorded Inka sites thus far known to exist in this area at an altitude of 3,100-3,600 m asl. Arnold (1993: 20-21) considers that the eastern part of the Ayacucho basin has 5 major ecological zones, resulting from variations in altitude, ranging from the high cordilleras to the lowest part of the valleys, each with different temperature ranges, and incidence of rain, sunlight and fogs. Unlike the western side, the eastern has ecozones with varied resources that influence the size of the population.

The preference the Inka had for this "ecological floor" seems to indicate that they wanted to replicate the climate, the landscape, and, above all, the ecological space of Cuzco. This location is also intentional, for it is ecotonal in the sense from it the high puna and the low warm valleys are easily reached.

In brief, Inka roads and settlements were preferably built in the intermediate *kichua* zone, not on the low-altitude, warm basins of the Yucay, Pongora, Cachi and Mantaro Rivers. The small number of sites and roads built in the warm lands, like old Azángaro (Huanta), indicates that there was no other choice to their liking. In any case, all sites built in this zone are small and probably had a lower status than the others.

The land over 4,000 m asl is suitable for high-altitude herding of llamas and alpacas, and tuber agriculture, as noted by the studies of the cold ecosystem (Arnold, 1993; Flores Ochoa, 1966; Flannery et al., 1989; Dollfus, 1981 among others). However, it should be noted also that these economies are vulnerable and have a very low population density that must withstand harsh living conditions. This is also the area where the *wamani*,

supernatural beings with sacred powers, live in the highest mountain peaks (Flannery et al., 1989). In some cases, these formed part of a cult in pre-Inka times (Albornoz, 1988; Anders, 1986). Several of the *urqus* which present-day peasants call *apus* are surely the ancient Inka *wakas*, as shall be shown in Chap. 6.

In this area there are also several lakes which in the past were the *paqarina*, place of origin, of many ethnic groups, such as Lake Choclococha, from which the Chanka, among others, claimed as the place their mythical ancestors had come (Cieza, 1984; Albornoz, 1988).

Finally, there was a third zone, the *ceja de montaña*, which was crucial for life in this region because it yielded a series of prized products, including coca and chili. Only small populations settled in this region as temporary colonies, as suggested by the studies made by Raymond (1992) for the Middle Horizon, Bonavia (1968) for the Late Intermediate Period, and as claimed by Bandera (1965: 177) for Inka times. This was perhaps due to the fact a slash and burn economy can only support a low population density, or simply because it is a most unhealthy place for highland populations to live in.

### 3.3. The Question of Boundaries

In general, the establishment of an Inka *wamani* entailed ascribing a space, the internal control of its culture, and the exploitation of economic resources. It was thus far more than a demo-economic circumscription, as labelled by Guillén (1962), than a "geographical space," which is as the chroniclers comprehended them (Pease, 1995: 124).

The establishment of the *wamani* of Vilcaswaman was marked by the construction of the "*asiento de Vilcaswaman*" by Pachacutec (Cieza, 1984: 252; 1985: 140, 143), its consolidation by Topa Ynga Yupanqui (Cieza, 1984) and the foundation of other, lower-ranking administrative centres, such as Guamanguilla (de Ribera and de Chávez, 1965: 182; Tasa del Repartimiento de Parija, 1577) in a period perhaps no more than 40 years before the coming of the Spaniards. It is probable that the late construction of Huamanguilla was due to the need to improve the Inka administrative system in the area due to uprisings, as also happened in other parts of Tawantinsuyu (Murra, 1978).

The boundaries of this *wamani* are hard to establish, not simply because the written references are varied, confusing and incomplete, but also because no systematic

archaeological survey has ever been made in this region. Both Cieza (1984) and Bandera (1965) travelled through this area and are the best sources with which to reconstruct the borders. The northern and southern ones are more or less accurate, the site of Uranmarca probably acted as the southern border. This would correspond to a site of the same name which dates to the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon, and which was at a distance of 6 leagues from Vilcaswaman, according to Bandera (1965: 178),<sup>7</sup> and 7, according to Cieza (1984: 253). Uranmarca might well have been the focus of the Chanka lands in Andahuaylas, and which were resettled with *mitmas* by the Inka (Cieza, 1984: 253-254). The northern border was delimited by the site of Acos, which lay on the southern bank of the Mantaro River (Cieza, 1984: 245; Bandera, 1965: 178). It probably was the site now known as Acostambo, in lower middle Mantaro River valley, in the departments of Huancavelica and Junín. Cieza says that he saw housings and storehouses for the Inka at Acos.

These two extreme points lie at about 250 km one from the other and are connected by the Capac Ñan. Along the road the Inka built a group of sites which reflected a hierarchy of settlements. One part of the Capac Ñan is still visible between Macachacra and the Inka site of Tinyaq Moqo, above the city of Huanta.

On the east, the border lay along the jungle basin of the Apurímac River, in the departments of Apurímac and Ayacucho. It seems that the Inka annexed this region because of the presence of invaluable crops, such as cotton, chili and, above all, coca (Bandera, 1965: 177). These resources were apparently harvested by Canchis and Chilques *mitmas*. No Inka site is known in this region. In the Middle Horizon, this eastern zone was part of a network connecting the city of Wari, with Jarganpata (Isbell, 1977) and two other sites located on the banks of the Apurímac River (Raymond, 1992). The region was also peopled in the Late Intermediate Period (Bonavia, 1964, 1968).

To the west, the border seems to have run along the land peopled by the Chocorbo (Huertas et al., 1976), in what is now the frontier between the departments of Huancavelica

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<sup>7</sup> "Sobre cada provincia habia un gobernador y este era un capitán del Inga, al cual llamaban tocuyrico, que quiere decir, todo lo mira; y el que lo era en esta provincia, tenía su asiento en Vilcas, que es un tambo real a once leguas desta ciudad, yendo hacia el Cuzco. Éste gobernaba cuarenta leguas de tierra, desde Uranmarca que es de aquel cabo de Vilcas seis leguas, hasta Acos, que está junto al valle de Xauxa" (de la Bandera, 1965: 178).

and Ica. In this area, the sites of Inkawasi and the great temple of Huaytará were built (Gasparini, 1977; Hyslop, 1990). Huaytará is a unique location in all of Tawantinsuyu. It is surrounded by agricultural terraces and was perhaps a secondary "administrative centre," similar to those of Parcos or Huamanguilla. The presence of the temple could be explained by the fact that it lay on one of the most important axes of the Inka empire from Cuzco to the coast, as noted above, and because a *wamani* had to have sacred borders. The architecture of Inkawasi, on the other hand, is in the Cuzco style. It was made of carved blocks of stone and adobe bricks, has double jamb adobe doorways, gable walls, and carved rocks (Hyslop, 1990; Morris, pers. com. 1987; Guzmán, 1959: 245). The religious importance of Huaytará and the administrative significance of Inkawasi were the result of the importance the land of the Chocorbo had in pastures and camelids, to the point that there several *mitma* groups from Lima and Ica were relocated (Dávila Briceño, 1881). These were crucial resources for the political economy of the Inka, which were probably channelled through Vilcaswaman.

The southern boundary of this *wamani* are harder to delimit. A hypothesis is offered that it ran along the upper basin of the Caracha and Chicha Rivers, i.e. the axis formed by the punas of Huancasancos and Santiago de Chocorbos, so that the Soras, Rucana and Antamarca people were not part of this province. The present name of the Soras and of the river Soras, a tributary of the Pampas River, seem to be late, i.e. after the date when these people had been resettled in this area by the Inka. Nowadays the Soras River is also known as Chicha in its lower reaches close to its confluence with the Pampas River, and as Soras in its upper reaches headwaters.

It is thought that the Inka sites south of Sondor (Andahuaylas), or in Abancay, like Curamba (Cieza, 1985), Apucara, Hatun Pucara (Schreiber, 1993) and other sites listed in the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias* (vol. I) were independent provinces or part of other administrative units, but were not part of the *wamani* of Vilcaswaman.<sup>8</sup> This hypothesis is based on some written sources and on some pieces of archaeological evidence. Cieza (1984) says that the Soras and Lucanas formed a province apart from Vilcaswaman; that

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<sup>8</sup> Schreiber (1993) suggests that Apucara was the provincial capital of Andamarca Lucanas in Inka times (Zuidema rejects this: pers. com., 2000). Brown (1992: 137) in turn suggests two provinces, Rucanas and Soras.

they had a different language; that they were "recamaras" of the Inka; and that their sons dwelt in the court at Cuzco (Cieza, 1984: 253).<sup>9</sup>

In the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, Monzón (Monzón et al., 1965: 220, 221) says that this region was a province apart from Vilcaswaman, and he emphasises that in Inka times the Soras were split into 3 subregions or moieties, Anansoras, Lurinsoras and Chalcos, of which the former was the most important. This tripartite division was characteristic of the provinces. Monzón and his colleagues (1965: 223, 235) also note the special geographical circumstances that separate this province from Vilcaswaman. Carbajal and Baltazar de Soria (1965: 206) as well as Pizarro (1986: 221) likewise list the Soras and Lucanas as a province apart from Vilcaswaman. In a recent study based on ethnohistorical documentation, Pärssinen (1992: 210, 346, 349) notes that the point here is whether the Soras and Rucanas formed a province or were independent, and discusses the internal divisions in both areas. Based on written sources, Rowe (1946: 188) concluded that these were independent provinces.

Between Vilcaswaman and the land described above, there is no archaeological evidence to show that it belonged to this *wamani*. In the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, the distance between Vilcaswaman and the Soras is about 150 km, and 175 km to the Rucanas. The list of *tambos* in Guaman Poma (1936: 1209, 1030) is relevant for this discussion because he discusses one group of *tambos* that lies to the south and connects the Rucanas and Soras region with Abancay and Cuzco, whereas *no tambo* connects this region with Vilcaswaman. Instead, the main dirt track connecting Cuzco with the coast passed through the sites of Aucara (Apcara) and Huaycahuacho (Monzón et al., 1965: 239). Even more, communications with Cuzco are far more direct and fluid along these sites than they could possibly be through Vilcaswaman (Monzón et al., 1965: 239; see Map III-1).

### 3.4. Towards a Definition of the Province of Vilcaswaman

A correlation of the Inka archaeological sites found inside the proposed borders with the specific references that appear in the data from Toledan times (Tasa del

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<sup>9</sup> The Lucana and Andamarca were initially involved in military deeds and then acquired a privileged status. Being the litter-bearers of the Inka exempted them from rendering any other service to the State. The Sora and Lucana apparently were at war with the Chanca in the Late Intermediate Period, before the Inka conquest (Monzón et al., 1965: 222). This once again denies that these ethnic groups were Chanca or their allies.

Repartimiento de Parija, 1577, in Presta, 1991; Cook, 1975; *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, 1965), and in the chronicles of both Cieza (1984, 1985) and Murúa (1987), permit the supposition that the province of Vilcaswaman was divided into three *hunu*<sup>10</sup> and had a total population of 30,000 inhabitants, as follows from Carbajal's account (1965: 205): "*Es cabeza de esta provincia el dicho asiento de Vilcas, y asimismo lo fue en el tiempo de los Ingas, señores que fueron deste reino, los gobernaron, porque era ciudad y frontera donde tenían treinta mil indios de guarnición ...*" The figures of 50,000 inhabitants given by Ribera (1965: 184) and 40,000 by Cieza (1984: 253) are not plausible.<sup>11</sup>

According to the statement the kurakas made in a petition for land around 1586, the tributary population in the *hunu* of Vilcaswaman was 10,000 (Z-303: f. 149v), and Condormarka-Huamanguilla in 1577 had another 9,643 (i.e. 10,000), according to the tribute roll of the *repartimiento* of Parija (Presta, 1991).<sup>12</sup> The correspondence in the population figures for both *hunu*s suggests that the third one also had 10,000 people. Together, they had a population of 30,000, which is precisely what the most reliable chronicles and the most renowned scholars maintain (Rowe, 1946; Pärssinen, 1992, among others).

On the other hand, the Toledan tribute roll says that the people of the *hunu* of Condormarka-Huamanguilla were divided in 24 towns within a 24-league radius (Presta, 1991: 224). This means that each town was approximately 5-6 km from each of its neighbours, and this agrees with the distance between towns or *tambos* in Inka times (Hyslop, 1990). This, in turn, gives an approximate distance of 24 leagues for this *hunu* along a N-S axis. It is thought that each of the 24 towns was one of the Inka demographic units known as *pichja pachaca*. This follows from dividing the 9,643 inhabitants by the 24 towns, and it is a figure that also agrees with the Inka administrative system (Cobo, 1956; Santillán, 1968; Julien, 1983). Fluctuations in the actual population figures did not agree

<sup>10</sup> A division of provinces into 3 *hunu* seems to prevail, but Cobo (1856: 114) for instance states that they could comprise 3 or 4 *hunu*. The *hunu*s were Vilcaswaman (headed by a governor who acted as *tocticocq*; Murúa, 1922: 93), Condormarka-Huamanguilla and Parcos, and all three were designed with their corresponding river basins in mind.

<sup>11</sup> It is to be noted that the 40,000 Cieza mentions were not the population of Vilcaswaman, but merely those who served the temple.

<sup>12</sup> The latter presumably records a more or less intact local population because the census was carried out about 40 years after the collapse of the Inca, and there is not the slightest trace of any colonial administrative restructuring in the area.

with the statistics the Inka had, for population size frequently varied due to deaths, displacements, and the inclusion or exclusion of new and/or old residents.

Lengthwise, the *humu* of Vilcaswaman extended for about 10 leagues around the Pampas River basin, where most of the *mitma* population was concentrated. From north to south the *humu* of Parcos extended for about 14 leagues. This agrees with the data in the "*Descripción de la Provincia de Angaraes*" (1965: 201-202). Together, all three *humu* extended over 48 leagues, a figure that comes close to that given by Cieza (1984: 245, 252, 253). The two most distant points, Acostambo and Uranmarka, are at about 250 km apart (see Map III-1).<sup>13</sup>

In spatial terms, the *humu* of Condormarka-Huamanguilla corresponds to the "Ayacucho basin" (McNeish, 1969). It begins in the area known as Toetoccasa, which is in the tundra at about 4,600 m asl, and extends to the north as far as the confluence of the Cachi and Mantaro Rivers, and thence to Mayoce-Churcampa-Acobamba. According to Toledo's tribute roll, the border there was managed by the Acos *orejones* from Quinua-Acoco. The archaeological sites that have been identified in this *humu* include Condormarka-Huamanguilla, Quinua, Tinyaq Moqo, and Cochás. The last three lie in an ecozone of alluvial land, moderate rainfall and little evapotranspiration, thus enabling a secure subsistence all year long.<sup>14</sup> Tinyaq Moqo is situated about 5 km to the north of Condormarka, and some 200 m away from the Capac Ñan,<sup>15</sup> while Quinua is 5 km south of Condormarka.<sup>16</sup> *Orejones* from Acos lived there, according to colonial sources, but there unfortunately is no archaeological evidence. As for Condormarka, de Ribera and de Chaves (1965: 182), as well as the tribute roll of Parija (in Presta, 1987: 187), state that it was peopled by *orejones* from Anta who were settled there during the reign of Guayna Capac

<sup>13</sup> The most accurate figure was given by Bandera (1965: 177): 40 leagues between Acos and Uranmarka. The 48 leagues Cieza gives extend from Xauxa to Guamanga. In any case it could be 40 leagues if we subtract the distance given by Cieza between Xauxa and Acostambo.

Leagues cannot be turned into kilometres because they are not the same as ours (1 league = 5 km): "Las leguas se entienden [in 1586] que son mas grandes, mayores de la medida general, porque se ha visto en algunas partes que se han medido..." (de Ribera y de Chavez, 1965: 189).

<sup>14</sup> Interestingly enough, Ribera y Chaves (1965: 182) mention a Yucay River. Was there any relation between this river and the one in Cuzco? Was the name somehow connected with the Yucay *orejones* (Guamán Poma, 1980), who perhaps settled in the area?

<sup>15</sup> Here the Inka road is 6 m wide and has the remains of small ledges 50 cm high on each side. Some small irregular steps 40 cm wide and 15 cm high are also visible.

<sup>16</sup> Some report the presence of an Inka site called Yanacocha. It is 7 km north of Quinua, on the shores of Lake Yanacocha (Guzmán, 1959: 247; Salazar, 1938).



in towns that had originally belonged to the Guamancas (Betanzos, 1987: 187; Cieza, 1984: 249; de Ribera and Chaves, 1965: 182). Condormarka lies east of the present-day town of Huamanguilla. It is of Inka design and style and was second in importance after Vilcaswaman. It was probably under the control of a "mayordomo" of lower status than the *toetricoq*.

Some 5 km to the north is the Azángaro River (Huanta). There are several archaeological sites in that valley of which only one Azangaro has a clear occupation period, and it is Wari (Anders, 1986), yet it is traditionally called Inkawasi. There are no known Inka archaeological sites. However in the mountains of Huanta lies Cochabamba, which Betanzos mentions, and which probably belonged to the Cochabamba moiety that is listed in the 1577 tribute roll of Parija (Presta, 1991). ( see section 3.6 and Chap. 6.)

As for the *hunu* of Parcos, which was presumably managed by Anta orejones, there is at present no evidence, save for the data in Cieza (1984: 245) and Pizarro (1986: 220-221). However, nowadays there is a site called Anta in the province of Lircay (Huancavelica), on the righthand bank of the Mantaro River. Its name perhaps recalls the ancient site of Anta de Parcos. It was in the "Pukara de Parcos" that Cieza saw some palaces and a Temple of the Sun.<sup>17</sup>

All other sites in this *hunu* agree with those listed by Cieza: Acostambo was on the edge of the Mantaro valley, on the road to Vilcaswaman (probably a tambo); Izcuchaca, the "paso de Angoyaqu"; Cieza, 1984: 245) had "...edificios de los ingas y un cercado de piedras adonde habia un baño de agua templada." Picoy is not recorded. It is therefore clear that the colonial province of Angaraes was built over this *hunu*, for all the data coincides.

Finally, the Vilcaswaman *hunu* corresponds to the middle Pampas river basin. In addition to Vilcaswaman itself, the sites known are Pomacocha, Sachabamba, Uranmarka and Inkapirca (see Chaps. 3 and 7). The biggest number of *mitma* brought from other regions lived in this *hunu*. The rule of this province was entrusted to Cuzco orejones and

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<sup>17</sup> Rowe (1946: 188) suggests that the sites of Parcos and Acos correspond to the Chaca and Asto between which the province of Angaraes was divided. Zuidema (1966: 71) suggests that Parcos, a town on the Cachi River basin, in Huanta, was another site of Anta orejones. If the site he means is Antaparco close to the site which is proposed as a settlement of salt-extracting *mitmas* at San Pedro de Cachi (IGN-Hoja 27-n, 1969; see section 3.6). There is no archaeological evidence to support his claim, nor do local traditions even hint that it was a settlement in Inka times.

not to local *kurakas*, thus confirming the special significance it had for the Inka. In colonial times, this *hunu* would have become the *corregimiento* of Vilcas.

Unfortunately no systematic archaeological surveys have been carried out, nor is there any colonial document like the Huanuco or Chucuito *visitas* that could permit the identification of sites and peoples in the third tier of the administrative hierarchy. In which there would be dispersed or slightly concentrated villages, or simple dwellings where the local *kurakas* lived.

### 3.5. The Resettlement of *Mitma* Populations

Re-structuring the population in a given area was one of the most significant political measures the Inka State would take for security reasons. The *mitma* populations moved from their original home to another site, usually a distant one, and fulfilled several roles, according to what the State required (Cieza, 1985: Chap. XXII; see also Pärssinen, 1992). In the case of the Vilcaswaman province, the colonisation policy carried out by the Inka was compulsory and large scale. It ensured that the population numbers and density of the *mitma* was higher than that of local peoples (Cieza, 1984: 250; Carbajal, 1965: 219).

The re-settlement policy adopted in Vilcaswaman was, of course, an alternative to the construction of military facilities in a land of warlike peoples. No military Inka facilities have been archaeologically identified, nor do written sources mention them. This is in marked contrast with the high number of military installations the Inka built in, for example, the northern region of Tawantinsuyu, which were recorded by Plaza (1976). The Inka apparently built military bases only in areas where major campaigns were waged (Cieza, 1985: 183; Hyslop, 1990: 155). How does this tie in with the famed warlike nature of the Chanka and other neighbouring groups?<sup>18</sup>

It seems that in Vilcaswaman, the Inka chose another strategy and massively applied a policy of compulsory population displacements. This made it unnecessary to build military installations. According to written sources, part of the Chanka and other local groups were internally resettled (*see* Chap. 2.4). These relocations followed the general organisational criteria applied by the State, and were similar to displacements carried out in

other areas, such as in Eastern Huanuco (Grosboll, 1993) or in Chíncha, where the fishermen were internally relocated (Sandweiss, 1992).<sup>19</sup>

According to the *Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, the Tanquihua were the only group native to the Pampas area which the Inka did not move (Carbajal, 1965: 219). The Tanquihua lived in Guambalpa, Guaras, Cocha and Guamanmarca, and partly at Angaraes (see Table III-1 and Map III-2). However, the data in the *Relaciones Geográficas ...* concerning the Tanquihua are correct only to some extent, for although native to the area, part of their population was indeed moved as *mitma* to other parts of Tawantinsuyu. Furthermore, the ceramics which Lumbreras (1959) described as Arqalla, and which he associates with the Chanka, actually belonged to the Tanquihua because the written sources state that the latter had always lived in this region.

In colonial documents, the Tanquihua also figure as the Guamanpalpas because their major settlement was Guambalpa (Carbajal, 1965: 219). Around 1543 this group of this name is part of the *encomienda* of Captain Garcilaso de la Vega in the Chinchaypuquio region, on Western Cuzco, alongside the Quichua (Julien, 1998) who by chance were also from Andahuaylas. This *encomienda* was originally awarded to one Villegas, a Spaniard who had settled in Cuzco, in the first *repartimiento* made in Cuzco in 1535, and was later given to Captain Garcilaso (Julien, pers. com., September 1997). Miranda (1925: 163) mentions the Guamanpalpas in the *corregimiento* of Aymaraes, while de la Puente (1992: 356) notes that around 1550 they were resettled in San Jerónimo de Chancabamba, in the Chinchaysuyu region of Cuzco (Rowe, pers. com., August 1997).

From the written sources, it is clear that the nuclear region of Andahuaylas and its surrounding area was completely deprived of its native populations. It might thus be true that "... todos estos indios desta provincia [Vilcaswaman] son indios advenedizos y traspuostos por el Inga del Cuzco ..." (Carbajal, 1965: 219).

### 3.6. Mitma, Orejones and Commoners

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<sup>18</sup> It is thought that the garrison of 30,000 Indians mentioned by Carbajal (1965: 205) was of mitmas and not soldiers, as follows from the context, and from the fact that there is no archaeological evidence whatsoever at Vilcaswaman. This must mean the total population of the province, as noted in section 3.4.

<sup>19</sup> The fishermen retained their basic power structure despite all the reshuffling thanks to a policy of bilateral relationships (Santillana, 1984).

As regards the resettlement of groups of *mitmas* in the Vilcaswaman *wamani*, it is thought that there were several groups of Cuzco Inkas-by-Privilege who fulfilled different roles. A first group of *mitma orejones* was settled in Vilcas itself (Cieza, 1984: 253). Although their ethnic affiliation has not been identified, this group probably carried out religious and administrative tasks. A second group of *orejones* perhaps was settled in Parcos (Pizarro, 1978: 221; Cieza, 1984: 245) and Condormarka-Guamanguilla.<sup>20</sup> In the latter, early colonial sources indicate that it was peopled by Anta Orejones (Ribera de Chaves, 1965: 182; Presta, 1991: 253-260). In addition, the site's location suggest a high status occupation zone, as would befit these nobles the architecture at Guamanguilla included several buildings in Cuzco style, agricultural terraces and carved rocks which are similar in many respects to the shrines van de Guchte (1990) has described for the Cuzco region. The site itself is located in the ecozone which traditionally grows the best maize and where the earliest harvests take place.<sup>21</sup>

To date, no one has yet established the limit between the political and religious roles of the *orejones*, but despite having a politico-administrative role, those in Condormarka-Huamanguilla must have had some kind of religious function. It is possible that they were in charge of the *humu* in this part of the *wamani*. Were this the case, it would be one of the few cases, if not the only one, of this kind of *orejón* which had been implicitly recorded in a written source.

If this proposition is correct and then Inkawasi would have been a military facility along the western marches of the Vilcaswaman *wamani*. Inkawasi was another settlement of re-located *orejones* who played an administrative and military role controlling the route between coast and highland. It has a strategic location because all who went from Pisco to Vilcaswaman had to pass through it. The architecture there shows many Cuzco concepts and styles including well made structures with stone lower coursed and adobe upper which have gabled roofs and double jamb doorways. Another remarkable feature of the site is that it was built along a brook, and that both rocks and landscape were integrated into the

<sup>20</sup> For Parcos see section 3.4.

<sup>21</sup> Besides, Guamanguilla was called Guamanga in Inka times. This follows from Cieza (1984: 249; 1985: 143), who gives the original names of the sites one of Pachacutec's captains covered in his Chinchaysuyu campaign. It was later called the "villa de Guamanga," and hence Guamanguilla [nowadays Huamanguilla]. Guamanga later moved to the site originally known as Pucaray and became the name of the new (and modern) city of Huamanga. (See also Murúa [1922: 94] for the name Guamanga.)

buildings as a whole (Craig Morris, pers. com., March 1997), thus giving it a symbolic aspect.

Guaman Poma (1980) mentions the *orejones* from Acos, a place also appears in Toledo's tribute roll (1975) under the "*repartimiento de Quínuá*", but without the status of *orejón*, while Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943) mentioned some Acos from Cuzco who had been "*desterrados a los términos de Guamanga*." No other source names them. Zuidema (1966) and Purizaga (1967) believe Acos is the modern town of Acosvinchos, which lies some 10 km south of Guamanguilla along the Capac Ñan. Unfortunately, no Inka sites are known in the area and its vicinity, and there are other sites close by with similar names. For example, West of Huanta is another Aco(s)bamba between Parcos and Azángaro (Cieza, 1984: 245), while another Acos is on the northern frontier of the research area. Which of them was the Inka site? Were they all settled by the *mitmas* from Acos? Or did they all have an *ayllu* called Acos (Zuidema, pers. com., 2000). More interdisciplinary research is needed to resolve these questions.

The second possibility has some followers. Granda (1987, citing Guaman Poma) suggests that the Acos specialised as "watchmen" who settled close to all bridges. This would explain the various site with the same name. Unfortunately there is no evidence to support this. A different reading of the relevant passage in Guaman Poma is adopted in this thesis, namely that the Acos people were not watchmen; but instead, the man in charge of the Inka bridge system was "... *un Inga principal, Acos, en todo el reyno*." It is likewise possible that a native of Acos was in charge of each Inka bridge, and directed the *corvée* labour of the *mitayos*. However, the survey of the "pasos de los ríos" and the surrounding areas did not find any ancient buildings. Furthermore, the three towns with Acos- as a prefix or suffix are far removed from the bridges and rivers listed by Guaman Poma. In more general terms, it seems that for Guaman Poma, the most strategic and vulnerable item in the Inka State was in the hands of the Anta and Acos Indians, for the former were in charge of the royal roads and the latter of the bridges.

Citing Guaman Poma, Zuidema (1966: 73) includes the modern town of Acocro among the settlements of the Acos *mitmas*, presumably only due to its name, Acos Ocros. This town is some 10 km south of Quínuá, on the road to Vilcaswaman. Urrutia (1985: 46, citing documents in the Archivo Departamental de Ayacucho (ADA, leg. 1,1637) suggests

that Acocro was peopled by the Acos and by Quiguares also from Cuzco. He concludes that the Acos and the Antas controlled the passage to the *yungas* where coca was harvested. This is unlikely because there are no archaeological sites in the area, nor is there any written source to support this contention. Instead it is possible that the routes used passed through San Miguel to Vilcas (Cintiguaylla?: Ribera y de Chaves, 1965: 195), or through Vilcas to Condormarka and San José de Santillana (Mayoqmarca?: Ribera y de Chaves, 1965: 195). These were the routes most commonly used after 1539, and along them there is evidence of an intensive occupation in the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon. Apolonio Flores, an archaeologist from the UNSCH, has found a small aryballo from Anco, a major site and a point of entry to the jungle of Ayacucho through San Miguel. It should not be forgotten that the San Miguel route was also used in the Middle Horizon and also close by is Chungui, another site leading to the jungle and a route which is still in use because it is far shorter than the one from Vilcaswaman. This Inka road is 6 m wide and is flanked by small walls, 50 cm high, (Mr. Arturo Carrillo, pers. com., June 1997). These are the standard characteristics of the Inka roads in the region.

All scholars claim that the modern site of Acosvinchos was a settlement of Acos *mitmas* in Inka times, but this is probably not the case. A careful reading of the colonial documentation (including notarial records: the *encomiendas* Francisco Pizarro awarded Pero Díaz in Quinua) suggests that the original *mitmakuna* from Acos were located in the modern town of Quinua, while the Acos in Vinchos appeared after they were “*reducidos*” by Pero Díaz after 1539-1540. It was from that time on that the name of Vinchos turned into Acosvinchos. Toledo's tribute roll likewise indicates that the Acos Indians were in Quinua, and not in Vinchos (Cook, 1975). The reference to Quinua and not to Vinchos seem to be indicating a division into Urin and Anan Acos moieties around 1596. These Inka concepts seem to have survived to the present day (Arnold, 1993).<sup>22</sup> What is beyond dispute is that the Acos Indians were moved from Cuzco to this region. It is possible that they were *orejones* of a lowly origin. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943: 186), one of our most reliable sources, states that Pachacutec exiled them to this region after one of his victorious campaigns: “*Y mató cuasi a todos los naturales de Acos, y a los que perdonó y restaron de*

*aquella mortandad cruel los desterró a los términos de Guamanga adonde agora llaman Acos."*

In brief, when re-structuring and consolidating the Vilcaswaman *wamani*, the Inka relied on two groups of *orejones* sent from Cuzco as *mitmakuna*: the Anta and the Acos. The former settled in Huamanguilla and Parcos, two urban centres which formed the capitals of the Inka tripartite political structure together with Vilcas. The Acos had a somewhat lower status, the third tier of the state organisation, and seem to have been settled in different places. All settlements, however, lay along the Capac Ñan.<sup>23</sup>

The Canchis and Chilques was other groups of *mitmas* of lowly origin who settled in the *ceja de selva* of Ayacucho, particularly in the provinces of La Mar and on the far north of Andahuaylas (Purizaga, 1967: 19-20), in order to have access to coca, coffee and chile peppers (Bandera, 1965: 177). Could this be the Cintigualla region mentioned by Ribera and de Chaves (1965: 195)? However, Miranda (1925: 181) suggests that the Chilque perhaps lived in the sites of Colca and Apongo, on the Pampas River basin. Rowe (1946: 190) follows Guamán Poma (1980) and notes that, in general, the Chilque were Inkas by privilege.

Muchic from the North Peruvian coast lived in the modern city of Cangallo, while the Yanahuara, presumably brought from Cuzco, were in Auquilla.<sup>24</sup> According to Guaman Poma the Yanahuara were Inkas-by-privilege.

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<sup>22</sup> The above-mentioned documentation shows that the last Acos caciques of the early colonial period are buried in Quinua. It seems that one of the last of them was Don Sancho Auqui Inga (Granda, 1987: Doc. 1627, No. 14).

<sup>23</sup> Except perhaps for the Antas, all groups of *mitmas* sent from Cuzco to the *wamani* of Vilcaswaman were low-status *orejones*. First, the towns belonging to this kind of *orejón* are not built in the Cuzco style used in the region. If Guaman Poma (1980: 690) is correct, the status of *orejón* as such belonged to those groups settled in Chinchaysuyu, not to those in other *suyus*. The same thing seems to have happened in the provinces of Vilcaswaman (Juan Granda, pers. com., March 1997). On the other hand, the Anta were *orejones* and the architecture in Huamanguilla is in Inka style. In any case, even if Guamán Poma (whom other scholars like Rowe [1946: 190-192] and Pärssinen [1992], among others, cite) is correct and all Cuzqueño groups in Vilcaswaman were *orejones*, this would still indicate a hierarchy of groups of lesser importance. In it the Antas held the highest position, for they had become *orejones* due to the prestige they had earned and because they were related to the Inka rulers (Sarmiento, 1943). Further, the perceivable differences in the personal attire of all *orejones* yield more evidence on the hierarchy that existed among the nobility. Last of all, the 'contradictory' references in the chronicles, which state that there were *orejones* or Inkas by privilege in Vilcaswaman, are actually reflecting the presence of groups of *orejones* each of which had a different status and prestige. This is why Cieza (1984: 250) claimed the *mitmakuna* in Vilcaswaman included "orejones, aunque no de los principales del Cuzco."

<sup>24</sup> These data appear in Purizaga's study (1967), but he does not give his source. It is assumed that he took it from Zuidema (1966), who likewise does not list any source. Zuidema pers. Com. July, 2000) stated that the

Zuidema (1966) discussed the Aymaraes, who lived on both banks of the middle Pampas River, in the modern towns of Cancha-Cancha, Chuschi, Huarcaya, Totos and Paras. They shared Totos with the Canas, who had also been brought from Cuzco and who lived also in the towns of Vinchos and Tiellas, on the Cachi River (Miranda, 1925: 181).

According to Carbajal and de Soria (1965: 213), the Papres *mitmas* lived among the local people of Tanquihua, whose ancient towns were what are now Tinquihua, Gualla and Cayara. It is also possible that the Papres lived in Paucarbamba (Miranda, 1925: 181).

Zuidema (1966: 71, see footnote 24) suggests that the *mitmas* from Canas, who lived in Pomabamba, Quisillaqta and Totos, had an economic role, but nothing is known of the other groups. He probably deduced these tasks from the account by de Ribera and de Chaves (1965: 193-194). If they were producers, they must have grown subsistence goods and probably a small surplus for the State. Valdes, Vivanco and Chávez (1990) covered the middle Pampas River and its tributaries on its right bank, but found no Inka settlement.

It is possible that a group of *mitma* specialised in salt production lived at San Pedro de Cachi, where there was a "*pueblo fundado para este efecto desde el tiempo de los inkas*," according to de Ribera y de Chaves (1965: 194), but they do not name the ethnic group. They say that the site is 5 leagues west from Guamanga, where there was a big mountain of salt. This site is San Pedro de Cachi, a town that even today specialises in salt production.

The Parijas lived in Luricocha (Hurin Cochac?) and Marcas (Presta, 1991). At present, there are some sites called Parisas; one is north of the modern town of Luricocha in Huanta, and a second close to Marcas.

The Cochac lived in the mountains above Huanta (Presta, 1991).

The Latacungas were settled in Waychao (Protocolo Notarial 1594: Encomienda of Quinua). One of its ayllus was called Quitus and which was settled somewhere between Quinua and Acocro, where there still is a village called Waychao.

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other colonial sources he used but did not cite in his 1966 article were documents on births, marriages and deaths, as well as parts of the seventeenth century visita by Juan de Pareja. These were located in the towns of Chuschi, Sarhua and Huancasancos, and in the old Notaria Medina in the city of Huamanga.



The number of *mitma* near Huamanga could have been even more extensive because Vaca de Castro (1908: 445) listed both Cañari and Chachapoya Indians, while Miranda (1925: 182) mentions the Cauinas.<sup>25</sup>

In Angaraes, the modern provinces of Lircay and Acobamba, lived the native Angaraes Indians, together with 7 settlements of Chanka *mitmas*, one of Caxamarca (Cajamarca) Indians, one of Guaros Indians (Huarochiri), and another of Quiguare Indians from Cuzco (de Ribera and de Chaves, 1965: 203). The latter probably were Inkas-by-privilege (Cook, 1975: 274; Rowe, 1946: 189).<sup>26</sup> Zuidema (1966: 71, see footnote 24) notes that the Angaraes in Huancavelica were relocated at Cancha-Cancha and in Chuschi. Purizaga (1967) also mentions this, but he relies on Zuidema. The most likely sites for these towns are the modern villages of the same names. Could these have been populations that moved of their own free will in the Late Intermediate Period, just like the Guangas, as we have already seen?<sup>27</sup>

There must have been other *mitma*, perhaps one of the above groups, who were in charge of worshipping the *wakas* which had been replicated from Cuzco, such as Guanacauri and Anahuarque, because this was a general practice established by the Inka. These settlements were most likely close to the *wakas*, as seems to have been the case with other snow-capped mountains of southern Peru.

Finally, there is an important reference in the 1567 *Visita* of Chucuito, which was also noticed by Purizaga (1967) which reads that *mitma* from the Colla region were sent to Vilcaswaman and Andahuaylas, among other areas. Purizaga believes that this implies the presence of potters and silversmiths from Collao, "who would have given rise to the *ayllus* of potters and silversmiths in the *wamani* of Huamanga."

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<sup>25</sup> Urrutia (1985) cites Espinoza (1978: 232) and assumes that in Inka times there was a Cañari settlement at Chupas. A close reading of Guamán Poma, who claimed some land at this site, and of the *Relaciones Geográficas*, plus the fact that there is no archaeological evidence from the Late Horizon, seem to suggest that the Cañari presence in the area dates not to Inka times and was instead part of the generalised population displacement caused by the first Spanish officials in the region.

<sup>26</sup> A headless stone statue was found around 1586 in Atungailay, one of the Chanka settlements in the area. According to de Ribera and de Chaves (1965: 203), it could well have been a Christian or a pagan statue. Could it be that the Chanka took their *waka* with them on their exile? It is very likely that they did so with permission of the Inka, just like other groups of *mitma* (Albornoz, 1988: 171).

<sup>27</sup> According to Zuidema (1966: 71), the Guanica were relocated to the Caracha River basin (a tributary of the Pampas River). However, there is some doubt about this assertion, as was noted in section 3.3.

Leaving Purizaga's reasoning aside, which is completely unsupported, it cannot be established whether *mitma* from Suncoyoc and Cupi, specialised Colla groups, did indeed move to this region or not, because Muchic groups also settled in the area are also mentioned, and they could have been the specialised metalworking groups mentioned for there was a long tradition of such craft activity on the North Coast and the Inkas translocated metal workers from there to Cuzco and beyond. It is worth recalling that Curamba, on the eastern border of Andahuaylas, more than any other site, could well have been a settlement of metalworkers from the Altiplano, because the studies carried out by Heather Lechtman (1976) indicate that metal was worked here in Inka times on a great scale. However, it is also possible that some smiths lived in the urban core of Vilcaswaman itself, because Topa Inka Yupanqui "... *mandó que siempre estuvieran plateros labrando vasos y otras piezas y joyas para el templo y para su casa real de Vilcas*" (Cieza, 1985: 162; see also p. 186).

Julien (1993) suggests that the purest ceremonial-style Inka ware was particularly influenced by the pottery produced in the Colla region. Together, these ethnohistorical and archaeological data and the polychrome ceramics found in the area strengthen the possibility that Colla *mitmas* indeed settled in the Inka *wamani* of Vilcaswaman. In any case, Vilcas does show the presence of *mitmas* with specialised economic roles, both for ritual and as producers. Where did they live: in the core itself or in *canchas* with workshops around the core?

The presence of *mitma* in the region was apparently limited to the frontier area between the keshua and puna zones, i.e., 3000-3600 m asl, an essentially maize-producing region. There apparently were no *mitma* in the puna. The people in this region remained the same, both before and after the Inka occupation of the study area. The intermontane areas above and below this level were used thanks to a large seasonal population that settled there for as long as the agricultural season lasted, but a small permanent population always lived there in hamlets. The *visita* bishop Verduga made in 1642 shows that this kind of complementary economy was still practised in the Huamanguilla region at that time. This suggests that the exploitation of several ecological tiers in the colonial period dated to Inka times. At that time, Condormarka-Huamanguilla, a site that lies at 3250 masl, was occupied by Anta Orejones who probably had "colonies" at Chiwa, some 10 km to the west

and at an altitude of only 2100 m asl, in alluvial xerophytic lands close to the canyon of the Mantaro and Cachi Rivers.<sup>28</sup>

Finally, the languages spoken in this province imply that its population composition was even more complex. All of the peoples in the Vilcaswaman *wamani* spoke the general language called Quechua, which apparently had been made mandatory by Guayna Capac (Carbajal, 1965: 206), as well as their native language. However, it is strange that several of the towns inspected in 1586 spoke Aymara (*Relaciones Geográficas de Indias*, vol. I: 188, 206, 208, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214). Were these Aymara people from Lake Titicaca? It is hard to imagine how these groups came here from Titicaca, if they had not been resettled by the Inka. Perhaps their presence is due to a resettlement policy carried out in the Middle Horizon by the Wari. This, however, is not possible because the most reliable written sources, like Carbajal (1965: 219) and Cieza (1984: 250), state that the Inka displaced all the local populations they found. Another possible explanation could be that these peoples from the middle Pampas River were brought from Aymaraes by the Inka and had their own language in 1586, which the inspectors listed with the name of the group: Aymara(es). The suffix "es" is Spanish and was usually affixed to all native terms as a plural. Were this the case, there would have been 4 "major" and dominant languages: the Angaraes in the *hunu* of Parcos, Aymara on the southern part of the *hunu* of Vilcaswaman, an unidentified one in the northern part of this same *hunu*, and another unidentified one in the Condormarka-Huamanguilla *hunu*.

## Summary

With the available archaeological and ethnohistorical data, it can be posited that the Inka province of Vilcaswaman comprised some 250 km from north to south, between the sites of Uranmarka and Acostambo. Its boundary on the east was the cloud forest or *ceja de selva* in the present-day departments of Ayacucho and a part of Huancavelica, and to the west it was the puna on the right bank of the Pampas River.

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<sup>28</sup> A fragment of this document was published in a study by Urrutia (1985), which read thus: "...Tiene un anejo llamado Chihua que dista dos leguas de Huamanguilla, donde tienen los indios desta doctrina sus sementeras y solo acuden a el en tiempos dellas aunque de ordinario asisten y residen diez o doce personas de confesión en el" ("Visita del obispo Verdugo, 1624", cited in Kawata, 1968).

The Inka divided the province into three *hunu*, each governed by an Inka-by-privilege from Vilcaswaman, Condormarka-Huamanguilla and Parcos. In two of these sites that have been excavated, Vilcaswaman and Condormarka-Huamanguilla, the Inkas emphasised buildings of a religious nature and not of a secular one. For Parcos, the third *hunu*, no archaeological site has been recorded.

The total population of this province must have been around 30,000 people, which probably was the usual number the Inka provinces of Chinchaysuyu had. The population was made up of local peoples, the Tanquihua and the Angaraes, and *mitmas* with a different status, whose number was greater than that of the locals. The concentration of Cuzco *mitmas* in the Pampas River basin, the core of the Vilcaswaman *hunu*, is remarkable, but in general the number of mitma (13 groups) in the Condormarka-Huamanguilla *hunu* is also high.

The Inka settlements were built in ecologically suitable areas for irrigated maize agriculture, which lie at 2800-3600 m asl. There are some indications that ecosystems below 2800 m asl were used, particularly in the selva alta (the wet yunga), where according to the chronicles, the Canchis and Chilque, *mitma* from Cuzco settled to cultivate coca, chili, and cotton.

Mountains, whether snow-capped or with special features, were likewise incorporated into the Inka religious system as sacred mountains.

Inka settlements are found along two axes: one, the Capac Ñan, which went from north to south on leaving Vilcaswaman for Jauja, and the other, a transverse axis that left Vilcaswaman and headed for Huaytará and the coast along the Pampas River basin.

Great agricultural public works were apparently not made in this province. The terraces found represent a very small scale activity in comparison with any valley like those of Cuzco or Arequipa.

According to the written sources, each province had a major settlement which was known as the "*cabecera de provincia*." Vilcaswaman was an principal urban centre of this type, which the Inka rulers favoured, according to these sources. Questions, such as what concepts of urbanism and architecture were applied in its construction? Was it really an "administrative centre," which is what it is usually called? What were the distinctive features of this "*cabeza de provincia*"?, are to be analysed later in this dissertation.

TABLE III-1  
INKA PROVINCE OF VILCASWAMAN: COMPOSITION OF POPULATION BY HUNU.

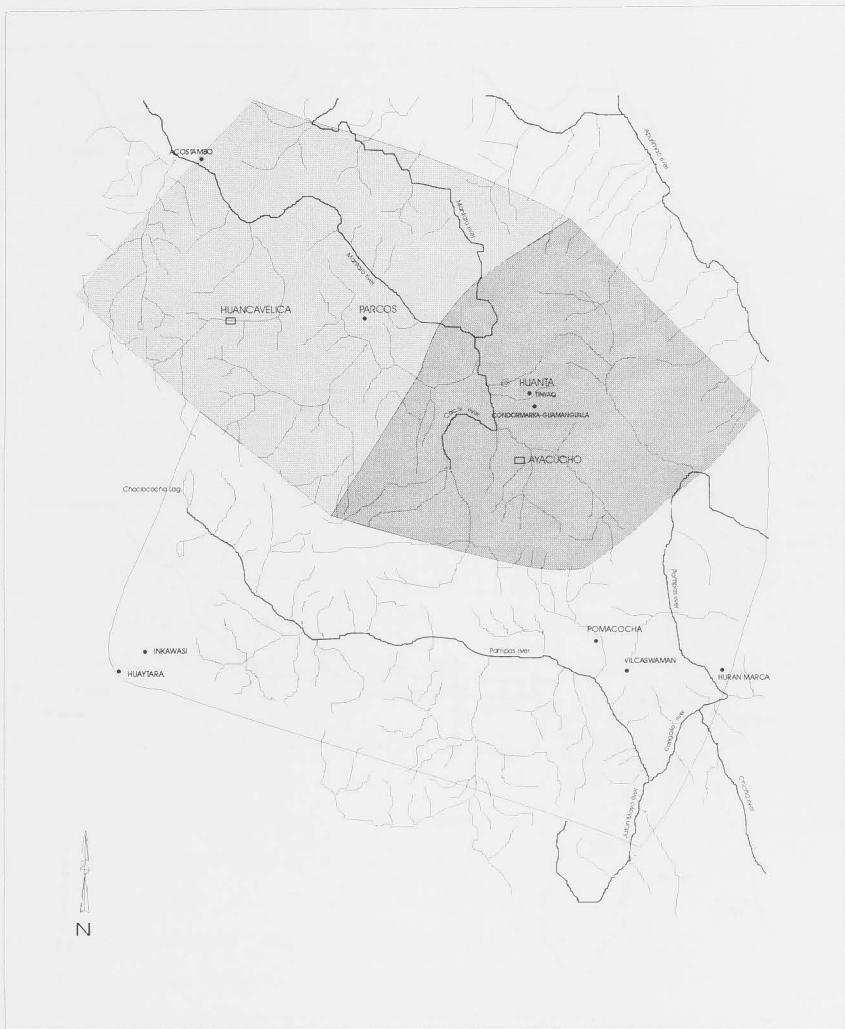
	ETHNIC GROUP	HUNU VILCASWAMAN	HUNU CONDORMARKA HUAMANGUILLA	HUNU PARCOS	REFERENCES
LOCAL GROUPS	TANQUIHUAS	1- Guanbalpa 2- Guaras 3- Cocha 4- Guamanmarca			RGI, 1965: 219
	ANGARAÉS			1- Cuenca 2- Moya 3- Vilcabamba 4- Conaica 5- Pata 6- Caja	RGI, 1965:203
GROUPS OF OREJON MITMA	ANTAS:		1-Condormarka*	1-Parcos	RGI, 1965; TaSa Repart. de Pairija 1577 Toponym
	AÇOS:		1- Quinoa 2- Acocro		Toledo: 1975; Prot. Notarial; XVI Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1942: 186; Zuidema, 1966: 71; Urrutia, 1985. Toponym used by Cieza, 1984.
	QUIGUARES:			1- Acostambo 2- Acobamba 1- Pata	RGI, 1965:203; Toledo; 1975:274 Urrutia, 1985:46
	PÁPRES:		1- Acocro?		RGI, 1965: 213
	CHILQUES:				Miranda, 1925: 181 Purizaga; 1967: 20 Zuidema, 1966: 71-72 Miranda/ 1925: 181
	CONDES:				Zuidema, 1966: 71
	YANAHUARA:				Purizaga; 1967 (Source not cited)
	CANCHIS:				Purizaga, 1967: 19
	CANAS:				Zuidema, 1966:71
	CAUINAS:			1- Quinoa? 2- Chinchos	Miranda, 1583/1925: 180
	UNKNOWN:		1- Vilcaswaman* 2- Uranmarca*		Cieza, 1984

	ETHNIC GROUP	HUNU VILCASWAMAN	HUNU CONDORMARKA HUAMANGUILLA	HUNU PARCOS	REFERENCES
GROUPS OF COMMONER MITMA	CHANKA:			1- Atunguayllay 2- Uchuyguayllay 3- Julcamarca 4- Huancahuanca 5- Congalla 6- Lircay 7- Angaras	RGI, 1965:213
	ANGARAES:	1- Chuschi 2- Cancha-cancha			Zuidema, 1965: 71
	GUAROS:			1- Todos Sts. Angaraes 2- Acobamba 3- Andamarca 1- Callamarca	RGI, 1965: 203
	CAYAMARCAS:				RGI, 1965:203
	MUCHIC:	1- Cangallo			Zuidema, 1966: 71; Punzaga, 1967 (Source not cited)
	HUANCAS:	1- Huancasancos 2- Sarhua			Zuidema, 1966: 71
	AYMARAES:	1- Cancha-cancha 2- Chuschi 3- Huarcaya 4- Paras 5- Totos	Vinchos? Ticllas?		Miranda, 1925: 181 Zuidema, 1966: 71
	CANARIS:		?		Vaca de Castro 1908: 445
	CHACHAPOYAS:		?		
	SORAS:	1- Querobamba***			RGI, 1965: 214
	LUCANAS:	+ Entre Querobamba y Canaria			RGI, 1965: 215
	COLLAS:	?			García de Sn. Miguel; 1567
	PARIJAS:			1- Luricocha 2- Marcas?	Tasa Repart. 1577; Toponym
	COCHAS:			1- Cochas	Tasa Repart. Pairija, 1577
	LATACUNGAS:			1- Waychao	Prot. Notarial/Quinua; 1594
	UNKNOWN:			1- San Pedro de Cachi 2- Mayunmarca	RGI, 1965: 194 RGI, 1965:195

\* with archaeological evidence.

\*\* in Quechua and Aymara.

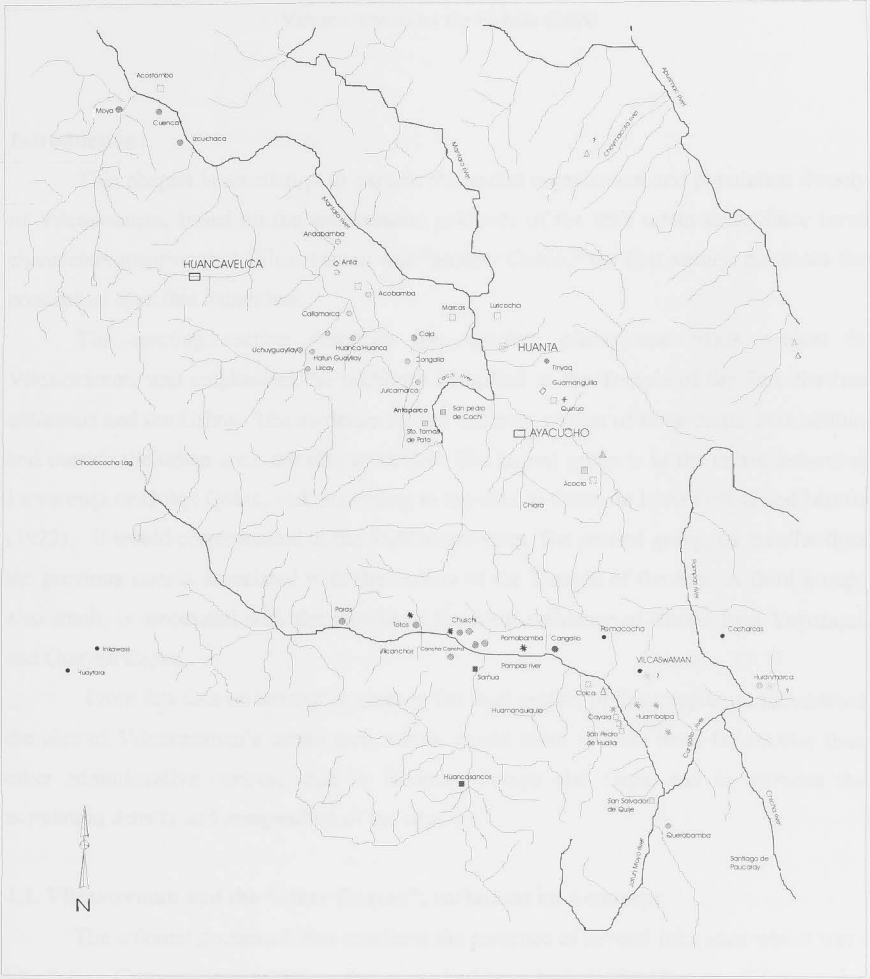
\*\*\* in corrupted Quechua and Aymara Corrupto.



MAP III.1

THE INKA PROVINCE OF VILCASWAMAN: THE TRIPARTITE SUBDIVISION INTO HUNU

- PARCOS
- CONDORMARCA / GUAMANGULLA
- VILCASWAMAN



MAP III.2

OREJON AND COMMONER MITMA AT VILCASWAMAN

- |             |             |              |               |
|-------------|-------------|--------------|---------------|
| ■ Huancas   | △ Chiques   | □ Acos       | □ Unknown     |
| ● Soras     | □ Yanahuara | △ Latacungas | ● Angaraes    |
| ○ Guaros    | ● Muchle    | △ Canchis    | △ Unknown     |
| ⊥ Unknown   | ● Canas     | ◇ Antas      | □ Ucanas      |
| ⊙ Chankas   | ⊙ Aymaraes  | ⊙ Caxamarcos | + Cauñis      |
| * Tanquiwas | ● Angaraes  | □ Pajirias   | ? Collas      |
| □ Papres    | □ Quiguares | ● Cochas     | ? Chachapoyas |
|             |             |              | ? Cañaris     |



## Chapter 4

### Vilcaswaman as an Urban Core

#### Introduction

This chapter is an attempt to explain the spatial organisation and population density of Vilcaswaman, based on the architectural evidence of the Inka urban area. Since some chroniclers mention that Vilcaswaman was "another Cuzco," the first section discusses the conceptual span this datum has.

The ensuing section describes the *canchas*, plazas and roads present in Vilcaswaman, and emphasises the buildings identified as the Temple of the Sun, the two *akllawasi* and the Ushnu. The evidence for the different groups of storerooms, both within and outside the urban area, are also presented. The largest group is in the sector known as Lawaresqa or Qoiqa Qoiqa, and, according to the data in Cieza de León (1984) and Murúa (1922), it would corresponded to the State storerooms. The second group, far smaller than the previous one, is associated with the *cancha* of the Temple of the Sun. A third group, also small, is associated with the *cancha* of the royal residence of Thopa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac.

From this data an attempt is made in the final section of this chapter, to reconstruct the size of Vilcaswaman's urban area, which would seem to have been far smaller than other administrative centres, such as Huanuco Pampa and Jauja, and to estimate the population density and composition of the site.

#### 4.1. Vilcaswaman and the "other Cuzcos": variations on a concept

The colonial documentation mentions the presence of several Inka sites which were like "other Cuzcos," thus implying that some had been built in the likeness of Cuzco, the major Inka urban centre. However, a careful reading of these documents shows these references are disparate. They should be interpreted to mean that the various ways of understanding these "other Cuzcos" reflect the heterogeneous reality of one same concept: Cuzco. In Geertz's terms (1980: 105), this seems to be another case of the manifold meanings of one single or polysemic concept.

Only three of these sources are explicit: Cabello de Valboa (1945), which is almost certainly not an independent source, but this does not make his references less plausible; Cieza de León (1985); and Guaman Poma (1980: 185). Cabello de Valboa noted that Tumibamba was built "like Cuzco", that it was not just any Inka site. Thanks to the archaeological studies undertaken by Uhle (1923) and Idrovo (1993), it is known that Tumibamba replicated Cuzco in conceptual, physical, formal and ideological terms, like no other Inka site thus far recorded. The settlement pattern, the river, the emblematic layout of its design and the actual names of places recorded by Arriaga (1922) indicate a remarkable resemblance with Inka Cuzco.

Cieza de León (1985: 174) also noted that the site known as Inkawasi, in the Lunahuaná River Valley, in Cañete, was a "new Cuzco." Although systematic archaeological explorations have not been undertaken, there are plans, aerial photographs and a detailed archaeological survey by Hyslop (1985). The study of these sources and the many visits this researcher has made to the site indicate that this "new Cuzco" was not built either with the pattern or the layout of Cuzco. However, there are several buildings, similar to those of the Inka capital city. The site seems to be an essentially military site which, curiously enough, had a brief Inka occupation, according to Hyslop, who had relied on the chronicle accounts. Why, then, did Cieza label it a "new Cuzco" in the absence of any formal similarity between them, being, as he was, a man renowned for his unbiased observations? Did he make this comparison just due to the presence of certain buildings?

Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980: 185), a late chronicler, wrote around 1614 that there were "otro Cuzco" in Quito, Tumibamba, Huanuco Pampa, Hatun Colla, and Charcas. Curiously, he mentions neither Vilcaswaman nor Inkawasi (Cañete). It is thought that this statement was a general one and that Guaman Poma's list suggests that there might have been many other sites. In his list, does he mean Cuzco as a concept, and not as an almost literal replication of the capital, as at Tumibamba, underlie certain Inka sites built throughout Tawantinsuyu? The sites listed by Guaman Poma are of different size and nature. Which buildings and sacred sites that have been identified for Cuzco appear in the sites he listed?

In this, attention is drawn to the possible association between the desire to build "other Cuzcos" and the wars the Inkas were involved in, which does not seem to be mere

chance. When "another Cuzco" was built at Inkawasi in Cañete, it was a military settlement to face the locals (Cieza 1985: 174). Mango Inga, the last Inka ruler in early colonial times (Betanzos 1987: 301), in turn faced the Spaniards and collaborationist Indians; in one of his expeditions he decided to settle in Cochabamba, a site on the heights of Huanta in Azángaro, "... y allí edifico un pueblo bien así como la traza del Cuzco y mando que se llamara Rucguiri ...".

Other written sources, such as Polo de Ondegardo (1916, 1917), Cobo (1956), Albornoz (1988) and Molina (1988), who do not explicitly mention the construction of "other Cuzcos," nonetheless refer to the construction of the most characteristic buildings of Cuzco. These authors note that many of Cuzco's temples and shrines were built in the provinces on command of the Inka kings, and in several cases as part of a *ceque* system. In their writings, the Spanish priests and licentiate Polo explicitly point out elements of a religious nature. Why do their references have this bias? Is it simply due to their profession or occupation, or are they instead noting something obvious, i.e., that the religious features of Cuzco were the most essential characteristic of the Inka religious and political system?

In the case of the province under study, Cieza is the only chronicler who implicitly calls Vilcaswaman "another Cuzco." He noted that "... dicen los naturales que [Vilcaswaman] fue el medio del señorío y reyno de los Ingas" (Cieza 1984: 252). Did the native informants intend to say that Vilcaswaman was the "centre," "the Inka," the "essence," of Tawantinsuyu, from whence all things come, had not these concepts been internalised through Inka preaching in the area? Were the natives aware that the very essence of the gods and temples and shrines of Cuzco, Guanacauri, Anahuarque, Yawira, the Temple of the Sun, the '*ushnu*', was in their midst? Was the perception of the equal distance that exists from Vilcaswaman to Quito and to Chile, perceived by both locals and Spaniards (ibid: 252), or was it just a purely Spanish insight?

It should be stressed that the concept of Cuzco as 'Inka' alone is relevant, but it almost never mentioned in discussions of this problematic concept. Apparently each Inka ruler was a 'Cuzco.' Thus were they called by the first Spaniards in the early days of the conquest, and so it was reported by Mena (1967: 93) in his description of a conversation he had with a woman who was in charge of the *mallquis* in the Cuzco Temple of the Sun.

On the one hand, the written evidence and the repetitive evidence of prominent Cuzco structures in the provinces permit the interpretation that all sites built by the Inka reflect Cuzco both implicitly and explicitly. Were all Inka sites therefore "other Cuzcos"? Was this the case, the construction of certain buildings with Cuzco's stylistic imprint would thus be deliberate. But on the other hand, only some sites, like Vilcaswaman and Tumibamba, had more Cuzco elements than other sites. What was the reason for this and why?

In many cases, the reproduction of many of Cuzco's urban patterns, or the construction of certain kinds of structures, have more to do with an administrative system, which in itself certainly is one way of representing Cuzco. Structures, like the *kallankas* or *qolqas*, mentioned by Morris and Thompson (1985), Gasparini and Margolies (1977) and Kendall (1985), are just part of the formal reproduction of elements present in Cuzco. However, it seems that in conceptual terms, the Cuzco that was replicated at certain provincial sites was of a less secular kind. Provincial Cuzco was more than those structures. It is thought that its power and essence were reproduced by the sacred symbols replicated in all Inka sites, whatever their size, type or nature. Besides the temples, these symbols were represented by the niches carved in rocks, carved rocks, *wankas*, platforms on sacred hills and mountains, such as Guanacauri and Amaro. The ideological substratum of Cuzco lay herein. The "other Cuzcos", and therefore the 'Cuzco-ization' of the provinces, could not do without these elements, but in several cases it could do without, for example, *kallankas*, lodgings or *qolqas*. For instance, in several regions there are just *wankas* and carved rocks but no buildings or settlements, but it is also true that all Inka buildings explicitly or implicitly bear the concepts of dynastic Cuzco, which represent the fullness of its power. It was in the interest of the Inka rulers that the image of Cuzco was transplanted to all nations through formal and/or symbolic forms, so that its "image became part of everyday life." It can be said that the image and model of Cuzco was almost limitless, and was depicted in varying degrees.

Perhaps to attain politico-economic profits, the Inka, much like the Wari before them (Santillana, 1999a), emphasised in most cases the ideological-religious aspects. Perhaps it was for this reason that the most important deities and symbolic representations of Cuzco are found in almost all of the nations included in Tawantinsuyu. Temples of the

Sun were built in all conquered sites as the highest expression of the Inka cultural essence. There are 6 temples alone in the study region, and at known sites. This is also why throughout the empire there is Guanacauri, the guardian *waka*, as well as innumerable other shrines. Above all, the model called Cuzco is in these representations. Polo de Ondegardo (1916: 57) said that Cuzco shrines were built in all provinces (see also Cobo, 1956 and Murúa, 1987). Cuzco therefore seems to have spread out to the provinces to cover a landscape and filled it with sacred elements, while Vilcaswaman was a religious centre wherein "the union of worlds that Cuzco itself represented" (Pease, 1995: 280) was repeated.

Using the concept of "civilisation," Geertz (1980) developed for other societies in Southeast Asia, Cuzco comes out as both a civilisation and a civilising entity that was transferred to the provinces, founding urban and religious centres with its very own symbols. The sacred centre of Cuzco was dispersed, 'civilising' the 'barbarians,' but in this case, it is a civilisation understood within a sacred context: civilised, ordered, sacred Cuzco and the savage, chaotic and profane periphery. Hence the myth of the "other Cuzcos."

#### 4.2. The urban core of Vilcaswaman

The buildings at Vilcaswaman and other "*cabeceras de provincia*" imitated the Cuzco pattern in one way or another. Starting in the 1960s and including the research carried out in the 1990s, it has been posited that Cuzco was the model for provincial settlements, emphasising the types of architecture, and its functions. However, it seems that in some cases, like Tumibamba (Ecuador), the essential Cuzco pattern was replicated. Thus Wayna Capac fulfilled his desire to "*fabrico suntuosos edificios ... mando hacer unos sobervios palacios.*" according to Cabello de Valboa (1945: 343) besides palaces he also built a sun temple: "*Demas de estos palacios hizo la casa del sol, Ticsiviracocha ... todo al modelo y traza del Cuzco ... y así los doto de haciendas, chacras, ganados y yanaconas*" (Cabello de Valboa 1945: 343). In this case, Tumibamba would have become almost a literal representation of Cuzco as far as its urban shape is concerned, perhaps even a duplicate.

In order to understand Vilcaswaman requires an acquaintance with Cuzco; only then can such comparative methods be usable and valid. Hence, the studies by Kendall

(1985) and Niles (1980) are most important from a specific architectural point of view, and those by Rowe (1946, 1967) and Gasparini and Margolies (1977) in more general terms. Although architectonic types, such as the *kallanka*, the *ushnu* and the storerooms are "specialized types," according to Niles (1980: 10), these are not limited to major centres as she posits but are instead general types found in many Inka settlements of Tawantinsuyu, whatever their size, but always with an administrative or religious role.

The significance and overall similarity of Vilcaswaman and Cuzco lies in the representation of the ideological-political power structures, which are not found at other provincial centres. It is thought that Vilcaswaman, more than any other site, replicates the temples, symbols and sociology of Cuzco.

The best description of the Vilcaswaman settlement dates from 1548 and was made by Cieza de León (1984: 251-253; 1986: 251-254). He visited the site while journeying to Cuzco. It is supplemented by data recorded 38 years later by Carbajal (1965: 218, 219), who was also in the area. He confirms what Cieza saw and provides more data on other *canchas*, specifies the location of the Temple of the Sun, explains the role of the shrine, now called the '*ushnu*', and describes the rituals performed therein. These are the most valuable sources<sup>1</sup>. Thus far, there is no reason to question Cieza because his descriptions

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<sup>1</sup> "Desde la ciudad de Guamanga a la del Cuzco ay sesenta leguas poco mas o menos. En este camino estan las lomas y llano de Chupas: que es donde se dio la cruel batalla entre el gouernador Vaca de Castro y don Diego de Almagro el mozo, tan porfiada y renida, como en su lugar escriuo. Mas adelante yendo por el real camino, se allega a los edificios de Bilcas, que estan onze leguas de Guamanga: adonde dizen los naturals que fue el medio del senorio y reyno de los ingas. Porque desde Quito a Bilcas afirman que ay tanto como de Bilcas a Chile, que fueron los fines de su imperio. Algunos Espanoles que han andado el camino de lo uno y lo otro dizen lo mismo.

Inga Yupangue fue el que mando hazer estos aposentos, a lo que los Indios dizen: y sus predecesores acrecentaron los edificios. El templo del sol fue grande y muy labrado. Adonde estan los edificios ay un altozano en lo mas alto de una sierra: la qual tenian siempre muy limpia. A una parte deste llano hazia el nacimiento del Sol estaua un adoratorio de los senores hecho de piedra, cercado con una pequena muralla: de donde salia un terrado no muy grande, de anchor de seyes pies yendo fundadas otras cercas sobre el: hasta que en el remate estaua el asiento, para donde el senior se ponía a hazer su oracion, hecho de una sola pieza tan grande que tiene de largo onze pies, y de ancho siete: en la cual estan hechos dos assientos para el effeto dicho. Esta piedra dizen que solia estar llena de joyas de oro y pedrerias, que adornauan el lugar que ellos tanto veneraron y estimaron. Y en otra piedra no pequena, que esta en este tiempo en mitad desta plaza a manera de pila: donde sacrificauan y matauan los animales y ninos tiernos (a lo que dizen) cuya sangre ofrecian a sus dioses. En estos terados se han hallado por los Espanoles algun thesoro de lo que estaua enterrado. A las espaldas deste adoratorio estauan los palacios de Topaynga Yupangue, y otros aposentos grandes, y muchos depositos, donde se ponian las armas y ropa fina, con todas las demas cosas de que dauan tributo los Indios y prouincias que cayan en la jurisdiccion de Bilcas: que como otras vezes he dicho era como cabeza de reyno. Junto a una pequena sierra estauan y estan mas de setecientas casas, donde recogian el maiz, y las cosas de proueymiento de las gentes de Guerra que andauan por el reyno. En medio de la gran plaza auia otro escano a manera de theatro, donde el senior se assentaua para ver los bayles y fiestas ordinaries. El templo

del sol, que era hecho de piedra asentada una en otra muy primamente, tenia dos portadas grandes; para yr a ellos auia dos escaleras de piedra, que tenian a mi cuenta treynta gradas cada una. Dentro destetemplo auia aposentos para los sacerdotes, y para los que mirauan las mugeres mamaconas, que guardauan su religion con grande obseruancia, sin entender en mas de lo dicho en otras partes desta hystoria. Y afirman los orejones y otros indios que la figura del sol era de gran riqueza, y que auia mucho thesoro enpiezas y enterrado, y que seruian a estos aposentos mas de quarenta mill indios repartidos en cada tiempo su cantidad: entendiendo cada principal lo que le era mandado por el governador que tenia poder del rey Inga. Que solamente para guardar las puertas del templo auia quarenta porteros. Por medio desta plaza passaua una gentil acequia trayda con mucho primor. Y tenian los senores sus banos secretos para ellos y para sus mugeres. Lo que ay que ver desto son los cimientos de los edificios; y las paredes y cercas de los adoratorios, y las piedras dichas, y el templo con sus gradas, aunque desbaratado y lleno de heruazales, y todos los mas de los depositos derribados: en fin fue lo que no es. Y por lo que es juzgamos lo que fue. De los Espanoles primeros conquistadors ay algunos que vieron lo mas este edificio entero y en su perfeccion: y assi lo he oydo yo a ellos mismos.

De aqui prosigue el camino real hasta Uranmarca, que esta siete leguas mas adelante hazia el Cuzco: en el qual termino se passa el espacioso rio llamado Bilcas, por estar cerca destes aposentos. De una parte y de otra del rio estan hechos dos grandes y muy crescidos padrones de piedra, sacados con cimientos muy hondos y fuertes, para poner la puente que es hecho de maromas de rama a manera de las sogas que tienen las anorias para sacar agua con la rueda ...Y boluiendo al camino principal, se allega a los aposentos de Uranmarca, que es la poblacion de mitimaes: porque los naturales con las guerras de los Ingas murieron los mas dellos" (Cieza, 1986: 251-254). "Yo he visto...junto a Vilcas 3 0 4 caminos, a estos se llaman al uno camino de Inga Yupangui, y al otro a Topa Inga Yupangui y al que agora se usa y usara para siempre es el que mando hazer Guayna Capac" (Cieza, 1984: 42).

"...dijeron en su lengua general quichua, que despues quel Inga Topa Yupangui conquisto estos reynos y allano la tierra, fundo en este asiento de Vilcas Guaman ciudad y frontera con treinta mill indios de guarnicion, y comenzo, despues de fundada la ciudad, a hacer fuertes y edificios en ella, los cuales de presente parecen alguna parte dellos y sus cimientos, que toda era de canteria labrada; y que para el dicho efeto mandaba traer piedras de Quito y del Cuzco y de otras partes, para mostrar su valor y grandeza; y asimismo formo y hizo en el dicho asiento un templo conforme a su getilidad, todo de canteria labrada, donde tenia el sol de oro labrado; y en otra casa, junto al templo, tenia una luna grande de plata, los cuales tenian por sus dioses, y les adoraba y mandaba que todos los indios que iba conquistando adorasen a estos dioses, destruyendo las huacas de piedra que ellos tenian. Este templo o casa donde estaba el sol, esta al presente en pie y sirve de iglesia, donde se dice ahora misa a la gente de la venta real que aqui esta fundada. Hay una plaza muy grande que pueden caber en ella muy bien mas de veinte mill hombres, la cual mando el Inga hacer a mano, y cego una laguna muy grande que alli habia para este efecto. Enfrente desta casa del sol esta un terraplano cercado de canteria de cinco estados de alto, y tiene su escalera de piedra muy bien hecha y labrada a manera de teatro, donde el Inga en persona salia a ser visto, y encima staban dos sillars grandes de piedra cubiertas entonces de oro, donde el Inga y su mujer se asentaban como en tribunas y de alli adoraban al sol; y toda su guarda, estando el en este teatro o trono, guardaban las puertas del con mucha vigilancia: y estaba aqui debajo de un gran palio de plumeria de mill colores, y los palos sobre que estaba el palio eran de oro, y traian el palio doce capitanes de su propio linaje muy ancianos. Llamase este palio en la lengua, *achiguá*. Las armas de su guarda eran unas a manera de lanzas con hierros de cobre, que llaman en su lengua *llaca chuquies*, con astas de palma muy grandes y debajo del hierro una borla de cerdas de puercos jabalies traídos de la Montana. Los sacrificios que hacian eran en esta manera: que al Hacedor de todas las cosas, que llamaban TicsiViracocha, Inga ofrecia dos criaturas muy limpias, sin mancha ni lunar, y muy hermosas y escogidas; y estas se las traian muy compuestas y aderezadas a su usanza, con lindos vestidos; y ofrecianlas, como dicho es, y matabanlas degollandolas; y luego hacian sacrificio al sol con otras dos criaturas, en la misma forma; y luego a la tierra, que llamaban Pacha mama, otras dos criaturas por la misma orden; y luego ofrecian al rayo, que llamaban Catoylla y por otro nombre Illapa, un cordero blanco y gordo y escogido; y ofrecian estas cosas pidiendo salud y buena andanza para el Inga; y para que les fuese acepto aquel sacrificio, ofrecia otro cordero asimismo blanco; y luego otro cordero por la Coya, que era su hermana y su mujer legitima....Tenia en este pueblo Viejo unas casas cercadas y con muchas guardas, llamadas Guayran calla, donde tenian quinientas doncellas dedicadas al sol, que despues de metidas en esta casa no conocian varon....Tenia otra cas donde estaban otras quinientas mujeres doncellas dedicadas para el Inga, que como se contiene en la descripcion primera desta relacion". (Carbajal, 1965: 218-219)

have been verified archaeologically. For instance, the restoration work carried out in the 1980s confirmed the presence of the two stairways that led from the plaza to the platform of the Temple of the Sun (Cuentas, 1986).

The structures described by Cieza de León are as follows:

1. A large Sun Temple with big gates, guarded by 40 men, and 2 stairways, each of 30 steps; "por sus principales por orden del gobernador."
2. Residences for priests and mamakuna;
3. 40,000 indians were ordered by the Provincial Governor, who had the authority of the Inka king to serve in rotation in the Sun Temple and the principal residences;
4. A shrine enclosed by a wall with a double seat on top;
5. A small sacrificial stone in the form of a 'basin' where animals and children were sacrificed;
6. The Spaniards found buried treasures in the patios;
7. The palace of Topa Inka Yupanquí and other residences and many storehouses for weapons, fine clothing and many other things which had been acquired through tribute;
8. Seven hundred storehouses for maize and provisions for the army;
9. In the middle of the plaza there was a small platform form which the Lord watched dancing and common feasts;
10. A hilltop;
11. A fine canal;
12. Private baths for the Inkas and their women;
13. Three or four roads, one which was called: Inka Yupanqui, another Topa Inka Yupanqui and a third Guayna Capac (Cieza de Leon, 1984: 251-254)

Carbajal described some of the same buildings as well as some others:

1. A temple built of finely worked stone where there was a golden idol dedicated to the Sun;
2. Close to the Sun temple there was another temple with an silver image dedicated to the Moon;
3. The Sun temple in the 1580s served as the church;



4. A very large plaza which could hold more than 20,000 men;
5. A pyramid surrounded by a wall and on top of which there was a double stone seat covered with gold;
6. In this town there was an *acllawasi* called Guayran Calla in which there were 500 *acllas* dedicated to the Sun;
7. There was another *acllawasi* with 500 *acllas* dedicated to the Inka.

The above-listed features reproduce: first, the sacred and symbolic space of Cuzco; second, its residential structures; and third, its storage facilities. As regards the first element, it will be described and explained in the following section. As for the other two, they will be simply presented in a comparative approach of some of the elements repeated in other settlements, emphasising the uniqueness of other formal aspects.

#### 4.3. Canchas, the plaza and the roads

The urban centre of Vilcaswaman is situated at 3,380 m asl on an irregular terrace on the slopes of a small mountain spur. The plaza, the *canchas* of the Temple of the Sun, and the *ushnu* rise on an artificially flattened terrain. The eastern side of the site is a hill that rises some 62 m above the plaza and corresponds to what Cieza called "un altonazo" in 1548. Two major geographical features physically distinguish this sector. First, there is the presence of rocky and stone outcrops on the eastern side of the hill, and second, there are water fountains or springs. It is thought that the presence of both of these features influenced, if not determined, the location of this sector, and that the Inka planners included them either as part of the construction or of the symbolic elements of the site, both in their natural state or transformed *in situ*.

Two *Canchas* and one plaza are visible at Vilcaswaman. The first *cancha* corresponds to the group of buildings that comprises the so-called Temple of the Sun and probably the Temple of the Moon, according to Carbajal (1965: 218), as well as the accommodation for both the priests and the *mamakuna*, which were apparently built around both open areas. Their formal layout resembles to some extent that of the Coricancha in Cuzco. It is possible that just like at the latter site, terraces, such as the one visible on the western side, were built. During fieldwork in 1997 in Vilcaswaman it was noticed that

some ditches were being dug on the northwestern terrace. These uncovered roughly made, straight and curved walls up to 2 m high, with no particular building arrangement and some with just one finished face. These could be load bearing walls, important structural part of the 3 major platforms on the northern side of the Temple of the Sun. Some local residents claimed that in the past it had been a cemetery and that human bones had been found there in the 1970s when the soil had been removed to build an amusement park. No ceramic sherds could be seen in the ditches or on the spoil heaps.

The second major *cancha* corresponds to the group of buildings formed by the so-called *ushmu*, the palaces of Topa Ynga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac, and storerooms (Cieza, 1984: 252; 1985: 186), which were surrounded by an enclosure wall with several doorways. It has an area of 5,700 m<sup>2</sup>. It is to be noted that although in structural terms the *ushmu*, or shrine according to Cieza (1984: 252), is part of this *cancha*, its use must have been independent. The only entrance to this shrine leads directly from the plaza and it does not seem to have been directly connected with the other buildings in this *cancha* to its rear. Unlike Cuzco, where each ruler had a *cancha*-residence, at Vilcaswaman the residence of the Inkas were probably concentrated in one single *cancha*.

Water, in addition to other important features taken into consideration when designing their settlements, was a crucial element to the Inka when erecting buildings, but not only for its domestic utility but also for its symbolic characteristics and its ritual use, as has been shown for Cuzco by Zuidema (1978a) and Sherbondy (1982). In Vilcaswaman, there are several canals, *puquiales* (springs) and a pond, which were mentioned by both Carbajal (1965: 218) and Cieza (1984: 253).

Cieza (1984: 253) described a "*gentil acequia ... traida con mucho primor ...*" that crossed the plaza. This would have been the canal that supplied water to the Baño del Inka, located to the western side of the plaza and close to a *cancha* where the royal residences stood.

In an attempt at a symbolic interpretation, it is suggested that this east-west canal, which remained an open channel until 1993 and is now covered underneath the modern pavement, divided the plaza into two halves, thus probably dividing the nucleus of Vilcaswaman into Hanan and Urin (see Plan IV-1). The canal sets out from the spring called Puytuc which is on the northeastern corner of the Inka plaza, where the agricultural

terraces (*andenes*) that delimited its northern side presumably began. From this point, it was channelled in a southern direction for some 40 m, then turned west and crossed the plaza as far as the terrace delimiting the *Ushnu* compound. The waters of the canal emptied into baths which were probably the "baños secretos para los ingas y sus mujeres" (ibid: 253), and which are in what now is the cemetery (Cuentas, 1986). The canal was about 0.80 m wide in the early 1970s and it was flanked by Spanish houses and therefore defined narrow and irregular lanes throughout the town.

Nowadays a pool has been built around the Puyuc *puquial*, out of which comes a pipe with a water flow of 10 cm<sup>3</sup> per second. The waters are tepid in the cold mornings of Vilcaswaman, but gradually get colder throughout the day. Around the spring there are some stones carved in the Inka style which would seem to have been the foundations of either a fountain or a small pond.

Vilcaswaman thus symbolically replicated the layout of the plaza in Cuzco, which was also split into two parts by the Huatanay River. A watercourse and a pond or spring seem to be constant Cuzco concepts for the foundation of new centres, perhaps as a result of the symbolic implications and ritual significance entailed by the division in two halves (Zuidema, 1978a; Sherbondy, 1982).

The plaza delimits the central part of the urban nucleus. The two above-mentioned canchas lie in the southern half, whereas in the northern half there is only evidence of terraces that must have been lower than on the east. The presence of terraces on the northern side of Vilcaswaman, separated by a canal, is another feature that can be compared with Cuzco Haukaypata, where terraces were built on the other southwestern side of the river that crossed the plaza (Gasparini and Margolies, 1977; Agurto, 1987). The terraces on the eastern side of the plaza delimited the 'altozano'. Nowadays, there still exists part of the first terrace at the base of this hill, which stretches over 112 m long and stands 3.50 m high.

Six ancient roads also converge on the plaza, 4 of them oriented according to the four compass points. They seem to correspond to the Inka layout but this does not imply that Vilcaswaman was laid out in a cardinal grid for there are no Inka streets. The southern road enters the plaza through the south-east corner, which coincides with the north-eastern corner of the first platform of the Temple of the Sun, and exits through the north-west

corner of the *ushnu's cancha*. The east-west road enters close to Puytuc spring (*see* Plan IV-1) and exits through the angle formed by the projection of the two terraces that come from the Temple of the Sun and the *ushnu*. The other two roads must also be Inka; One leaves through the south-west corner of the first platform of the Temple of the Sun and goes towards the *qolqas* of Lawaresqa; whilst the other uses a terrace adjacent to the southern side of the *ushnu* and continues as far as the site of Pomacocha. These roads could be the ones Cieza was amazed to see when he passed through Vilcaswaman, which had been built by each Inka ruler and were no longer used at their death (Cieza, 1985, II: 42).

#### 4.4. Other Buildings

A group of other buildings was identified during the survey, indicating the presence of other sectors of Vilcaswaman in addition to the two above-mentioned *cancha*. Analysis of these has the potential to yield new data on the size of the site and the diversity of its occupants, particularly because it is known that certain groups of specialists were settled at Vilcaswaman. For example, smiths, who made jewellery for use in rituals, are understood to have been resident at the time of Topa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac (Cieza, 1985: 186). However it is not known whether these groups were located inside the urban core or beyond but in its vicinity.

An area of about 1/4 hectare, known as Ccantu Pata, lies some 150 m to the east of Puytuc spring, on the north-eastern side of the town of Vilcaswaman (*see* Plan IV-1). The name and location of the site bring to mind one of the Inka precincts of the same name that existed in Cuzco. Were these precincts also replicated at Vilcaswaman? In this sector, some structures are visible that would seem to indicate the presence of a third *cancha*. It is an area on the middle part of a small knoll that delimits the ravine of Yuraq Yacu, and the left-hand side of an Inka road on the outskirts of the urban core. At present, it is a vacant lot covered with shrubs and fences, through which a modern road runs. The soil is of reddish clay, a unique feature in all of Vilcas. A great part of this area has been levelled with a bulldozer, and on the surface parts of the foundations of two fairly roughly made Inka buildings can be seen. One is circular, 4 m in diameter and had a wall width of 0.70 m. The second, a rectangular enclosure is situated only 2.10 m from the circular building. This also roughly built walls, 0.70 m thick, and delimiting a space 3.40 m long on the

northern side and 2.15 m on the southern. There are several other indications of other walls close to this enclosure.

On the surface, attention is also drawn by the abundance of cream and red slip ceramic sherds. Here Profesor Arias (pers. com., May 1997) picked up a poorly preserved, greyish-black fragment of the neck of a jar. The colour was attained as a result of the high temperature during firing. The clayish soil and this piece of flawed pottery made Profesor Arias believe that this could have been a potter's sector. This might be correct because beside the two above-mentioned features, several small polishing stones were also found.

On the edge of a dirt track near to Ccantupata there are two stones. The larger measures 1.60 by 1.30 m and stands 1.10 m high. It is called Jampatu Rumi by the local inhabitants. These two stones were arranged one on top of the other, when observed in 1979, but by 1997 this arrangement had been disassembled. There are 2 small, man-made holes in the larger stone and 1 in the smaller one.

Finally, a careful reading of Carbajal's account (1965: 218, 219) and the 1586 and 1594 administrative documentation (BNP, Z-303, Z-801) suggest that there were two further *canchas*. The first belonged to the second *akllawasi* and was located probably adjacent to the first *akllawasi* and the Temple of the Sun. The second was the *cancha* of Guancapuquio, which was at two arquebus shots<sup>2</sup>, about 200 m, from the plaza on the way to Guambalpa, where there were storerooms and other houses that served the Sun. Document Z-303 (1586) is more explicit (see Appendix). It states that an old *cacique* said that this site was called "... Guancapuquio-Intiguasi," and that it was beside the "*tambo de Vilcas*." Could there have been a second Temple of the Sun at Vilcaswaman?

It should likewise be noted that the colonial document, just mentioned for Guanca Puquio, and the data, provided by Betanzos (1987: 183) on the *repartimientos* Guayna Capac made in this *Wamani*, suggest that the Inka occupation of Vilcaswaman extended in discontinuous fashion far beyond the urban core, even though the survey only showed agricultural terraces and sacred elements, but no enclosures (see Chaps. 7 and 8).

## 4.5. Storage Systems

### 4.5.1. The *Qolqas*

Leaving from the western platform of the Temple of the Sun, on the road towards Guambalpa, one crosses the precinct of Guanca Puquio and reaches the ravine of Pachahuayco (the Ccalatumayu River). On the other side of it is the community of Estancia Pata, which covers some 2 km on the lower slopes of the hill, Ccocca Ccocca. On its eastern flank, it is cut by a ravine flowing from the Ccapac Puquio spring, which was also known in Inka times (Carbajal 1965). On the southern and western sides, there are steep, deep side slopes.

At present, on the middle part of the northern slope there are two rows of the ancient Inka storerooms. Cieza (1984: 252) described them as follows: “... *Junto [a Vilcas] a una pequeña sierra estauan y están más de setecientas casas, donde recogian maíz y ... las cosas de proveimiento de las gentes de guerra que andauan por el reyno.*” On the summit of the mountain called Ccello Ccello, at 3,650 m asl there are retaining walls and small circular, rough-walled enclosures dating to the Late Intermediate Period.

The slope, where the storerooms are, is variously known as Lawerasqa, Estancia Pata or Qollqa Qollqa. It is situated at about 3,500 m asl, and some 1,800 m from the plaza of Vilcaswaman. Two of these names figure in sixteenth-century documents, and nowadays only the older members of the community know them as such. Both rows of storerooms are more than 900 m long. The first, beginning from the bottom, is of rectangular rooms built, according to the terrain. The row begins at the western slope, and turns slightly to the north-east after covering about 200 m (see Plan IV-1). At the point of where the row changes direction, there are 7 storerooms which are better preserved. These could be studied, counted, measured, and their essential features noted. They rise on a platform, with a stone retaining wall, and are some 105 m in length and 3 m in width. The first building is rectangular with crudely built stone walls. The highest wall has two small trapezoidal niches which are 45 and 50 cm wide at the top and the bottom, respectively, 70 cm high and are at 1 m above the present floor (see Photos F-6vw, D-4vw).

The measurements of the 6 remaining buildings are more clearly observed, but they vary. These buildings rise behind the one just described, and measure as follows:

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<sup>2</sup> About 200 m (del Busto, pers. com., September 1997).

Building	Measurements	Space between enclosures	Orientation of doorway
1	?	?	?
2	8.70 x 4.80 x 0.70	1.50	North
3	8.20 x 4.20 x 0.70	1.80	North
4	9.80 x 4.70 x 0.70	1.50	North
5	8.70 x 4.80 x 0.70	2.00	North
6	7.90 x 4.90 x 0.70	1.90	North
7	6.70 x 4.80 x 0.70	1.70	North

The measurements were taken on the outer face of the enclosures. It is likely that the variations in building size are a function of their collapse. Few buildings have any visible architecture on the surface, whereas most are at floor level, which in no case is the original floor. The walls were crudely made out of small stones, set in a mud and gravel mortar.

The next row runs parallel to the first and the space between them is 52 m. The difference in elevation between these two rows is about 2.50 m. The first 500 m of this row was studied. There 5 rectangular buildings are quite visible, as well as 3 circular and the remains of several small retaining walls that run parallel to the buildings. The size of these rectangular buildings ranges from 7.20 m to 7.90 m in length and 4.60-4.80 m in width, the walls are a standard 0.70 m thick. The distance between each building is 2.20 m.

The circular buildings have an internal diameter of 4.20, 4.37 and 4.50 m, and walls are also 0.70 m thick. The present height of the walls is 0.32 m. partial remains of another 4 circular buildings were also identified. The sherds found in the buildings are mainly those from Inka jars: body, base, neck and handle parts.

These storerooms seem to belong to the types which housed war supplies and food provisions, such as maize, which were to provision the troops with food, weapons and clothing (Cieza 1984: 253; de Ribera y de Chaves, 1965: 181). They fit in with the second type of storehouse, described by Cobo (1965: 124), which was usually built in provincial capitals where the Inka governor resided. These storehouses have similar characteristics to those at Huanuco Pampa (Morris 1972; Morris and Thompson 1985), and are thus typical of provincial administrative facilities. If the 700 *qolqas* that Cieza saw had approximately

the same volume as those at Huanuco Pampa, there would have been a storage capacity of about 53,550 m.<sup>3</sup> At present, there is no available documentation, such as the *Visita* made by Íñigo Ortiz for Huánuco that can provide information about how and from whence the resources kept in the State storehouses came. However, it is likely that part of the goods, like maize and potatoes, came from the few alluvial lands in the Pampas River basin, and probably from the San Miguel and Azángaro (Huanta) basins too.<sup>3</sup>

The remaining goods must have come from more distant State lands in other Inka provinces because the area has few lands available for intensive and extensive cultivation, and there would have been little opportunity for the production of a surplus. It would have been difficult for all of the goods stored here to have come from the Vilcaswaman Wamani. The task of producing an economic surplus in this area, where economic and political strategies proved unsuccessful, probably was and still is a crucial concern for the Inka, the Colonial and even the modern State.

Besides the above-mentioned storerooms, there were two other groups of them at Vilcaswaman. How can we explain this?

#### 4.5.2 Other Qolqas

The second group of *qolqas* is located in the *cancha* of the so-called *ushnu* and the palace of Topa Inga Yupanqui. Cieza (184: 252) describes it as storehouses for weapons, fine textiles and other kinds of tribute. Were these storehouses directly managed by the Inka during rituals, or did the rulers use them on appropriate occasions? Were these private stores? In Cuzco, "... the storerooms of the Inka were located close to those of the Sun ..." (Rostworowski, 1988: 258). On the other hand, the group in the *ushnu's cancha* recalls the description Sancho de la Hoz made of the *qolqas* which he saw in Saqsayhuaman, where there were also weapons, blankets, etc.. The area that lies to the far west of this *cancha*, and the knoll that now belongs to the cemetery,<sup>4</sup> are here tentatively identified as the location of these silos, but equally they could also partially correspond to the 2 small buildings directly behind the *Ushnu's* pyramid. Their small doorways and tiled floors favour this possibility.

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<sup>3</sup> The latter is suggested by Murúa (1987: 552).



A third group of *qolqas* lies outside the core of Vilcaswaman. It appears in a colonial request for land that dates to 1586 (Document Z-303, see Appendix) where it says that there were some Inka enclosures "*a dos tiros de arcabuz*", about 200 m away, at Guancapuquio, to the Southwest of Vilcaswaman along the Inka road to Guambalpa. The witnesses said that these storerooms held coca, wool, *charqui*, maize and chillies. The contents suggest that these storerooms were "specialized" in tribute rendered in resources from the humid yunga, like coca and chillies. Perhaps these only stored goods exclusively destined for ritual and reciprocity. In theory, this could constitute a new type of storeroom for special goods. In addition, according to this same document, there were agricultural terraces and other *chacras* besides the enclosures. The association of these storerooms with these fields suggests that they both belonged to the Sun, as hinted by one of the informants, and that they must have been used for the cult of all deities at Vilcaswaman, including the maintenance of priests and *mamacunas* (see Appendix Z-303, 1586).

A sector still known as the Guancapuquio precinct was identified in the archaeological survey. It is situated on the south-western exit from the town of Vilcaswaman. In this precinct there is an area called Paqcha Paqcha or Sirena Pata, which has agricultural terraces, a spring and a rocky outcrop. This area covers about 2 hectares and lies between the western road and the old road to Guambalpa and Lawaresqa. The ravine apparently has the most fertile of all those around Vilcaswaman, as it is watered all year long by the Ccapac Puquio canal, the Ccalatu Mayu brook and a spring found there. All other ravines have less water, which in summertime is even less.

The archaeological remains located here (see Plan IV-1) are 80 m to the west of the road to Qolqa Qolqa and the colonial lane that leaves the Temple of the Sun. These are foundations of hypothetical enclosures arranged around an open area, which can be assumed to be part of an Inka *cancha*, according to the 1586 document. Some of the foundations form the base of some modern agricultural terraces, where Inka ashlar stones can also be seen. Two large grinding stones, 20 and 24 cm long, and 15 and 18 cm wide, are located between these buildings. No ceramic sherds were found.

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<sup>4</sup> Here are some foundations of enclosures that were also seen by Wiener (1993: 281). They were rediscovered in the 1980s, when the site was cleaned and restored (Cuentas, 1986).

Scattered Inka ashlar building stones, the foundations of several rectangular buildings, a circular one and the walls of small terraces lie some 50 m to the south of this complex. A stone block, 1.52 x 0.75 m, is part of this group and rises close to a modern fence (see Photo D-16). It is not known whether it is a *wanka* because it is on the ancient Inka road that went to Contisuyu, but it could also have been part of a doorway in this sector. According to Don Sabino Pomahuayre (aged 63; pers. com., May 1997), a member of the Qollqa Qollqa peasant community, in the 1980s carved stone blocks were removed from this sector in a community *minka* to repair the terraces in the Temple of the Sun. One of the blocks so moved belonged to a doorway that was dismantled and placed by the restorers in the third niche of the second terrace on the northern *merlon-shaped* side of the Temple of the Sun.

In the centre of this sector and close to the small rocky outcrop, there is also evidence of Inka agricultural terraces, in an area that measures 400 m on its southern side, and 200 m on the west. Four levels of agricultural terraces have been identified in this sector from studies of the 1961 aerial photographs. The decay and destruction of these terraces has been hastened by the vast numbers of trees planted on them, and by new field boundaries.

Finally, when passing through Vilcaswaman Pedro Pizarro (1986: 81) saw a "... buhío rredondo se hallaron ciertas angarillas y en ellas cántaros de oro y planchas de oro ..." (... a round hut where there were some stands with golden pots and silver plates) ¿Did he mean a storeroom or a workshop in the cancha of the Sun? Or was this a circular building similar to those in front of the Casana, in Cuzco's Haukaypata? These is the earliest reference to a circular building at the site. The only two circular buildings identified in the archaeological survey of Vilcaswaman are one in the Guanca Puquio sector and the other in Ccantu Pata.<sup>5</sup>

In brief, at Vilcaswaman there are three types of *qolqas* which do not appear in major centres like Huanuco Pampa where 497 state *qolqas* were identified (Morris (1972: 397). They had secular uses and are of the same type as the 700 state *qolqas* in Vilcaswaman which Cieza saw on the eastern slope of Lawaresqa. The type of storage sites

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<sup>5</sup> The latter could also belong to a ceramic centre.

found at Vilcaswaman must be considered the sole secular element in Inka logistics, where essentially military goods were kept (Cieza, 1984: 252).

Neither of the other two types described for Vilcaswaman outnumber the first either in number or volume. Nor were they *strictu sensu* storehouses managed with a secular end in mind. The ones in the *cancha* at Guanca Puquiu would have been *qolqas* used for religious purposes, and those in the *ushnu's* *cancha* probably served the political sphere and were personally managed by the Inka rulers when feasting local *kurakas* and people to strengthen reciprocal ties. The goods stored inside the *qolqas* were constantly being used more and more for these ends (Polo de Ondegardo, 1916: 59; Rostworowski, 1986: 67).

#### 4.6. Size and Population Density

The size of a site is one element that helps understand the importance of an Inka administrative centre, but it is not conclusive that indicates when a site has the status of provincial administrative centre. Their nature is measured by the composition of their population and the presence of State institutions. Hence size is a secondary element and this would explain the various sizes of administrative centres known by archaeological studies, such as Jauja, Cajamarca, Pumpu or Huanuco Pampa. In some way the building of administrative centres sprang from logistic and political considerations the State had regarding annexed areas, and size would somehow be reflecting these considerations.

According to the evidence found, the total area of the urban core of Vilcaswaman must have been of about 1/4 km<sup>2</sup>, and the size of the plaza between its two moieties must have had about 4 hectares, measured from the Temple of the Sun, the so-called *Ushnu* and the terraces on the eastern and northern sides. According to Carbajal (1965: 218), this plaza could have held some 20,000 people. It is thought that Vilcaswaman was an Inka centre that was actually smaller than other, more important settlements, such as Huanuco Pampa or Pumpu, which have over 3000 buildings. However, its small size stands out against the 700 *qolqas*, seen by Cieza (1984: 251-253) on a knoll to the south of the site, whereas Huanuco Pampa, which has a size of almost 3 km<sup>2</sup>, had 4,000 buildings and no more than 497 *qolqas* (Morris and Thompson, 1985: 56).

It is suggested that the organic life of Vilcaswaman functioned with a low population of perhaps just 1,500-2,000 inhabitants. It was essentially made up by 1,000

*acallas* (Carbajal, 1965) and perhaps a few hundred administrative or religious officials and retainers, who had their quarters spread throughout the urban core itself and apparently in other buildings that existed in the vicinity. It is assumed that the 40,000 "Indians" who Cieza says were in service here were a floating and seasonal population, who only came to Vilcaswaman to fulfil their *mita* or corvée from their towns located on the Pampas and Guamanguilla River basins, or from outside the region. This labour model apparently also existed in Cuzco. Without more precise data on the population, and in the absence of domestic residential areas or lodgings, this is the most feasible explanation for the data found in the chronicles.

The *tocricoq* of Vilcaswaman (Bandera, 1965: 178) seems to have had his residence in the *cancha* where the palaces of Topa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac rise. It seems that the last or next to last governor of Vilcaswaman was a son of Guayna Capac who "... *residia de ordinario en esta fortaleza ...*" (Murúa, 1987: 552). Perhaps this was why Guayna Capac was fond of this place, and why he was in this *wamani* for a year before settling in Tumibamba (Betanzos, 1987: 187).

### Summary

Vilcaswaman was apparently built replicating the most important civil and religious institutions of Cuzco. Its closer proximity to this city distinguishes it from other provincial sites known as "*cabeceras de provincia*," like Huanuco Pampa.

In Vilcaswaman there is a central plaza of about 4 hectares, built over a dried lake that had been previously drained and was then divided into two by a large irrigation ditch. The city was not built with a grid, like Huanuco Pampa. There are two visible *canchas* in front of the plaza, and there presumably are three others, according to colonial documents, and some archaeological remains found at Guanca Puquio, Ccantu Pata and behind the Temple of the Sun suggest their locations. The first *cancha* comprises the shrine or *Ushnu* and the palaces of Topa Inca Yupanqui and Guayna Capac. This shrine is substantially different from that of Cuzco, which is described in the chronicles, and is only comparable in formal terms with that of Huanuco Pampa. The second *cancha* comprises the Temples of the Sun and Moon.

Among the sanctuaries, the so-called Temples of the Sun and the Moon stand out. They rise over three superimposed platforms. Two *acllawasis*, each of 500 *acllas* are situated beside them, to serve both the Inka and the Sun.

In comparison with other provincial centres, a striking feature of Vilcaswaman is the presence of a group of rocky outcrops and carved stones on the eastern hill that begins at the plaza. This feature is somewhat similar to Cuzco and Tumibamba and is not found in other "provincial cities."

Six roads converge on the plaza and there are other, marginal ones, which presumably date to Inka times.

Finally, there are three groups of *qollqas* at Vilcaswaman, distributed in different sectors. A first group contains about 700 and is located almost 2 km to the southwest of the core, and are of the type found at Huanuco Pampa or Jauja. The other types lie inside the urban core and correspond to *qollqas* meant to be used to serve the Inka and the Sun.

TABLE IV-1  
A COMPARISON OF INKA FEATURES IN CUZCO, VILCASWAMAN AND HUANUCO PAMPA

CUSCO	VILCASWAMAN	HUANUCO PAMPA
1. Puma shape: - Orthogonal plan		Orthogonal plan
2. Central plaza: - Constructed on top of a dried lagoon. Divided into 2 by a river.	2. Central plaza: - Constructed on top of a dried lagoon. Divided into 2 by a canal.	2. Central plaza: 12 ha
3. Secondary plazas - Limacpamapa - Intipamapa		
4. Ushnu: - A rock (rolo) in the middle of the Plaza - A bench in the middle of the Plaza - A hole in the middle of the Plaza	4. Ushnu: - On the edge of the Plaza - A bench in the middle of the Plaza - Sacrificial stone on top of the platform	4. Ushnu: - Platform in the middle of the Plaza
5. Temple of the Sun: - An idol or image of the Sun - Curved wall with a central niche. - A rock or a seat in the middle of the patio - A garden - Fountains - Acllawasi with 500 Acllas	5. Temple of the Sun: - An idol or image of the Sun  - Canals in the rear - Acllawasi with 500 Acllas	
6. Other Sun temples: - Poken Cancha - Sacsaywaman		
7. Other temples: - Moon - The Creator - Thunder	7. Other temples: - Moon	
8. 328 wakas dispersed radially	8. At least 44 wakas dispersed radially	
9. Kiswarcancha		
10. Towers used for astronomical observation		
11. Inka residences: - Cusicancha (Pachacutec) - Gasana (Guayna Capac) - Amarocancha (Amaro Topa Inca or Huascar?)	11. Inka residences: - Tupa Inka Yupanqui - Guayna Capac	11. A House of the Inka or Governor (Topiroc)
12. Large buildings surrounding the Plaza		12. Large buildings surrounding the Plaza used as: - Lodgings 15 - For feasting 12
13. Other Acllawasi/Hatuncancha	13. Other Acllawasi: in service of the Inka: 500 Acllas	
14. Surrounding districts	14. Surrounding districts (Ccanis Pata?)	
15. Principal roads	15. Principal roads	15. Principal roads 4
16. Storerooms: - Sacsaywaman	16. Storerooms - 3 types: - State (Lawaresqa) +700 - Inka (Hatuncancha) 1 - Sun (Guancapucuc) 1	16. State storerooms 497
17. Area	17. Area 0.25 sq km	17. Area 2 sq km
18. Population 15,000 - 20,000	18. Population 1500 - 2000	18. Population 15,000 - 20,000

\* The Ushnus in Cuzco and Vilcaswaman are located in the Hanan moiety.

\*\* The Temple of the Sun in Cuzco and Vilcaswaman have the same orientation as the Urin moiety.





F6. VW. Qolqa - Qolqa.



D4. VW. Qolqa - Qolqa. Building 1.



D16. VW. Wanka at SW exit.



## Chapter 5

### Inka Symbolism at Vilcaswaman

“... Estas guacas, pues, extranjeras no se ponen en estarelación, sino las propias del Cusco, porque, conocidas estas, se podrá sacar lo que había en otras partes, pues todas, a imitación del Cusco, guardaban un mismo orden.” (Cobo, 1956: 167)

#### Introduction

This chapter presents the evidence of religious archaeological features found both inside and outside the site of Vilcaswaman. These sacred elements are represented by temples and shrines of various kinds, such as carved rocks, pyramids, springs, lakes, water canals, rocky outcrops, *wankas*, *apachetas*, and mountains. The hypothesis proposed that these *wakas* which were found at Vilcaswaman, formed part of a local ceque system, because chroniclers, such as Polo (1916), Cobo (1956) and Molina (1988) state that these also existed in the provinces, and several of these *wakas* had the same name as those in Cuzco.

It will also make a formal reconstruction of the site of the Temple of the Sun, the two *acclawasis*, and the *ushnu*. Based on the new features found in the latter, an attempt is made to present new approaches to the polysemic meaning this shrine probably had. The ceramic evidence found in the area and specifically related with one of these buildings is then presented, in an attempt to establish an additional explanation of the function the royal palaces. It is proposed that these residences and the great patio were occasionally used for the ritual festivities offered by the Inka king.

#### 5.1. The Symbolic Representation of the Landscape

The Inkas wanted to develop a pan-Andean conscience of Cuzco and they availed themselves of metaphoric and emblematic representations (Santillana, 1995) in order to re-structure sacred spaces, such as Vilcaswaman. Perhaps they followed ancient Andean models and applied more effective and subtle ways of establishing political and economic

links by enshrining the natural spaces and ideologising social representations, in order to capture the conscience of the people.

Before the Inka, complex Andean societies developed essentially religious systems rather than productive ones. The Inka, in turn, created sacred areas in various sites that replicated Cuzco. The most representative symbols were repeated in all of the provinces (Cobo, 1956: 167; Polo de Ondegardo, 1916: 57; Murúa; 1922: 72).<sup>1</sup> The Andean landscape was Cuzqueño-ized with symbolic representations that translated the concepts of Cuzco and those of the Inka. The Inka, likewise, ushered the age of the *taki*, oral tradition, and symbolism in the landscape, thus bringing to an end 1,600 years of sacred texts and iconographic preaching in textiles, ceramics and stone, as had been practised by the people of Chavin, Wari and Tiwanaku.

As noted, Vilcaswaman was built on an ancestral religious area, and it probably is one of the sites built on a "predetermined road" (Hyslop, 1984), on a projection of one of the major *ceques* that left Cuzco. But Vilcaswaman also seems to have been a centre from whence *ceques* radiated; it was through the *wakas* that were arranged along them that the sacred space, and the social and political structure, of Cuzco itself were replicated.<sup>2</sup> The *ceques* were thus used to expand the integrationist and globalising concept of the symbolic structure of Inka material culture.

At Vilcaswaman, the essential elements for the sacralisation of space were also rocks, water fountains (springs, canals, reservoirs and lakes), mountains, carved rocks, and caves. The Inka defined a new cultural area based on a tangible religious imagery. This is why Vilcaswaman would be the new Cuzco, far more than a provincial administrative centre; the Inka used more identifiable, immediate and everyday features of the landscape, which was transformed into culture. Vilcaswaman was thus an "imagined community," to

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<sup>1</sup> "Llegaron estos fuertes capitanes hasta Vilcas conquistando, y tuvieron por vasallos mucha cantidad de indios, y tuvieron muchas guerras y pelearon muy fuertemente con gran severidad. Y en lo que toca a la veneración de los idolos y huacas que tenían, mandaban que fuese al modo de esta ciudad del Cusco, y como en la comarca de él había tan gran suma de huacas idolos y adoratorios contruidos en diferentes partes, así también tenían en cada provincia..." (Murúa, 1922: 72).

<sup>2</sup> Zuidema (1978) and Sherbondy (1982) showed that the basis of the Cuzco *ceque* system lies in the irrigation system and in the social and political relations. However, we thus far lack these two components for Vilcaswaman, even though the distribution of the various water canals in the core and in the area surrounding the city (see section 5.2) seem to be indicating the presence of such a system. There likewise are just a few hints that point to the social and political component, such as the place name Ccaantu Pata, which names one of the precincts at the site.

use the term coined by Benedict Anderson (1991), that repeated the ideological and religious essence of Cuzco. There the Temple of the Sun, the *ushnu* and plaza held a special location. They had an imposing size, and their construction entailed the use of important symbolic elements, as well as the use of a special building technology. Vilcaswaman resembled Cuzco from its very inception. Just like at Cuzco (Sancho, 1988), at Vilcaswaman a big lake had dried up before the site was built (Carbajal, 1965: 218). This was one of the major symbolic elements of Cuzco because, in the Inka cosmology, water was the supreme element, and lakes the most important *pakarinas*. To establish Vilcaswaman at this site was to legitimise its sacred nature. It could also be true that this site was built by architects and masons brought from Cuzco (Cieza, 1985: 149) and using "... *canteria labrada y que para el dicho objeto mandaban traer piedras de Quito y del Cuzco y de otras partes para mostrar su valor y grandeza ...*" (Carbajal, 1965: 218). Whatever its actual veracity, this reference metaphorically states the sacred nature of Vilcaswaman, insofar as the stones forged a sacred link between Cuzco and other parts of Tawantinsuyu. This must have been a form of Inka State co-option.

## 5.2. Mountains, Boulders, Lakes, Springs, and *Apachetas*

Beyond its core there are at Vilcaswaman mountains (*urqus*), springs, *apachetas*, plains and rocky outcrops with names that recall the Cuzco *wakas* that lay along the ceques (Polo de Ondegardo, 1916; Cobo, 1956; Rowe, 1979; see Table V-1). The two mountains, which are the most serious contenders to be the major *wakas* of Vilcaswaman, are in imitation of the *wakas* of Cuzco, namely Mt. Guanacauri (2), which rises 3,815 m asl and is situated about 4 km due east of Vilcas, and Mt Anahuarque (24), some 10 km to the south and which rises to 4,182 m asl (Plan V-1 and Map V-1).

Mt Guanacauri (2) is visible from Vilcaswaman itself, and, in fact, from any point in the basin. It rises due east, towards Cuzco, and the *ccapac ñan* runs along its lower slopes. The highest point is a rocky outcrop that has a deep natural hole. This hole makes a sound "as of water running along a river" (pers. com. of Don Sabino Pumayauri, May 1997) (Photo F1-vw). This rock seems to have been the counterpart of the one described at Guanacauri as a *waka*, in Cuzco (Molina, 1988: 77; Cobo, 1956: 179), and also in shrines in the for the Jaquixaguana Valley.

At Vilcaswaman there is a second mountain called Guanacauri (3), 10 km to the north of Vilcaswaman, which appears in the Carta Nacional (Hoja 28-o, IGN-1969), and has an altitude of 4,200 m asl. It is thought that this is another sacred mountain that also in imitation of the one in Cuzco. It is also important to know that there were other Guanacauri mountains in Cuzco, namely Cumpuguanacauri on the fifth ceque in Contisuyu and Chacanguanacauri on the fifth one of Chinchaysuyu (Cobo, 1956: 172, 184). Such duplication of Guanacauri also occurred at Tumibamba, where there was a Guanacauri Cusco Aylo (Arriaga, 1922:35) and a Turi Guanacauri (Idrovo, 1993: 286).<sup>3</sup>

Anahuarque (24) is another mountain that can be seen from anywhere in the Vilcas River basin. It is higher and lies rises farther away than Guanacauri. It is situated 7 km to the south of Vilcaswaman (Hoja 28-o, 1969-IGN). On its summit is a big rock that peasants call Saywa Rumi (boundary stone). This rock can be seen over a kilometer away, a distance similar to that in Cuzco (Molina, 1988: 104; Cobo: 1956: 183).

It should be pointed out that in Sarhua, a village in the Vilcawaman region, there is a mountain called Ayawira, which has a Wari occupation (Isbell, n.d., cited in Earls and Silverblatt 1978; Valdez, Vivanco and Chávez, 1990). This could have been in imitation of the third sacred mountain, Waqa Yawira, which would have completed the Cuzqueño trilogy of sacred mountains in the Vilcas area. However, it is unlikely that this was so because this mountain cannot be seen either from the Temple of the Sun or the *ushnu* in Vilcaswaman, and besides, it is relatively distant from the area of all the other important mountains.

Are not the above-mentioned Guanacauri and Anahuarque just like two of the three mountains in Cuzco that were the most important wakas, and as such took part in the festivities of the Capac Raymi (Molina, 1988: 98-110)? Were these mountains in Vilcaswaman the ones that took part in the festivities of the Capac Raymi that Guayna Capac celebrated in Vilcas, on the way to Ecuador (Pachacuti, 1993: 248), where the young offspring of both Cuzqueño and local noblemen living in Vilcaswaman, Huamanguilla and Pomacocha were initiated? The answer is surely in the affirmative because this festival was

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<sup>3</sup> At Cuzco there were four other wakas, besides the main Guanacauri, that included the suffix Guanacauri in their name in one way or another. There also was a waka-idol called Guanacauri that went along on all wars of conquest (Cobo, 1956: 181). According to Albornoz (1988: 180), there were six Guanacauri wakas at Saquaxaguana, some 30 km away from Cuzco.

held in the provinces (Molina, 1988: 103). It was then that "... *les oradaban las orejas y armavan caballeros*" (Cobo, 1956: 208). Cobo confirms that the Capac Raymi festival was held on the first month of the year, in both Cuzco and the provinces, and it was then that they "... *armavan caballeros.*" It was perhaps in one of these festivals that Don Antonio Guaman Cucho, a native nobleman, met Guayna Capac at Vilcas (Toledo, 1940: 41). On 14 December 1570, Don Antonio declared before Toledo in his capacity as "*cacique principal del pueblo de Chirua [Chiara?] del repartimiento de Hernán Guillén vecino de la ciudad de Huamanga ....*". He was 75 years old at the time and came from a lineage of "*caciques antiguos de Guamanga*" (ibid., 38).

The colonial documents make also explicit references to these two mountains, which can be compared with their counterparts at Vilcaswaman. Besides, the archaeological survey made in the core of Vilcaswaman itself and the surrounding area, showed that certain mountains, springs, rocks, carved rocks, lakes and buildings that might have had religious connotations, which are implicit in their comparison with the ones at Cuzco.

To date, the following sites have been identified at Vilcaswaman: Ccapacpuquio, Saywarumi, Uchuypuquio, Ccotopuquio, Challapuquio, Huancapuquio, Antaccacca, Antapata, Pumahuanca, Saywaorqo, Ccencca (Senqa?) Guaynapuquio, Guayran Calla, Huno Ccacca, Killke, Soquia, etc.. Most of these are springs, and several can be linked to form lines that seem to suggest that these were *wakas* in the ceques of Vilcaswaman. A high percentage of *wakas* in the *ceques* at Cuzco were also springs or water fountains and boulders. According to Rowe (1946: 200), these comprised almost half the *wakas*. On the other hand, many of the names do not correspond to words in the Ayacucho Quechua, nor do they appear in the dictionaries of Ayacucho Quechua by Soto (1976) and Guardia Mayorga (1971). Instead, they seem to belong to Cuzco Quechua.

Among these mountains there are:

- 1). Pumahuanca (19). This is a small hill quite close to the *ccapac ñan*, on the road to Cuzco, 4.5 km from Vilcaswaman. On its summit (3,750 m asl) there is a large carved rock (Photo F4-vw).
- 2). Antaccacca (22) This mountain (3,800 m asl), 7.5 km south of Vilcaswaman has no distinctive feature, save that its summit is rounded.

3). Ccoto Puquio (23) This mountain (4,005 m asl), 8 km south of Vilcaswaman also has no distinctive feature but below it there is a small spring.

4). Pillucho (30) A pyramid-shaped mountain (3,900 m asl), is located 4 km west of Vilcaswaman with circular buildings on its summit. The excavations made by Torres in 1969 uncovered a Late Intermediate Period occupation. However, there are two rectangular rooms which are completely different from the other structures of this period, and are apparently Inka constructions.

5). Killke (31) This is a very steep mountain (3,938 m asl), because its slopes rise directly from the Pampas River for about 2,200 m asl. It is located 6.5 km from Vilcaswaman.

6). Amaro (32) This mountain (3,704 m asl) is located 9.5 km to the north-west of Vilcaswaman and it rises over the plain at the Inka site of Pomacocha. On its summit there is a small rocky outcrop called "Ustuna Rumi" or *cashua*-coloured Illa Rumi (yellow). Mt. Amaro is visible from the lake at Pomacocha and from Vischongo. Nowadays peasants see in this stone "the shape of livestock and it is looking over Vilcaswaman and Anahuarque. The *comuneros* respect It ... and we even see its horns and eggs."

7). Saywa (1) is the highest and most visible mountain (4,100 m asl), 10 km to the north of Vilcaswaman. Its summit is a rocky outcrop. It is also called Wayllay.

Among the water sources around Vilcaswaman there are:

8). Huancapuquio (4) This lake is 2 km long and about 500 m wide. It is situated 7 km east of Vilcaswaman, on the road to Cuzco. Its waters do not feed the basin nor the town of Vilcaswaman and at an altitude of 3,700 m asl. The *ccapac ñan* goes close to the shore. There are many *parihuana*s and white herons.

9). Ccoto Puquio (25), 7 km to the north-west of Vilcas. This is a spring on the middle slope of the mountain of the same name. Its waters feed one of the ravines that flow into the Vilcas River basin.

10). Ñahuin Puquio (34) to the north-west of Vilcas at 3,650 m asl. This is a spring situated below a cliff on the sacred mountain of Amaro Ccasa, at Pomacocha. It must have once been channeled, because there are remains of several carved building stones over a distance of 40 m. At present, the pipe, leading out of the spring, is 30 cm wide. The waters of this spring run down the slope of Mt Amaro, to irrigate the extensive, crudely built agricultural terraces in the "Pata Pata" sector of Pomacocha; the water runs into the lake

also called Pomacocha. In the middle of Mt. Amaro, on the eastern side, where the remains of ancient agricultural terraces lie, and some 200 m away from this brook, there are the remains of a small water canal that runs towards the upper part of Sector III at the Inka site of Pomacocha.

11). Pomacocha Lake (33) This lake situated below Mt Amaro at 3,260 m asl is fed by several springs. It is 1.5 km long, 200 m wide, and on average 1.40 m deep. On the eastern, western and southern sides there are retainer walls finely made with hewn stones. The Inka site, that bears the same name, was built on the shores of this lake. Pachacuti Yamqui (1993) mentions this site as the place where Amaro Thopa Inka, Pachacuti's eldest son, was born.

The hypothesis that these sites were *wakas* in the ceque system, and that these *ceques* presumably radiated from the Temple of the Sun at Vilcaswaman, is strengthened by the data in Carbajal on a water fountain called Ccapacpuquio, which is "...*junto a la venta de Vilcas, dentro del pueblo viejo, una fuente natural de agua, que en la lengua general quichua la llaman Capacpuquio, que quiere decir 'fuente poderosa,' en quien adoraban antiguamente los naturales de esta provincia, y tendrá de grueso el agua que de la dicha fuente sale, el grosor de un buey y más. Dista este manantial deste pueblo poco más de una legua*" (Carbajal, 1965: 216). Everything seems to indicate that this spring is the following Inka shrine.

Ccapaq Puquio (26) is located about halfway up Mt Huno Ccaca at 3,650 m asl. It is a spring that comes out from a narrow ravine. At present it has a dam made with stones and cement, but some hewn Inka stones are still visible at the base and retains a pool 12 m long, 2.50 m wide, and 1.00 m deep. The waters are crystal clear and abundant. On the southern wall, there is a natural hole from where the water emerges quite forcefully. The canal through which the water leaves the dam measures 40 x 40 cm, and from there the water forms a brook with an 8 m wide bed with water plants and ducks. The water reaches Vilcaswaman and is used to water the agricultural terraces and the *paqchas* of Paqchapata, in Guanca Puquio, on the southern road leading out of Vilcaswaman. Señor Gutiérrez, the schoolteacher at Vilcaswaman, says that 15 years ago there was "a stone statue" standing in the spring of Ccapac Puquio, which was subsequently disappeared. Nothing is known about its form or significance and there are no similar references in Inka archaeological literature.

A group of buildings and natural features with a particular religious connotation were also recorded at Vilcaswaman. Not counting the Temple of the Sun, the springs (39, 41) and the canal (42) dividing the plaza into two, as was already discussed above (Chap. 4.3 and 5.1, 5.3), there are the following:

- 1) The *ushnu* (35). A pyramid-shaped shrine according to Cieza, which stands 8.50 m tall overlooking the Inka plaza, from its western side. A place called *ushnu* was also recorded a *waka* in the ceque system of Cuzco, Antisuyu ceque 5 *waka* 1 (Cobo, 1956: 177).
- 2) A spring (27) in the sector called Guanca Puquio or Paqcha Pata, some 150 m to the south of the Inka plaza.
- 3) A spring (5) situated in the middle part of the Yuraq Yacu ravine, some 10 m from a modern dirt track to the peasant community of San Juan de Chito. A quarry lies to the north-east

In the eastern sector of Vilcaswaman, as defined by the plaza, there is a small hill that Cieza (1984: 252) called an "altozano" which the Inka "*tenían siempre muy limpia*." It is a small rocky hill some 62 m high. It has several most meaningful and important elements that formed part of Inka symbolism and the sacred milieu of the site. The first is the terrace (18) which is now called Pachacuti which begins on the eastern side of the Temple of the Sun and extends to the north-east. At present, it has a length of 112 m and stands 3.50 m high, and is laid out in well-shaped, cell-type Inka masonry (Photo, F17-vw).

Second, some 60 m away further up the hill there are the remains of a wall of well fashioned and shaped stones (17), of which two courses still survive. A doorway opens towards the plaza, and there are some other remains of a back which would suggest that this was once a small, 4 x 4 m, building. The precinct, containing these remains, is called Alto Peru, and at present it is undergoing a rapid process of urbanization. Streets are being laid out, boulders are being broken, and Inka ashlar stones are being removed. The plaza and the *ushnu* can be seen from this structure.

- 5) A rock *in situ* (9) is located halfway up the same hill, at the edge of a new street. It is quite prominent because of its large size, 4 x 3.40 m, and 3.30 m high, and it is shaped somewhat like a square. Now it is part of a stepped passageway that begins at the end of the



Pachacuti terrace and climbs almost up to the summit, where the antenna of Radio Vilcaswaman now rises.

6) Behind the antenna, there are traces of what seems to be was an Inka wall, just a few metres from the summit. This is another *in situ* rock (12), 1.30 m long, part of whose surface was shaped like a shallow seat which may have been a small altar.

7) On the flat part of this hill's summit, there is a subterranean canal (8) that measures 0.20 x 0.25 m where the new passage and the eastern peripheral road of Vilcaswaman intersect. The channel has been accidentally cut by a bulldozer. It originates from the sector of Vilcas called Choquebamba.

8) On this summit there also was a stone pool carved out of just a single stone block (7), and which was probably fed by the above-mentioned canal. In 1992 it was taken to a location behind the Temple of the Sun, where it was integrated into a group of water canals in that sector. The orientation of the channel and the location of the pool give directly to the main entrance to the *ushnu*. This must have been a paqcha, an offering basin. The pool has a channel cut in the middle with a small, spout-like outlet (Photo, D13 vw).

9) A carved rock, that is usually called the "piedra de sacrificio" (14), lies *in situ* on the north-eastern side of this same hill, some 42 m away from the rock (9) (Photos F18 vw). It is 2.30 m long, 1m high, and its width ranges from 0.90 to 1.50 m. Only its upper surface is flattened. On it, a small pool has been carved from which a channel emerges and splits into two some 40 cm away from the pool. These two channels zigzag and join together again at the edge of the rock. Some liquid was presumably poured down them. The rock is girded by enclosure walls, parts of which are now visible thanks to the work done in 1996 by archaeologists from the UNSCH. These small walls that are visible are on the eastern and southern sides; they are 1.15 m and 2 m long respectively. A small subterranean canal made of crude stones, just like the small walls, runs along the central section of the eastern one. Some of these features immediately recall elements present at Kenko, in Cuzco.

Actually, there are several rocks and stones besides the above-mentioned ones on the hill and in the surrounding area among the orchards, fields, houses and woods, which, in Inka times, probably formed part of one of the most favoured and sacralised areas. In this sector, there is not a single trace of any structure, save for the one described. It was therefore not a domestic or administrative site.

10) Still to the east on the same plain there is a small rocky outcrop called Choquebamba about 1 km away from Vilcaswaman, comprising several carved and uncarved rocks. A carved rock (10) (Photo F21 vw) with an east-west orientation is particularly remarkable. It has a rectangular shape 2.92 m long, 1.87 m wide, and is carved on three of its sides. Its width is somewhat irregular because of the slope of the land and ranges ranging from 0.40 to 1 m. It has straight sides. Its surface is flat and a group of pools can be seen carved in bas-relief, some of them well-outlined, others just hinted at. One pool is L-shaped, and measures 87 x 43 cm. Its depth ranges from 16 cm at its deepest point, to 8 cm at the one end. The second pool has an irregular shape; it is 93 x 37 cm in one part, and 16 x 24 cm on the other, while its depth ranges from 7 to 9 cm. The third pool is rectangular, 87 x 48 cm, and 13-17 cm deep. The latter two pools are joined and appear to form one single element.

11) Further downslope towards Vilcashuaman, there is another oval-shaped boulder (11), about 20 m before crossing the Yuraq Yacu brook. In the middle of its surface, there is a canal-like groove, but this does not extend over the whole of the block.

12) Further along the ravine of Yuraq Yacu from the above-mentioned boulder (11) to the right, there is a small rock outcrop, some semi-worked stones and other fully shaped ones of rectangular shape some 50 m away, beside a dirt track. The area covers half a hectare. In the middle there is a large hole, 30 x 50 m from where the stone had been quarried to turn them into ashlar stones.<sup>4</sup> The stones are of the same geological type as those in the *ushnu*. This (21) could be one of the quarries that must have been utilised in the construction of Vilcaswaman, the other two being Inkarajay (20), some 400 m to the east of Choquebamba, where there also are stones, some semi-worked, and stone refuse covering 1 hectare, and Guancapuquio (28), some 200 m to the south of the plaza, towards Qollqa Qollqa.

13) In the Ccantu Pata sector there is an underground canal (6) which is now cut in half by a road. It measures 20 x 15 cm. In this same sector, the rocks with man-made holes (13) are also located close to what possibly was a potter's workshop (see Chap. 4).

14) Finally, there seem to have been two *apachetas* in this sector. The first one is the highest point (15), some 350 m to the south-east of the plaza, which passers-by hold in respect. This site is also called Hatun Punqu, perhaps in memory of an Inka doorway that

may have once stood here and it was the entrance to the plaza of Vilcaswaman from Cuzco, to the side of the Temple of the Sun. Nowadays, it is where two roads meet, one of which is the highway. The pile of stones which used to stand at this location until a few years ago has been destroyed by bulldozer. Nevertheless, it is named as Apacheta on "Carta Nacional" (IGN-Hoja, 28-o, 1969). According to Alborno (1988: 168), these kinds of *wakas* were quite common throughout Peru.

Moving to the east along the above-mentioned dirt road, one comes to an 'anexo' and a lake called Viscachayoq. They are located immediately beyond a pass called Pumahuanca (or Pumanjahuanca), at the end of the southern slopes of sacred Mt Pumahuanca (19). There, there still is a small, man-made mound (16), standing 1.40 m high, which is the second apacheta. From this pass the road goes down to Lake Huancapuquio.

From this location, one can see to the north east a great distance as far as Salcantay, a sacred mountain of the Inka, some 150 km away. This mountain lies to the northwest of Cuzco. At a distance of 70 km to the northwest, one can also see the snow-capped Rasuwillka, the regional *apu* of Huanta, and immediately to the south Mt. Anahuarque, with Saywa Rumi on its summit. Of course, Guanacauri above Vilcaswaman can also be seen. Were all of these locations tied down at this point as knots in some logical (not geometric) system?

The possibility that the *wakas* in the Cuzco ceque system were replicated here is raised by the data in Alborno (1988: 197). He noted that certain of the Cuzco *wakas* also existed in all the provinces of Tawantinsuyu, and received the same offerings that were made to their namesakes in the Inka capital. Cobo (1956: 167) and Polo de Ondegardo (1916: 57) likewise state that the Cuzco *ceques* had their counterparts in the provinces, both in name and function. On the other hand, not all of the *wakas* found at Vilcaswaman existed in Cuzco, for there were local deities who had been dressed by the Inka to conform the Inka style. This policy did not contradict the State policy of "redesigning" the provinces, and therefore Cobo (1956: 108) is right in noting that the provincial shrines followed the same distribution as the *wakas* and shrines of Inka Cuzco.

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<sup>4</sup> This seems to follow from the flakes found at the site.

It is surprising that the number of *wakas* in the province of Vilcaswaman is substantially increased by the colonial data of father Alborno (1988: 181-183). The following *wakas* had great local significance and were included in the Inka system: Sarasara, Suparaura, Caroancho (Carhuanchu) in the Angaraes; Choclococha with the Sora and Chanka; Sasaylla Apo close to Parcos (Huancavelica); and Jorai, presumably the modern Rasuwilka (Huanta) near to Pairijas and the Inka site of Condormarka. However, it is not easy establishing how it was that the *wakas* "appeared" both in the provinces and in Cuzco. According to Alborno (1988: 164), the Inka kings "...  *fueron inbentando muchos generos de guacas que generalmente mandó que la adorasen en toda la tierra que poseyó....* "

In brief, the region was studded by thousands of *wakas* (Alborno, 1988: 164) Many of which were destroyed in colonial times by Alborno himself, the greatest extirpator of idolatries in the region.

### 5.3. The Temples of the Sun and the Moon

The Temple of the Sun was built in the Inka core of Vilcaswaman itself. Its architecture is unique and atypical. Specially noteworthy are the elements on the north side of the plaza, and these also impressed the chroniclers who saw them. The platforms themselves had a first rate Inka finish, and displayed special architectural elements in the form of large niches, and alcoves and salients on the façade. The first and lowest platform has 14 large alcoves and salients arranged along its length. There must have been a spring below this platform, because while cleaning the area in 1982, Cuentas (1986: 48) found a 15 x 7 cm water canal (39) beside the second stairway that he had been uncovering; it made with well worked stone and it is still carries water through it (*see* Plan V-2). The second terrace has 26 large niches that alternate with other small ones. The third terrace is plain and without such emblematic features, and it is lower in height and narrower than the other two. The temples were intentionally built on top of this platform to highlight their importance. To the east, there is just one 60 m long terrace that begins at the façade of the second terrace, and is 3.40 m high in its central section and slightly higher further north. The stonework is of the cellular type. At present a street called Guayrancalle is defined by the wall of this terrace. Carbajal (1965: 219) states that the back part of the Temple of the

Sun was where the *acllas* resided, and that it was called Guayran Calla.<sup>5</sup> It is suggested that this *cancha* had an area of 9,000 m<sup>2</sup>, and perhaps 16 rooms.

At both extremes of the façade, there are two semi-square, protruding platforms that seem to have no known architectural parallel in all of Tawantinsuyu. The western one looks towards the plaza and has the large alcoves and salients. The platform to the east does not appear to have these characteristic features. Nowadays, this area is much destroyed and there are only a few traces of a small platform that extending to the north, where it is now covered by modern houses. The road to Cuzco passed through this corner. Like all major Inka Temples of the Sun, this one should have semicircular wall, as can be seen at Cuzco (see Rowe, 1944; Gasparini and Margolies, 1977), in Tumibamba (Uhle, 1923; Idrovo, 1993), and on Lake Titicaca (Squier, 1974; Gasparini and Margolies, 1977); However, no evidence of it has yet been found.

### 5.3.1. Reconstructing the site of the Temple of the Sun

A careful study of the area, of the second stairway, and careful measurement of both the Inka and non-Inka stonework on the façade of the church of San Juan Bautista, as well as the modern house in the NE angle, has permitted the reconstruction of the shape, size and location of the two buildings that presumably formed the Temples of the Sun and Moon.

Inspection of the walls in the modern house, the drystone walls on the central section of the façade, and those rebuilt in colonial times indicates that the walls of the Inka buildings run completely along the façade, with stonework of uneven height. The original Inka stonework is almost completely destroyed on the façade of the northern building, although it is higher adjacent to a 3.20 m-wide empty space. The facade of the second building continues to the first church tower, where there is a trapezoidally shaped difference in the bonding of the stonework which indicate an inka feature has been filled in. From this point, the wall continues to the main entrance of the church and on to the second tower, where there is another similar change in the stonework. The church does not extend beyond this point, yet the Inka wall does for a further 7.10 m.

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<sup>5</sup> Guayrangallay was a quarry which was the seventh waka in the second Chinchaysuyu ceque of Cuzco (Cobo, 1956: 170).

The 'trapezoidal gaps' in the towers seem to be the outlines of two Inka niches that were filled with reused Inka ashlar stones during the construction of the colonial church. The church's doorway was originally an Inka doorway to which two striated stone column jambs were added in colonial times. The empty space, 3.20 m long, that interrupts the Inka stonework is also filled with mortar-less Inka ashlar stones, and probably gave access to a passageway that separated the Inka rooms. The 'trapezoidal gap' in the room on the left side is likewise another niche. There is no trace at all of the niche which formed a pair with this one. The gap on the point where the northern stairway ends, which was discovered in the 1980s, is the doorway to an Inka building located where a modern house now stands (Photo, F15-16 vw; Plan V-3; isometric reconstruction Plan V-4).

The early colonial church respected the original rectangular shape of the Inka room located parallel to the terrace, its long side facing the plaza. It stood like that until the nineteenth century, when the artist Leonce Angrand (1972) painted it in 1847. This was the Temple of the Sun. According to the description made by Carbajal (1965: 218, 219) in 1586, "... *este templo o casa donde estaba el sol, está al presente en pie y sirve de iglesia.*" This layout that ran parallel to the terraces was destroyed when the church was rebuilt, and replaced by a building with a transversal layout. The structure now on the northern is probably at the location where the Temple of the Moon once stood.

If one stands in the small plaza in front of Inticancha, in Cuzco, according to Gasparini (1977), it is believed that the Temple of the Sun was the building on the right, where the church of Santo Domingo now is. Is this another similarity between Cuzco and Vilcaswaman?

At the rear of these temples there are parts of walls, canals and platforms that belonged to other rooms that formed the *cancha*, where the *acllas* and priests lived. Behind this *cancha*, there is another sector about a hectare in area which now has modern houses across it that have well shaped stones in their walls. In some corrals and lanes of the modern town in which ditches have been excavated to lay sewerage pipes, some fragments of Inka ceramics in Cuzco polychrome styles A and B can be seen. These features were not found anywhere else in the site. They allow the assumption that this area was associated with the *cancha* of the Temple of the Sun, and that it could have been the *cancha* adjacent to the temple where perhaps the 1000 *acllas* of Vilcaswaman resided.

The first cancha formed part of the Temple of the Sun. It might have housed the 500 *acllas* who, according to colonial documents, "... *vivian doncellas dedicadas al Sol*" (Carbajal, 1965: 218-219). The other 500 lived in the second, and adjacent *cancha*, and were women dedicated to the Inka (Carbajal, 1965: 218-219). In spatial terms, there is no way that the first *cancha* could have housed all of the *acllas* and priests. These *canchas* aligned one behind the other, a pattern which also is apparent in the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco.

Finally, it could be hypothesised that the protruding quadrangular platform on the western side of the Temple of the Sun could well be the vacant area that all temples of the Sun had, as is exemplified by the well known three: Cuzco, the Island of the Sun, and Tumibamba. However, these areas are semicircular platforms with walls made of well shaped stone. In the case of Vilcaswaman, the platform is square and formed by three tiered terraces. The first terrace is alcoves and salients, the second has an arrangement of alternating large and small niches, and the third is devoid of any distinguishing features. At Vilcaswaman, the semicircular element of Cuzco's Inticancha appears to have been replaced by a quadrangular one.

#### 5.4. The Cancha of the 'Ushnu'

Another religious characteristic unique to Vilcaswaman is the pyramidal structure that Cieza described as an "adoratorio" or shrine and which was later called the *ushnu*. It stands, together with other buildings, in the *cancha* located on the western side of the plaza.

The *cancha* is of trapezoidal shape and extends over a slightly levelled knoll formed between two small ravines (see Plan IV-1 and V-2). It is 80 m wide on the east, towards the plaza, and about 200 m long on its western side. The northern, southern and western sides show traces of terraces. The buildings form two small sectors (see Plan V-2). The first group stands in the eastern sector of the *cancha*, the other in the western.

The first group comprises enclosed buildings that begin at the plaza's edge and comprise an area, 60 m wide and almost 100 m long. At present, there remain parts of the walls that closed off the eastern and southern sides, while on the northern side only the foundations survive (Plan V-5).

On the eastern side there are three double-jamb doorways. The two lateral ones lead to terraced passages that are peripheral to the group. The central doorway (2) is the only one giving access to the *ushnu* direct from the plaza. The southern doorway leads to a long, terraced passage that goes into the *cancha* and passes through two more fine doorways in the classic Cuzco style, one of these (4) lies inside the central part of the passageway, while the other (5) stands almost at its end. On the other side, the terraced northern passage does not lead to any extant doorway, it must have instead led to the second group that once stood on what is now the cemetery of the modern town.

On the eastern side, there is also a doorway (6) that apparently had a three-stepped threshold.

The first group of buildings is defined by a still standing, rectangular structure, and perhaps two others of similar size; 2 small buildings; a terrace; and 1 *ushnu*. (see Plan V.2). The rectangular building, usually called *kallanka*, has a polygonal-type stonework. It is 40 m long, 10 m wide and the walls are 1 m thick. There are 5 trapezoidal doorways, 1.30 m in width at the threshold and standing 2.50 m high, which alternate with three windows. Two small niches between each doorway can be seen half-way up the inside face of this wall (Photo, D 10 vw).

There are another two possible rectangular structures indicated by foundations. The first is on the south-western angle, where a single course of a crude wall is still visible. The second is on the south-eastern angle, where two courses of a 7 m long wall of well shaped and fitted masonry can be seen. This room, and the one called *kallanka*, probably were part of the palaces of Thopa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac.

There are two small structures of Inka stonework in the first two courses, and with paved floors, located directly behind the *ushnu*. Each measures 5.20 x 5.20 m. They are separated by a narrow passageway across which the doorways each room face each other. Each doorway is 80 cm wide.

While cleaning this sector in 1996, archaeologists from the UNSCH found a 12 m wide terrace adjacent to the southern wall of this *cancha*. A human burial in association with ceramic vessels, copper *tupus* and beads/*chaquira* was discovered on this terrace, 60 cm below the modern surface. After a long bureaucratic procedure, permission was granted to view the Inka vessels, which at present are stored in the town hall of Vilcaswaman.



These vessels are all in the full-fledged Cuzco style, and comprise 7 small jars, three of which are decorated; 7 plates, both big and small; and 2 small pots. Why was there an Inka burial of this kind in the *cancha* with the above-listed characteristics, and where the palaces of Topa Inca Yupanqui and Guayna Capac were? Are these the bodies of individuals sacrificed to the Sun on the pyramid, as claimed by Carbajal (1965: 218)? Were these bodies part of a Ccapac Cocha ritual?

The second group of buildings must have been in the western sector of the *cancha* which is now a cemetery. Cuentas (1986: 47) says that an Inka bath once stood in this sector. Entry to the cemetery was denied; however, several lengths of Inka walls were noticed on the southern and eastern sides, which could have been part of the enclosure walls of this *cancha*. The remains of two terraces were also found on the western side (Plan V-5). In the nineteenth century, Wiener (1994) recorded rooms and agricultural terraces in this sector. At present, no other remains can be identified amidst the fields and shrubs.

#### 5.4.1. The 'Shrine' or 'Ushnu'

The "adoratorio" is a stepped-pyramid with 5 small concentric and superimposed rectangular terraces, becoming progressively smaller up the pyramid. These platforms differ in their size and width (see Plan V-5, Photo D7 vw). The lowest terrace is 26 x 24 m, whilst the uppermost measures only 15.80 x 12 m. Both Cieza (1984: 252) and Carbajal (1965: 218) note that the summit platform had a double stone seat can still be seen on it. It is 1.80 m long and 1.08 m wide. The seats were carved on this ashlar stone and are 0.58 x 0.58 m; their respective, tiered arms are only 0.25 m wide (Photo, F26 vw). Cieza (1984) claims that the seat was covered with gold and precious stones<sup>6</sup>. In total, the pyramid is 7.94 m high.

Carbajal (1965: 218, 219) explicitly notes that the Inka worshipped and made sacrifices to the Sun at this shrine. The walls on the uppermost platform had pentagonal-shaped and peaked capping stones, similar to those found at Pomacocha and Chinchero. Both of these chroniclers suggest that the sacrificial stone "*donde se sacrificaron animales y niños tiernos*" (Cieza, 1984: 252) was also on the upper platform. However, despite some

reservations, it is thought that this stone was the so-called "fountain," which, at present, stands on the edge of the plaza in front of the Temple of the Sun. It is a single stone, crafted in the shape of a large, deep trough, similar to the fountain that is now located in the middle of the patio of the first cloister of the convent of Santo Domingo, the former Coricancha, in Cuzco.

There is a further architectural attribute of the *ushnu*, an Inka ashlar stone that once formed part of a wall which now stands in the patio of the Town Hall of Vilcaswaman. On its outer face, the stone depicts the figure of a feline in high-relief. According to both the mayor and alderman in charge of "cultural affairs" of the town, this piece had been removed from the *ushnu*.

The "shrine" is entered directly from the plaza through a finely shaped and fitted, double-jamb door, from whence one can ascend a 36-step stairway, flanked by a small wall 0.40 m high, up to the ritual platform.<sup>7</sup>

This pyramid-like building is unique and differs from all other buildings scholars call *ushnu*. Whilst it is a platform fronting onto a plaza, it is not thought that it is comparable in structural terms with any of the other known *ushnus*, such as those of Jauja, Pumpu, or Huanuco Pampa. Zuidema (pers. com., 1992) wondered what its stylistic origin was, and remarked that he was not acquainted with any similar Inka concept. As a hypothesis, it is suggested that one should study certain features alien to Inka architecture, particularly those in complex societies, such as the Chimu, a culture that, as Rowe (1948) observed, made many contributions to the Inka style of doing things. Similarly it could be suggested that many cultural characteristics of Chinchu, on the south coast, were also perhaps incorporated into Inka architecture and urbanism.

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<sup>6</sup> However, it should be pointed out that if the measurements given by Cieza are converted from 11 x 7 "pies" to modern metres (0.33 m/pie), the result does not match this seat. Is it that colonial Spanish "pies" were of a different size?

<sup>7</sup> Just for reference's sake, on 28 May 1997, at 6:00 a.m., bearings from the *ushnu* to the sacred mountains that were visible were taken, and to the highest point on the mountain where the sun came up that day. The results were the following:

1. Ushnu - Amaro = 180 °
2. Ushnu - Anahuarque = 308 °
3. Ushnu - Sunrise = 67 °

4. Ushnu - East = 90°. This was measured from the central part of the *ushnu*'s central doorway to the highest point on the eastern knoll of Vilcaswaman, which is a carved rock (12).

The idea of a pyramid is not alien to the Inka, nor is it strictly a coastal concept, as suggested by Agurto (1987), being instead present throughout the vast Andean region. The pyramid is an architectural structure that figures prominently in the Titicaca Altiplano from the Early Horizon through to the Classic Period, with Tiwanaku. It is thought that the *ushnu* at Vilcaswaman has some architectural elements that can somehow be correlated with earlier pyramidal structures located, once again, in the previously discussed (see Chapter 2) region of the two *ombilicus mundi* of Tiwanaku and Pachacamac.

However, the Vilcaswaman pyramid can also be correlated with the so-called *waka* of Chinchacamac, one of the sons of Pachacamac who lived in Chincha. This is a pyramidal mound located in the site of La Centinela de Tambo de Mora which forms part of a complex of buildings enclosed by a peripheral wall. One climbs up the mound directly from the plaza through a lateral stairway straight to the top. There is no communication possible with the adjoining buildings, either those on its sides, the back or below it. Similar and related features also appear in Pachacamac, the "mother" of Chinchacamac, according to Santillán (1968). The latter site may have given the Inka the inspiration for the "adoratorio" at Vilcaswaman, either directly or as a reflection of Pachacamac concepts. It was for this reason, as noted above, that this pyramid has other symbolic elements, and not just those of a classic *ushnu*. It should not be forgotten that the presence of Pachacamac in this region materialised in a *waka* of one of its sons; in Andahuaylas, according to Zuidema (1989), or perhaps in Willka. Was there an attempt to somehow emulate the figure of Pachacamac by building this *ushnu* with such characteristics? It is known that the Chincha people were also present in the area, because Lumbreras reports having found Chincha pottery in the Pampas River basin, as was already noted. In addition, the formal structure of the whole complex surrounded by a peripheral wall recalls the plan of La Centinela in Chincha, where a similar type of architectural design is found.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, the *ushnu* can also be correlated with the pyramidal structures at Tiwanaku. The Akapana at Tiwanaku could also have been the pyramid complex which the Inka took as their formal inspiration for the Vilcaswaman *ushnu*. The possibility that the Inka derived some characteristics from a sacred place, like Tiwanaku, is supported by Cobo

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<sup>8</sup> However, Rowe (1946: 229) suggests that the inspiration for square blocks in Inka buildings came from Chimú.

(1956: 82) who notes that towards the end of his reign, when his military campaigns were over, Pachacutec commanded the construction of temples and "... algunos fuertes castillos" which had as model "... lo que vio antaño en Tiwanaku en sitios como Vilcas y Huarca". The term "castillo" was also used by other chroniclers to describe the *ushnu*.

The Akapana has successive concentric platforms that form the pyramid in the shape of half a "cruz andina," with two stairways on the eastern and western sides. The excavations made in 1988-89 by Manzanilla et al. (1990) show that the platforms also have capping stones (see also Kolata, 1993). The *ushnu* at Vilcaswaman also had them, but only on the uppermost platform. They were still present until 1979. In the whole of Tawantinsuyu, this architectural feature only appears in two other Inka sites, Pomacocha and Chinchero. The axis of its layout is due east-west, 90°, and passes exactly through the middle of the stone seat, the stairway and the doorway. The double-jamb doorway and its direct access through steps are two further elements that also recall Tiwanaku.

Although the available data are not sufficient to know which of the above-mentioned sites was the model for the Vilcaswaman *ushnu*, particularly since both regions were known by Pachacutec, it is thought that for the Inka, the pyramidal characteristic came from both regions which had strong religious components and monumental buildings in the shape of a pyramid and symbolic connections with the Inka.

The major *wakas* of the southern and central Andes were in the two above-mentioned areas, and therefore either one of them could have been utilised as the model. Although, at present, this is mere intuition, could it not be that the "ushnu" of Vilcaswaman was a synthesis of both complexes, since its sacred spatial model corresponds to both Tiwanaku-Lake Titicaca and La Centinela-Pachacamac. This follows both from an archaeological study and from the descriptions given by Cobo (1956: 186, 188, 190, 197, 198), who visited both sites.

In general, the closest and earliest models the Inka encountered are on the Titicaca basin and on the southern coast, at Chincha-Pachacamac. Both regions had been very influential culturally, particularly its religious systems and monumental features throughout Andean history for almost 2000 years before the Spaniards arrived. The Titicaca Altiplano certainly exerted an earlier influence on many accounts, one of which is now visible in certain architectural patterns and styles of highest-status Inka architecture. This

cultural relationship probably pre-dated any influence exerted by the kingdom of Chimor, which Rowe (1970) had suggested was the strongest. Chíncha-Pachacamac had a sacred role and some of characteristics of its architecture surfaced in Inka buildings, like Vilcaswaman, apparently the first centre to be built in Chinchaysuyu by the Inka. This conclusion can open new perspectives on the Inka co-optation of the southern coast; in fact, where it will be shown that the first 'complex' society the Inka came in contact with, also influenced Inka elite architecture with some elements.

At Vilcaswaman, the pyramid-shaped shrine or *ushnu* perhaps embodied the concept of a sacred mountain, the principal *apus* or *wakas* of the Andean world. On top of it, rituals were enacted and sacrifices made to the Sun.<sup>9</sup> These possible explanations of the *ushnu* are apparently more believable than others, simply because the Inka copied the material culture or mythical references to both of the two above-mentioned *omblicus mundi*. Thus the Inka were able to claim Lake Titicaca as their place of origin. However, the patterns the Inka used in designing their architecture also show these cultural borrowings. Therefore, the buildings on the Island of Koati (Lake Titicaca), the structures of Maukallaqta in Pacariqtambo (Cuzco), and the complex, tentatively identified as the Temple of the Sun at La Centinela (Chíncha), all repeat the ancient Tiwanaku patterns in their ornamentation and plan, as found at Pumapunku.

The idea of reproducing the essential features of a cultural landscape seems to have had a much wider scope, particularly with regard to lakes, water fountains, boulders and mountains, all of which were imbued with a sacred aura by the Inka or even by previous societies. There were, as a consequence, several ways in which a sacred mountain could be represented. In addition to the *ushnu* platform, their depiction can easily be seen on carved rocks, such as at Machu Picchu (Morris, 1991; Niles, 1993) and also at Písaq. The so-called *ushnu* of Vilcaswaman would thus be an architectonic component that dates to the early Inka expansion, which is why it is a far more orthodox version of a sacred mountain than those at other important sites, such as Tambo Colorado (Pisco). Still, this is a less orthodox version than the original *ushnu*, a boulder that stood in the middle of the Aukaypata plaza in Cuzco (Cobo, 1956:164; Betanzos, 1987; Sancho, 1986; Pizarro, 1986),

as well as a similar one in the Urinaucaypata (Cobo, 1956). Both of these seem to have been the first tangible versions of the concept of sacred mountain or *ushnu*, which subsequently became the national emblem of Cuzco and the Inka and which was replicated in many centres.

However, there are several unresolved problems still awaiting a solution. First, there is the problem of what the *ushnu* was. In his path-breaking studies, Zuidema overemphasised the role of the fountain (*pila*) and drains (*sumideros*) or “caños” in order to “emphasise the concept of a connection with the underworld.” Zuidema can be fully supported in the idea that the concept of an *ushnu* as a platform was introduced only after 1570, even though it had been used in Inka times.<sup>10</sup> However, it is suggested that Zuidema is wrong when he claims that Pachacuti Yamqui meant “...burials of gold and silver in the *ushnu* at Vilcaswaman” (Zuidema, 1989: 448) because it is thought that Pachacuti was referring to another site called Guamanin, that lies some 60 km away from Vilcaswaman to the west. There, there is a platform built of fine well fitted masonry in the Cuzco style that the local population call “Incapamesan” (see section 2.3). Pachacuti seems to have been quite specific when he mentioned this site, and he did not mean Vilcaswaman.<sup>11</sup>

Second, the characteristics listed for the *ushnus* in Cuzco, both the one in Hananaucaypata and the other in Hurinaucaypata (Cobo, 1956: 164, 177), specifically refer to the boulder or rock shaped as a nipple “a manera de teta” (Pizarro, 1986) or as a skittle “bolo” (Albornoz, 1988), with the platform (*pila*), the bench (*escaño*) or platform and the holes or “caños” (Pizarro, 1986) as associated elements. However, in the cases of Vilcaswaman, Huanuco Pampa and other sites, the platform, always a secondary element in Cuzco, is described as if it was the *ushnu* itself. Instead there is no reference whatsoever to the boulder, which, it is suggested, embodies precisely the concept of *ushnu*, nor to the hole, which is one of its secondary element (see Rowe, 1997).<sup>12</sup> Meddens (1997: 6) recently

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<sup>9</sup> Surprisingly enough, Cieza (1984) calls it a mountain. This must be taken literally. Kolata and Ponce (1993:328) have also suggested that pyramidal structures like Akapana, in Tiwanaku, represent the sacred nature of the mountains.

<sup>10</sup> One of Pachacutec's sons was called Paucar usno (Sarmiento, 1943: 202).

<sup>11</sup> Zuidema (pers. com., August 2000) pointed out to me that he used an old edition of Pachacuti Yamqui (1879: 241).

<sup>12</sup> This is another example of archaeologists and ethnohistorians taking the easy way out by substituting the central element with a secondary one which, once publicly stated, becomes an established truth.

reported having found a boulder, apparently *in situ*, atop a platform which he says is an *ushnu* at the Inka site of Taira Chullo in Espinar, Cuzco.

What still cannot be explained for Vilcaswaman is the small platform or "escaño", described by Cieza (1984: 252), that stood in the middle of the plaza. There appears to be no other similar description for any other Inka administrative site outside Cuzco. In general, the structures that archaeologists have identified as *ushnus* in other sites are also in the middle of the plaza. Can this small platform be Vilcaswaman's *ushnu*? Or is it another kind of *ushnu*, so that the so-called "shrine" on the western side of the plaza is actually the *Capac Ushnu*?<sup>13</sup> It is possible that the "escaño" seen by Cieza (1984: 252) at Vilcaswaman, from where the Inka saw the "fiestas ordinarias" was, in fact, similar to the "escaño" in the middle of Aucaypata, in Cuzco. Writing about the latter Pedro Pizarro, who saw it himself, said that it was the "escaño" where the image of the Sun was placed during the festivities in which the *mallquis* participated. If, in fact, all that was available for Vilcaswaman were references to a pyramid or an "escaño", they could have both been identified as *ushnu* because both have all the necessary attributes.

In addition to these two elements, there is also the double carved seat at Vilcaswaman. One of them is actually on top of the *ushnu* and was described by both Cieza (1984: 252) and Carbajal (1965: 218). A second, similar seat was seen by Riva Agüero (1995: 92, 93) in front of the town hall when he passed through Vilcaswaman in 1910. This may have been the one that sat on the "escaño." It probably is the one that now lies in pieces between the two stairways of the Temple of the Sun.

One element has not been located thus far: the "hoyo," the hole, which was one of the most important elements associated with an *ushnu*. It is thought that it was on top of the pyramid because *chicha* was apparently poured into it. As Albornoz said of another *ushnu*, "... en el dicho Ushnu sentábanse los señores a beber a el sol ... y hacían muchos sacrificios ..." (Albornoz, 1988: 176).

It is appropriate to underline the formal variety and the series of elements platform, "escaño," pyramid, hole, canal, boulder, present in all known *ushnus*, which suggest that this was a polysemic concept, like all other Andean cultural concepts (Zuidema, 1989). Perhaps there are never absolute concepts or single meanings in Quechua.

And perhaps, as a result of this tradition that the tangible elements are likewise manifold. In other words, there would not be just a single object or physical feature but a series, and often many present the same time. Hence, the pyramid or the "escaño" are just two of several possible representations. It might well be that this could indicate a hierarchy of *ushnus*. It is possible that what varied was the structural composition, and not the concept. Besides, it seems that the *ushnus* were not exclusively located in urban centres, but also "... en los caminos reales" (Albornoz, 1988: 176; Pachacuti, 1993: 199-200). In any case, whatever its representation, an *ushnu* was always a *waka* (Albornoz, 1988: 176; Cobo, 1956: 177).

### 5.5. An Interpretation

In brief, all known descriptions of Vilcaswaman and the available archaeological evidence suggests that only 3 big *canchas* were built, where all of the palaces, residential, administrative and religious buildings were concentrated. These structures probably were both residence and administrative office at the same time, thus suggesting that the number of permanent inhabitants was very low. Furthermore, the number of inhabitants may have been even less when it is considered that the *cancha* where the *ushnu*, the storehouses, and the palaces of Topa Inga Yupanqui and Guayna Capac stood, acted as a political symbol of Cuzco that were only occasionally occupied, and that storehouses are never inhabited.

Two *acllawasi* seem to have existed at Vilcaswaman, one in the *cancha* of the Temple of the Sun, which housed the 500 *mamacuna*, mentioned by Carbajal and a second also housed 500 *mamacuna* (Carbajal, 1965: 218-219). The latter probably was the group of Inka buildings that stood in the *cancha* behind the Temple of the Sun.<sup>14</sup>

Its size and the formal internal composition imply that Vilcaswaman had different functions from those of other centres, with which it is usually compared. This suggests that it was not purely an administrative centre, at least in the terms the concept has in western

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<sup>13</sup> A term taken from Pachacuti (1993: 207).

<sup>14</sup> The Temple of the Sun at Cuzco apparently also had 500 *acllas* (Betanzos, 1987: 50). Zuidema (pers. com, 1994) says that in the 1960s he heard a popular account whereby another group of buildings for *acllas* existed at Vischongo, some 10 km to the NE of Vilcaswaman. I carefully explored the town and its vicinity but found no trace of any Inka building, save for some poorly preserved walls of agricultural terraces on the banks of the river. The local population of Vischongo instead told me that the *acllawasi* was in Pomacocha, close to Vischongo (see Chapter 7).



political sociology. The people, who lived there, were not officials *strictu sensu*, but priest-officials, who made life possible in the province through practice of Inka cult, ritual and religion. Vilcaswaman also resembled Cuzco in structural terms, according to the description that John H. Rowe (1946: 229) made of the Inka capital city. Furthermore, it was also similar to Cuzco in ideological terms, insofar as it was not just a representation of political power, but also the "... *casa y morada de los dioses y recámara de las cosas del cielo ...*" (Cobo, 1956: 37). In this way, the political message of the Inka was spread to other regions and enhanced by visiting priests. Only Vilcaswaman, Tumibamba, the Island of the Sun and Cuzco itself had images of the Sun made out of gold. It is also reported that Vilcaswaman alone was built with stones brought from both Quito and Cuzco, and that Tumibamba was built solely with stones from Cuzco (Cieza, 1984; Murúa, 1922: 150, among others). Above all, Vilcaswaman was a cult centre, a ceremonial centre, and the focus of "synchronic and horizontal life" (Anderson, 1991) in dynastic Cuzco. In other words, Vilcaswaman was an epitome of Cuzco. This would explain why the chroniclers saw it as the 'new' Cuzco, and it was situated at the very centre of Tawantinsuyu. Or is it possible that Vilcaswaman, and its role, are something the chroniclers invented (Gary Urton, pers. com., August 1999)?

However, Vilcaswaman was quite different from Huanuco Pampa. In the latter, only 1/2 km<sup>2</sup> of the more than 2 km<sup>2</sup> of buildings correspond to elite housing, ceremonial and administrative buildings, whereas in Vilcaswaman the residential, religious and administrative, or related, state buildings occupy all of the built area. In the case of Huanuco Pampa, and confirmed by the excavations undertaken in the 1970s, internal population stratification can be seen because the remaining 1.5 km<sup>2</sup> of its total area was used by seasonal labour populations, apparently *mita* groups. According to Morris (1972: 394), there was a large, temporary population differentiated by labour specialisation and socio-economic status. On the contrary, at Vilcaswaman, where no such excavations have been undertaken, all of the architecture reproduces the elite Cuzco style, and this serves to identify a function and an occupation pertaining to the highest elite groups. This would support the idea that Vilcaswaman was exclusively occupied by Cuzqueño orejones, a factor that would certainly distinguish it from other sites, such as Huanuco Pampa, which had considerable local populations in the urban core (Morris and Thompson, 1985).

At Vilcaswaman, all quadrants (E, W, N and S), when viewed from the plaza have sacred elements. However, the eastern quadrant, containing the low hill "altozano" described by Cieza's (1984), has the greatest number of them. This is another difference with Huanuco Pampa, which has a relatively small religious area on the eastern side of the plaza (Morris and Thompson, 1985).

These are just some of the important characteristics that distinguish Vilcaswaman from other classic "provincial centres," both Huanuco Pampa or Pumpu, for instance, not only have a very small elite area, but also the number of buildings in the typical, classic Cuzco style is even smaller. The prevailing building style is the one typical in all provincial centres, namely the use of *pirca*, roughly shaped stones set in a mud mortar, to such an extent that both the State-derived layout and architectural components are preserved, such as the *cancha*, and the trapezoidal shape of doorways, windows and niches.

Unlike Cuzco, around the plaza at Vilcaswaman there was not one of the large buildings that the first Spaniards called "galpones", known as *kallankas* in recent archaeological literature (Hyslop, 1990; Morris and Thompson, 1985, among others). The only large buildings are situated inside the *cancha* attributed to Tupac Inka Yupanki and Guayna Capac, directly behind the *ushnu*. However it is thought that the substantial difference with Cuzco as regards the location of these buildings is what explains the correspondence between palace and its royal Inka owner. Therefore, if the analogy between Cuzco and Vilcaswaman holds, then the festivities celebrated by Tupac Inka Yupanki and Guayna Capac to fete their subjects were held in each of these big structures and in the patio of this *cancha*. In Cuzco, there were four of these "galpones" (Hyslop, 1990) fronting on to Aukaypata; at Vilcaswaman they are inside the *cancha*. It would seem to suggest that at Vilcaswaman the festivities were less public and far more closed. Such a sense of exclusivity was far more marked or explicit at this centre than at any of the other sites.<sup>15</sup>

Huanuco Pampa is another case where there is a variation in the location and use of these large buildings. There the "galpones" are found both adjacent to the plaza and in Sector IIA, which was excavated by Stein (Morris and Thompson, 1985). The most spectacular ones are the two which lie on the eastern side of the plaza. According to Morris,

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<sup>15</sup> This is supported by the presence of four roads, three of which were called Pachacuti, Topa Inka Yupanki and Guayna Capac (as recorded by Cieza, 1984, who saw them).

who excavated them in 1965, these might have been the lodgings of Inka armies on the move. The ones in Sector IIA, excavated by Stein, are the buildings where considerable amounts of beverages and food were prepared for the festivities (Morris and Thompson, 1985). Once again, buildings removed from the plaza contain evidence for the preparation of food and drink for rites of reciprocity and hospitality; however, it should be noted that such activities are not directly associated with the Inka palaces, as is the case at Cuzco and Vilcaswaman. Was this difference due to the more political and administrative nature of Huanuco Pampa, where nothing even hints at the presence of a "palace" belonging to an Inka? Such seems to have been the case. The two small rooms, which are identified in Huanuco Pampa as "palaces" for the Inka instead resemble lodgings for any Inka or governor who was travelling through the land (Morris and Thompson, 1985).

The study of the pottery, collected while cleaning the surface in the vicinity of these buildings assists in the understanding of the nature of the sector of the cancha of the Inka palaces.

Three general observations can be made. First, the area, where the sherds were collected, is located beside the side of the fine masonry building which is still standing, and which presumably was the "palace" of one of the Inkas. The area measures only 15 x 20 m. It seems to have been an empty area, a patio within the complex. Was it a midden? Second, the materials recovered therein are no more than an indicator, because they are not a meaningful sample in terms of the size of the *cancha* or of the whole universe. Third, the diagnostic materials analysed are only classic Cuzco Inka ceramics and not of any contemporary local tradition or Inka with local features.<sup>16</sup>

The pottery shapes that have been reconstructed indicate the presence of jars, plates, bowls, and a lid. All of these vessels are used to store liquids and food. The jars (*puynus* and *tachus*) are small, their mouth width between 8 and 21cm (Plate V-1 and Plate V-2). They can only have been used to carry and/or serve liquids, Almost certainly *chicha*. There is not a single jar that could have been used to prepare or store *chicha*; for this process, big vessels, called *maqmas* or *urpus* are used. This would mean that the *chicha* was not prepared in this sector, only served and consumed. Where was it prepared?

Pots are likewise small; their mouth width is 10-20 cm (Plate V-3). These pots could only be used to hold the food that was going to be served. None of these has any trace of having been smoked by a kitchen fire and several have a well-defined decoration on their outer surface.

The plates are somewhat more varied (Plates V-3 and Plate V-4). Some of them are open, others slightly deeper. All are decorated on the inside. Some of the plates have a pedestalled base. There is a single earthen bowl (*puku*), also with external decoration (Plate V-4).

With regards to the forms, they are all surprisingly similar to what is known for Cuzco (Rowe, 1942). No vessel has a single element belonging to the local tradition.

The decoration is composed of purely Cuzqueño elements. The motifs are far more varied in comparison with what there is at Huanuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson, 1985: 75) and other known provincial centres. Thirty nine different geometric and figurative motifs were found on the ceramics at Vilcaswaman (Plate V-5). Nine main colours were used, and several of them had different shades. The colours are black (n), white (w), red (r), brown (b), orange (o), yellow (y), violet (v), pink (p) and cream (c). There are 14 geometric motifs on the jars, 5 on the pots, 19 on the plates, 1 on the bowl. The figurative motifs are found only on the plates.

Do the sherds found in this sector indicate that the vessels were made at Vilcaswaman, or were they imported from Cuzco? This cannot be answered as yet. The size of the sample and the lack of studies on manufacture and the paste prevent such a conclusion. Whether the vessels were imported from Cuzco or were instead locally manufactured therefore, remains moot; however, it is thought that at least some of them did come from Cuzco.

The above-mentioned indicators permit the suggestion that these wares were used in the festivities, which were apparently very exclusive in comparison with those that were held at Huanuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson, 1985: 90-91). The festivities held at Vilcaswaman were apparently limited to the elite: the Inka, the *tocticog*, the nobility,

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<sup>16</sup> In 1966 the archaeologist Carlos Chahud dug some test pits outside this cancha. He found pottery that he identified as Chanka, apparently at the same level as the Inka pottery. The place which he excavated is now the local cemetery.

perhaps occasionally certain *mitmas*, and the local *kurakas*, in order to forge loyalties and strengthen cooperation with the State (Morris and Thompson, 1985: 91).

The presence of 1,000 *acllas* at Vilcaswaman stresses the magnitude of the service rendered to both the Sun and the Inka, and underlines the sacred nature of the site; finally, it also proves the emphasis given to ritual, pomp, and feasting.

Vilcaswaman thus appears as a re-founded and sacred new Cuzco, thus making both places synchronous entities. Their sacredness connected them in a parallel space and time. At Vilcaswaman, the archaeological structures essentially constitute conceptual systems. Perhaps the Inka were convinced that in reforming reality, transforming the landscape, peopling it with temples and shrines in the likeness of Cuzco they were carrying on the work begun by Wiracocha. It seems that in establishing the shrines at Vilcaswaman, the Inka transferred the "presence" of Cuzco, and in the rituals, the *tarpuñtae*, or priests internalised in the people the "energy" that sacred symbols had for them.

What is still difficult to understand is why with all of its attributes and the importance it had for Cuzco, Vilcaswaman did not manage to become a more powerful focus. Why was it that certain *panakas* were not tempted by the illusion of power into making Vilcaswaman an alternative centre to Cuzco? Perhaps the Inka had some way of preventing this. Now, this is in stark contrast with the Tumibamba of Guayna Capac's *panaka*, and with Atahualpa's plans for Quito, even though no buildings were ever actually built there (Betanzos, 1987). Both sites can be considered as a political centre of each Inka's *panaka*. Zuidema (pers. com., August 2000) does think that Vilcaswaman was a political centre, i.e., "an organisation that imitated that which the Inka-by-privilege had around Cuzco."

### Summary

According to the archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence collected, Vilcaswaman was built following mainly religious criteria. Its layout in full was determined by the *wakas*. In the core area and in the immediate vicinity, there is a total of 43 physical features that had some religious meaning; 2 of these were located on the NE quadrant, i.e. with reference to the plaza.

These religious elements are the Temples of the Sun and Moon, the *ushnu*, lakes, springs, open and underground canals, boulders, carved rocks, pools platforms, and *apachetas*. The spring called Ccapacc Puquio is of particular importance, because Carbajal (1965) claims that it was a major shrine. Three of the 8 mountains found to be sacred were the counterparts of the mountains which formed part of the *wakas* in the Cuzco *ceque* system. And just like in Cuzco again, over 27% of the *wakas* were water fountains.

The study of the pottery associated with the "palace" of one of the Inka kings indicates that feasts were held here by the Inka or by the local elite

Finally, the scant data here presented suggests a high percentage of religious elements in comparison with the secular ones. It follows that Vilcaswaman was more than just an administrative centre, like Huanuco Pampa, and more of a secondary capital city, like Tumibamba. However, it is not just Vilcaswaman alone in the region that has several and varied religious elements these also appear in other administrative centres in this same Inka province. Why?

TABLE N° V-1  
SACRED SITES IN VII.CASWAMAN

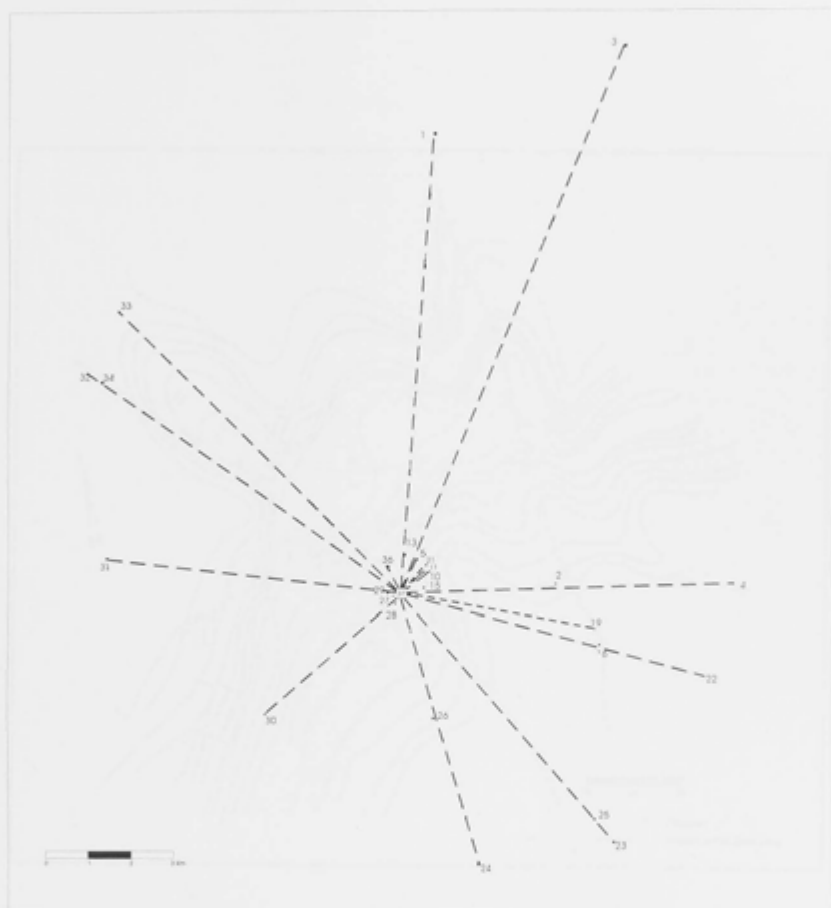
	PHYSICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SACRED	NAME	MAJOR FEATURES
NE QUADRANT	1. MOUNTAIN	SAYWA'	Rocky outcrop on summit
	2. MOUNTAIN	GUANACAURI*	Rocky outcrop and a hole on summit
	3. MOUNTAIN	GUANACAURI	
	4. LAGOON	HUANCAPUQUIO	Ccapac Ñan runs along one bank
	5. SPRING	YURAQYAKU	Associated with agricultural terraces
	6. CANAL	CCANTU PATA	Underground and covered with slabs
	7. FOUNTAIN		With a little channel.
	8. CANAL		Underground and covered with slabs
	9. ROCK		Semi-quadrangular, oriented towards the Ushnu.
	10. CARVED ROCK		Rectangular, In Choquebamba, with shallow pools
	11. CARVED ROCK		Carved with a small canal, located on the banks of the river Yuraqyacu in Choquebamba.
	12. CARVED ROCK		On top of a hill
	13. ROCKS WITH HOLES	CCANTUPATA	Two rocks, one has 2 holes and the other with 1.
	14. CARVED ROCK		Sacrificial stone. With a small hole and channels.
	15. APACHETA		In Hatun Punku sector. At crossroads of Ccapac Ñan and a local track
	16. APACHETA	PUMAHUANCA	On the edge of Ccapac Ñan.
	17. STRUCTURE		Only building on hillside, made from ashlar
	18. TERRACE	PACHACUTEQ	100 m long at the foot of the eastern hill, delimiting the plaza
	19. MOUNTAIN	PUMAHUANCA	On the summit is a rock (huanca). Ccapac Ñan runs along the lower slopes
	20. QUARRY	INKA RAJAY	Semi-worked rocks and flakes
	21. QUARRY	CHOQUEBAMBA	Semi-worked rocks and flakes
	22. MOUNTAIN	ANTACCACCA	Pyramidal shape

SE QUADRANT	23. MOUNTAIN	QOTO PUQUIO	Rocky outcrop on summit
	24. MOUNTAIN	ANAHUARQUE*	Rock (huanca) on summit
	25. SPRING	QOTO PUQUIO	Plenty of water
	26. SPRING	CCAPAC PUQUIO*	Plenty of water
SW QUADRANT	27. SPRING	HUANCAPUQUIO	Plenty of water, many waterfalls in the sector.
	28. QUARRY		Rocky outcrop, semi-worked rocks and flakes; located in Huancapuquio.
	29. ROCK (HUANCA)		Rectangular, upright rock on the side of the road
	30. MOUNTAIN	PILLUCHO	Cone shape with structures on summit
NW QUADRANT	31. MOUNTAIN	KILLKE*	Pyramidal shape
	32. MOUNTAIN	AMARO**	Rocky outcrop on summit
	33. LAKE	POMACOCHA	On its banks, Inka buildings and terraces
	34. SPRING	ÑAHUINPUQUIO	On the slopes of Mt Amaro y canalised as far as Sector III
	35. SHRINE	USHNU	Pyramid
	36. FOUNTAIN		With a small channel.
CENTRAL AREA	37. TEMPLE	DFI SOL*	Rectangular building
	38. TEMPLE	DE LA LUNA*	Rectangular building
	39. SPRING		Located at the foot of the First Terrace and the eastern stairway to the Sun Temple
	40. CANALS		Behind Temple of Moon
	41. SPRING	PUYTUC	NE corner of the plaza.
	42. CANAL	PUYTUC	Crosses the plaza.
	43. BENCH		In the middle of the plaza, according to the chronicles

\* Mountains with the same name are found in Cusco as wakas, according to Cobo (1956)

\*\* Mountains with the same name are found elsewhere in Tawantinsuyu (Albornoz 1987)

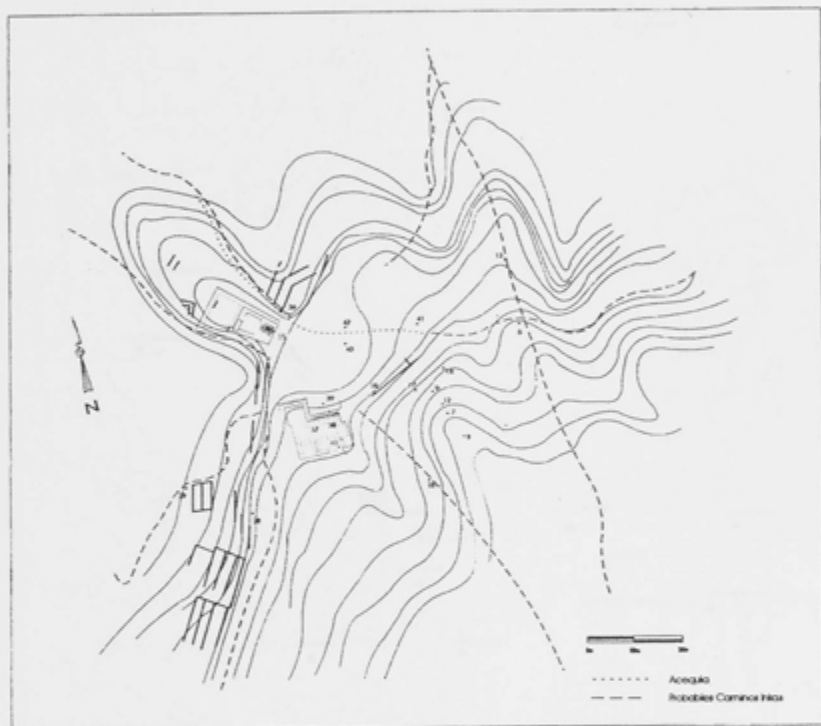




PLAN V.1

RADIAL DISTRIBUTION OF WAKAS AT WILCASWAMAN

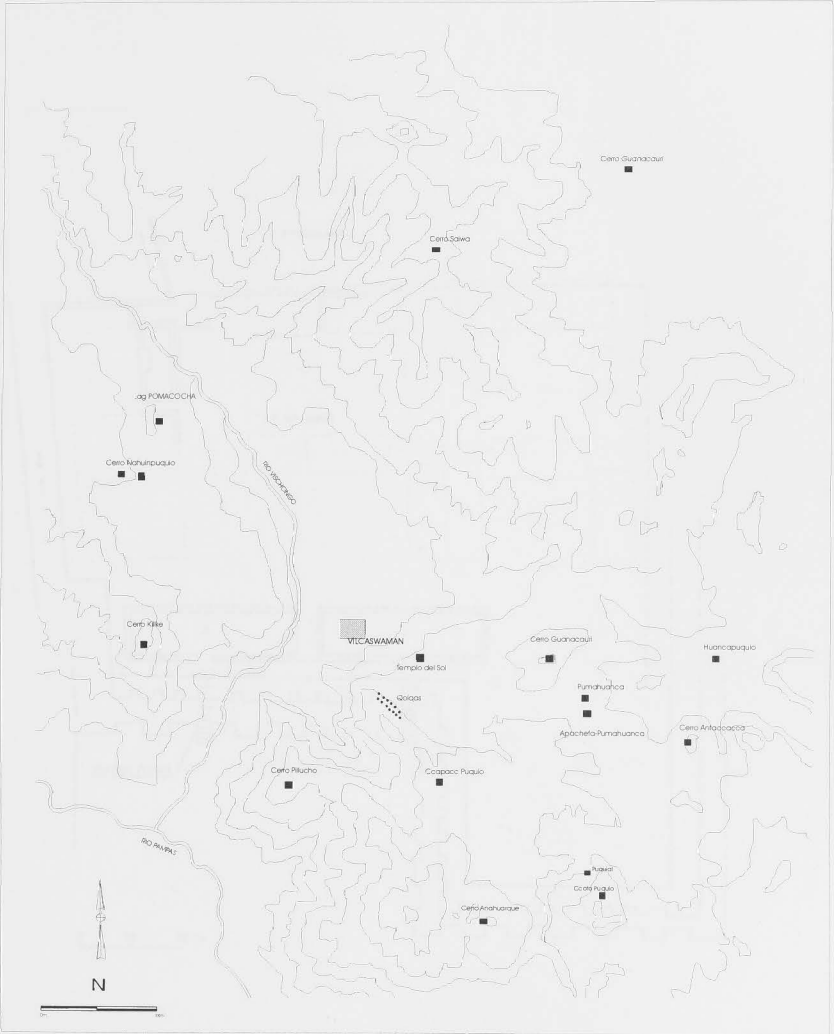
(37) TEMPLE OF THE SUN: (1) Saywa, (2) Guanacauri, (3) Guanacauri, (4) Huancapuquio, (5) Puquio, (10) Carved rock, (11) Carved rock, (13) Rocks/Holes, (15) Apacheta, (16) Apacheta, (19) PumaHuancá, (21) Gariy, (22) Antacoccca, (23) Gotapuquio, (24) Anahuazque, (25) Spring/Puquio, (26) Ccapapuquio, (27) Spring/Puquio, (28) Gariy, (29) Huarka, (30) Pitucha, (31) Kike, (32) Amara, (33) Pomacocha Lake, (34) Nahumpuquio, (36) Fountain.



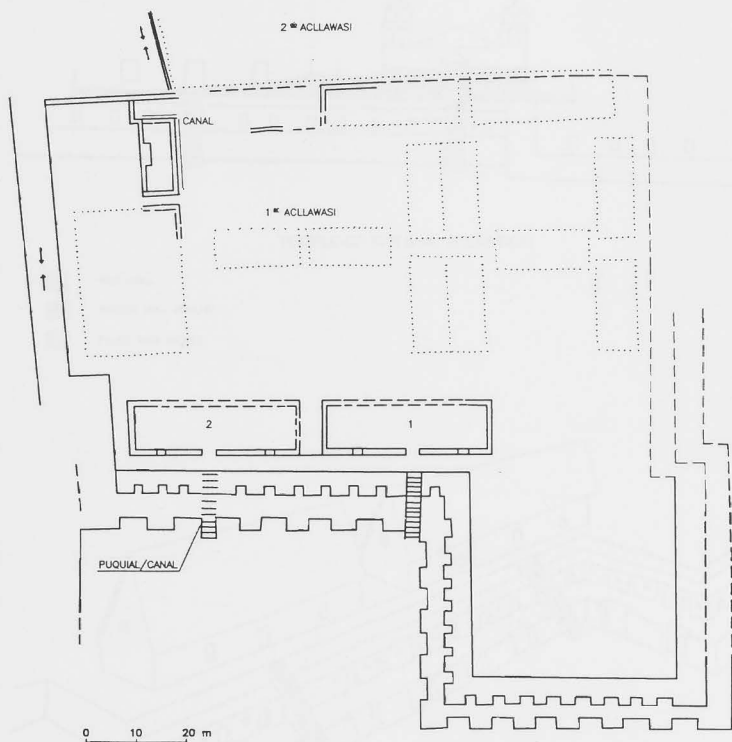
PLAN V-2

DISTRIBUTION OF WAKAS IN THE CORE OF VILCASWAMAN

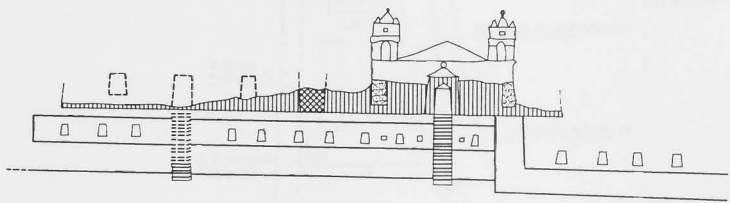
- (37) TEMPLE OF THE SUN (38) TEMPLE OF THE MOON (39) SPRING (40) CANAL  
 (42) CANAL (43) BENCH (41) SPRING (35) USHNU (36) FOUNTAIN (18) TERRACE  
 (17) BUILDING (14) SACRIFICIAL STONE (9) ROCK (12) CARVED ROCK  
 (7) FOUNTAIN (8) CANAL (6) CANAL






MAP V, 1  
 DISTRIBUTION OF WAKAS AROUND VILCASWAMAN

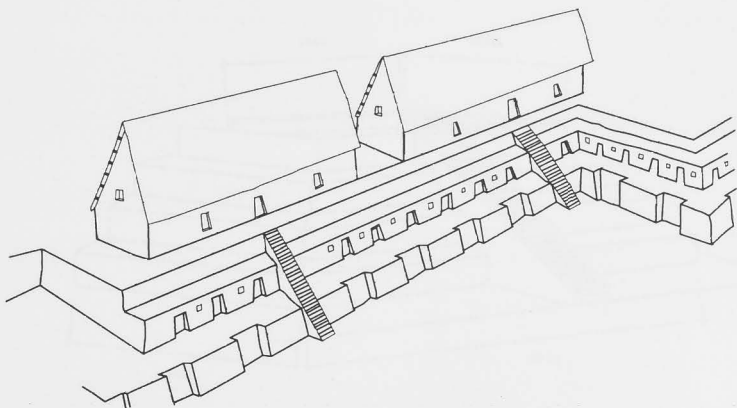


PLAN V-3  
 VW. TEMPLE OF THE SUN (1) and THE MOON (2)



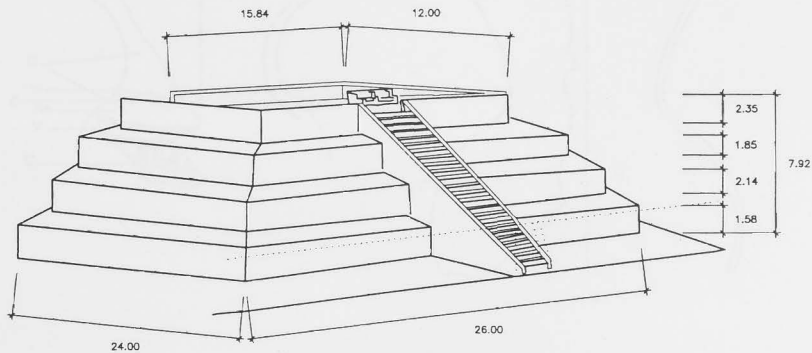
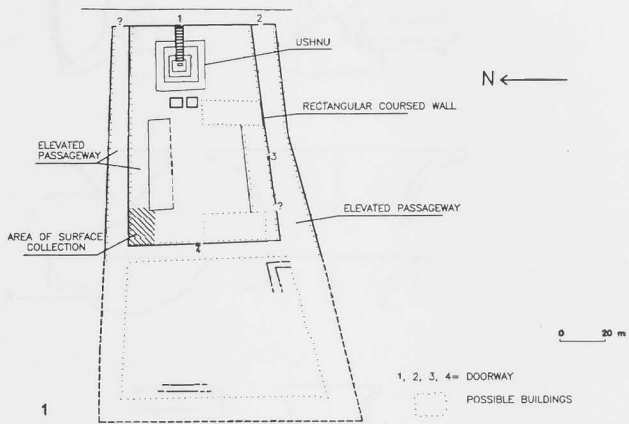
TEMPLE OF THE SUN. ELEVATION

- 
 INKA WALL
- 
 REUSED INKA ASHLAR
- 
 FILLED INKA NICHES



PLAN V-4

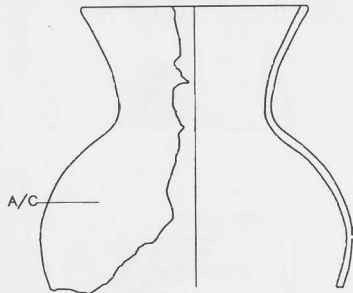
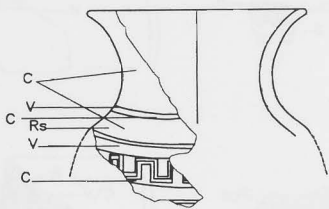
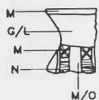
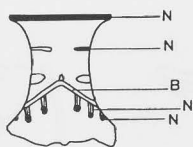
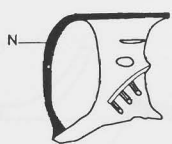
VW TEMPLE OF THE SUN. ISOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION



2.

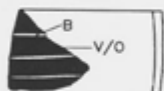
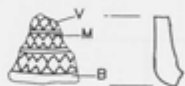
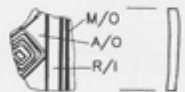
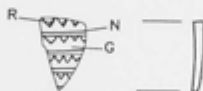
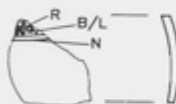
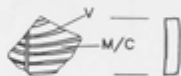
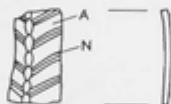
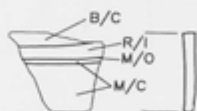
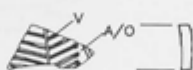
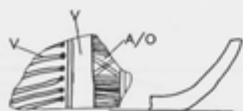
PLAN V-5

VILCASWAMAN: 1. INKA CANCHA 2. USHNU ISOMETRIC RECONSTRUCTION



0 5 cm

PLATE V-1  
JARS



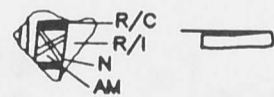
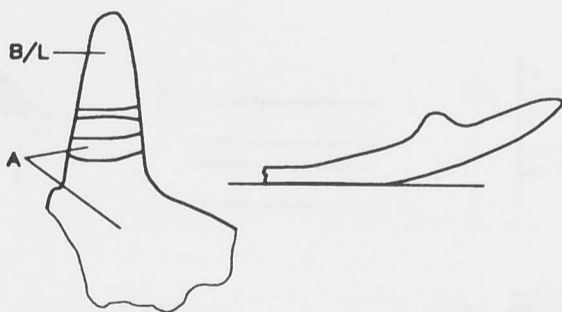
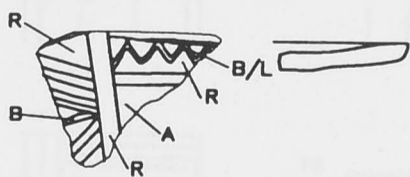
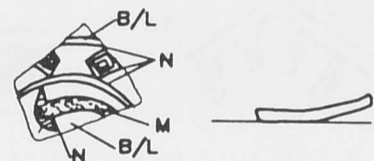
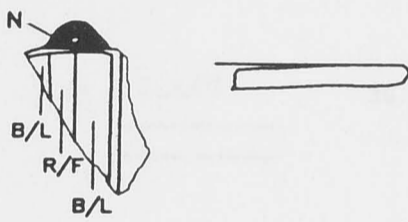
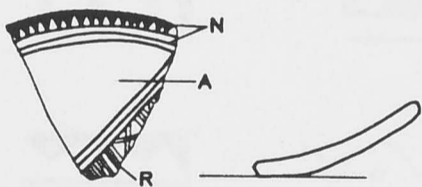
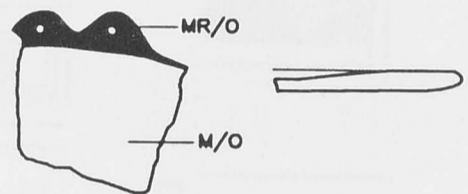
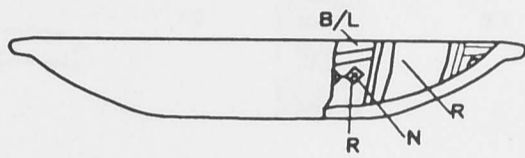
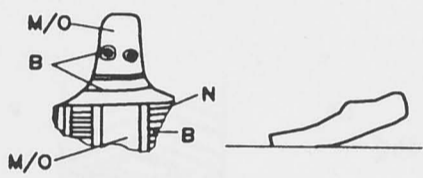
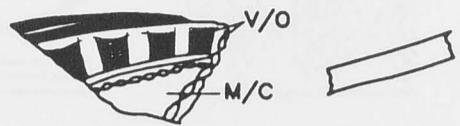
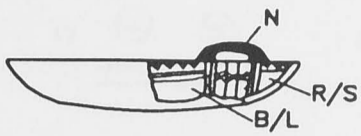
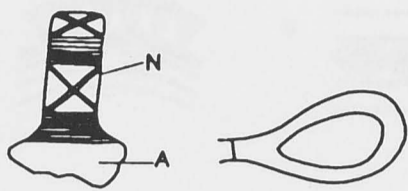
0 5cm

PLATE V-2

JARS





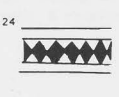
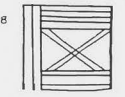
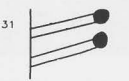
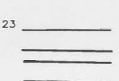
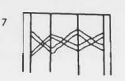
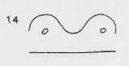
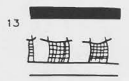
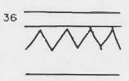
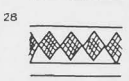
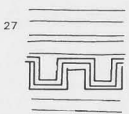
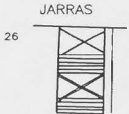
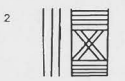
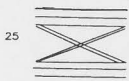
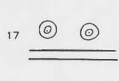


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PLATE V-4

PLATES and BOWLS

PLATOS



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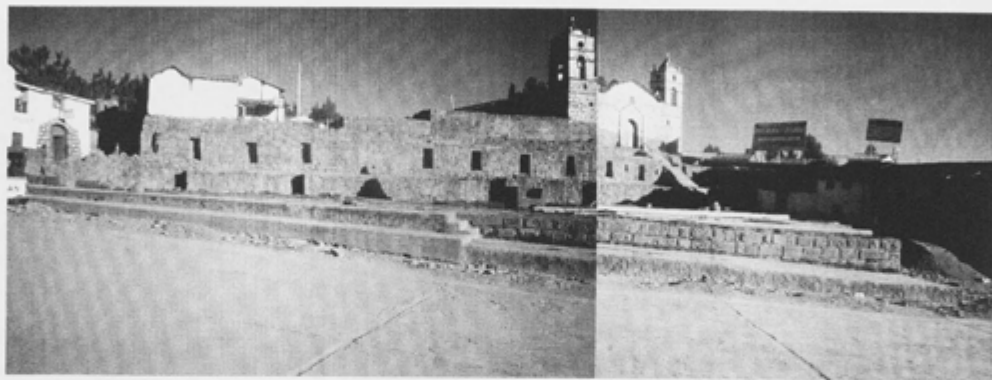
PLATE V-5

MOTIFS ON INKA POTTERY FROM VILCASWAMAN



**Aerial View of Vilcaswamán.**

1. Ushnu, 2. Temple of the Sun, 3. Pachacuti terrace, 4. "Sacrificial stone", 5. Kantupata, 6. Choquebamba, 7. Huancapuquio, 8. Paqchapata, 9. Qolqa Qolqa.



F15 - F16. VW. Temple of the Sun.



F1. VW. Guanacauri hill.



F4. VW. Huanka - Pumahuanca hill.



F17. VW. Pachacuti terrace.



D13. VW Fountain.



F18. VW "Sacrificial stone".



F26. VW Stone seat.



F21. VW. Carved rock. Choquebamba.



D7. VW. Ushnu and Amaro mountain.



D10. VW. Probably Inka residence.



## Chapter 6

### Religious Features in Lower-Hierarchy Sites in the Province of Vilcaswaman

#### Introduction

This chapter describes the characteristics of two other Inka sites located in the *hunu* of Guamanguilla-Condormarka: Condormarka and Tinyaq. The first was a settlement of Inka *orejones* from Anta, whilst the other is a group of storehouses that were apparently used seasonally.

The clear secular nature of these two sites did not prevent the Inka from placing certain religious elements beside the secular buildings. In Condormarka, the presence of carved boulders and rocky outcrops girded with walls stand out. The results of the study of the pottery collected at the site are also presented.

The various architectural components of *qolqas* are described for Tinyaq; they, as well as the carved boulders and rocks with holes in them, are the most important symbolic features of this site.

#### 6.1. Condormarka: A Settlement of Anta Indians, Inkas by Privilege

##### 6.1.1. Preliminary Statement

The site known as Condormarka is in the modern district of Huamanguilla, in the province of Huanta (Ayacucho). It covers about 6 hectares. However, the Inka occupation must have extended over a much wider area, perhaps as much as 20 hectares, because of place name evidence, ethnohistorical and ethnological data, and from the dispersed carved boulders.

In physical terms, the area, where Condormarka is situated, comprises the slope of the eastern cordillera that forms the Ayacucho River basin (in the ecological zone called low montane savannah). The tropical forest of Apurimac lies on the other side of these mountains. The highest and most important mountains are Condorcunka, above the Pampa of Quinoa and Raswillka, overlooking the city of Huanta. In ecological terms, this is the *kishua* region (2,800-3,800 m asl), which has the best conditions for life, particularly in comparison with the dry mountain slopes to the west of this basin. Arnold (1993: 25) states

that this is the best watered area in the Ayacucho region, thus promoting a settlement and population density higher than in other zones. The average rainfall is 500-1000 mm and the mean annual temperature is 12-14°C (Arnold, 1993: 25).

The people of Condormarka live directly on top of ruins of the Inka settlement. They all belong to seven *comunidades* or *anexas*: Qencha Qencha, Pampayoc, Condormarka, Josiparo, Quiturara, Panchanqa, Araway, and Piticha (Map VI-1). All identify themselves as 'Antarunas'. The *anexo* of Qencha Qencha is the northern boundary, Piticha, the southern one. The eastern border is a ravine where the *anexas* of Josiparo and Quiturara extend to, about 1 km from Condormarka. The western border is an old dirt track called Calle Ñan; its best defined section is 150 m away from the Inka site. All of these *anexas* have their own springs, lakes and rivers. The *chacras* are exclusively used by them. Marriage was mostly endogamous until the 1970s.

The main lake is called Yanahurqococha and is situated on the highest mountain of the same name, at more than 4000 m asl. The men from all of the *anexas* visit it once a year with offerings (*pagos*), spray it with rum, pray and leave coca and cigarettes as offerings. A main canal leaves this lake and passes through all the *anexas* and waters their *chacras*. A spring called Ñahuinpuquio is also situated on the same hill slope, but much further below the lake, and its waters augment the flow in the main channel.

Calle Ñan is a 6 m wide road flanked by a small, 60 cm high, wall. It is in a small ravine formed by two small, spur-like hills on one side of which are the Antas communities and the site of Condormarka, and on the other, "la otra banda", the modern town of Huamanguilla and its *anexas*, which are all called Chinchaysuyus. The road is well preserved for some 400 m from the point where it joins the Ccapac Ñan (Plan VI-1); north of this junction, the road is badly deteriorated because of the creation of new cultivation fields.

In the 'Chinchaysuyus' sector, there is no evidence for Inka settlement, nor are there any visible remains of pottery or earlier architecture; two well worked Inka ashlar stones were noted in the middle of a *chacra* on the right of the dirt track, where it leaves Huamanguilla for Tinyaq and Macachacra. There are some other Inka ashlar stones around

Lake Chinchaysuyu Cocha, in the town of Huamanguilla.<sup>1</sup> This lake is the northern boundary of this sector, while the southern boundary is the site called Las Vegas. A place the local people call *Acllawasi* lies 300 m to the north of the early colonial church but there unfortunately is no evidence of any Inka occupation.

The data recorded in the Huamanguilla sector is different. First, there are the toponyms, Chinchaysuyu and *Acllawasi*, which perhaps indicate the presence of an Inka settlement; second, the original Spanish foundation of the city of Huamanga in April 1539 was at Huamanguilla as San Juan de la Frontera.

The question must be asked, was Huamanguilla an Inka site? It should not be forgotten that in the early years of the conquest the Spaniards generally established their settlements in Inka sites in order to take advantage of the existing urban infrastructure. Or did they just use a marginal area that was bigger and flatter than the Inka site of Condormarka? The possibility that the community now called Chinchaysuyu in the modern town of Huamanguilla, was once the Qollana Ayllu of Inka times, is supported by the 1570-1580 tribute rolls of Toledo. In those it is noted that the Chinchaysuyus of the Azángaro River Valley in Huanta were ruled by a "*cacique principal*," while the "*indios Antas orejones*" were recorded in another moiety also under a "*cacique principal*" (Presta, 1991). Perhaps the name "Chinchaysuyu Ayllu" reflects their position as Qollana Ayllu in the tripartite system that the Inka had established at Huamanguilla, following the Cuzqueño pattern. The 200 *mitmas*, that the Inkas moved to look after the waka Sara Sara, a *pakarina*, in the province of Parinacochas on the southern section of the department of Ayacucho, were also called Chinchaysuyu (Albornoz, 1988: 170).

One interesting detail about the informants is the way the Anta peasants emphasised that they were and felt Anta, as opposed to the Chinchaysuyos. This seems to be an example of the intense ethnic differences present in the area, such as that found nowadays among the descendants of the Inka who live in Chuschi and Quispillacta, on the Pampas River Basin, who do not claim descent but do acknowledge that their forefathers came from Cuzco.

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<sup>1</sup> The waters from this lake are exclusively used by the people of Huamanguilla, not by the Antas.

Another datum, provided by the Anta informants, concerns the abundant water supply they had always had that their *chacras* were terraced and that their maize fields were the best in the region. An abundant water supply as well as the remains of elongated and square, narrow and wide terraces still characterise the lands of the Anta and these conditions are not found anywhere else in this basin. However, these terraces are not built in the classic Inka style, but have more crudely laid stonework. This zone was apparently well-used by the Inka in order to provide vital supplies for the state, because in this "*valle y asiento hacían muchas chacras y sementeras de maíz para los soldados de Vilcas*" (Murúa, 1987: 552).

### 6.1.2. The Sectors and their Symbolic Aspects

The Inka site of Condormarka is situated at 3,275 m asl and extends over a small, narrow hill that is higher on its north-eastern side and becomes broader as it slopes downwards to the south-west. The Inka royal road which passes over it is now a dirt track. It is 6 m wide. After the Spanish settlement was moved to modern Huamanga in 1540, the road that came from Azángaro (Huanta) ceased to function and another was built parallel to the Inka road but 4 km from it. The colonial road is still visible in the ravine of Ayahuarqu, where it is paved and zigzags downwards to the bridge. Therefore the Inka road fell in disuse and now is only used by the peasant communities in the highest parts of the zone.

The Inka site has been segregated into 6 sectors, identified with Roman numerals, on the basis of slight variations in relief and, above all, on the concentration of various architectural features that apparently reflect differences in function.

**Sector I** is the entrance area to the site of Condormarka, comprising a flight of three agricultural terraces and a paved platform, which served as a walkway to some buildings. Alongside this walkway is a water channel 0.90 m deep and 0.80 m wide which is made out of crudely worked stones. After about 20 m, it bifurcates and runs along both sides of Mt Condormarka (Plan VI-1; Aerial view of Condormarka). There is a modern house, only 4 m away from the point where the canal separates into two; in its patio there are two Inka ashlar stones. The agricultural terraces have walls of crudely laid stonework, and each of

the platforms are about 20 m wide and 2 m high. The entrance walkway ends at the foot of the hill. From this point, one enters the highest part of the site via a ramp on the eastern side, and through an uneven and steep stone stairway 16 m high on the western. The entrance leads to a quadrangular stone in the second sector.

**Sector II** is a relatively flat area, 67 m wide. Its north side is defined by a small, straight-sided cliff 25 m tall. Along the cliff's edge, there are two walls that run along the sinuous and uneven northern side of Sectors II, III and IV and could be retaining walls. Four structures are visible in this sector, 2 of which are partially destroyed, as well as 4 boulders, each with special characteristics. Boulder 1 is situated in the NE corner of the plain. It has a quadrangular shape and with a large fissure across its central part; it is 5.05 m long and is 3.60 m wide on average, and it stands 2.30 m high. There are 5 small man-made holes on the upper southern part which were probably made in Inka times and are similar to others recorded at Tinyaq and Vilcaswaman.

Boulder 2 is located on the southern end of the plain. No carvings can be seen on it. According to an informant, adjacent to this boulder, there was a stone carved "in the likeness of a condor" (4). Nowadays this stone lies some 15 m below, adjacent to a canal. This stone is completely polished and it measures 1.97 m in length, 1.40 m in width and is 0.62 m high. On one of its sides there is a shape that is similar to the triangular capping stone form. In the middle, there is a rounded knob, somewhat like a small broken sun dial or gnomon, which measures 0.60 x 0.30 and is 0.15 m tall. The local people say this was the head of the condor, and that a few years ago "it was hit by lightning and broke."

The 4 visible buildings are arranged around the sides of an extensive plaza. The walls of the first, which is 28.25 m long and 8 m wide, barely rise about the ground. They have a width of 0.80 m. Boulder (3) is 5.50 m away from its north-eastern corner. This boulder is 1.60 m long, 0.80 m wide, and 0.40 m high.

The second building is adjacent to the first on the southern side of the plaza. It is 29 m long and 8 m wide and its walls have the same width as the preceding one. Between these two large buildings, there is a 2.50 m long passageway. To the rear of them and along the southern edge of the plaza is a retaining wall, 1.50 m wide.

The third building is located on the western side of the plaza. Only one wall is visible nowadays because the surface has been levelled to build new houses. A phenomenon which has also happened to the fourth structure, which stood on the northern side of the plaza. This was the largest of all of the buildings, measuring along the two walls that can still be traced 47 m long on its western side and 20 m wide on its southern side.

A crude stone stairway with two small sections connects Sectors II and III. This is part of the northern peripheral retaining wall. It was built to ascend a small slope and its first section is 11 m long and reaches uncarved boulder (5), which is 3 m long. The retaining wall continues beyond this rock, and the second section of the stair is 10 m long where it passes beside a triangular-shaped rock (6). There are small rocky outcrops between the last two rocks, particularly beside the slope.

**Sector III.** In this sector the slope of the hill is less steep. The peripheral retaining wall follows the contours of the land. The foundations of a medium-sized building appear 10 m away from boulder (6).

Two rocky outcrops, both with signs of having been carved, are located at about the centre of the sector, slightly to the west (Plan VI-3). The first group (7) is formed by 8 rocks of different sizes. They each between 0.4 m and 1 m from the present ground surface and the whole group is surrounded by crude walls on all four sides. Those on the northern and southern sides measure 14.70 m in length, while those on the eastern and western sides are only 9 m, standing only 0.70 m tall. Two of the northernmost boulders of this group have polished seat and bench-like features on their eastern side, thus forming an "altar" or "shelf." A third boulder has similar features on its southern side (Photo, D28, cka).

The second group of rocks (8) is situated only a few metres away from the first. This is another relatively square-shaped rocky outcrop that rises between 0.80 m and 2 m from the ground. None of the rocks is carved, save for one on the southern side which was cut with vertical, straight sides. A similar enclosing wall surrounding this group is identified by a single course stones, visible only on its southern side (Photo, D27 cka).

**Sector IV.** This area lies to the north-west, almost at the southern base of the hill. It contains some of the most important pieces of archaeological evidence on the rocky slope.

It has not only has the greatest number of Inka architectural elements, the nature of which indicates that this sector had a special symbolic import. The sector covers some 2000 m<sup>2</sup>, from the peripheral retaining wall that separates it from Sector V, and along the slope leading to Calle Ñan and a rocky outcrop.

In this sector, the peripheral retaining wall has a semicircular shape and extends as far as a carved rock (14). Curiously enough, this 250 m long terrace begins and ends at significant boulders, connecting boulders 1, 5, 9, and 14. Is this indicative of some kind of symbolism? Boulder (14) is also part of the group of carved rocks and terraces. It is a triangular-based rocky outcrop 10.50 m long and 3.20 m high. Its north-eastern and south-eastern sides have been shaved and polished. The carved feature on the south-western side is very even, thus making it look like a shelf, 0.90 m high.

Other architectural characteristics of this sector are:

1. A pool (10). It is located in the middle, upper part of the slope and below the peripheral wall. The central part of the fountain is a carved rock, fully incorporated into a small wall of polished Inka ashlar stones that form the back wall of the pool. This fine wall runs into a transverse cruder one 3.80 m high that comes from the northern peripheral retaining wall. The extends 12.10 m before joining the carved rock (14; Photo, D25, cka). At this point, the terrace expands up to 9.90 m in width. One side wall of the pool is formed by a protruding rock, 15 cm wide. On its upper northern side, there is a shelf-like slot, 15 cm long and 10 cm high. The floor of the pool is paved with an ashlar stone with a hole in the middle that connects with a water channel (Photo, D22 cka; Plan VI-2).

2. Carved Rock (11). This rock is located only 1.50 m away from the pool (10). It is 2.30 m long at the top and 1.65 at the base. A small canal 8 cm wide and 8 cm deep has been cut in its surface. The canal separates two platforms, both of which are 1.16 m high, joined by a small transverse channel that leaves the main canal. The southern side also has a shelf like feature 1.07 m high, 1.45 m long, and 0.55 m at the base (Plan VI-2; Photo, F63 cka).

3. Carved Rock (12). This is located to the south-east of carved rock (11) and forms part of a platform, 0.95 m wide, that runs alongside the canal that leaves the pool. It is 0.80 m high

and 1.90 m long. The north-eastern side has a straight 0.10 m groove along the upper part of the rock.

4. Carved Rock (13). This is associated with three other platforms and is 2 m away from rock (12). It is a rectangular block, straight-faced on its southern and eastern sides, and with seats carved on its western and northern sides.

5. Carved Rock (15). This is located in the lowest part of the ravine close to the Calle Ñan. It seems to have fallen from the western slope of the hill, but it could even have been an ashlar stone crafted *in situ*, because throughout the whole of the ravine there are many natural rocks of various sizes on the ground.

**Sector V.** This area is even flatter than sector IV. On the hill slope, there are the foundations of 2 buildings (8), some 50 m away from the groups of rocks (7). Recently dug trenches for house construction enabled a cross section to be drawn and the collection of diagnostic sherds. The trench measured 4.70 m long, 0.70 m wide and 0.45 m deep. It cut an Inka wall, made of stones on edge joined together with mortar. The wall is 0.70 m wide and had a visible length of 7.30 m. Only two were present in the section and there is no doubt that the building was deeper (*see* Plan VI-3)

Four strata were distinguishable in the cross-section (A, B, C, and D). Stratum A is of granulated greyish-brown earth and was found throughout the 4.70 m of the ditch, with a slight variations in its thickness on the west side. Stratum B is a granulated, black sediment. It appears throughout the profile but is interrupted by the wall. A higher concentration of sherds is visible in the profile. Stratum C is of a granulated greyish colour, with some gravel which is not present in the 1 m away from the west side of the wall of the trench. Stratum D is thin and has a granulated black colour. It contains much charcoal and ash and is only apparent on the east side of the wall.

The diagnostic sherds recovered from this trench and in the soil heap thus removed are 41 fragments that comprise rims, handles, necks, bases and bodies, some of them slip-covered and decorated. It is worth noting that no sherd has been found in any other sector of the site.



The reconstruction of the vessels was based on the rims and on the body parts. This showed the presence of: jars, narrow-necked vessels or necks slightly more open or thinner, with the variations F1-*urpus* (1 case) and F2 *puynñus* (3 cases; see Plate VI-1a and VI-1b); *maqmas*, thick, open-mouthed vessels (12 cases; see Plate VI-2a, VI-2b); pots (2 cases; see Plate VI-3a: 46, 14); plates (2 cases; see Plate VI-3a: 9 and 20); bowls (3 cases; see Plate VI-3a: 22, 23); lids (1 case; see Plate VI-3b: 61), and spindle whorls (see Plate VI-3b: 62).

The number of jars in the F1 *urpus* variant could rise, if 2 bases (Plate VI-1b: 33 and 35), handles (Plate VI-1b: 46, 47 and 48) and 1 fragment of an *urpu* body with a feline-head-shaped nubbin (Plate VI-1b: 41), a characteristic of this shape are added. Similarly, a base related to the variant 2 *puynñu* could also be added (Plate VI-1b: 31). In addition, there are a further 6 body fragments that can be either *urpus* or *maqmas*. There is only one unidentified fragment (see Plate VI-3b: 63).

The surface finish of these sherds is not polished but porous, in comparison with the ceramic materials described for Vilcaswaman.

A preliminary macroscopic analysis of the pastes as regards texture and compacting indicates three groupings. This, however, does not imply the presence of wares because more exhaustive studies have yet to be made, and a bigger sample is needed. Even so, the presence of no more than 3 groups (Table VI-3) indicates, and no more, that this could be a locally manufactured ware.

There are only 6 decorated fragments, 1 belonging to a plate, 2 to bowls, and 3 fragments of *puynñu* bodies in all of its variants. Three colours were used for the decorations: white, black and red. The motifs are geometrical bands and lines which show little skill. The only internal decoration corresponds to a sherd from a bowl with a white colour along the rim, and a deformed band on its inside wall. The decorations were so clumsily made that it seems as if the white paint of the edge and body had simply spread all over. This lack of skill is also evident in the uneven decoration of 2 *puynñu*, small jar body fragments. None of the motifs, nor the decoration techniques, resemble the Inka Cuzco decoration.

From this, it can be inferred that the vessels in variant 1 were essentially used to store liquids and not cereals, because they are associated with other vessels of variant 2 that

are also used to serve beverages, possibly *chicha*, as well as a series of pots, plates and bowls that were also used to cook and store food. Furthermore, the presence of *maqmas* indicates that *chicha* was prepared at the site. Several days of study in a *chichería* at Písaq (Cuzco) shows that nowadays large pots, also called *maqma*, are used to prepare *chicha*. A possible interpretation could be made that the *maqmas* found at Condormarka were used to prepare *chicha*, both to boil and ferment it, until it is transferred to vessels of the F1 variant for serving.

It is possible that the vessels were locally manufactured following, or somehow imitating, the Cuzco forms. The decoration is wholly alien to all known Cuzco patterns; however, no comparison can be made with any local tradition because no study has as yet been made of it in the Late Intermediate Period or Late Horizon. It is even conceivable that, since these were Anta *mitmas*, then their wares would have retained at least some elements from their homeland, even though they would have been manufactured locally. This obviously deserves more study.

The absence of decorative elements native to Cuzco, the presence of more standardised shapes and the absence of the shapes which were restricted to the Cuzco elite, such as cups, pots and *tachus* (small jars), perhaps indicates the status the Anta *mitmas* had. After all, they should have had access to wares imported from Cuzco as a symbol of their prestige. Or is it that this settlement did not form part of the Inka political system? In any case, it is a question that deserves more research.

**Sector VI** comprises the western zone and slope of Condormarka. At present, the architectural evidence is greatly disturbed, but despite this, it has been possible to identify 3 Inka terraces, probably for agriculture, whose upper courses of stone have been rebuilt. These terraces have crudely made walls built along the hill slope. The foundations of what perhaps was a rectangular building, and other walls protrude on the ground.

It appears that the Inka chose this hill deliberately because it is somewhat isolated and its flanks are protected, and because of the presence of rocky outcrops which could have been used as a quarries, and more particularly as elements in Inka symbolism and ritual. There is the same preference for rocky outcrops in other sites of this study, including

Tinyaq Moqo, Vilcaswaman and Pomacocha. It is not simple coincidence that Inka sites and rocky outcrops are often found together.

The presence of carved rocks in such a variety and number at Condormarka is doubly important. First, because no Inka settlements as distant from Cuzco as this one is known to have this kind of complex representation, which were more reminiscent of the region around the Inka capital. To date, apart from isolated instances, the complex of carved rocks most distant from Cuzco was Sayhuite, some 100 km to the west of Cuzco (van de Guchte, 1990). Second, this is significant because these carved boulders are associated with a settlement of Inkas-by-Privilege. What do these facts entail?

Firstly, there is the suggestion that the Inka State expressed its presence and authority in symbolic representations that hinged around carved and uncarved rocks, enclosed with walls, in a situation somewhat similar to the catholic chapel. Secondly, the site of Condormarka has a far stronger religious component than a secular one. Religious traits are found in almost all sectors, and, in the case of Sector IV, the architectural evidence is exclusively non-domestic. Thirdly, the association between the Anta *mitmas* and the carved boulders suggests that these Inkas were more religious officials than administrative ones. Does the strong religious component of this settlement suggest that its inhabitants had a specialised role? Even so, the status these Inkas had should be reflected by the type of wares they used. However, no sherds in the classic Inka style exist, as was noted, even though they should have been present in such a settlement. It is true that the sample observed is far too small to be certain, but the decoration a most important index, does not reflect this. Was there some special kind of relationship between Cuzco and the Anta *mitmas*?

## **6.2. Tinyaq: A Group of Inka Storehouses and other Structures**

### **6.2.1. A Description of the Site**

Tinyaq is an Inka site in the highlands of the district of Macachacra, in the province of Huanta. It comprises 35 visible, medium-sized rectangular buildings located around an open area (Plan VI-4; Photo, Aerial view of Tinyaq). These stand atop a bell-shaped hill that overlooks the zone at 3,270 m asl. They are aligned in two rows, one on the

northern side and the other on the southern side of the hilltop, thus giving rise to an oval-shaped site.

In the 1960s, Chahud (1969) explored the zone and noted that Tinyaq was an Inka storage site. In a pamphlet titled "*Yacimientos Arqueológicos de Ayacucho*," Benavides (1976: 19) also suggested that the buildings at Tinyaq resembled the storage facilities at Huanuco Viejo; however, this statement was not based on archaeological excavations, but on a study of surface remains. In 1996, Cirilo Vivanco excavated some buildings at this site (pers. com., April 1997) and also came to the conclusion that this was a group of Inka *golqas*. Vivanco generously showed the author some of the ceramic materials from his excavations, and stated that he had found abundant charcoal, and that a great many of the floors were burned. As for the pottery, Vivanco believes that some sherds are Provincial Inka, and others post-Wari. After detailed examination of these ceramic materials for this project, it is thought that none of the sherds is Cuzco Inka, and that only a few of them are in a Provincial Inka style, and the remainder belong to a style heretofore unknown.

In truth, the location, arrangement, and small size of the doorways at first suggests that Tinyaq is some kind of storage site. These characteristics certainly encouraged all the scholars who have visited the site, such as Benavides, Chahud and Lumbreras (pers. com., Nov. 1997), to see them as storage rooms. However, there are some limitations to this view made on the basis of a surface study only, without due consideration being paid to the details of the architecture. It should also be recalled that the remarkable uniformity of the architecture at this site does not necessarily imply that these were storage rooms, or were, in fact, used for this purpose. Such a caution is only appropriate because that a similar attribution caused serious misinterpretations of two Middle Horizon sites, which archaeologists had traditionally interpreted as storage facilities. Like Tinyaq, the Wari sites of Pikillaqta (Cuzco) and Azángaro (Huanta) show a remarkable planning and uniformity in one of their sectors. However, the excavations, respectively undertaken by McEwan (1987) and Anders (1986), proved that these sectors had a function other than storage.

At Tinyaq, no building has fine, Cuzco-style stonework, nor are they enclosed areas, such as canchas, or a plaza surrounded by rectangular buildings called *kallankas*. These features are characteristic, of *tambos*, like Tunsucancha or Taparaku in Huanuco (Morris and Thompson, 1985).

At Tinyaq, it seems that the structures on the southern side comprised 20 buildings, several of which were divided into two compartments, while those on the northern side comprise 15 buildings, several of which were also divided into two.

It is thought that the smaller number of buildings on the northern side, and the absence of a full symmetry in the arrangement of both rows, reflect the fact that northern row is incomplete, or that, in any case, it had been set aside for future expansions. The doorways on the northern row are on the eastern and western sides of the structures, as is the case for the southern. The walls are of *pirca*, small and uneven stones in a mud mortar. Along the outer side of these buildings is a bench, also made of *pirca*, with stones that measure 35 x 30 cm, which is not a structural part of the buildings. The walls of each building vary in height because of differential collapse from 2.0 m to 2.40 m. All doorways are small, only 0.80 m high, 0.50 m wide at the base and 0.45 m at the lintel, thus giving them a slightly trapezoidal shape. All buildings have the same shape, although, there is a slight variation in their size building, and an even greater variation in those with internal divisions. For example, building 6 in the western row (Plan VI-4 and 5; Photo F68), which is divided into two compartments of different sizes, each with a different entrance. Building 4 in the east row also has two compartments, one quite large and the other very small, each with its own entrance and with no internal communication.

One interesting detail of architectural design is that the internal corners of the buildings are not right angles but are curved. These are similar to buildings with crude walls observed at PISAQ (CUSCO) and has often been used as an indicator of a local trait.

A plain wall stands some 17m to the north of the northern row. Only one course of stones is visible and it runs from east to west for a distance of more than 100 m. It is 40 cm wide and made from relatively small stones. This might have been a retaining wall for a platform that levelled a sloping floor and formed a kind of corridor that ran alongside the buildings.

Having discussed such uniformity, it should be added that, in fact, at Tinyaq there is some variation in the construction pattern and architectural style, and hence probably in the function of the site. These characteristics raise the following question: if this is no Inka *tambo*, then could it be just a group of storage facilities with no additional infrastructure? It is suggested that this was a site, at a lower level in the settlement hierarchy and

administrative structure of the region, after Vilcaswaman and Huamanguilla-Condormarka. What, then, was its role? Was this site a seasonal storage site for *mitma* household units who worked for the Inka State in the *kichua* lands of Parccay and Pantacc? Even if they were low-status groups, the Inka State would have provided them with dwellings. In architectural and urban terms, this site reflects its planning as an integral part of the way the Inka administrative system organised space. The hacienda, where this settlement is located, is called Kispicanchis. Does this name indicate a connection with the region of the same name in the Cuzco valley? In any case, this name is not found in Ayacucho Quechua.

In addition to the above-mentioned evidence, a comparison with other storage facilities in other regions suggests that Tinyaq was a type of Inka nucleus which combined storage facilities and dwellings. Its architecture is atypical and is different from that in Tunsucancha. The presence of other Inka nuclei in this zone suggest that this settlement was part of a network of Inka sites found between Vilcaswaman and Jauja, equidistant from other Inka sites in the region (see Chapter 1), such as Quinua, Acocro and Condormarka. It was simply one link in the chain.

Even if the *qolqas* were used seasonally to store produce on its way to the major facilities at Vilcaswaman, there would still have been a need for living quarters for their care and management. This last point is sometimes forgotten in the literature on storage facilities. It is sometimes a product of the fact that the standardised architecture dominates reason and does not take into account that each storage location requires a permanent or seasonal staff, including accountants and *mitmas*. Storage facilities are never on their own or isolated; they are always an integral part of a bigger tambo or an administrative centre. At Tinyaq, there must have been some dwellings to lodge both *chaskis* or travellers, because it also lies directly beside the Ccapac Ñan.

In the case of Tinyaq, it is suggested that the small dwelling sector must have been located at the northern end of the site where some nucleated buildings appear. Some of the storage buildings might even have lodged the *mitayos*, at times when the labour force is increased, such as at sowing or harvest time. This is how the household refuse, ashes, charcoal and burned soil that Vivanco found in his 1996 excavations, and the presence of sherds of domestic vessels with carbon deposits and grinding stones on the surface, close to the buildings could be interpreted. One additional datum, is the size of the doorways that

permits the assumption that some of the buildings were used as dwellings. Although smaller than a normal doorway in an Inka building, they are not as small as compared with those generally found in *qolqas* nor in comparison with some doorways in popular dwellings, including those of *mitma* such as in Huancavelica-Junín and Cuzco-Puno regions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They are still in use among the modern high altitude peasants of Huanta (Chutos) and, at what is believed to be the settlement of the Canas *mitmas* called Pachiaq Marca in Paras-Espite, in the Pampas River Basin.

To expand this hypothesis that Tinyaq was above all a group of State storage houses seasonally used, it is useful to compare it with some formal elements of the storage houses at Huanuco Pampa (Morris 1967, 1985). At Tinyaq, the rectangular buildings are similar to those of Huanuco Pampa. Although the rectangular structures of Tinyaq have compartments, some variations can be perceived that somehow make them different. There variations are: a) structures with no divisions; b) structures with a central division and independent access to each division; and c) no central division and independent access to each small and big room. These compartments certainly represent some kind of specialised storage.

At Huanuco Pampa there are rectangular and circular *qolqas*, while at Tinyaq only the former exist. However, there is a circular-shaped building that breaks with the presumed pattern, but it was not a storage house, as shall be seen later on. At Huanuco Pampa the floors were paved, not so at Tinyaq. At both sites the architecture has a crude stonework.

The possibility that these were storage houses seasonally used after the harvest, if they can be shown to have been used to store agricultural produce, is stronger because, although Tinyaq is quite below the ideal cold micro-thermal environment for a good and long-lasting preservation, it does have certain natural and modified conditions that allow storage for short periods.

Tinyaq is at 3,270 m asl. The average temperature in winter (May-July) is quite contrasting, ranging from 4°C at night to 24°C by day. Using the mean temperatures, Arnold (1993: 22) presents for Quinoa (some 10 km south of Tinyaq, and on the same ecological floor), the storage houses would have a mean annual temperature of 6-12°C, which is no good for an optimal and long-lasting preservation of agricultural produce. In

any case, the location of the site and the rooms in a moderately cold zone does reflect an overall management of humidity and overheating as a result of excessive sunlight. Besides, in this kind of environment, the microbiological agents that devastate cereals and tubers are missing. It could be that the arrangement in opposite rows on two sides of the summit is indicating the storage of some special product, or perhaps it is a natural way to manage the winds and to lessen sunlight, which would have affected the microclimate of the stored goods. The eastern row is oriented towards the sunrise, and the western one towards the sunset. However, no accurate simulation of measurements has been taken inside these presumably roofed environments that could present a mean temperature.

A further piece of evidence that supports the seasonal use of the *qolqas* is the absence of ventilation ducts. This is a typical characteristic of the storage houses in the major administrative centres where goods were stored for a long time, such as at Huanuco Pampa. The construction of ventilation ducts was dispensed with in sites such as Tinyaq, where storage houses were only used seasonally and temporarily as the goods were quickly transferred to the rest of the network. In none of the buildings studied in this exercise nor in those excavated by Vivanco ventilation ducts visible.

In some regions of Tawantinsuyu there must have been other storage houses that were used seasonally, yet some chroniclers imply their presence (Cieza, 1984: 206; Pizarro, 1986: 98-99; see also D'Altroy and Hastorf, 1992; and the articles in Levine, 1991).

Finally, one subject where no speculation is possible is what kind of goods were stored at Tinyaq. In the absence of excavation, it is no possible to compare them with the *qolqas* at Huanuco Pampa. Nevertheless, a hypothesis can be put forward based on two most suggestive pieces of evidence. The site must have been used to store maize and other produce from the fertile valley of Huanta, where a complete range of crops are still grown. Surveys made in the 1960s and 1970s by several archaeologists from the UNSCH, and recently for this thesis, did not record a single Inka site in the agricultural area. As was previously noted, Inka facilities are usually located in the 3000-3600 m asl range; from these sites, the agricultural economy could have been controlled both upwards and downwards. Perhaps these temperate lands were worked with people, who descended to their lands only for the period of specific agricultural tasks. Such were the conditions bishop Verduga found in the seventeenth century in his capacity as *visitador* (Kawata,



1968; cited in Urrutia, 1985) when he recorded the seasonal flow of workers from warmer climates to even warmer lands, i.e. from 3200 m asl to 2200 m asl, in the land of the ancient Parixas, in what is now the Huanta valley (see Chapter 3, footnote 13).

### 6.2.2. Symbolic Aspects

The archaeological evidence available for Tinyaq has not been exhausted in trying to explain its possible functions. A careful study of its central area, i.e. the summit between the two rows of rooms shows some features that at first sight should not belong at a storage place, but in a settlement with permanent habitation, even though none of them can be classified as domestic or para-domestic. Such features are the rocky outcrops that rise from out of the earth; some have no carvings, others are carved, while still others have small holes. All of these elements seem to be distributed in a relatively uniform way throughout the central area (Plan, VI-4).

There are 3 uncarved rocks (2-4-6), which are equidistant from each other and in a line. It is not known whether this was intentional. There are 4 stones with holes in them (1-3-5-12), which run through the central section, as if dividing the summit into two (Photo, D37 tyq). In this same sector there is a course of Inka ashlar stones (10), perhaps a wall one of the stones of which has a small groove to receive another stone on top and to fit it accurately.

Slightly to the south of this wall, there is another course of two crudely fitted, semicircular walls (10) built one beside the other. In association with this structure, there is a rock, carved and smoothed in the likeness of a truncated canal (11), with a fallen Inka ashlar stone beside it and another rock carved in the likeness of an "altar" (Photo, F72 tyq).

Finally, a few metres below this group of architectonic elements, there is a circular structure (7) of which a single course of stones is visible among the small stones fallen inside and outside it. It has a diameter of 4.70 m and the wall is 0.50 m wide (Plan, VI-4).

In formal terms, some of these elements, like the stone with holes, can be compared with those seen at Ccantupata in Vilcaswaman, or in carved stones as in (8), such as those at Pomacocha, Vilcaswaman, and Cuzco (van de Guchte, 1990). Why do they occur in a

storage site like Tinyaq? Can they be correlated with other Inka sites? Is there any other site where two such different elements as a *qolqa* and a sacred symbol appear together?

Perhaps it would be better to see these sacred elements as part of a lower-hierarchy settlement, and thus think of Tinyaq not just in isolation, but also as a *tambo* or a site with dwellings, or a storage area. Were this so, Tinyaq would be one of the Inka sites whose central areas are always (explicitly or implicitly) sacred, like Cuzco, Vilcaswaman or Huanuco Pampa. Is this the case? Indulging in mere speculation, it can be pointed out that if the buildings at Tinyaq were indeed *qolqas*, then the sacred central area of Huanuco Pampa or Pumpu were also enclosed by storehouses.

One last point is that the pre-designed and combined presence of *qolqas*, dwellings, stones with holes, and carved boulders recalls, on the one hand, the presence of *wankas*, large boulders or small stones piled in chacras and *qolqas*, spatially delimiting agrarian rites<sup>2</sup>, and, on the other, the *illas*, which still exist in several Andean peasant communities. *Illas* are miniature carved pieces of stone or wood that represent storehouses, herds, and houses, with holes in them for the *pagos* (offerings). They seem to repeat the same elements as those at Tinyaq. In them, storehouses and herds always surround the scene depicted in its central section, and the holes are filled with coca (a *pagu*). Isn't this the design we find in Tinyaq? Just like in the *conopas* and *illas*, the holes in the stones act as a repository; the holes in the *ushnu* and in some *wakas* are always conceived of as receptacles where offerings are made, and which may pass through to sustain the gods

### Summary

The ethnohistorical and archaeological evidence available suggests that Condormarka was a settlement of Anta *orejones* from Cuzco, ruled by the *hunu* of Huamanguilla-Condormarka. In addition to dwellings, the site also had agricultural terraces, public buildings and others of a religious nature. The religious elements observed are carved rocks, pools and rocky outcrops girded by stone walls. The pottery studied was collected in the central part of the site and comprises fragments of jars, pots, plates, bowls,

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<sup>2</sup> See in this regard the *visitas* to extirpate the idolatries in seventeenth-century Cajatambo (Duviois, 1986).

lids and spindles. All are domestic Inka vessels. However, none of the motifs, nor the techniques used for decorating, resemble the Cuzco Inka style.

Tínyaq is a group of *qolqas* used to temporarily store goods that were on their way to Vilcaswaman. The presence of carved rocks in the central part of the storehouses is the most unique feature in the site, as it reflects a ritual area, and places the storehouses in a ritualised context.

TABLE VI-1  
SACRED ELEMENTS IN CONDORMARKA

	PHYSICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SACRED	IMPORTANT FEATURES
SECTOR I	ROCK (1)*	Semi-quadrangular with 5 holes in NE quadrant of sector
	ROCK (2)	Irregular in SE quadrant
	ROCK (3)	Partly incorporated into the northern wall of a building
	CARVED ROCK (4)	Condor shape (?)
SECTOR III	ROCK (5)	Irregular, associated with a staircase. Part of the northern peripheral wall
	ROCK (6)	Irregular. Part of the northern peripheral wall
	ROCKY OUTCROP (7)	A group of rocks, some carved, enclosed by walls
	ROCKY OUTCROP (8)	A group of rocks, enclosed by walls
SECTOR IV	ROCK(9)	Irregular. Part of the northern peripheral wall
	POOL (10)	Carved in a rock with Inka ashlar
	CARVED ROCK (11)	Small canals and platforms
	CARVED ROCK (12)	Rectangular
	CARVED ROCK (13)	Polished
	CARVED ROCK (14)	Irregular, formed by 2 separate blocks, one of which is table-like
	CARVED ROCK (15)	Ashlar

\* These numbers are used on Plan VI-1

Note: In the SE corner, at the entrance to the complex, there are two Inka, polished ashlar

TABLE VI-2  
NON DOMESTIC ELEMENTS IN THE CENTRAL PART OF TINYAQ.

PHYSICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SACRED	IMPORTANT FEATURES
ROCK (2).	
ROCK (4).	
ROCK (6).	
ROCK WITH HOLES (1).	2 holes
ROCK WITH HOLES (3).	1 hole
ROCK WITH HOLES (5).	3 holes
ROCK WITH HOLES (12).	2 holes
CARVED ROCK (8)	1.50 m long altar
INKA ASHLAR WALL (9).	One course, semi-rustic, with grooves to fit succeeding courses. 2.30 m long x 1 m wide
SEMICIRCULAR WALLS (10).	2 semi-rustic walls. One course, probably a platform 1.4 m wide x 3 m long
CARVED ROCK WITH ONE ASHLAR (11).	Polished with a small channel
CIRCULAR BUILDING (7).	

Note: These numbers in brackets are used on Plan VI-4

TABLE VI-3  
PASTE GROUPINGS AND VESSEL FORMS FROM SECTOR V, CONDORMARKA.

Group	Temp.	Characteristics	Jar F1 Urpus	Jar F2 puyñus	Maqma	Pots	Plates	Bowls	Lids	Spindle whorls	Bodies	Not identified	Total
I	+800°C	Controlled firing. Clay inclusions	41*	12	4, 8, 25 (+40)**, 10 (44), 21 (28)				61	62	40, 43, 60		12
II	>800°C	Controlled firing. Presence of mica and pyrites	1, 48, 46	31	45, 15 (18), 2 (20)	14	9, 20	22, 23, 42			39, 59	63	16
III	+800°C	Great variability in firing. More cases of incomplete oxidation and	6, 33, 35, 47	5, 19	7 (38), 17 (32), 11 (36), 18 (25), 13 (24), 44	16 (16)							13
Total			8	4	14	2	2	3	1	1	5	1	41

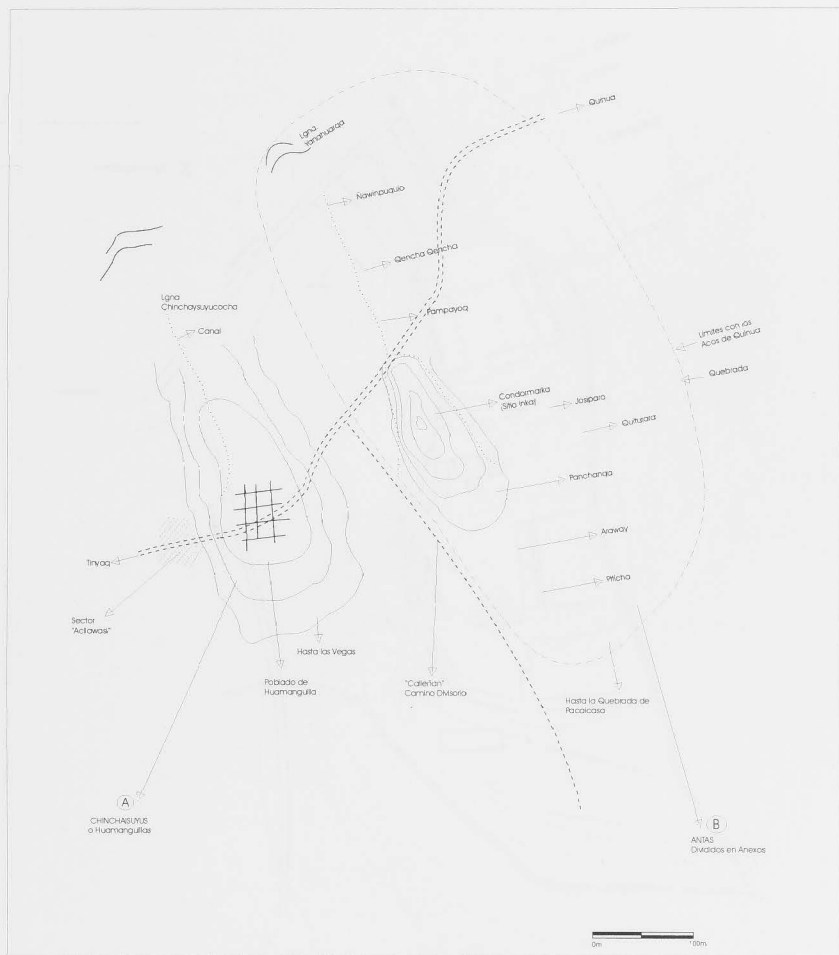
\* Arabic numerals indicate the sherd number

\*\* Arabic in brackets indicate the diameter of the mouth of the vessel



Aerial view, Condormarka.

1. Carved rock, 2. Rock, 3. Rock, 4. Carved rock, 5. Rock, 6. Rock, 7. Carved rocks enclosed by walls,  
 8. Rocks enclosed by walls, 9. Rocks, 10. Carved rocks, 11. Fountain, 13. Carved rock,  
 14. Carved rock, 15. Carved rock..



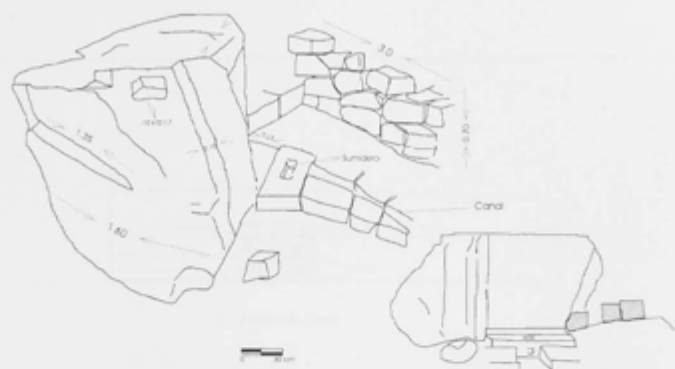
MAP VI.1

LOCATION OF ANTAS AND CHINCHAYCOCHAS IN CONDORMARKA

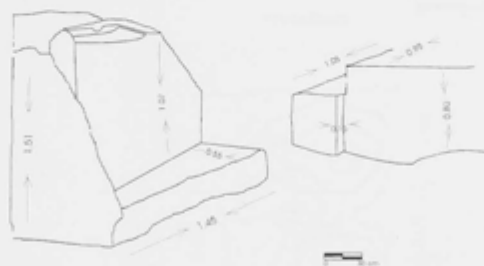
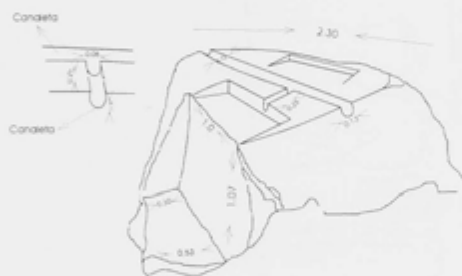




PLAN VI.1  
INKA CONDORMARKA



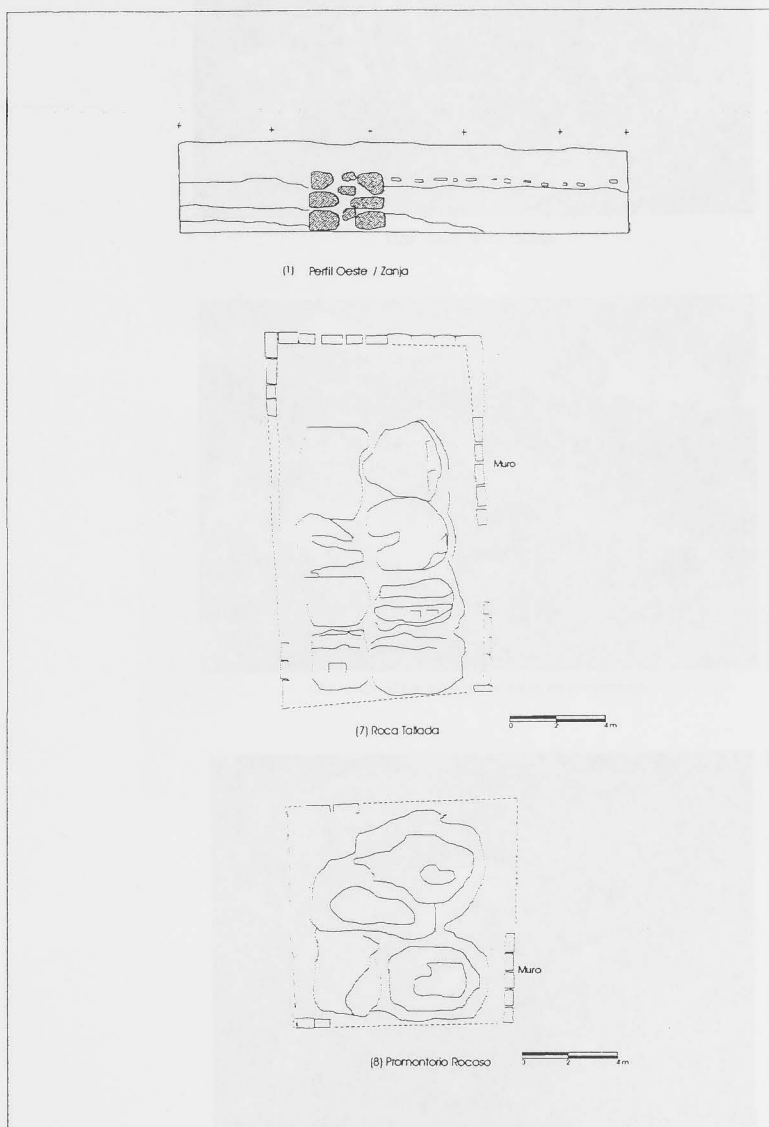
CARVED ROCK FOUNTAIN (10)



CARVED ROCK (11)

PLAN VI.2

SACRED ELEMENTS IN CONDORMARKA





D25. CKA. Roca tallada



D27. CKA. Roca labrada con muro de cerramiento.



D28. CKA. Roca labrada. Detalle lado central.



D22. CKA. Pileta labrada.



F63. CMK. Piedra tallada.

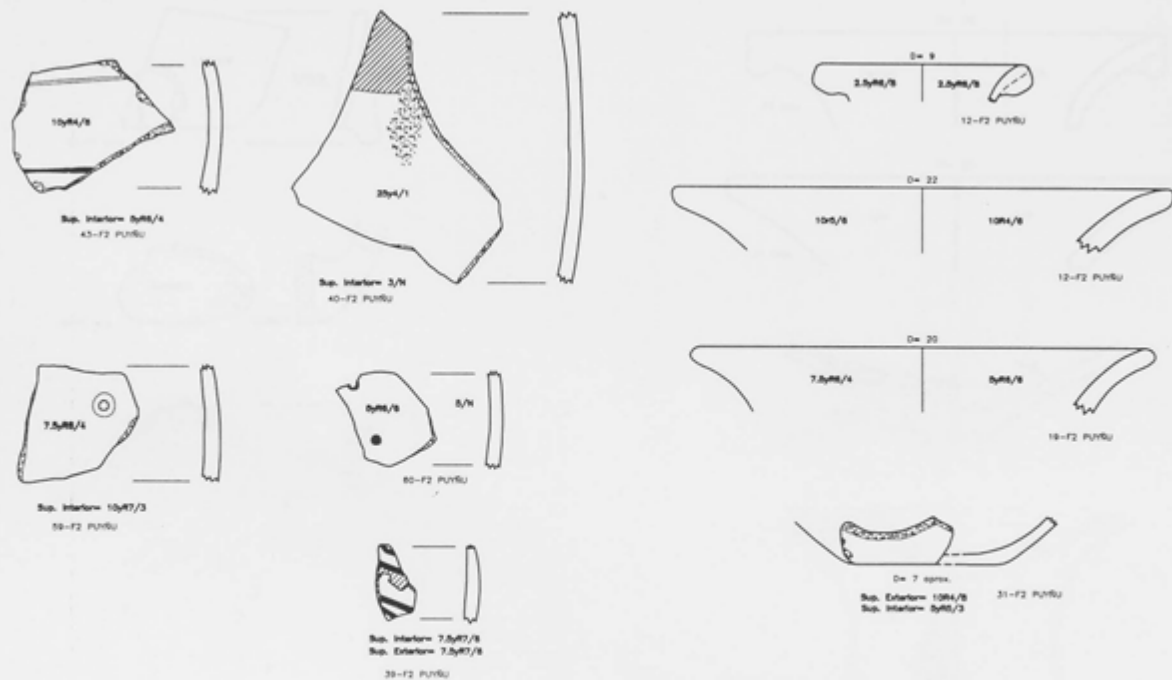


PLATE VI-1a

JARS (URPUS Y PUYÑUS)

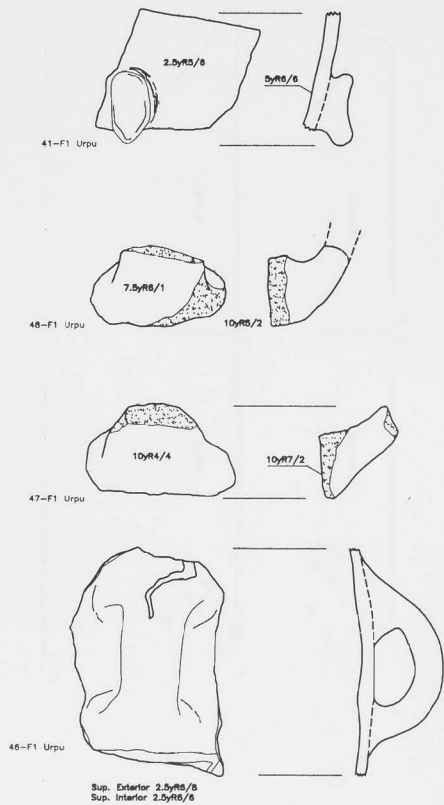
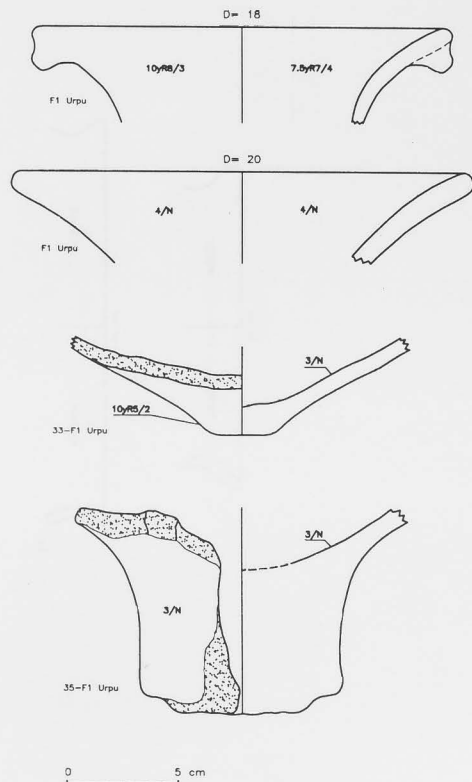


PLATE VI-1b  
JARS (URPUS Y PUYÑUS)



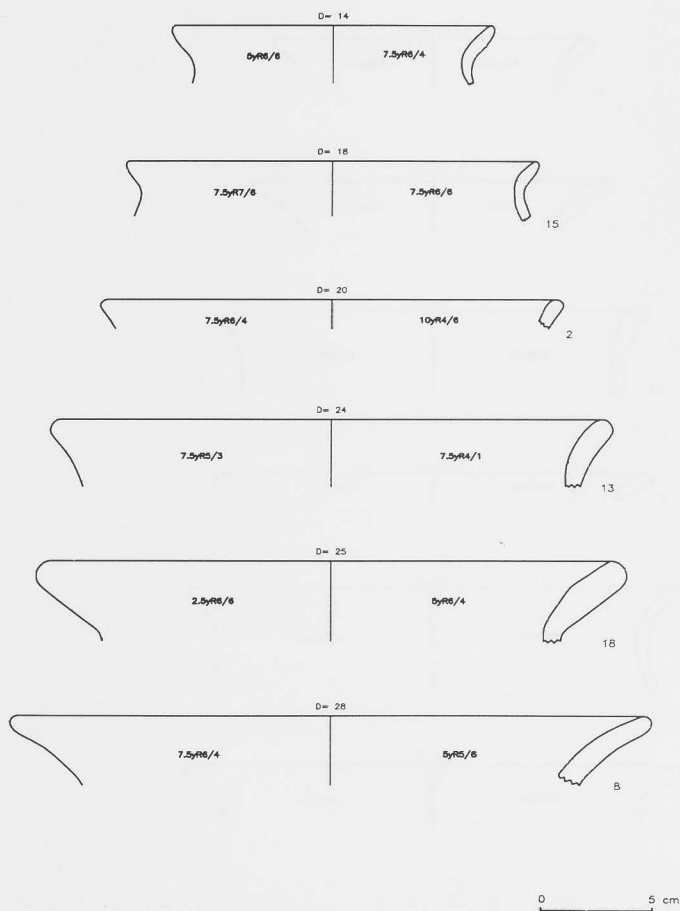


PLATE VI-2a

MAQMAS



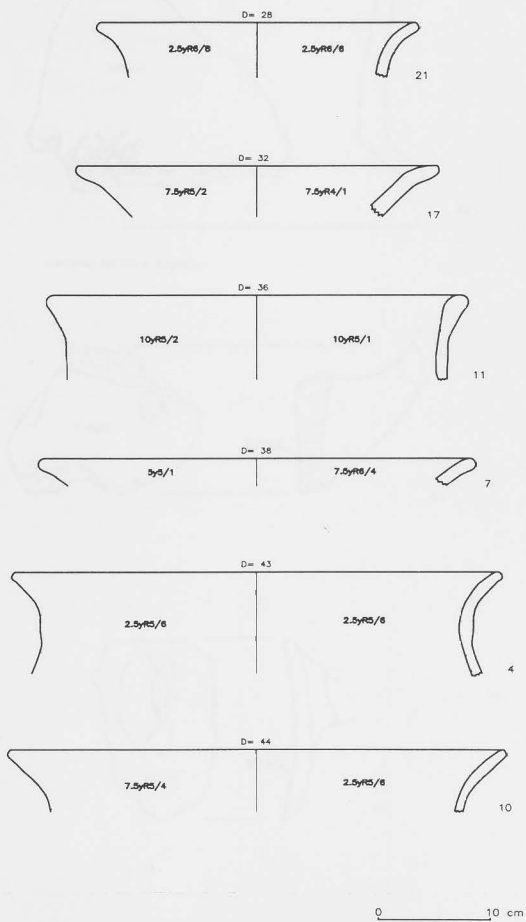
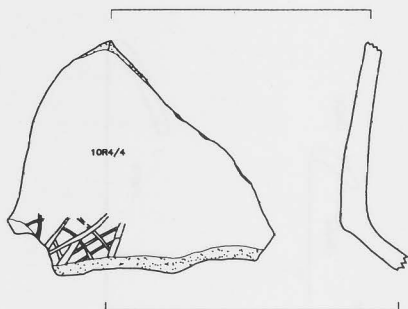


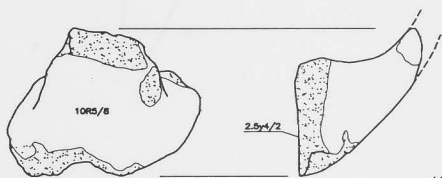
PLATE VI-2b

MAQMAS

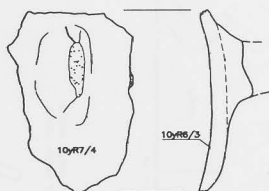


25

SUPERFICIE INTERNA = 2.5yR6/2



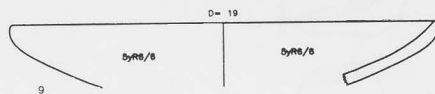
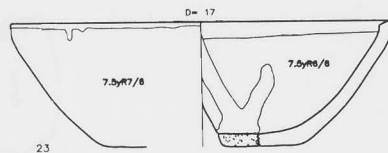
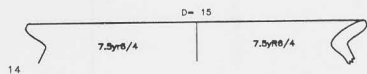
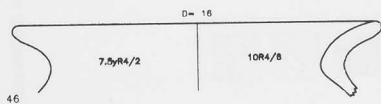
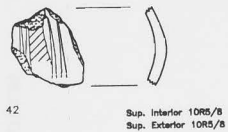
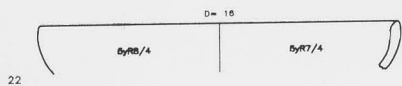
44



45

0 5 cm

PLATE VI-2c  
MAQMAS

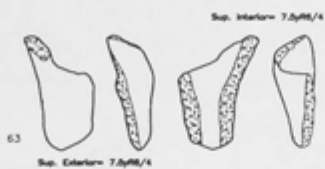


0 5 cm

PLATE VI-3a

BOWLS: 22, 23, 42 PLATES: 9, 20 POTS: 16, 14

ANTERIOR VIEW OF TOWERS



COLORS



0 5 cm

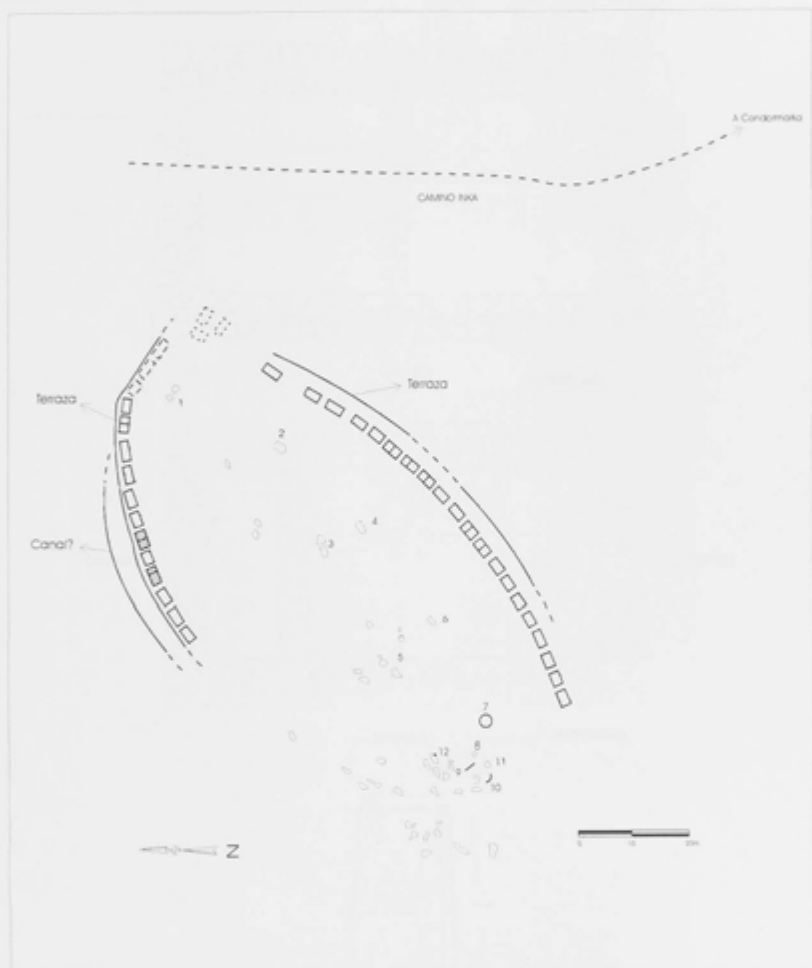
PLATE VI-3b

LID: 61 SPINDLE WHORL: 62 NOT IDENTIFIED: 63

AERIAL VIEW OF TINYAQ



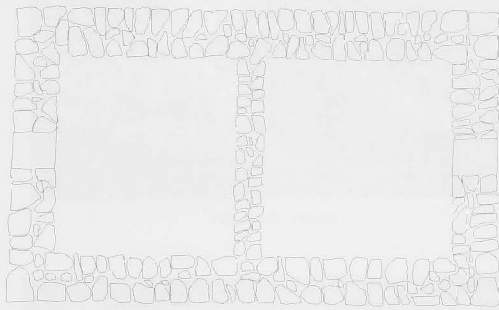
Vista aérea de Tinjacá



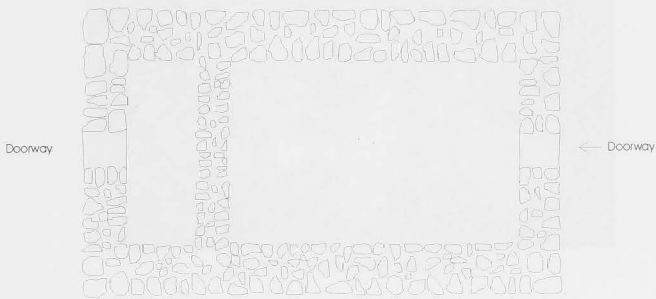
PLAN VI.4

TINAYAK INKA

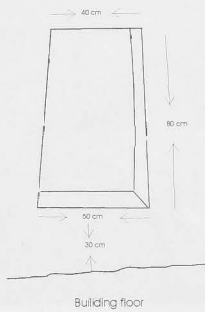
1. Rock with holes, 2. Rock, 3. Rock with holes, 4. Rock, 5. Rock with holes, 6. Rock, 7. Circular building, 8. Carved rock, 9. Wall, 10. Semicircular wall, 11. Carved rock astat, 12. Rock with holes.



Building 6



Building 4



PLAN VI.5

TIN'YAQ. DETAILS OF BUILDINGS 4 AND 6



F68. TYQ. Edificio 6.



D37. TYQ. Roca con hoyo. Sector central.



F72. TYQ. Piedra tallada.



## Chapter 7

### Pomacocha, a Royal Holding in the Province of Vilcaswaman

#### Introduction

This chapter describes the landscape and the cultural characteristics of the Inka site of Pomacocha, which suggest that it was one of the most important royal estates in Chinchaysuyu. The study of these properties is a most complex one, and, for this reason, the first section of the chapter reviews this subject. The chapter then describes and discusses the data uncovered at the site and which permits a comparison with other Inka sites in other regions of Tawantinsuyu. The results of this comparison support the idea that Pomacocha actually was a royal estate. Finally, the unique architectural feature of a pentagonal capping stone, a feature common to very few Inka sites, including Pomacocha, Chinchero, and Vilcaswaman, is used to establish the date when Pomacocha was probably built.

#### 7.1. The Royal Estates. A Review

It has been suggested that the Inka political, religious and economic institutions that underpin the establishment of the temples of the Sun and Moon, the *acllawasi*, royal palaces, *hunu*, *qolqas* and other shrines were replicated in the province of Vilcaswaman. In the same way, the royal estates were also founded in some valleys around the core of Vilcaswaman, apparently copying the same pattern that already existed in Cuzco.

Pomacocha, an Inka site that lies 10 km north of Vilcaswaman, probably was one of the most important royal estates outside Cuzco. The subject of 'royal estates' certainly is a thorny issue which entails consideration of various conceptual problems that concern the politico-economic nature of the State, the existence of private land holdings, the better yields of lands belonging to the royal *panakas* than those belonging to the State, and the decisive political role the *panakas* had in the function of the State and society at all levels.

The ethnohistorical data available on this subject is abundant. The most useful contributions for the study of the royal estates and their identification as archaeological sites in Cuzco were made by Rostworowski (1993), Rowe (1990, 1997), and Villanueva (1970). The excavations which Alcina conducted at Chinchero, an estate belonging to Topa

Inga Yupanqui, were published in the 1970s (1976). Later, Valencia (1977) and Gibaja (1984) respectively studied parts of Yucay and Ollantaytambo. A recent study by Protzen (1993) of the architecture of Ollantaytambo, a royal estate belonging to Pachacutec (Rostworowski, 1993), has expanded the data available for this site. Santillana (1989, 1999a) has also made an archaeological study of Pisac, another estate belonging to Pachacutec. Recent studies of the architectural style by Niles (1987, 1999) yielded new data on the royal estate of Amaro Topa at Callachaca, and of Guayna Capac at Yucay. Farrington (1995) excavated Quispiguanca, the central core of the Yucay estate belonging to Guayna Capac. Heffernan (1989, 1996) made an ethnohistorical and archaeological study of the royal estates at Limatambo (Tarawasi) and Yucay.

Many of these studies were carried out without an understanding of how royal estates functioned not its solution as one of their goals. Even so, all have provided important data on the type and number of buildings, their size, orientation, the area covered by the site, specific architectural features, kinds of constructions, repetitive features, etc. These data allow a basic idea of the formal and structural layout of the Cuzco royal estates, and enable comparison with other Inka sites outside Cuzco that were also royal estates.

The methodology to be used in provincial areas will thus be similar to that applied in the various studies in Cuzco. Ethnohistorical data on the name of the site and its owner has to be found first, and then an archaeological exploration to identify the site in both formal and functional terms. The Cuzco region therefore holds an initial comparative database with which to approach the study of Pomacocha, in the vicinity of Vilcaswaman.

A revision of the available data shows that the term 'royal estates' conceals a most varied reality. Several kinds of estate seems to have existed, in different sizes, locations, uses, kinds of buildings present, and almost certainly their demographic composition. It is possible that this kind of variation reflects the status of its owner, because, in addition to the estates belonging to the royal *panakas*, there were others that were in the temporary possession of certain Inka kings, while still others belonged to the wives of the rulers, to the high-status brothers of the Inka kings, to a king's relatives, such as brothers, concubines,

and so on, and to certain 'meritorious individuals', (Murra's term, 1978: 81) who, according to Murra (1978: 81), apparently were people with no royal status.<sup>1</sup>

But all of these different groups perhaps do not explain the significant variation found in the estates, assigned to each Inka ruler, e.g., between the Machu Picchu estate belonging to Pachacutec (Rowe, 1990; Rostworowski, 1993) and that of Muina to Huascar (Sarmiento, 1943; Betanzos, 1987), or even between the properties of a single ruler, such as Pachacutec who held estates at Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo and Písaq. What was behind these differences? In the case of the latter, the first two are far more 'urban' and have a layout that is far more extensive and different in form from the dispersed pattern of small groups of buildings found at Písaq. A particular case is Chinchero, which scholars attribute as a royal estate of Topa Inga Yupanqui, even though giving it this name conceals the varied nature of the site.<sup>2</sup> Now, as far as the layout is concerned, it is still not known whether all of the estates combined flights of terraces and clusters of buildings, or simply terraces, or a few buildings, or all of these elements and some others, such as pools, shrines, etc. These questions arise from the study of some estates, like Urquillos or Larapa, Machu Picchu or Písaq. This is still much to be resolved.

If the royal estates were classified solely in terms of their use, there would have been some estates dedicated to maize and/or potato agriculture, or to a specialised agriculture for ritual purposes, such as where coca and chili peppers were grown, and others dedicated to the mining of silver and gold.

Furthermore, some royal estates possibly repeated an ancient and efficient model of economic complementarity, for they explicitly reflect this concept, thus breaking what

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<sup>1</sup> Zuidema (pers. com., August 2000) has introduced a new term called *apanage*. These are "lands that a ruling king could assign to someone who held an administrative position. Each king certainly free to reassign these apanages to the managers he appointed. These lands were not inherited by [any] lineage, as happened in late feudalism, or as the *encomenderos* so desired."

<sup>2</sup> In this thesis Chinchero is thought to have served different ends from the moment it was designed to when it acted like a town that had different proprietors. The project to build Chinchero was apparently due to the foresight of Topa Inga Yupanqui, who had it built so that it would also serve as an estate and a resort for himself and the lords of Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: 173, 175). For this reason it was built with the help of *caciques* and labor at a level that lay far beyond the scope of a community. Topa Inga generously redistributed the buildings so raised between several noblemen of Cuzco. Betanzos says that "...hecho este pueblo repartió y dio las casas de Topa Ynga Yupanqui a los señores del Cuzco en las cuales casas y pueblos tenía el Ynga y los demás señores algunas de sus mujeres con las cuales se iban a holgar los meses y tiempos que le parecía en el cual edificio y hacer de este pueblo se tardó en edificar cinco años y mandó que se llamase este pueblo Chinchero" (Betanzos, 1987: 173).

apparently was a State monopoly that exploited several ecological floors (Murra, 1975). The application of this economic principle allowed the *panaka* to have access to several resources, which would have enabled it to enhance its social and political prestige even more, such as can be seen in the data included in petitions for land, salt pans, forests, etc., that the descendants of the Inka made after the Spanish conquest.

Did all of the royal *panakas* really hold estates in each of these ecological floors? It is not possible to answer this question, but it is known that the *panakas* of each king did, at least, occupy some of them, as is indicated by the possessions of Pachacutec and Topa Inga Yupanki (Rostworowski, 1993).

Only the possession of land and its exploitation could have supported the various acts of reciprocity and redistribution which concerned the *panakas*. It is perhaps for this very reason that the chronicles, as well as the administrative and judicial documentation, list the many obligations the royal *panakas* had, which ranged from feeding their retainers, feting their guests, holding frequent festivals whenever the Inka visited their estates, as well as other social commitments and political agreements. Most importantly, there were the offerings made to the Sun with food and drink produced in a field inside the royal estate, and which had been especially set aside for the service of this deity.

But perhaps the biggest volume of goods produced in the royal estates went to maintaining the king's *mallqui*, his mummy, which remained the head of the *panaka*. Apparently one of the most important tasks a *panaka* had was to care for the dead king, who had after his death become a *waka*. The deceased Inka continued living in his palace and participated in public and private festivals (Cobo, 1956: 164; Pizarro, 1986: 52-53, among other sources). The dead Inka was also an oracle and was worshipped in both the Coricancha or in the Aukaypata, and he was served by the *mamakuna* and *yanakuna*, who also lived on his estates. In economic terms, then, the royal estates were the most invaluable fixed assets for the dynamic reproduction of an upper class lifestyle and, since the demands for certain goods were ever increasing because of the need for festivals and the increase in the number of members of the *panakas*, they apparently had to expand the lands under their control.

Guayna Capac was the last 'generous' king who expanded the royal estates of the lords, both the living and the dead, in the Vilcanota River valley, and in other valleys around Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: 182-187).

Some points are partially clear despite the problems that arise from our present knowledge of this issue. The features common to all royal estates are well made agricultural terraces, well-crafted water supply systems, rocky outcrops, some of which maybe carved and several buildings with a fine masonry (Hyslop, 1990: 300). To this list, could be added other features, such as a controlled and restricted access, dispersed clusters of buildings with exclusive entranceways, pools, fine walls that enclose the estates, and, last of all, the presence of residential buildings of the *kallanka* type. These features appear in all royal estates, both in Cuzco and outside it.

## 7.2. Royal Estates Beyond Cuzco

The problem posed by the royal estates beyond Cuzco is even greater than in the core area because there is so little ethnohistorical data. According to the written sources which do exist, in the final decades of Tawantinsuyu, the most productive land in Cuzco and the three neighbouring valleys were the property of the royal *panakas* and *mallqui* (Rostworowski, 1993, among others). This pattern of acquisition was in the process bringing about a change in the economic and political structure of the State, which had become far more critical in the time of Huascar, who had wanted to remove some of the mummies from their lands: "... enojándose un día con los muertos dijo que los había de mandar enterrar a todos y quitalles todo lo que tenían, que no había de haber muertos sino vivos porque tenían todo lo mejor de su reyno" (Pizarro, 1986: 54).

Although it is probably correct that the lack of land became critical during the reign of Huascar because the *panakas* of Pachacutec and Topa Inka Yupanki had covered Cuzco with royal estates. They simultaneously began a massive construction of new cultivated fields on terraces and channelled rivers, such as the Vilcanota to acquire new lands as well as appropriating fields for both the State and their *panakas* in other areas, such as Collasuyu, between Cuzco and Tiwanaku (Cobo, 1956: 86-88) and apparently in the Vilcaswaman region as well in the time of Guayna Capac (Betanzos, 1987: 183). It seems that it was also under Guayna Capac that the appropriation of land outside Cuzco

intensified, particularly in Chinchaysuyu. This was achieved indirectly because according to Rostworowski (1993: 109, 110), new Cuzco *mitimas* were established in different parts of Tawantinsuyu "... [But] *their relocation served the personal ends of the Inka, and they appropriated the lands of the Cuzqueño ayllu ... thus getting a new estate for himself in this way*". This could have been the process by which Huamanguilla-Condormarka, which was given to Anta orejones, who at first, or simultaneously, fulfilled both an administrative role in this *hunu* in the Vilcaswaman *wamani*, as was suggested in Chapter 3. After all, these were the best lands for growing maize in all of this area.

Patterson (1991) noted that Cobo (1956, 2: 86-88) some royal estates belonging to Inka Pachacutec's *panaka* in the area between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca. Julien (1993: 198) also mentions an estate in Colla territory but in connection with Topa Inka Yupanki. She also says that there were some estates in the land of the Chupachus, similar to the ones Guayna Capac had in Yucay, and to the estates Topa Inka and the Sun had in the Titicaca basin (Julien, 1993: 209; see also Spurling, 1992).

It is thought that in Chinchaysuyu were royal estates, similar to those found in the valleys around Cuzco. For instance, they must have existed around both Tumibamba and Quito. Cobo (1956: 92) provides an invaluable datum for the province of Quito when noting that during the ten years that Guayna Capac had lived in Quito he had very sumptuous royal apartments built there. It is almost certain that these palaces were not built in Quito itself but in the more peaceful and fertile valleys nearby, probably at Los Chillos. During field visits in 1982 the author saw many sites which had the same kind of architectural features as those found at Cuzco. In addition, several of the sites Salomon mentions for the Chillos River Valley can be interpreted as royal estates (Salomon, 1980).

Although no specific ethnohistorical data are available for the Vilcaswaman region, it is thought that there are sufficient archaeological and ethnohistorical data to posit that Pomacocha in the Vischongo River Valley, close to the sacred core of Vilcaswaman, was the most important royal estate in all of Chinchaysuyu. As in Cuzco, the landscape in this royal estate has symbolic features, and State agricultural terraces, which are visible for about 8 km around Vilcaswaman, in the temperate area watered by the Vilcaswaman and Vischongo Rivers. Some agricultural terraces close to the town of Vischongo rise from

beside the river of the same name, thus suggesting impressive irrigation works, similar to those of the Vilcanota valley near Cuzco.

### 7.3. Pomacocha

The site of Pomacocha lies at about 10 km to the NW of Vilcaswaman, beside the royal road to Chinchaysuyu. It is situated at 3,100 m asl on a plain, which stretches about 2.5 km from north to south and is 0.9 km wide. Several features of the site and locality stand out in the landscape, to which the Inka added certain symbolic attributes.

1. The first feature is a lake 1.5 km long and between 150 and 300 m wide. It is fed by underground water sources that flow from the very bottom of the lake and also from *quebradas* fed from springs around it, as well as rainfall. Mudslides also contribute when they come down Amaro mountain in wintertime (see Photos Aerial View of Pomacocha, and F-31-32 pch). At present, some retaining walls are visible on both the central-western section and on the eastern and southern sides of the lake, apparently in those sectors which have clusters of Inka buildings. However, some peasants have also reported that retaining walls around the perimeter of the lake which were visible until quite recently.

The southern side is dammed by Inka walls, parts of which can still be seen. In some sections, the masonry construction was built by the Jesuits in past centuries and that in the modern town of Pomacocha, some 4 km south of the Inka site, there was a Jesuit *obraje*, or textile sweatshop in colonial times. Its site was so important that a church was built there at that time. It is possible therefore that the Inka dam has been repaired during the colonial and republican occupations.

On the northern side, there is a canal that enters the lake. At present, it is only 27 m long and 0.60 m wide (see Map VII-2). The walls of the canal are made of roughly-worked stones. Oral accounts say that this canal goes as far as *Ccorimaqma*, a gold storehouse, which is reputed to be in the middle of the lake. They say that the men carrying the gold from Cuzco to Cajamarca as ransom for Atahualpa disposed of it in the lake on hearing of the death of their ruler.

2. The second physical feature is nearby mountain, called Amaro Ceasa, the tallest in the area, which acts as a natural barrier, and rises directly to the west of the lake. It has an altitude of 3,708 m asl and dominates the area with its triangular shape. In a cliff

immediately below the summit, there is a spring called Ñahuinpuquio, which provides Lake Pomacocha with most of its water. The pass, or *Ccasa*, through which the road passes is situated some 300 m north of the summit.

3. A third natural feature are the springs, rivers and brooks in the area. The springs are found on the slopes of Mt Amaro and on the western parts of the plain, between the lake and the mountain. In all, 6 were recorded around the lake, all of which were incorporated into the Inka site in one way or another. The lake and the springs had other, less domestic, uses. And along the steep slopes of the Amaro, there is a group of small river channels, several of which had a permanent water flow in the past but nowadays only have water in the rainy season. Four of these dry beds were identified.

The waters from rivers and springs were used above all to water fields and agricultural terraces that are in different sectors on the eastern slope of Pomacocha and the banks of the Vischongo River, thus comprising almost 50 hectares. The water from the lake, about 50,000 m<sup>3</sup>, simply cannot have been used to water all of the fields. The peasants in Pomacocha claim that they used to water their fields at Huayrapata, Runayupana, Incapacastigun, and others with a canal that had its intake at the *paqcha*, or waterfall, in the Vischongo River, some 6 km from the site. This water channel followed a large, 6 m road which has small, lateral walls for several kilometers. At present, part of this channel is now part of an irrigation canal built during the first Belaunde administration in the 1960s. It is possible that both the canal and road were originally Inka and were later reused.

4. A number of rocky outcrops on the slopes of Mt Amaro, on the plains to the east and west of the lake, and in the stony area called Runayupana and Lloquechua, are other features of the site. They were surely used as quarries, but some were also carved *in situ* with platforms, water channels, holes, pools, stairways, or even simple seats. Others were incorporated in a wall or a structure in a natural state, with or without carvings. Almost all, if not all, of these rocks are surrounded by walls. As at other sites, they must have been part of the symbolic and ritual representation of the Inka's belief system.

5. Another general point is the special location of the site and of its various sectors. From the 'esplanade' of Pomacocha, one can see all of the Vilcaswaman River basin to the horizon, where the various important mountains in the region stand out. Three of the probable 'sacred' mountains: Saywa, Guanacauri and Anahuarque (in order of importance)



can be clearly seen from any point within Inka building complex when looking in an easterly direction towards Cuzco. It is not known whether this is a coincidence, but if the eighth ceque of Chinchaysuyu that leaves Cuzco is extended, then it passes directly over the site.

Inka sites built in front of lakes are not very common, and those that are known include very important religious components. In addition to the buildings on Lake Titicaca (Bandelier, 1969), all that is known are a group of terraces and buildings in front of a lake at La Raya that Squier described (1974: 401), and the royal estate of Huascar (Rowe, 1997; Rostworowski, 1993) at Muyna, on the shores of Lake Huacarpay, and the site of Cuper near Chinchero in Cuzco. In the case of Pomacocha, this site not only had a far warmer and temperate climate, but the lake and the landscape enhanced its beauty and were integrated into its Inka symbolism.

#### **7.4. The Sectors. Cultural Components**

Although the Inka archaeological evidence found at Pomacocha forms a unit both in time as well as in space, the various building complexes should be separated into different sectors. This is done because the description will be more accurate, fluid, and understandable, and it will systematise the different attributes of each of the architectonic complexes and their separation into homogeneous groups. The location, size and shape, its degree of isolation or clustering, the presence or absence of entranceways, enclosure walls, and the association with common formal elements were the criteria used to identify the 11 sectors at Pomacocha (see Map VII-1, I-XI). As a result of an internal stratification in Sector III, can be subdivided it into 11 platforms identified with arabic numerals. Finally, the enclosures or individual architectonic elements, such as rocks, were also numbered with arabic numerals. This code should help future research at the site.

**Sector I.** This sector lies on the northwestern side of the lake. It comprises a complex of platforms, structures and pools (Plan VII-2, 3 and 4; Photo D52 pch) built in an area defined by a small rocky spur with two lateral waterfalls. The central, upper part of the spur was artificially terraced, in order that both the lake and Vilcaswaman can be observed from it. Platforms (1) and (2) are prominent. Platform (1) forms a half moon in shape that

follows the curve of the spur and is situated about 25 m above the Inka pool. Its form and location have given it the name of 'torreón.' The curved wall of this terrace is of fine stonework, 1.7 m high, carved in the Cuzco style. It measures 35.50 m in length. The width of the terrace is 16 m. On the central part of its curved wall are two holes that probably served to drained excess water from the platform, or perhaps it had other ritual uses.

Platform (2) is 18 m long and runs in a north-south direction, some 5.20 m from the edge of the first platform. The wall is straight, is made of worked stones and has 5 large, but partially destroyed, outward facing niches. Each of these measure 0.90 m at the base and are 0.50 m deep. Immediately beyond niche 5, a small transverse wall 3 m long runs to join the wall of platform 1. In the middle of this small wall, there is a double-jamb doorway. This entrance leads to a small passageway, which has a natural rock at its northern end that can be seen any part of the site (Photo D-57). At the end of this passageway and behind the boulder, there is an entrance leading into Platform 2. Inside this terrace (2), there is a small rectangular room with crudely worked stone walls (Plan VII-4). There is just one doorway that leads to a patio on the southern side. Behind this structure, there are scattered stones which probably fell as scree from the above-hanging cliff. Don Alejandro Rodríguez (49), a local peasant, recalls having found a 'huaco', a pot, (Photo D- 59) on platform 2 while cultivating the field in 1989. The vessel is a baked clay Inka musical instrument, 0.9 m long and 0.04 m wide in the middle, which is cylindrical in shape and with two holes at the ends and one in the middle. It has a violet-like slip.

The 'Baths of the Inka' are on the lower part of the rock and of platforms 1 and 2, in the water course in the south ravine (Photo, D55 pch). This is a small U-shaped pool, 4.10 m long, with a south-east orientation. The side walls are two-faced but partially destroyed; the south side has 3 m and the north one 0.50 m in length, and are 1.05 m in width. In the middle of the central wall, there are two small canals with spouts for the water to fall through. On the floor of this pool are two flat stones that are slightly grooved with channels on the sides. On the inside façade of the pool's central wall, there is a fitted stone that has 17 angles.

Also on the lower central part of this sector, between the two ravines, there are agricultural fields, small woods, some huts and modern houses which have greatly altered the sector. However, in the midst of these new features are a group of crude walls

belonging to superimposed agricultural terraces, 2 m high. These terraces commence adjacent to the canal on the south side and follow the contour of the land. The canal itself was made with Inka ashlar stones as evidenced in the middle of its length.

Unlike the south ravine, where water flows all year long from the spring at its top, the ravine on the north is nowadays invariably dry. It descends 40 m to a natural pool. Along its drainage line, there is a D-shaped building with cell-shaped stonework; the eastern wall of which has a visible length of 22.30 m and it is about 9.20 m wide. Why is there a building at the base of waterfall, i.e. in the splash zone? Was it a ritual pool? A building with the same shape can also be seen in the plan of Tumibamba (Uhle, 1923; Idrovo, 1991).

To the north-east of this waterfall, there is a crudely made retaining wall that defines a semicircle, and it leads to several stone steps that lead to a crevice 10 m long and 1.80 m high in the cliff, where two irregularly-shaped holes can be seen. The peasants call it "the cave."

Finally, on the southern bank of the south waterfall, there is a terrace complex, some of which were probably used for agriculture. The most remarkable of this flight is a terrace on the upper part of the area, which is wedged between the rocks. It is 13 m long and has well-fitted, cellular stonework. It was not used for agriculture because its surface is far too steep and stony. On its NE angle, there is a fine stairway with 5 steps.

**Sector II.** This comprises a great expanse between the slopes of Mt Amaro, the lake and the buildings in Sector III. The only structure evidence is a finely constructed wall (8), 300 m long and standing 2.50 m high (Photo, D-61 pch). It was built adjoining the slope and has no wall-steps, canals nor drainage vents. These characteristics would suggest that it was not an agricultural terrace. Below this terrace is a passageway 4 m wide and a 2.20 m slope (Photo, D-64). The southern end of the passage ends at a spring (9) and a pool (10) (Plan, VII-3). Between the spring and the pool there is a slightly oval-shaped area that must have been a smaller reservoir, of which some of the parapets are still visible. Its water outlet is channelled; the canal was made by carving a groove, 0.10 m wide and 0.05 m deep, in the central part of several Inka ashlar stones which were discovered. When a 1.20 m long section of the channel was cleaned. Three of these stones, 0.61 x 0.46 x 0.16 m, were

found. The last is part of the pool itself and this one has a series of 6 different sized small rivulets that distribute the water among several waterfalls the stone façade that are somewhat larger than the other 3 found on the sides (see Plan VII-9).

It is hard to distinguish where the wall ends on the northern side, as it is masked by the pile of stones, soil and vegetation that have accumulated there. The wall apparently extends as far as the channel that supplied the 'Bath of the Inka,' i.e., as far as the water fountain on the south ravine in Sector I. In other words, this is a finely made wall with a water fountain at either end.

In the royal estate of Pachacutec at Písaq there are several long walls, with different formal characteristics and in different contexts, that separate the buildings and agricultural terraces of the eastern part of the site into two parts (Santillana, 1999). Similar features have been observed at Ollantaytambo and Machu Picchu that do not separate any sector. What was the purpose of this wall at Pomacocha?

**Sector III.** This sector lies on the central plain, to the west of the lake. It has an area of about 2 hectares, extending from the pool to the slopes of Mt Amaro (Plan VII-5) enclosed by walls. This sector has the least number of buildings. It is slightly rectangular in shape; 3 of its 4 sides are defined by retaining walls, the fourth by an enclosure wall. The layout and the planning applied in the sector are based around 10 platforms. Starting from the west, i.e., the slope, they are as follows:

**Platform 1.** This is slightly irregular shaped because of the lay of the land. It is 55 m long and 1.50 m high. Its retaining wall is made of stones placed on edge alternating with small crude stones. There are no wall steps or niches. Instead of an agricultural terrace, it resembles a peripheral retaining wall because the mountain forms the back of the platform. North of this platform and below the slope is a canal (11) that emerges from inside the wall. Some 80 cm of its length were cleaned and it was found to be stone lined with well worked and polished stones. The channel itself has a 45° slope (Photo, F50 pch). It runs in a straight line for some 0.60 m, then it turns to the south-west and heads to two pools that are located a few metres below platform 2. The channel itself is 0.10 m wide and 0.18 m deep, and was apparently covered with flagstones. It comes from the spring of

Ñahuinpuquio, on the slopes of Mt Amaro, about 1 km away; other sections of this canal with identical characteristics were identified 150 and 200 m to the south of this sector.

Platform 2. It is 1.50 m high, 52 m long and 10 m wide. At the foot of the slope on the north end of this platform are two pools. Close to pool no. 2 is a fallen Inka ashlar stone with a canal carved along its centre. Pool 1 (12) is made of well worked stones, some of which have protuberances on the surface. Pool 2 (13) used a large rock *in situ* that had been worked to fit courses of ashlar stones. The above-mentioned canal and pools are part of a different system from the spring, the pool and the small pool with numerous channels in Sector II, which are located nearby.

Platform 3. This is a terrace 44 m long, which has been divided into 2 by certain architectural elements (Plan VII-6). The first section starting from the south comprises a fine wall, 32 m long and 2 m high, with big niches. Almost all of this wall has collapsed, with leaving just a single course of ashlar stones in place. The ashlar stones seem to cover a fill of gravel, earth, and both large and small crudely worked stones. Of the many niches that must have existed, as shown by the evidence remaining on the wall, only one still survives which is 1.10 m wide at the base and 0.80 m deep. Some stone blocks that formed the capping stone of the platform can be seen among the fallen ashlar stones (Photo, F46 pch). These capping stones are five-sided and are similar to those which top the platform wall with the niches in the small plaza at Chinchero (Cuzco), and to those that capped the platform in the *ushmu* at Vilcaswaman (Plan VII-7 and 9).

The niched wall ends at a transverse wall of fine stonework, 0.60 m wide and 2.20 m long; which joins to a carved rock (15). The transverse wall serves to separate the second section of the platform. Adjoining it is a 4-step stairway, the first two treads of which are missing, which leads to a doorway 1.40 m wide that provides access to a finely built stone wall, 7 m long on the upper platform.

The second part of the platform corresponds to a wall with finely worked, pillow shaped stones with three visible courses that begin at the stairway. Adjoining this wall is another in a different style that begins below the stair and runs for 7 m until it reaches another rock (14). The superimposition of the walls probably indicates that this area was remodelled.

On the flat, northern part of this platform is a single course of well worked stone walls that form a rectangular structure (7), 6.50 m long and 3.60 m wide, separated from the first wall of the platform by a narrow passageway, 8.30 m wide. A rock (14) measuring 3 m long, 1.80 m wide and standing 1.40 m high forms part of the western wall. Part of its surface is carved. In front of this building and slightly transverse to it are some other Inka ashlar stones which seem to be the base of a wall of another structure.

On the eastern side of the platform there are several rocks of various sizes which have been carved and are associated with fine walls; this indicates that these were not domestic, residential buildings. The largest boulder (15) is 15 m long, 2.90 m wide (on average), and stands about 2.20 m high. It is almost of quadrangular shape. Its top is almost flat, somewhat higher than on the western side where some steps have been carved, and which join an adjoining wall stair. The latter is made of fine ashlar stones, similar to the four-step stair, that enters the already described building on the upper platform. There seems to be a direct relation between this large boulder and the room beside the stairs. The north-eastern corner of this rock exhibits some carved seat. A layer of carved stones, that were probably part of the wall that surrounded the rock, is visible on the surface of the present floor on the western and southern sides. A wall, 2.0 m long, 0.40 m wide and 0.80 m high, of fine, pillow-like Inka masonry is found in the south-eastern corner. A course of fine Inka ashlar stones, 3.50 m long, is located on the southern side and seems to have been part of the wall that enclosed the rock. There are two other small rock outcrops in front of the two boulders already described (Plan VII-8).

Platform 4. This is a terrace 45 m long, and of less height than the platform 3. On its southern side it forms a straight line with the side walls of terraces 2 and 3, and it ends to the north at platform 10.

The terrace wall is now 1.95 m high and its stonework is polygonal. Three complete niches and parts of 4 others are visible in the façade of this wall. The complete niches are 0.51 and 0.56 m wide at the top and bottom respectively, and are 1.65 m high and 0.60 m deep. There are other smaller niches arranged between the larger ones which are 0.33 and 0.37 m wide at top and bottom respectively, and are 0.57 m high and 0.42 m deep. The lintels of both niche types are at the same level (Photo, D47 pch). Using the measurements

of the complete wall length, hypothetically there would have been 17 large niches and 16 smaller ones (Plan, VII-6).

A carved stone (23), 2.1 m long, with an east-west orientation, and aligned with the slope, lies 37.50 m from the northern corner of the platform (Photo D48 pch; Plan VII-9). There are two parallel lines, each of 3 steps, carved on one end of the rock. The lowest carved step sits inside the niched wall, perhaps a part of the third niche, which according to this reconstruction, would have fitted the carved stone. The upper surface of this boulder is flat, thus resembling a table. A compass reading along the edge of the rock, on the first step, is:

1. 0° North, the alignment of the wall with the niches.
2. 58°, the alignment of the rock (23)
3. 90°, to Mt Wayllay or Saywa.

Are these alignments of both the wall of the niches and the mountain mere coincidence? Or do they instead follow some intentional reading?

Beside this stepped boulder, which is also in alignment with the slope, is another small outcrop which is 1.04 m long, 0.55 m wide and 0.40 m high, and which has a slightly rectangular shape. It is not carved

Platform 5. This is a terrace, 54 m long and 3 m high. It commences on the northern wall of the peripheral platform of this sector III. The wall is of the fine, pillow-like stone-blocks. There are no niches arranged along it. Along its base there is a wall is 0.50 m wide, thus suggesting the presence of a bench.

Platform 6. A 104 m terrace that extends across the whole width of the sector. It has three different levels; the 2 on either side, northern and southern, are slightly lower than the one in the centre. The height of the central one is 2 m, while those at the sides are 1 m high. The walls of the southern and middle levels are straight, while the northern one is segmented.

Platform 7. This is the biggest platform in Sector III, 39 m wide, 104 m long, and with a crudely built retaining wall only 1 m. To its south and 4 m away from the peripheral wall, there are two rectangular enclosures (5 and 6), also of fairly crude stonework. One of them is 13.80 m long and 8 m wide, the other 11.90 m long, 8 m wide and stands a height of only 0.15 m.

At the northern end there is another rectangular building made of fairly crude stonework which is 38.60 m long and 9.10 m wide. Its walls have a general width of 0.80 m. The northern wall has 2 doorways and is now 1.90 m high. The two doorways are 11.55 m away from the corners of the building. Each is 1.40 m wide at the base. They give access to a terrace 9.50 m wide, that is peripheral terrace no. 10, which has a fine wall. The enclosure and the terrace have a special location and orientation, because from it, the northern esplanade with the long wall in Sector II, the 'Bath of the Inka,' and the 'Torreón' in Sector I, are clearly visible, as well as the lake below. From this point, the plain and the mountains between Vischongo and Vilcaswaman are also visible. A doorway, leading to a patio, was found at the back of this building. The doorway is 1.20 m wide, slightly less than the two (5 and 6), on the front of the building. There are doorways, each 4.20 m wide, on the sides of this structure that lead to the great patio rise. A small test pit was dug in this structure (see Excavation Protocol, Plan VII-14).

Platform 8. This platform has two levels and crudely made retaining walls that face the lake. It is 107 m long and stands 0.90-2 m high (Plan VII-10). The first level is an area devoid of buildings, 63 m long and 22.30 wide. In the south-eastern corner of the southern peripheral wall is an uncarved rock (19). The second level has several buildings laid out in a U-shape around a central patio. In the centre of the patio there is a mound of earth, stones and some ashlar stones that resembles a pyramid. Local archaeologists have called it an 'ushnu'; However, after excavating part of the mound and cleaning along the walls, it was found to be 3 small rooms symmetrically eastwards oriented towards the lake. An oval-shaped rock (20), carved on both its surface and sides, was found to the north-east of this group (Plan VII-8). The characteristics of these buildings are as follows:



### Building 1

<b>Form:</b>	Square (plan VII: 10 y 11)
<b>Measurements:</b>	North and South sides: 10.50 m East and West sides: 11 m
<b>Wall width:</b>	South, West and North: 1 m East: 1.50 m.
<b>Doorways:</b>	Principal access, east side: 1.80 m
<b>Type of wall:</b>	Rustic (enclosure wall) Semi-worked, the interior structure
<b>Internal sub-divisions:</b>	3 small structures: 1a, 1b and 1c Patio 1d

**Building 1: internal subdivision**

	1a	1b	1c	1d
Location	SW	SE	NE	S
Form	Quadrangular	Quadrangular	Quadrangular	Quadrangular
Interior measurements	2 x 2 m	2 x 2 m	2 x 2 m	9 x 9 m
Wall width	1 m	1 m	1 m	1 m
Height of original floor above present surface	2.20 m	0.40 m	0.40 m	0.40 m
Doorways	1 x 0.40 m	1 x 0.40 m	1 x 0.40 m	1 x 0.50 m
Niches	x li): 0.60 x 0.28 (32) x 0.38 * (2i): 0.60 x 0.29 (31) x 0.38 (3i): 0.60 x 0.28 (31) x 0.38 (4i): 0.60 x 0.28 (31) x 0.39 (5e): 0.60 x 0.29 (32) x 0.39 (6e): 0.60 x 0.28 (31) x 0.39 (7): 0.60 x 0.29 (32) x 0.38 (8): 0.60 x 0.29 (32) x 0.38 **	x	x	x

(\*) The niches in buildings 1b and 1c are similar to the range of those of building 1a. The plaster probably made them more regular in size.

(\*\*) Niches 7 and 8 are on exterior walls. One of them (7) is beside the main doorway that gives access to this group, the other one (8) is on the northern wall between buildings 1b and 1c.

**Discussion** Although the walls in building 1 are crudely worked and assembled, the stones at the corners of the internal passageways and the niches are finely worked, the lintels in the latter have special grooves for an aesthetically pleasing result and to make a precision-fit. The central section of the western wall in building 1 has a stone with a groove in the centre of its upper surface, probably to fit the following stone in the following course. The elongated room or back court 1d seems to have been added later because in structural terms it does not fit with the quadrangle. It seems to be an antechamber. The only doorway is on the eastern side and there is no connection with the patio or other structures in this sector.

A test excavation was made in this building (see Excavation protocol, Plan VII.13).

<b>BUILDINGS 2, 3 AND 4 (Plan VII-10)</b>				
	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>4</b>	
<b>Location:</b>	South	West	North	
<b>Form:</b>	Rectangular	Rectangular	Rectangular	
<b>Type of wall:</b>	Rectangular coursed	Rectangular coursed	Rectangular coursed	
<b>Measurements: interior</b>		3.20 x 28.70		
<b>exterior</b>	6.50 x 17	5.00 x 30.30		
<b>Wall width:</b>	0.80	0.80		
<b>Doorways: measurements</b>	1.00	0.90		
<b>orientation</b>	North (of patio)	East (of patio)		
<b>Niches: interior</b>	one	three		
<b>exterior</b>	two	three		

Structures 2 and 3, and possibly 4, of which only part of its walls survive, formed a closed group of buildings with restricted access. The sole access is located in the northeastern angle of the platform, where there is a stairway, 1.30 m wide, which is entered through a doorway that gives access to the elongated terrace where building 4 (platform 7) is (Plan VII-10; Photo D74 pch).

The stones in structure 2 are generally larger than those in Building 3, but they are of the same rectangular coursed type. Several elongated ashlar stones in Building 2 also exhibit a small fitting groove on one of their sides; in addition, the central part of the narrow ends of each of these stones have a somewhat deeper groove, as if to embed a

wedge and ensure a better union with the stone in the following course (Photo, D75 pch). These are the same bonding grooves found on ashlar stones at Ollantaytambo (Protzen 1994).

The two external niches on the eastern wall of building 2 face the lake.

Building 3 is also oriented towards the patio. On the wall facing the patio, there is a doorway and two niches. Two other niches are on the interior of the southern and northern walls. Unfortunately this is almost completely destroyed and the fallen stones do not allow a complete study.

Adjoining the north-western corner of building 1 is a boulder (20) that has been carved on three of its sides. It is situated 16 m away from the retaining wall of the lake. It is 7 m long, 3.60 m wide and stands 1.80 m high. Below it is a layer of well worked stones around its eastern, western and southern sides, perhaps the remains of its enclosing wall. On its south-eastern angle there are 3 small carved platforms, and on the central surface, a horizontal and a transverse water channel.

Platform 9. This terrace is between the lake and Sector III. Its retaining wall is of fine stonework (Photo, F29 pch), of which only two courses, 1.20 m high, remain.

Platform 10. It delimits Sector III on the northern side. It extends from Platform 7 to Platform 4. It is 89 m long and 16 m wide (Photo, D76 pch). The terrace wall has 5 distinct courses of fine, pillow-like stones and is 1.75 m high.

**Sector IV.** It is called "Pata Pata." The sector comprises 3 hectares of agricultural terraces (Plan, VII-2 and 3; Photo F58 pch). It is situated to the south of the lake. The platform uses the lower slope of Mt Amaro and a small esplanade before a rocky hill. There are four groups of stepped agricultural terraces along the slopes. Each group has 5 terraces. The variation in level between each group is of 3 m. A fifth group is formed by the 2 big terraces that are slightly stepped on the flattest part of the terrain. It is clear that the terraces follow the contour of the land. The water that supplies this sector comes from the spring of Ñahuin Puquio, some 300 m above these terraces, which are partially destroyed. The wall is of the fine and raised type. The first terraces, starting from the lower part, are now 1.90 m high. All are still in use. Several groups of stairs were seen in the first terrace, each of which was formed by three elongated steps protruding from the wall.

**Sector V.** This is an Inka *cancha* to the south-west of the lake. It comprises 4 crudely built structures of different sizes.

Structures	1	2	3	4
Size (m)	40 x 9	40 x 10	54.13 x 12	17 x 9
Wall width (m)	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.75
Form	rectangular	rectangular	rectangular	rectangular
Wall type	rustic	rustic	rustic	rustic
Window	1(S wall)	0	0	0
State of conservation	S wall	One course	One course	One course

There are the remains of a terrace that levels the uneven surface of this sector, 20 m to the south of this *cancha*.

**Sector VI.** This is a small area defined by the retaining platform surrounding the lake and the rocky slope of a small hill on the eastern side. The platform is of fine stonework. On its southern there are some foundations that could be those of another structure, and in the central section there are scattered rocks on the surface, much like a rocky mound in the sector. Sixty metres to the east of the lake there are four Inka buildings of different construction (Plan VII-2 and 3).

Structures	1	2	3	4
Measurements (m)	24.30 x 9.80	26.70 x 9.80	10 x 8.80	10 x 8.40
Form	rectangular	rectangular	rectangular	rectangular
Wall type	rustic	rustic	fine	fine
Wall width (m)	0.8	0.8	1.1	1.1
Doorways	3 (east wall)	3 (east wall)		
Door width (m)	1.3	1.3		

Rectangular buildings 1 and 2 are separated by a passageway, 1.50 m wide, and are 19.50 m away from buildings 3 and 4. A small crude platform, 1 m wide, runs alongside rooms 3 and 4. All the sectors, on the western side of the lake are visible from these structures.

**Sector VII.** The sector is called Sara Rupasqa and is defined by the presence of three stepped agricultural terraces of crudely modified stonework that begins on the upper part of a small hill to the east of the lake. The form of the terraces is adapted to the contour of the land. The first from the east is 65 m long and 15 m wide; the second is 20 m long and 15 m wide; the third is 170 m long and 13 m wide. All three were once longer than they now are. It is worth pointing out that this sector, including Wayrapata and Lloquecha, is rocky. In addition, there are many half-worked stones all over the area, implying that the terraces were under construction. The total area is of about 1.5 hectares (Plan VII-2 and 3).

**Sector VIII.** The sector called Runa Yupana is also located to the east of the lake. It is a group of agricultural terraces built in the shape of an elongated U, with semi-worked walls. On the northern side there are three stepped and semicircular agricultural terraces, and on the other sides 2 straight and stepped agricultural terraces that run alongside the mountain slopes. The central section is an elongated flat area. Boulders and stones seem to have fallen from parts of the walls and platforms of semicircular agricultural terraces 1 and 2, or were never in place, indicating that they were also not finished. The materials used to build the walls must have been obtained locally because the stones in the walls and those in the vicinity are similar geologically. Seven groups of stairways or *saruna*, termed by Heffernan (1989) "wall steps", were found on the along the faces of the walls of both the lateral and semicircular agricultural terraces 1 and 2. These consist of 3 elongated stones that protrude from the wall, and each tread is 50-70 cm long. Their width range between 20-25 cm wide and 35-40 cm tall. The terraces are about 2.50 m high. The total area covered by these terraces is about 8 hectares (Plan VII-2 and 3).

**Sector IX.** This sector is called Lloquecha is a flight of agricultural terraces the most distant, 800 m from the eastern side of the lake. Similar to sector VIII, this is a small, wedged area, and the terraces were built to the contour of the land. The site is very rocky and is full of small, scattered stones. The terraces are uneven, small and narrow. Their stonework is crude. Like suggested for sectors VII and VIII, it appears that these terraces were not finished. It is worth pointing out that between a modern canal and the upper part

of the mountain, there is a circular construction of crude stonework, 5.20 m in diameter, and whose walls are now only 0.60 m high. The doorway is 0.85 m wide at its base, and its shape is slightly trapezoidal (Plan VII-1 and 2). The total area is of about 3 hectares.

A dirt track zigzags up the slopes of the hill in Lloquecha to Lake Pomacocha. This must be part of the *Capac Ñan* that comes from Vilcaswaman and passes by the northern side of the lake. It is 6 m wide, some parts of it are paved and it has small walls at its sides. Some parts of the road there are retainer walls

Finally, there are two other areas that could also be other agricultural sectors, but it will be difficult to define them as such until systematic excavations are undertaken. These are, firstly, an area of 2 hectares that is on both sides of the present canal that leaves Lake Pomacocha. It is a group of stepped fields of uneven shape, proportionally aligned on both sides of the canal but without clear evidence of the retaining wall construction. This suggests that they originally were Inka agricultural terraces, but which have been remodelled in recent times, whilst preserving their original plan and form.

Similarly, in a second area, about 5 hectares in extent, located at the intake of the Pomacocha canal on the Vischongo River there also are fields which correspond to old Inka agricultural terraces. These have been designated Sectors X and XI respectively.

It must be added that the various groups of terraces rise from 2700 m asl on the lower part of the Vischongo River, to 3200 m asl in the Pata Pata Sector. They comprise in total about 22.5 hectares of cultivable land. It is quite clear that the Inka engineers had not finished transforming the rocky landscape on the eastern slope of the lake when the scheme was abandoned, presumably at the time of the Spanish conquest.

### **7.5. Stylistic Variations. Elite Architecture**

There is substantial variation in the kind of stonework present in the various constructions at Pomacocha (see Table VII.1). This is shown by the presence of crude, cellular, sedimentary and polygonal types of stonework that are described in the literature on Inka architecture (Harth-Terre, 1964; Kendall, 1985; Agurto, 1987; Niles, 1987). However, the terms proposed in these classifications do not exhaust all of the variations in each of these types. In addition, these classifications are weakened by the fact that more

than one criterion is used, for example in some cases size, such as Cyclopean, is used and in others it is the quality of the stonework, such as crude and fine.

Except for the so-called "megalithic polygonal" or "cyclopean," and the protuberances, or "chupos", usually found on ashlar stones, all other kinds of Inka stonework and several other architectonic traits from the city of Cuzco are found in the site of Pomacocha. Why?

At Pomacocha, the variety of types of stonework does not seem to reflect a chronological sequence but is instead a synchronic trait. Such variability occurs within the same context, and therefore does not reflect change in time, but perhaps general characteristics of change in function and prestige. It could be that the simultaneity of the use of different architectonic styles is explained by the fact that this is an elite site. At Pomacocha, it seems that the stylistic variation is explained by differences in prestige and status across the site. It is assumed that this can also be said of all sites of a similar nature. Two major features are needed to support this hypothesis and both of them are missing, however their absence does not invalidate it, it simply does not reinforce it. These two features are the location of the quarries from whence the materials came, and the kind of stone used for construction. There is apparently some relationship between prestige, type of stone, and its provenance that underlines the importance of a site, at least, according to Carbajal (1965), who noted that some constructions at Vilcaswaman were made with ashlar stones brought from Cuzco, Quito and other places. However, the implications of this reference could be no more than allegorical to describe the interconnectedness of places of importance in Tawantinsuyu, as was seen in Chapter 5. Absence of such a reference for Pomacocha is not critical to the ascription of prestige to it but it would be useful.

Rather than approaching the chronology of Inka constructions at Pomacocha from the differences in architectonic styles, the possible functions of the various buildings is investigated. However, there is at least one case of a superimposition of structures, in sector III, platform 3, denoting that one was built before, and was later partially covered by the other. In this case, both structures were made with a fine stonework. The earlier is of the polygonal or embedded-type stonework that was partly disassembled and covered prior to the construction of a four-step stairway, also of rectangular coursed stonework (*sedimentario*). The disassembled section, which was not covered by the stairway is still

visible, standing 0.50 m high. Immediately beyond the polygonal wall is the rectangular coursed stonework of the second, similar to and therefore contemporary with the stairway. The visible height of this latter is 1.15 m.

It seems that this place initially had no stairway access and surely had another function. Later, when it was remodelled, a part of the polygonal stonework wall was disassembled, and the stairway and the wall with rectangular coursed stonework were built. A transverse wall with a similar stonework, adjoining the stairway and connecting with platform 3, is contemporary and is associated with a group of carved rocks (15 and 16; see Plan VII-6 and 7).

This remodelling apparently established a ritual area that had not existed in the first design and construction. Therefore, structure 7 (Plan VI-6), which also has fine smooth, rectangular coursed stonework, similar to that of the stair and the back wall in Platform 3, corresponds to this second phase. Initially, this area was just a platform. Platform 3 was built later, perhaps beside Platform 8, and together these are the two areas with ceremonial functions of a presumably greater complexity and importance in this sector. This hypothesis is supported by the abundance of non-domestic elements and the uniqueness of certain architectonic traits in these platforms.

Table VII-1 shows that the most varied architecture in Pomacocha is found in the platforms, structures and pools.

The platforms were divided into three types, based on functional criteria. The first type is the retaining platforms *strictu sensu*. Although all, in principle, have this function, this name is appropriate because these examples are limited to defining or delimiting an area. If the platforms are or correspond to ceremonial or palace areas, these platforms have fine stonework, such as in the cases of Sectors I (1 and 2), III (9 and 10) and V. However, this can be misleading because there also are platforms with fairly crude stonework in sectors that are also ceremonial or palaces, such as in Sector III, where such walls simply delimit the rear of the sector, or in other cases act as small supplementary retainer walls in relation to those of fine stonework. This is the case of Platforms 1, 2 and part of Platforms 7 and 8 in Sector III, and the retaining wall of the lake in Sector V. Even so, it is worth noting that though crude, the stonework has been edged, perhaps because this is an elite area.



The second type corresponds to fine stonework on ornamental platforms that are intentionally exhibited, and do not have any other functional attribute. This is the case of the single long terrace in Sector II which has no other adornment, or the platforms that form part of a ceremonial area, as in Platforms 3, 4 and 5 in Sector III, which are characterised by with large niches.

Finally, the last type are the agricultural terraces that include canals, stairways and agricultural fields. The stonework in these terraces is of two kinds: crudely but edged, as in Sectors IX, and probably sectors X and XI; the other is a cellular, edged stonework, such as in Sectors I, V, VII and VIII.

Some comments are necessary regarding agricultural terraces which can also be classified not only by the types of stonework, but also their distance from the main core of the site, and the implications these characteristics have for the production of crops and their probable use. The Sector IV terraces stands out because they receive irrigation water from the spring of Ñawinpuquio. These seem to be finished because no terrace wall is incomplete, and there are no half-worked stones lying on the surface, such as are found in at least three of the other agricultural sectors. The idea that this place had received specialised planning is also supported by its design and layout. The stonework is of the cellular type and has wall, each with 3 projecting stone steps, which are placed about 10 m apart. At present, maize is grown on them; and since this was one of the favourite staples of the Inka (Murra, 1978), both for ceremonial uses and to feed the royal *ayllu*, it is proposed that this crop was grown in these terraces during Inka times.

Sector VIII, which bears the name Runa Yupana, is another agricultural sector. It has a cellular-type stonework, but with bigger stones than in Sector IV. This is also a pre-designed water-control and agricultural project. A natural depression was used, with the rocky outcrops immediately around it serving as quarry for building stone. The terraces combine both semicircular and straight-sided forms, adapted to the contour of the land. Passage from one terrace to the other is via wall steps. However, these terraces are unfinished because along the length of the low, finished walls and at their distal ends, e.g. the third terrace in this sector, there are piles of unworked stones for the purpose of further construction and breaks of slope to indicate the planned extent of the scheme. In addition, this terrace indicates the technique used, as well as providing some information on the

quarrymen. It seems that two parties of *mitayos*, workmen began at opposite ends, building the terrace wall progressively towards the middle because the unused stones are found in the middle part of the terrace. Was labour controlled and an *atipanakuy* (competition) held between the *mitayos* of different villages?

The terraces in Sector VII are also incomplete. These are of crudely worked, but edged, stonework, but with a poorer finish than in the other sectors. No stairs, wall steps or canals can be seen. Each terrace in this sector is incomplete. A small depression was the location used to build this scheme and the surrounding rocky outcrops were used as quarry for building stone.

In Sector IX (Lloqecha), all terraces have a crudely worked stonework. They were built on a steep slope and are consequently narrow and sinuous. This indicates that no preliminary work had been carried out to lessen the gradient, as can be seen in other sectors. There are no canals or stairs. The terraces are in a rugged area with several rocky outcrops and stones. A unique circular construction of crude stonework can be found in the middle of these terraces.

Finally, there is a small group of agricultural terraces below the "Bath of the Inka," between the two waterfalls of Sector I. They are of crude, edged stonework and have abundant water supplied by a canal that divides the terraces into two small sub-sectors. The terraces descend in the middle point of the great flat area on this side of Pomacocha (Plan VII-4). This area is unfortunately overgrown with trees, shrubs and crops complete records were difficult to make. In addition, several of the terraces have recently been remodelled. These seem to have been terraces for specialised crops, except perhaps for the uppermost, on the south side of the waterfall; perhaps they were part of a ritual area related to water and the beginning of the agricultural season as their location near to waterfalls and connection with fountains the "Bath of the Inka," and the other ceremonial constructions on the upper part of Sector I may suggest.

With regard to the structures, the stonework can be either fine or crude. In Sector I, building 1, and in Sector III buildings 1, 4, 5 and 6 all have crude stonework, while buildings 2, 3 and 7 have stonework. Laid up in a coursed sedimentary fashion. Both sectors apparently are residential and ceremonial, and although the cruder stonework is now

exposed, in Inka times they were plastered with a layer of mud, as has been revealed in the excavations. Other important characteristics are the size and location of the structures.

Building 1 in Sector III is of quadrangular shape, and has three small subdivisions and an inner courtyard. Its only entrance is located on the eastern side that leads to the courtyard, and there is no connection between the other structures, 2 and 3, even though they are contextually associated because they are part of the same platform and the same urban and architectonic concept (Plan VII-11). Although they are built with a crude stonework, ashlar stones were used as quoins in the corners of the buildings, doorways and niches. The latter even have the grooves on their lintels to attain a precise fit with the adjacent stones such care in construction, coupled with the intention that lay behind the construction of the 3 small rooms with similar characteristics, narrow, tall, windowless structures, very dark inside and only narrow, passage-like doorways, but with both internal and external niches, would suggest a very special function was intended for this place. Its location, overlooking the lake, with the wide, main entrance to its east, then this seems to have been a carefully planned construction intended for ceremonial use.

The excavation made in one of the small buildings (1a) only yielded evidence of large chunks of plaster, charcoal and ash scattered on the floor of the building, from which a ceremonial use can be inferred because no ceramic sherds or any other cultural material were found. The floor of this building was clean, with no evidence of domestic occupation. Furthermore it seems that the room was only used under certain circumstances and for a short periods only. In addition, adjoining the room on its northern side is the well carved stone that reproduces platforms and canals, thereby reinforcing the hypothesis of a ceremonial function, perhaps related to water and the sun. (see Excavation Protocol, Plan VII-13).

Even more explicit in this is a structure also made with a fairly crude stonework in Sector I, which has also been in a relatively closed context within a ceremonial matrix. It was built by intentionally enlarging the middle part of a semicircular, overhang in the cliff, between the two natural *paqchas* or waterfalls. This building rises over two small platforms, the first of semicircular form with rectangular coursed stonework and the second straight-sided with polygonal stonework with several large niches, and an irregularly shaped cut or fissure on the back of the rock. In this case, there is both crude and fine

stonework. The building with crude stonework had been plastered, as shown by fragments of it found when cleaning. The walls are now quite low but it is not thought that this room had adobe bricks in upper courses, and that the barholds must also have been of stone, for there is no accumulation of earth to suggest adobe brick construction.

In Sector III, buildings 2 and 3, and presumably the other structure on the northern side, there are the only building clusters that seem to be of the classic Inka-*cancha* type, with rectangular coursed stonework and rectangular, elongated and narrow ashlar stones. There are niches on the interior and exterior of the eastern, northern and southern walls. The constructions form an inverted U-shape plan, in the central patio of which is the ceremonial Building 1.

The ashlar stones are particularly special because their finish is polished and the joints are straight-sided, these have been used for wall building, quoins and lintels. Several of these ashlar stones have holes in them for metal clamps which would have bound the blocks together (Photo D75). A semi-worked block, that was being cut into two, was found associated with room 3; it was perhaps going to be used in the Inka remodelling of the room, or perhaps it indicated that the structure was in the process of construction when it collapsed. This stone block shows the traces of metal chisel working which had been used to cut the stone (Photo D 72). It is similar to one at Ollantaytambo, illustrated by Bouchard (1983: Plate VIa).

The stonework, the size of the rooms, the archaeological elements that it comprises, their location and association with room 1, which had a marked ceremonial use, all clearly indicate some special use for buildings 2 and 3, perhaps, the royal residence of the Inka.

Building 4 is of crude stonework and is unique because of its size and location. It measures 38.60 x 9.10 m, and stands on Platform 10. Its rectangular coursed stonework is exquisite and has a wide and open view to the north and north-east of the site. The excavations made showed two important indicators that reject its use as a dwelling, or at least as a permanent one. Firstly, no ceramic sherds were found, nor any domestic refuse on the floor, such as ash or charcoal, and secondly, the south rear wall also had doors (Plan VI-5). The excavations verified that one of them which had apparently been closed off quite recently. It should be recalled that, according to two local peasants, this site was used as a corral at one time, and a cultivation field at another. It is true that this door is smaller than

the two main ones on the northern façade, that opens onto Platform 10. The smaller rear doors open onto a great patio. In formal terms, this building is similar to the so-called *kallankas* located in the 3 plazas at Huanuco Pampa (Morris and Thompson, 1985), and the 4 that were reported to be in the Aukaypata, in Cuzco (Hyslop, 1990). However, building 4 is not in a public building, like them and its location is very close to the structures in which the Inka is thought to have resided. Its characteristics, associations and the analogies suggest that this large structure was used for the banquets given by the royal family, when in residence. (See Excavation Protocol and Plan VII.14)

Buildings 5 and 6 in this same sector are of crudely worked stonework and are built in an area removed from the ceremonial constructions. Unfortunately, of these rooms only one course of building stones remains visible on the surface and no other characteristics can be recorded that could be used to ascertain function. Even so, there is some association with the building 4 because they were both built in the same sub-sector, around the same patio and thus could be entered from one another (Plan VII-5).

In brief, although the excavations made in rooms 1(a) and 4 of Sector III were relatively small, they still are a representative sample of the 7 structures in that sector. The complete lack of ceramic materials in the excavations can be regarded as a good index that can help us understand why there are also no sherds found on the surface of Sector III or in the other sectors, despite the fact that some of them were not cleaned to define architectonic characteristics.

Several problems are involved when it comes to making a general statement concerning the absence of ceramic materials in Sector III without a more exhaustive excavation. However, experience in other Inka sites in Cuzco and elsewhere, where no surface sherds have been found, suggests that such absence is a function the nature of the site and the role it had in Inka activities. The evidence seems to be indicating this characteristic of a more sacred than secular nature. As has already been suggested, Sector III must have housed activities related to Inka ceremonial activities and probably with some kind of everyday activity by its chosen inhabitants.

Sector V is an example of a typical Inka *cancha* that comprises 4 buildings arranged around an open area. All buildings are built with relatively crude stonework; 3 of them are large and one is smaller; all are rectangular in shape. Rectangular structure 1, the best

preserved, has the doorways on the northern wall and a small window on the eastern side. These buildings were built on the edge of a small depression that opens to the ravine where the canal that leaves the lake passes through. These structures are quite close to the intake at the lake and closer to the agricultural terraces in Sectors IV and X, which are themselves quite removed from the other sectors. These might be temporary lodgings, perhaps for *mitayos* who were housed in this *kallanka* while they fulfilled their *mita*.

Sector VI has a single *cancha* that comprises four structures, two of which are, rectangular ones, separated by a passageway, 1.50 m wide. Their stonework is crude and have three doorways in each building, facing onto a large open area. The other two structures are small quadrangles with fine, rectangular coursed stonework which are joined by a wall at the rear. They also face the large, open area. There are no constructions on the other two sides (Plan VII-3). These structures are associated with the retaining platform of the lake and are situated 60 m away from it. The sector is slightly rocky.

The pools are another type of construction that reflect stylistic variability in the stonework. Pool no. 1, popularly known as the "Bath of the Inka," is in Sector I. Its walls are of polygonal stonework, with a smooth finish and a flat, smooth profile. The central stone of the wall stands out because it is an *in situ* stone that has been shaped into 17 angles to fit the wall and is the point where two water channels empty into the pool. (Photo D55 pch).

Pools 2 and 3 in Sector III can be described on the ground surface, where some ashlar stones are visible. The stonework is of the polygonal kind and it was assembled around and over a natural rock, as in pool 2. The presence of these pools recalls the ones at Písaq, Cuzco, excavated in 1976, where 3 are aligned one after the other from the Intiwatana to the Písaq Sector, down the slope alongside the monumental stairways and the road. There is also a similar arrangement of pools at Machu Picchu, another royal estate. In fact, it is thought that all of these pool complexes must have had a ritual use.

Pool 1 in Sector II has multiple channels entering and exiting it. Only profile adjacent to a wall and its entry and exit ends could be cleaned, because of the fact that the local peasant assistants refused to do so, out of fear of the pool, based on their own and their ancestors traditions that it is of evil influence and it deliberately emptied those responsible would die (See section 7.5. Stylistic Variations. Elite Architecture).

### 7.6. Location and Access in Sector III

As well as the architectonic characteristics, construction technology, building materials and other cultural components used to explain Pomacocha, its location, entrances and access routes are also important elements that can assist in an understanding of its possible function.

Sector III (Plan VII-5) is the most representative and significant sector of Pomacocha to evaluate the location and flow through the site because of its greater architectural complexity, the greater number of structures, and its more complex functional areas. The layout of its structures, the entranceways access routes assist in the understanding of its occupation, because the presence of restrictions to access, the quality of stonework surrounding doorways or the exclusiveness of their use, are all complementary indicators of the architectonic contexts.

Even though, this sector is defined by its perimeter walls that give it an enclosed aspect, and that the internal building pattern is based on a succession of large or small platforms that include structures with specialised functions, it is noted that there are 3 building groups arranged in the sector. The first corresponds to Platform 8, where there is a carved boulder (20), structure 1 that seems to have had ceremonial uses, and buildings 2 and 3, which were possibly royal abodes. The second is located the central part of the sector and comprises Platform 7 and buildings 4, 5, and 6, each of which have a crude stonework and are around a large patio. The third comprises the ornamental and ceremonial platforms 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6 which are all located in the western part. Do these buildings, which are all based on 3 blocks, reflect the Inka liking for a tripartite division?

Sector III has three entranceways. The first and principal one is situated between the platforms (10 and 8) on the northern side and it leads to the great, outer esplanade. It is a stairway that leads to both fine residential rooms and the open area in which 3 structures with crude stonework are located. Continuing to the following platform along a small passageway adjacent to the retaining wall of platform 5, and from there to (5 and 4) through the two entrances located on the southern side of the platforms. Access from Platform 4 to Platform 3 is through a stairway with an rectangular coursed stonework, built after the remodelling and closing off a previous wall of polygonal stonework. The presence of only a

single point of access reflects the exclusiveness of this sector through such a control entrance.

The second and third entrances are situated on the frontal eastern side of the sector. One leads directly and exclusively to building 1, for which a ceremonial use has been inferred. The other is located beside building 1, where a carved rock (20) is found on a stairway that leads to the patio of the buildings thought to belong to the Inka. However, this second entrance from the façade was used exclusively for ceremonies held both at the sacred rock (20) and in building 1, to which some people must have come from the residential sectors 2 and 3 to make offerings. The 'more secular,' everyday entrance was that through the side, described as the main entrance to the sector.

Finally, the location of structures 2 and 3, the probable residence of the Inka, in the central part of the sector seems to indicate an intentional and planned location in order that the Inka could participate in the ritual activity in the buildings in front of his abode, and also attend more public ceremonies in the great building 4, which was located to the rear of his abode.

### **7.7. Pomacocha, a Royal Estate**

What was Pomacocha? An administrative centre? A sanctuary? Or was it a royal holding? These are three possible interpretations which can be explored in comparison with the several representative Inka sites found elsewhere in Tawantinsuyu. The first type, administrative centre, is represented by Huanuco Pampa and Tunsucancha; the second, sanctuary, by the complexes on the Island of the Sun and at Pacariqtambo; and the third, royal estate by Callachaca in the Cuzco valley and other sites in the Vilcanota. Sanctuaries are defined only by the characteristics of two sites located in the highlands, the complexes of the Island of the Sun and Pacariqtambo, because they fit in better with the very essence of Inka religion.

The comparative Table VII-2 shows the presence of certain architectural patterns in each of the sites listed. Nine characteristics were found in administrative centres, 8 in royal estates, and 14 in shrines. Interestingly enough, some characteristics are repeated in all sites, be they administrative centres or *tambos*, sanctuaries or royal estates. In the first two types, the architectural features are relatively few but more common because they



were part of a strict urban pattern planned from Cuzco.<sup>3</sup> Royal estates show a wider variety in their characteristics because, by their very nature, these were of several kinds, and also because they were constructed according to specific tastes of their owner.

The crucial architectural characteristics of State facilities of administrative centres or tambos, are missing at Pomacocha. There are no *qolqas*, extensive lodgings, *ushnu*, Temple of the Sun, *acllawasi* or great plaza. There are some architectonic elements that would perhaps indicate a sanctuary, which are also present in other royal estates in Cuzco, in much the same way as State facilities and sanctuaries do have some common characteristics. However, neither Pomacocha nor any royal estate has the two defining architectural elements of sanctuaries which are small buildings nucleated around a small plaza and the presence of large niches and triple-jamb doorways. The absence of these traits must imply that Pomacocha was not a sanctuary, even though it does have other aesthetic, intra-site components, as well as a use of the landscape that are suggestive of such a function, and are similar to the complex in the island at Lake Titicaca.

All features, including finely made agricultural terraces, well built enclosure walls, platforms with large outward-facing niches, finely made canal systems, fountains and pools, rocky outcrops (including carved rocks), buildings built of fine masonry, large halls and dispersed residential *canchas* with restricted access, which are thought to indicate a royal estate are present at Pomacocha. Indeed the architectonic styles at Pomacocha are finer and more elegant than those described for Callachaca by Niles (1987: 231). In addition, its precise location by the lake and Mt Amaro, its symbolic meanings and the intervention of its royal owner further support the ascribed function of this site.

### 7.8. Chronological Implications

Understanding the chronology of a site is a most complex problem. Its solution requires several methods that can provide a greater accuracy of the date when it was built and occupied. However, in this thesis this can only be approached using information from the chronicles and the study of some of the repetitive architectonic elements. Even so, it is worth recalling that stylistic variation in architecture does not necessarily reflect a sequence

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<sup>3</sup> However, some reservations should be had as concerns sanctuaries, because there is no substantial description of them, so no big generalisation can be made on just the basis of the few known sites.

of changes that took place through time (see for Cuzco, Kendall, 1978), but may imply a series of contemporary styles and therefore a synchronic occupation.

As an Inka site, Pomacocha presumably began to be constructed at the time of the birth of Amaro Thopa Inka, thought to be around 1440 (see Chapter 2, footnote 1). This was not a fortuitous event, but it happened as Pachacutec was returning to Cuzco from a military campaign on the Central Coast and in the Central Highlands (Pachacuti, 1993: 223). He decided to stay at Pomacocha to rest for a short while because it was a peaceful place, with a temperate climate<sup>4</sup> and available resources to live on. He must have had some homes built with fairly crudely worked stone walls to await the birth and carry out matters of State.<sup>5</sup>

The present extensive site must have been built later probably when Amaro Thopa Inka had already taken over his State duties in both secular and religious positions (Murúa, 1987), and perhaps after he had received land from his father in Cuzco.

In addition to these ethnohistorical references, there is a unique architectural feature at Pomacocha, the pentagonal-shaped capping stones that top the retaining wall of platform 3 sector III. This could be correlated with similar instances in the Vilcaswaman area and in Cuzco to determine when the site was built and occupied. This element appears on top of the uppermost platform retaining wall of the pyramid or *ushnu* at Vilcaswaman. At present the ones in Pomacocha lie fallen at the foot of platform 3 (Photo F46 pch).

Outside the research area, such capping stones only appear on top of the niched platform wall with niches at Chinchero in Cuzco. For both, Vilcaswaman and Chinchero, there are written colonial information that give a relative dating of their buildings. For Chinchero, Betanzos mentions that this palace was built under the command of Topa Inka

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<sup>4</sup> In the words of Pachacuti (1993: 223), it was a "...tierra muy caliente...."

<sup>5</sup> It means that the army, retainers and administrative staff must have stayed beside Pachacutec and lodged in campaign tents. There is no other solution to the housing problem. There is no evidence of collective lodgings anywhere at the site. This solution is feasible because it would likewise solve a major question for Vilcaswaman, which also lacks houses or *kallankas* that could have housed many people who were always on the move. The *kallankas* that lodged military *mitayos* and officials of all kinds were only built after a region had been conquered, and administrative centres like Huanuco Pampa or Pumpu had been built. However, since none of these structures exist at Vilcaswaman, the housing problem must have been solved with tents, an alternative resource that placed less demands on the State's resources. This was a traditional solution used since the very beginning of Inka expansion. According to Cieza (1985: 183), the use of tents was usual in Inka military campaigns.

Yupanki. There is no way of knowing how long it took to build Chinchero in the 22 years his reign lasted (1471-1493), but what seems to be clear is that it was built after 1471. For Vilcaswaman, different evidence is used of a formal analogy between its *ushnu* and the Akapana at Tiwanaku. From data provided by Cobo (1956), shows that Vilcaswaman's "adoratorio" or *ushnu* was built by Pachacutec towards the end of his reign, i.e., around 1470, after he had visited Tiwanaku, and when as a very old king had the pyramid built.

If these data are correlated, then the capping stones at Pomacocha, and therefore the site itself, must have been built after 1470, perhaps when Topa Inka Yupanki was already king, and his brother Amaro Thopa was his '*gauqui*.' This means that Pomacocha was occupied for no more than 50 years before it was abandoned, and it was never finished, particularly its agricultural and water-control projects (see 7.4, Sectors VII and VIII).

### Summary

According to the ethnohistorical data provided mainly by Cobo (1956) and Betanzos (1987), the last Inkas waged campaigns to appropriate land for their respective *panakas* outside Cuzco.

Pomacocha is an Inka site that has different sectors, defined by the presence of structures with domestic, public and ritual use with agricultural and ritual terraces, water fountains and carved rocks. All buildings at the site are made with a crude stonework of the cellular, rectangular coursed and polygonal kind. The stylistic variation in the stonework reflects prestige and status, not successive buildings stages.

The analogy between several characteristics of Pomacocha and the sites of Huanuco Pampa, Tunsucancha, Pacariqtambo and the Island of the Sun, show that Pomacocha was not an administrative centre or a shrine. Instead, a comparison with sites, like Písaq and Callachaca, shows that there are some similar characteristics between them suggest that it has the formal and symbolic characteristics of a royal estate.

## Excavation Protocol, Pomacocha

### Sector III

#### Building: 1

Measurements: 4.16 x 4.08 m

Coda and size of unit: 1(a) 1.94 x 1.94 m

Reasons for excavation: see Chapter 1.5.4

Procedure followed: Three-dimensional excavation following natural strata.

#### Stratigraphy: Characteristics:

Stratum A. Granulated grey earth. It covers all of the building up to 2 m deep. It has some fallen stones, slightly worked on one of its sides. The walls, a doorway and 3 complete, slightly trapezoidal niches were found when cleaning the building. Culturally sterile.

Stratum B. Greyish earth. Uneven thickness. On the north side it is interrupted by the presence of a lens of whitish ashes and small charcoal fragments. Fragments of plaster were found, probably fallen from the walls. These are very hard and compact, perhaps because they were fire-hardened. They were made with compact earth and straw, and have a dark reddish colour. No other cultural materials are present.

Stratum C. Black earth mixed with ashes. Only 1 x 1.94 m were excavated. There also are small fragments of charcoal. The thickness is uneven, but it is horizontal at the base. This stratum covered the floor of the original occupation. Culturally sterile.

Stratum D. The floor of the room. Compact earth, slightly cream-coloured, mixed with small gravel. The surface is roughly horizontal. The area excavated was 1 x 1.94 m, 6 cm as average thickness. Culturally sterile.

Stratum E. Reddish earth with gravel, slightly compact. Excavation area was 1 x 1.94 m. This stratum continues below 2.60 m, just like the foundations of the walls. Culturally sterile.

**Finds:** 3 small trapezoidal niches when cleaning stratum A. Fragments of plaster on the walls, made of clay and straw, and fire-hardened.

**Drawings:** Plan of building; east side profile (Plan VII.13).

**Comments:** This is one of three small structures built as a quadrangular architectonic group on Platform 8. It is small with a narrow passageway as entrance from a small patio that also allows access to other buildings. Apparently no room had a door. The ash and fragments of charcoal seem to be the remains of a small fire that occurred long after the site was abandoned, because it is in strata above the Inka occupation of the room. The floor shows no sign of a domestic occupation; there are no hearths or sherds. The floor was clean. The absence of occupational debris, the association with the other structures, the special architectonic attributes to the group, its location in the group and its association with buildings built in the fine architectural Cuzco style all suggest that this structure had a ceremonial use which cannot, as yet, be determined. Further excavations are needed in the structure.

## **Excavation Protocol, Pomacocha**

### **Sector III**

#### **Building: 4**

Measurements: 38.60 x 9.10 m

Coda and size of unit: 4(a) 2 x 7.30 m

Reasons for excavation: see Chapter 1.5.4

Procedure followed: Three-dimensional excavation following natural strata

#### **Stratigraphy:**

Stratum A. Granulated grey earth, with incrustations of small and big stones, throughout all of the unit. The surface presents evidence of furrows of a modern field. Large fallen stones adjoin the north and south walls of the room. The thickness of the stratum is 57 cm on average. Culturally sterile.

Stratum B. Greyish earth, compact and humid with few stones. The stratum is 18 cm thick on average. Culturally sterile.

Stratum C. Greyish earth with incrustations of gravel. Ash and small fragments of charcoal are present. This stratum is 8 cm thick on average. An area 2 x 3 m was excavated. This seems to be the original floor of the structure. Culturally sterile.

Stratum D. An area 2 x 2 m on the north side of the unit was excavated. Reddish earth with gravel, slightly compact. It seems to be a fill used to level the structure. Culturally sterile.

**Finds:** A doorway was located on the south wall of the structure during cleaning stratum A. The door is 1.30 m wide. It seems to be one of several that existed on this wall. It opens on a large patio.

**Drawings:** Plan of room and excavation unit; west side profile. Entrance doorway on the south side (Plan VII.14).

**Comments:** This is the largest building with crude stonework in Sector III. Its location is in a closed and exclusive sector; the presence of several doorways that open on a large patio to the south and a fine terrace on the north side, all suggest that it was not a dwelling. This is supported by the absence of pottery, hearths and ashes, and any other domestic refuse. The type of building is comparable in formal terms with the large constructions, called *kallankas*, that surrounded the main plaza and two subsidiary ones at Huanuco Pampa, and they can also be compared with the 4 large constructions that were erected around the Aukaypata in Cuzco. However, at Pomacocha this building is hidden in a special place. It is very close to other constructions that apparently were the residences of the Inka. All of these characteristics, associations and analogies suggest that building 4 might have been the place where the local Inka held banquets for the elite.

TABLE VII-1  
TYPES OF STONEMWORK IN POMACCOCHA.

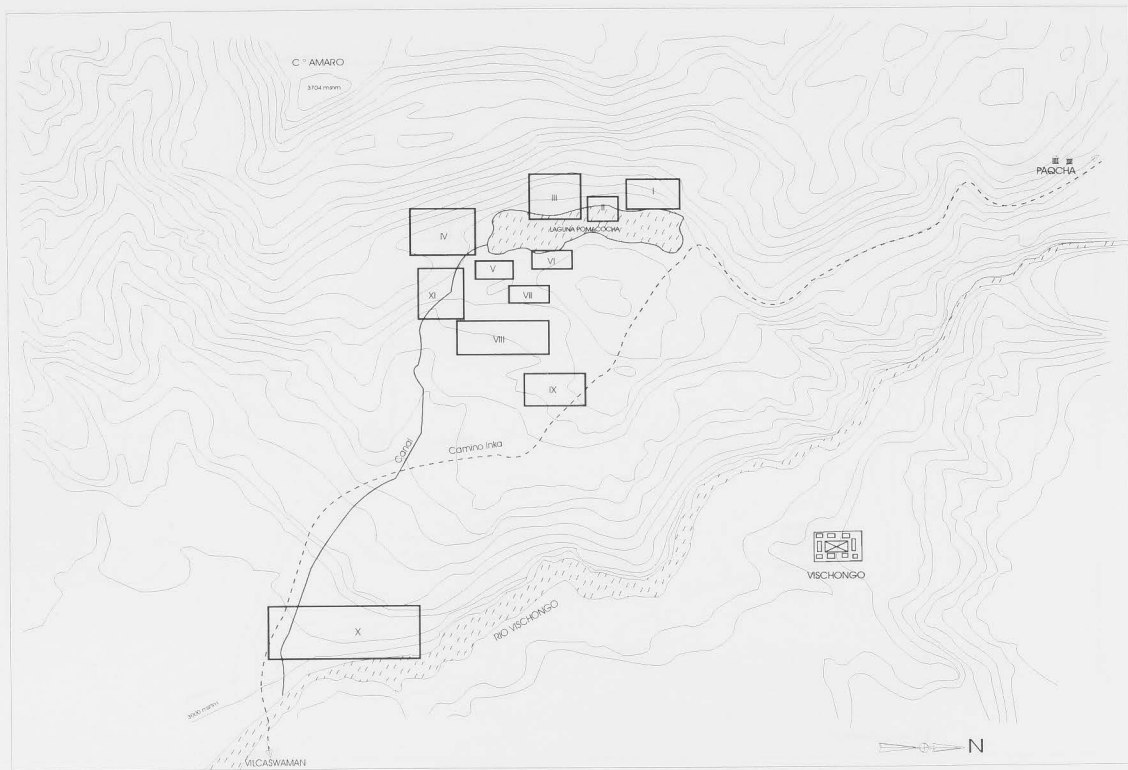
SECTORS	STONEMWORK			
	Wall	Finish	Profile	Important Features
<b>SECTOR I</b>				
Platform 1	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat but slightly convex in the joints	- Platform which demarcates the sinuous plan of the rock - 2 drainage holes
Platform 2	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat but slightly convex in the joints	- Platform with 5 large niches grandes oriented to the east and a transversal wall with double jamb entrance
- Building 1	Rustic	Natural	Natural	- on platform 2 - must have been plastered
Platform 3.	Cellular	Smooth	Pillow-like	- Not an agricultural terrace
- Building 2 ("Baño del Inka")	Polygonal	Smooth	Flat but slightly convex in the joints	- ashlar steps
- Building 3	Cellular	Smooth	Pillow-like	- polygonal stone with 17 angles - 2 canals y 2 spouts - T-shaped structure over canal - probably a reservoir
Terraces # 3,4,5	Rustic	Natural	Natural	- Associated with a waterfall at each end
<b>SECTOR II</b>				
Platform 1	Cellular	Smooth	Pillow-like	- 300 m long between two fountains - No canals, drains or stairs - No platform but a rocky, steeply inclined slope - At the base of the wall there is a passageway
<b>SECTOR III</b>				
Platform 1	Rustic/slightly worked	Rough	Flaked	- in NE corner a subterranean canal emerges. No stairs
Platform 2	Rustic/slightly worked	Rough	Flaked	- 2 fountains (1 y 2) in the NE corner
Platform 3				
- 3a)	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat but convex in the joints	- with niche and pentagonal capping stones
- 3b)	Polygonal	Smooth	Pillow-like	- Partly dismantled to build a stair
Stair	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat but convex in the joints	- on wall 3b
Building 7	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat	- located on the Northern side of the platform - 1 course only
Wall	Polygonal	Smooth/ Rough	Pillow-like	- Links rocks (15) y (16) enclosed by muros
Platform 4	Polygonal	Smooth	Slightly convex	
Platform 5	Cellular	Smooth/ Rough	Pillow-like	- with large and small niches
Platform 6	Rustic/slightly worked	Rough	Flaked	
Platform 7	Rectangular coursed	Smooth	Flat	- corresponds to the rear wall of Building 3
- Building 4	Rustic	Rough	Natural	- Kallanka. 2 doorways in north wall and 1 in the S wall
- Buildings 5 and 6.	Rustic	Rough	Natural	- 1 doorway in each building
Platform 8	Rustic/slightly worked	Rough	Flaked	- in the central part there is a building and to the north carved rock (20).



- Buildings 1(a, b, c) - Building 2	Rustic/slightly worked Rectangular coursed	Rough Flat	Flaked Flat	- a Group of small buildings enclosed by walls - Probably a royal house - held together with T-shaped sockets
- Building 3	Rectangular coursed	Flat	Flat	- Probable house
Platform 9	Rectangular coursed	Flat	Flat	- Retaining wall of lake
Platform 10	Rectangular coursed	Very rough	Bevelled	- Retaining wall, transverse to the other platforms
<b>SECTOR IV</b> Terraces	Cellular/slightly worked	Very rough	Flaked	- Agricultural terraces with wall steps
<b>SECTOR V</b> Buildings 1,2,3 and 4	Rustic	Rough	Natural	- cancha - with doors and windows
<b>SECTOR VI</b> Platform 9 - Buildings 1 and 2 - Buildings 3 and 4	Rustic/slightly worked Rustic Rectangular coursed	Rough Rough Flat	Natural Natural Flat	- Retaining wall of lake - like a kallanka - only 1 course
<b>SECTOR VII</b> Terraces	Cellular/slightly worked	Very rough	Flaked	- Unfinished agricultural terraces
<b>SECTOR VIII</b> Terraces	Cellular/slightly worked	Very rough	Flaked	- Unfinished agricultural terraces with wall steps
<b>SECTOR IX</b> Terraces Circular building	Rustic Rustic	Very rough Very rough	Natural Natural	- Unfinished agricultural terraces
<b>SECTOR X</b> Terraces	Rustic	Very rough	Natural	- Agricultural terraces
<b>SECTOR XI</b> Terraces	Cellular/slightly worked			- reconstructed and still in use

TABLE VII-2  
SIGNIFICANT ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES OF INKA SETTLEMENTS

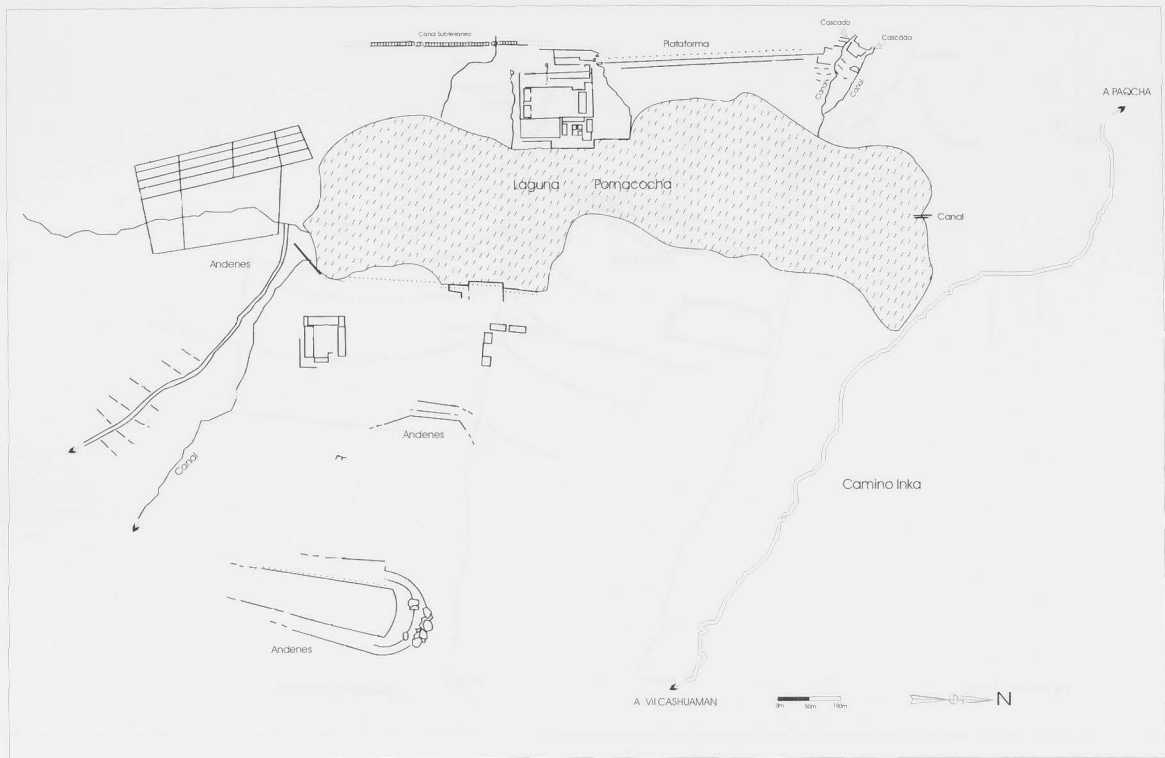
	ADMINISTRATIVE CENTRES	SANCTUARIES	ROYAL ESTATES	POMACOCHA
ECOLOGICAL SETTING	Various	Various	Kichua	Kichua
ORGANIZATION	Nucleated	Dispersed nucleated groups	Dispersed	Dispersed
ARCHITECTURAL FEATURE :	Ushnu			
1				
2	Central public plaza	Public plaza		
3	Sun Temple	Sun Temple		
4	Acllawasi	Acllawasi		
5	Large storerooms			
6	Lodgings for travellers	?		
7		Fountains	Fountains	Fountains
8		Carved rocks	Carved rocks	Carved rocks
9	Some fine architecture	Much fine architecture	Much fine architecture	Much fine architecture
10		Well made agricultural terraces	Well made agricultural terraces	Well made agricultural terraces
11		Small and restricted plazas	Small and restricted plazas	Small and restricted plazas
12		Triple jamb niches and doorways		
13		Small canchas around a plaza		
14		Well made ceremonial terraces	Well made ceremonial terraces	Well made ceremonial terraces
15	Building for feasting		?	Building for feasting
16			Restricted access routes	Restricted access routes
17		Large niches and platforms	Large niches and platforms	Large niches and platforms
18		Sacred pathways		
19		Estaciones de parada obligatoria.		



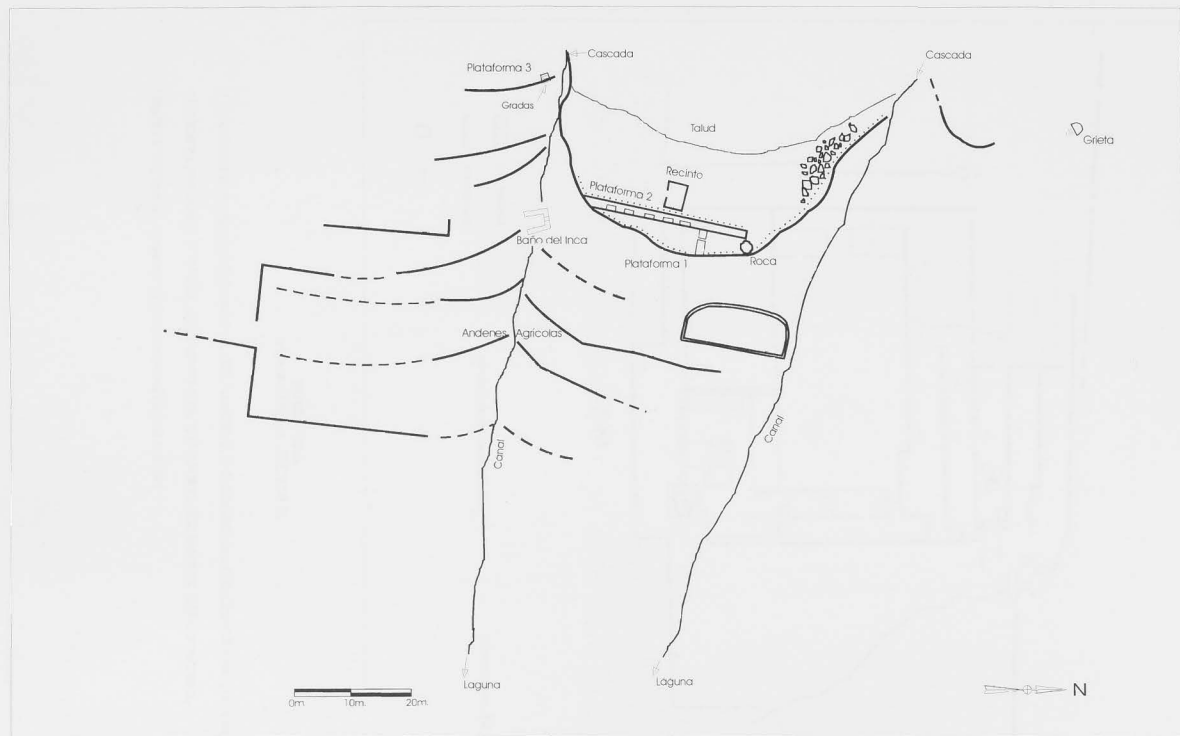
PLAN VII.1  
SECTORIZATION OF THE INKA SITE OF POMACOCHA



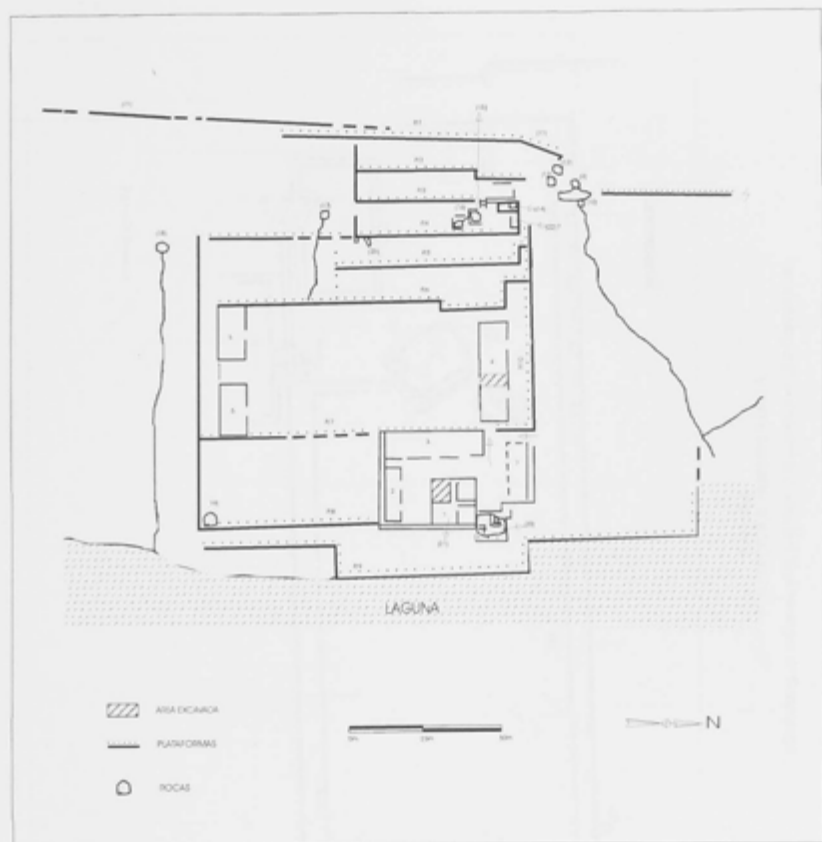
PLAN VII.2  
INKA POMACOCCHA



PLAN VII.3  
POMACOCHA

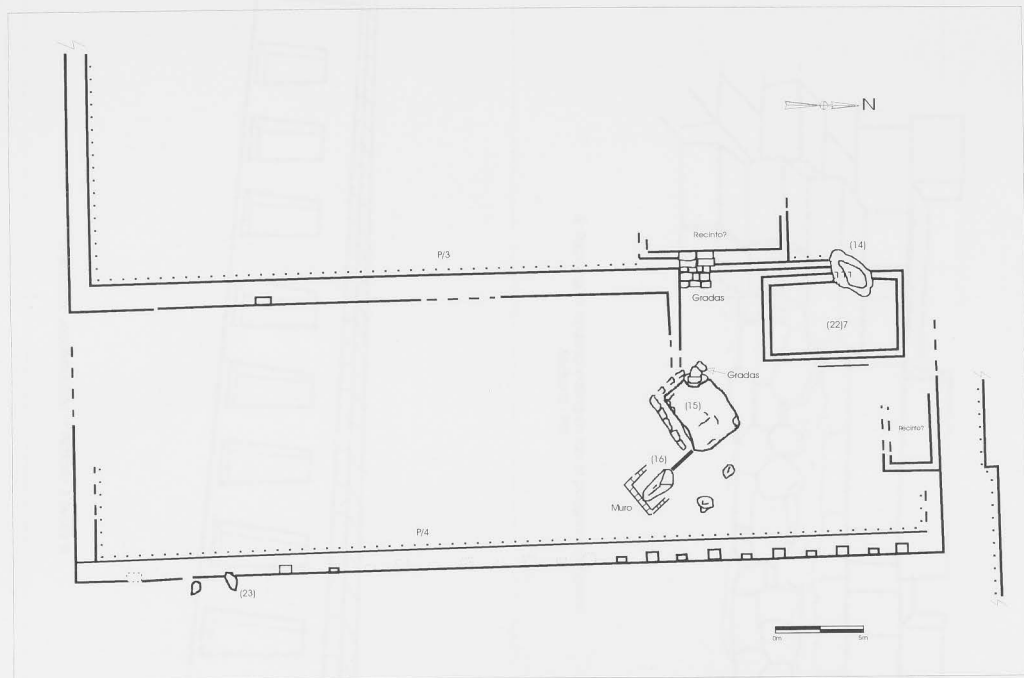


PLAN VII. 4  
POMACOCCHA SECTOR 1



PLAN VII.5  
POMACOCCHA SECTOR III.

- [11] Subterranean canal, [12] Fountain 1, [13] Fountain 2, [14] Carved rock, [15] Carved rock, [16] Carved rock,  
 [17] Spring, [18] Spring, [19] Rock, [20] Carved rock, [21] Building, [22] Building, [23] Carved rock,  
 (Sector II: [9] Spring - reservoir, [10] Fountain with small canals)

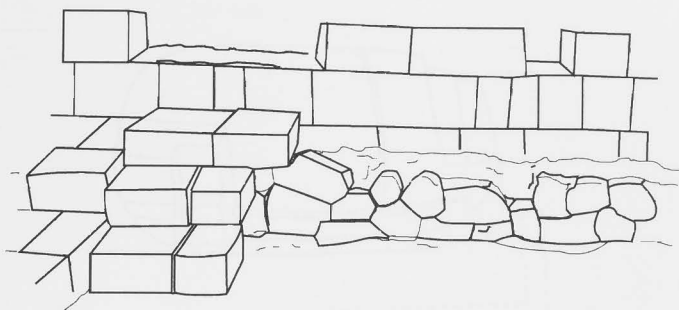


**PLAN VII.6**

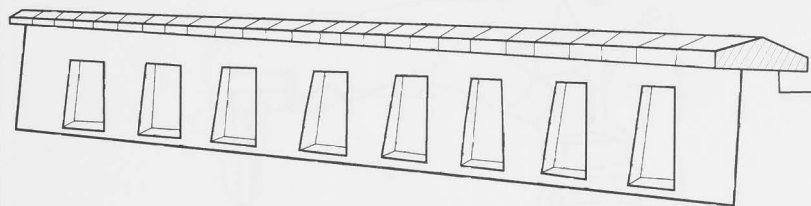
PCH. SECTOR III. Platforms 3 and 4

(22) Building., (14) Carved rock, (16) Rock, (15) Carved rock (23) Carved rock.

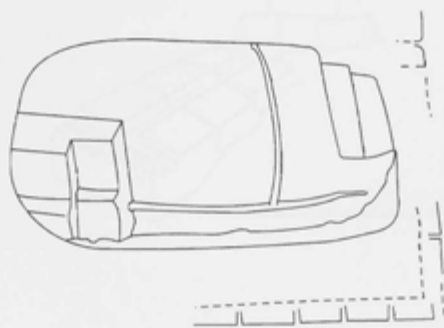




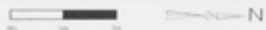
A: Rectangular coursed walling on top of polygonal stonework  
Sector III - P/3



B: Isometric reconstruction of Platform 3 Sector III

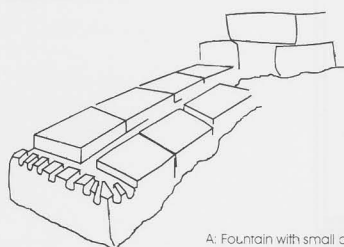


A. CARVED ROCK (20)



B. CARVED ROCK (18)

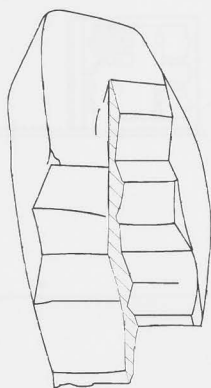
PLAN VII B  
POMACOCOA. DETAILS OF CARVED ROCKS



A: Fountain with small canals. Sector II (10)



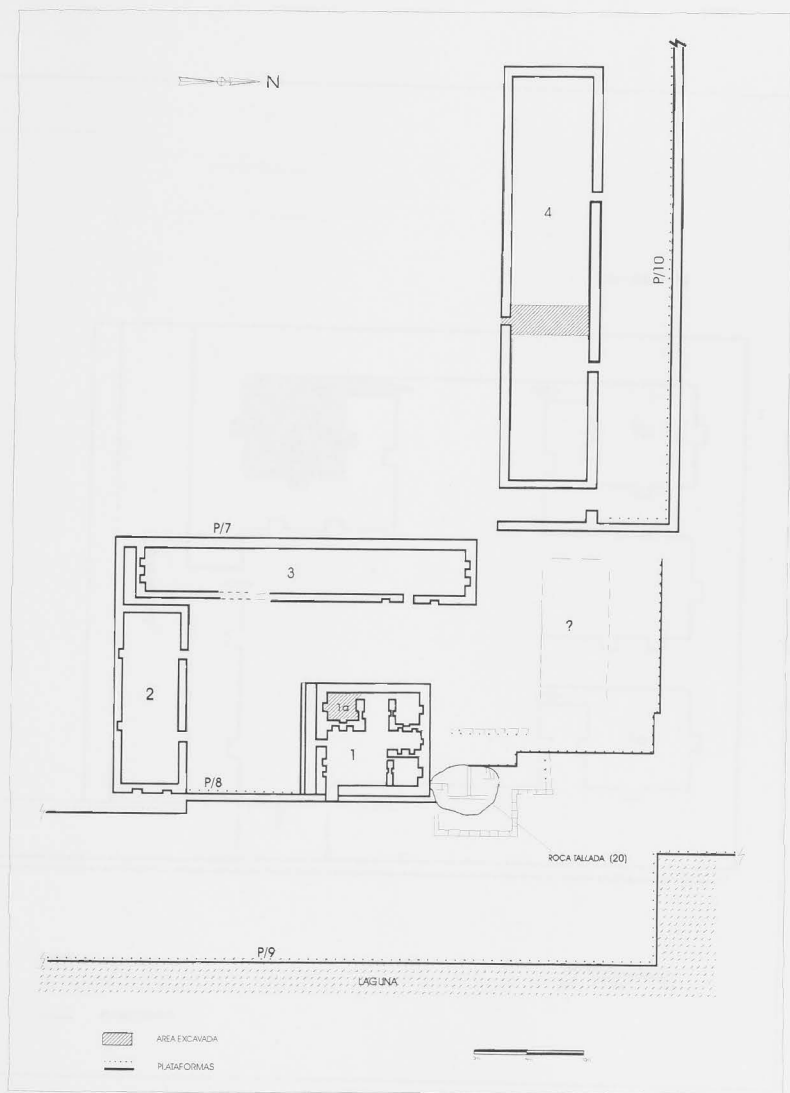
B: Pentagonal capping stone (Platform 3), Sector III



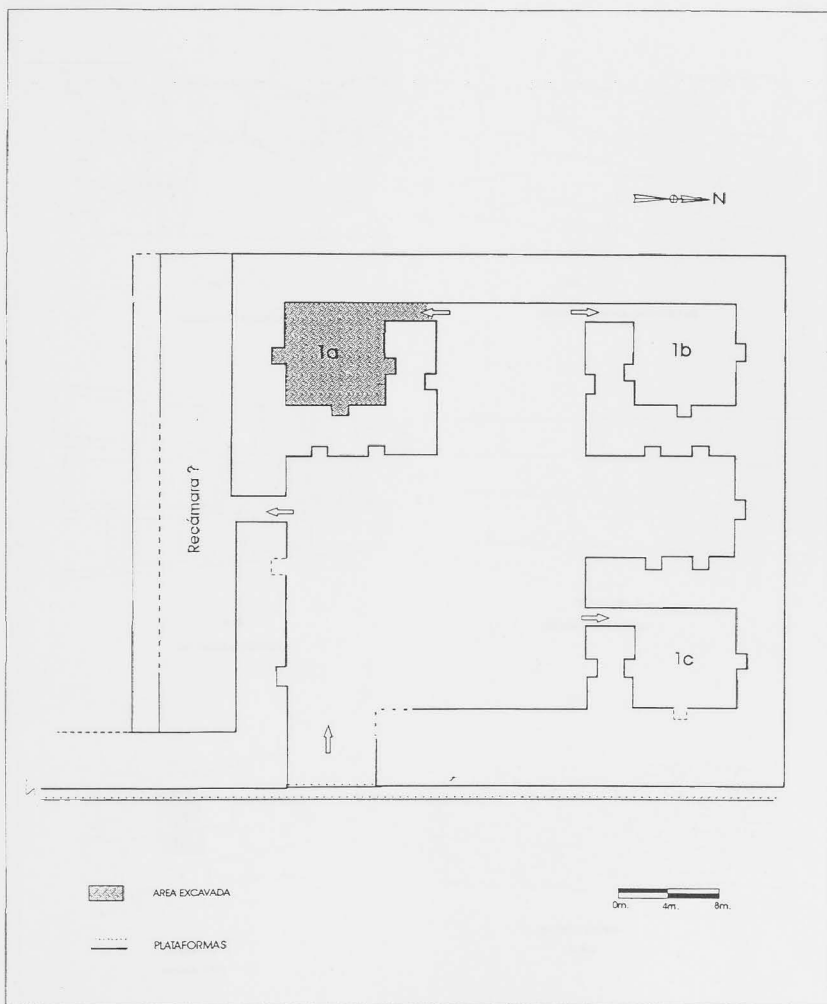
C: Carved rock (23), Sector III



PLAN VII.9  
POMACOCHA, OTHER DETAILS



PLAN VII.10  
 Pomacocha, Sector III. Platforms 7, 8, 9 and 10.



PLAN VII-11  
 POMACOCHA. BUILDING 1 AND INTERNAL DIVISIONS



P8

CELLULAR AND POLYGONAL



P9

ROUGHER POLYGONAL AND POLYLINE



P10

RECTANGULAR COURSED



P11 BUILDING 3

RECTANGULAR COURSED

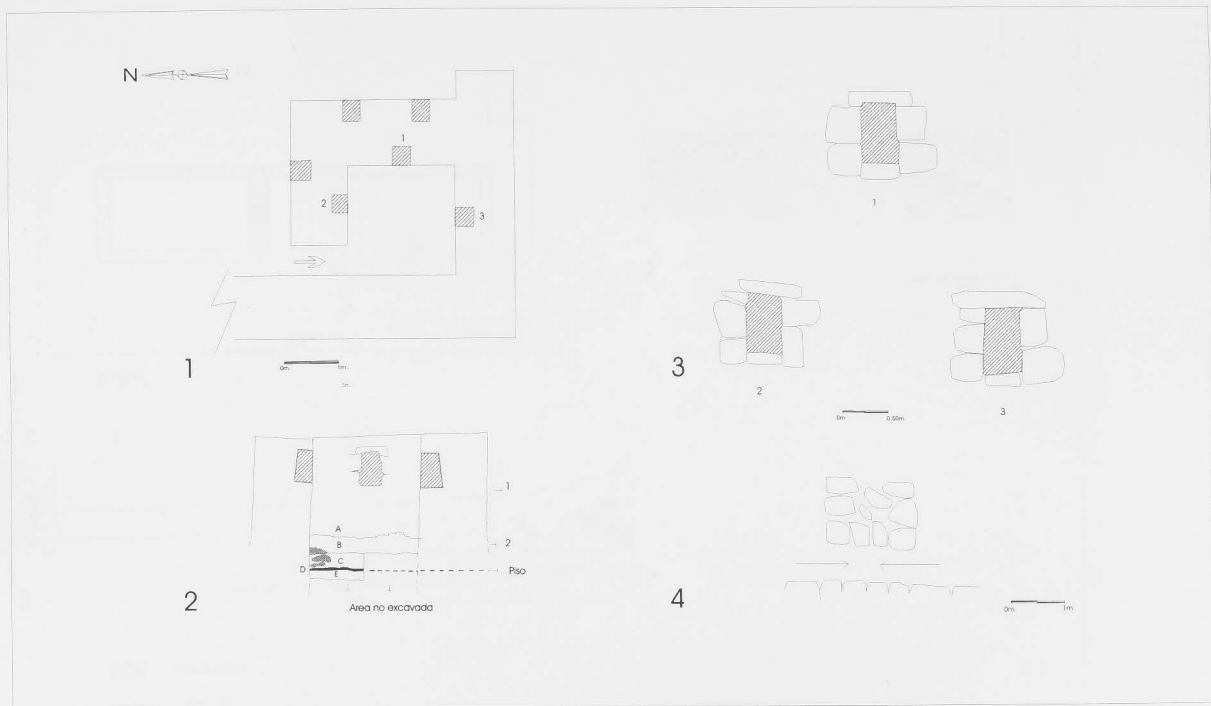


BUILDING 1a  
WORKED RUBIC



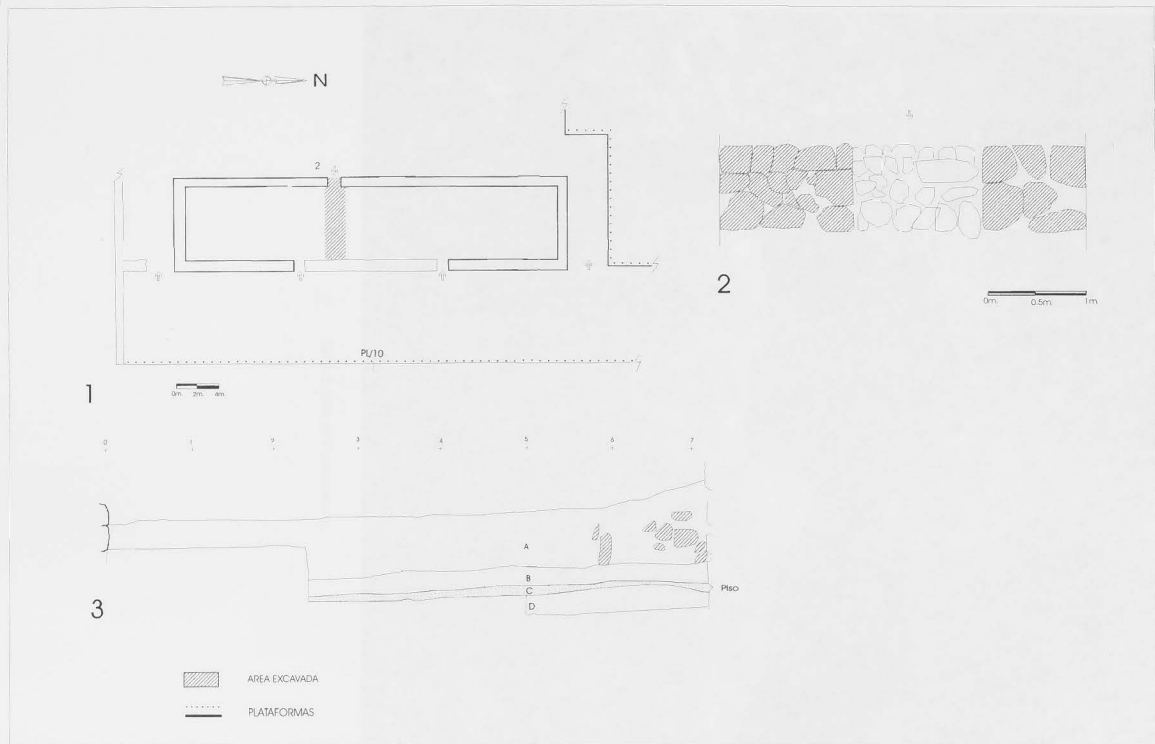
BUILDING 1  
RUBIC

PLAN VII 12  
MAIN TYPES OF WALL CONSTRUCTIONS



PLAN VII.13

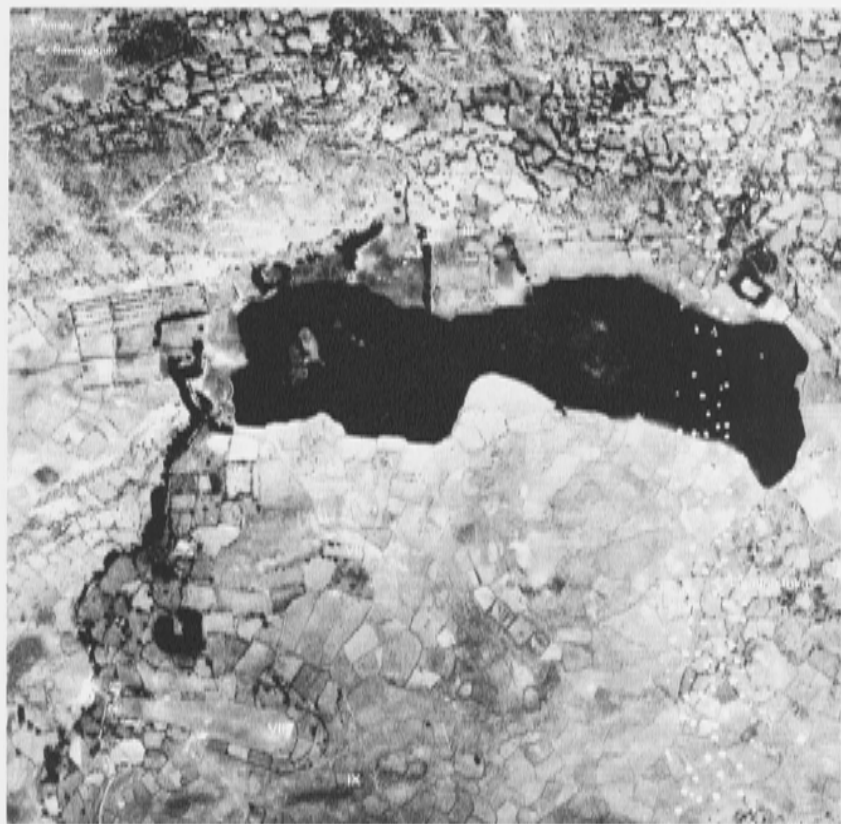
POMACOCCHA: BUILDING 1a. 1. PLAN 2. ELEVATION 3. NICHERS 4. PASSAGEWAY



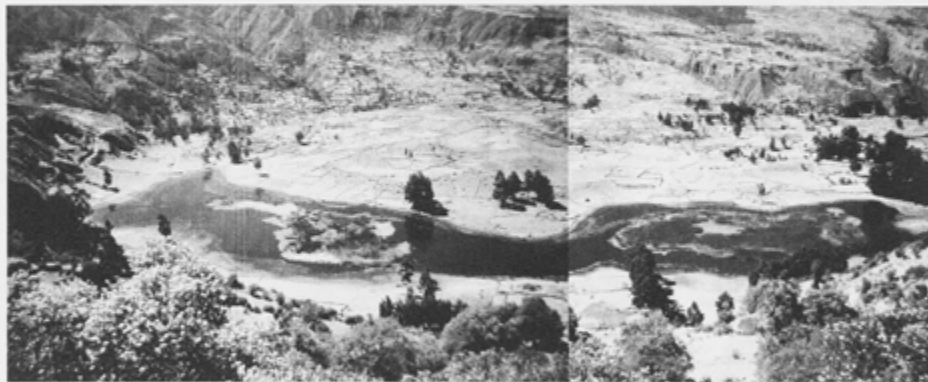
PLAN VII-14

POMACOCHA . BUILDING 4: 1. PLAN 2. EXCAVATED WEST ENTRANCE 3.-NORTH PROFILE OF EXCAVATION





Aerial view of Pomacocha.



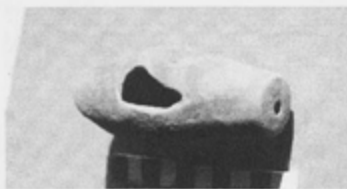
F31 - F32. PCH. Vista General.



D52. PCH-I. Paqchas, plataforma, terrazas.



D55. PCH-I. Plataforma 1 - "Baño del inca".



D59. PCH-I. Plataforma 2 - Ocarina.



D61. PCH-II. Terraza central.



D64. PCH-II. Pasadizo adosado a la terraza central.



F46. PCH. PL. 3. Cubertina pentagonal.



F50. PCH-III. Canal subterráneo PL. 1.



D47. PCH-III. Plataforma 4. Nichos.



D48. PCH-III. Plataforma 4. Piedra tallada.



D72. PCH-III. Sillar. Edificio 3. Plataforma 8.



D74. PCH-III. Plataforma 8 - Edificios 1a - 2 y 3.



D75. PCH-III. Plataforma 8 - Edificio 2.



D76. PCH-III. Plataforma 10 - Aparejo sedimentario.



F58. PCH. Sector IV. Andenes agrícolas.

## Chapter 8

### Amaro Thopa Inka, Royal Owner of Pomacocha

#### Introduction

The previous chapter supports the idea that Pomacocha was a royal estate. Who did it belong to? This chapter is an attempt to show that it was Amaro Thopa Inka who owned Pomacocha, an estate that was his by birthright (*jus soli*).

According to the written sources, this Inka was a special individual whose life lies between history and myth, and apparently between Cuzco and Pomacocha. His political role as the *guaucui* of Wirakocha Inka and as co-ruler of Thopa Inka Yupanki is emphasised. However, he also was outstanding in the management of land and water in his estates, both in Cuzco and beyond. Finally, the symbolism in his name is also important since *Amaro* suggests a sort of sacred halo that integrates the "sacred animal", the serpent, with mountains and water, as well as other representations held sacred by the fifteenth and sixteenth century system of beliefs. The symbolism of Amaro Thopa Inka surfaces in canals, in the long wall in Sector II of Pomacocha, and in the toponym of the mountain immediately to the west of it.

#### 8.1. Amaro Thopa Inka: Myth and History

The question to whom Pomacocha belonged as a royal estate is very important. According to Pachacuti Yamqui (1993: 223), around 1438 (see Chapter 2, footnote 1) Pachacutec Inka Yupanki returned to Cuzco and passed through Vilcaswaman after an extended military campaign on the coast and in the highlands of Chinchaysuyu. He stayed at Pomacocha for the birth of his son, Amaro Yupanqui: "...en Pomacocha, antes de llegar a Vilcasguamán, que es lugar muy caliente, que mira hacia el Cuzco, allí nació un hijo varón legítimo y mayor llamado Amaro Yupanqui, en donde estuvo algunos días" (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 223). A little later, at the festivities to celebrate his birth held in Cuzco, immediately after the Capac Raymi celebration, in what was his legitimisation as a member of the Cuzco nobility, he was named Amaro Thopa Inka and presented to his grandfather Wirakocha Inka (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 224).



Who was Amaro Thopa Inka? Was he a historical Inka or simply An institution? It seems that his persona fused both. He clearly was an emblematic persona since Colonial documents often describe him as an Inka more charisma and attributes than his father.

Why is his name associated, or why does it identify mountains (Albornoz, 1988), land (Villanueva and Sherbondy, 1979: 145-148), villages, roads, bridges, *wakas* (Cobo, 1956; Polo, 1917; Rostworowski, 1993: 145), or miracles and temples (Rowe, 1980:11)? Why are so many aspects of his life legendary, thus suggesting a historical and a mythical Inka at the same time? Is there any reason why this individual made his grandfather Wirakocha Inka take the idol Amaro Thopa Inka as his *guauqui* (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943:162)? Was there a reason why the home of his wife was also linked with the ceque system? It should not be forgotten that, according to Polo (1917: 7, 8), the third *waka* in Chinchaysuyu ceque number 4 was the house of Cusi Oollo, the wife of Amaro Thopa Inka which stood in Colcampata and a spring was worshipped which was situated alongside it? Why was the estate of Amaro Thopa Inka called Chaguaytapara, in Chinchaysuyu, a *waka* (Ch-8: 5) in the eighth ceque called Payan (Polo de Ondegardo, 1917: 13; see also Cobo, 1956: 169-186).?

Albornoz (1988:194) mentions a *waka* called "Topa Amaro" in the vicinity of Cuzco that no other source, neither Polo nor Cobo mention. This *waka* seems to refer to Amaro Thopa Inka and to no other Inka king with that name, because Albornoz says that it was not the Topa Amaro who lived in Toledan times in the sixteenth century. According to Albornoz (1988: 175), there were throughout Tawantinsuyu other *wakas* called Amaro. Was Mt Amaro, in Pomacocha, one of these?

The sacred and symbolic halo that enveloped this Inka from the day of his birth lasted throughout his lifetime. On the day Amaro Thopa Inka was born, according to legend, two meaningful events, or miracles, happened (Pachacuti, 1993: 223). First, an *amaro*, a large serpent, 2.5 km long, emerged from inside the sacred mountain called Pachatusan, close to Cuzco, which passed through Yuncaypampa and Sinca and disappeared into Lake Quibipay. Then two zoomorphic, fiery comets emerged from Asoncata and crossed the skies of Cuzco, one went towards snowcapped Mt Putina in Arequipa, and the other went below Ayacucho (Huamanga) where there are 3 or 4 high snow-capped peaks: "... para más abajo de Guamanga que está tres o cuatro cerros muy

*altos cubiertos de nieves...*" (Pachacuti, 1993: 184). Does this mean that the comet fell on his birthplace in Pomacocha, close to Huamanga? At his birth, so the legend goes, another unique event took place in Cuzco, when all the most fierce and secretive animals were stretched out in the region around Cuzco: "...  *fueron echados de las comarcas del Cuzco ... todos los animales más fieros y ocultos*" (Pachacuti, 1993: 224).

Amaro Thopa Inka was the eldest son of Pachacuti, a legitimate brother to Thopa Inka Yupanki and a member of Capac Ayllu *panaka* (Sarmiento, 1943: 206; Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 227-228), which had been founded by Thopa Inka Yupanki himself. He sired several children, many of whom became warriors in the campaigns led by Guayna Capac (Murúa, 1987: 326). In a brilliant study of an early sixteenth-century document, Rowe (1985: 195) places him in Payan section, the second lineage of Capac Ayllu, that is, in a second-ranked status group. The first and highest-status group was called Qollana and that was headed by Thopa Inka Yupanki himself, while the third, lowest-status group, Kayau, was led by another brother called Tupac Yupanki. Pärssinen (1992: 219) goes even further by rejecting the existence of a dual system of Inka government after an exhaustive study of colonial documentation, and suggesting that Amaro Thopa Inka simultaneously co-ruled with 3 other Inkas who each represented Qollana, Payan and Kayau. Thus Amaro Thopa Inka was the third Inka, who represented Kayau in Pachacutec's time, and then he moved to the Payan position, once Thopa Inka Yupanki became king (*see Zuidema's critique, 1995: 58-64*).<sup>1</sup>

The chronicles indicate that this individual led a unique, multi-faceted life and in his time he must have been some kind of cultural hero. The traits that stand out in his personality are his sober personality, his good taste, his refined nature and that he was well spoken "*bien hablado*" (Pachacuti, 1993: 230). Amaro Thopa Inka dedicated himself to agriculture but was also an honest, virtuous statesman, a builder, a warrior, a soothsayer, a spiritual guardian of a State, a "holy man" in the language of sixteenth-century popular religion, to the point that, according to Murúa (1987: 323), he was "...  *apartado de los accidentes amorosos, que no parecía reinar en él la juventud.*" Amaro Thopa Inka co-ruled with Thopa Inka Yupanki and was his "segunda persona." It is thought that Amaro Thopa

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<sup>1</sup> A document dating to 1552 describes both ayllus as if they had been one single group belonging to Topa Inka Yupanki (Rostworowski, 1993: 143; *see Zuidema, 1995*).

Inka and his father, Pachacutec, were the two Inka personages who left a strongest mark in this period.

A 7 year drought took place in Cuzco during the reign of Thopa Inka Yupanki, while he was away waging war in Ecuador. According to Pachacuti (1993: 230), during this period Amaro Thopa Inka was able to provide much produce from his fields in Callachaca and Lucre and Occhullo because these were always wet and that it rained always at night on these grounds and that there was never any frost. This led to his adoration by the people as a humble man who could negotiate with the creator god: "*En este tiempo dizen que el dicho Amaro Thopaynga siempre en estos siete años de hambre los sacaba mucha comida de sus chacras de Callachaca y Lucricochullo; y más dicen que de su chacra jamás se apartaban nubes, llubiéndoles siempre en enocheciendo, y así dizen que no cayeyan yelos; milagro de nunca creer. Y de esto dizen que la gente los querían adorar y el dicho Amaro Thopaynga no los consiente a que hiziesen el tal negocio contra el Hazedor, que antes los humillaba a los pobres, dándoles de comer en los dichos siete años de hambre, el cual Amaro Thopaynga dizen que siempre su inclinación era demasiado humilde con todos y bien hablado*" (Pachacuti, 1993: 230). It is impossible to know whether this story is true. It could well be a *taki*, or an actual event, that when recounted poetically it became a legend. If this event is correlated with the data collected by Thompson and his colleagues (1987), the drought in question could correspond to one of those drastic climatic changes that frequently took place between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries. The agricultural and hydraulic facilities that Amaro Thopa Inka had built on his estate probably lessened the impact of the drought. But if there was no drought, then these facilities would have ensured successful harvests, as suggested by Niles (1987). Solution of the drought situation would have been a miracle for the people of Cuzco (see Zuidema, 1991: 63-70).

Murúa (1987: 323) gives an account of another important aspect of Amaro Thopa Inka's life. When his brother, Topa Inka Yupanki, lay sick at the place that would later be known as Mama Huanonqa,<sup>2</sup> and Amaro Thopa Inka went to visit him. Amaro Thopa Inka fell in love and later married a princess, in a tale that is heavily influenced by the European

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<sup>2</sup> In Murúa's time this was already the convent of Nuestra Señora de las Mercedes. Cobo (1956: 184) records this site as the ninth waka in the eighth ceque of Contisuyu (1/2 kayau and 1/2 collana).

conceptions of courtly love. Nevertheless, this tale also reflects metaphorical elements that are characteristic of Andean romance.

According to this account, Prince Amaro was casual and naive about the encounter. Inexperienced in love, he responded tardily, uncertainly and shyly to Ñusta Cusi Chimpo, who rejected then him. Like all unfulfilled lovers, he drowned his sorrow in tears and went away without any goal in sight. On his way he composed a poetic prayer of a lover spurned and suddenly a *cusicusi*<sup>3</sup> appeared. Amaro Thopa Inka immediately saw two *amarus*, male and female, emerged from a spring, *colque machacuai*, who then proceeded to enact his drama. The unresponsive female was dominated by the male only when he touched her with a flower. Amaro Thopa joyfully picked up that flower, composed another poetic prayer, and went back in search of the Ñusta. On finding her, he touched her with the flower and it was only then that his love was reciprocated. Their love was sealed with a third prayer, after which they married. According to Murúa (1987: 324, 325, 326), he took his name from this story and his love of snakes. The name of the spring *colque machacuai* also came from this story and a temple was built there by Amaru Thopa Inka with 2 silver snakes and a kantu/flower in honour of what had happened: "*de este suceso tomaron nombre, el príncipe llamándose Tupa Amaro por amor de las culebras que se llamaban así y el manantial Colque Machacuai, que significa culebras de plata, por un templo que en este lugar mandó hacer el príncipe con dos culebras de plata y cantoc, por la flor, en memoria de lo sucedido ...*" This became the first waka in the ninth ceque in Contisuyu, on the slopes of Mt Puquín (Cobo, 1956: 185)

Jeanette Sherbondy (1982: 65, 66, 67) has developed an important anthropological discussion of the symbolism the name Amaru in Andean and Amazonian societies. She stresses the implicit connection it, and therefore this personage, had with fertility, the serpent, water, and the north-easterly direction were all important, presumably because of the estates Amaru Thopa Inka were in that part of Cuzco.

Amaro Thopa Inka was proclaimed by his father, Pachacutec, to inherit the throne when he died, because he was a gifted and talented person. Pachacutec even "... *le haze la renunciación del reyno en su hijo Amaro Thopa Inga ...*" (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 228). However, the prince gave up his right in favour of his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki and

dedicated himself to build agricultural terraces in his estate, as well as buildings and *qolqas* (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 228).

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943: 204) gives a different account of this event, in which Amaro was forced to renounce his right in favour of Thopa Inka. Sarmiento says that Pachacutecq summoned a council of the Hanan and Urin ayllus, which he addressed saying that "... *dado que algunos [años] ha que nombré por mi sucesor a mi hijo mayor Amaro Topa Inga, no me parece que es el que cumple para gobernar tan gran señorío como el que yo he ganado. Y por eso os quiero nombrar otro, con quien tengáis más contento ... y luego que nombraba por ynga y sucesor suyo a su hijo Topa Inga ...*". It should be noted that, although Pachacutecq never gave a reason for his decision, some scholars surmise that he was not warlike enough and they cite Sarmiento as the source, but it is clear that he does not say that. Further, not only had Amaro taken part in war, he also was a victorious warrior who had contributed to the expansion of Tawantinsuyu (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 202, 203, 220; Murúa, 1922: 77; Pizarro, 1986: 46). When Amaro Thopa Inka heard of his father's decision, he arranged a meeting at the Coricancha with the new heir, his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki, and peacefully legitimised his brother as Inka (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 206, 207).

These passages about the designation, renouncement and proclamation of the successor, involving Pachacutecq, Amaro Thopa Inka and Thopa Inka Yupanki, are well-known and have been much mentioned by scholars. However, they have a most meaningful social and political implication with regard to social mobility in the ruling Inka elite at Cuzco. If in Table VIII-1 (presented as a hypothesis by Pärssinen, 1992: 219), it shows co-ruling Inkas, and Amaro Thopa Inka appears with a question mark as the first Payan co-ruler in the time of Pachacutecq (Qollana) and later as a Kayau Inka, replacing his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki also in the time of his father. Finally, when Thopa Inka became Qollana Inka, Amaro Thopa once again takes over the position of Payan Inka. Why is this? Apparently it was because when Pachacutecq was king and Amaro Thopa Inka his heir, the latter was a Payan Inka who became Kayau Inka after he had renounced his right to the throne, while his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki became the Payan Inka. After Pachacutecq

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<sup>3</sup> A small spider which even today is held to be a good omen.

left the throne, Thopa Inka Yupanki became Qollana Inka, while his brother once again became the Payan Inka (see Zuidema, 1995: 58-64).

Amaro Thopa Inka presumably lived a long time and appears to have died the same year as his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki (Pachacuti, 1993: 239). It is not known what happened with his mummy (Niles, 1987: 20). Perhaps it was burned during the revenge of Atahualpa's followers against Ccapac Ayllu Panaka, to which Amaro Thopa Inka belonged, because of their support for Huascar (Niles, 1987: 20).

In his youth, Amaro Thopa Inka was trained as a spirited warrior and triumphed in the conquest of Chinchaysuyu, together with his other brothers, including Thopa Inka Yupanki (Murúa, 1987: 80, 81). With Paucar Usnu he also led a campaign against the Chichas (Betanzos, 1987: 120, 121), in what was a long and fruitful march through Collasuyu (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943: 202-203).

Amaro Thopa Inka in his public life was decorated with the same honours, accorded to rulers. Thus there is an episode recounted by Pachacuti Yamqui (1993: 222-223), of the time when the old Inka king Pachacutecq received his victorious army at the Haocaypata plaza, back from the north: "... *en donde el dicho Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui sienta con su hijo Topa Inga Yupanqui y Amaro Topa Yupanqui, todos tres con iguales tyanas de ruva, hechas de oro. Todos tres bien vestidos con sus capaellaottos y mascapacha, y el viejo con su septro de suntor paucar hecha de oro, y el Topa Ynga Yupanqui con su septro de ttopayauri, y el otro sin septro, sólo con chambis, pequeños de oro.*"

Amaro Thopa Inka also had administrative duties; for instance, he was a religious inspector in the *wamanis* of Tawantinsuyu after Pachacutecq re-structured the belief system, and he created new *wakas* and made the Inka religion the official religion of the conquered territories (Murúa, 1987: 77). Pachacutecq assigned the produce of certain lands as sources of income to the *wakas* in throughout the kingdom, and "... *señaló visitadores para este efecto y ministerio a unos valerosos deudos suyos, llamados Amaro Thopa Ynga y Guaina Auqui Yupanqui, y estos llevaron orden de nuevos sacrificios y nuevas ceremonias y quitaban de todo punto las viejas*" (Cabello de Valboa, 1945: 297). Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943: 192), an earlier chronicler than Cabello, also lists the same functions for Amaro Thopa Inka, and also says that he re-structured religion in the provinces, replacing the local cults with the State cult.

Amaro Thopa Inka continued to serve as a chief of State even after he had foresworn his right to the throne, and was co-ruler with his brother whenever Thopa Inka Yupanki left Cuzco. Around 1471-73 (see Chapter 1, footnote 2), Thopa Inka Yupanki left his capital and marched to Antisuyu in a war of conquest and continued into Collasuyu to put down a revolt (Cabello de Valboa, 1945: 318, 319; Murúa, 1987: 199, 88). On his return he was received by his brother, who then returned the rule of the State to him (Murúa, 1987: 90).

Amaro Thopa Inka owned houses and many estates both within and outside the Cuzco valley. In Cuzco he seems to have had his own palace, but its location is still unknown. He owned land close to Cuzco at Callachaca (Niles, 1987), Lucre and Occhullo (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993). Apparently the size of his lands in the kishua zone, where maize was grown, and in the puna for potatoes, was very extensive in the Cuzco Valley itself. They were located to the north-east of the city and were watered by their own canal, and by one of the most important canals of Hanan Cuzco called Ucu Ucu (Villanueva and Sherbondy, 1979; Sherbondy, 1982; Rostworowski, 1993: 145). Curiously enough, he had land in Carmenqa in the Chinchaysuyu quadrant of Cuzco, which was associated with a waka called Chauaytira (CH-8: 5; Cobo, 1956; Rowe, 1985: 203), but, according to Polo, this was a field called Chaguaytapara: "*una chacra llamada Chaguaytapara, que estaba en Carmenqa y fue de Amaro Thopa Inga....*" Another of his houses was a waka in the Antisuyu quadrant (Ant-1: 7; Collana; Polo de Ondegardo, 1917: 17, cited also in Cobo, 1956: 175) called Amaru Marca Wasi - "*La séptima guaca se decía Amaramarcaguaci; esta era otra casa de Amaro Thopa Inga que estaba en el camino de los andes.*" This was situated close to the Ucu Ucu canal. Amaro Thopa Inka also apparently owned a forest in Sorama (Rowe, 1997; Niles, 1987), and some other properties outside Cuzco, e.g. at Guayllabamba Chimor (Huayllapampa Chimor; according to Rostworowski, 1993) and at Chinchaypuquio.

Some retainers, presumably *yanas*, from outside Cuzco were also his at Chinchaypuquio. This follows from the statement made by "*...don Gómez Cóndor naturales de los Collaguas que al presente reside en el pueblo de Chinchaypuquio que diso ser de edad de setenta años...*" According to Gómez Cóndor, "*su padre fue traydo de su tierra para donde aora está por ser criado del Inga Amaro Topa Ynga que fue del hermano*

*del dicho Topa Inga e que asimismo sirvio a Guaynacpac hijo de Topa Inga e muerto el dicho su padre le llebaron a este testigo para que sirviere al dicho Guaynacpac y que lo que dicho tiene de auer servido su padre a Amaro Ynga se lo dixeron otros viejos del dicho Pueblo*" (Toledo, 1940: 113, 114).

To this list of properties that make up the estate of Amaro Thopa Inka should be added Pomacocha, the site described in this thesis in the vicinity of Vilcaswaman, and which, to a great extent, repeats the formal structure of the royal estates of Cuzco.

How did he acquire these lands? His estates in Cuzco were not obtained by the same processes that other Inka kings used (Rostworowski, 1993). Niles (1987: 20) suggests that they might have been acquired through the special status of the *panaka* of Topa Inka Yupanki, Capac Ayllu. Rowe (1985: 196, citing Las Casas), in contrast suggests that these estates might have been some kind of compensation that Amaro Thopa Inka received from his father Pachacutec in exchange for having bequeathed his right to rule to his brother Thopa Inka Yupanki. There is also a third possible explanation that he received these estates as a prize for his performance in the conquests and expansion of Tawantinsuyu, which is probably how the quotation from Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943: 202, 203, 220) should be interpreted. Finally, a fourth possibility in the case of the Pomacocha estate is that he could have been awarded it by *jus soli*, simply as his birthright. After all, Huascar owned Mohina, his birthplace, and Inka Paullo owned Paullu, his birthplace on the opposite side of the river to Písaq. It seems that the different locations of Inka royal births during military campaigns was a new means of 'appropriating' land, which then became sacralised.

Perhaps Amaro Thopa Inka, in accordance with established patterns and his noble lineage, was able to use the most highly qualified architects and masons from Cuzco in the construction of the elegant buildings, terraces, canals, agricultural terraces and walls that exhibit the classic Cuzco style on his estates. Perhaps the *waka* Amaro Ccasa, one of the wakes in the putative ceques that radiated from Vilcaswaman, was 'symbolically established' on a steep hill that overlooks the site, Pomacocha, in commemoration of his birth. Only some individual can be identified with a *waka* such as Amaro Thopa Inka, as was suggested by Rowe (1985: 204). Furthermore, it was also usual for the birthplace or home of an Inka to become a *waka* (Polo de Ondegardo, 1917: 9), and Amaro Ccasa and/or



the site itself of Pomacocha may therefore have become *wakas*. In relation to Vilcaswaman, Pomacocha is significantly in the Chinchaysuyu quadrant, the major quadrant in the Inka cosmology. According to Alborno (1988: 175), there were several other *wakas* with the name Amaro outside Cuzco.

Amaro Thopa Inka must have spent a short time in his estate at Pomacocha, because the chronicles describe his activities always in terms of Cuzco. It could be that his image at Pomacocha was permanently embodied by the mountain Amaro Ccasa. Or was it instead just seasonal labourers who lived here, keeping alive the memory of its owner?

The produce of the fields was presumably dedicated to the maintenance of the permanent residents and the official cult activities at Vilcaswaman, in other words to sustain the duties of a royal *panaka* (Rowe, 1967: 61) and presumably to maintain the members of his royal *ayllu* who survived him and subsequently took care of his *mallqui*.

## 8.2. Amaro Thopa Inka, "The Son of Water" or "The Stone Serpent"

### 8.2.1. Water, Springs, Canals and Fountains

Water is an all-encompassing resource at Pomacocha, both in symbolically and utilitarian way. It is present in all sectors of the estate. Its sources, volume, location, role and meaning can be the same or different across the various sectors. The most clearly perceivable role is its use for irrigation in fertilising the sectors of agricultural terraces (Sectors IV, VII, VIII, IX, X and XI). However, its most symbolic use is to the west and north-west of the lake (Sectors I, II and III). However, the utilitarian contexts are also embedded within a ceremonial matrix, quite possibly in the place traditionally known as the "Baño del Inka" in Sector I (Table VIII-2).

If the places, where water sources are found, are mapped, such as springs, canals, pools, *paqchas* or lakes, they form part of Mt Amaru. In allegorical terms, they come from the body of the Amaru, and therefore form its blood and entrails. In other words, the Amaru symbolically provides water. One of the most important water sources is the spring called Ñawinpuquio and a subterranean canal that runs to Sector III, the most complex in the whole site. Water reaches Pomacocha from Ñawinpuquio in two ways. Firstly in a wide, open surface canal that comes down the slope of Mt Amaru into Sector IV, which is called Pata Pata; and secondly through an underground canal, deep and narrow, whose walls are

made of finely worked flagstones and which runs to Sector III. The canal runs for slightly over 1 km from the spring to immediately below the cliff where the *waka* Amaru is located. It even seems that besides these sources, the whole body of Mt Amaru embraces the lake and several groups of buildings, in what was perhaps another manifestation of the metaphor of the sacred body of the puma, embodied by Cuzco (Betanzos, 1987: 81), and which integrated sites, houses and the population.

Why was water carried in these two different ways? Firstly, it was clearly used for agricultural purposes, and secondly, for ritual ends. The underground canal enters the ceremonial-palace complex behind the wall of Platform 1 and runs to the end of the northern corner of the platform, where it emerges at the bottom of the wall and provides water to Pools 1 and 2 in this sector. Does this subterranean method of carrying water say anything about the Inka cosmology? It almost certainly does, perhaps symbolising a flow communicating the inside of the earth, from whence all life emerges, with the living world, as several scholars have also posited for the city of Cuzco (Zuidema, 1989, among others)

The spring, water tank and pool with multiple water canals in Sector II, where the great wall with polygonal stonework converges, also have a great symbolic import. Together, these make the context far more complex. According to colonial sources and ethnographic data, springs, in general, were often thought of as origin places (*pakarina*); however, nowadays in Ayacucho, springs are also places endowed with powers that can harm humans. Why this bipolar concept that joins opposites? This paradox is similar to the theory of "Power and prestige" at the same time, developed by Mary Douglas (1973), and can be noted when describing Sector II. The pool formed by the water from the spring was perhaps a lesser representation of the lake, the great *pakarina*. As for the pool with multiple water channels, it is unique and no other interpretation is as yet available. In a broader and more general context, it would have been a *waka* itself.

This large spring and its surroundings recall the two snakes<sup>4</sup> and the kantu flower in the site at Cuzco through which Amaro Thopa Inka gained his wife, as recounted by Murúa (1987: 324, 325), and which Cobo (1956) also says was a *waka*. There might be some connection. Too much of a coincidence? Was this real and mythical Cuzco site recreated at Pomacocha, in remembrance of, and identifying, our personage? One

additional datum, perhaps no mere chance, is that the *kantu* plant, a symbol of Amaro Thopa Inka, is only found at 3 locations in this sector: One is on the northern side of room 3, a second in Platform 3, and a third beside the pool with multiple canals. There do not appear to be *kantu* plants growing on any other site in the whole of this region.

The presence of the lake, which is the predominant feature and a major landmark of the site, must have been a *waka* as well because in Inka cosmology the lake is the most conspicuous symbol of a *pakarina*, the place where things originate and emerge. Perhaps at Pomacocha and at other lakes in similar Inka contexts, these actually represented Lake Titicaca, the overall origin place, the most important site in the whole Inka belief system, as Zuidema (1989) has suggested.

Water was the most recurring element at Pomacocha, and that it expressed itself as a tangible allegory in the lake, in two natural waterfalls, 7 springs, 2 pools, 1 man-made waterfall and a bath, "Baño del Inka," as well as in both open channel and underground water canals. Water is intimately related with the Amaru and the latter was metaphorically expressed through Amaro Thopa Inka. In Inka cosmology, it was not enough to symbolise water with metaphors, such as those described above or through the natural landscape, they also created a world of the living with a metaphoric personage, like Amaro Thopa Inka, who had the sacred attributes and symbolism comprising water, serpent and mountain. Pomacocha could therefore be, besides a royal estate, a tangible focus of metaphors and rituals that symbolised the mythical figure of Amaro Thopa Inka.

### 8.2.2. The Landscape and the Belief System

According to the available colonial documentation, there is a group of natural elements, the most important of which were incorporated into the belief system of the early colonial period (Table VIII-3). Several of its elements continue to survive in the worldview of present day Andean peasant communities, with some variations, according to the region, such as those between Ayacucho (Vilcaswaman, Huamanga, and Huanta), and Cuzco, for instance. However, it is probable that the religious accounts recorded in the former Inka provinces as well as to some extent by the chroniclers and other documents, and attributed to the Inka, do not necessarily reflect the complete religious pattern designed and preached

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<sup>4</sup> A symbol of life —fertility, origins— and harm, G. Urton, pers. com., August, 1999).

by the priests from the sacred city of Cuzco. Instead, all these documents provide is some of the underlying elements.

This, in fact, poses a serious problem with regard to the use of ethnographical analogies, a method frequently used to reconstruct the system of beliefs of Inka times. It is claimed that the traditional religious underworld manifestations of present-day Andean peasant communities reconstruct the Inka religious model (e.g. MacCormack, 1991). This is a modal sophism which scholars use. To what degree is there an actual correspondence between the ethnographic account and the practice in Inka times? There appear to be few analogous elements between them. Besides, it seems that the variant recorded in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries corresponded to 'popular culture,' not to the beliefs held by the religious elite of Inka Cuzco. Popular culture always makes a partial and somewhat confused reading of official doctrine. It is therefore neither accurate nor valid to make an analogy with the present-day popular tradition in order to be able to reconstruct the State belief system, and that it would be inappropriate to use even the popular variants recorded in colonial documents.

But despite these methodological constraints for our understanding of religious beliefs, what is clear is that, except for the "upper world" of the stars, sun and lightning, etc., the "underworld" and nature were also represented in the belief system of Andean society in the Late Horizon, and this has survived to the present day in a more or less complex way (Table VIII-3). Three of its elements stand out, now as in Inka times: water, as has been elaborated in the preceding section; mountains and the snake. They stand out not just because their scope is far larger, extending perhaps far beyond the Andean area, but also because of the complexity of complementary elements they give rise to, and their greater importance in relation to other objects in the life of the people, both in everyday life and at special times.

Of these, the serpent, Amaru or Machaguay, stands out not simply because it has a higher status than the other beings, but also because of its very nature as a link with other beings. The Amaru is implicit in the connections between both the mountain and water. It flows between them as the dynamic trait; thus it appears in, for instance, the accounts of Inka events, given by Murúa (1987), Albornoz (1988) or Ávila (1987), and in the modern day accounts collected in the peasant communities in the Huamanga region.

If the colonial sources are closely scrutinised and the ethnographic data analysed, then it is apparent that the Amaru has more recurring representations than any other *waka* in both Cuzco and the provinces (Table VIII-4). It avails himself of the mountains, lakes, springs, stones, walls, the rainbow, the stars, landslides (*lloqlla*) and even the carving of its zigzagging figure that appears in all aspects of life, and it has become ever-present among the people. Why?

An examination of the *wakas* in Cuzco, as given in Cobo's account (1956; see Table VIII-5) shows that there are 11 that bear the name Amaru, 3 in Chinchaysuyu, 2 in Antisuyu, 2 in Collasuyu, and 3 in Contisuyu.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, all of these *wakas* are of stone, including one which is the house of Amaru Topa Inka. To this list, a further three recorded by Albornoza can be added, thus raising the number and meaning of these *wakas* which include this name, and making the Inka ceque system even more complex.

At Pomacocha only one Amaru has been recorded, the mountain behind, to the west of the site and which figures with that name in the Carta Nacional del Perú (1961.1963; IGN-hoja 28-n), and it is an *apu/wamani* for the people of the region. It is certain that it is one of the old Amaru *wakas*, such as Mt Amaru in Huamachuco, which were established with this name in other provinces of Tawantinsuyu, according to Albornoza (1988: 175). Furthermore, all of them had retainers and fields for their maintenance (a somewhat free interpretation of Albornoza, 1988: 175).<sup>6</sup>

There are other meanings for the term '*amaru*' in the research area which do not exist in Cuzco. For example, the Amaru is called *Orqopa Reynin*, the King of the Mountains, and is identified with the *lloqlla*, the mudslides caused by Lake Yanacocha, which is on Mt Raswillka, one of the main *wamani* in the region. There are similar associations with Mt Karuarasu. The expression, "*Amarun llikirispá pasarun ...*" means that the 'Amaru has blown the lake and passed by ...,' an allusion to the avalanches of mud and water that take place in the rainy season (Table VIII-4).

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<sup>5</sup> However, one of these is called Colque-machaguay, a synonym of Amaru.

<sup>6</sup> Several serpents have been carved on the main entrance to the Temple of the Sun at Vilcaswaman. Nowadays that door is the main entrance to the colonial church of San Juan Bautista. John Earls tells me (August 1997) that there is a big stone with the carved figures of an amaru beside the road from Sarhua to Huamanquisquia. It is just 40 km away from Pomacocha in a straight line.

There are other new ethnographic references in Ayacucho with regard to the spring and its relationship with the Amaru. Two of these stand out. One says that there are two kinds of spring, the Waripukuio and the Chaquipukuio; both are evil but the first is far more dangerous because 'it makes the bones fall off', while the second, Chaquipukuio, just 'makes you dry up'. The second myth says that the spring is "evil" when the sky is cloudy and that when a rainbow rises from the spring it is said that 'the Amaru is flying'. It is not known whether the latter is only known for the Ayacucho region, because Albornoz (1988) gives a somewhat similar version for sixteenth-century Cuzco.

This brief study of the written sources, archaeological sites, the landscape, symbols and other elements, infer that the site of Pomacocha is implicitly and markedly associated with its owner, Amaro Thopa Inka. At the site, water and lakes, agriculture and terraces, the serpent and fertility fuse together, to the point that it could be proposed that the long and exquisite wall in Sector II, that runs below Mt Amaro Ccassa, connecting two water fountains, is, in fact, the Amaro coming from and leaving the lake. This would thus recall the 'miracle' witnessed in Cuzco at the time that Amaro Thopa Inka was born, when a serpent entered Lake Quibipay (Pachacuti Yamqui, 1993: 224).

In the Andean cosmology, it is not at all rare for serpents, lakes, water and rocks to be recurring elements in a sacred symbology. For example a serpent that turned into stone appears in the myths about Wallallo Qarwinchu and Pariaja Qaja - *"Esta serpiente petrificada puede verse claramente hasta hoy en el camino llamado Kakikuya arriba. La gente del Cuzco y toda otra clase de gente que sobre que esta allí, golpea a la serpiente con una piedra y se lleva los pedazos que caen para remedio, diciendo no caeremos enfermos"* (Ávila, 1987: 261-263; see also Duviols 1966: 261, footnote; and Albornoz, 1988: 174, item 5).

The association of these three elements in the highlands of Lima also appears in Albornoz's account of myths in Huarochiri. He says that in one region of Huarochiri there were several lakes. Along the royal highway, leading to Las Escaleras, there was a large vein of white marble which is interpreted as a petrified snake, *"... y los naturales cercanos a ella creen y dicen que cuando los españoles entraron en estos reinos, salió de la laguna la culebra llamada amaro para irse a la otra y con la nueva se enfrió y se tornó piedra. Tiene señal de culebra, porque yo la e visto. Todas las provincias alrededor la mochan,*

*cuando pasan por allí, con mucha reverencia*” (Albornoz, 1988: 175). This apparently is not a late account that developed during the time of the spaniards but a revival of an ancient myth because its cult, estates and retainers.

Table VIII.1

“QOLLANA	PAYAN	KAYAU
Inca Rca?	Yahuac Huacac?	
Inca Urco, killed	Viracocha	Lloque Yupanqui?
Pachacuti	Capac Yupanqui, killed	Mayta Capac
Pachacuti	<b>Amaro Topa</b>	Mayta capac
Pachacuti	Topa Inca	<b>Amaro Topa</b>
Topa Inca (Huayna Capac)”	<b>Amaro Topa</b>	Topa Yupanqui

(After Parssinen, 1992: 219)

TABLE VIII-2  
RITUAL ELEMENTS IN POMACOCHA

	PHYSICAL REPRESENTATION OF THE SACRED	CONTEXT	IMPORTANT FEATURES	
SECTOR I	1	ROCK SHELTER	HILL	Shelter: 10.80 x 1.80 m. Reached from a staircase
	2	PLATFORM 2 WITH LARGE NICHES	"Torreón"	With 5 niches and a double jamb doorway on transverse wall
	3	ROCK	NE of the "torreón" on platform 1	Unworked. Visible from every part of Pomacocha
	4	PAQCHA (WATERFALL) 1	"Torreón" and platforms	North side of a hill
	5	PAQCHA (WATERFALL) 2	"Torreón" and platforms	South side of a hill
	6	FOUNTAIN	Terraces and canal	"Bath of the inka". Two canals and 2 spouts
	7	PLATFORM 3	"Torreón" and platforms	South side of Paqcha 2. Non agricultural. Steep staircase
SECTOR II	8	TERRACED WALL	Between two fountains	300 m long. Cellular, pillow-like stonework
	9	SPRING AND RESERVOIR	Terrace 8	Good flow of water
	10	FOUNTAIN	Spring and reservoir 9	Many small canals
SECTOR III	11	CANAL	Platform 1	Subterranean and covered with slabs supplying Fountains 1 and 2.
	12	FOUNTAIN 1	Platform 2	Made with ashlar
	13	FOUNTAIN 2	Platform 2	Made with ashlar on an <i>in situ</i> rock
	14	CARVED ROCK	Platform 3 and Building 7	Carved with steps. Part of the west wall of building
	15	CARVED ROCK	Platform 3 and Staircase	Large rock, slightly quadrangular. Carved with vertical planes. Enclosed by walls
	16	ROCK	Platform 3 and Rock 15	Irregular enclosed by walls and attached to Carved Rock 15 with a pillow-like wall
	17	SPRING	Platform 4	
	18	SPRING	Platform 5	
	19	ROCK	In the SE corner of Sector III	Irregular
	20	CARVED ROCK	Platform 3 and Building 1	Carved with small channels and altars/seats
	21	BUILDING	Platform 8 and Rock 20	Building 1, subdivided into 3 smaller rooms. Niches on both interior and exterior walls
	22	BUILDING	Platform 3 and carved rock	Rectangular coursed stonework
	23	CARVED ROCK	Platform 4	Carved with horizontal and vertical planes
S - VI	24	ROCKY OUTCROP	Platforms	Begins on the banks of the lake
S - VII	25	BUILDING	Agricultural terraces	Small divided into 2
	26	MOUNTAIN - AMARO*		
	27	SPRING NAWINPUQUIO*		
	28	LAKE POMACOCHA*		

\* Included as probable wakas of the ceques of Vilcaswaman



TABLE VIII-3  
NATURAL ELEMENTS IN THE BELIEF SYSTEM IN THE ANDES

ELEMENT	MANIFESTATION	TYPES OF REPRESENTATION	SYMBOL	ETHNOHISTORICAL REFERENCE	ETHNOGRAPHIC MEANING	
1	Mountain	Mountain	a. Natural	Ushnu	Waka; pakarina or origin place	Has certain powers
			b. Natural + rock (huanca)	Rock		Cares for animals
			c. Natural + building	Carved rock		Invoked when in danger
			d. Natural + burial			
			e. Natural + all of the above			
2	Water	Spring; Lake; River; Ocean	a. Springs	Carved rocks and/or reservoirs and canals	Waka; pakarina or origin place	Place where Amaro lives
			b. Waterfalls			
			c. Fountains			
			d. Reservoirs			
			e. Canals			
3	Caves	Caves /Rock Shelters	Natural and Carved	Niches on rocks	Waka	Place of the ancestors; an offering place
4	Rocks	Outcrops; Cliffs; Stones (Huanca)	Natural, along roads and on hills	Rocks enclosed by walls	Waka	"Alcanzo" . Stone takes ones energy and makes one ill. Also used to delimit territorial extent
5	Valleys				Waka	
6	Trees				Waka	
7	Other Plants	'Pocra' - "Vegetables"			Waka	
8	Animals	Serpent	Mountain and realistically carved	Wall; avalanche "Lloqlia"; rainbow	Waka	"King of the Mountains". Concept of flying
		Eagle; Falcon; Fox; Alpaca; Partridge				
9	Quebradas	Natural			Waka	
10	Celestial Elements					

<sup>1</sup> The World Above (see Chapter 8.2.2)

TABLE VIII-4  
AMARU: A POLYSEMIC CONCEPT

RECURRENT REPRESENTATIONS IN CUZCO, VILCASWAMAN, POMACOCHA, HUAMANGUILLA AND HUAROCHIRI					
	RECURRENT REPRESENTATIONS	ARCHAEOLOGICAL INDICATOR	SYMBOL	ETHNOHISTORICAL MEANING	ETHNOGRAPHIC MEANING
1	MOUNTAIN	Cerro Amaru (Pomacocha) Cerro Amaru (Huamachuco)	Waka, Apu Wamani	Pakarina, origin place	Protector, lives on Raswilka, Principal apu in the Huanta region
2	WALL	Polygonal wall in Pomacocha a long vein of white marble in Huaro-chiri		Prevents illness; shrine, cure	
3	LAKE	Quibbay (Cuzco) Yanacocha (Huanta)  Huaro-chiri		Pakarina, origin place Dwelling place of Amaru  Fertility	Dwelling place of Amaru, from which it rages like an avalanche (flocilla) - in the Huanta region
4	SPRING	Colquemachaguay (Cuzco)	Waka	Pakarina, origin place	Origin place of animals. Misfortune, harm and anger when it is cloudy and divides into 2: Waripuzquio y Chakipuzquio
5	RAINBOW				Flying Amaru. Linking 2 fountains
6	ROCK	9 sites in the Cuzco ceque system 1 in Huaro-chiri	Waka	Shrine Shrine	
7	ENGRAVED STONE	Figurative engravings (Sachua) Figurative engravings (Cuzco)	Waka	Shrine	
8	AVALANCHE (Lloqlla)				Avalanche when the lake bursts its banks in Raswilka ("Amaru Lloqerarrun")
9	INKA	Amaro Thopa Inca  Tupac Amaru		"Inka Serpent" Mythical and/or historical personage Historical personage	Resistance, pride, dignity
10	SERPENT				Flying. Bathing in the river. To cure. Witchcraft. "Orqopa Reinin" ("King of the Mountains")
11	EMBLEM		Insignia	"Beave captains"	
12	STAR	"Machacuty"		"Cares for the snakes in order that they do not harm people"	
13	COMET			"Crossing the sky at the birth of Amaro Thopa Inca"	
14	CHOREOGRAPHY			Dance in Cuzco	

TABLE VIII-5  
AMARU WAKAS IN THE CEQUE SYSTEM OF CUZCO\*

CHINCHAYSUYO				ANTISUYO			
	Name	Sacrifice	Representation		Name	Sacrifice	Representation
1.	CAYAO (CH1-1)	Michosamaro Gold, clothing, sea shells	Stone. Hillside	1.	COLLANA (ANI-7)	Amaro Marcabuasi	House of Amaro Thopa Inka
2.	PAYAO <sup>†</sup> (CH4-3)		House of Cusioclo, wife of Amaro Thopa Inka	2.	CAYAO DE AYARMACA (AN8-3)	Little lambs made of shell	Stones alongside a spring
3.	COLLAO (CH7-4)	Toxanamaro	Broken shells				
			5 round stones together on cerro Toxan				
4.	COLLAO (CH7-5)	Urcosolla Amaro	"for the health of the Inka"				
			Mary stones together on a small hill				
5.	PAYAN (CH8-5)	Chaguatapura	Shells				
			Field of Amaro Thopa Inka				
COLLASUYO				CONTISUYO			
	Name	Sacrifice	Representation		Name	Sacrifice	Representation
1.	PAYAN (CO8-5)	Quintamaro (in the pueblo of Quijalla)	Round stones	1.	COLLANA (CON4-2)	Amarocci	3 stones in the pueblo of Aytocai.
2.	PAYAN (CO5-5)	Ancasamaro	5 stones in Quijalla	2.	CALLAO (CON8-8)	Quiacamaro	Certain stones on top of a hill
				3.	CALLAO (CON9-1)	Colquemachaguay	Fountain. Slope of cerro Paquin

\* Cobo, 1956: 169-186.

<sup>†</sup> It does not mention Amaro by name. Just connected to Amaro Thopa Inka

Note: There are known to be other wakas with the name Amaro: Luchus Amaru, a stone in Tococache (Albornoz, 1967:179) and Topa Amaro and Nina Amaro (Albornoz, 1967:194). These are not recorded by Cobo.

TABLE VIII-6  
SUMMARY OF SACRED ELEMENTS

	FEATURE	VILCASWAMAN	POMACOCCHA	CONDORMARCA	TINYAQ	TOTAL
1	MOUNTAIN	9	1	1	1	12
2	TEMPLE	2				2
3	SHRINE	1				1
4	ROCKY OUTCROP	2	1	2		5
5	ROCK	1	3	6	3	13
6	CARVED ROCK	3	4	7	1	15
7	ROCK WITH HOLES	2			4	6
8	HUANCAS (LARGE ROCK)	1				1
9	LAKE	1	1	1		3
10	SPRING	7	6			13
11	FOUNTAIN	2	4	1		7
12	BUILDING	1	3			4
13	CAVE		1			1
14	CANAL	3	1			4
15	MAIN CANAL (ACEQUIA)	1				1
16	APACHETA	2				2
17	PLATFORM	1	1			2
18	TERRACED WALL		1			1
19	MAIN TERRACE	1				1
20	RETAINING WALL			1	1	2
21	BENCH	1				1
22	QUARRY	3				3
		44	27	19	10	100

## Chapter 9

### Conclusions

From the perspective of an interdisciplinary study of the Inka province of Vilcaswaman, this dissertation provides answers to its aims:

I. Before the Inka, the Vilcaswaman region was characterized as follows:

a. It had permanent economic constraints as a result of its scant resource base. An agricultural surplus would have been possible only in certain, quite limited areas, at the household unit level, unless heavy technological investments are made (e.g., terraces). Water is scarce and few livestock could have been raised at the same scale as in southern Peru, because of the limited size of the Andean plateau.

b. This region had a long, multi-ethnic occupation, which continued into the early colonial period, comprising groups of Guanaca, Angaraes, Astos, Chocorbos, Guamanes, Pokras and other groups prior to the arrival of the Inka. These had resettled this region after the climatic upheavals of the late Middle Horizon, which had diminished the water supply and agricultural land. The most important of these groups were the Chanka of Andahuaylas, a polity that challenged the hegemony of Cuzco and whose defeat led to the rise of the Inka State.

c. The Vilcaswaman region had many sacred components. It formed part of a sacred space before the Inka, one defined by the *omblicus mundi* of Pachacamac, to the northwest, and Lake Titicaca to the southeast. Within this area, several geographical features were held as sacred by the people. Prestigious temples, oracles and shrines were built in the region, as it was a dwelling place of the *wakas*. After the coming of the Inka, several other deities from outside the region were also worshipped, such as Ayssa Vilca, Pariacaca, Chinchaycocha, Wallallo, Chuquiura and two others from the Cañar area. The Inka rearranged the area, preserving both the sacred nuclei of Pachacamac and Lake Titicaca as major *wakas*. Besides, this lake and the sea were metaphorically connected by an axis formed by the Vilcanota and Pampas river, which passed right through Vilcaswaman. The sacred nature of this region has persisted up to the present day.

These characteristics meant that in this region, the Inka occupation had a religious and political focus rather than an economic one. Their control was thus primarily enforced through ideological mechanisms. These unique characteristics gave rise to an *ad hoc* project which led to the construction of Vilcaswaman as far more than an administrative center, like Huanuco Pampa, with which it is usually compared, and these traits also characterize the other three sites studied.

For the Inka, Vilcaswaman was a "civic ceremonial core". It has representations of power not found in any other provincial centers. It replicated Cuzco both in physical and metaphorical terms. Its layout followed a ceque-system structured by 43 *wakas*. Besides, two temples of the Sun and one temple of the Moon were built, as well as an *ushnu*, two *akllawasis* and a main square, symbolically cut into two by a water canal. Mountains were worshipped as *wakas* in the likeness of the ones found in Cuzco, using the same names as in the capital of the Inca. Here, two *Guanacauris* have been identified and others bore the name of mountain deities also found in Cuzco are Anahuarque, Senqa and Killke. They built sacred and common roads, *waka*-residences of rulers, springs, canals and carved rocks. Vilcaswaman was divided into precincts. One of these, still known as Kantupata, lies on the northeastern part of the site, precisely with the same orientation as its counterpart in Cuzco.

2. One of the first measures undertaken by the Inka was to relocate the original population of the region, which was replaced with 11 *mitma* groups of Cuzco *orejones*, and 18 *mitma* groups of commoners. With these people, the Inka formed an administrative unit known as the *guamani* of Vilcaswaman, divided into three *humu*, each with 10,000 tribute-payers: Vilcaswaman, Condormarka-Huamanguilla and Parcos. The *orejones* were settled at Vilcaswaman, Condormarka-Huamanguilla and Parcos. The Antas *orejones* were in charge of the administration of the Condormarka-Huamanguilla and Parcos *humu*.

Condormarka-Huamanguilla was the next most important center after Vilcaswaman. Its Buildings replicate Cuzco styles and conceptions that show the status its occupants had. Its religious nature is clearly proven by the presence of a ceremonial pool with 14 carved rocks and outcrops girded by stone walls similar to those found in Cuzco.

Tinyaq is one of several sites used to store goods, as is evinced in this case by its 35 rectangular *qolqas*. The structure of these storage facilities is not as complex as those found

at Huanuco Pampa; for instance, there are no ventilation ducts, which are essential to preserve the goods for long periods of time. This means that these facilities were used for short periods of time only, as way stations along the road that led to the major storage center of Vilcaswaman. It has 12 sacred components, just like the other sites studied which include carved outcrops and rocks carved with offering receptacles located in-between the rows of qolqas.

3. It is clear from colonial sources that in Tawantinsuyu, the most fertile lands had been cornered by the royal *panakas*. The Vilcaswaman *guamani* was no exception. Pomacocha was a royal estate belonging to Amaro Thopa Inka, the eldest son of Pachacuti. Unlike the holdings the *panakas* had in Cuzco, this one belonged to Amaro Thopa Inka as his birthright, as it was the site where the prince was born. Pomacocha does not have any of the features characteristic of a shrine of an administrative or military site. Instead its layout resembles that of other sites identified as royal holdings, like Písaq. And since it was the birthplace of an Inka, Pomacocha became a *waka* in its own right. Amaro Thopa also had several holdings in Cusco, both land and palaces.

Amaro Thopa Inka had a dual nature, as he was both a warrior and a religious specialist, with strong connection with agriculture, particularly in connection to the construction of terraces, canals and other facilities. His religious nature was emphasised by his namesake, the *amaru* or serpent, which can be variously used in connection with water, mountains, lakes, stone and an Inka. Several of these are actually incorporated into the landscape and in several buildings at the site. One of the most important sacred element of Pomacocha is the mountain called Amaro Ccasa. Below it there are several buildings and a wall over 300 m long that connects two small fountains, as a metaphor of a snake coming out from one of them and entering the other one.

These archaeological, ethnohistorical and ethnographic data on the all-encompassing religious nature of Vilcaswaman as a place and province, suggest that its name actually underlines its religious role.

The earliest written sources of colonial times suggest that the word Vilcaswaman had a different meaning than the one traditionally used. It meant "sacred province" "*Vilcas*

guamani" for de Ribera and de Chaves, two of the first Spaniards to settle in Huamanga, and who had been commissioned by viceroy Nieva to visit Vilcas and its region and report on its nature, and it was also they who prepared the famed *Relación de Guamanga* (1586). What they said was as follows: "*Primeramente, esta provincia en tiempo de los incas, se llamó Vilcas Guaman, que quiere decir Guaman provincia y Vilcas principio de provincia*" (1965: 181)<sup>1</sup>.

It was Marcos Jiménez de la Espada (1965: 181, footnote) who introduced a new meaning for Vilcasguaman in the late nineteenth century. He translated the term as "sacred hawk," or "shrine of the hawk," a definition that has been repeated to the present without crediting Jiménez, and it is now a traditional one. Jiménez de la Espada, whose acquaintance with the Quechua language went no further than a dictionary, interpreted the two meanings of the name in a most limited and unsatisfactory way without considering that Quechua words hold different and polysemic concepts.

Additionally, the following general conclusions can be made.

What does the massive presence of religious elements, evinced by all kinds of settlements in the Inka province of Vilcaswaman, entail? Did the construction of temples and shrines in this province respond to the doctrine of the State? Was this religious pattern reflected in all of Tawantinsuyu? Did the Inka State invent a way of conquering and integrating Andean regions through religious concepts and structures?

These questions are clearly most complex and we are far from being able to answer them even with just the example of Vilcaswaman. However, the research has yielded some patterns of the operational mode in which the Inka conquests took place, as well as some kind of pattern regarding the type of architectonic elements used in the sites they founded. Both repetitive traits seem to indicate that there are some religious principles that guided Inka expansion and the establishment of provinces. In addition, such repetitive characteristics also appear in the archaeological record at other sites, and in the written sources, particularly the chronicles of Cieza, Betanzos, Pachacuti, Cobo and Alborno. This could therefore represent a constant pattern in the expansion of Tawantinsuyu. However,

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<sup>1</sup> According to Cobo (1956: 149), Vilcas is a synonym for *guaca*. It also means "*todo lugar de adoración, como templos, sepulturas y cualquiera otro de los que veneraban y en que ofrecían sacrificios.*" However,



these principles would not have been discovered nor designed by the Inka. Instead, and like other devices and issues, they would have been a reworking of practices applied by other complex polities before the Inka.

### 9.1. A War of *Wakas* in the Expansion of Tawantinsuyu

It seems that another historically constant element in the Andes was social segmentation, thus making it difficult for any polity to integrate the various tribal- and chiefdom (kurakazgos)-type society into a national entity with traditional methods, like secular and military institutions. Other, less orthodox, methods had to be used, like religion. This was the solution also found by complex societies, like Chavin, Wari, Tiwanaku and Inka, to be effective in their attempt to attain cultural integration of the land and peoples they conquered.

In the Andes, complex expansive societies used religion for their conquests, and their gods headed these adventures. In the research area, there is reliable evidence of this phenomenon from the Middle Horizon onwards alone, but it is believed that similar methods were used in the Early Horizon

In the late sixteenth century, local populations in the southern part of Ayacucho, in a zone close to the research area, still recalled an old myth that presumably refers to a historical event that took place in the Middle Horizon, some 800 years before it was written around 1586 (Monzón et al., 1965: 245). This account says that some "*hombres santos*" called Wiracocha arrived at Cavana accompanied by "*indios*," and there they built their homes and roads. Some of the local people recalled having seen their tombs made of flagstones plastered with a whitish earth. This reference seems to imply the Wari-Tiwanaku method of conquest. The site described seems to have been a Wari site because the architecture and tombs are identical to those in the Moradochayuq Sector at Wari. These really could have been preachers, assistants or pilgrims engaged in missionary campaigns, as has been proposed by Menzel (1967) for the expansion of Tiwanaku.

The data available is relatively abundant and repetitive for Inka times. Before beginning their conquests, the Inka already had a whole series of religious paraphernalia for the sacrifices to be made before battle, which would diminish the power, not of their

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Cobo acknowledges that *guaca* was a term whose meaning had a far greater scope.

enemies but of their enemies' *wakas*. Polo (1916: 38) gives an account of a ritual called either Cuzco Vica, Hualla Vica or Sopa Vica, which was held before beginning a war. Animals were sacrificed in it to diminish the power of the enemy *wakas*. The priests burned birds from the puna and sacrificed llamas while singing songs that said that just as the hearts of the animals were weakened, so would be those of their enemies.

The Inka apparently never trusted the ability and bravery of their warriors alone. Their armies always relied on the *wakas*, even though this "help" was not always effective in the initial clashes. However, once defeated, the greatest punishment fell on the *wakas* themselves (Pachacuti, 1993: 234-236). In some cases, the enemy *wakas* were taken to Cuzco, to be housed in the Temple of the Sun, in what apparently was the most effective way of preventing new rebellions (Polo, 1916: 42), while the retainers of the vanquished gods still contributed guards for their support and made sacrifices to them in Cuzco (Murúa, 1922: 72). Several rebellions were controlled, according to the written sources, with the help of the *wakas*. For example, on the Central Coast, according to Ávila (Rostworowski, 1988: 125), there was a rebellion in the reign of Topa Inka Yupanki. It must have been a critical situation because a council was held in the Aukaipata plaza in Cuzco to which all *wakas* attended, even Pachacamac and Macahuisa. The latter decided to go to the site of the rebellion and he quashed it with rains and mudslides that swept through the land of the rebels.

As part of his royal warrior attire, the Inka carried with him an idol called Caccha, the battle idol – "*el idolo de las batallas*." This was one of the most prized objects for the young noblemen, who sometimes received it as a gift. Betanzos (1987: 195), for instance, tells that Guayna Capac presented it to his nephew Cusi Yupanki, a son of his brother Yamqui Yupanki, on occasion of his first haircut, apparently requesting him to be worthy of such a distinction. This type of *waka* seems to have been a personal amulet, belonging of the Inka, but there were other, institutional, *wakas* for battle. Of these, the most important apparently was the *waka* Akapana, "*que era aplicado a las guerras que trataban, a quien pedían favor ... [y] son rayos que hace el cielo ...*" (Albornoz, 1988: 166). Beside this *waka* were others, such as Guanacauri or Manco Capac. Of course, enemy also went to battle with his own local *wakas*, like the Chanka (Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1943), the Colla (Pachacuti, 1993: 234-236) or the Huarco (Murúa, 1922: 72).

Proof of the historicity of the war between the Chanka and the Inka, and that in metaphorical terms, it was a war between *wakas*, comes from the discovery that Polo made when destroying the *mallqui* of Pachacutec. According to Pachacuti, this Inka had been buried together with the idol of the Chanka (Polo, 1916: 97), which had been sent to Cuzco after the war. During the conquest of Vilcaswaman seven *wakas* were defeated and sent to Cuzco (Pachacuti, 1993).

The surviving Inka elite resorted to three structural elements of Andean culture to try and defeat the Spaniards even in a final attempt to revive Tawantinsuyu in colonial times, the *Taki Ongoy*. First the old religious ideology surfaced in the resistance embodied by this movement. Second, the Inka resorted to the power of the *wakas* as an element of integration and leadership in war, spreading the belief that those *wakas* that had been destroyed or burned by Spain had been reborn and were once again uniting the people. Finally, they invoked the restoration of "order" in the traditionally sacred area between Pachacamac and Lake Titicaca, under the protection of two of the major *wakas*: Pachacamac and Titicaca. All this to wage war against the *waka* of the Spaniards, under the command of another god "... *dar guerra al otro Dios, el cristiano, porque este Dios había hecho a los españoles, animales y cosas ...*" (Molina, 1988: 129).

Another religious conquest method was to build temples, *wakas* and symbols in the conquered lands, both in the landscape and in settlements. For some reason, certainly not a peremptory one, the Inka built Temples for the Sun throughout Tawantinsuyu, but only in some of these were images of the Sun placed. It is known that there were four of these temples in Cuzco at Coricancha, Pukin, Saqsaywaman and Chuquicancha (Molina, 1988: 123; see also Rowe, 1979: 60), although only the first had an image of the Sun. The other provincial sites which had these images were Vilcaswaman, Pachacamac, Tumibamba and Lake Titicaca.

The construction of Temples for the Sun helped make the solar cult pan-Andean construction does not imply simply one for the worship the Sun, they also helped make the local believe that the Inka himself and were at that location. Besides, it was such a centre from which a whole region could be more effectively preached controlled and civilized in Inka terms. Finally, they helped make the utopian view of forging a general identity throughout the Andes possible.

Rostworowski (1988: 97) correctly notes that in the Andes integration was a rare occurrence because it was the local that predominated, particularly local deities. Even so, the Inkas tried universalise their beliefs and practices but their endeavours were stillborn, as had been those of the Chavin and Wari. Thus, a constant element in Andean history is that local elements and identities always prevailed.

The available archaeological record indicates that a group of shrines originally from Cuzco were established in regions incorporated into Tawantinsuyu and that they usually were the major *wakas* "*wakas mayores*." Such was the case of Guanacauri in particular and, less frequently, or at least less well known the *wakas* Anahuarque, Ayawire (Salomon, 1980: 257, 258) or Amaro. The frequency with which these *wakas* appear in Chinchaysuyu is particularly remarkable.

Even more specific because it was restricted to certain types of sites or areas, was the presence of carved rocks, either situated in enclosed rooms or without any associated building.

The *ushnu* does not seem to correspond to the kind of shrines so far discussed, even though the number of *ushnus* throughout Tawantinsuyu is significant. This kind of structure specifically refers to the presence of the Inka king and his mediation with the Sun, not to all of the Inka religious culture. On the other hand, there are less monumental markers of religion in the conquered lands, which placed far more emphasis on the Inka himself, such as his nails, fragments of clothes, weapons or the wings of hawks which had been left behind. According to Albornoz (1988: 165), one of these was left in area here under study.

Finally, it is thought that the borders of each province also expressed this religious character, because many sites built close to the borders of the Wamanis had a sacred component, such as at Inkawasi, near Huaytara, discussed in Chapter 3.

In brief, the Inka State used religious means to ensure the success of its conquests, and built tangible religious markers of various kinds and sizes to perpetuate its presence.

## 9.2. Geographical Space as a Sacred Space

If the Inka deities are separated from other local ones, as in Arriaga (1968), the Huarochiri Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste, 1991), or the various documents published

by other chroniclers, local accounts that survived the religion imposed by the Inka indicate that the life of these peoples was organised and functioned within its own local religious framework. The physical geographical surroundings mountains, snow-capped peaks, lakes, rivers, and so on, were their existential reference points, their *wakas*, which provided them with the resources that sustained life, and which had to be permanently worshipped.

In the same way, in the Late Horizon the Inka incorporated the mountains, ravines, snow-capped mountains, lakes, plains and other parts of the landscape into their own belief system. The difference was that these deities did not just shape the overall milieu of Cuzco, but all of Tawantinsuyu. In some cases, the local deities were included in the pantheon of Inka gods, and in others were taken from Cuzco to the provinces (Cobo, 1956; Polo, 1916; Alborno, 1988).

This concept apparently had its origin in the conviction that their lives, people, animals, harvests, etc., came from, or depended, on these geographical representations: the world as a sacred space. A sacred geography was designed over the physical geography of Cuzco and Tawantinsuyu. Cuzco extended its initial fourfold urban layout throughout the land and the ceque system became the means through which this sacred geography was co-opted. The social structure was therefore also structured around it (Zuidema, 1995).

In the specific case of the Vilcaswaman region, the Inka rebuilt an ancient sacred space by re-scaling the system of temples and shrines. An unusual deployment of human resources for supporting the *wakas* is also perceptible in the colonial sources. For instance, Alborno (1988: 170) mentions some 2000 *mitma* who were relocated to take care of just one shrine, the *waka* Sara Sara. This same writer tells that he found over 2000 *wakas* in the Vilcaswaman area.

Stones were the essence of this sacred landscape, and of the *wakas* too. This is why sacred mountains, such as Guanacauri or Anahuarque in Cuzco and Vilcaswaman, have carved or uncarved rocks that were intentionally placed or highlighted in these cult centres. Stone was also the media the gods used to be depicted as divine, and one of the ways divine punishments were inflicted.

In brief, the pan-Andean religiosity was one of the major elements that helped Inka expansion, and as such, any imposition of a religious nature found favour because Andean society was a society of believers and religious *per se*. Conquest was thus made easier, but

it might not have been so if the classic ways, such as war or the military occupation of a region, had been the only ones used. Religion perhaps prevented possible conflict.

This does not mean that the Inka invented an ideological program that ensured efficient conquests; it simply means that the standing, structural popular religiousness forced the State to design policies that suited reality. This is what Mann (1991: 19) had in mind when explaining the pertinence a two-element dialectic in the attainment of achieving results and 'reaching goals' in society.

The control that Cuzco had of its frontiers was ensured by the Ccapac Cocha, the most conspicuous Inka ritual which defined the sacred landmarks of Andean space to the far north and south of the empire and in certain central enclaves (McEwan and van de Guchte, 1993), through the reciprocal flow of sacred symbols between Cuzco and the provinces. Thus it is important that stones and soil were taken from Cuzco to the provinces, sand from the sea to Aukaypata and the tombs in Cuzco, and earth from Chinchacamac to the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco. Stones were taken from Cuzco to Tumibamba, and from Cuzco, Quito and other sites to Vilcaswaman.

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De las cuadras y tierras de Vilcashuaman molinos y obras(1).

F. 148r.

En la ciudad de Guamanga en veynte dias del mes/ de abril de mil e quinientos e ochenta e seis años entan/do en cabildo e ayuntamiento los ylustres señores/ Amador de Cabrera e Antonio de Chavez de Menes/ Alcaldes Ordinarios e Diego de Romani y Herman/ Guillen de Mendoza y Hernando Alonso regidores/ se leyo este escrito/ Muy ylustres Don Diego Guillen de Mendoza hi/fo legitimo de Herman Guillen de Mendoza vezino desta ciudad besa las manos a vuestra señoria y dize que como a vuestra señoria consta y es publico/ e notorio en el Tambo de Vilcas jurisdic/cion de esta ciudad los Yngas señores/ que fueron de estos Reynos tomaron y aplicaron para si mucha cantidad de tie/ras alrededor de dicho Tambo en/ las quales edificaron casas y corrales/ para sus viviendas y ganados como de tie/ras que estan vacas el muy ylustre cabildo/ e regimiento de esta ciudad y los señores gover/nadores que han sido en estos Reynos/ an hecho mercedes a muchas personas/ para labranzas de trigo y estancias de/ ganados pa ser sin perjuizio y dos tiros de arcabuz poco mas omenos/ del dicho Tambo a mano izquierda/ pasado el dicho Tambo camino que ba/ para el pueblo de Guanbalpa estan/ unos corralones antiguos que heran/ de los dichos Yngas que por su nombre/ se dizen Guancapuquio son sin perjuizio de tercero y tierras en una hoya/ que llama Trigopampa/ .A Vuestra Señoria pido y suplico sea servido de hazerme merced de los dichos corralones y tierras para haser/ unas estancias de ganado y sementeras/

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y en ello vuestra señoria me hara bien y merced y para/ ello lo firmo don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ que el visitador que fuere las bea y sien/do sin perjuizio los corrales se los de/ Gonzalo Ysidro Escrivano de Gobierno y Cabildo. / En el Tambo de Vilcas en seis dias del mes / de noviembre del año de mil e quinientos o/ ochenta e seis don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ presento ante mi esta peticion en la qual/ proveyo el muy ylustre cabildo de la ciudad/ de Guamanga que el Visitador que/ viniere a la jurisdiccion averigue si lo que pide en esta peticion es sin perjuizio/ y siendolo que se le de/. Ylustres señores don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ hijo legitimo de Herman Guillen de Men/doza vezino de la ciudad de Guamanga digo/ que su presente en la dicha ciudad de Gua/manga ante el muy ylustre cabildo de ella/ una peticion de que hago presentacion/ ante vuestra merced en veynte e dos dias del mes de a/bril de mil e quinientos y ochenta e seis años en que por ella pido que se me haga merced de los/ corralones y paredones que estan en/ este Tambo de Bilcas lo que dize del camino/ real que va al pueblo de Guambalpa a ma/no izquierda como ban al dicho pueblo/ y los dichos señores cabildo justicia e regimiento proveyeron en la dicha peticion de que asi hago/ presentacion que el Visitador que viniere a la juris/diccion hazia el Cuzco lo bea y siendo sin/ perjuizio los dichos corrales y tierras/ de ellos me los de el qual decreto viene/ firmado de Gonzalo Ysidro escrivano de/ cabildo como consta del dicho decreto/ y a mi noticia es benido que el dicho cabildo/

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justicia e regimiento a proveydo as vuestra merced por/ tal visitador de la dicha jurisdiccion a mi/ derecho conviene que vuestra merced haga la dicha averi/guascion breve e sumariamente y siendo/ sin perjuizio/ los dichos corrales y tierras me/ los manda adjudicar en quantia y espas/cio de ocho quadras o las que fuere y meter/me en la posescion de ellas/. A vuestra merced pido y suplico mande e cojer la dicha a la averiguascion y siendo sin perjuizio me de la/ posescion de los dichos corrales y tierras en cir/cuyto de las dichas ocho quadras dexando en mi/ poder la averiguascion y recaudos para/ en guarda de mi derecho y pido justicia y para ello firmo don Diego Guillen de Mendoza./ De las dichas tierras y corrales que presenta/do ante mi como tal visitador que el muy/ ylustre cabildo proveyo digo que lo bere y ave/riguare y proveere en el ca/so justiscia/ siendo testigos don Tomas Gualpatyto caci/que principal de Colca y Miguel Sanchez/ Diego de Romani/. En el mismo dia mes e año dicho yo el dicho Diego/ de Romani para la averiguacion de lo/ suso dicho mande parescer ante mi a don La/zaro Guamanpusayco del qual tome e re/cibi juramento en forma devida de derecho/ sobre la señal de la cruz so cargo del qual peometio/ de dezir verdad y por ser yndio ladino/ que sabe leer y escrevir no fue menester yn/terprete y preguntado si los corrales y quadras/ que pide el dicho don Diego Guillen de Men/doza son sin perjuizio/ y que tantos años ya que estan despoblados y Dixo: que el asiento y corrales que el dicho don Diego Guillen pide heran casas de coca y charque e lana del tiempo del Ynga y que desde que se gano esta tierra e asta aora no se han poblado ni reglado/

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y que son sin perjuizio de tercero porque/ quando fuera nescesario poblar en este/ asiento y Tambo ay sitio y edifscios/ para dies mill yndios y que es prove/choso y util que lo tenga poblado el dicho/ don Diego Guillen de Mendoza para lo/ que toca ha algunas ocasiones que se/ pueden ofrescer de/ serviscio de su magestad/ e para su sustento porque quiere tener/ aqui un molino y sementera de cebada/ que para trigo no es por ser tierra/ fria y detemplada y que esta es la ver/dad para el juramento que ha hecho y dixo que no le tocan las generales mas/ de que su padre del dicho Diego Gui/llen es su encomendero pero que/ por esta causa no dexara de dezir/ la verdad y que es de edad de quarenta e cinco años y lo firmo yo el dicho Diego de/ Romani ante mi Diego de Romani don La/zaro. En este dicho dia mes año hise pares/cer an te mi a don Antonio Guamanucchu/ Principal de los Collanas del pueblo de/ Guarcas del qual tome e rescibi juramento/ en forma devida de derecho sobre la señal de/ la cruz so cargo del qual prometio de de/zir verdad y por entender yo el dicho Diego de/ Romani la lengua general y no aver yn/terprete le examine y preguntado/ si el sitio y quadras y corrales que pide / el dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza son sin perjuizio/ de tercero y quien las poseyca antigua/mente y que tanto años ha que estan/ despobladas. Dixo: que en corrales/ y sitio del Ynga y que las tenia antigua/



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mente para deposito de coca y lana y que no se/ acuerda aunque a estado en este sitio y tambo/ de Vilcas muchas vezes averlo visto poblado/ de mas de treynta años a esta parte y que en nin/gun tiempo ni quando la besita general vio/ que nadie pidiese que tiene derecho a los dichos corrales y sitio sino que siempre a estado des/poblado y que asi se lo puede dar al dicho don/ Diego Guillen de Mendoza porque son sin/ perjuizio de tercero y que en el dicho sitio y en el dicho Tambo ay tierras e edifiscios pa/ra poblar diez mil yndios sin que estos corrales sean de provecho aora ni en ningun tiemp/o y que esta es la berdad para el juramento/ que tiene hecho y que no le tocan las generales/ y que es de edad de quarenta e dos años poco/ mas o menos y porque no sabe firmar no/ lo firma y lo firme yo el dicho Diego de Ro/mani ante mi Diego de Romani/ . En dicho dia mes e año suso dicho para ave/riguacion de lo que el dicho don don Diego Guillen/ de Mendoza me pidio por virtud de la dicha/ comossion del muy ylustre cabildo mande pares/cer ante mi a Joan Dias del qual tome e res/cibi juramento en forma devida de derecho sobre/ la señal de la cruz socargo del qual pro/metio de dezir verdad e siendo preguntado/ por virtud del dicho pedimento. Dixo : que/ lo que sabe es que a muchos años que a estado/ de hordinario en este tambo que jamas a/ visto poblados los dichos corrales que porque/ de el dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza y que sabe e a oydo/ dezir que estos dichos corrales son y fueron/ del Ynga y en que tenian coca y otras cossas/ y que jamas a entendido que ningun yndio aya poseydo/ las ni pedido que sean suyas/ e que son baldias y sin perjuizio y que esto/ sabe y es la berdad para el juramento que/

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tiene hecho y que es de edad de veynete y cinco años/ poco mas o menos y que no le tocan las genera/les y lo firmo Joan Dias ante mi Diego de Romani/. En el dicho Tambo ocho dias de mes de noviem/bre del dicho año para mas averiguascion/ de lo suso dicho mande parescer ante mi a/ don Martin Ayarche cacique principal/ de los yndios Soras del pueblo de los Chaleces/ del qual siendo yo interprete rescebi juramento/ en forma devida de derecho sobre la señal de la cruz/ so cargo del qual prometio de dezir berdad/ y siendo preguntado si los dichos corrales y sitio/ que señalo y pidio el dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza llamado Guancapuquio Indi/guaci que quiere dezir Casas del Sol es sin / perjuizio Dixo : que sabe y que es sin/ perjuizio de tercera persona porque/ los dichos corrales y edifiscios estavan/ antiguamente dedicados al sol y heran/ señaladamente del Ynga para depositos/ de coca charqui y lana y que no se acuerda/ con aver residido en este dicho Tambo que/ y no cosas algunos lo ayan poseydo ni po/blado ni que aya estado edificado y pre/guntado si se le pueden dar al dicho don Diego Guillen por cosa ynpertinente que/ en ningun tiempo para cosa alguna/ puede ser de provecho dixo que se le pue/de dar porque quando fuese necesario/ en algun tiempo algunos sitios tierras o e/difiscios ay para poblar dies mil yndios/ y que esta es la berdad de lo que sabe para/ el juramento que hizo y dixo ser de edad de cinquenta años poco mas o menos y que/ no le tocan las generales y por no saber/ leer ni escribir no lo firmo y lo firmo yo el/ dicho Diego de Romani ante mi Diego de Romani/

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Este dicho día mes e año para mas averiguacion/ de los suso dicho mande parescer ante mi a don/ Fernando Vicocondor cacique principal/ del pueblo de Merocola del repartimiento/ de los Soras de la encomienda de Hernando Palo/mino vezino de la ciudad de Guamanga del qual/ tome e rescabi juramento en forma de derecho/ sobre la señal de la cruz so cargo del qual/ prometio de dezir verdad y siendo preguntado/ por mi el dicho Diego de Romani si estos dichos/ corrales que pide el dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza son sin perjuizio de tercero/ o de que han servido y sirven aora o en algun/ tiempo doco que son sin perjuizio de ter/cero porque ha muchos años que estan des/pobladas y que heran para depositos/ de aji y maiz del Ynga e coca y que esto oyo/ dezir muchos años ya y desde antes de la/ Visita General no sabe que nadie las pos/ceyese ni tuviese poblado ni lo a visto/ y que ansi se pueden dar al dicho don Diego/ Guillen de Mendoza/ porque quando fuese nes/cesario tierras o edifiscios y en este rumbo/ pra poderse poblar dies mil yndios/ sin que se tomase estos corrales para ningun efeto y que esto sabe y es la berdad/ para el juramento que tiene hecho y que es/ de hedad de cinquenta y siete años poco/ mas o menos y que no le tocan las gene/rales y porque no sabe leer ni escre/vir lo firme yo el dicho Diego de Romani/ ante mi Diego de Romani. En este dicho dia mes y año suso dicho yo el/ dicho Diego de Romani aviendo hecho/ la dicha averiguacion y visto lo que de / ella resulta y conforme a lo proveydo/

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y mandado por el muy Ylustre cabildo de la / ciudad de Guamanga digo que son los dichos corra/les que asi pidio el dicho don Diego Guillen/ de Mendoza sin perjuizio y que atento/ al auto proveydo por el dicho Cabildo y con/forme a el adjudico y doy y señalo/ los dichos corrales y sitios segun lo tiene pe/dido siendo testigos Joan Diaz y don La/zaro y Miguel Sanchez que es fecho en/ el Tambo de Vilcas a ocho dias del mes/ de noviembre de mil e quinientos e ochenta/ e seis años y lo firme Diego de Romani/ en siete del dicho mes de noviembre lo/ presento el contenido/. Ylustre don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ digo que yo tengo presentado ante vuestra merced/ una petiscion que di ante el muy ilustre/ señor cabildo de la ciudad de Guamanga/ en que pedi se me diesen en este Tambo/ de Vilcas siertos corrales y sitios como/ mas largamente consta por la dicha pe/tiscion que ante vuestra merced tengo presenta/da y los señores justicia e regimiento/ lo cometieran a la persona que se pro/veyese por visitador ante/ quien tengo pedido cumplimiento de lo/ decretado por el dicho cabildo y pedido/ por mi parte y a mi notiscias es beni/do he hecho la dicha averiguacion/. A vuestra merced pido y suplico que constandole/ ser sin perjuizio el sitio y corrales/ que tengo pedido me los mande adju/dicar a lo decretado por/ el dicho cabildo justicia e corregimiento y pido/

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me de vuestra merced lo escrito y autuado originalmente/ para me presentar en el dicho grado de apelacion y pido posesionamiento para lo nes/cesario don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ y mo mi visto digo que lo vere y provehere/ en el caso justicia Diego de Romani/. En el Tambo de Vilcas termino y jurisdiccion de la Ciudad de Guamanga en ocho dias del mes de noviembre del año de mil e quinientos/ y ochenta e seis la presento el contenido/ ylustres señores don Diego Guillen de Mendoza digo/ que por el muy ylustre cabildo y regimiento/ de la ciudad de Guamanga le fue cometido/ a vuestra merced viesse y averiguase si los corrales y tie/ras de Guacapuquio y Trigobamba que/ estan junto al Tambo de Vilcas eran sin/ perjuizio para que constando serlo vuestra merced/ me las adjudique y diese conforme alo que tengo pedido ante la justicia y regimiento/ de la dicha ciudad de Guamanga y a vuestra merced le/ consta y es asi que los dichos corrales y tierras/ son sin perjuizio y vuestra merced lo tiene averiguado/ de oficio con los caciques e principales/ mas cercanos al dicho Tambo de Vilcas como consta parece por la dicha ynformacion/ a que me refiero y conforme a ella vuestra merced me ha/ adjudicado los dichos corrales y tierras/

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A vuestra merced pido y suplico me mande meter en posesion autorizada de los dichos corrales y tierras/ y darme un traslado de la dicha Provanza/ y posesion autorizado en manera que/ haga fe para guarda de mi derecho y para pre/sentarlo ante el dicho ylustre cabildo de la dicha ciudad de Guamanga y ante quien y con derecho/ deva y para lo nescesario lo firmo don Diego Guillen de Mendoza. Y luego visto por mi el dicho Diego de Romani/ lo pedido por parte del dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ digo que le dare la dicha posesion atento a que esta averiguado ser los dichos/ corrales de Guacapuquio y Trigopampa/ sin perjuizio de los yndios ni de otra ter/cera persona y asi lo provey y firme/ Diego de Romani/. En la ciudad de Guamanga en treze dias / del mes de setiembre de mil quinientos noventa e un años/ estando en el cabildo la justicia e regimiento/ conbiene a saber Joan Perez de Gamboa/ Teniente de corregimiento y Amador de Cabrera y Lope/ de Barrientos y Pedro Fernandez de Ba/lenzuela y Francisco de Romani y regidores/ la presento el contenido: don Diego Guillen de Mendoza Alferes/ General de esta ciudad digo que este insigne/ cabildo e ayuntamiento me hizo merced de/ ciertos corrales y quadras en el Tambo real de Vilcas y unas tierras y andenes que lla/man Trigopampa y Colca y para averi/guar si heran sin perjuizio y darme posesion de ella se cometo a el visitador que/ fuesae proveydo alo qual fue Diego de Romani vezino de esta ciudad y regidor que a la/ sazón hera el qual hallando ser sin perjuizio me adjudico y dio posesion de los/ dichos corrales quadras y tierras como mas/

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largamente parece de los autos que estan/ en el archibo a que me refiero/. A vuestra señoria pido y suplico me ampare en la pos/cesion de las dichas cuadras corrales y tierras/ apruebe la dicha merced y en ello rescebiere/ merced con justicia de don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ e por el dicho cabildo justicia e regimiento/ vistos los dichos autos dixerón que manda/van y mandaron darle mandamiento/ de amparo y que aprovaron la dicha posesion dada por el dicho Diego de Romani por comision de este Cabildo/. En quanto a apercebimiento que/ ninguna persona le perturbe al dicho don/ Diego Guillen su quieta e pascifica pos/cesion que le esta dada so pena de quinien/tos pesos para la Camara de su magestad de mas/ de que procederan contras las personas/ que se entremetieran por todo rigor de derecho/ y asi lo proveyeron e firmaron Joan Perez de Gamboa Amador de Cabrera/ Lope de Barrientos Francisco de Romani/ Pedro Fernandez de Valenzuela Gaspar Antonio de Soria escrivano publico de cabildo/. En la ciudad de Guamanga en siete dias / del mes de setiembre de mil e quinientos y no/venta e un años ante Joan Perez de/ Gamboa Teniente corregidor y justicia / mayor de esta dicha ciudad por su/ magestad se presento esta peticion e recau/dos siguientes/ .don Diego Guillen de Mendoza Alferesz/ General de esta ciudad digo que como/

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consta de estos titulos y merced que el cabil/do de esta ciudad me hizo y posescion que/ tengo de las quadras y corrales que estan/ en el Tambo de Vilcas y tierras de Trigo/pampa a tiempo de cinco o seis años que las tengo e posceo quieta y pascificamente/ y he hecho y fundado casas y un obrage mo/lino y alfalfar y poruqe agora no en nin/gun tiempo ninguna persona me perturbe ynquiete en la dicha posescion/ que tengo de los dichos corrales cuadras/ y sitio de tierras de alfalfa/. A vuestra merced pido y suplico me ampare/ en la dicha posescion y de su manda/miento de ampoaro porque ansi/ conviene a la guarda de mi derecho y en/ lo hazar vuestra merced ansi lo hara justicia la qual/ pido y para ello firmo don Diego Gui/lleñ de Mendoza/. El dicho Teniente mando que se le de/ el mandamiento conforme la pide/ y asi lo mando Joan Perez de Gam/boa Gaspar Antonio de Soria es/crivano publico./ Joan Perez de Gamboa Teniente de corregidor de esta ciudad de Guaman/ga mando a todas e qualesquier perso/nas a aqui en este mi mandamiento fuere/ notificado por qualquiera persona/ que sepa leer y escribir que no ynquieten ni perturben a don Diego Guillen de Mendoza residente en esta ciudad/ en la posesion que le fue dada y tiene/ de las tierras contenidas en la peticion/

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e recaudos contenidos e coxidos con este/ mandamiento ni se entremetan en/ ellas so pena de forzadores y mas cien/ pesos para la Camara de su magestad de/ mas de que seran castigados con todo/ rigor como personeas ynobedientes/ a los mandamientos de la Real Justicia/ a los quales mando que si algun derecho/ tuvieren a las dichas tierras lo mues/tren ante mi que seran oydos e su jus/ticia guardada fecho en Guamanga a/ nueve dias del mes de setiembre de mil e/ quinientos noventa e un años Joan Perez / de Gamboa ante mi Gaspar Antonio/ de Soria escrivano publico/ Joan Sanchez de Palma escrivano del Rey nuestro señor Publico del numero desta ciudad de Guamanga dize/ sacar este traslado de unos recaudos originales que ante mi/ exhibi don Diego Guillen de Mendoza vezino desta dicha/ ciudad en cuyo poder quedaron y ba cierto y verdadero/ se corrigio y se corrigio en Guamanga en veynte y/ ocho dias del mes de henero de mil y seiscientos/ y diez y seys años.

En testimonio de berdad

Joan Sanchez de la Palma  
rubricado  
Escrivano Publico.

**Escritura de venta de las tierras de Hunapuquio por medio de su curador Juan Martinez de Gamboa de la comunidad de yndios Cacamarca a favor de don Diego Guillen de Mendoza(2)**

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En el Tambo real de Vilcas en doze/ dias del mes de diziembre de mil e quinientos/ y noventa y un años ante Alonso Aban Venavente/ Corregidor y Justicia Mayor desta Provincia de Vilcasguaman y/ su Partido por el Rey nuestro señor vezinos y por ante mi Juan/ Moran Escrivano de Juzgado parecieron Juan Martinez/ de Gamboa y don Lazaro Guaman Puzaiico cacique principal/ del repartimiento de los Canquiguas y don Lucas Condor/Chanca principal del pueblo de la Concepcion y de los indios/ Cacamarcas del dicho repartimiento y el dicho Juan Martinez/ de Gamboa como curador del dicho don Lazaro y don Lucas/ y demas yndios del dicho ayllu Cacamarca el qual dixo que por/ virtud de la dicha curaduria que de ellos le fue discernida por/ el dicho ante mi el presente escrivano nombrado en veyn/te y nueve dias del mes de octubre del dicho año/ y por quanto el dicho don Lazaro Guaman Puxacho y don Lucas/ Condor Chanca como caciques principales en nombre de los yndios/ a ellos sujetos avian pedido ante el dicho corregidor que les hera/ en pro y utilidad dellos en comun se vendiesen unas/ tierras llamadas Hunapuquio que estan en el valle del/ obraje avajo de su pueblo viejo de Angascocha de una/ quebrada que corre de hacia arriba llamada Churuguayco/ y comienzan las dichas tierras desde la dicha quebrada/ por una parte y por otra del arroyo que viene del o/braje y por frente dellas el puente que llaman Yua/maxuelo y andenes de hata vian hasta un Allo/nada/ que llaman Matara que alinda con el molino de/ doña Teresa de Castañeda con todas las tierras y andenes/ a estos yzuatos de riego y de temporal que se puedan sembrar/ de la una parte y de la otra del dicho arroyo con los lin/deros dichos que estan especificados en el pedimiento de los dichos/ caciques y aviendose hecho las diligencias nescesarias/ y pregones el dicho curador en nombre de los dichos raqus/ pidio se rematasen las dichas tierras a don Diego/ Guillen de Mendoza Alférez General de la ciudad de Guamanga y aviendo precedido licencia del/ dicho corregidor mediante la ynformacion que dieron/ los dichos caciques del pro que se le seguia y porque/

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la persona que se halló que mas diese por ellas fuese dicho don/ Diego Guillen de Mendoza que las puso y se le remataron en/ cien pesos de a ocho reales cada un peso por tanto era quilla/ via y forma que de derecho aya lugar en nombre de los dichos/ caciques e yndios Dixo que otorgava y otorgo y a/provava y aprovo el dicho remate y los autos que le/ precedieron y vendia y vendio las dichas tierras para/ agora y para siempre xamas al dicho don Diego/ Guillen de Mendoza para el y para sus herederos y sus/ cesores para quien del o dellos huviere causa con los linderos suso declarados por libres de censo/ y de otras possea ni señorio ni obligazion especial/ ni general con todas sus entradas y salidas hussos y cos/tumbres pertenencias y servidumbres quantos an/ y aver deven y le pertenescen así de hecho/ como de derecho por el dicho precio de los dichos cien pesos los qua/les los dichos caciques rescivieron del dicho don Diego/ Guillen de Mendoza realmente y con efeto ante/ el dicho corregidor y de los quales dehuso escritos de la qual paga/ y entregamiento yo el dicho escrivano resavieron los dichos/ don Lazaro Guaman Paxacho en porendencia del dicho/ curador y otorgante para quel suso dicho como/ caciques pueda dar a la comunidad de los dichos yndios/ cacamarcas los dichos pesos por cuios bienes se/ venden las dichas tierras y dijo ser su justo va/lor y precio los dichos cien pesos en que se avian/ rematado y que si nescesario hera en nombre de los/ dichos caciques e yndios si mas valian las dichas tie/ras de la demacia como mejor podia hacia en los/ dichos nombres al dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ comprador gracia y donacion buena pura y perfecta ytrevocable que llama el derecho entre viudo/ y que se remitira y remito todas y qualesquier/

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leyes y del hordenamiento real que habla en favor de los/ tales vendedores a todo lo qual el dicho corregidor dijo que ynterpo/nia y ynterpuso su autoridad y decreto judicial tanto quanto/ podia de derecho para que haga buen juicio y fuera del y el dicho otorgante mande de los dichos caciques lo firmo de/ su nombre al qual yo el presente escrivano doy fe o conozco/ siendo testigo Bernardino Diaz de Mercado y Juan de Rojas/ y Gerónimo Ramos estantes al presente en este dicho tam/bo. A vuestra excelencia nuebamente Juan Martinez ante/ mi Juan Moran escrivano./ En veinte y tres de julio de mil y quinientos y noventa y seis años yo Pedro Caballero en virtud de la comission a mi da/da por le capitán Esteban de Vega Corregidor y Justicia Mayor deste/ partido de Vilcasguaman por el Rey nuestro señor vine a este asien/to y tierras de San Luis de Hunapuquio y estando en el/ meti por la mano a don Diego Guillen de Mendoza / y le di posescion autnal de las dichas tierras hasta/ los linderos contenidos en la escritura de venta que/ de ellos tiene la qual dicha posesion como quieta y pa/cificamente sin contradizion una hecha a lo qual fueron/ presentes por testigos don Rafael de Mendoza y Benito Martines/ Leal y don Juan Hunavuica y don Felipe Sulca/rupai y don Juan Tiesi en fe de lo qual lo firme de/ mi nombre fecho y supra Pedro Cavallero/. Don Alonso de la Serda y de la Curuña corregidor/ de Vilcas por su magestad por el presente doy comission a Juan/ de Sarmiento para que anpare en sus tierras a don Diego Guil/en de Mendoza vezino de Guamanga y vea un mandamiento/ del Capitan Francisco de Ampuero por mi confirmad/ y ampare al suso dicho en las dichas tierras y si alguna/ persona tuviere que pedir paresca ante mi yo le/ oyre e guardare su justicia y mando a qualesquier per/sonas no ynquieten en su posesion al dicho don/ Diego Guillen de Mendoza so pena de duzientos pesos/ fecho en Canaria en catorce de septiembre/

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de mil y seiscientos años don Alonso de la Serda y de la/ Curuña en diez y seis dias del mes de septiembre de mil y seis/cientos años Yo Juan del Cura Sarmiento en virtud de/ la comision de atras contenida ley e notifique un man/damiento del Capitan Francisco de Anpuero a mi cometido/ y refrendado por don Alonso de la Cerda corregidor deste Partido/ a Martin Sulca Poma y a Juan Topay y a Juan Poma/ y a Diego Sinsi y a Pedro Alanía y vezinos que dizieron/ ser de la encomienda de Luis Palomino y aviendole/ dado a entender lo contenido en los dichos mandamien/tos dixeron que lo obedescian y que ellos avian/ venido por orden de doña Teresa de Castañeda/ madre de su encomendero a sembrar las tierras/ contenidas en el dicho mandamiento y que el barbecho que estaba hecho no hera suyo dellos sino de la dicha doña Teresa y que/ por tenerles la suso dicha ocupados sus tierras de Ocos/ y Chumbes se venian a sembrar alli y que de aqui delan/te no lo harian y esto dieron por su respuesta siendo/ testigo Manuel de Fonseca y don Lazaro Guaman Pu/xacho y Alonso Condor Paucara ques fecho en el obraje/ y asiento de Cacamarca el dicho dia mes y año y para que dello conste lo firme de mi nombre Juan del Cura/ Sarmiento./ En el pueblo de Guanpalpa en quatro de mayo de/ mil y seiscientos y un años ante don Alonso de / la Serda y de la Curuña corregidor y justicia mayor en esta/ Provincia de Vilcasguaman y su Partido por/ el Rey nuestro señor parescio el contenido y presento/ esta peticion/. Don Diego Guillen de Mendoza vezino de la ciudad de Guamanga paresco ante vuestra merced y digo que yo tengo/ y poseo con

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justo y legitimo titulo las tierras de San Luis de Hunapuquio en el valle del o/braje de Hernan Guillen de Mendoza mi padre/ y poseyendo yo las dichas tierras como propias mas como/ consta por esta escritura doña Teresa de Castañeda por/ sus fines anda por poniendo a dos yndios del/ repartimiento de Luis Palomino su hijo para/ quererme inquietar y perturbar mi quieta/ posesion y antigua posesion y para que sese/ la molestia que rescivo y se delcare/ la justicia de cada uno conviene a mi derecho que/ vuestra merced mande notificar a don Juan Hochapauraz/ cacique principal de aquel repartimiento mues/tre y el titulo que dize tener de aquellas tie/ras porque siendo mejor mas antigua y ver/dadero que el mio yo estoy presto de me desistir/ dellos y quando no vuestra merced sea de servir de ponerle/ perpetuo silencio y mandarle con graves penas/ que no me inquiete pues/ tienen tierras suficientes/ son los pueblos de su reducion y no deve/ darseles lugar a que se derramen en quebradas y despoblados por huir de sus pueblos/ y obligaciones/. A vuestra merced pido y suplico haga segun y como lo/ pido pues es justicia la qual pido y para ello firmo/ don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ y por el dicho Corregidor vista la dicha peticion dixo que mandava y mando a doña Teresa de Castañeda/ y Luis Palomino su hijo no inquieten ni per/turban al dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ en la posesion tan antigua que tiene el dicho don/ Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ y compra y estar con/puesto con su magestad/ lo qual cumplan so pe/na de mil pesos para la Camara de su magestad/ y que se procedera contra ellos conforme a derecho/

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y si los suso dichos tiene que alegar o dezir contra este/ proveimiento parescan ante su merced que les oya/ y guardara su justicia y ansi mismo mandava y/ mando se notifique a don Juan Hocha Paucar Cacique Principal del dicho repartimiento y los demas/ curacas del Pueblo de la Concepcion este provey/miento para que si tienen que dezir o alegar pa/rescan ante su merced que les oya y guardara su/ justicia y ansi lo proveyo y firmo de su nombre/ don Alonso de la Cerda y de la Curuña ante mi Juan/ Nuñez Desteviar escrivano./ En el Pueblo de la Concepcion en ocho de maio de mil e seiscientos y un años yo Juan Nuñez/ Desteviar escrivano de la provincia de Vilcas lei e notifique el auto de suso en su persona/ a don Juan Hocha Paucar Cacique Principal de este dicho / pueblo y a otros curacas del dicho pueblo los quales dixeran que las dichas tierras lo yntenta doña Teresa/ de Castañeda y esto respondieron para que dello/ conste y en fe dello lo firme testigos Juan Ramirez/ Romero y Antonio de Praga presentes Juan Nuñez de Esteviar escrivano. Va testado de setiembre/ portunando, maliera non vala y emendada/ y entre renglones Canaria poniendo/ vala y asi mismo testado Cacamarca non vala/ yo Juan Sanchez de la Palma escrivano del Rey nuestro señor publico del numero desta ciudad de Guamanga dize/ sacar este traslado del original que quedo en poder de/ Diego Guillen de Mendoza/ vezino desta dicha ciudad y de su pedimento y va ciertos y verdadero .



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y se corrigio en Guamanga en primero dia del mes de octubre de mil y seiscientos y diez/  
y siete años siendo testigos Pedro Maldonado y Diego/ de Villacrezes y Francisco  
Sanchez presentes y en fe dello fize mi signo.

En testimonio de verdad  
Juan Sanchez de la Palma  
rubricado  
Escrivano publico

Realice original de donde se saco este traslado y lo firme y firmo.

don Diego Guillen  
de Mendoza .

## Composicion de Hernan Guillen por los solares de Vilcas 25 pesos ensayados (3).

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En cumplimiento dello suso dicho/ yo el dicho escrivano hice sacar el dicho/ traslado de los recaudos que/ presento el dicho don Diego Guillen de/ Mendoza que es como se sigue/. En la ciudad de Guamanga en/ dos dias del mes de abril de mil/ e quinientos e ochenta e seis años/ estando en cabildo e ayuntamien/to los quatro señores/ Amador de Cabrera y Antonio de Chavez/ de entonces alcaldes hordinarios/ y Diego Romani y Hernan Guillen de Mendoza y Hernando/ con los regidores se leyo este escrito/. Muy Ylustre señor don Diego Guillen/ de Mendoza vecino/ desta ciudad vesa las manos a vuestra señoria y dice que como a vuesa señoria/ consta y es publico y notorio en el/ Tambo de Vilcas jurisdiccion de/ esta ciudad los Yngas señores que fueron destos reynos tomaron/ y aplicaron para si mucha can/tidad de tierras alrededor a el/ el dicho Tambo en las quales edificaron casas y corrales para sus/ viviendas e ganados y como de tie/tras que estan vacas el muy ilustre/ cavildo e regimiento de la ciudad/ y los señores gobernadores que an/ sido en estos reynos an echo merced/ a muchas personas para labran/zas de trigo y estancias de ganados/

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por ser sin perjuicio y dos tiros de arcabuz poco mas o menos a el dicho Tambo a manos y cuerda de el dicho tambo/ camino que ba para el pueblo de Guanbalpa estan unos corralesones/ antiguos que eran de los dichos/ yngas que por su nombre se dice o no/ Guancapuquio son sin perjuicio/ de tercero y estan en una Oya que/ llaman Trigopampa linde de/ un asiento de molino hasta la Colca/. A Vuestra señoria pido y suplico sea servido de/ hacer merced de los dichos corralesones/ e tierras para hacer unas estancias/ de ganados y sementeras y en ello vuese/ me hara bien y merced e para ello don Diego Guillen de Mendoza.....

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....E luego visto por mi el dicho Diego de Romani/ lo pedido por parte del dicho don Diego Guillen / de Mendoza digo que el darle la dicha pose/sion atento a que esta averiguado/ que los dichos corrales de Guancapuquio/ y Trigopampa sin perjuicio de los/ yndios ni de otra tercera/ persona y asi lo prove/ y firme Diego de Romani/. En el Tambo de Vilcas en doze dias de el mes de noviembre del año/ de mil e quinientos y ochenta y seis años/ Yo Diego de Romani vecino de la ciudad de/ Guamanga Juez Visitador por el muy / ilustre cavildo justicia e regimiento de/ la dicha ciudad de Guamanga a quien fue/ cometido la averiguacion de si heran/ sin perjuicio las tierras que pide don Diego/ Guillen de Mendoza de los corrales/

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de Guancapuquio e Trigopampa tierras/ que alindan con un molino que tiene hecho el dicho don Diego Guillen de Mendoza cerca de/ el dicho Tambo y asi mismo los dichos corra/les lindan con la iglesia del dicho Tambo/ de Vilcas y junto a unos edificios que/ salen detras de la dicha iglesia y que/ son canteria antigua del tiempo/ del Ynga.....