chLegibility and Empire: Mediating the Inka Presence in Huarochirí Province, Peru

By

Carla Hernández Garavito

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Approved:

Tom D. Dillehay, Ph.D.

Steven A. Wernke, Ph.D.

Tiffiny A. Tung, Ph.D.

Beth A. Conklin, Ph.D.

Jane G. Landers, Ph.D.

Fernando, Cristina, Carlos, Graciela, Jorge, Dora, Guillermo, Natalia

Porque no están hoy aquí, pero siempre están conmigo

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INTRODUCTION: LOCATING EMPIRE IN THE ANDES

Between the 15th and 16th centuries the Inka empire, or "Tawantinsuyu", extended over 4,000 km of western South America, occupying territories in the modern countries of Peru, Bolivia, Chile, Argentina, Ecuador, and Colombia (D'Altroy 2015). One of the most impressive characteristics of the Empire was its rapid expansion[1] while incorporating a multitude of different ethnic groups. Material correlates of imperial expansion (e.g. formalized roads linking a network of administrative sites, large storage complexes, administrative buildings following a standard pattern and implanted throughout different indigenous settlements) reflect a set of governmental and administrative practices geared towards the construction of a unified form of government. However, Inka imperialism did not take place in a vacuum. In the Central Andes the Inka were the culmination of an ongoing experiment with statecraft that actively mediated imperial institutions with local beliefs, cultural practices, and material culture. Through my dissertation, I will explore a specific case study in which the familiar social and ritual practices between the Inka and the peoples of Huarochirí, facilitated the formalization of state institutions, while at the same time, created spaces for local agency and the redefinition of local materiality.

In 1532 the last Inka ruler was captured by an expedition of Spanish conquistadors led by Francisco Pizarro. In the coming decades crown historians, soldiers, and, later, indigenous authors created extensive treatises narrating Andean history before and after the conquest. By the 17th

[1] As I will discuss in 0, there is contrasting research on just how rapid this expansion was. However, most current estimates would still consider a span of approximately 150 years.

century portrayal of the Inka rulers oscillated between idolatrous tyrants and civilizatory kings that brought order to a land in chaos, a *Pax Inkaica* (MacCormack 2007). The representation of the Inka lineage was central to validating the Spanish conquest as a moral mandate; however, this was not the only aspect of Andean culture under scrutiny by different colonial scribes. Spanish right of possession and colonization of the lands and peoples of the Americas required Catholic proselytization, which in turn gave the conquest a moral cast and rationale: Roman Catholic doctrine held that the eternal fate of the souls of the colonized was at stake. Consequently, the same chroniclers paid detailed attention to myths, rituals, sacred places, sacred things, and all the elements that constituted indigenous ritual lore.

My dissertation investigates a history of Inka imperialism through the experience of a local community. For that, I build upon existing research on the Inka and compare it to the social practices and rituals of one of the communities that became subjects to the empire, the Yauyos people of Huarochirí. My goal is to investigate how Inka imperialism became embedded in local practices and narratives and vice versa. By looking at local conceptualizations of community and interaction, mediated through a ritual system grounded on a shared mythical ancestor and a hierarchical organization communicated through the language of kinship, I examine how the people of Huarochirí incorporated their subjugation by the Inka Empire within their historical trajectories. In other words, how did this local community come to interpret the Inka Empire within their own practices and materiality? Through an in-depth analysis of Huarochirí's unique historical sources, archaeological reconnaissance and excavation, my dissertation has the potential to provide a history of the Inka and their subjects from a local perspective rather than through the lenses of the Inka official history formalized by the European conquerors.

My theoretical framework borrows the concept of legibility, from James Scott's book, "*Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed*" (1998). Legibility is the overarching and simplifying view of a state that needs to erase diversity and variability among their subjects in order to establish successful policies. However, this is only one part of the model. The politics between empire and subjects rest on the quality of the information states have on local practices, which in turn determined the degree of investment of the state in a specific area, and the negotiation of power dynamics. Consequently, familiarity with cultural norms between conqueror and conquered, their negotiation and adaptation, are a central aspect in the process of building legibility. In Huarochirí, I examine the constant attempts to create legibility as a middle ground between the empire's mandate to standardize the lifeways of Andean communities, and the local practices that enabled the empire's administration in the first place. My central argument is that the use of familiar cultural practices by the Inka to control their expanding empire also created the social spaces for local polities to maintain, formalize, and, at times, expand their own cultural practices and traditions.

In this introduction, I will set up my research in five sections. First, by discussing the main characteristics of provincial Inka archaeology to date. Second, justifying my use of cultural legibility as a potential middle ground between the Inka and the people of Huarochirí. Third, I will present the province of Huarochirí and justify it as my research area. Fourth, I will discuss my research questions. And fifth, I will outline the content and organization of the dissertation.

Conquests, alliances, and interactions: studying the Inka Empire from the provinces

> The Inca Empire was not only the largest state to develop in the pre-Columbian Americas; it was also a complex political organization that swiftly conquered most of the Andean region in roughly a century of campaigns. Without a standard writing system

> accessible to wider audiences, or currency that could facilitate administration of far-flung regions, the Inca Empire challenges long-standing preconception of state-hood and forces scholars to develop new explanations and paradigms to understand non-Western and pre-capitalist empires (Alconini and Covey 2018:1)

The origin of Inka archaeology is inextricably linked to the study of Inka political institutions and infrastructure (Figure 1.1). Over the years, studies have moved from concentrating on the capital city of Cusco (e.g. Rowe 1944) to the study of provincial rule throughout the Central Andes (e.g. Timothy K. Earle 1987; Morris and Thompson 1985). In broad terms, Inka expansion was grounded on the establishment of a common language or *lingua franca*, a blanket provincial administration that kept local elites in place as second-hand administrators answering to Inka officials, a tribute flow from the provinces to Cuzco, and a divided subject population that partly used the Spanish conquest to shake off Inka control (Murra 1980; Rostworowski 1988a). In other words, a uniform set of state institutions and material culture were implemented over the Central Andes. However, this distribution was variable, leading archaeologists to focus on the mechanisms and impacts of Inka imperialism as they expanded and faced differing responses from diverse ethnic groups. Historical sources pointed towards two main methods of engagement: alliances, which could be established through marriage, exchange or taxation; or conquest and coercion, that was enforced by the multi-ethnic Inka army (Murra, Wachtel, and Revel 1986). Canonical works on Inka provincial imperialism centered on whether various degrees of variability in the distribution of Inka-style buildings and artifacts reflected the degree of Inka territorial and/or negotiated hegemonic political control through the empire.

My dissertation builds and expands on this large body of scholarship on the organization of the Inka Provincial Empire. For example, Earle's (1987) breakthrough research in the Mantaro valley took a regional-level approach to investigate the impact of the Inka conquest

among the Wanka people. Through a holistic and material-based study of Inka presence in the region, the research team showed that while local elites continued having preferential access to specific goods -in particular craft goods-, there was a clear improvement in the daily life of commoners, specifically in access to comestible goods. These results suggested that material correlates of Inka political control were not equally distributed in all social spheres.

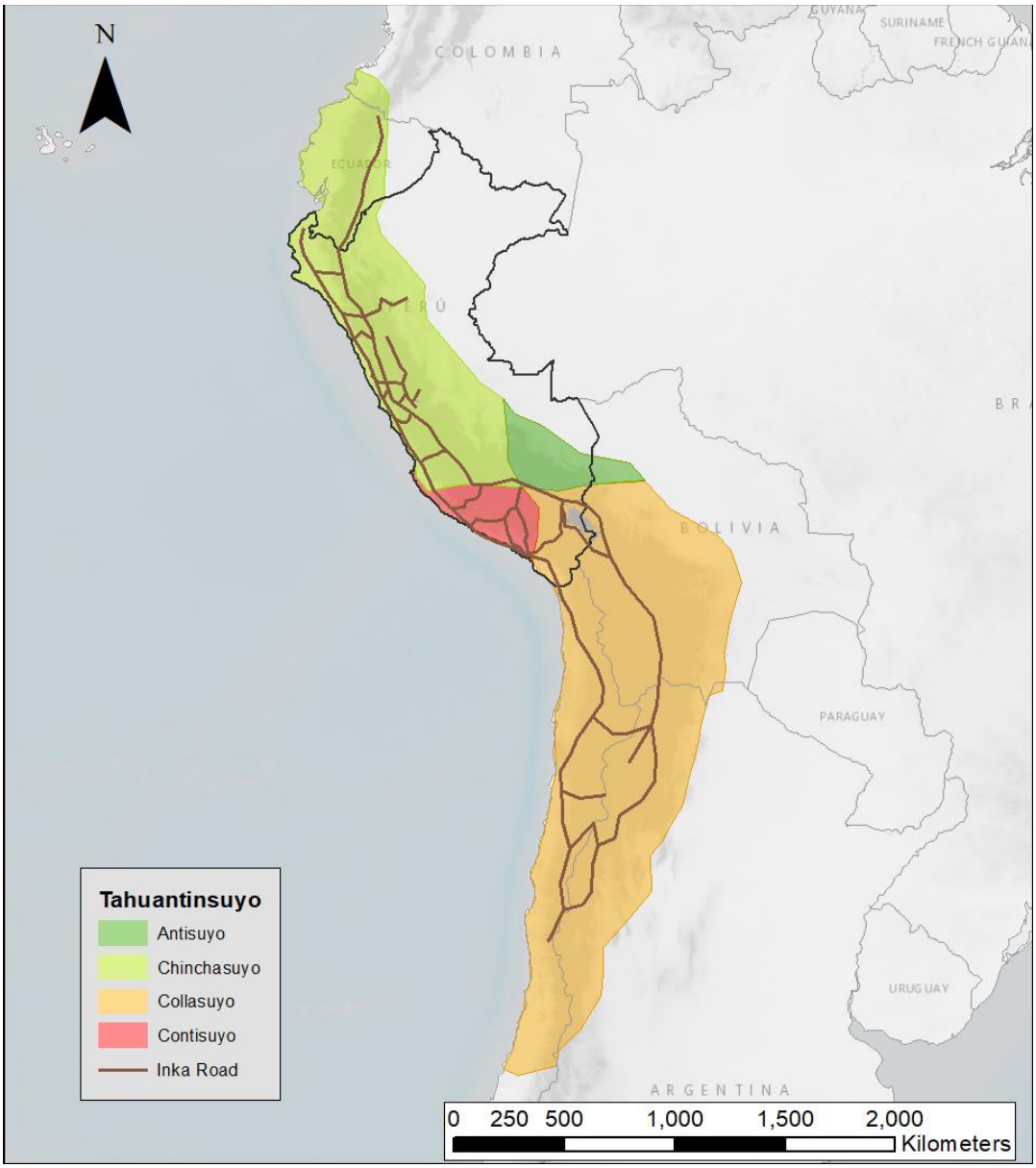

Figure 1.1: Map of the Inka Empire or Tawantinsuyo (map by Gabriela Oré).

Earle's work informed posterior studies on Inka provincial centers such as Craig Morris' (1985) research in Huánuco Pampa, Ramiro Matos'(1994) work in Pumpu, Joyce Marcus' (1987; 2008) excavations in Cerro Azul, or Craig Morris and Julian I. Santillana's (2007) work in La Centinela, among many others. Posterior scholarship found similar results, demonstrating the empire did not intervene in all aspects of their subjects' lives (see: Alconini 2016; Dillehay and Netherly 1998; Hyslop 1990; Malpass 1993). However, most of these works shared a focus on political economy and fieldwork on administrative centers, some built through Inka initiative. As a result, data on provincial inka archaeology is skewed towards regions where the Inka Empire heavily invested in reshaping local organization and materializing state power.

Despite intentional attempts to develop a comparative approach, political economy's framing as a study of the impact of economic and political processes on social practices limits our understanding of how policies were negotiated and performed in specific contexts. And most importantly, political economy approaches don't fully explain how local communities experienced empire beyond changed access to goods and the construction of dependence relationships with local elites. Through my work in Huarochirí, I propose a way to develop an Inka-period archaeology that really focuses on the provinces and their co-option of the empire into local ideologies and practices, rather the other way around.

My research in Huarochirí suggests that rather than focus on changes at the residential level from the outset, the Inka chose an approach that embraced local diversity and inserted themselves within it at a slow and progressive pace. This focus was already present in Murra's (1980) research, and in particular, in his model of "vertical archipelagos" in which a single polity established colonies through different altitudinal levels in order to maintain autarkic production of different foodstuffs. While this model is debated (see: Mayer 2002; Szremski 2015), the point

that pertains to my work is that the Inka maintained local land tenure practices after separating state lands. They seemingly only intervened in areas where it was necessary to maximize resources or control bellicose populations (Dillehay 1977). Population distribution responded to the needs to control and produce different altitudinal zones, and there is archaeological evidence that before the Inka, subsets of a community would be moved into different ecological niches to guarantee access to a variety of goods (Anders 1990; Goldstein 2005; Lorandi 2003). Even in Huarochirí, the Inka moved a group of people from Huarochirí into the Chaclla territory as both a reward for their submission, and to control rich and productive lands for the coca leaf in the middle valley through and allied population (Gentile Lafaille 1976). Building on this idea, my dissertation investigates whether an imperial ideology propelling Inka expansion was predicated on their interaction with culturally legible local practices that could be repurposed and reinterpreted as to fit into state idealizations.

The existence of familiar practices between conqueror and conquered during the Inka period, forces my work to contend with questions power. If the pursuit of legibility relies on the construction of common understandings, how did power asymmetries influence the end product? In the following section, I address power imbalance and the development of an archaeology of Inka imperialism that emphasizes the middle ground between state institutions and local practices. Specifically, I propose the investigation of ritual practices and spaces as the arena in which negotiation was performed and power was produced.

Cultural legibility: a middle ground

The most influential model of power and political control within the Inka Empire to date comes from Terence D'Altroy. Building on Luttwak (1976) and Hassig (1985), D'Altroy (1992)

presents Inka political control as a continuum between direct and indirect mechanisms. Direct control is territorial and demands a high level of investment in infrastructure (e.g., ushnus, kallancas; discussed in 0) and high economic returns. Indirect control is hegemonic with low cost and low control, but with the attendant advantage of enabling extraction of marginal surplus labor (and its products) over large areas (Alconini 2008; Bárcena 2012). For example, the presence of a number of Inka-style ceramics could point towards a stronger control of the Inka over local lifeways, while a majority of local materials could represent a minimal control limited to tribute. Subsidiary models by Alconini[2] (2008; 2016) and Kolata (2013)[3] have expanded this classification to incorporate economic aspects and mechanisms of political control respectively.

While D'Altroy described his model as a continuum, in reality the direct vs. indirect rule approach has created a dichotomous understanding of the relationship between the Inka and their subject populations. Looking at Inka provincial administration from this theoretical purview implies that there was a single political plan at work, in which the Inka Empire actively established a specific set of strategies in different regions. Moreover, it simplified the discussion to quantifying Inka material culture without fully questioning the function of these artifacts, the

[2] Alconini's (2008; 2016) research in the southeastern Inka frontier expands this classification to a quadripartite scheme that favors the economic aspect over ideological practices: 1. territorial control: high investment and high revenues, 2. dis-embedded centers: high investment and low revenues, 3. optimum control: low investment and high revenues, and 4. hegemonic control: low investment and low revenues. The material correlates for an optimal type of political control that included the incorporation of local elites as second-hand administration to maximize revenues with the least effort. Dis-embedded control rested on the "manipulation of local beliefs and the significant investment of power architecture without necessarily generating immediate economic rewards or substantial extraction of resources" (Alconini 2008:66).

[3] Kolata (2013:13–22) proposed a new classification scheme based on the definition of hegemony as "both a period of political dominance and a process of establishing political domination" which is never complete and can therefore co-exist in different types. He identifies three main processes through which hegemony emerges: 1. Laminar Hegemony, or the state's "hegemony over" through coercion to produce subjects instead of citizens; 2. Strategic Viral Hegemony, or an explicit strategy of incorporation as citizens through displays of power and the bait of full citizenship rather than a continuous subjugation for local elites; and 3. Idiomatic Viral Hegemony, or the naturalization of hegemonic ideas through negotiated meanings and shared symbols.

historical consciousness of the people in the provinces that accessed them, or their usefulness in representing political processes of consolidation. I suggest that only by investigating the specific socio-cultural context in which the mechanisms of state control were performed, we will be able to identify the impact of local practices in shaping state institutions.

Broadly, there are two orientations of archaeological research on imperialism: top-down approaches, which concentrate on the imperial mandates to homogenize conquered territories; and bottom-up approaches, which highlight issues of local adaptation, contestation, and negotiation. Approaches that center on the top-down tend to focus on investigating the enactment and impact of state policies from the perspective of the goals of the state. An example of this framework in Andean archaeology is Justin Jennings' work. The author focuses on "ancient globalizations", defined as "the transformative nature of expanding networks rather than geographic extent" (Jennings 2011:2). While in the pre-modern era such networks may have been limited in scope, they still brought about radical changes to the then "known-world". For the Andes, Jennings focused on Wari expansion, arguing that

> the spread of Wari across Peru is better understood as another example of ancient globalization. This process (…) was shaped by the unique geographical and cultural parameters of the region within which the civilization emerged. Nonetheless, Wari shares with Uruk and Mississippian the basic pattern of urbanization, surging interregional interaction, and the creation of a global culture (Jennings 2011:101).

Jennings identifies a "Wari global culture" grounded in a set of religious beliefs that were usually accompanied by "flows of goods, ideas, and people that were moving around at that time" (Jennings 2011:117). This constant traffic fostered new interregional relationships under the umbrella of Wari cultural capital. The limitation of this approach is in the definition of the "global culture" concept. For instance, a potential "Inka global culture" could be exemplified by the craft artifacts and building types they brought into subjected territories. However, the model

doesn't full investigate the cultural frameworks through which this global culture was effectively communicated. Was there correspondence between what the Inka intended to communicate to their subjects with their material culture and what their subjects understood? How did potential misunderstanding impact the global culture? Furthermore, the model does not leave space to question the converse impact of local socio-cultural practices on the global culture.

Bottom-up frameworks precisely focus on the subversion of the colonists' designs by the agency of the colonized (Liebmann and Murphy 2011). However, in doing so, bottom-up approaches can disregard the material world in favor of discourses and texts.[4] In assuming all local practices are equal in value and potential for resistance, there is a limitation in how we question the role of specific cultural forms and artifacts within their context of socio-political production. For archaeology, a refocus on bottom-up negotiation, subversion, or appropriation should incorporate the agency of materiality within colonial encounters through the re-examination of the cultural values associated with artifacts (Thomas 1992). According to Gosden, "Colonialism created new worlds through the meeting, clash and sometimes merger of varying values. We need to explore the variety of these worlds and the processes whereby the contacts between social logics put existing values at risk, including some of those we most take for granted" (Gosden 2004:23).

For Andean archaeology, the limiting effect of an oversimplified top-down or bottom-up approach was already noted in Janusek and Kolata's (2004) work. They argue that this "overdrawn" dichotomy is biased towards the theoretical perspectives of different researchers,

[4] Gosden (2004:18–19) adds: ""A central paradox for many post-colonial theorists is that while using the terms colonial or post-colonial in a general fashion they demand recognition of local differences and nuances in power relations which can be used to critique broader models. Local differences arise owing to the agency of local people, who resist colonists with a variety of instruments from armed resistance to subtle cultural subversions. Difference also derives from a heterogeneous quality in the exercise of colonial powers."

and that while "local communities played dynamic roles in the unfolding histories of complex societies, including processes of state formation and collapse", these processes must concurrently be "understood in relation to broader sociopolitical histories, including emergent strategies of resource appropriation and social hegemony" (Janusek and Kolata 2004:408). In their analysis of the raised fields surrounding the Katari valley in the Titicaca Basin they contend that agricultural intensification "was neither invented by the state nor solely controlled by ruling elites" (Janusek and Kolata 2004:426). It was the adoption of local agricultural practices by the Tiwanaku that transformed the valley into an "agricultural state". Small communities, such as those in the Katari valley, had a dynamic and active role in changing regional political landscapes. The notion of co-production of space between the state and local people has also been recognized by research on the Inka Empire. I elaborate this point in the next chapter (see: p.33).

Recognition of a continuous feedback between state institutions and local practices is not new, and was very accurately presented by Richard White's (1991) discussion of the middle ground. He defines the middle ground as a social space of seeking accommodation and common meanings among peoples with varying degrees of familiarity.[5] In White's model, the middle ground is a product of everyday life and institutionalized attempts to find commonalities within a sea of illegibility. Building on these commonalities, different actors could sufficiently integrate new meanings and practices within their existing cultural frameworks. However, this middle ground was also a space of misunderstanding and creativity to face illegibility. While most research on this issue has centered on European colonialism, I propose to investigate in detail the middle ground created by the Inka and the peoples of Huarochirí.

[5] White (1991:XXVI) defines the middle ground as the "place in between: in between cultures, peoples, and in between empires and the nonstate world of villages."

In this dissertation, I draw a specific model through which to engage this middle ground through a re-reading of Scott's concept of legibility. I contend that, in order to examine the potential coexistence and co-production of subject space such in Huarochirí in the Inka Empire, we need to question the common practices, spaces, and materiality between the Inka and the conquered populations and the constraints of imperial imposition. According to Scott "Legibility implies a viewer whose place is central and whose vision is synoptic. State simplifications (…) are designed to provide authorities with a schematic view of their society, a view not afforded to those without authority" (Scott 1998:79). While in this view legibility is an end-goal, I expand the concept to signify a continuous and ongoing two-way political process geared towards the creation of a middle ground. While full legibility may never be achieved, the process of building upon familiarity has a two-fold effect: states can potentially manipulate local diversity into manageable, cost-effective, and simplified categories and cultural materials from these familiar logics, and vice-versa, local subjects can potentially insert themselves into state policies.

In using Scott's work as the framework for my research, it is important to note that he specifically argues that his model can only be applied to modern states, where legibility becomes critical to the development of statecraft. According to Scott (1998:2):

> The premodern state was, in many crucial respects, partially blind; it knew precious little about its subjects, their wealth, their landholding and yields, their location, their very identity. I lacked anything like a detailed "map" of its terrain and its people. It lacked for the most part, a measure, a metric, that would allow it to "translate" what it knew into a common standard necessary for a synoptic view. As a result, its interventions were often too crude and self-defeating.[6]

[6] In recent years, Scott has moved towards a broader recognition of the ancient state's need for simplification and ability to create legibility, although his focus is limited to the use of grain crops as a standardized measure of taxation. Still, he argues that "For dozens of reasons, ecological, epidemiological, and political, the state often fails to achieve this aim, but this is, as it were, the steady glint in its eye" (Scott 2017:23).

Throughout my dissertation, I argue that ancient states like the Inka Empire were not as partially blind to the cultural practices of their subjects. They shared a number of them, particularly in relation to community-building, kinship, and community-affirming rituals. Their interventions can hardly be considered crude and rather that there was a synoptic view from the state to the subjected territories that was translatable. Grounded on the familiarity of cultural forms, my research suggests looking at ritual places and practices as the mechanisms that allowed for an ongoing construction of legibility.

Research area: the province of Huarochirí

My research centers on the interaction between the Inka Empire and the Yauyos people from the Huarochirí province, in the highlands of Lima, Peru (Fig.1.2). The whole territory of the Yauyos people encompasses three upper river courses in the central coast (Rímac, Lurin and Mala). Huarochirí is located in the upper Lurin valley. There is significant change between the lower and upper sections of the valley, with the lower and middle sections comprising the productive areas and a marked narrowing and dry ravines in the upper section (La Torre and Caja 2005:14–16).[7]

For the purposes of my research proposal, it is important to note that as a highland polity, many of the geographical features of Huarochirí were also present in the Inka heartland. While most of the Lurin river valley is dry, the Mala river valley has a regular flow with broader valley floors. This is the area where the upper section of the Yauyos people inhabit. The most important

[7] For my research, I look at the lower coastal and loma environments as part of the lower valley, the productive areas which coincide with the limits of the Yauyos polity from Sisicaya (1000 masl) to the division of the valley marked by Cerro Orcococto (1800 masl), and upper valley from an altitude of 1800 masl forward.

towns at the eastern boundary of the Lurin Yauyos territory are located here: Huarochirí, Quinti, Huancayre, Anchucaya, and Tantarache. According to Salomon (1991:11):

> The westernmost range of the high Andes runs northwest, parallel to Peru's Pacific shore. The long slope from its icy crests down to the desert beaches from a rugged watershed cut at intervals by many small rivers carrying meltoff from the heights of the ocean. The scene of the Huarochirí mythology is a segment of that slope.

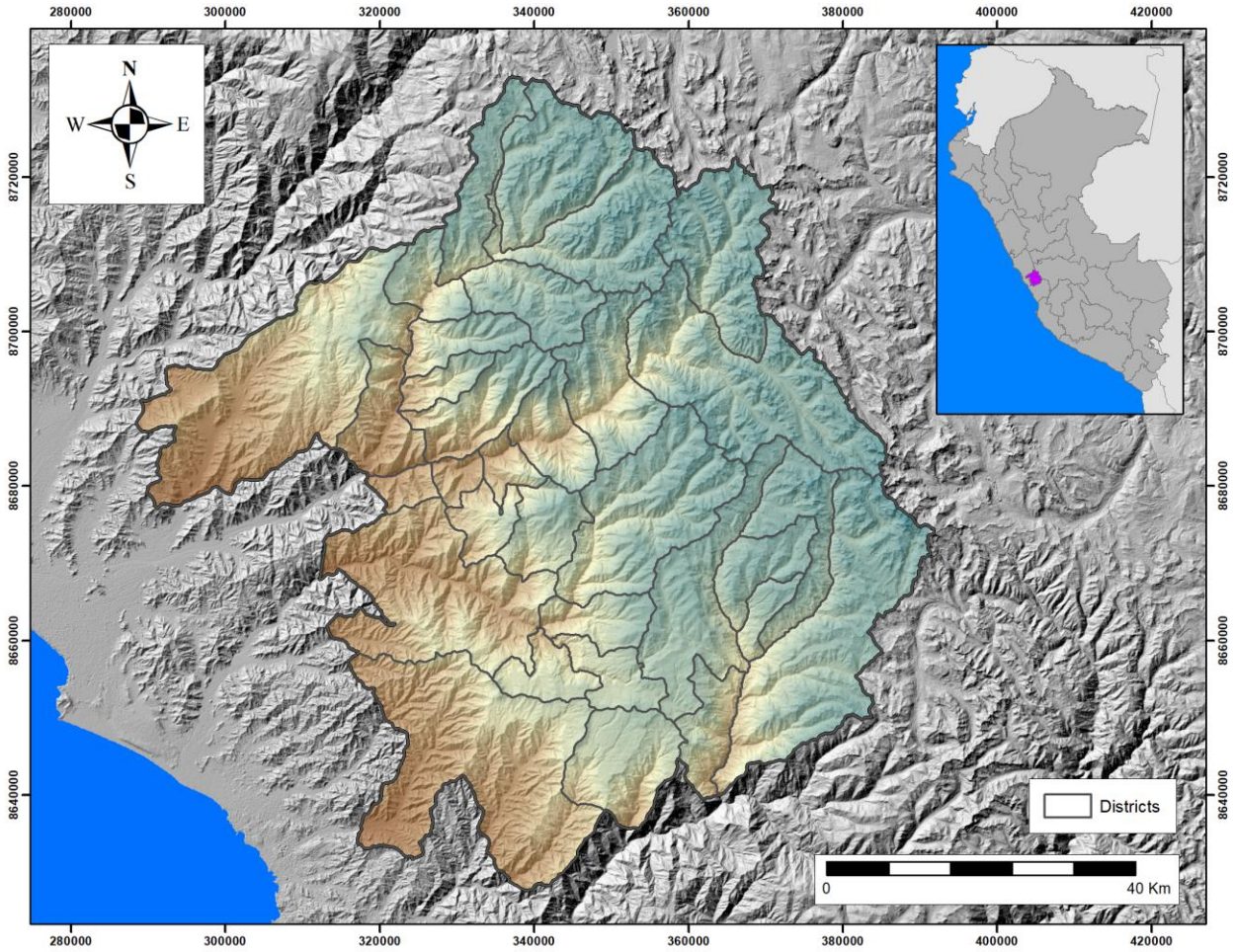

Figure 1.2: Huarochirí, province of Lima, Peru (map by the author).

The province of Huarochirí can be divided into "three major socio-economic units, defined by the river valleys or quebradas" (Spalding 1967:10): 1) A branch of the Rímac river to the east which includes the high punas down to the slopes near the modern city of the Lima, 2)

The lower branch of the Rímac river to the coastal range in the west, and 3) The Lurin river valley and upper riches of the Mala valley. My research area is centered on this third area.

I focused on Huarochirí as an ideal place to undertake my research for a number of reasons. First, the region boasts a qualitatively unique body of historical colonial sources that create exceptional possibilities for contextualization and analysis (5, p.108). Through the historical record it is feasible to address questions oftentimes outside of archaeology's capability, such as: how did the Yauyos communicate their own understanding of their ethnic and Andean identity at the local and regional (i.e. beyond directly kin-affilliated settlements) level? When and why did the different composite parts of the Yauyos macro-group unite? How did they incorporate their subjugation into the Inka Empire as part of their own long-standing history and traditions? Second, while there is very limited systematically recovered archaeological data for the region, recent research by scholars such as Zachary Chase and Sarah Bennison provide in-depth descriptions and analyses that inform my own research. And, third, the Yauyos' own descriptions of their interaction with the Inka enable critical engagement with standing interpretations of the societies directly preceding the Inka during the Late Intermediate Period (LIP; 1000-1450 CE). My research supports an ongoing process of cooperation and community-building among the people of Huarochirí grounded on their kinship to a single mythological ancestor. The portrayal of this process is specific enough that can be directly compare to Inka-period practices of power production in the provinces. My research includes a multi-scalar component by centering on two contemporary sites. A residential settlement (Ampugasa) and a local shrine (Canchaje) that transverse the period of pre-Inka and Inka occupation. By conducting fieldwork on both sites, I was able to contrast the different spheres within which the interaction between Inkas and Yauyos was performed. I use archival research and spatial analysis

to present a model of regional organization for the Yauyos before and after their incorporation into the Inka Empire (Chapter 5). Then I present the results from Ampugasa (Chapter 6) and Canchaje (Chapter 7). Material and spatial analysis support a continuity of domestic practices and a slow-pace incorporation of Inka material culture in ritual contexts, rather than a strong-handed absorption and transformation of local ritual practices by the Empire (Chapter 8).

My dissertation's characterization of the people of Huarochirí through integrated ethnohistorical, archaeological and spatial analyses provides a detailed case study contribution to the ongoing scholarly debate concerning the positionality and agency of highland communities during terminal prehispanic and early colonial times in the Andes. Historical sources explicitly state that the Yauyos were not forcibly conquered by the Inka, yet they were also not an important polity with which the empire would seek to establish an equal-level alliance (for an example of such an alliance, see: Sandweiss and Reid 2016). Rather, the Yauyos occupied a geographic gateway position between the coastal valleys and the highland mines (Feltham 2005). The particularities of Huarochirí's incorporation into the Inka Empire and its geographic position, create an interesting context in which the Inka likely favored a least-cost incorporation without a large investment on changing existing social practices.

Throughout this dissertation, I argue that the Inka not only incorporated the people of Huarochirí into the Empire, but generated their ethnic identity as Yauyos. This is a practice that the Inka pursued in other regions: bringing together loosely affiliated communities into a single macro-general identity (a simplification, in Scott's definition). During the LIP, the people of Huarochirí were at best an aggregation of small communities related through ritual practices and ceremonies and a common ancestral descent (5, p.116). The boundaries of such identity were open and fluid, in a manner that permitted for even the Inka to join as new communities. After

the Inka incorporation they were newly made into a single ethnic province for standardization needs stemming from the Empire (5, p.149). I argue that ritual spaces and practices, on the other hand, were the shared and familiar cultural language through which Inka and Yauyos primarily developed a mutual legibility, creating a narrative of the political incorporation that maximized the benefits and minimized the costs of incorporation for both.

My research in Huarochirí brings to the forefront a new model to investigate and characterize the processes in which interaction and subjugation rested under the Inka Empire. In doing so, I demonstrate that local forms shaped the means for the construction of a state provincial order during the height of Inka expansion. Building from the premise that legibility is critical for both state and local interests, my research builds a new, more holistic approach to the study of the ritual and political practices as familiar idioms among Andean societies.

Research questions and domains of study

Broadly, my dissertation expands on a common topic in Inka provincial studies: how did the Inka manage diversity? Through the use of legibility as a theoretical framework, I qualify this topic by reframing it as: did the mechanisms of Inka imperialism derail local practices or created spaces for their continuity? I engage these two broad and traditionally top-down topics by focusing on the interaction between the Inka and Yauyos people. This case study has the advantage of informing scholarship of what interaction could look like in an area that was not a rebellious hub and was not an economic concern for the empire. The people of Huarochirí were in a somewhat unremarkable location and willing to become a part of the empire in order to negotiate potential gains. Consequently, Huarochirí may serve as a case of what an idealized

state/local interaction may have looked like when the Inka were in no need to invest large resources on affirming their presence in the province.

My thesis is that in the particular conditions between Inka and Yauyos, the process of constructing legality was mediated through ritual practices and places. Existing research on the Inka Empire demonstrates that ritual plazas in particular were the social spaces where they performed, affirmed and maintained their relationship to their subjects (Bray 2003a; Moore 1996; Morris 2013). However, in Huarochirí we also have the ability to characterize the practices, places, and performances of local ritual that pre-dated the Inka through the colonial written documents. Consequently, we can investigate how legibility was constructed through a specific arena in which different people tried to make sense of each other through what was common. By focusing on ritual, I will show that the mechanism of Inka imperialism in Huarochirí created opportunities for the reinforcement of local identity, practices, and material culture that subjected societies readily grabbed and exploited to their own benefit.

Building upon a large corpus of scholarship in Andean archaeology and ethnography, my review of specialized literature on the Inka Empire, and my initial reading of the colonial documents from Huarochirí, I identified four broad domains commonly mediated by ritual practices in pre-Hispanic Andes: 1) The construction of ritualized kinships and the obligations of social solidarities it implied (Covey 2015; Silverblatt 1988), 2) Community organization and performance of hierarchical distinctions (Abercrombie 1998; Allen 2002; Wernke 2007a), 3) Ritual practices and emplacements (Bauer 1996; Coben 2012; Meddens et al. 2014), and 4) Sacralization of geographic landscapes (Acuto 2005; Chase 2016a; Christie 2015; Dillehay 2007; Guchte 1999). I designed my research around exploring evidence of these domains as arenas of

shared cultural practices between the Inka Empire and the people of Huarochirí, as well as their capacity to serve as "standardizing" principles as argued in Scott's definition of legibility.

I investigate these domains in three different levels: 1) At a regional level through the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, a 1608 quechua-written colonial text which consigns the broad mytho-historical narrative of the Huarochirí people. I argue that the Manuscript details specific ritual practices that bound the means through which the people of Huarochirí interacted with one another. 2) At a local level through research on ritual practices by sub-sets of the Huarochirí people known as *waranqas*, or idealized units of 1,000 taxpayers. I addressed this level through excavations in Canchaje. And 3) At the residential settlement while investigating the impact of ritual practices in daily life. I explored this last level through excavations in Ampugasa. I argue that the ritual practices at all three levels aimed towards the construction of ideal communities manifested through the language of kinship, enshrining the relationships that would allow for the construction -and even deconstruction- of broad identities endowed with political agency.

The specific research questions of my dissertation are:

1) Did local ritual practices and places influence the way in which Inka-sponsored rituals were performed in Huarochirí? In each level, I have identified specific emplacements of ritual performances and conducted excavations in them. I will show that rock outcrops in both domestic and local-level emplacements were used as physical manifestations of the ties of different communities to a single ancestor, the snow-capped mountain Pariacaca. I will explore the spatial and material relationships between plazas and these outcrops. Specifically, I will investigate whether they continued in use through the Inka period, and whether the Inka explicitly attempted to transform local ritual space to conform to their plaza standards.

2) If local ritual practices and places were still in use during the Inka period, was there a shift in the ritual paraphernalia associated to them? This questions explicitly investigates whether there was a process of resignification of specific artifacts and materials, abandonment or incorporation of new artifacts during the Inka-period. Such a process of "inversion of tradition" (Thomas 1992) would suggest continued attempts of creating legibility among the people of Huarochirí and the Inka. I will focus on the distribution, presence and absence of specific artifacts from the excavations. Chapter 8 details the specific material analyses used.
3) If local rituals in Huarochirí were geared towards creating a shared identity among different communities, what was the impact of Inka incorporation into community building? This question builds on a reading of the Huarochirí Manuscript that suggest the Inka were addressed as kin by the people of Huarochirí by their incorporation into Pariacaca's veneration. In order to address this point, I conducted excavations in pre- and post-Inka period households. If the Inka were incorporated into the local community as fictive kin, I expect continuity of previous domestic patterns with additions of households associated to Inka material culture. Conversely, if domestic life was aimed to reinforce the imbalance of power between Inka, local leaders used as middle management, and the rest of the population, I expect to see evidence of shifts in domestic patterns and in access to subsistence and luxury goods in order to better fit the population into Inka demographic policies.

Organization of the dissertation

This dissertation serially addresses the following questions: How can we characterize through the material record the interaction between the Inka and Yauyos in Huarochirí? Through which social practices and cultural values were the different Yauyos communities organized in

Huarochirí before the Inka? Can we investigate and map the micro-, meso- and macro-scales of local identity in Huarochirí before the Inka? How did the Yauyos incorporate the institutions of the empire within their own local memory and practices? How were power relationships mediated in Huarochirí through the ritual, materiality and the production of social organization? What was the role of legibility in this process?

Chapter 2 surveys the literature on the archaeological study of pre-Industrial empires. I pay particular attention to recent scholarship that tends to blur the theoretical lines between top-down and bottom-up approaches in order to consider the palimpsest of other modes of interaction between empire and subjects. In other words, the middle ground between the state and local communities built upon familiarity. I will discuss ritual practices and places as the spaces in which social relationships within the empire were constructed. I present a model of cultural legibility as a theoretical framework of analysis, discussing in-depth James Scott's original concept, the criticism raised towards it, and my own modified version to apply to the discussion of pre-industrial societies.

Chapter 3 justifies and explains my fieldwork and analytic methodology. It is divided in four main topics: methodology justification which makes explicit my research design, archival and historical research, archaeological field methods, and the different analytical methods applied to the materials recovered during the excavation.

Chapter 4 focuses on the period immediately before the Inka, the beginning of Inka expansion, and its consolidation. I characterize both the socio-political landscape faced by the Inka, and the position within the history of the empire in which they Inka were at the time of their expansion into Huarochirí. I center on the discussion of ritual practices and spaces at different units and levels (i.e. households, settlements, landscape) as a familiar enough idiom in

which the different aspects of incorporation and imperial institutions were mediated by local lore. I discuss specific examples that support my interpretation that the research domains I am analyzing show a "pan-Andean" likeness that justified their selection as arenas of interaction.

Chapter 5 centers on the archaeological and historical work carried out in Huarochirí. I construct a model of the organization of the Huarochirí people before the Inka conquest and the potential changes brought afterwards. I discuss in detail the role of the Huarochirí Manuscript as the matrix of our understanding of societies like the Yauyos. After presenting the traditional studies on the document I conduct a textual survey to problematize the reading of the document by asking how the manuscript represented both practices of community construction among the Yauyos and the Inka empire.

Chapters 6, 7 and 8 together make up the archaeological component of my research project. 6 presents the excavation of the archaeological site of Ampugasa, a residential settlement occupied with different levels of intensity between approximately 1280-1610 CE. Excavations in Ampugasa centered on two different types of domestic areas, one preceding the Inka incorporation and one following it, and the central ritual area of the site: The Rock Outcrop and associated funerary contexts. The excavation of domestic areas served to investigate the impact of Inka incorporation into daily life. The excavation in the Rock Outcrop served to explore whether there were changes in the layout or ritual goods associated with settlement ritual life under the auspices of the Empire.

Chapter 7 presents the excavation of the archaeological site of Canchaje, a ritual mountain-shrine contemporary with Ampugasa. Canchaje is divided in two main areas: a large Rock Outcrop similar in shape to the one in Ampugasa but with a larger and more complex overall layout and a building that incorporates two large plazas and orthogonal administrative

buildings. Excavation at the outcrop served as a comparative case to move from a settlement shrine to a community one and explore the changes from the micro to macro scale of Yauyos rituality. The comparison with the excavations of the plazas served to directly investigate the way in which the Inka worked within the confines of local ritual to integrate and attach themselves to the memory of ritual practices in the area. That is, as a direct use of ritual legibility to make themselves a part of the Yauyos.

Chapter 8 uses a comparative approach to the analysis of the materials recovered from Ampugasa and Canchaje. I specifically focus on the study of radiocarbon analysis, human, faunal and botanic remains, lithic artifacts, and shellfish. While ceramic analysis is not discussed in this chapter, it is presented as part of the previous two chapters and the discussion of each site. The reason behind this choice is that the discussion of artifacts in this chapter relates directly to identifying local Yauyos ritual practices and my data suggest ceramics were not critical to them.

Finally, Chaper 9 presents the summary and conclusions of this work, bringing together all the different scales and datasets of my research in order to tease out the dynamics of imperial incorporation and local agency in Huarochirí vis-à-vis the model of cultural legibility. I close out this chapter considering how Yauyos local memory, history and identity were negotiated through the filter of mutually legible ritual practices to transgress the idea of imperial incorporation and rather co-opt the Inka Empire within their own ritual worldview.

CHAPTER 2

IMPERIALISM, RITUAL AND LEGIBILITY

In this chapter, I will focus on the role of ritual as a forum for the production of subjectivity and power. The goal of this discussion is to set up the broad context and theoretical framework of my research. In order to do so, I will frame this chapter in two sections.

First, I will survey the anthropological literature on the study of pre-industrial empires. Archaeological scholarship on empires maintains a strong influence from neo-evolutionary framings, which skews our understanding of imperialism towards processes rather than practices. Recent scholarship on ancient imperialism points to a diversity of strategies that relied less on coercion and state intervention and more on negotiation and consensus (Dietler and López-Ruiz 2009; Ogburn 2013; Sinopoli 1994). By focusing in ritual, I explore the way in which state and local rituals informed each other in the construction of mutual legibility. In order to situate this discussion in the Andean context, I will focus on the role of infrastructure, and in particular its interaction with the ritual domain, as part of Inka political expansion.

Then, I will revisit the concept of legibility (*sensu* Scott 1998) and its potential as a framework for the study of Inka imperialism. By centering on ritual and cultural familiarity, my re-reading of the concept not only explores the state's gaze on their subjects, but also the incorporation of the Inka into local memory and history as part of the negotiation processes. I propose that the relationships between conqueror and subject were redefined at the local level through the interaction of Inka materials and local materiality within local ritual spaces. By making the symbols, institutions, and transactions of empire mutually legible, the incorporation

of the Yauyos into the Inka Empire could be portrayed as a narrative of unity and negotiation, making the Inka conquest apprehended as part of the history of the world in local terms.

Empire, ritual, and political power in Andean Archaeology

Standard representations of the Inka Empire directly draw on the descriptions of the first Spanish conquerors. These descriptions heavily rested on the European understanding of what an empire was: Rome. Consequently, the early Spanish documents abound with comparisons and analogies trying to make the Inka Empire legible to an European consumer (MacCormack 2007). As a consequence, it is hard to distinguish between myth and reality when of Inka infrastructure and administrative practices. Additionally, early chroniclers were not as familiar with Andean principles of power production, which makes their narratives limited in how they presented the nuanced social practices that informed Inka-period provincial institutions.

Empires are broadly defined in archaeology as

> a territorially expansive and incorporative kind of state, involving relationships in which one state exercises control over other sociopolitical entities (e.g. states, chiefdoms, non-stratified societies), and of imperialism as the process of creating and maintaining empires (…). Most authors also share a conception of various kinds of empires distinguished by differing degrees of political and/or economic control, viewed either as discrete types of as variations along a continuum from weakly integrated to more highly centralized polities (Sinopoli 1994:160).

Such a definition speaks of empire as a maximal form of state, and aims to identify its direct correlates in the archaeological record. In other words, the state is akin to the polity and the political apparatus behind it that allows for differentiated relationships of social power within a society. An empire is a specific type of state which has an ideology of expansion over vast territories and comprises different ethnic groups within their structure. States are always

territorial at least in regards to a center; empires can comprise a discontinuous space and hedge on less territorial relationships. While all empires are states, not all states are empires.

This approach is commonly linked to neo-evolutionary approaches.[8] In such models, change was a consequence of diffusion and/or adaptation to the environment. Consequently, interaction was predictable and unidirectional from the top-down, with "less complex societies" under the influence of a larger polity. Current archaeological research challenges the terminology itself, questioning whether it is possible to define the boundaries between evolutionary socio-political echelons (for an in depth discussion of this issue see: Earle 1987; Pauketat 2007). States and empires can hold very little commonalities, which is exemplified by works such as Hamalaine's *The Comanche Empire* (2009), which highlights the diversity of the term itself.

While there is a growing body of literature challenging neo-evolutionary models (see: Yoffee 1993), this framework remains influential in Andean scholarship (Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2003; Elson and Covey 2006; Stanish, Tantaleán, and Knudson 2018; Tantaleán 2014). Within Andean archaeology, most neo-evolutionary research aims both to develop a baseline for

[8] The adoption of evolutionary theory by both anthropology and archaeology was partly influenced by the attempt to demonstrate a scientific value for both social sciences (Yoffee 1993:61). Scholars like Spencer (1860), Tylor (1958), and Morgan (1964) in the 19th century, and Fried (1960), Service (1975) and Sahlins (1972) in the Neo-evolutionary wave, used this approach to classify pre-historic societies and then use them as a proxy for other societies at the same level. Herbert Spencer's "social Darwinism" argued for the progressive and directional evolution of societies through the principle of "survival of the fittest", which unlike Darwin's focus on reproductive success, meant the strongest, smartest and richest members of the group. The strong dominated the weak to achieve humankind's progress. Lewis Henry Morgan and Edward Burnett are considered unilineal evolutionists: they believed in universal evolutionary stages of cultural development that lead from simple to complex societies. Evolutionary thought reappeared in anthropology with the work of Leslie White and Julian Steward in the early 20th century; at this point, the main premise was that human society was an organism that had to acquire the means for survival from two sources: its own body or its environment. Consequently, culture and society developed as a response to the need to acquire the energy or resources for a society to survive. In the later framing of neo-evolutionary anthropology the main concerns of scholars were issues like the origins of culture and the rise of civilizations (another complexly defined term). Specifically, neoevolutionists aimed to define stages of cultural development, and the variables that enabled different societies to access steps of the ladder (McGee and Warms 2012).

interpreting material cultures through sets of characteristics specified in the specialized literature (Eeckhout 2005; Isbell 1991) and to conduct comparisons between polities on the same complexity level (Conrad and Demarest 1984; D'Altroy and Schreiber 2004; Schreiber 1987). Without denying the benefits of this approach, a direct consequence of this endeavor is the proliferation of different types of chiefdoms, empires, and states across the board (Castillo 2010; Castillo et al. 2007; DeMarrais, Castillo, and Earle 1996; Giersz and Pardo 2014; Giersz and Makowski 2016; Isbell 1991; 2006). Some scholars focus critical aspects of their research in defining the characteristics that a specific society must fulfill to be considered either a state (i.e., Moche)[9] or an empire (i.e. Wari).[10] However, expansion of the categories also means the banalization of their use as a research tool. For instance, if chiefdoms are kin-based, states are centralized, and empires are extensive and hegemonic, which category fits the Inka? This is critical in defining interaction, as it explicitly denies the capacity of non-states and non-empires

[9] Castillo's (2010) research argued against the traditional model of the Moche as a theocratic centralized polity made up of religious leaders, and proposed a model of two different Moche states with different levels of political centralization. Expanding this model through his research in Jequetepeque Valley, Castillo argues that the Moche were fragmented, with each different political territory exhibiting different degrees of political and economic autonomy. The fragmentation in the valley would have been sustained through a complex and redundant irrigation system, which was also partly responsible for the continuous fragmentation. Despite this lack of unity, the Moche groups also shared a high degree of political integration through the rituals that were performed in the key regional centers. Centralization would have been opportunistic and temporary, yet the inherently level of "early statehood" would have continuously propelled the Moche back into political fragmentation.

[10] Isbell first developed the model of the Huari as the first Andean Empire through the loose analogy between colonial accounts of palaces and imperial practices for the Inka and applying this model to the site of Huari (Ayacucho, Peru) (Isbell 1991). This model was later expanded through archaeologic analogy, posing that the Huari, as the Inka, exhibited a pattern of repetitive provincial centers and even potential royal states, strategically located in different regions (Isbell 2006). This model has been consistently adopted by the scholars that were mentored by Isbell through their work on different sites, regions, and material associations (Bergh 2012; Cook 1994; Schreiber 1992). Recently, bioarchaeological research has supported this argument through the analysis of migrant populations and evidences of violence and enemy-sacrifice (Buzon et al. 2012; Kellner and Schoeninger 2008; Kemp, Tung, and Summar 2009; Tung 2012; Tung and Knudson 2008; 2011). The excavations of the mausoleum of Castillo de Huarmey, a Huari-influenced site on the north coast of Peru, have also been used as supporting evidence of a Huari imperial structure (Giersz and Pardo 2014; Giersz and Makowski 2016).

to exert political change. Moreover, it also limits the potential to focus on the agency of those subjected by ancient empires.

A central aspect of Inka political control rests on the study of infrastructure.[11] The Inka used standardized infrastructure -a physical manifestation of political power- to affirm their control of the provinces. However, most infrastructure was interconnected through a high degree of ritualization rather than an overt display of hard power. Interpretations of the role of ritual infrastructure in Inka provincial administration has oscillated between a focus on the materialization of power, and a focus on ritual spaces as a way of affirming the esoteric power (*sensu* Helms 1979) of the empire to their new subjects.

In the first pole, we can look at DeMarrais' (2005) comparative model for the study of the Inka Empire vis-à-vis the classical example of Roman expansion. She proposes that infrastructure was a necessity to achieve Romanization (i.e. acculturation). She argues that infrastructure materialized the empire's power throughout the subject landscape. DeMarrais suggests a concept of Inkanization, recognizing the Inka Empire while ephemeral in time in comparison with the Roman Empire, also created a vast infrastructure and reached a significant extension. DeMarrais (2005:75) argues that "a closer look at the 'forms' of imperial power and their implementation in colonial settings can reveal how power was imposed and elaborated, on

[11] For a new discussion of infrastructure in the Inka empire, see: (Wilkinson 2018). In his model, there are four overlapping and complementary types of infrastructure: 1) static infrastructure; 2) circulatory infrastructure; 3) bounding infrastructure; and, 4) signaling infrastructure. In the specific case of the Inka Empire, he argues that "even if infrastructures can exist without states, it is clear that infrastructure often becomes more important as societies become more 'state-like'". He defines infrastructure as large and immovable built elements that require a supra-community aggregation for their construction, and are not human-oriented buildings. While he recognized that infrastructure is part of an ongoing and interactive process, his work is concerned with typology and doesn't fully question the role of infrastructure in political agendas or imperial discourses, besides the general implication that it affirms state power and needs.

one hand, but also how subjects responded to the demands –and opportunities– that followed conquest".[12]

First, in this example it is not clear how to define an empire. The main attributes that separate practices of empires from states seem to be of scale. States are the centralized political apparatus enabling the expansion of an imperial ideology and institutions. Second, it presumes a single imperial strategy evenly pursued as the ideal of political control through the empire. This assumption partly masks the different strategies and mechanisms through which empires managed on-the-ground diversity among their subjects. Third, it simplifies the role of materiality to materialization. As a consequence, the only material artifacts shaping state/local relationships are the ones imposed by the Inka. Fourth, it assumes that empires, a priori, have a centralized strength through which they can pursue a coherent and well-bounded agenda. And fifth, it leaves out the characterization of local material culture and practices, and their role during imperial expansion. In my research I look at empires in the Andes, and the Inka in particular, not as a stage of development, but instead as an emergent practice that is never quite accomplished and has to constantly work on maintaining its integrity.[13]

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[12] DeMarrais (2005:76) further expands upon this point: "We should expect to encounter evidence for a range of reactions, as subjects may –at any given time– act out of a sense of loyalty (to indigenous elites or imperial personnel) or respond on the basis of a religious commitment or a sense of moral obligation or duty. Further influences include fear of sanctions or a desire for rewards (material or symbolic). Subject groups may resist directly and forcefully, or, more often, they may simply 'put up' with the demands of a powerful state and they may benefit from it. A realistic approach to the discrepant experience must also anticipate that imperial projects or activities will from time to time fail to achieve intended outcomes."

[13] In Sinopoli's (2001:196) words: "For an empire to endure, conquest and repression must give way to additional practices and organizational structures that can incorporate at least subsets of the subject populations into a broader framework. The forms these structures take, and how they are developed and implemented, must be responsive to the social, environmental, and historical contexts of specific regions and the polity as a whole. There is thus, in many cases, a seemingly contingent nature to decisions affecting imperial consolidation, perhaps particularly in the early decades of an empire's history."

In the second pole, standardization of ritual forms in the provinces is considered at the same time as fulfilling a material (i.e. collection and storage of tribute) and social role. The most standard forms of Inka architecture are identified in both the colonial documents and archaeological publications as centrally ritual spaces. Specific architectural elements -such as *ushnus* or *kallancas* (see: p. 85) highlight the importance of conventional built markers distributed across their territory. A canonical example of how the Inka engaged ritual and policies as spaces for the production of political power is the site of Huánuco Pampa. Morris supervised excavations during the 1970s (see: Morris and Thompson 1985), prioritizing the study of provincial Inka centers as spaces of negotiation and interaction. As is the case of Huarochirí, the authors consider that Huánuco was most likely not a central focus of Inka expansion, yet the preservation of rich colonial documents for the region made it an ideal area of study. Unlike Huarochirí, the Inka built a monumental administrative center that serve for collection, storage and redistribution of goods. The excavations included work on the ritual core of the site: plaza, *kallancas*, and *ushnus*.

For Morris et al (2011:33), plazas were "the most important feature of Inka administrative centers" and their scale and regional administrative functions "set them apart from patterns of urban layout seen in other state capitals in the Andean region". Plazas were places of encounter, known by the quechua name *tinku*, and codified performances such as dances, fighting and feasting served to reinforce "relationships of ambivalent complementarity. The plaza of Huanucopampa exemplifies the way in which ritual space was integral to the production of power in the provinces:

> At Huánuco Pampa, the construction of a new Inka provincial center in an area of unoccupied high-elevations grassland (*puna*) represents an important symbolic statement of imperial spatial reorganization. In addition to providing an expedient administrative node along the royal road, the center would have created and ordered social space that

> brought multiple groups -some newly created through the imposition of imperial administrative hierarchies- together in political, ritual, and festive encounters monitored by representatives of the Inka state. Based on the documentary record, the central plaza at Huánuco Pampa represents a key location for the performance of various kinds of imperial *tinku* and other public events, including: (1) ceremonies in which the products of labor were collected and imperial largesse distributed; (2) the initiation of elite youths; (3) the public judgment and punishment of certain crimes; (4) the selection of sacrificial victims and sacred objects for empire wide ceremonies; (5) the public reception of Inka elites and administrators; and (6) other public events in which local identity could be situated within and imperial milieu, brought together to have its oppositions and contradictions played out in Inka fashion (Morris, Covey, and Stein 2011:42).

Morris' representation of Inka standard ritual infrastructure in the province can portrayed as a continuous process of embracing Andean social canons (i.e. *tinku*) while at the same time brining new ritual practices and systems to different regions. In this sense, the Inka both belong to the Andean world and are legitimate kin to the people they subjected, while at the same time, they have a new set of practices of spaces that separate them as a lineage from other Andean folks. This approach was best defined by Helms as "esoteric power". According to Helms (1979:176), leaders must show "knowledge of the nonordinary and of the nonconcrete", such as the acquisition of foreign languages, travel to places both known and unknown, or active engagement in the trade of exotic goods. Then, "This esoteric knowledge, in turn, creates power for those best able to understand the intricacies and secrets of the natural-supernatural and capable of establishing contact with representatives of the supernatural forces of life" (Helms 1979:88). A pre-requisite for esoteric power is a shared ideological context. As is the case with the rituals described in Huánuco Pampa by Morris, leaders need to bring something new enough that supports their claims to legitimacy, but familiar enough that people understand the claim.

Inka infrastructure, therefore, is better represented through Yoffee's (2016:1055) convincing reinterpretation of infrastructure not just as a building project, but as "groups of people and their leaders who stand apart from or are not a part of the institutions of the state". In

his framing, institutions/infrastructures- exist in an emerging state of constant change. In this way, Yoffee emphasizes the experience and perception people had of markers of state power. He argues that elements that conformed "landscapes of power" -such as plazas, processions, information technology, or an active countryside- could be appropriated by local communities to provide a counternarrative to the myth of integration suggested by infrastructure (sensu Wilkinson 2018). Building on his example of early Mesopotamia as a container of infrastructural diversity and identities, it seems that integrating diversity would be the most efficient way for instable state systems to build a working governmental apparatus.

For the Inka, social stratification partially relied on kinship and ritual, thus leadership had to be constantly negotiated and performed (Coben 2012). Political power was grounded on principles of redistribution and reciprocity, not on extensive mercantile exchange or on production, but by labor. By all interpretations, the Inka had to constantly negotiate their relationships with subject ethnic lords. For example, they would cast themselves as subjects to foreign deities as a mean to establish first contact. There is even evidence that Inka power remained contested in their capital region of Cusco. As a consequence, there was a constant need to invest resources on continuously reconquering resisting ethnic groups. In such a contested context, I suggest the Inka performance of power can be broadly understood as a worldview rather than a strategy. They enacted this particular order through the landscape, both built and natural. Through the landscape, they linked ideology, ritual, and land together to mark world change that came with a land's incorporation to the Empire.

In a context in which an empire had to constantly negotiate its own existence, imperial ideology could be tempered and shaped by local know-how. That is, while Inka governance may have strived towards specific structures critical to their administration, it also needed to heavily

rest on local institutions. Ritual defined as the space of encounter or *tinku*, was the ideal social dimension mediating state/local interaction. While this has been recognized throughout the literature (D'Altroy 1992; Malpass 1993; Malpass and Alconini 2010), I argue that the issue of familiarity and therefore legibility between the Inka and their subjects has not been fully investigated. Inka reliance on existing local ritual practices and understandings of space held the potential to allow the Empire to be encircled by the local. I hypothesize that local agency and mutual legibility vis- à-vis Scott (1998) were critical in building and maintaining the Empire. In the following section, I explore and expand this argument.

Legibility as a framework for state and local interaction

As previously mentioned (0, p.33), the concept of legibility highlights the need for states and empires, such as the Inka, to have a simplified view of their subjects; in other words, through standardization of local diversity, state institutions could be uniformly imposed. Harkening back to Scott's initial definition:

> Certain forms of knowledge and control require a narrowing vision. The great advantage of such tunnel vision is that it brings into sharp focus certain limited aspects of an otherwise far more complex and unwieldy reality. This very simplification, in turn, makes the phenomenon at the center of the field of vision more legible and hence more susceptible to careful measurement and calculation. Combined with similar observations, an overall, aggregate, synoptic view of a selective reality is achieved, making possible a high degree of schematic knowledge, control, and manipulation (Scott 1998:11)

From this perspective, which focuses on modern examples of state programs, states develop and impose an ideology that prioritizes standardization, which is geared towards "schemes to improve the human condition", and ultimately, political and economic control. However, in doing so, states ignore the ways in which local societies organize themselves (in

Scott's text, "*mētis*" or "practical knowledge"). While this is a necessary transaction, it also limits the capacity of the state to act upon potential crises that may arise at a local level (i.e. managing droughts, conflicts over lands) through the mechanisms already in place, which makes the state organization and these schemes susceptible to failure.

In a general sense, Scott's use of simplification is a stand-in for institutional standardization. If states focus on the diverse know-how of the local groups under their rule, the overload of information would make it impossible for their own bureaucracy to develop an informed policy applicable to a sea of variability. Therefore, the state develops simplifications through different mechanisms such as maps and censuses to create a homogenous bird's eye-view of their territories. Variability is curtailed by simplification because it doesn't serve a role within the state's specific objectives, such as taxation or access to labor force.[14] However, this does not mean that Scott proposes a model that exalts the abilities of the state to do so. On the contrary, he argues in his most recent work that states shouldn't be considered the apex of civilization politics, but rather a fragile contingency always in the verge of collapse because of its own intrinsic mandates to simplify and standardize what it doesn't fully understand (Scott 2017). What is not considered in Scott's discussion is that the standardization process can be mediated by the different degrees of legibility or illegibility between conqueror and subjects. From an archaeological standpoint, this would mean to investigate which material evidence that

[14] Scott (1998:48) argues that "The most significant instance of myopia, of course, was that the cadastral map and assessment system considered only the dimensions of the land and its value as a productive asset or as a commodity for sale. Any value that the land might have for subsistence purposes or for the local ecology was bracketed as aesthetic, ritual, or sentimental values." Furthermore, "State simplifications such as maps, censuses, cadastral lists, and standards units of measurement represent techniques for grasping a large and complex reality; in order for officials to be able to comprehend aspects of the ensemble, that complex reality must be reduced to schematic categories. The only way to accomplish this is to reduce an infinite array of detail to a set of categories that will facilitate summary descriptions, comparisons, and aggregation" (Scott 1998:77).

anteceded state's imposition was repurposed within state sanctioned institutions, and conversely, how state materiality was used in local contexts.

Building from this definition, I argue that Scott's concept can be expanded to include a broader understanding of standardization and simplification which, in turn, could lead to a more effective and efficient control or regulation by pre-modern states grounded on familiar local practices rather than forceful state mandated transformation. Through my research in Huarochirí, I contend that local communities may have the capacity to inform the state of the best practices for their own administration through the incorporation of local rituals spaces and practices into the state's institutional ones. In other words, the middle ground between top-down mandates and bottom-up local agency, were the attempts to construct a mutually legible socio-political grounded on the negotiation -and even resignification- of existing practices and materiality. An examination of Scott's elements vis-à-vis the Inka Empire statecraft and its material correlates shows how this model can be broadened.[15]

In order to do so, I will discuss each of the defining variables that, in his model, facilitate the establishment of forceful legibility from the state. Overall, my discussion aims to modify Scott's assertion that pre-modern states knew "precious little" about their subjects. Quite the contrary, since many of the areas conquered or incorporated by these states were known neighbors. I propose that a constant search for legibility built upon familiarity between a state and their subjects actively informed their interaction.

[15] Scott gives the Inka Empire a certain exceptionalism in his research. While he argues that "grains make states" since they were at the subsistence base of all ancient states, he spares a line to point out that "A partial exception to this rule might be the Inka state, which relied on maize and potatoes, although maize seems to have predominated as the tax crop" (Scott 2017:128).

Scott (1998:4) identifies four elements required for "the most tragic episodes of state-initiated social engineering" geared towards simplification and building legibility: 1) an administrative ordering of nature and society, 2) a "high-modernist" ideology or over-reliance and confidence in technical progress, 3) a willingness to use coercive power to bring such designs into being, and 4) a prostate civil society that doesn't resist these plans –which he directly relates to a capitalist and imperialist society. Before discussing each individual element, I want to call attention to the assumptions implied in the model: First, that all states follow similar patterns and have similar imperatives (which is a trend across Scott's work). Second, that states are intrinsically different than the civilizations from whence they rose. And, third, that there is no common ground or familiar idioms connecting standardization and mētis. While these assumptions may be applicable to the modern world, some ancient states are markedly different. Precisely because ancient states' inability to truly enforce non-negotiable institutions or policies throughout the expanses of their territories, they had to rely on familiarity and shared practices as a mean to understand and -eventually- simplify their view of their subjects.[16] Through the following discussion, I contend that even in the context of these four elements, the Inka empire constant attempts to create mutual legibility with their subjects managed to avoid the tragic consequences outlined in Scott's examples of modern states.

Scott's first element is the intentional order of nature and society.

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[16] Scott's own scholarly production mostly centers on anarchist theory and the view from subject societies within expansive states (i.e. see: Scott 1987; 1990; 2009). When looking at the role of subject communities, his main focus is on resistance. However, and here is where he differs from most authors, Scott recognizes the critical role of subject communities in the empire building enterprise. With his redefinition of the concept of practical knowledge, Scott argues that the local know-how that likely eliminated under the state's totalizing gaze, is also just the thing that would have facilitated the establishment of productive administrative institutions. Local technologies to manage the landscape are usually well-planned practices that have been efficient and beneficial throughout the trajectory of local communities. Simply put, a legibility built on practical knowledge is more efficient.

The idea of an ordered landscape was produced by the Inka's explicit attempt to carve the natural landscape across the empire in a manner that created and communicated a shared ritual system that interconnected all the groups under their political control (see: Bray 2014; Christie 2015; Dean 2010a; Meddens et al. 2014). Creating order is akin to abiding by the divine mandates held by the imperial rulers. But even though marked by such mythological underpinnings, early empires use specific strategies to bring order to their subject landscape – whatever they understood "order" to be (i.e. control, regulation). I contend that the Inka partially created a legible geographical and sacralized landscape through the carving of sacred rock outcrops –interpreted as *w'akas* which will be discussed later– and their interconnection through official narratives of fictive kinship. Local landmarks and understandings of place were incorporated and elevated into imperial ideology, thus creating a uniform view of empire. Several examples of the role of landscape carvings have been recorded both in Cusco and throughout the Andes (Acuto 2005; Christie 2015; Dean 2010a; Guchte 1999; Meddens et al. 2014). Notably, order is not manifested as tight state control, but rather shared understandings of sacred landscapes. This understanding of sacralized landscapes is a key domain of familiarity that held the potential to be negotiated in the creation of cultural legibility.

The second element is a high-modernist ideology. Scott (1998:93) explicitly states that "First and foremost, high modernism implies a truly radical break with history and tradition" and while this claim makes sense in the historical context on which he is focused, there is no reason why such a break would be an a priori need. This point was successfully argued by Valverde (2011), who demonstrated that even in modern cases of North American zoning practices the high modernist ideology of "governing space" rests heavily on leaving room for the "exemptions" of local practices to avoid contestation. That is, existing practices can become

"new" when they are attached to new meanings produced from either the top or the bottom (Thomas 1992). Precisely these spaces of potential legibility created contexts for negotiation. Therefore, I look at the idea of high-modernism more like an ideology of progress, of the empire's model of an ideal word, than a need to break with previous traditions. An example of this, for instance, is the repurposing of existing infrastructures, such as roads and recording systems -*quipus*- which the Inka likely adapted from the Wari in the central Peruvian highlands (see for example: Conklin 1982; Earle and Jennings 2012; Edwards and Schreiber 2014).

Most ancient empires built upon existing technologies; they learned what they could and should from the communities they conquered and then reshaped such technologies within their own schemes (Berdan et al. 1996; Kolata 2013). Technologies can be loosely defined as the different developments in productive and ideological enterprises exported by ancient states to subject territories, albeit without abandoning existing and likely more fruitful technologies based on local lore. Some technologies appropriated by early states were instrumental in defining the means through which they created standardization and legibility. In the Andes, we can see a number of points of articulation; for instance, the importance of kinship, ancestor worship, sacred landscapes, and reciprocity. These could also be expressed through ritual artifacts, dressing, body modification, and language, among others. In Huarochirí, my discussion of Inka plazas and local ritual outcrops, and the negotiation of their meaning, are an example of how existing ideologies could be redefined during the process of creating mutual legibility.

The third element is the states' willingness to use coercive power to bring their own worldviews into new territories. This practice is consistently found among ancient states (Sinopoli 1994). Societies such as the Aztec or the Inka identified their leaders as deities in a high degree because of their military prowess (Berdan 2014; Burger, Morris, and Matos 2007).

While armies were not necessarily a standing institution, early empires had the ability to create important military strike forces when needed. The threat of violence –even if the actual scope was limited– was a fast yet costly means to coerce populations to integrate the empire. In the case of the Inka, we know that warfare was only used in cases where negotiation and alliance were impossible (Murra, Wachtel, and Revel 1986). Moreover, there was a constant need for their allies' support against rebellious populations (Stern 1982). In other words, in order for the Inka to wage war over some communities, they had to be able to get cooperation from others, sometimes enemies of the group they were at war with. Cooperation among Andean communities is traditionally built through kinship, which then creates social obligations such as reciprocity. Through my examination of the Huarochirí Manuscript, I will show that the Inka required the Yauyos -among other subjected groups- military support through both the threat of violence and the formalization of fictive kinship among the empire and their ancestral deities.

Finally, the fourth element is a dormant civil society that would not contest the state's standardization plan. In the Andes, standardization is facilitated by the fact that nearly everyone shares basic cultural forms, which enabled a process of negotiation and reinterpretation of icons and symbols to attain mutual legibility. Research on the Inka expansion and the early colonial period demonstrates that indigenous communities were apt in negotiating their own symbols and practices when new political orders were established (see: Stein 2005; Thomas 1992; Wernke 2010). Scott (2009) himself argues that subject people learn to reestablish their own identities to their own benefit within imperial institutions. Some groups within the Inka Empire may have considered imperial imposition as bearable, or as less taxing, than contestation. Rather than dormant, I argue that subject societies in the ancient Andes aptly used common cultural practices as a mean to keep their agency in the construction and maintenance of the new political system

to which they were subjected. I will investigate this element through the redefinition of community building organization and practices. By the same token, the Inka may have leveraged these common practices as part of their official policy.

Despite Scott's model's popularity, it is not without detraction. Some critics argue that Scott builds heavily on the more in-depth works of authors such as Foucault, and then essentializes the state as a living entity (Dennis 1998). Other scholars criticize its scope and the cases Scott willingly leaves out (Woost 2000). This is undoubtedly the reason why his work has led to the development of alternative views of "seeing like a city" (see: Magnusson 2011), exemplifying the theoretical divide between top-down and bottom-up views, and the lack of acknowledgement of the middle road between them.

The seeing like a state vs seeing like a city debate is compelling. The latter decries traditional structures of political science which assume that the rise of the state is inevitable. Magnusson proposes to use the city as a basic unit of analysis which creates its own on-the-ground forms of interaction and self-government, such as the city-state. However, as King (2013) aptly argues, this only creates the exact same problem on a smaller scale. I propose that a re-reading of Scott's original tenets demonstrates that his own model holds the potential to encompass both state and local views as well as the middle ground in between them.

Finally, other scholars criticize his attempt to create a fixed boundary between state institutions and the practical knowledge of the people under their yoke. It is this latter criticism that opens the space for expanding the model: "If people take on useful products of science (Scott lists sewing machines, matches, flashlights, kerosene, plastic bowls, and antibiotics) can states for their part create spaces for practical knowledge?" (Wong 1999:341). More complete reinventions of the model will be discussed below during the elaboration of my argument.

A more selective use of the concept of legibility comes from Scholtz's (2010) work on the land claims negotiations between indigenous groups in Canada and New Zealand with their national governments. What is compelling about Scholtz's work is that she shows the different outcomes of different deployments of legibility. She argues that "there is much work to be done to understand how legibility comes to be" and offers an "historically embedded approach" to start investigating the way in which the legibility process takes place on-the-ground (Scholtz 2010:38). She analyzes how the development of legibility impacts self-definition among indigenous communities through four processes: 1) Centralization or the formalization of authority within a group, 2) Legal recognition of the indigenous groups within the state system, 3) Geographic definition of the indigenous groups' lands from the state, and 4) The way in which the state's services are made available to indigenous groups (through state centralization or delegation). In cases of indirect rule, these elements are present in Inka statecraft: recognition of local power through the maintenance of local leaders, formalization of provinces resting in existing community practices and self-ascription, geographic definition through the fictitious kinship of ritualized landscapes, and, the liberty of local groups to make use of the services available to them as part of the Inka empire.

Scott's (1998:23) point that "The state simply lacked both the information and the administrative grid that would have allowed it to exact from its subjects a reliable revenue that was more closely tied to their actual capacity to pay" may be true in modern states, though not all. However, I argue that the lack of "actual capacity" of pre-modern expanding states, like the Inka, led to grounding "abstractions and simplifications" on local existing practices. This critical difference relies on the role of practical knowledge, another of the concepts used by Scott.

Practical knowledge is defined as the on-the-ground skills or *mētis* developed within local contexts and somewhat ignored by the authoritarianism of high-modernism.[17] Scott uses the concept of *mētis* to define the different types of knowledge coexisting in colonial contexts: the local know-how embedded in experience, and the abstract knowledge exported by the state. *Mētis* encompasses both the skills communicated from one generation to the other, and the experience and ingenuity through which local groups adapted to the changes within their lived landscapes.[18] According to his definition:

> The skills of mētis may well involve rules of thumb, but such rules are largely acquired through practice (often in formal apprenticeship) and a developed feel or knack for strategy. Mētis resists simplification into deductive principles which can successfully be transmitted through book learning, because the environments in which it is exercised are so complex and nonrepeatable that formal procedures of rational decision making are impossible to apply. In a sense, mētis lies in that large space between the realm of genius, to which no formula can apply, and the realm of codified knowledge, which can be learned by rote (Scott 1987:316).

In this view, *mētis* appears to defy order, understood from the state's standardization attempts. However, there is an order within local systems as well; what may seem illogical or impossible to comprehend from the outside, may be intuitive and logical from the inside.

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[17] As an introductory example to this concept, Scott (1998:263–264) looks at the way in which industrialized agriculture that was successful in the west floundered in Africa. He details four main reasons: first, the straight application of unexamined assumptions of success; second, the goal of maintaining political status for the official in charge of applying these schemes; third, the inability of this high-modernist ideology of recognizing any outcome beyond their specific productive goal; and fourth, their inability to deal with diverse forms of complexity.

[18] On the relationship between "everyday" metis and the skills to navigate high-stakes human interaction, Scott (1987:315) states: "The successful practitioner, in each case, tries to shape the behavior of partners and opponents to his own ends. Unlike the sailor, who can adjust to the wind and the waves but not influence them directly, the general and the politician are in constant interaction with their counterparts, each of whom is trying to outfox the other. Adapting quickly and well to unpredictable events –both natural events, such as the weather, and human events, such as the enemy's move– and making the best out of limited resources are the kinds of skills that are hard to teach as cut-and-dried disciplines."

Consequently, the main question in Scott's research is whether states can actually grapple with these different ways of doing or not. The Inka were not blind to local orders precisely because they had much in common to their own. Mutual legibility could be achieved through shared cultural practices, or by recognizing enough similarities to negotiate the reinvention and revamping of existing local and state practices. Maintaining local practices could be an ideal way in which to maintain state goals, without having to abandon the idea of a standard.

Recent scholarship on the Inka Empire not only investigates potential "blind spots" [19] from the imperial view, but discusses how unexpected consequences were easily incorporated into the system. Garrido's (2016) research on the Qhapaq Ñan or Inka Road investigates the local appropriation of this hallmark of imperial infrastructure. In the Atacama Desert (Chile), Garrido finds that before the Inka arrival, the Copiapo region was already a well-known mining area with a number of camping settlements. After the Inka incorporation, this settlement was intensified with a more permanent occupation. Processes of nucleation took over, camps moved closer to the Inka Road, there was an increase in pigment production over tool production, and there was a decline of site specialization. Interestingly, these changes were not prompted by the state but rather an organic development among local communities. This was an unexpected consequence of the imposition of an imperial standardizing tool -the road- precisely because it enabled the

[19] Scott (1998:295) addresses this idea of "unexpected" results or the blindness of state policies to see beyond a single goal through an example of maize production: "What if we broaden our view to take in the rest of the plant? At once we see that there is a great deal more to be harvested from a plant than its seed grains. Thus, a Central American peasant may not be interested only in the number and size of the corn kernels she harvested. She may also be interested in using the cobs for fodder and scrub brushes; the husk and leaves for wrappers, thatch, and fodder; and the stalks as trellises for climbing beans, as fodder, and as temporary fencing. The fact that Central American farmers know of many more maize varieties than do their counterparts in the Corn Belt of the United States is partly related to the uses to which different varieties are put. Maize may also be sold in the market for any of these purposes and thus prized for qualities other than its kernels. The same story could, of course, be told about virtually any widely grown cultivar. Its various parts from various stages of growth may come in handy as twine, vegetable dyes, medicinal poultices, greens to eat raw or to cook, packaging material, bedding, or items for ritual or decorative purposes".

growth of local practices within empire institutions. This example shows that peoples read landscapes similarly and that Inka spatial institutions were not ignorant of –or ignored by– other communities in the Andes. In other words, there was no conflict of legibility.

Legibility in the Inka Empire was a negotiation between the need for standardization and the acceptance that local forms were better suited to mediate interaction. Even if building legibility was a state's tool of political subjugation, it also may reinforce shared idioms in ways that were leveraged by local communities for their own interests (c.f. Gosden 2004). Legibility may be the ultimate goal of the state, yet the process through which it was produced may have unintended consequences such as reinforcing local practices, unexpected reinterpretations of cultural forms, or the outright appropriation of state-sponsored institutions through the filter of local know-how. Therefore, I argue that legibility as a conceptual tool enables our understanding of coexisting processes of interaction and political subjugation within the Inka Empire.

Summary

In this chapter, I first discussed anthropological approaches to empires in order to question the potentiality and limitations faced by the Inka as they expanded over the Central Andes. I presented Scott's concept of legibility as a viable theoretical tool to investigate the role of familiarity as part of the Inka expansion. I argued that the Inka may have relied on local practices in order to facilitate the establishment of state institutions across the Andes, in particular in contexts of indirect political control. I also expanded the concept to provide a space for discussing local agency: if the Inka Empire relied on local practices to impose standard forms and institutions, were local communities able to leverage their practices as a way to negotiate their subjugation? My research on Huarochirí supports a positive answer to this question.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

In the previous sections, I presented my research questions and variables of study. Briefly, I explore three questions: 1) Did local ritual practices and places influence the way in which Inka-sponsored rituals were performed in Huarochirí? 2) If local ritual practices and places were still in use during the Inka period, was there a shift in the ritual paraphernalia associated to them? And, 3) If local rituals in Huarochirí were geared towards creating a shared identity among different communities, what was the impact of Inka incorporation into community building? I address these questions through the study of four domains: 1) Kinship, 2) Community organization, 3) Ritual practices and spaces, and 4) Sacralization of geographic landscapes. In order to investigate these variables, my research design integrated historical and archaeological sources through a multiscalar approach. My work moves in three different levels: 1) Regional; 2) Local; and, 3) Residential. In this section, I will present the methodology through which I addressed my research questions. My methods include archaeological reconnaissance and excavation, archival research, spatial modeling, and material analyses.

Methodology justification

Ethnohistorical and archival research

I used colonial written documents of Huarochirí as the primary data for investigation of the regional level. In the documents, I looked for representation of interaction with the Inka to justify the four domains of study outlined above. Specifically, I used the documents to delineate

local rituals and mytho-historical narratives, interaction among communities, and portrayals of the Inka. Given the lack of sufficient archaeological work in Huarochirí, the collection and analysis of published and unpublished colonial sources was a necessary first step to investigate the socio-political organization of the people of Huarochirí before, during, and after Inka incorporation.

Ethnohistory is broadly defined by Carmack (1972:232) as "a special set of techniques and methods for studying culture through the use of written and oral traditions". In other words, an anthropological reading to written sources. Even though ethnohistory has received criticism over the colonial focus through which it was devised (Chaves 2008; Harkin 2010), it still has the potential to bring both native and non-native perspectives together. The documents hold narrations of the same events used through different cultural premises, making them complementary perspectives (DeMallie 1993:516).

I use ethnohistory in this dissertation as the analysis of written and oral sources that recognize indigenous voices and the colonial constrains in which those voices could be raised. In this, I follow Galloway's (2006:27) warning that "If we are to go on practicing 'ethnohistory' at all, and if by that we mean trying to write something we call history on the basis of incomplete and biased testimonies that we only partially understand, then we need to recognize that there is really no history that is *not* ethnohistory for a species whose daily personal communication is a clash of idiolects."

In the Andes, historicist collaboration between archaeology and ethnohistory was inaugurated by John H. Rowe (1944; 1945), who rigorously tied archaeological findings and chronologies to colonial written sources. As a consequence, in the earliest stages of Andean studies, provincial organization was presented through a standard narrative that masked the

variability throughout the Andean landscape.[20] However, the finding of a different array of historical documents beyond the chronicles caused a shift towards a provincial study of Inka archaeology. An interest from new type of documents is typified by Murra's publication of the *Visita de la Provincia de Leon de Huánuco,* carried out by Iñigo Ortiz de Zúñiga in 1562. Based on Murra's analysis of the *visita,* Thompson (1967) identified and excavated in 1964 and 1965 two sites -Pillkumayu and Auquimarca- identified as the residences of two of the four *waranqa* leaders in the region. The visita also informed Matos' (1967) work on the residential settlements, and Murra (1967) further analyzed the visita to find evidence of the vertical control of the landscape.

Murra's pioneering ethnohistorical and archaeological work led to remarkable work across archaeology in trying to use colonial documents from the province to infer the pre-Inka and Inka-period socio-political organization. Examples include Dillehay's work in the Chillón valley (1976), Julien's work in Hatunqolla (1983), Rostworowski' s work in the central coast (1988b), Zuloaga's work on Huaylas (2012), Wernke's work in the Colca valley (2013), and Watanabe' work in Cajamarca (2015).

In Huarochirí, the richness of the published colonial record is particularly compelling, including volumes such as: the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, the *Relación de la Provincia de Anan y Lurin Yauyos*, the *Revisita de Sisicaya*, and the *Diario Histórico de Sebastián Franco de Melo*. Through these documents we can garner much information about the sociopolitical organization,

[20] For example, Catherine Julien's (2000) defense of an indigenous genealogy within the Inka Empire, in which the Inka kings were presented in *paños* and recorded by the Viceroy Toledo. This view partly contrasts a body of scholarship, particularly well represented by Sabine MacCormack (2007), which highlights the way in which the chroniclers used several references from their own understanding of previous civilizations in the Old World to explain the Inka Empire. These analogies would have influenced the way in which they recorded information in their documents, and the different characteristics of the Empire they looked at.

myths, rituals, economic activities, and tribute levies in the area. The data collected from these published sources was contrasted and completed through archival research and the use of unpublished sources in repositories of Lima and Spain.

The use of the colonial written record is central for addressing my first research question. I use comparisons between colonial writings, ethnographic accounts, and archaeological research, through spatial analysis, to investigate the political organization of Huarochirí before, during, and after their incorporation into the Inka Empire (see: p.123). This characterization is the basis through which research areas and specific methods of analysis were defined.

Archeological methodology

The archaeological methodology consisted of three stages: 1) A general reconnaissance of a region selected through the analysis of the historical sources; 2) Intra-site survey of selected sites in order to examine the internal organization of residential settlements and ritual emplacements; and, 3) Excavation in one residential settlement and one ritual emplacement. The initial reconnaissance complemented the observations from the written record in addressing my first research question at the regional and local scales. If the Inka had maintained local ritual emplacements, I expected to find a recurrent space for ritual performances -such as a rock outcrops- in association with Inka-style plazas. Intra-site survey and excavation served to collect data to address my second research question and work on the residential level. Specifically, to investigate whether local ritual paraphernalia remained in Inka plazas and, vice-versa, if Inka material culture became integrated into local ritual and domestic spaces.

The general reconnaissance was implemented because lack of systematic archaeological research in Huarochirí hindered our ability to define which sites held the most potential for

archaeological work. Building on the published colonial documentation, I focused the reconnaissance on the towns of Lahuaytambo and Chorrillos, with a more cursory work in San Damián and Santo Domingo de los Olleros.[21] Because the original occupational area of the people of Huarochirí was extensive and settlement was dispersed, we decided to used towns as the starting points. We defined reconnaissance zones averaging 2 km^2 around the towns. We defined other reconnaissance zones through consultation with current residents of Huarochirí.

This methodology was selected for the following reasons: first, the virtual lack of a descriptive archaeological record and previous research in Huarochirí made a broad-stroke approach a necessary first step; second, we were interested in key sites with Inka and Colonial occupation, which we knew from historical sources were closer to Spanish towns; and third, we were interested in comparatively studying large residential settlements, so local information was the best way to find these sites. 5 (p.136) presents previous archaeological work in the region, which I integrated into the reconnaissance database.

In our 2010 season, the field team examined a total of 19 reconnaissance areas, drawing rough maps of walls and structures for each one of the sites using a Juno Handheld Trimble GPS, taking notes of the characteristics and potential function of the sites (Figure 3.1). We recorded 29 sites, which seemed to correspond to the period between the LIP and LH, although a clear differentiation was impossible without excavation. Visibility of surface features isn't good in most sites as the local vegetation has a very destructive effect on the architecture and, in many cases, significant portions of the sites have been destroyed by the modern communities, who

[21] A key reason for the different emphasis placed on these different towns was the existence of previous research, which pointed towards a dense occupation in the area (Thatar 1992). Moreover, this branch was also an ideal intersection of community boundaries and geographical limits that could further inform the dynamics of interaction (Instituto Nacional de Cultura 2009). Finally, the colonial documentation also pointed towards a higher degree of Inka influence and activity in this area (Salomon, Feltham, and Grosboll 2009).

repurposed masonry for new buildings. We considered the chronology of the sites in our notes, albeit strictly noting that surface recording was insufficient to accurately investigate the period of occupation of these settlements. The total number of sherds was very low: 550 sherds, of which only 138 (25%) were diagnostic. None of the sherds were identified as clearly Inka in style.

During the reconnaissance, we took detailed photographs of the best-preserved standing walls in each site, in conjunction with the digital sketching of their layouts. We compared masonry from one site to the other in order to investigate if there were clear changes that could serve as temporal markers. The architecture in most sites lacked clear canonical traits of Inka architecture. The layout suggested that: 1) Residential settlements centered around plazas which did not have a strict or standardized shape but were surrounded by standing rock outcrops were diagnostic spaces of Yauyos local ritual practices; and 2) Possible Inka-dated building in residential settlements was characterized by more rectangular structures that still maintained local masonry styles– there was no evidence of the more distinguishable characteristics of Inka style architecture. In sum, through the reconnaissance we ascertained at least two characteristics that could be identified as "local" and "non-local" in Huarochirí.

During the reconnaissance season, we identified two sites for excavations: First, we chose the site of Canchaje in the Lahuaytambo district. Canchaje was the only site recorded during our fieldwork that seemed to be a ceremonial or administrative site. Canchaje was also the only site with typically shaped Inka trapezoidal plazas and a Rock Outcrop plaza. Through the written record we could connect the site to a specific component of the Huarochirí people and characterize its relationship to the broader ritual system that connected them. We conducted preliminary excavation in 2011, with a longer season in 2015. During the 2011 season, my team and I completed a general map of the site using a Trimble total station.

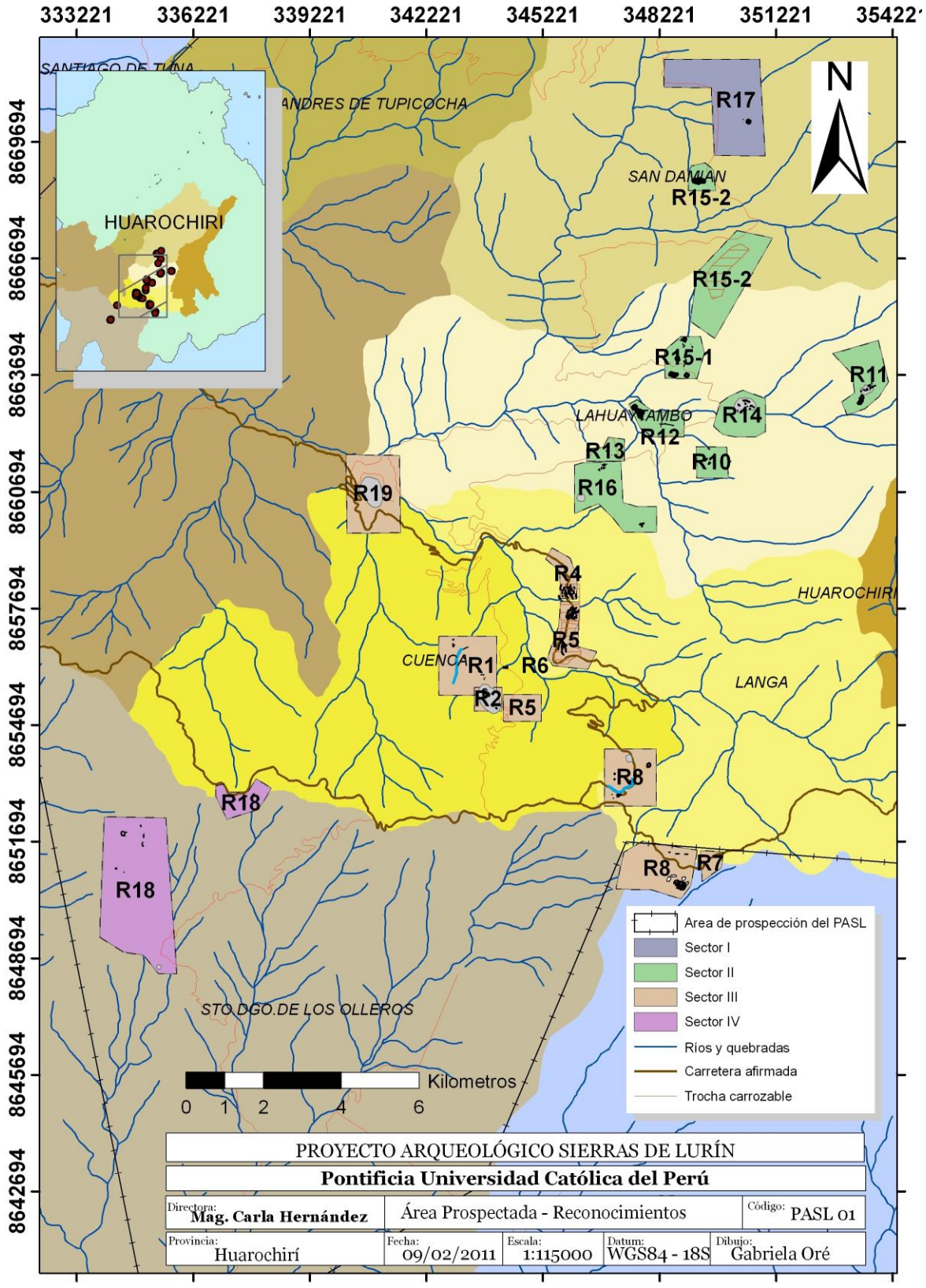

Figure 3.1: Location map of 2010 survey areas in Huarochirí. Archaeological Project Lurin Highlands (map by Gabriela Oré).

The second site we selected was the residential settlement of Ampugasa in the Cuenca district. I chose this site of its density of residential structures (as well as different masonry techniques) and close relation with recognizable public and potentially ritual spaces (the Rock Outcrop plaza). In 2013 I directed an intra-site reconnaissance in Ampugasa. We used helium balloons to take low-altitude photographs of the site and developed an initial draft of the site map.[22] However, the photographs lacked the required resolution to select and define standing walls from fallen rocks surrounding them. In order to develop a more in-depth understanding of the site's layout, we conducted a preliminary intra-field survey, using mobile GIS through the Garafa GisPro iPad application. We drafted standing walls and the location of the access ways, albeit noting that a more detailed map could only be completed during the excavation when we conducted site cleaning. The data recovered during the reconnaissance and mapping was critical in identifying the spatial relationship between settlements and their relationships with the natural landscape (Figure 3.2).

The third stage of archaeological work was the excavation of both sites. Excavation is the most effective archaeological method to investigate chronological and functional questions through the stratigraphic record and the superposition of different occupational components. Additionally, excavation enables comparisons among and between different archaeological contexts through material distribution (c.f. Barker 1993; Collis 2001). Excavation of both sites enabled comparisons and the multi-scale study required by my research questions and theoretical focus. Through comparisons in the layouts, context, and materials recorded in both sites, I was able to address my second research question at the local and residential levels.

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[22] Balloon mapping was conducted by Erick Elera. His recent passing is a loss for Andean archaeology. Thank you, Erik for your hard work and generosity in teaching me the methods of aerial mapping.

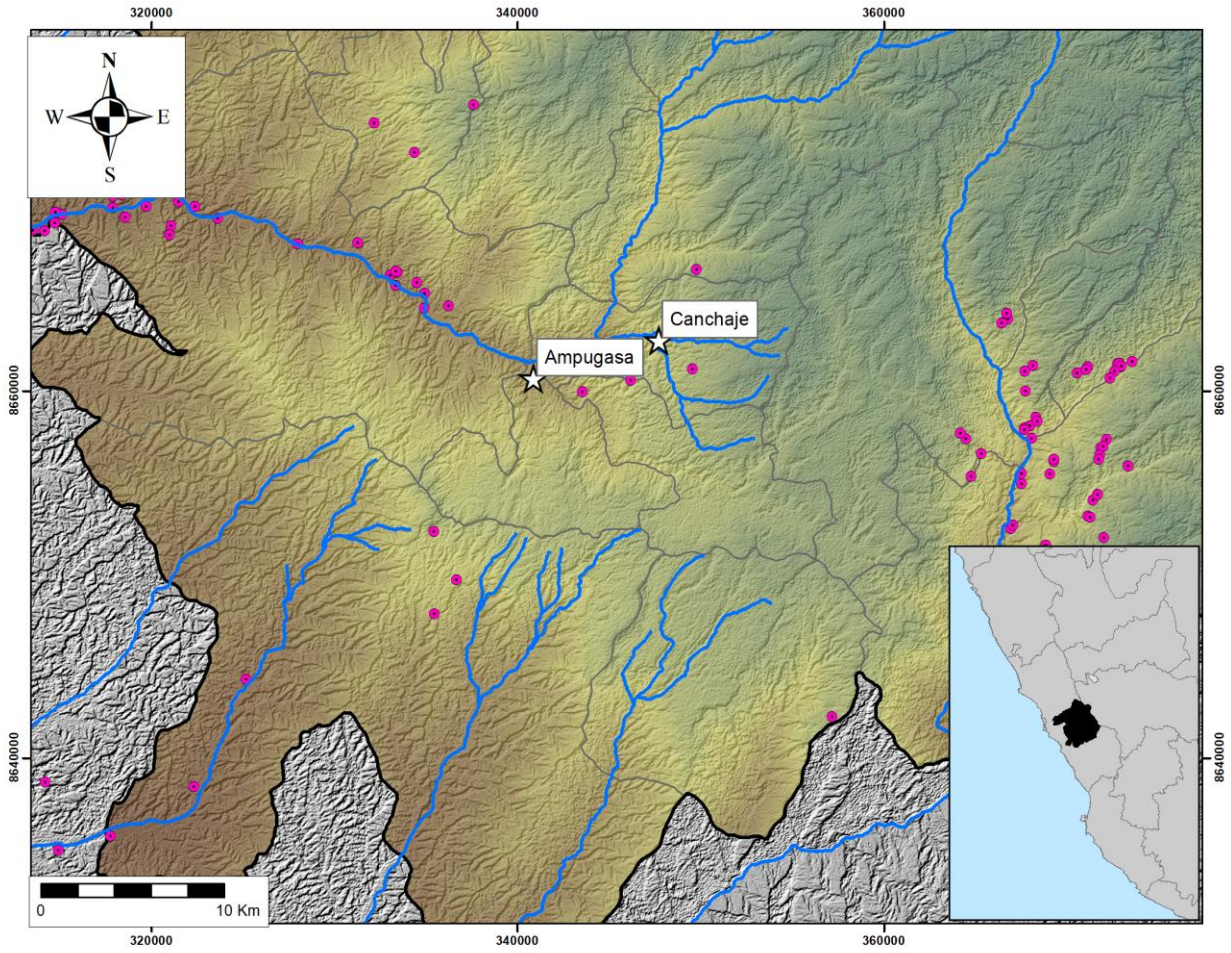

Figure 3.2: Location of Ampugasa and Canchaje. The pink targets represent the location of other archaeological sites in the region, identified through excursions of the Peruvian Ministry of Culture and Peruvian archaeologists (map by the author).

Selection of excavation areas in each site was informed by reconnaissance and mapping. While my main focus was in comparison to address the different levels and variables of study proposed in my research design, I also used an excavation strategy specifically adjusted to the formal characteristics of each site. Excavation techniques at both sites followed stratigraphic units.[23] My team and I recorded field data through loci in order to have an independent coding for each stratigraphic layer, feature, and architectural element. Through this method, cross-

[23] In depth discussion of the cultural deposits for Ampugasa is in Chapter 6, and for Canchaje in Chapter 7. Detailed descriptions of the sites are also in the same chapters.

referencing between each of component was easily established. This methodology also facilitated a detailed control of simultaneously excavated units. We started excavations in Ampugasa and then moved to Canchaje.

To facilitate comparisons between the excavation data collected on both sites, I used a digital interface that could be standardized and directly transformed into spatial vectors using Geographic Information System. Rebecca Bria's research in Hualcayan already demonstrated the logistical advantages of a digital interface for archaeological research (Bria and DeTore 2016), and Wernke and colleagues (Tripcevich and Wernke 2010; Wernke et al. 2016) successfully used a mobile-based approach to intra-site survey. Building on these previous research experiences, we used the mobile Geographic Information Systems (GIS) application Garafa GisPro on three iPads. This application offers all the potentialities of desktop GIS software.[24] The key advantage of GIS lies in its integrative character, and its potential to bring together a diverse array of information, enabling the development of new research questions and new data through its methods. Hodder and Orton (1976) had already noted the need to systematize spatial representations, since subjective issues could potentially alter archaeologists' understanding of the landscape. GIS provided both an environment for storing and systematizing information and the tools to model spatial conditions in a less subjective manner. Unifying historical sources, archaeological data and maps, allows for a rather unique environment to consider different

[24] Wheatley and Gillings (2002:18) summarize that "For archaeologists to make best use of their carefully recovered and recorded information, what is needed is a dynamic and flexible environment within which to integrate, express, analyse and explore the full range of data, both spatial and attribute. (...) Data could relate equally to archaeological artefacts, environmental factors, modern cultural boundaries, perceptual fields, etc. (...) GIS provides precisely this type of environment of integration and exploration."

possibilities of spatial constitution and analysis (Aldenderfer 1996; Conolly 2006; Kvamme 1999; Steinberg 2006).[25]

During the excavations, my team and I used the GisPro mobile GIS to record data for each individual locus, including: location, type, and formal characteristics; stratigraphic relationships; material remains associated with each locus; and, extensive descriptions. We also maintained a field notebook in order to detail pertinent information and draw sketches that could be best related to the digital forms. The forms also noted the notebook pages in which relevant information could be found, and the notebooks were scanned and uploaded into an Evernote notebook in order to be easily cross-referenced with other digital information.

We kept a parallel mobile GIS database for in-field inventory. We created individual points for each of the material types and used the iPads' internal Geographic Positioning System (GPS) to record its closest in-situ location. While this reading is not exact, as different GPS have different degrees of error, this measurement still allowed for a good association between structures and materials, and facilitated the initial analyses of artifact distribution. We then related the inventory through locus identifier, and directly verse the information into ArcGIS.

[25] Despite these advantages, criticism over the use of GIS to model experience has come predominantly from phenomenological approaches. Gillings (2012) contextualizes the disjunction between Phenomenology and GIS as a consequence of two facts: first, the timing of development and nature of GIS coincided with criticism over modernist project and its representation; and, second, GIS toolbox was so predominant over the theory, that is risked falling into technological determinism, in which the study was made to fit the tool. Phenomenological approaches also contend that there is no replacement for human experience, and that GIS modeling is "theoretically sterile" and a throwback to previously environmentalist and technological determinist models, following "specifically positivist epistemologies" (Tilley 2009). To bridge this schism, Llobera (2012) has proposed an interpretative approach in which modelling can't completely account for a "situated perspective"– the human body as the center of all spatial reference – but it can deal with "scaffolding models" of social engagement, which is, in fact, the scale that landscape archaeology emphasizes. Gillings (2012) is opposed to this preoccupation with the "middle ground", supporting the need for a "theorization" of GIS to salvage the phenomenological criticism. Both authors agree, however, in that the problem of GIS applications in landscape studies has not lain in the tool itself, but in the lack of a reflexive use on the part of researchers, who should define the environment with care so as to not produce the Cartesian and linear result that phenomenology warns against.

The use of mobile GIS for in-field recording had several advantages. First, the types of spatial and statistical analyses we conducted after the excavation required the data organizational design implicit in geodatabases. Even considering the time needed for data post-processing, this information can be directly imported into Microsoft Excel spreadsheets and R Studio, which saves significant time. Second, this methodology implies the pre-field development of an information organizational scheme that facilitates an orderly data storage system. Therefore, the standardized used of forms complemented by free-form field journals was ideal to gain as much information of each locus as possible. And third, digital interfaces facilitate both storing and diffusion of raw data. Digital information can be easily and inexpensively saved in both physical (i.e. external memories and hard drives) and digital (i.e. Dropbox, Google Drive) repositories, safeguarding the data.

Finally, the materials recovered during the excavation were analyzed by specialists and integrated into the spatial database. The overall objective of material analyses to investigate the role and potential resignification of ritual paraphernalia after the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí as an attempt to build legibility. While abandonment of certain artifacts could hint towards a significant change in ritual practices, their repurposing and changes in their distribution could suggest their symbolic meaning was negotiated as part of the process of creating legibility. The specific methods used and materials recovered are described below.

Archival sources and materials

To complement published colonial documents previously mentioned, I conducted archival research in national repositories in Peru, such as the National General Archive, the National Library, and the Archbishopric Archive. I also mined the Portal of Spanish Archives

(PARES). I have compiled documents directly related to the region of Lurin Yauyos between the 16th and 19th centuries. I have also collected and transcribed over 400 pages of relevant colonial documents. While these documents span a very broad period of time, I use them to construct an overview of the changing relationships among the different communities in Huarochirí. Although the most compelling evidence of interaction between the Yauyos and the state in these documents pertains to the Spanish colonial period, some of the documents provide glimpses into the relationships between the Yauyos and the Inka Empire and their influence in their incorporation into the Spanish colonial system.

I limited the scope of the colonial documents to the five *waranqas*[26] of Huarochirí: Quinti, Checa, Colcaruna, Langasica and Chaucarima. While the repartimiento of Huarochirí also included the people from Mama-Chacalla and the Anan Yauyos, these five *waranqas* were likely part of the same ethnic group before the Inka and were lumped together with the others by the Empire (5, p.116). The selected documents were transcribed and mined for information on population density, levies, landholdings and internal conflicts. These variables were tabulated into relational databases for analysis.

For the territories of the five *waranqas*, I recorded temporally discrete contents, such as the taxing levies, population counts (from colonial census and visitas), community boundaries (from unpublished trial documents), shrine location (from extirpation documents), and ecological setting (i.e., location of terraces, grazing land, raw material sourcing). Along with archaeological evidence of Inka annexation, I used these variables to model territorial, socio-political and economic boundaries in Huarochirí and how they changed over time. While the lack of

[26] Waranqa is an ideal taxation unit used by the Inka administrations. Each waranqa comprised 1,000 taxpayers and could be subdivided into different decimal groups to standardize the methods of measuring provincial populations.

archaeological research in Huarochirí and the incomplete nature of historical accounts limit the full implementation of this method, I hope to offset these limitations by my integrative approach.

In order to relate the colonial documents into my spatial database,[27] I mapped the spatial relationships portrayed in the colonial written documents that also included the location and, when possible, characteristics of pre-Hispanic settlements. I conducted spatial modeling to identify probable routes between sites as well as visual analyses among them and in relation to key natural features. This information aids my characterization of local organization in Huarochirí, raising important issues regarding landscape experience of the Huarochirí people.

A side component of my research was the compilation of oral histories as complementary datasets to the archival sources. Local collaborators bring different understandings to the material culture than archaeologists do (Hamilakis 2016) and therefore the dialogue between these different interpretations of the material past can prove critical to a more nuanced and locally-grounded understanding of the ritual and domestic practices in the archaeological contexts. Part of my field methodology was creating opportunities for different community members to visit the sites during excavations. These visits became increasingly important and influential in the way in which I analyzed and interpreted the archaeological and historical materials. Through local collaborators, I had access to 50-year-old photographs and histories of what the archaeological sites I worked in looked like before urban advancement.

While oral histories are a small and complementary aspect of my research, they provide specific information for the study of movement networks between sites and towns, and my

[27] For and in-depth discussion of the epistemological and methodological implications of Geographic Information Systems in representing the human experience through an historically-informed approach, see: (Bodenhamer, Corrigan, and Harris 2010).

approach to the understanding of local and regional space. Furthermore, information about specific cultural practices and artifacts bridge my interpretation of excavation materials and provided insights that otherwise would have been missed.

Archaeological field methods and materials

Field data collection

My team and I used aerial photography and photogrammetry to develop the site maps and record each individual locus while maintaining ideal representation of its spatial associations (Douglass, Linn, and Chodoronek 2015; Gonizzi Barsanti, Remondino, and Visintini 2012; Lambers et al. 2007). We required detailed maps in order to be able to decide the site sectorization, and select comparable and complementary excavation units in Ampugasa and Canchaje. We used a pole mapping kit distributed by Public Lab that could reach up to 30 feet in elevation through a series of extensions. We also used two Canon PowerShot S110 digital cameras with a resolution of 12.1 MP; we recorded all the images in high-resolution jpg files. The cameras were enabled with the Canon Hack Development Kit (CHDK) in order to continuously take high-resolution photographs in 4 seconds intervals for every excavated locus.

The camera was installed on the pole at a 3-4 m elevation. We took photos in patches as we walked through the site. Photographs were taken in both vertical and oblique positions in order to develop tridimensional reconstructions and ortho-rectified photographs. Ground control points were established in architectural elements, and then each individual patch was processed and georeferenced in Agisoft Photoscan. The software triangulates the overlaps between photographs to produce a dense point cloud upon which the image mesh can be overlaid. We took the coordinates of the ground control points using a Trimble total station. The ortho-

rectified patches were then imported into ESRI ArcGIS, where the structures were drawn as individual polygons and then rock-by-rock. Corrections of the maps, such as the locations of access points in each site were recorded with GisPro during the intra-site survey.

We used the same method to record each individual excavated locus. In this case, my team and I used a 1-2 m pole altitude recording vertical, oblique, and detail photographs, as well as ground control points for georeferencing. We also took detailed photos of each locus, sometimes with an overhead elevation of as little as 30 cm, to record associated materials in higher resolution. After developing 3D models and georeferenced ortho-rectified photographs, I imported the orthomosaics and digital elevation models (DEM) into the ESRI ArcGIS geodatabase to act as a base for drawing each excavation unit. These polygon shapefiles were then joined with the individual locus information recorded in GisPro. The inventory shapefiles were also edited to fit in their specific geographical location within each locus polygon. ArcGIS processing of the excavation data and the development of spatial models was the basis for the comparative analysis of the material distributions within each site, and between them.

Excavation units in Ampugasa

Ampugasa is a large residential complex (~1.6 ha) located at the top of mount Orcocoto, which towers above the town of the same name (Figure 3.3). Located within the boundaries of the Cuenca district, it is also a contact point between different communities. Just below the site three different modern towns share the boundaries of their agricultural fields: Espíritu Santo de Antioquía, San Martín de Orcocoto (Cuenca) and Santa Cruz de Laya (Lahuaytambo). The site is characterized by two prominent peaks and occupation following the hillsides around them. Excavation units in Ampugasa focused on the comparison between pre-Inka and Inka-period

residential spaces, and on the ritual center of the site for comparison with the excavations carried out in Canchaje.

Excavations concentrated on five areas:

1. The rock outcrop on the first peak, where we excavated two units. First, we excavated a 15 x 3 m trench that cross-cut the outcrop in order to examine its construction phases, excavated at least two of the structures on the outcrop, and cleared out its accessways. We also excavated a 2 x 2 m unit in the center of the plaza in order to examine whether there were subsequent activity floors.

2. The circular plaza on the second peak is where we excavated a 4 x 2 m trench in the center of the plaza. The goal of these excavations was to compare the composition and materials associated between this plaza and the outcrop plaza.

3. The circular structure groups, located between the site's two peaks, where we excavated three structures within one of these groups and cleaned its external access. We used an architectural approach, excavating each individual structure as a whole. The first structure was 4.5 x 3 m, the second structure was 4 x 3.5 m, and the third structure was 5.5 x 2.5 m. We excavated these rooms assuming they were part of the original domestic space, since much of the bibliography on highland pre- and circa-Inka sites identify circular structures with local occupation (van Dalen 2014a; Feltham 2005; Sánchez Borja 2000).

4. The rectangular structure groups, located on the site's southeastern section and going into the hillside. Here we excavated a total of four rooms within one of the groups. Two of the rooms where open spaces that may have served as a multi-activity rooms, the first one measured 9 x 4 m, and the second one 10 x 4 m. The third room was a rectangular structure with three accesses located in the core of the group, measuring 2.8 x 2.8 m. Finally, we excavated one small

room that was likely a looted burial; this structure measured 1.5 x 0.8 m. Orthogonal domestic architecture are commonly considered post-Inka additions to local sites (Cornejo Guerrero 2000; van Dalen 2014a). The excavation of this group was directly compared with the excavation in the circular structures group in order to examine differences and similarities in use, chronology, and material associations.

5. The funerary area, which is not extensive enough to be a whole cemetery. It was located next to the rock outcrop. While superficial observation hinted at burials within the domestic groups, this area housed an isolated rectangular group in close proximity to the Rock Outcrop Plaza. This suggested that the individuals buried there held a special position within the settlement, maybe even taking on the role of local ancestors (Kaulicke 2001; Millones 2001; Salomon 1998). The whole group measured 6 x 5 m and was divided into four burial chambers and a connecting corridor. The two main chambers were looted. We excavated the smaller of the unlooted chambers, which measured 2 x 1 m, and the corridor, which measured 4 x 15 m. The burial chamber was excavated in order to record the specific burial patterns and associations in a context that pre-dated Inka presence at the site. Excavation of the corridor allowed for the collection of de-contextualized materials from the main chambers. We excavated a 5 x 1.3 m area in the northern part outside of the funerary group to examine the open space connecting to the domestic groups and examine whether there were successive floors.

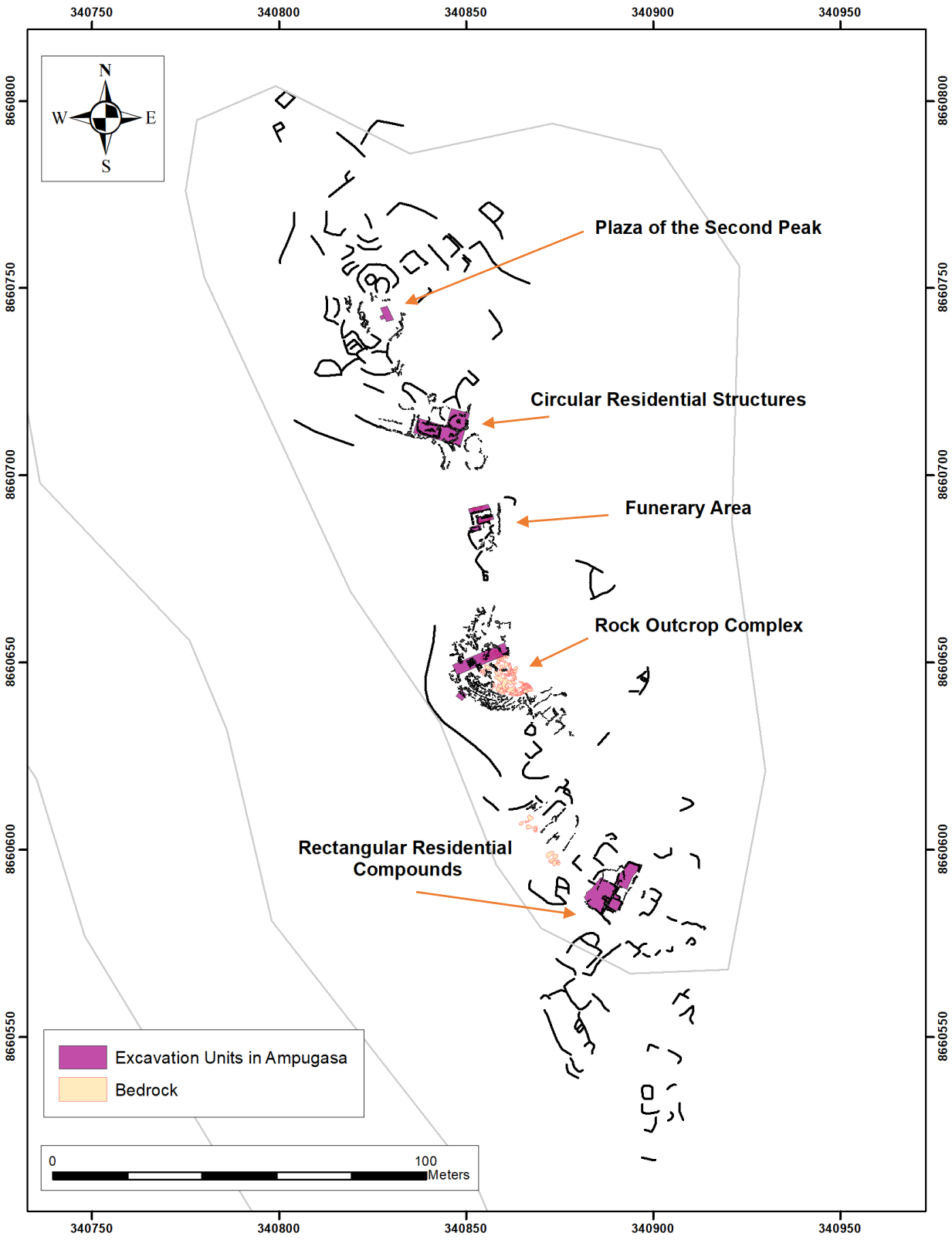

Figure 3.3: General map of Ampugasa indicating excavation units (map by the author).

Excavation units in Canchaje

Canchaje is located in the outskirts of the modern town of Lahuaytambo, on a small mountaintop accessible by a 30-minute walk from the town. It overlooks the valley floor where the waterways interconnect, and also permits access to the neighboring annex town of Canlle. Overall, Canchaje was likely related to the residential settlement of Canchaje de Santa Ana or Lupo, which is located less than 2 km away in the mountain across the valley.

Excavations in Canchaje were geared towards recovering data from pre-Inka and Inka-period ritual emplacements, and investigating the distribution of local and Inka-style artifacts in both spaces.[28] To the northern extreme of the site there is a large rock outcrop commonly known as Corral Blanco. The outcrop occupies less than 0.5 ha, and it's separated by roughly 80 m from the main body of the site. However, both sections are connected by a well-defined prehispanic corridor west of the buildings (Figure 3.4). The main body of the site was a single structure dominated by two plazas that resemble Inka style. Our excavations concentrated on four areas:

1. The trapezoidal plaza where we excavated a 3 x 3 m unit and a 3 x 7 m trench. We also excavated a small 1 x 1 test pit in the long rectangular structure to the north of the trapezoidal plaza. The first unit was located adjacent to the building dividing both plazas, while the trench was located to the southeastern extreme of the plaza, surrounding a low rock outcrop. These units were devised to investigate what types of activities were conducted in the plaza and whether these activities were successive. Specifically, we looked for evidence of feasting, which would match up with Inka known commensal politics practices (see: Bray 2003a).

[28] Modern comuneros divide the site in two, which is roughly reflected in the division by the Ministry of Culture of Canchaje A and B. Canchaje was designated as an archaeological monument by Resolución Directorial Nacional 1556/INC, dated September 27th, 2006. This was modified by the Resolución Directorial Nacional 593/INC, dated March 19th, 2010, to incorporate the site's coordinates.

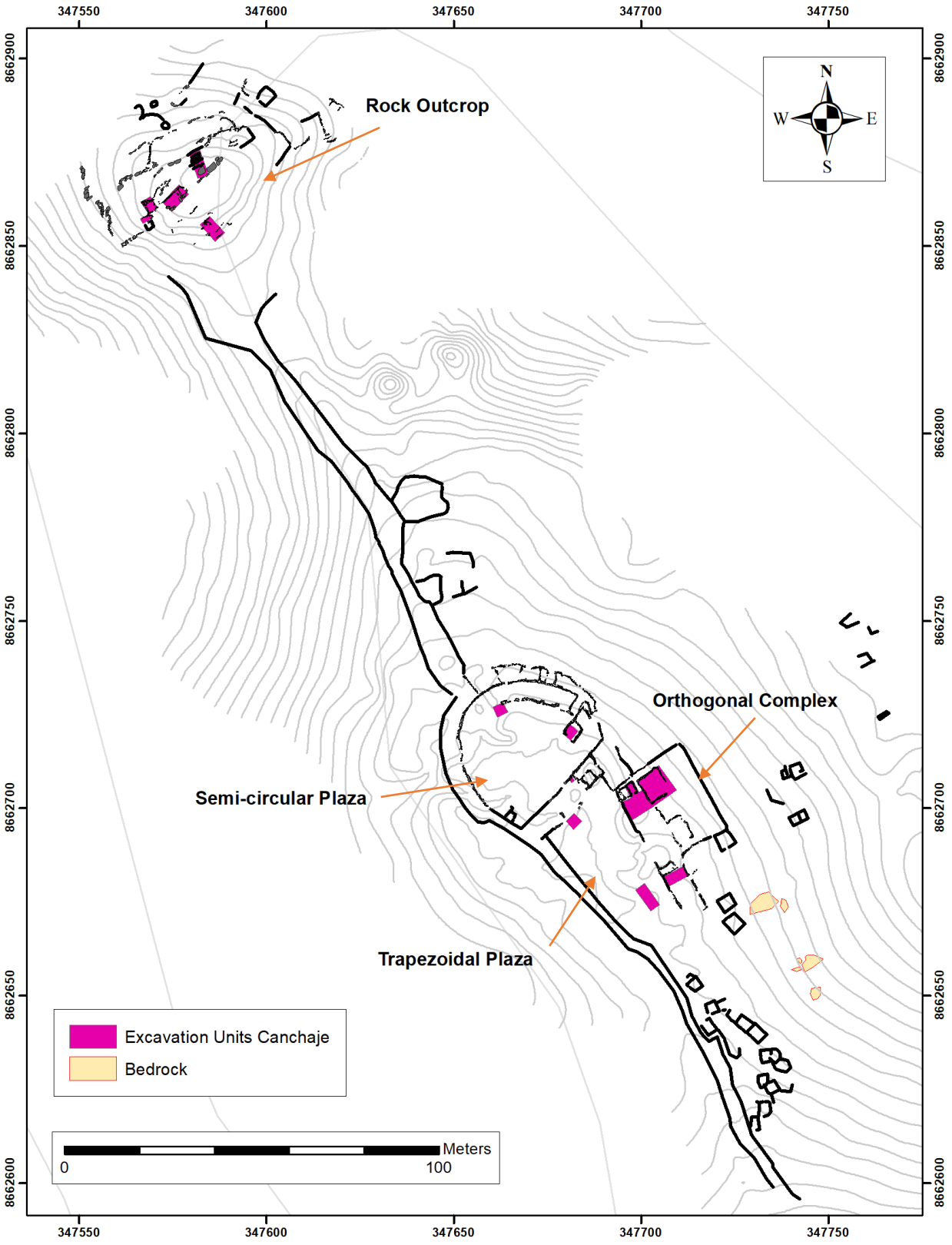

Figure 3.4: General map of Canchaje indicating excavation units (map by the author).

2. The semi-circular plaza, in which we excavated a 3 x 3 m unit at the base of the last stone pillar in the wall. We wanted to distinguish if there were differences between the plazas, any different succession of occupational levels, and distinctions in the density and type of their material associations. We also excavated one room associated with the plaza that measured 3 x 3 m in order to investigate if residential activities were associated with it and if these households presented different materials to those of the ones not associated with plazas.

3. The orthogonal complex to the west of the trapezoidal plaza. This complex was particularly important for our research, since it has been identified by previous researchers as a potential *kancha* -a typical Inka-style residence- and therefore a direct correlate to date the site during the Inka period (van Dalen 2014a). While I don't share this interpretation, the association of this complex with the trapezoidal plaza hinted that it likely had a particular use directly correlated with the activities of the plaza. Moreover, the group is composed of large rectangular buildings that were probably open and smaller rectangular rooms that were roofed with slabs, which we interpreted as potential storage or funerary units. Here we excavated a whole room of 6 x 7 m, one of the storage units measuring 1.5 x 3 m, and the open area in between them, which measured 7 x 5.5 m. Additionally, we excavated the northern section of the largest structure in this group; the rectangular structure measured 12 x 6 m and we excavated an area of 6 x 3 m.

4. The main rock outcrop, which is located on the site's northern peak. This is the section of the site known locally as "Corral Blanco", and consists of a large outcrop of approximately 25 x 55 m, with a plaza at its southern front. The extension of the plaza cannot be fully determined since this area has suffered from constant destruction by the townspeople, who used it as a corral. This outcrop is directly comparable from the one that we excavated in Ampugasa, and the goal of our excavations was both to enable the inter-site comparison and to compare the density of use

and material associations between the outcrop and the plazas within Canchaje. We excavated four units atop the outcrop and a trench in the plaza in front of it. Three rooms with different characteristics were fully excavated; these rooms measured 6.5 x 3.5 m, 2 x 3 m, and 3 x 1.5 m. We also excavated a trench to the east of this area, where the highest point of the outcrop was located. This trench measured 3 x 7 m. Finally, the trench in the plaza measured 3.5 x 6 m. This latter unit would allow us to look for the use surface of the plaza and, potentially, evaluate the access towards the higher sections of the outcrop.

Artifact analysis: characterization of local and state practices through material culture

Our excavations yielded a high number of diverse materials, including: ceramic sherds, human and faunal remains, lithic artifacts, shellfish, organic remains, metals, and carbon. The analyses designed for each type of material were geared towards investigating the four variables listed in Chapter 1: 1) Kinship, 2) Community organization, 3) Ritual practices and emplacements, and 4) Sacralization of geographic landscapes.

Building on my theoretical discussion, I aimed to investigate whether similar and familiar materials in Huarochirí existing before Inka incorporation had been incorporated into new domestic and ritual spaces, or whether they had been abandoned for new ritual constructs. I was also able to examine the changes in materials through similar contexts at the intra- and inter-site level. Through this perspective, I directly investigated how specific artifacts, their characteristics, and their distribution correlated to the built space in Ampugasa and Canchaje.

The results of the analyses described below were integrated into the GIS in order to conduct distribution analysis and test the importance of changes within material culture as

proxies for Inka repurposing of different sectors of the sites. We used functionalities that enabled both spatial analysis and spatial statistics.

Analysis of human remains

Bioarchaeological analysis was conducted by Martha Palma. The sample consisted of four burials recorded in Ampugasa. We didn't recover any funerary remains from the excavations in Canchaje. Palma individualized each burial, determining the minimal number of individuals (MNI), pathologies and biological sex using Buikstra and Ubelacker standards (1994). Biological age at the time of death was determined using the methods described by Rathbun and Buikstra (1984), Baker et al. (2005) and Hillson (2005). Height was estimated following Genovés (1967), Stewart (1970, 1979) and Trotter (1970). The MNI in Ampugasa was of 34, albeit with varying degrees of body completion.

Ana Valdivia and María de los Angeles Godoy recorded teeth non-metric traits for all the individuals to draw direct comparisons with other contemporary populations in the lower Lurin and Yauyos regions (Kolp-Godoy et al. 2014) Non-metric traits were recorded through the forms developed by Godoy.

Isotopic analysis of a sample from the burials was conducted by Tiffiny Tung at the Vanderbilt Biological Anthropology Lab. This research will prove particularly poignant in determining the extension and ties between different populations in the valley and to address issues of population mobility after the Inka incorporation. The results from the bioarchaeological analysis are in Appendix A. The results from the isotopic analysis can be found in Appendix B.

Analysis of faunal remains

Zooarchaeological analysis was conducted by Carlos Osores. He identified a total of 12 species in Ampugasa and also 12 species in Canchaje. Osores first quantified the sample using two standard measurements: Number of Identified Specimens (NISP) and Minimal Number of Individuals (MNI) (Reitz and Wing 2008: 202-213; Lyman 2008: 27-71; Orchard 2000: 27-28). He identified the taxonomy of each sampled and their degree of thermic alteration (Ramos y Campos 2014). The total sample in Ampugasa was MNI of 78 individuals and NISP of 323 and in Canchaje MNI of 150 individuals and NISP of 935. The analysis aimed towards identification of consumption species, as well as potential ritual ones, and investigating shift in consumption patterns between occupational periods. The results from the zooarchaeological analysis are attached in Appendix C.

Analysis of paleobotanical remains

Paleobotanic analysis was conducted by Victor Vasquez and Teresa Rosales, who co-head the Andean Bioarchaeological and Paleoecological Research Center (Arqueobios S.A.C) in Trujillo, Peru. A total of 40 (2 to 4 kg each) soil samples were analyzed. Some samples were floated in the field and some in the Arqueobios research center. Recovered micro botanic remains were identified using a Stereoscopic Microscope with a 50X augmentation. Residue analysis was also conducted on eleven ceramic sherds and six lithic artifacts. The pieces were studied under a 20X magnifier lens, recognizing the color and texture of the residues. All the materials were sterilized in the laboratory, so as to account for potential contamination. The samples selected from the artifacts were then studied under a 1000X amplification in order to identify microscopic grains and using comparable samples to determine the appropriate taxon.

The study was completed using polarized light in order to detect the presence of micro organic bodies, measure them, and photograph them using a digital camera, a Sony DSCW200 with 12.1 megapixels. Residue analysis in cooking pots and lithic tools provided a direct correlate of the foodstuffs for both sites. The laboratory results from soil flotation are included in Appendix D. The results from the residue analysis are presented in Appendix E.

Analysis of malacological remains

Shellfish analysis was limited to the identification of specific taxa and the minimal number of individuals. Shellfish recorded during the excavation were a minimal fraction of the material culture and seem to not have played a key role in the site's day-to-day consumption. However, by identifying the species, we were able to draw some preliminary inferences in regard to the extent of trade networks of the Yauyos population. I also characterized and described malacological artifacts, although these were minimal in the sample. The results of the analysis are presented in Chapter 8 (p.357).

Analysis of lithic artifacts

Lithic analysis was conducted at both a macroscopic and microscopic level. The identification of different artifacts and tools was then correlated to their context location and associations in order to further support our interpretations about the day-to-day activities within each site. We then conducted p-XRF (Portable X-Ray Fluorescence) analysis on ninety-one artifacts manufactured in a very fine rock that was not characteristic of other lithic artifacts. The results from the p-XRF analysis were then analyzed using R statistical capabilities. By drawing

up the components of each of artifact and cross-referencing them with the geomorphologic characteristics of the natural landscape in Huarochirí, we expected to test whether Yauyos or post-Yauyos exchange networks shifted through time, as well as the role these artifacts played within their specific context. The descriptions of the artifacts result from the analysis are in Chapter 8 (p.363).

Analysis of ceramic sherds

Ceramic analysis was also conducted in macro- and microscopic levels. Macroscopic analysis was conducted using a conventional classification table compiling information on form, function, manufacture technique, surface treatment, decoration, paste composition, firing environments, and overall formal characteristics. Given the lack of archaeological research in Huarochirí, we opted to follow the same classification devised by archaeologist Zachary Chase for his excavations in Llaqsatambo (San Damián, Huarochirí) (Chase 2014). This choice was grounded on our interest in developing comparable datasets to facilitate sharing information and draw regional level inferences about the Huarochirí material culture. The classification tables and protocols used in the ceramic analysis are in the Appendix F. The drawings of a sample of representative sherds from this classification are presented in Appendix H.

Through this classification, we were able to develop a first grouping teasing out the differences in material composition between the sites and among different sectors of each one. We also examined whether there was a local ceramic complex which could be used as a baseline to identify potential foreign materials. We further drew comparisons of these assemblages with nearby and contemporary sites (see: Feltham 1983; Makowski 2002; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2015). In Ampugasa, we recovered a total of 1,374 diagnostic sherds, with a total

weight of 22.759 kg. The weight of non-diagnostic sherds was 97.309 kg. Of the diagnostic sherds, my team and I completed detailed macroscopic morphological analysis on 1,217 fragments (89% of diagnostic sherds universe). In Canchaje, we recovered a total of 1,516 diagnostic sherds, with a total weight of 20.019 kg. The weight of non-diagnostic sherds was 97.176 kg. Of the diagnostic sherds, my team and I completed detailed macroscopic morphological analysis on 1,448 fragments (95% of diagnostic sherds universe).

Based on the macroscopic analysis, the sherds were divided in potential clay groups, describing their broader characteristics. We selected 50 samples from each site, intentionally selected to represent each preliminary clay group in order to conduct LA-ICP-MS (Laser Ablation-Inductively Coupled-Mass Spectrometry) analysis in the Field Museum of Chicago[29]. LA-ICP-MS analysis consists in a specialized technique for the chemical characterization of ceramic composition. This is an ongoing analysis that surpasses the scope of this dissertation. We did not make a random sample for the following reasons: first, we wanted to record as many possible types of clays as there were in the universe and, second, it was unnecessary to aim for a sample that represented the internal distribution of each population because we could draw this information from the cross-referencing with the macroscopic analysis.

Dating of organic remains

Finally, Accelerator Mass Spectrometer (AMS) radiocarbon dating on selected samples was completed at the W. M. Keck Carbon Cycle Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Laboratory, at

[29] We did not conduct LA-ICP-MS analysis on separate clay samples from the Lurin valley because such a project was already undertaken by Krzysztof Makowski and Gabriela Oré (Makowski et al. 2008; Makowski et al. 2015; Makowski and Oré Menendez 2014; Ore Menéndez 2012).

the University of California at Irvine. The results from the laboratory are included in Appendix G. The use of AMS dating was an ideal technique for the materials recovered, given they require very small samples and the ability of the method to provide very small ranges for each date. Later period archaeology in the Andes has had to deal with the fact that conservative dates for the Inka Empire give it an extent of roughly 100 years (Ogburn 2012). AMS dating consists in the ionization of a small sample of an organic element, in which the carbon 14 isotopes are separated from other masses. Using the decay rate for carbon isotopes, it is possible to define an accurate date.

There were some important limitations in regards to sample selection: first, the shallowness of the stratigraphy made it a very strong possibility that there would be problems with dating carbon samples from hearths. There was a high potential for contamination from the vegetation that intruded well below the occupational surfaces of the structures; therefore, no carbon samples were used for dating. Second, again as a consequence of the shallowness (no more than 30-50 cm under rockfall) of the stratigraphic deposits, it was very unlikely to obtain adequate samples from both the lower and upper levels of the same pit. In addition to the lack of strong occupation of most sectors of the sites, this became even more daunting.

To effectively manage these issues, I structured my sampling strategy around the following principles: first, use a variety of different materials to account for not using carbon samples. Second, enforce a distribution of the samples that reflected the expected differences in the occupational history of each of the sites. Third, look for contexts that we could relate with specific events that assured their position within the site. The selected samples included a total of 2 human teeth, 3 animal bones, 3 shells (included two unaltered shells and an artifact), 3 botanical remains, and 6 ceramic sherds with organic residue attached. From the total of 17

samples, the 3 animal bones yielded no results as it was impossible to extract collagen. The other 14 samples were evenly distributed for each site (Chapter 8).

Dating standards included organic remains, such as human and animal bones, shells, and botanic remains (Taylor 2014). I pursued dating of cooking pot residue in order to directly date the use of the ceramic vessels. The use of organic residue has a more limited scope as it is considered risky. Yates et al. (2013) conducted a pilot study on the feasibility of using AMS dating on botanic remains on surface-collected stone tools in Australia as a mean to give an absolute dating to these implements. The authors note that organic residues tend to encapsulation, so when possible to account for the potential intrusive elements, this could be a good method for dating. Yates et al. (2015) suggest accounting for specific variables in order to contain the threat of bad results of residue dating, including: residue identification, residue preservation, potential contaminants, and the potential for getting too small sample yields.

Building on these protocols, I selected unwashed sherds with a relatively thick layer of organic residue in internal walls (approximately 2-5 mm) to control potential contamination by soils and vegetation. We kept the sherds in non-acid paper to cover the residue and avoid contact with other artifacts and samples. None of the fragments were associated with burials. Residue analysis in contemporaneous sherds –in some cases part of the same vessel- determined the composition of the organic residue. Our analysis found very little variability, and most of the residue samples were composed of corn. AMS dates for corn cobs served as control.

The laboratory used blanks, or measurements taken from material directly attached to the wall of the sherd, to calibrate the dates. The goal of these blanks was to have a measurement that could be correlated to modern soil contamination. However, not all blank samples yielded results to aid calibration (John Southon, personal communication). We got good results for the majority

of the sherds that correlated well without other relative and absolute dates. I calibrated the dates using OxCal online software.

Summary

In this chapter, I have reviewed and justified the methodological choices I made during the fieldwork and laboratory seasons of my doctoral research. My methodology archival sources, archaeological reconnaissance and excavation, and material analysis as a mean to attend to a multi-level investigation of the impact of the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí in familiar social domains as evidence of a mutual attempt to create legibility. In the following pages, I present the results from these complementary datasets and analytical methods.

CHAPTER 4

LEGIBILITY IN THE LATE PREHISPANIC ANDES

The goal of this chapter is to contextualize my fieldwork in Huarochirí, with a focus on the period immediately before Inka expansion and the consolidation of the empire. In this chapter I will critically review prior perspectives on the Late Intermediate Period (1000-1432 CE) and the Inka Period or Late Horizon (1400-1532 CE). One of the questions I address in this section is what was the stage of development of the Inka Empire by the time they incorporated Huarochirí. Why did they annex the province into the empire? What of the Inka Empire's own positionality at the time of this incorporation influenced the way in which they engaged the Yauyos and, conversely, the way the Yauyos faced the Inka? This review is central to supporting my work in Huarochirí and investigating the relative autonomy or political control experienced by the polities under Inka rule.

The first section reviews the canonical Central Andean regional chronologies that have influenced the characterization of the LIP and LH. I explore in detail the works that have influenced characterization of LIP polities as groups in endemic conflict and the LH as a period of rapid expansion for the Inka empire. I present challenges to both models that support the need for a more in-depth discussion of temporality of state/local interaction in this period. Through this review, I aim to demonstrate that the people of Huarochirí were not one of the powerful polities that were incorporated into the Inka Empire, which more than likely demanded Inka attention and investment at the time of their encounter with the Yauyos.

The second section moves from chronology to examine a central aspect of this interaction: the underlying ideologies of Inka imperialism. The Inka were the latest expression of

different experiments on statecraft in the Andes, and therefore had precedents from which to learn and adapt existing infrastructure. Moreover, they were still in the process of consolidation, which may have directly influenced their interaction with the Yauyos. I build upon archaeological literature to examine how the Inka synthetized existing practices to formalize and expand a very specific imperial project built upon an integrative ritualized worldview. I focus on the evidence of continuity and permanence of practices within the domains of analysis I presented in Chapter 1 (kinship, community organization, ritual practices and spaces, and sacralization of geographic landscapes). I will focus on supporting the argument that pan-Andean principles were expanded, maintained, and formalized under Inka expansionism.

The Late Intermediate Period and the chronology of Inka expansion

Problems of absolute chronology have impeded our understanding of how local cultural practices informed Inka imperial expansion. Research on Inka archaeology heavily relies on relative dating methods grounded on stylistic typologies and seriations. Relative dating was favored by the highly standardized and diagnostic characteristics of ceramic traditions such as the Inka one. Additionally, absolute chronology of later periods in the Andean sequence was hindered by the short durations of some political entities. Inka expansion, for examples, lasted approximately 150 years (Ogburn 2012). The paucity of chronological controls also limits understanding of the process of political expansion itself.

The Andean chronological sequence used by most researchers is grounded on the concepts of "horizons" and "intermediate periods". Kroeber (1944:108) defined horizons as "one showing definably distinct features some of which extend over a large area, so that its relations with other, more local styles serve to place these in relative time, according as the relation are of

priority, consociation, or subsequence.[30]" Horizons were characterize as periods of diffusion of a certain style. (Willey 1945:50)[31]. Implicitly, this characterization of style became a proxy for identifying style with people and political entities.

Dorothy Menzel's (1959) and John H. Rowe's (1960) work is the most influential in the construction of Andean chronology. Their work on Ica was explicitly avoiding tying chronology to specific political processes. Horizons were conceived as periods of interregional spread of corporate styles and defined through stratigraphic information from their work in Ica. Building on Kroeber, the authors elaborated the master sequence that remains in use throughout of the central Andes: Preceramic, Initial Period, Early Horizon, Early Intermediate Period, Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period, and Late Horizon[32]. My research centers on the Late Intermediate Period (LIP) and the Late Horizon (LH).

Most current overviews of Andean archaeology, such as Covey (2008), Dulanto (2008), and D'Altroy (2015), date the LIP between 1000-1400 CE, a 400 year span between the collapse of Wari and Tiwanaku, and the imperial phase of the Inka. This date is a good compromise

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[30] The difference between horizons and horizon styles has best been addressed by Stone-Miller (1993:15–16): horizon is a unit of cultural space, which is defined by groups of similar artifacts across space that are assumed to be contemporary; horizon style is an aesthetic device, the identifiable stylistic features through which artifacts can be related. The horizon style are the units through which we can define the formation of horizons.

[31] Rice (1993:2) argues that "The horizon concept presupposes an integrated pattern of elements and motives and a level of aesthetic development that is not necessarily demonstrated in all archaeologically identifiable societies. (…) Although horizon assemblages or styles are not necessarily emically significant to the producers of the artifacts and patterns, definitions of horizons by archaeologists assume some purposive human agency or mode for the spread of the defining styles or traits."

[32] While there are sequences based on the political stages of social developments that have been applied by a narrower group of archaeologists, Rowe himself explains why the horizon model remains the most popular: "The so-called 'functional-developmental' schemes which became fashionable in the Peruvian field in 1946 are not satisfactory for our purpose because they introduce another confusion, a confusion of time and cultural process. Cultural process should be a goal of our investigations, not something that we assume at the moment we try to put pottery styles in chronological order."

among different authors, although there is debate regarding its start and end-date. Regional studies push its beginning as far as 900 CE (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2015) and as late as 1100 CE (Wernke 2010), while the end can be stretched to 1450 CE (Acuto, Troncoso, and Ferrari 2012; Farrington 2013; Wernke 2013)[33]. The lack of agreement in the dates is to be expected, since Inka material culture –the absolute defining characteristic of the shift between LIP and LH- likely had different rhythms of incorporations into different areas. There is also a growing body of evidence that Inka expansion may have predated Rowe's expectations in the farthest provinces of the Empire. For example, dates in Chile and Argentina suggest Inka presence before 1450 (D'Altroy, Williams, and Lorandi 2007), with recent dates from the Argentinian Northwest (NOA) suggesting an Inka presence as early as 1370 CE (Greco 2017). Central Bolivia (Gyarmati and Condarco 2018) and the Ecuador highlands (Ogburn 2012) have similar dates, which antecede the 1450 mark suggested by Rowe's historical scheme.

Traditionally, archaeologists define the LIP through a number of expectations related to sociopolitical organization, centralization, and settlement distribution. General overviews of this period were strongly influenced by historical accounts that described pre-Inka societies as almost barbaric and in a state of endemic warfare. These polities were known as *señoríos*, small kingdoms where local leadership was not fully centralized beyond warlords[34]. The chronicles

[33] While a difference of 100 years for both start and end dates may seem insignificant, for Andean chronology this is an important difference when we bear in mind that the Inka empire lasted a little less than 100 years.
[34] Kohut (2016:32) argues that there is a "contrasting narrative" in the document between the idea of endemic warfare and the development of *señoríos* as evidence of emergent and expansive political identities. Building on her distinction, I argue that the key characteristic that brings both contending poles together is the idea of warfare and the narrative that conflict was galloping before the Inka brought these groups together within their empire. Consequently, even though paramount lords may have started to develop in this period, their social power was still very much tied to immediate conquest and expansion that can be translated into generalized political unrest.

spend significant time focusing on Inka conquest of the territories and the submission of local lords[35]. However, the chronicles were devised first and foremost as an official Inka history. Therefore, an expected outcrop of the myth of origin of the empire was casting other contemporaneous societies as barbaric, only becoming civilized through their incorporation into the Inka empire (Bauer 2004).

Among the main expectations drawn by archaeology to classify the LIP are: regional political fragmentation (Covey 2008; Timothy K. Earle 1987; Matos Mendieta 1994; Marcus 1987), the prominence of defensive features such as hilltop fortifications (Arkush 2008; 2011), relatively simple ceramic styles and manufacture (Bauer and Kellett 2010), and skeletal trauma rates and patterns indicative of regional warfare (Arkush and Tung 2013; Tung 2012; Velasco 2016). In many regions there is also a marked increase in population density (Parsons 2000) and a movement of settlements to highly defensive hilltops with large viewsheds (Kellett 2010; Kohut 2016). These combined features are consistent with the document-based notion of the LIP as a time of fragmentary societies in violent conflict.

However, recent scholarship shows a more complex and diverse political landscape during the LIP. The main problem with trying to generalize a model for the polities during the LIP from the chronicles is best summarized by Arkush and Ikehara (2019:68):

> The contact-period sources, which are colored by both Inca and Spanish biases, support at least two kinds of interpretations. On the one hand, a few sources describe hereditary paramount lords existing before or at the time of the Inca expansion, such as for the powerful señoríos of the Colla and the Lupaqa of the Titicaca Basin (Diez de San Miguel, 1964 [1567]; Julien, 1983; Lumbreras, 1974; Murra, 1968; Toledo, 1975). Farther south, the Aymara ethnic lords or *mallkus* of the southern altiplano of Bolivia, in their testimonies to Spanish administrators, also traced their lineage claims to power back to

[35] Ogburn (2012:220) notices that there is a strong link between the episodes of conquests described in the chronicles and the limitations of the relative chronologies built upon them. He highlights that in these documents, the narratives are more concerned with expansion and the location of conquest, therefore making unreliable most attempts to draw out specific chronologies through purported dates of conquest.

> pre-Inca times (Bouysse-Cassagne, 1975; Covey, 2008; Espinoza Soriano, 1981; Nielsen, 2006, 2014; Pease, 1992; Platt, 1987; Platt et al., 2006). However, these claims are counterbalanced by other statements describing weak, decentralized, and even impermanent political leadership. Informants in the central Andes of Jauja and Ayacucho interviewed in 1571-2 for Toledo's tax regularization stated that, prior to the Incas, the only leaders were temporary, situational war leaders or *sinchis* (Julien, 2003). This characterization is independently echoed in statements by a number of chroniclers who worked in the Cuzco and Titicaca basin areas (e.g., Cieza de León, 1985: 6 [1553: II. 2: iv]; Mercado de Peñalosa, 1885:58 [1586]: 58; Sarmiento de Gamboa, 1988: 46 [1572: Ch. 8]). Sinchi leaders were said to have received no tribute from their people, and their main roles lay in leading wars and managing communal projects, including collective ceremonies.

In the coastal lowlands and middle valleys, the LIP does not fit into these expectations. Here, archaeologists more generally talk about *macro-etnias* ("macro-ethnicities"), defined by María Rostworowski (1961; 1988b), as political confederacies composed by different ethnic groups but unified to a degree of political centralization. When the Inka conquered the territories of these ethnic groups, they made alliances with local lords, through a mix of enticements, threats, and coercion, incorporating local leaders as middle management. In this model, it is expected to find direct archaeological correlates of unified political identities for a long period before the intrusion of Inka-style artifacts. Consequently, there is an expectation that material culture would provide a clear-cut way to differentiate between the LIP and the LH (Díaz 2004; Eeckhout 2005; 2010a; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2012; 2015; Marcus 1987; 2008).

For example, the Chimu state on the Peruvian north coast developed as a centralized and expanding political entity by 900 CE, having expanded beyond their heartland in the Moche Valley and reaching the Jequetepeque Valley to the north. While early studies on Chimu suggested a direct and strong political control of Jequetepeque as a productive hinterland (Moore and Mackey 2008), recent scholarship suggests the presence of rural elites that made use of ceremonial practices and imperial architectural symbols to maintain a degree of autonomy

(Swenson 2007). In her excavations at Pedregal, Curtright (2013) found evidence of small-scale rituals involving maize, Spondylus shells, and hair offerings and community-scale rituals centered on low-platform mounds. She argues that the construction of the mounds was for scenarios of feasting and burial rituals throughout the LIP. Competitive feasting suggests a form of elite culture that goes beyond the argument of *sinchis* in the altiplano, but rather speaks to people that could guarantee access to sumptuary and consumption goods for episodes of displaying power. In other words: "by relying on local labor and resources, and by taking place in intimate household and unrestricted village spaces, domestic ritual practice also maintained a focus on household autonomy and community integration in the face of increasing demands by these regional centers on the labor and production of rural communities" (Curtright 2013:17).

The situation is different in the southern Andes. For example, in the site of Pica in Tarapacá (northern Chile), Pacheco and Retamal (2017:35–36) found very low levels of violence-related injuries and caches of highly adorned weapons that may have proven ineffective in combat. They argue that while among neighboring communities in Atacama an increase of violence-related injuries and decrease on burial goods corresponded to the construction of pukaras, the Tarapacá region showed stronger evidence of hierarchy and centralization. Contact with the altiplano communities in the latter half of the LIP would have coincided with the appearance of a small-number of violence-related injuries. The authors recorded a total of 10 injuries, distributed among 6 adult individuals; 2 females and 4 males. They explain them as cases of domestic violence for the females and ritualized combats for the males. While the authors give no clear rationale for the oversimplified and blatantly sexist interpretation of the female injuries, they back up their hypothesis of ritual combats by the lack of *pukaras*, iconographic representations in geoglyphs depicting instances of worship, and preponderance of

weapons as burial offerings rather than artifacts related to occupation. However, the authors do not explain why they the residents of Pica would have resorted to events of cyclical violence. Research in the Andean highlands is pertinent for the investigation of Huarochirí communities, which are consistently presented as less complex and centralized than their coastal counterparts.

Most current debates centered on the LIP stem from ongoing research in the Titicaca basin, a region characterized in colonial sources occupied by *señoríos* who fought the Inka. Arkush's (2017:241–250) work in Machu Llaqta (Ayawiri) demonstrates a "marked concern with defense, and are typified by hillfort villages and towns", yet also explores the questions of how the people in these fortified settlements lived. She explores the departure from the settlement, which she argues was probably forced and experienced differently by the families living in Ayawiri. Most of the larger hillfort sites or *pukaras* in Titicaca basin were permanently occupied, but after the Inka moved residential life to low-lying non-defensive sites, there is virtually no evidence of *pukara* reoccupation. Arkush argues that "Inca imperial control of the Titicaca basin entailed regional pacification, along with many other economic, social, and religious transformations". There is also no evidence of people staying behind after abandonment, nor of trash disposal areas. The summary of data suggests that "In short, some residential groups seems to have left in a more orderly fashion than others". This could be a consequence of broader political processes that rendered micro-communities or families within Ayawiri as autonomous agents on the face of political pressures. This is in part supported by Langlie's (2018) work on the site.

Langlie (2018:167) argues that the Colla developed a strategy to contend with "ecological resistance", wherein the labor organization of the agrarian landscape helped offset the potential for individual rulers to establish lasting authority. By creating structures that rested on labor and

collective action rather on direct leadership, the Colla may have marked through the landscape the evidence of their resistance to be controlled. At the same time, they also created an economy that could withstand foreign attacks (such as by the Inka Empire) where communities could almost autonomously support and protect themselves through the fields attached to hillforts. This model is supported by the fact that terraces surrounding Ayawiri were not uniform in height or design, and that they were incrementally built during the LIP rather than during a single centralized event. Langlie (2018:176) also makes a case for the disparities between the historical and archaeological record:

> Among the Colla, *sinchis* came to power to organize and ready communities for battle (Arkush, 2008). There is a paradox here between ethnohistoric data and our archaeological understanding of the Colla. Even though warlords were able to coordinate community activities for militaristic activities, there is no architectural or material wealth differences between households at most hillforts that would be indicative of warlord status at these sites (Arkush, 2011, 2018). We see no evidence of sinchis archaeologically at Ayawiri.

Finally, the investigation of the construction of community and ethnic identities in the LIP is also advanced by bioarchaeological research. Velasco identified a significant increase in cranial modification among Colca valley populations between the early and late LIP periods (from 39.2% to 73.7%). He argues that standardization of the practice would have contributed to the symbolic basis for cooperation and collective action in the face of heightened conflict. Velasco (2018:98) attempts to move "totalizing representations of ethnicity" beyond the idealized Inka and Spanish narratives put forth in the colonial documents. He finds that while various forms of cranial modification were prevalent in the earlier part of the LIP, there was an increasing homogeneity in the latter period that supports the idea of consolidation of ethnic boundaries. The differences in the pattern may be suggestive of the development of new elite

identities. The changing nature of community organization and identity is a central aspect of my work in Huarochirí.

This brief overview of the literature on the LIP period opens the door for new avenues of discussion. The political landscape found by the Inka was not only extremely diverse, but also contained a number of political agents with different goals. However, I argue in the next chapter that such on-the-ground diversity could be funneled through the broader religious and social understandings of concepts such as kinship, community organization, ritual practices and emplacements, and sacralization of geographic landscapes. The mechanisms through which these agents worked to maintain cohesion within their own ethnic groupings suggest a degree of autonomy that may have facilitated their interaction with the Inka through the lenses of resilience of their own local practices.

In the next section, I argue that Inka imperialism had to reckon with this landscape in a manner that was cost-effective. Rather than assume homogenous processes of political control, I aim to demonstrate that the common cultural practices between the LIP and the Inka were precisely the social spaces through which local autonomy and state policies were negotiated.

Inka imperial geography and its others

In this section, I discuss specific ritual practices of Inka imperialism that were familiar enough between them and other Andean polities to serve as spaces for encounter and redefinition of power relationships during the period of imperial expansion. Building on examples archaeological research on the intersection between the end of the LIP and the beginnings of Inka imperialism, I argue that rather even the most canonical forms of Inka architecture likely rest on previous accepted cultural forms. Cultural practices were underlined by familiar

understandings of landscape, kinship and ritual that favored this adaptation and created social spaces for negotiation. I have previously argued that ritual was a preferred domain of interaction for the Inka Empire. I will start this section by investigating where was there the Inka Empire in its history by the time they incorporated Huarochirí.

The Inka Empire at the time of the incorporation of Huarochirí

The Inka were originally a small polity in the Cusco basin that managed to overcome their closest neighbors and start an astonishing process of expansion (Bauer and Covey 2002). Through different campaigns, they incorporated a large section of western South America. However, most of the expansion took place during the rule of the last three Inkas before the Spanish arrival (Rostworowski 1988a). The Inka Empire, therefore, was not a monolithic institution. In order to investigate how they pursued legibility in Huarochirí, we need to also question what was the state of the Inka Empire by the time they made it to the region.

While there is no hard date for the arrival of the Inka in Huarochirí, we can estimate a range through the colonial written documents. The incorporation of province was likely part of the Inka campaign to the north coast during the reign of Pachakuti, where he shared military control with his heir, Thupa Inka Yupanqui. The Inka army was on its way back from the expedition to conquer the Chimu and Cajamarca people. D'Altroy (2015:97) summarized this stage of Inka expansion as follows:

> At some point, Pachakuti dispatched forces northward, supported by Chanka soldiers pressed into service. They advanced through several hundred kilometers of difficult territory, subduing many redoubtable etnias through intimidation, pitched battle, and siege. The Incas and Chankas fell out along the way, apparently because the Incas were embarrassed by the Chanka's superior valor un taking a fort. Before the Inca commander could recoup his honor by punishing the Chankas, they escaped northward. The Incas advanced to Cajamarca in their pursuit, where they defeated the local lord and his coastal

> allies, the Chimu. After leaving a garrison in Cajamarca, the army turned back to Cuzco laden with booty. On the return trip, the army took a route through the lower slopes of the western Andes. The venture was the first or second of four or five separate descents described for Inca armies until the entire coast was finally taken.

Interestingly, it seems that this campaign took place before Thupa Inka Yupanqui, now as Inka, directed expeditions to the southern coast region. In the sourh coast, the Inka would face resistance from the people of Cañete, and eventually construct a favorable alliance with the people of Chincha. This is the period of the first imperial expansion, and the Inka had suffered their own defeats before the successful subjugation of the north coast. They were still relying on the Chanka armies, also recently subdued themselves. Their march into the central coast would have been a momentous part of the expedition, as they incorporated the coastal central ritual site, Pachacamac. Below, I present specific mentions of the Inka arrival into the region from the colonial documents:

> According to Pedro Cieza de Leon (1985:171)
>
> Muchos yndios dizen quel mismo Ynga hablo con el demonio que estava en el ydolo de Pachacama y que le oyo como hera el Hazedor del mundo y otros desatinos que no pongo por no convenir; y que el Ynga le suplico le avisase con que serviçio seria mas onrado y alegre y que respondio que le sacrif[ic]asen mucha sangre umana y de ovejas. Pasado lo [que] sobre esto quentan, dizen que fueron hechos grandes sacrifiçios en Pachacama por Topa Ynga Yupangue y grandes fiestas, las quales pasadas dio la buelta al Cuzco por un camino que se le hizo, que va a salir al valle de Xauxa, que atravieça por la nevada sierra de Pariacaca, ques no poco de ver y notar su grandeza y quan grandes escaleras tiene, y oy dia se ven por entre aquellas nieves para lo poder pasar. Y visitando las provinçias de la serrania y proveyendo y ordenando lo que mas convenia para la buena governaçion, allego al Cuzco, adonde fue reçibido con grandes fiestas y vayles y se hizieron en el tenplo grandes sacrefiçios por sus vitorias

> According to De la Gasca (1998:38):
>
> Estos Ingas, después que sujetaron la Sierra, procuraron sujetar los llanos y, aunque con mucho trabajo y con gran muerte de gente, lo hicieron y mandaron a los de los llanos que tuviesen al sol por Dios y porque no lo querían hacer, hicieron en ellos muchos castigos;

> y afligidos los de los llanos, decíen [sic] que por sus sacerdotes consultaron a Pachacama sobre ello y respondió que, pues no podían hacer más, que adorasen al sol, pero que no dexasen a él; y así, los de los llanos tenían entrambas observancias, la del sol y Pachacama, pero más principal a Pachacama.

According to Garcilaso de la Vega (2000:Book 6, Ch. XVI):

> Lo cual proveído, acordó volverse al Cozco y de camino conquistar un rincón de tierra que había dejado atrás, que por estar lejos del camino que llevó a la ida, no la dejó ganada. Esta provincia, que llaman Yauyu, es áspera de sitio y de gente belicosa, mas con todo eso le pareció que le bastarían doce mil soldados; mandó que se escogiesen y despidió los demás, por no fatigarlos donde no eran menester. Llegando a los términos de aquella provincia le envió los requerimientos acostumbrados de paz o de guerra.
> Los Yauyus se juntaron y platicaron sobre el caso; tuvieron contrarios pareceres. Unos decían que muriesen todos defendiendo la patria y la libertad y sus dioses antiguos. Otros, más cuerdos, dijeron que no había para qué proponer temeridades y locuras manifiestas, que bien veían que no se podía defender la patria ni la libertad contra el poder del Inca, que los tenía rodeados por todas partes, y sabían que había sujetado otras provincias mayores y que sus dioses no se ofenderían, pues los dejaban por fuerza, a más no poder, y que no hacían ellos mayor delito que todas las demás naciones, que habían hecho lo mismo; que mirasen que los Incas, según habían oído decir, trataban a sus vasallos de manera que antes se debía desear y amar que aborrecer el imperio de ellos. Por todo lo cual les parecía que llanamente le obedeciesen, porque lo contrario era manifiesto desatino y total destrucción de lo que pretendían conservar, porque podían los Incas, si quisiesen, echarles encima las sierras que en derredor tenían. Este consejo prevaleció, y así, de común consentimiento, recibieron a los Incas con toda la fiesta y solemnidad que pudieron hacer. El general hizo muchas mercedes al curaca, y a sus deudos, capitanes y gente noble, mandó dar mucha ropa de la fina, que llaman compi; y a los plebeyos otra mucha, de la común, que llaman auasca; y todos quedaron muy contentos de haber cobrado tal Rey y señor.

From these citations, it is possible to infer that by the time of the encounter between the Yauyos and the Inka the empire was in a process of ongoing expansion and possibly spread too thin. They had conquered the people of northern coast and highlands to a great expense, having to leave part of the armies in garrisons. They were in the route back to Cusco and probably gearing up to continue the expansion into the southern coast. The conquest of small polities like

Huarochirí was a by-product of having to reinforce their conquest of larger and richer groups. If we consider that these polities were conquered "on the way back to Cusco", we can hypothesize that the goal of this expansion was to guarantee the Inka easier access to labor and military conscription in case the larger polities rebelled against them. It is possible that this position would facilitate an "easier" incorporation for the Yauyos, as they were not a main target of Inka expansion. That the Inka preferred to use ritual engagement as a tool of diplomacy in the area is also suggested for their approximation to Pachacamac. By attaching themselves to the coastal deity, they were also pursuing a peaceful incorporation and collaboration from the people subjected to the deity. Through the gifts of clothes and other goods, the Inka likely created a debt between local leaders and the state.

Building legibility within the Empire

In this section, I will present specific examples of Inka-period institutions that were familiar to the people of Huarochirí through their own mytho-historical system. My goal is to demonstrate that there were specific arenas, particularly those related to ritual, through which the Inka could have pursued a negotiated interaction with the people of Huarochirí. I argue that this was facilitated by the context of imperial expansion, and likely exertion, outlined above,

The idea of kinship, as either real or fictive, is central the construction of ancestral legitimacy throughout the Andean highlands, including the Inka. An example is the Inka origin story told by Betanzos (1987 [1551]), and tells of four brothers who emerged with their own sister-wives from the cave of Tamputoqo, just outside of the main region of Cusco. At the end one of the brothers, Ayar Manco, settled in the Cusco valley, established alliances with the existing occupants, and became the first Inka. In order to materialize Inka control of the territory,

this version of the myth dwells on a pan-Andean practice associated with fictive kinship: lithification. The brothers remain tied to specific locations in their stone forms, that were both territorial boundaries and sacred markers, potentially ancestors to different communities. While this is a practice that was generalized by the Inka (see: Dean 2010a; Guchte 1990), I will demonstrate that this practice was present –in different understandings of stone– among the people of Huarochirí (7, p.290). This form of ancestor worship through ritualized landscapes is one of the elements that through familiarity enabled legibility between the empire and other Andean groups. I will further elaborate this point through discussion of my ongoing research in Huarochirí.

Part of the practices inherited by the Inka from previous and contemporary societies (see above) was an emphasis on population rather than settlement as the basic organizational unit of the Empire. This community unit was known as the *ayllu*.

Many scholars have grappled with the definition of *ayllu*. In his Quechua dictionary, Gonzalez Holguin (1952:[1607]39) defines *ayllu* as both: "parcialidad, genealogía, linaje, o de mi nación" (partiality, genealogy, lineage, or from my nation) and "el género o especie de las cosas" (the genre or species of things). In other words, it speaks to belonging, to being part of something. Salomon expands on this definition, who considers *ayllu* the basic unit of kinship and ritual congregation. Salomon (1991:22) argues: "So it is relatively safe to think of the *ayllu* as a named, landholding collectivity, self-defined in kinship terms, including lineages but not globally defined as unilineal, and frequently forming part of a multi-*ayllu* settlement. But what exactly were the kinship criteria of inclusion?" (emphasis in the original text).

Anthropological research suggests the boundaries of kinship and community among *ayllus* were permeable and constantly negotiated (Allen 2002; Weismantel 2006). This

permeability is evident even in the heartland of the Inka Empire, the highland city of Cusco. Covey's archaeological research in the Cusco basin is grounded in survey, site layouts and architecture, and stylistic and compositional analysis of ceramics. He concludes that:

> Despite Inca visions of a unified social and ethnic heartland dating to the time of the first ancestors, the development of the imperial core was still underway at the time of the European expansion. The distribution of Inca-style architecture and high-elevation LIP villages near the Sacred Valley indicates the early establishment of a state presence within some upland villages, a practice that appears to have transitioned to estate construction on the high valley slopes. By the 1530s, Inca intensification projects targeted the valley bottom and drew on provincial sources of labor, population of colonists and retainers that appear to have a close association with Inca-style architecture and pottery (Covey 2015:192).

Covey's research hints towards two central points of the study of ethnic and community identities under the Inka Empire. First, identity and community boundaries are used as a political discourse that may not fully represent reality. Wernke (2013) already argued this point, interpreting the study of community as a political currency that can be negotiated and adapted under pressure. If we think of the *ayllu* as the social, land-holding, ritually-embedded, basic unit of reproduction across the Inka Empire, it becomes increasingly evident that community boundaries are by definition diffuse. Second, there is a timing and process behind the distribution of Inka-style material culture, and it may reflect a specific arrangement of the relationship between the Inka and their allies and/or subjects. The mere presence or absence of diagnostic elements (i.e. ashlar architecture, Inka-decorated ceramics) is not necessarily a measure of territorial or hegemonic control, but rather a correlate of timing or a specific form of interaction (Nair 2012). In other words, we need to rethink the way in which material culture represents –or not– the advancement of a new form of political control or a new form of community identity.

An important aspect of kinship in general, and *ayllus* in particular, is ranking. In their nested capacity there is an internal hierarchy that is replicated at different levels of aggregation

(Netherly 1977; Urton 1990). For example, Silverblatt (1987:218) argued that these divisions within *ayllu* or moieties could be ranked by their association with conquest hierarchies or gender symbolism. Ranking of the *ayllus* implies that there were already mechanisms to distinguish internal status and therefore the Inka would have been able to work within and expand these previously-established local institutions

An intrinsic aspect of *ayllus* is the creation of social obligations of reciprocity, which at different levels may be symmetrical or asymmetrical. These relationships were established within and between communities and even among communities and non-human agents, such as the sacred landscape features known as *w'aka*. The *w'aka* had a central role in creating and affirming community boundaries. According to Salomon (1991:17), "A *huaca* was any material thing that manifested the superhuman: a mountain peak, a spring, a union of streams, a rock outcrop, an ancient ruin, a twinned cob of maize, a tree split by lightning. Even people could be *huacas*." (emphasis in the original text). *W'akas* had a biography and a life; they changed bodies through time (Salomon 1998). Recently, Bray (2014:4) published an edited volume centered on *w'akas* as "a point of entry for investigation of pre-Columbian notions of the sacred." In her detailed introduction, she moves from the simplified understanding of *w'aka* as something sacred and points towards them as living agentive things with partible natures that allowed them to exist both as fixed and unfixed beings in time and space. In this framing, *w'akas* established their own network of social relationships, which suggests they also were considered as persons who could speak and communicate. A *w'aka* is at the same time a place and a being; it creates immutable links to the land even when social relations can be modified.

While there are some innovations in the construction of sacred emplacements and re-building of local landscapes during the Inka Empire, research makes it increasingly clear that

even the most canonical aspects of Inka material correlates seemingly rested on local forms. However, archaeological excavations of such type-buildings remains limited (Meddens et al. 2014; Meinken 2000; Presbítero, Sobczyk, and Woloszyn 2000). For example, *kallancas* were large rectangular gabled enclosures with a number of openings in their longitudinal side, located in large central plazas (Farrington 2013)[36]. Hyslop (1990:18) hypothesizes they could be placed along the main road in *tampus* or way-stations, serving as temporary residences for Inka soldiers, quarters of state administrators, or even as scenarios of ceremonies and festivals. *Kallancas* are particularly well represented in the distant provinces of the Empire.[37] According to Hyslop, (2014:437–438) *kallankas* were smaller in *tampus* than in imperial centers. This begs the question of their role in the reproduction of Inka politics in the farther areas of the empire.

Another typical form was the *ushnu*, roughly defined as a sacred platform for libations, offerings, and performances. Despite the function of the ushnu being well-defined, its form and distribution were not.[38] Coben (2014:129) notes that pyramidal *ushnus* were almost exclusively found in the Chinchaysuyu,[39] and there was also variability

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[36] A more detailed description of kallancas can be found in Gasparini and Margolies (1980:96): "…a great rectangular hall, very long, with a gabled roof supported by a series of pillars set the entire length of the long axis. One of the longer sides, with various doorways, always opens onto the main plaza… [T]he interior is undivided: a single very large space covered by a thatched roof over a wooden framework. On the wall opposite the doors that face the plaza, there is no communication, but rather a continuous sequence of niches or windows."

[37] "Kallankas are omnipresent at Inka state installations and are virtually always situated with their doorways opening onto plazas, framing the exterior space of the plaza. This kallanka/plaza unit has been linked both ethnohistorically and archaeologically to state-sponsored commensal ritual. Such performative, even theatrical, engagement between the state and its subjects was a central means of enacting Inka ideology of state largesse and integrating local communities within the empire" (Wernke 2007b:157).

[38] Diego Gonzales de Holguín (1989:358) writes down two different meanings to the noun ushnu, which closely related to the idea of a boulder or stone effigy at its center and it's ritual character. The first meanings is a "tribunal de juez de vna piedra hincada", and the second one is "mojón quando es de piedra grande hincada".

[39] "Most importantly, for the most part the northern Chinchaysuyu region is where these large prototypical structures are found. Sites such as Pumpu, Huánuco Pampa, Vilcashuamán and likely Cajamarca contained these structures. A few others are reported in highland Argentina and Chile. Large pyramidal *ushnus* are not found in the Sacred Valley

> in the size and height of their platforms; the presence of otherwise of a giant stone gnomon; their location within or outside the plaza and the size of that plaza; whether they mark the center of a site; their location in the center or on the side of a plaza; the presence of drainage channels and basins; the location and type of site in which they are located; and the timing and nature of the incorporation of that site into the Inca Empire – in other words, their context.

Interestingly, the *ushnu* in the central plaza in Cusco, has very different characteristics to those of the main provincial administrative sites. According to Farrington (2013:141), "the ushnu complex lay in the middle of Hawhaypata. It had a worked stone, shaped like a ninepin, with a golden sleeve, as an image of the Sun, and a round hole to receive libations".[40] Hyslop (1990:70) comes as far as to argue that there are not clearly identified *ushnus* in the Cusco region, and that they were only found in conquered non-Inka territories. Pino argues that: a) they were built within plazas that were part of the Inka royal road, and b) they were the locus of ceremonies dedicated to the sun and different *w'akas*, specifically to those named *Capac Hucha*, and sacred spaces for sacrifices and libations.

Most authors are quick to point towards a ritual and symbolic function of the platform, particularly in conquered territories and as part of the Inka expansion program (Meddens et al. 2014). However, recent scholarship questions their chronology and affiliation. Vivanco (2014) argues that the Chanka people, in the southern highlands of Peru, placed structures similar to *ushnus* in mountaintops before being forcibly conquered by the Inka. Chanka *ushnu*-like

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or otherwirse around Cusco, nor generally in coasta regions, the area south of Cusco including the Lake Titicaca, or anywhere in Bolivia" (Coben 2014:128–129).

[40] Farrington (2013:142–144) also notes that excavations carried out in the fountain of the central plaza by the INC-Cusco in 1996 yielded an inka wall of 19.25m in length, but no corners were found. He interprets it as a retaining wall associated with decorated inka sherds, charcoal remains, and a camelid bone. A second wall was found 1m to the north, which was likely parallel to the first one, with some scattered stones between them that could suggest a continuity and their belonging to a single building. Farrington highlights the finding of a ceramic assemblage likely related to feasting and drinking, the camelid bones that could be linked to rituals, and four aligned llama figurines pointed towards the Wanakawri mountain, which relates to Betanzos' mention of small llama golden effigies and silver figurines removed in 1559 when the Spanish led by Polo de Ondegardo removed the sand from the plaza.

structures were truncated summits and circular platforms. Their placement directly influenced the Inka's later addition of *ushnus* in the region.

In regards to affiliation, Ramón (2014) argues that the form and use of *ushnus* could be related to differences in the deities and rituals associated with different altitude zones, Quiwcha (2500-3800 masl), and Puna (3800/3900-4500 masl). He relates high-altitude Puna *ushnus* to populations known as *llacuaz*,[41] herders, whose ritual practice was closely related to the worship of thunderstorms and lightning.[42] Ramón (2014:174) concludes by pointing out that "These structures must be explored without ignoring local culture and especially the sacred beliefs linked to subsistence activities", or in other words, not all ushnus had the same function.

Finally, the role of symbolic landscapes as the broader arena to construct, perform and communicate this imperial order grounded on legibility is well-recognized by scholars (Chase 2014; Christie 2015; Dean 2010a; Guchte 1990; Kosiba 2012; Meddens et al. 2014). As such, landscapes surpass built markers of Inka ideology, and permeate into the realm of the animated

[41] The concept of the huari-llacuaz complex was first identified by Duviols (1973) through the study of 17th century documentation. In a nutshell, huari is the term employed by original populations from coastal or valley regions. Llacuaz, on the other hand, references invaders or non-original populations coming from the highlands and altiplano. Salomon et al. (2009:20–21) revisit the terms and further elaborate: "Los supuestos descendientes de los primeros agricultores de regadío del fondo de los valles –ayllus huaris- fueron asociados con las deidades de la tierra, la antigüedad, la riqueza y el orden político. Los ayllus llacuaces, grupos supuestamente derivados de la sierra, fueron asociados con el pastoreo, la caza, los cultivos de secano, las deidades celestes y la violencia transformadora de la guerra. Rostworowski identifica a la memoria popular de una invasión llacuaz como el armazón histórico de la fuente quechua de Huarochirí". It is important to note that this classification survived after the Spanish invasion in many Andean regions and remains in use among traditional highland communities.

[42] For more information of the apostle Santiago and his trajectory in the Colony, see: Domínguez, Javier. "Santiago Mataindios: La Continuación de Un Discurso Medieval En La Nueva España." Nueva Revista Dde Filología Hispánica LVI, no. 1 (2006); García, Javier Domínguez. Del Apostol Matamoros a Yllapa Mataindios. Dogmas e ideologías medievales en el (des)cubrimiento de América. Universidad de Salamanca, (2008); Hernández, Harold. "El Trayecto de Santiago Apóstol de Europa Al Perú." Investigaciones Sociales, no. 16 (2006).

Andean natural world.[43] I argue that the perception of the landscape and the relationship between place and identity were common cultural idioms between the Inka and other Andean groups. In fact, this may be the reason why the Inka made these idioms one of the staples of their statecraft institutions.[44] Researchers consistently argue that local mountain deities or *w'akas* were incorporated into the Inka imperial numen's' kin group, but with other local landmarks as well. This was their unifying ideology grounded on familiarity. Mythology and sun-worship have been consistently associated with the existence of an imperial ideology by the Inka. Through this model the Inka established a network of *w'akas* that were related to the Empire itself. The colonial documents point towards a practice of "capturing" local *w'akas* and bringing them to Cusco in order to contain potential uprisings. By the nature of Andean *w'akas*, it was possible to both keep parts of the *w'aka* in the provinces and in the capital with each part having an equal sacred value (Pease 2003). This sets up the importance of lithification as a performative aspect of the *w'aka* body that can be replicated through the landscape.

As an example, we can look at the role of the Yauyos pre-Inka period central deity, their founding father and hero Pariacaca, a snowy mountain on the upper Mala valley. Astuhuamán (2004; 2008) argues that Pariacaca's worship originally had a larger regional scope than just the

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[43] Landscape archaeology has moved from an exclusive focus to the study of human-environmental relationships through an "ecological" perspective (David and Thomas 2008; Rossignol and Wandsnider 1992) to incorporate more "ideational" or "symbolic" approaches (Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Backhaus and Murungi 2010). Landscape archaeology has come to bridge these concerns by focusing on the different experiences – ecological, symbolic, or any other type – between humans and their surroundings and developing a more holistic and flexible understanding to this relationship. However, the broadness of its definition makes it difficult to determine what its object of study and actual scope are (Anschuetz, Wilshusen, and Scheick 2001:158).

[44] Backhaus and Murungi (2010), using a semiotic approach, argued that the landscape as a symbol is hard to pinpoint, since the social constructs of symbolic meaning are hard to separate from the everyday experience of the social. However, a focus into the symbolic aspects of landscape fosters an understanding of how constitutive elements of social memory are enacted and performed in and through landscape interaction (Connerton 1989).

Yauyos[45]; the Inka would have actively integrated themselves into Pariacaca's cult, as shown in the Huarochirí Manuscript (Chapter 5). In doing so the Inka made themselves necessary for Pariacaca's worship. This relationship was reinforced by the inception of Pariacaca into their own imperial religious narrative that was in itself grounded on fictive kinship. While Pariacaca was a natural and highly visible feature in the landscape, associated with the settlement of Pirca Pirca, the Inka built a *tampu* at its foot, materializing their relationship and investment in the deity's worship (Farfán 2010). Rather than a forcible takeover of the shrine, the Inka attached themselves to what was already built and the practices already in place.

The key argument in this discussion is that the pan-Andean understanding of the landscape facilitated the negotiation between the Inka and the different polities they subjected, particularly those in the highlands (Dillehay 1977). The landscape was an intrinsic component of community identity and social memory (Acuto 2005; Dean 2007; Guchte 1990). The most clear manifestation of how the Inka made such a statement on the landscape is probably the *ceque* system (Bauer 2000; Zuidema 1964). The *ceques* were imaginary lines that linked together the main *w'akas* within the Cusco basin. These places referred directly to mythical narratives of Inka origin and to the history of how they consolidated their empire, therefore marking the landscape with the social memory of their lineage. This model was replicated in Inka-built sites throughout the Empire, and was further molded to conform to more local networks of deities that were then tied in kinship to the main Inka tutelary deities (Astuhuamán 2008; Hyslop 1990).

[45] "En este texto exploramos la hipótesis que el culto a Pariacaca no se habría desarrollado solamente en la Sierra de Lima sino que tendría un carácter macro regional, los Inca lo habrían utilizado para anexar otros pueblos del Chinchaysuyo, siendo por ello el Apu bastante estimado por los cusqueños al convertirse en un waka aliado del Estado Inca" (Astuhuamán 2004).

In Huarochirí, Chase (2014) proposes a similar marking of the landscape after the Inka incorporation centered on the conquest of Tutayquiri, a local hero for the Checa people (Chapter 5). Tutayquiri is a hero for the Lurin Yauyos, he moves to further their own goals, and he is worshiped as part of their connection to the land. However, it seems that the Inka had a heavy hand in transmitting his narrative and marking his accomplishments in the local landscape.

While it is indisputable that the Inka made active use of the symbolic meanings associated with material culture to mark their presence throughout the landscape, the distribution of such artifacts (i.e. mobile materiality, landscape modification, architecture, plazas) should not be limited to a one-sided understanding. Subject groups were not mere receptors, but also interlocutors in this dialogue. While my approach does not supplant the fact that there were established power relationships, and that clearly the empire had the capability to impose its institutions and goals upon their subjects, it does highlight that unless the empire was up to a great expenditure of energy and materials, they would likely welcome dialogues enhancing stronger links between them and local communities. It is in this niche that legibility becomes a two-way street, that engages the bottom-up and top-downs views of imperialism and statecraft by recognizing all the middle-of-the-way mechanisms through which local practices and state institutions were entangled.

Summary

Archaeological research on the Inka is a staple in Andean archaeology partly due to this long-tradition and its deep links with ethnohistory that we have not quite moved from traditional approaches of quantifying Inka presence through specific types of material culture without questioning the role of materiality itself (see: Knappett and Malafouis 2008). I have argued that

indigenous empires like the Inka were not lacking in understanding of their subject polities beyond economic expectations. I specifically propose that community and kinship relationships, localized ritual emplacements at different levels, and the ritual practices associated with them were familiar pan-Andean principles between the Inka and the Yauyos of Huarochirí. As such, these variables facilitated annexation in a way through which not only the Inka conquered the Yauyos but the Yauyos appropriated the Inka within their local historical consciousness. I have supported my hypothesis by drawing concrete links between Inka practices of kinship, community building, ritual practices and emplacements, and sacralization of the geographic landscape with other Andean societies they met during their expansion. I contend these variables, and their material correlates -which I will discuss in the following sections- were the bases for making familiarity and legibility the least-cost mechanisms through which state institution and existing local practices coexisted and reinforced one another.

Why would the presence of Inka-style ceramics and other material traits (e.g., architecture) be unquestionably correlated to the strength of the Inka apparatus? Why the mere presence of these sherds and artifacts even in the almost generalized absence of production areas in the archaeological record is enough to discuss a controlled production? Without negating these possibilities, I argue that scholarship sometimes becomes sequestered by our own expectations of what an empire was and how it should be identified across the landscape. In the next chapter I will focus on the people of Huarochirí and use historical, archaeological, and ethnographic data to investigate the on-the-ground mechanisms through which they engaged with the Inka Empire.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH AREA: ETHNOHISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF HUAROCHIRÍ

In the previous chapter, I argued that the Inka capitalized on existing cultural practices of Andean societies with which they were familiar, and vice versa, in order to facilitate their incorporation into the Empire. In this chapter I will describe what we know about one such Andean society: the Yauyos of Huarochirí. The historical sources for Huarochirí is truly exceptional among Andean colonial sources. The most salient colonial document in the region, the *Huarochirí Manuscript*, is the only Quechua-written Andean account of the history and myths of a region (Salomon and Urioste 1991; Taylor 1987). It also provides a unique opportunity for investigating the worldview of a community through an approximation of its own words and in a manner that enables comparison with corresponding Inka dynastic lore.

In this chapter I will give a critical overview of the archaeology and the ethnohistory of the Yauyos people using published sources. I interconnect archaeological and ethnohistorical research to identify the main characteristics of the people of Huarochirí before the Inka. Then, through a new reading of the Manuscript, I will infer how their interaction with the Inka was narrated in their own "local testament". I aim to investigate if it possible to distinguish what is indigenous to the practices of Huarochirí and what may be shared cultural practices with other Andean regions. I focus on defining how local practices and understandings of kinship, community, rituality, and landscape played out after the Inka arrival. I will use descriptions of the Yauyos during the Spanish colonial period to contrast with archaeological and ethnographic evidence, focusing specifically on intra-community relationships.

This chapter is divided into five sections. First, I focus on the geographical setting, centering on the Lurin valley area. In closing this section, I review the most pertinent archaeological research carried out in the lower and middle valleys in order to investigate how Yauyos material culture is interpreted in the scholarly sources. I focus on research that examines the political and religious organization of the lowland Ychsma and highland Yauyos polities.

In the second section I introduce the Huarochirí Manuscript and its depiction of ethnic identity, community-building, and interaction. I build a new reading of this classical source focusing on investigating ritual, myth, and performance and the way in which they influenced the construction –and subsequent changes– in Yauyos ethnic identity through time. I also discuss the Manuscript's links to historical and archaeological research of Huarochirí, and its broader impact in state/local relationships during the Inka and Spanish periods.

In the third section I use archaeological data, the Manuscript, and other colonial written sources to present a model of socio-political organization in Huarochirí before the Inka conquest. I build upon the previous discussion of LIP societies and discuss the most likely scenario of community and ethnic organization in the region by the time of Inka arrival.

In the fourth section I revisit the Huarochirí Manuscript, this time questioning what the document tells us about the relationship between the Yauyos and the Inka. I focus on particular episodes delineating the relationship between the Yauyos main and secondary deities as they were part of the Inka mythical narratives. I examine the way in which in the Inka were broadly portrayed in their relationship with neighboring small polities and relate that to the potential characteristics of their relationship with the Yauyos.

In the fifth and final section I will integrate information to draw a locally-driven perspective of how communities were formed and experienced among the Yauyos and the role of

ritual in processes of interaction and negotiation. By reviewing historical and archaeological sources I aim to investigate whether the rituals described in the ethnohistoric sources correlate to the material record and whether Inka familiarity with these forms facilitated their incorporation into local spaces in Huarochirí. In doing so, I set the stage for presenting the results from the excavations at Ampugasa and Canchaje and how they demonstrate the role of familiarity on the ongoing process of building mutual legibility at the time of Yauyos and Inka interaction.

Geographical and archaeological setting: the Lurin Valley

The Lurin valley is located on the central Peruvian coast, south of the capital city of Lima. According to Feltham (1983:40–45) the valley's relief was formed during the end of the Tertiary and beginning of the Pleistocene periods, comprising jagged hills boarding the river. According to the 2013 report by the Metropolitan Municipality of Lima (Subgerencia de Defensa Civil 2013), the Lurin river has a longitude of 108,57 km with recorded high precipitations of 80 m^3 in short periods, which caused significant erosion of the valley floor. These seasonal influxes of heavy rains also cause mudslides or *huaycos*. Besides specific seasonal precipitations, the Lurin river has a very low quantity of water that hinders the productive potential in the whole region except for the middle valley.

The province of Huarochirí is located within the lower slopes that extended down to the coast of Lima and the mountain region to the east. Huarochirí encompasses different ecological zones that markedly influence the lifeways developed along the valley. The westernmost boundary of Huarochirí comprises the middle-valley territories known as Yungas, reaching an approximate altitude between 1,000 and 2,200 meters. This area is the most productive area of Huarochirí, with an environment favorable for the production of fruit cultigens that then are

traded with the markets in Lima (La Torre and Caja 2005). The next zone, Quechua, is characterized by high valleys between 2,200 and 3,500 meters; this is the zone traditionally thought of as the sierra. In Huarochirí this zone is characterized by ravines and limited patches of productive land in the riverbeds. The puna, on the other hand, rises up to over 3,500 meters in elevation. At this altitude agriculture is not carried out and rather herding and tuber cultivation are central to local economies (Spalding 1967:8–9). My research area centers on the intersection between the Yunga and Quechua zones (Figure 5.1).

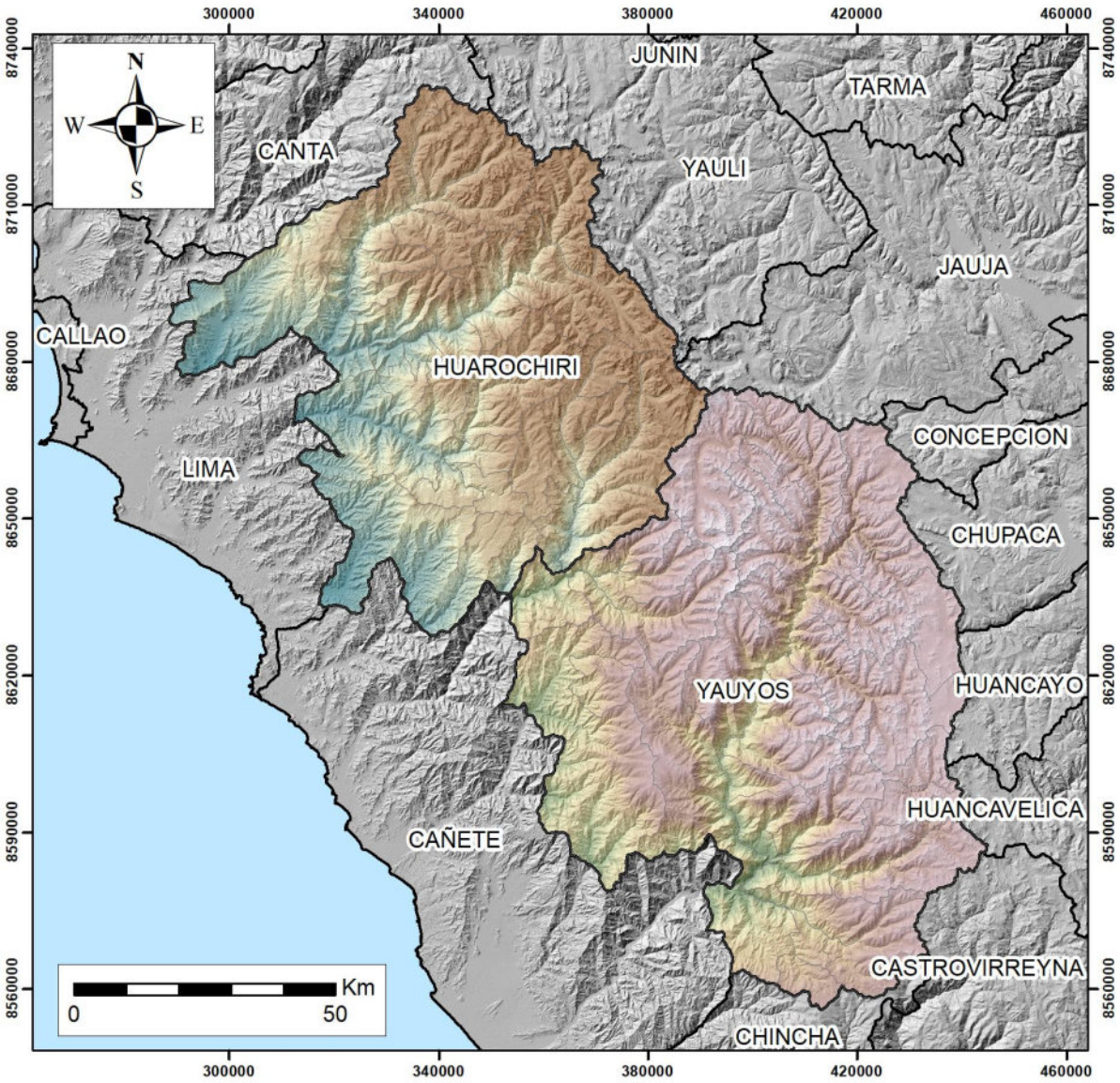

Figure 5.1: Location of the provinces of Huarochirí and Yauyos (map by the author).

This diversity of ecosystems greatly influenced the valley's occupational history. Occupation of the Lurin valley in the years before the Inka conquest was interpreted as small chiefdoms or *señoríos* that shared a single ethnic identity and were in constant conflict with the chiefdoms in other sectors of the valley (Rostworowski 1988b; 1999; 2002). According to these sources, the occupants of the lower and middle valleys composed the Ychsma ethnic group. Following published ethnohistorical sources, and supported by current archaeological interpretations, the Ychsma developed into a centralized and coordinated polity with strong local elites and were then drawn into the Inka imperial system (e.g. Eeckhout 2003; 2005; Franco and Paredes 2005; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2012; 2015; Pozzi-Escot 2010; 2014; Ramos and Paredes 2010). In this model the monumental site of Pachacamac, on the Lurín coastal floor, was the religious and political capital that was then co-opted and magnified through Inka sponsorship (Rostworowski 2002).

Consistently, scholars conducting research on the Ychsma argue that the central spaces for the reinforcement of political centralization and production of local power among Ychsma elites were a series of hierarchically distributed structures known as ramped pyramids (*Pirámides con rampa*, hereafter PCR) (Figure 5.2). The PCR were characterized by three main spaces: an ample square or rectangular plaza, a ramp in either the middle of the plaza or to the side, and a series of rooms behind the ramp resembling a promontory (Eeckhout 2010b). The largest examples of PCR come from the site of Pachacamac. Arturo Jiménez Borja (1985; Jiménez Borja and Bueno 1970) interpreted them as religious embassies to host pilgrims visiting Pachacamac from all over the Andes; therefore it was expected that the back-rooms of the pyramids would hold a variety of foreign materials reflecting the styles of specific ethnic groups. This was not supported by archaeological findings. Eeckhout (2010a; 2013) proposed that they

were palaces of successive Ychsma lords. Each ruler would build a new palace that could also be used alternatively to host foreign pilgrims, thus explaining the predominant presence of local materials over foreign ones.

Figure 5.2: Ramped Pyramid from Pachacamac (photograph by the Pachacamac Museum).

Since research is ongoing, there is as of yet not enough material evidence to support a view that recurrence of ritual spaces produced centralization among an Ychsma political entity. Moreover, Eeckhout's own research, shows increasing evidence of the Inka co-opting and expanding Pachacamac into the ceremonial center we know today. For instance, while some PCR are dated to the LIP, most of them are dated to the Late Horizon (Eeckhout 2010b). Recently, Owens and Eeckhout (2015:174) presented the results from the excavations in Cemetery I of Pachacamac, located next to the Sacred Precinct, where they recorded over 200 burials. The authors describe a funerary pattern consisting of bundles that shared the same repertory of material associations and therefore said little about possible status differences within

Ychsma society. Bioarchaeological analysis didn't find any evidence of foreigners, leading the authors to argue that "most pre-Inca pilgrimage –in the classic sense at least- was limited to a local or regional scale". However, this same evidence could also support the hypothesis that Pachacamac became a central oracular center under the Inka and not during the LIP.

Makowski and his research time have consistently argued this perspective (Makowski 2014; Makowski et al. 2008; Makowski et al. 2015). Through his excavations in Pachacamac, Makowski demonstrated that many of the formal roads and access ways into the ceremonial center were built during the Inka period. Consequently, "The Inka administration is responsible for transforming a small center of worship with a local or regional importance into an imperial oracle and sanctuary planned in appearance and of a monumental magnitude" (Makowski 2016:206).[46] The problems of critically questioning the scale of Pachacamcac's influence and the hand of the Inka in the centralization of worship among the coastal polities is analogous to issues in characterizing the social organization of Huarochirí. My research suggests that affinity and replication of worship did not materialize into a political centralization. Rather, I propose that political centralization was fostered upon Huarochirí's incorporation into the Inka empire in order to enforce political legibility.

Moving away from Pachacamac as a regional center, excavations in second-tier administrative sites such as Panquilma reveal also important evidence of Inka activities. Excavations at the site also recorded PCR complexes and evidence of feasting (Marcone and López-Hurtado 2015:413). The authors argue that feasting was critical for elite standing within Ychsma society and, therefore, it is in feasting that clear evidence of Inka expansionist strategy

[46] "La administración inca es la responsable de transformar un pequeño centro de culto de importancia local o regional con un santuario y oráculo imperial con apariencia planificada y de monumental envergadura."

can be read. They use a statistically-derived method for differentiating the shift between two periods: one when Ychsma lords willingly brought in Inka-style materials as emblems of status (and therefore the percentage of Inka materials is lower), and a second one in which the Inka took control of public spaces and feasting paraphernalia away from the local elites (and where the percentage of Inka materials increases).

I relate this discussion to my theoretical framework of legibility and the politics of Inka expansion in the valley. Whether the PCRs were embassies or palaces, most authors agree that they were central emplacements of ritual practices. Their presence signals a coalescence function. This formalized type of ritual was not completely foreign to the Inka, since plazas played a central role in their provincial expansion. However, they didn't fully share in the same conceptualization of a sacred ritualized landscape as, I will argue, they did with the people of Huarochirí. Ritual cohesion in the lower valley may have been less familiar to the Inka than that of the upper valleys (as they shared in a similar geography and environment), which may have influenced their preference for an alliance with highland less-cohesive populations, such as the case of the Yauyos groups in Huarochirí.

In the following pages, I first discuss the historiographical and ethnohistorical significance of the Huarochirí Manuscript to this and many other studies in the region. Discussion moves through an exploration of social, political, and economic organization of local communities in the lower and middle stretches of the Lurin Valley, followed by an exploration of these themes in the Lurin Valley highlands.

Hombres y Dioses de Huarochirí: ritual, myth and performance in among the Yauyos

The Huarochirí Manuscript

To understand the importance of kin relationships and ancestry in Huarochirí, we need to introduce into the discussion the key document in detailing the Yauyos ritual system: the *Huarochirí Manuscript* (circa 1608). As Salomon (2008:296) aptly states: "The anonymous, undated, untitled, and composite work known as the Quechua Manuscript of Huarochirí is the only known colonial text that explains an Andean religious tradition in an Andean language. Its introduction promises to tell about 'the ancestors of the people called Indians' from primordial time to the present." Despite contention regarding its authorship (see below), the Manuscript is the only known compendium of Andean history that promises to be a local narrative. It was compiled in the town of San Damián de Checa in the upper Lurin Valley, yet they are not the only actors within the text. What links these different groups in the narrative is that they all are "children of Pariacaca" –the two-peaked glaciated mountain– and children of his children.

Pariacaca (Figure 5.3) is an imposing geographic feature and the main source of water for the Yauyos. According to myth, Pariacaca was born from five eggs and undertook a series of battles and conquests before moving to the *nevado* and expelling the foreign deity, Huallallo Carhuincho, to claim it as his place of residence. According to Dulanto (2014:142),

> to some extent, the Huarochirí Manuscript can be treated as a unified "mytho-historical" account of the "situation contact" in which the Huarochirí people were inscribed - that is, a mythical and historical record of a pre-Hispanic past (remote and recent), a colonial present, and, in a few instances, even a future, as these were being experienced and understood, constructed and represented, by the Huarochirí people at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Dulanto analyzes specific episodes of the myth as a sequence from an unstable socio-temporal framework -as a consequence of ongoing colonial processes that were probably

experienced like break points to the indigenous population- towards the attainment of order and stability, then to the formalization of social relationships with the Inka, and, finally, a return to the instability with the Spanish.[47]

Figure 5.3: Pariacaca Mountain (photograph by Manuel Rojas Calderon).

Though the Manuscript does not provide details of the physical settings of inter-group ritual and interaction, it does suggest that most ceremonies involved the worship of local deities

[47] According to Dulanto, the Manuscript has a historical value in which "The Inca conquest is described as a period of further horizontal expansion and segmentation of highland territories, as well as further segmentation of time resulting from the introduction of state calendrical rituals in honor of the local deity Paria Caca. The Spanish conquest, in contrast, is described as a period of obliteration of the spatial and temporal limits introduced in the previous cycles, including the separation of 'this world' and the 'world of down/below'" (Dulanto 2014:154).

and that the Inka participated in Yauyos rituals at local sacred places. Specifically, the rituals involved: 1) Pilgrimage, originally to Pariacaca Mountain and then to local mountains closer to the territories of the different communities that comprised the people of Huarochirí; 2) Races, in which people would carry llama bucks to the summits of mountains; 3) Offerings to either mountains or lithified *w'aka*s across the landscape that consisted of coca, *Spondylus*, and food; 4) Astronomical observations using walls explicitly created for this; and 5) Dancing and drinking under the direction of ritual specialists known as *huacsas*.

From the outset, the text states its intention of preserving the history of the Checa people through the written medium legible to the Spanish Crown, bringing legitimacy to the community (Salomon 1990)[48]. This is better stated in the preface to the Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991:41–42):

> If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now. As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would theirs be. But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now, I set forth the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather. What faith they held, how they live up until now, those things and more; Village by village it will be written down: how they lived from their dawning age onward.

The fact it was written in Quechua supports this practice of enabling legibility, as this was the indigenous tongue Spanish administrators and religious officers were likely most

[48] Specifically, the preface states: "If the ancestors of the people called Indians had known writing in earlier times, then the lives they lived would not have faded from view until now. As the mighty past of the Spanish Vira Cochas is visible until now, so, too, would be theirs. But since things are as they are, and since nothing has been written until now, I set forth here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people, who all descend from one forefather" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:41).

familiar with (Taylor 1997; Durston 2007a).[49] The document is housed in the National Library of Spain (Volume 3169), and it is part of the same binder with two *Tratados* by Francisco de Avila, the *Relación de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Perú* by Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua and *Fábulas y Ritos de los Incas*, by Cristóbal de Molina (Dedenbach-Salazar Sáenz 2016:7–11).

Origin and authorship

At that time the Manuscript was compiled and penned, San Damián and other towns in Huarochirí were under the ecclesiastical mandate of Francisco de Avila, a curate that started his career in Cuzco and moved on to study at the Universidad Mayor de San Marcos (Urteaga 1936). Before Avila, the province had been visited by missionaries from different orders: Augustinians, Dominicans, and Jesuits (Puig Tarrats 2010).[50] In this sense, while the Manuscript is a product of its colonial origin, it remains powerful evidence of how a small local group in the middle of the

[49] "In 1609, a generation later, Jesuit missionaries in the same area were unable to confess local women who had pretended to understand the "lengua general" in order to receive the sacrament, knowing that they would not be able to communicate with the Jesuits in any other language – in this case, "lengua general" probably referred specifically to Standard Colonial Quechua. They had memorized a few sentences but were unable to answer any questions, and ultimately had to confess via an interpreter" (Durston 2007a:108–109)

[50] Puig Tarrat (2010:300) offers a brief summary of the orders that took part in the evangelization of Huarochirí: "En la Provincia de la Yauyos, los primeros misioneros fueron dominicos (1542-1600) que atendían también las doctrinas (parroquias) de Calango y Coayllo situadas en la Provincia de Cañete. A fines de mayo de 1551, arribaron al puerto del Calleo los agustinos. En 1552 se asentaron en Huarochirí, capital de la provincia del mismo nombre, que tuvieron que abandonar muy pronto a causa de las guerras de Hernández Girón. En 1569 llegaron al partido de Huarochirí –zona áspera, frígida y abundante en hechicerías al decir de los cronistas–, cinco jesuitas que fueron adoctrinando pequeños pueblos. En menos de un año redujeron a los indios de las setenta parcialidades (*ayllus*) dispersas, a ocho pueblos para facilitar la conversión de los naturales. Su presencia duró sólo un par de años."

Andes viewed its own history, their place in Andean lore, and their collective memory after the setbacks of its own political history.[51]

In this light, José María Argüedas argued in a somewhat romanticized *indigenista* view that it was "the almost uncontaminated message from antiquity, an ancestral voice transmitted through generations from the mouth of common men who speak to us about their life and times" (Argüedas 1966:9)[52]. Gerald Taylor (1987) supports Argüedas interpretation, considering Avila a compiler rather than composer. His work centers on the role of oral memory in the somewhat subversive exercise of creating an Andean narrative of origin and history within the scrutiny of the colonial evangelization[53].

In my work, I look at a Manuscript that encompasses the local and the state politics in which the Yauyos were immersed, as well as the construction of legibility within them. Of central interest for the use of the document as conveying some of the more "local" aspects of ritual practices is its stated goal of creating a local history. The creation of a historical consciousness that would mediate their position within the Spanish colonial system and allow for

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[51] Frank Salomon (2008:298) has summarized in a vivid way the importance of the Huarochirí Manuscript: "While research has made it abundantly clear that the Quechua manuscript is a thoroughly colonial product, not a miraculously surviving outcrop of Prehispanic oral lore, the source retains its status as a uniquely privileged access point to Andean thought. As a testimony of provincial Andean thinkers' attempts to reconceptualize the Prehispanic legacy in light of, but also in apologetic opposition to, a lifetime's experience with Christendom, it constitutes the most richly informed work of Andean self-ethnography to which we now have access."

[52] "[E]l mensaje casi incontaminado de la antigüedad, la voz de la antigüedad transmitida a las generaciones por boca de los hombres comunes que nos hablan de su vida y de su tiempo."

[53] Depaz Toledo (2015:17) supports this link between Andean discourse and the Manuscript: "El Manuscrito de Huarochirí puede considerarse un texto prístino en el ámbito discursivo andino. Se inscribe en una tradición cultural de alcance civilizatorio, matriz de las comunidades de vida que han tomado cuerpo en el espacio andino, y busca explícitamente preservar la memoria colectiva de los pueblos de aquella zona de los andes centrales, propósito que su autor pone de manifiesto en la introducción al texto, asumiendo esa tarea desde el interior de aquella tradición cultural, pues tanto él como sus informantes fueron pobladores indígenas del área rural que sirve de trasfondo a los relatos que provee aquel texto." Gerassi-Navarro (1995) partially supports this view, although she tends to conceptualize the Manuscript as a testimony of the pre-Hispanic Andean world in Huarochirí. However, he recognizes that its main value is that it reconstructs the past as a historical, religious, cultural and social compendium from within the Andean community itself. However, this view de-contextualizes the Manuscript by not questioning the situation in which it was compiled.

a measure of legibility was, part of the Yauyos characterization of their own community boundaries. Zanelli (1992:98) recognizes three different temporal levels in the text: the mythic plane, the ritual plane, and the historical plane. The ritual and mythic planes directly associate with the deeds and worship of Pariacaca –the legible Andean portrayals of myth and community practices. The historical plane relates the Inka and Spanish incorporation of Huarochirí –the contexts in which the historical and mythical planes served as the prime matter of interaction. This is what Dulanto (2014:142) interprets as a mytho-history, "a mythical and historical record of a pre-Hispanic past (remote and recent), a colonial present, and, in a few instances, even a future, as these were being experienced and understood, constructed and represented, by the Huarochirí people." The author supports his observation by analyzing the spatial relationships affirmed through the movement of the *w'akas* (e.g. up/down, lower/middle valley) as affirming existing social and political relationships.

The discussion over what the Manuscript *is* directly informs scholarship on *who* authored it. Durston (2014:152) is the strongest scholarly voice arguing that there is little reason to believe that anyone but Avila and the scribe himself participated in elaborating the text, which therefore limits the weight of the Manuscript as an Andean artifact. However, I argue that the colonial processes –both Inka and Spanish– experienced by the informants of the Manuscript were very much part of what constituted Yauyos local identity. Their interaction with Inka and Spanish colonialism, even in the text, was mediated by the cultural and ritual practices already in existence in the province. However, the colonial aspect of Huarochirí Manuscript does not erase its accuracy as a local endeavor, since it reflects the emerging and negotiated local worldviews within colonial processes.

There are different theories as to the identity of the author of the manuscript. While an indigenous man named Thomas[54] and a possible unidentified Andean man[55] were once central candidates, in my work I accept Durston's hypothesis of Cristóbal Choquecaxa as the author.

According to the Manuscript, Cristóbal Choquecaxa was the son of Gerónimo Cancho Guaman, cacique of Huarochirí before Avila became the parish priest. Cancho Guaman was first a *w'aka* worshipper who then converted to Catholicism. Later he converted back to the old *w'akas* during an epidemic and finally back to Christianism from his deathbed (Salomon 1990)[56]. Cristobal Choquecaxa was Avila's right hand, as the son of a cacique he had been raised in the Church and what scholars consider an *indio ladino*.[57] His links to Avila are also supported by Durston, who identified Choquecaxa as the author of the Sunicancha petition. This document was a full confession and retraction of the Indians from Sunicancha, who previously accused Avila of abusing his powers (Durston 2007b:233). In his *Tratados* Avila also states that it was Choquecaxa who informed him of the idolatries still practiced in Huarochirí (Durston 2014:152).

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[54] This hypothesis came from an annotation on the 91st page of the original text, where the margin reads: "De la mano y pluma de Thomas". However, scholars agree that this inscription has nothing to do with the Manuscript itself and was likely a latter addition to the text (Salomon 1991b:24). Dedenbach-Salazar (2016:20) argues that the identity of Thomas can be deduced from Molina's document –which was part of the same collection– in which a similar inscription identifies him as the first owner of the document, Thomas de Montessinos, a Spanish official in 1662. Durston (2007b:232–233) further argues that this inscription was likely a practice for a "would be notary" and that it bears no link to the Manuscript.

[55] This is the main option espoused by Taylor (1987). This anonymous scribe would enable scholarship to maintain open the question of whether the Manuscript was a pristine tool of Andean memory. It would, however, remain simplistic to assume that such a potential actor would be unaffected by the complexities of the colonial processes in which he was embedded.

[56] The Revisita de Sisicaya (1588) further identifies Canchoguaman as principal of the Checa ayllu. The document points out that a section of the ayllu lived in Chontay, near Sisicaya (Salomon, Feltham, and Grosboll 2009:147).

[57] "Canchoguaman never learned Spanish or became literate, and Choquecasa belonged to the first generation of the Huarochirí nobility to receive a colonial education (possibly one influenced by the Jesuits who were active in the area in the 1570s)" (Durston 2014:156).

According to Durston (2014:156), Choquecaxa was born in San Damián de Checa and was still alive by 1645, so he speculates that he was likely born after the mid-sixteenth century. Durston points out that Choquecasa never became a cacique himself, even though he remained active in community government. While Avila considered Choquecaxa a trusted converted Indian, Choquecaxa's self-portrayal in the Manuscript shows an ambivalent relationship with the *w'akas*: he considered them demons, yet he still believed in their power (Durston 2014). In that way, Choquecasa is a clear example of the complex position of a colonial Huarochirí man, who is torn at the seams between two very different types of spiritual pursuits.[58]

Choquecaxa himself personifies the argument I am trying to defend: the Yauyos –such as himself–were immersed in a new type of colonialism with the Spanish, one with which they had very little experience and familiarity. However, they understood that the way to position themselves as an ally and part of the empire was through ritual. Their mastery of the Spanish language and their association to the Catholic Church put them in a complex yet ideal position from which to experience and understand the Spanish views of their interaction with indigenous populations. That is, the people of Huarochirí were likely trying to create legibility from what may have seemed absolutely illegible. The relationships with the deities that created community –Pariacaca, the Christian God– could be integrated within their practices and created links of legible interaction. These attempts were probably grounded on their own experience becoming part of the Inka empire and, following the chroniclers, using the language of ritual to mediate their allegiance. I argue that the Yauyos tried to position themselves into the Spanish system

[58] For a detailed investigation of Choquecasa's portrayal in the Huarochirí Manuscript and his position towards the previous Andean cosmologies and belief systems, see: Salomon, Frank. "Nightmare Victory. The Meanings of Conversion among Peruvian Indians (Huarochirí, 1608?)." Working Papers, 1992 Lecture Series Working Papers, no. 7 (1990): 1–21.

through the creative appropriation of Catholic ritual spaces (9, p.403), a process learned from their interaction with the Inka.

In the next section I show that the recounting of the Yauyos local history as a means of legible interaction is in content similar to Choquecaxa's own representation of his relationship with the *w'akas* and Catholicism. The fact that Choquecaxa was an *indio ladino* reinforces rather than invalidates his position as an indigenous man trapped in the middle of his own worldviews and the negotiation of his status within the Spanish administration. Consequently, I propose that in his narrative –the Manuscript– there are still, intentionally or not, direct references to the impact of the sequential colonial enterprises by the Inka and Spanish on the construction and maintenance of local community relations.

Veneration of the apical deity Pariacaca in the Huarochirí Manuscript

The main motif of the Manuscript is the birth, history, and veneration of Pariacaca. The importance of the snow-capped mountain in creating a sense of unity among the peoples of Huarochirí can't be overstated. Throughout the Manuscript, it becomes clear that the people called Yauyos were an aggregation of different groups, rather than a unified polity. As I will discuss in the following section, the un-centralized nature of the Yauyos is precisely the reason why a unity based on ritual practices was an ideal space of mutual legibility in their encounters with the Inka and, I posit, with the Spanish later on. The best way to characterize the role of Pariacaca in the ethnic unity of the peoples of Huarochirí is by citing the Manuscript:

> Pariacaca then established his dwelling on the heights, on the same territory where he had conquered, and began to lay down the rules for his worship. His law was one and the same law in all the villages. The law we speak of was this: 'We are all of one birth' (Salomon and Urioste 1991)

The Huarochirí became one people –one family as noted in Spanish in the document– integrated through their own ritual association with Pariacaca (e.g. through the rock outcrops that marked residential, local and regional settlements as part of the same religious tradition). This points towards two important issues: first, ritual and the reenactment of Pariacaca's veneration reaffirmed local community ties; and second, community and ethnic boundaries were permeable and open categories that could change within the lifetime of a single individual. My archaeological research supports that this integration through ritual and kinship to Pariacaca precedes the Inka (7, p.290).

Pariacaca himself explains the main elements of his worship: dance –as reflected through the importance of the *huacsas* further discussed in the next section–, *coca* leaves, solar observations through shadows in walls to indicate the beginning of the ceremonies, pilgrimage towards Pariacaca mountain –or to Ynca Caya mountain later on–, llamas, and foodstuffs. Pariacaca's celebrations are intrinsically linked to mountain-top plazas:

> In order to enter a new cycle, when the old dance round was about to come to an end, all the people came to the center in Llacsa Tambo, and the Concha were in the plaza, too, carrying a macaw-wing display of the sort of thing known as *puypu*. They'd lay these items in the center, on the rock called Llacsa Tambo. After they deposited these things, they stayed there all night long, in the place where a cross now stands, wondering, 'Will I be well this year?' The next day they went to all the villages, including Macacho hill, Chaucalla, and Quimquilla, and remained there until five days were up. At the end of the fifth day, all the *huacsas* who'd collected coca in bags would dance. At daybreak on the same day, in Llacsa Tambo, they used to worship the demon with their llamas or other possessions. Those who are privy to these customs do the same in all the villages (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74).

The text then identifies different mountains where *ayllus* and *waranqas* replicated Pariacaca's festivities. Even the Yunga people -original occupants of Huarochirí then moved to the subtropical lower reaches of the Pacific drainage by Pariacaca- performed Pariacaca's rituals from their own places. For instance, the document notes that the people from Concha did so in

mountain Huaycho, the people from Sunicancha from another unnamed mountain, and the people from Santa Ana and San Juan [de Lahuaytambo], identified as the Chaucarima *waranqa*, "reportedly worship from the mountain called Acu Sica, the one we descend on our way to the Apar Huayqui River" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:75). As I will demonstrate, this latter settlement was the archaeological site known today as Canchaje. The site is located in the downward course of the Chacuayaqui River, where it connects with the Llacomayqui; these are the closest toponyms to those referred to in the Manuscript.

Pariacaca's June festivity was a moment of reunion among the Huarochirí people. The people from Concha, before moving to Haycho, participated in the ceremonies at Llaqsatambo before replicating the ceremony at their own mountain; this signals the hierarchical reaffirmation of the ritual unity of the *waranqa* Checa. The document also directly identifies mountain tops, plazas, and rock outcrops as the critical scenarios in which performances were carried out, although they do not specify the features used to select them. My own spatial analysis suggests that the preferred locations were geographical features that would later be used as mid-way points and boundaries between communities. For example, as explored more fully below, the site of Canchaje and Ampugasa are both located in intersection points of unity between rivers, which separate different *waranqas* yet served to consolidate their own internal communal relationships.

The Manuscript is also an idealized local portrait of a sacralized landscape that directly speaks to the affirmation of community boundaries and identities. Such a description has already been pursued by Dulanto, who argues that Pariacaca's cycle represents horizontal differentiations of space along cardinal points that in turn represent the agricultural and ancestors' cycles in the region. As argued by Dulanto (2014:145–146), the social relations represented by Pariacaca's

movement are those of "Alliance and cooperation between highland groups and against lowland ones" (Figure 5.4).

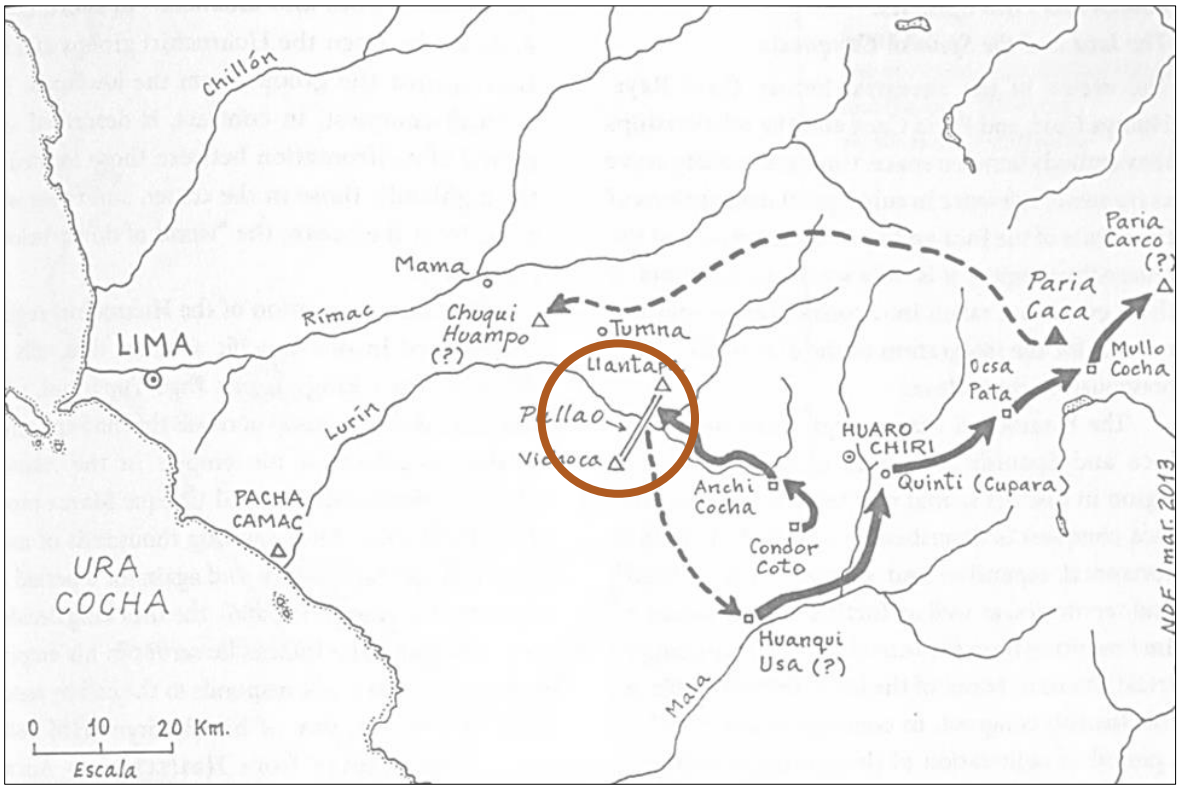

Figure 5.4: They mythical cycle of Pariacaca as drawn by Nicanor Dominguez (Dulanto 2014:153). The circle marks the general location of my research area.

My reading of the Manuscript takes as a guiding principle that public rituals and places arenas for "reproduction of the ways in which Andean communities understood themselves and the world around them" (Nielsen 2014), were critical idioms of political interaction in the Andes. The Inka seized upon the significance of these idioms as building blocks of their expansion, making state and/or local plazas important aspects of the built space within their provincial centers (Coben 2012; Dillehay 2012). In domestic sites, however, most of the local infrastructure and associated practices was left in complete control of the local populations. Through replication, the Inka only needed direct representation in local and regional level shrines.

The connection between landscape and the myth of Pariacaca, and its further tied to the different communities that were part of Huarochirí, can be exemplified through the mapping of the initial voyage of Pariacaca after his birth. First, the peoples of Huarochirí comprised five different communities or *waranqas* by their name during the Inka and colonial periods. These five communities were concentrated in the southern section of Huarochirí and right on the boundary with the Yauyos province, which had its own composite organization. It seems that both groups, Huarochirí and Yauyos, recognized a shared kinship to Pariacaca, which in the Manuscript is hierarchized through the language of kinship. The communities were named: Colcaruna, Quinti, Checa, Langasica, and Chaucarima (Figure 5.5).

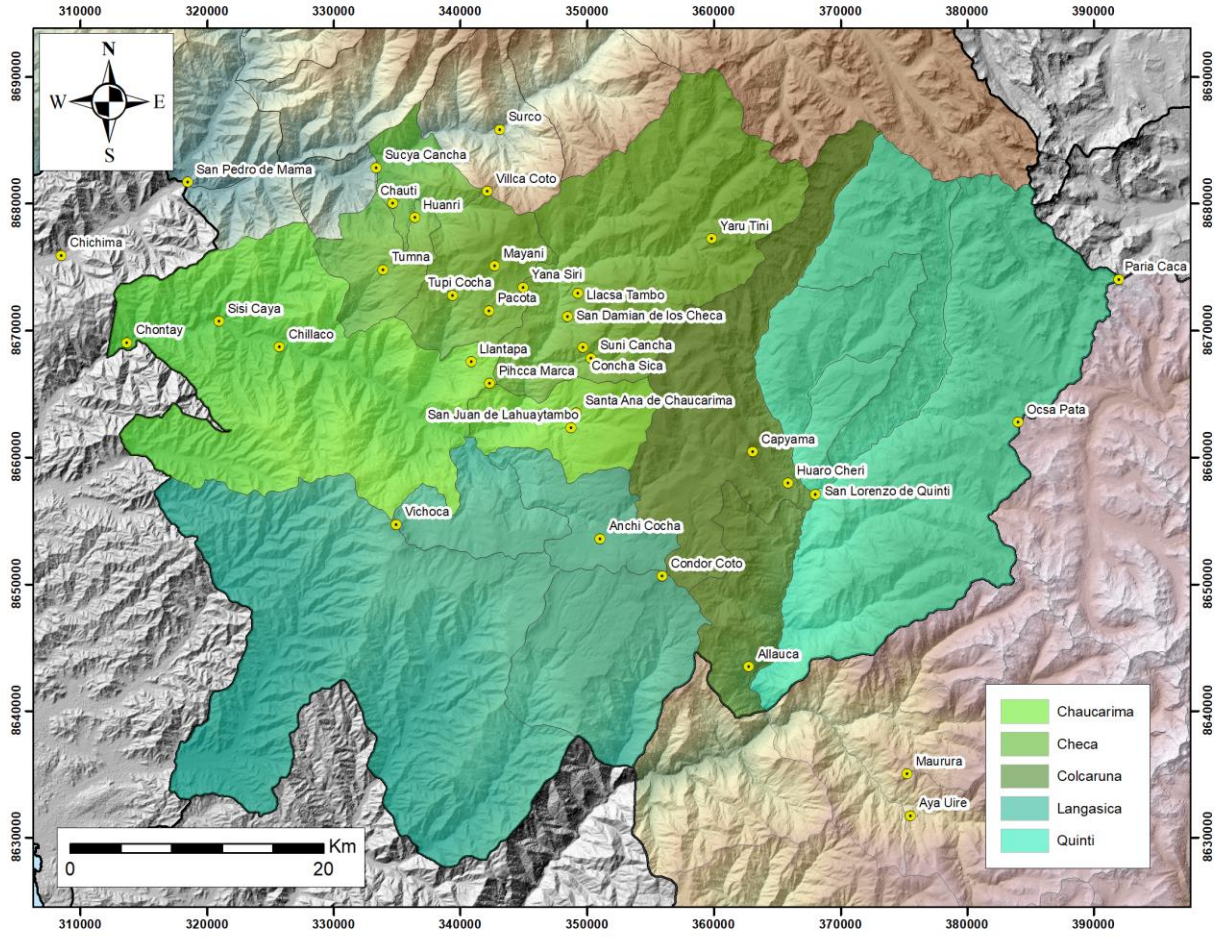

Figure 5.5: Waranqas of Huarochirí (map by the author).

According to the myth, Pariacaca is initially born at Mount Condorcoto, then slowly moves on to Mount Pariacaca, where he takes his seat. Interestingly, as he moves through the landscape, he goes through specific locations, making use of his powers in each one to either punish or regale specific communities. When looking at his movements through the landscape, an interesting pattern emerges (Figure 5.6): the sites that are significant in the myth of Pariacaca's birth are geographic boundaries that mark either the boundaries between specific *waranqas* or the boundaries between the peoples of Huarochirí and Yauyos.

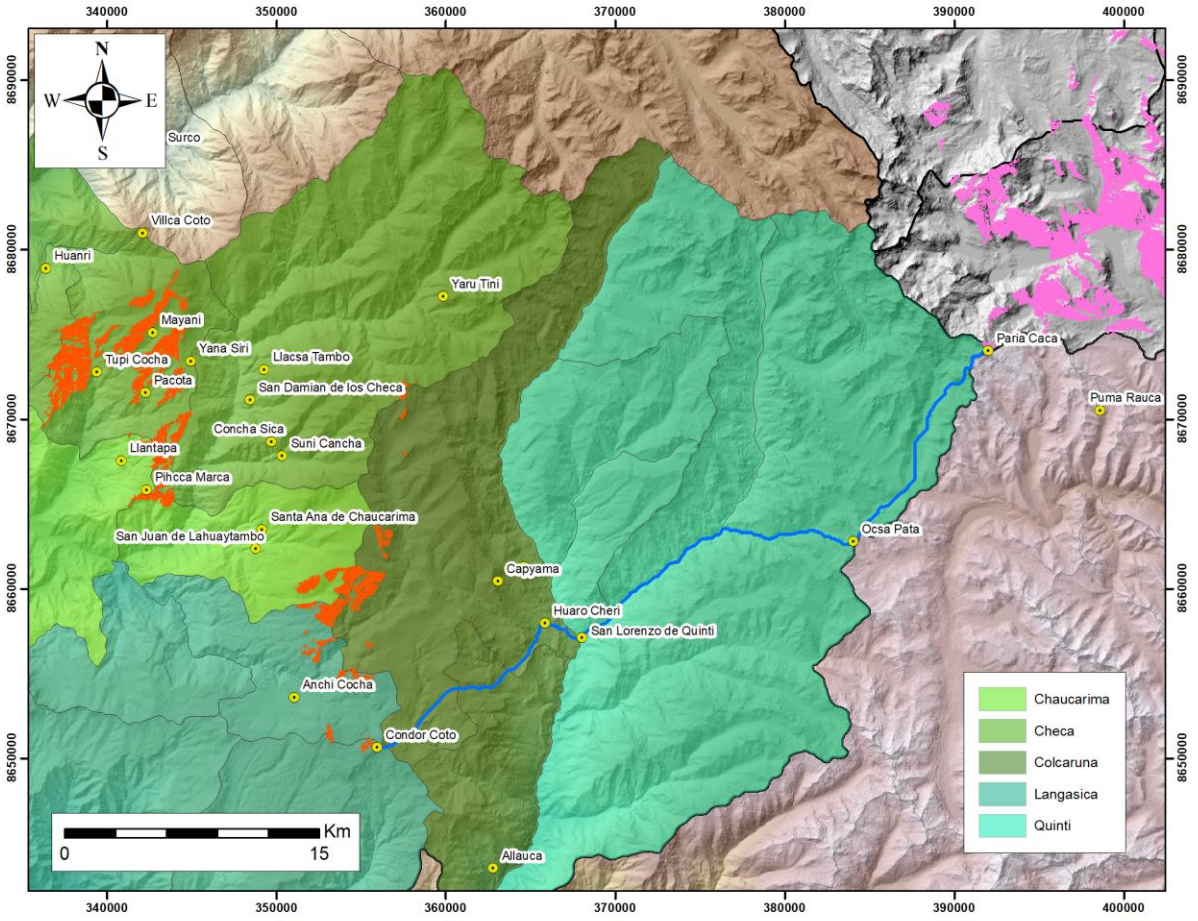

Figure 5.6: Pariacaca's journey from Mount Condorcoto to Mount Pariacaca. The pink areas represent viewshed areas from Mount Pariacaca, while the red areas represent visibility areas from Mount Condorcoto (map by the author).

Pariacaca's journey from his place of birth is a long one. Without any delays it would require an estimated travel time of almost 15 hours.[59] Pariacaca is not a visible feature for most of the peoples of Huarochirí. Moreover, visibility from Pariacaca into the lands of his children is surprisingly limited. Interestingly, the place of his birth, Condorcoto, is very well connected to other important landscape features mentioned in the Huarochirí Manuscript. In particular, when conducting viewshed analysis from Condorcoto as a central point, the areas marked by the analysis coincide with political boundaries between communities. While Pariacaca may not be visible, his travel lines connect the five *waranqas* into a single mytho-historical narrative, and also mark the boundaries between the two groups that become the Lurin and Anan Yauyos. In other words, the history of Pariacaca marks the terrain with the connections that make it possible for the people of Huarochirí to be enmeshed in the narrative of a mythical ancestor that makes them "one people". This sacralization of the landscape is similar to the processes through which the Inka formalized the history of their lineage in Cusco (0, p.98).

This overview aims to investigate what the local narrative of interaction and unity was among the different components of the Huarochirí ethnic identity. In doing so, I suggest that this mythical narrative and the landscape correlates through which it was memorialized, were similar and thus, familiar, to the Inka own history of their own lineage. In order to correlate the idea of a local worldview around the veneration of Pariacaca and its impact on the Inka colonial project in Huarochirí, I will present existing research on the ethnohistory and archaeology of the people of Huarochirí. I will focus on addressing what the socio-political organization of the province may have looked like before the Inka incorporation and how it may have changed afterwards.

[59] Time estimated through the leas-cost path analysis used ESRI ArcGis.

The peoples of Huarochirí before the Inka

Ethnohistory of the Anan and Lurin Yauyos

The earliest written account describing in detail the social organization and geographical expansion of the Yauyos was the *Relación de la Provincia de Anan y Lurin Yauyos*, penned in 1586 by the Spanish *Corregidor* Diego Dávila Briceño (1965 [1586])[60]. According to Dávila Briceño's *Relación*, the Yauyos numbered about 30,000 people by the 1580s and lived in hilltop settlements until resettled into new Spanish towns. The *Relación* characterizes the Yauyos as bellicose and almost savage before the Inka conquest[61]. This is a myth that needs to be promptly dismissed. As I will discuss in the next chapters, there is no strong evidence for violent conflict in the area during late prehispanic times.

Davila Briceño includes a map of the province after his reorganization of the settlement pattern (Figure 5.7). In this map Pariacaca looms tall in its middle top section, even featuring the stairway to access the dual hills of the Yauyos tutelary deity. The names of the towns themselves contained both the Spanish and indigenous Quechua designation; there is also a clear mention of the Anan and Lurin moiety of the general landscape, highlighting indigenous divisions of the geographic space. Following Barbara Mundy's (2011) analysis of cartographic depictions in *Relaciones Geográficas*, I hypothesize that complexity and coexisting understandings of space

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[60] According to his own account, Diego Dávila Briceño had been in America for 45 years by 1586. For the last 13 years he had been *Corredigor* of the province of Anan and Lurin Yauyos. In the *Relación*, he goes into detail explaining the boundaries of the province, the inner organization of the communities, and the changes in settlement of the area brought about by his stewardship.

[61] According to the *Relación*, "*estando poblados de ántes en más de doscientos pueblos pequeños, en riscos y punas de sierras [cierras] y lugares fuertes, á causa de las guerras questa provincia tenia, antes que la conquistasen españoles, con los* Yungas *de los llanos de la costa del mar del Sur, (...) y con la provincia de los* Chocorbos*, que le caen (así) á la parte del Sur; y con los* Guancas *de la provincia de* Xauxa *y* Tarama*, que le caen al accidente; y con la provincia de los* Atavillos*, de* Canta*, que le caen (así) al Norte; porque con todas estas dichas provincias tenían guerras en su gentilidad.*" (Dávila Brizeño 1965:61 [1586])

showed in the map suggest that there was an indigenous hand participating in its composition, although to date no studies of this issue have been carried out.

Figure 5.7: Map of the province of Yauyos (Dávila Briceño 1965 [1586]).

Socio-spatial relationships are related to the geographic landscape, with the river courses working as the axis for mapping. While there is no scalar correlation between towns, there is a good correspondence between river courses. In other words, the geographic landscape was the critical element presented in the map; urban space was secondary. While the goal of the *Relación* and the map reflect the idealized colonial spatial relations, there is a latent level in which existing local social and historical practices determined the configuration of the map (Figure 5.8).

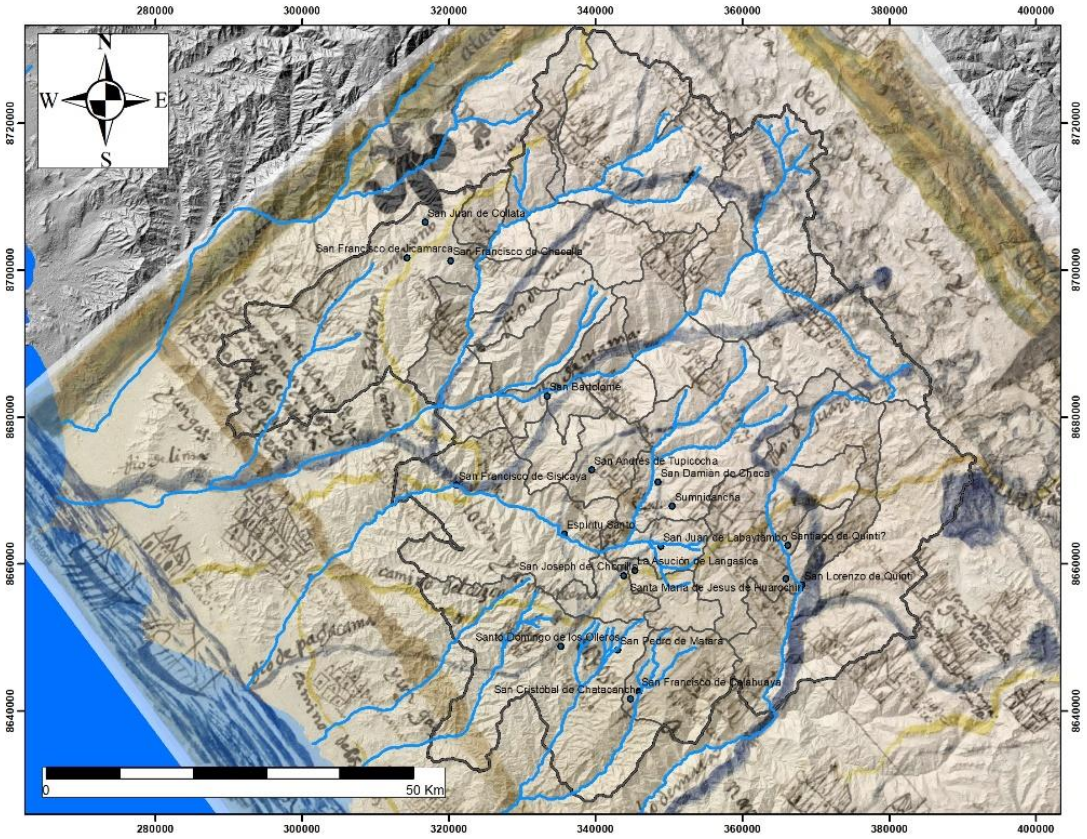

Figure 5.8: Georeferenced rendering of Dávila Briceño's map of the Province of Anan and Lurin Yauyos. While there is not a good disposition of the town within the province, the river courses (except for the Lurin River which is backwards) roughly match with reality, as well as the location of Mount Pariacaca (map by the author).

In order to characterize the Yauyos population before the Inka, I investigated some common markers of ethnic identity. One such marker is linguistic affiliation. The Huarochirí Manuscript was written and compiled in Quechua as this was the *lingua franca* for both Inka expansion and the Spanish evangelization (Durston 2007a). Originally the Yauyos spoke a variety of the Aymara language group, either Jaqaru or Kawki, that Julio C. Tello (2014) first recorded in the town of San Bartolomé de Tupe. According to Heggarty (2008:40), this is the only form of Aymara in the region familiar to the Altiplano variety.[62]

[62] Heggarty (2008) further argues that the main reasons behind the vocabulary divergence between both spoken varieties –which do not differ as much in the grammar– is that the central ones would have borrowed from their surrounding Quechua-speaking neighbors.

Bautista Iturrizaga (2010:42–50) argues that Marka Qilla Tupe was the original Jaqi-based name of Tupe, who acquired this name after the Spanish conquest. The sites of Ch'uch Marka and Txup Marka were likely the original pre-Hispanic settlements occupied by the tupinos. Albeit without archaeological support, he dates the sites to the Middle Horizon, considering it part of the extension of Wari over the Andes. He correlates specific varieties of Jaqi in different sites across the area: Kawki in Sinchi-Marka, another variety of Jaqi in Cantamarca, and Jaqaru in Ch'uch Marka. This hints towards an understanding of a language separation as ethnic differentiation; moreover, he sees Tupe as housing a specific ethnic group that didn't necessarily identify with other Yauyos groups and that is in agreement with Dávila Briceño's early account.

> Of the potential influence of the Inka, Bautista Iturrizaga (2010:33) argues that:
> After many centuries of cultural and agricultural evolution, as well as of other aspects of Andean practice, *Marka* [Tupe] was peacefully incorporated as part of the Tawantinsuyu or *Ihnkayku* system, thanks to the political maneuvering of the Kuraka Ninawillka of the Yauyos. This is the reason why there were no manifest changes in the *Jaqaru* culture, nor an influence of Quechua, despite their nearness of *Unhkushu* 'Hongos' and *Qajra* 'Cacra', neighboring towns of *Marka* that speak a variety of Quechua, as does Laraos.[63]

The author credits the alliance between Kuraka and Inka as the reason of Jaqaru's[64] continuous existence in Tupe. The people of Huarochirí would have spoken a dialect known as Kawki that extended north towards Canta in the Chillón valley. However, there are still significant links between these areas: the name of the town of Tupicocha could be a toponym

[63] "Después de varios siglos de evolución cultural, agrícola y otros aspectos de la actividad andina, *Marka* se incluyó pacíficamente a formar parte del Tawantinsuyu o Sistema *Ihnkayku*, gracias a la sagacidad de estadista del Kuraka Ninawillka de Yauyus, razón por la cual no manifestó cambios en la cultura Jaqaru, ni influencia Quechua, a pesar de la cercanía con *Unhkushu* 'Hongos' y *Qajra* 'Cacra', que son pueblos vecinos con *Marka* y hablan alguna variedad de la lengua quechua, lo mismo que Laraos."

[64] Jaqaru comes from the union of "Jaqi" which means person, and "Aru" which means to speak, express, or communicate (Bautista Iturrizaga 2010:72).

derived from ‘Txupqucxa’, meaning ‘Lake from Tupe’ (Bautista Iturrizaga 2010:72–75). He proposes a quasi-legendary period named ‘Jayas Marqa’ between 750 AD and up to the Spanish conquest that coincides with the maximal cultural development in Tupe as a consequence of community work geared towards terracing and agricultural production.

From an archaeological perspective, Van Dalen (2014b) briefly references a number of sites in the area of Tupe. Most of the sites are close enough in distance (approximately 200 m) and characteristics that they were likely part of the same complex. All of them are dated to the LIP using surface ceramic sherds –which I will argue in the next chapter is not a good marker for dating in Huarochirí or anywhere– and were located on mountain tops and hillsides.

Two sites have a different description: Chuqcho, described as “a politico-administrative site of great dimensions, made up by residential areas of rectangular base associated with irregular patios”[65] and Wanturo, an “extensive settlement with different sectors, plazas and domestic and residential complexes, made up by rectangular structures and patios, and also funerary structures like Chullpas”[66] (van Dalen 2014b:19–20). He doesn’t provide the coordinates for these two sites. However, the descriptions are similar to sites I visited in Huarochirí.

According to Dávila Briceño the Yauyos were not a unified polity until the Inka arrival, rather different small ethnic groups brought together by the Empire. The name Yauyos was coined from one of the groups living in the region[67]. He also notes that the Yauyos did not resist

[65] “Se trata de un sitio político administrativo de grandes dimensiones, conformado por áreas residenciales de planta rectangular asociadas a patios de planta irregular.”
[66] “Extenso asentamiento con diferenciación de sectores, plazas y conjuntos habitacionales y residenciales, conformados por recintos rectangulares y patios, así como estructuras funerarias tipo Chullpas.”
[67] Dávila Briceño (1965 [1586]) states that the actual Yauyos may have had no more than 350 tributaries that were originally distributed among four *pueblezuelos*, and then reduced by him to Santo Domingo de Atun Yauyos.

the Inka, but rather joined the imperial armies through a nominal alliance (a theme explored in detail in the following section). While the Inka significantly reorganized several aspects of Yauyos political forms, the Yauyos and other ethnic groups in the highlands of the central coast also benefitted from their association with the Inka, gaining lands and status (Dillehay 1976). Under the Inka, the Yauyos became a moiety: the Anan Yauyos in the southern section (Yauyos) and the Lurin Yauyos in the northern part (Huarochirí). Each moiety was later divided in *repartimientos* by the Spanish. By 1586, the Anan Yauyos had two *repartimientos*, Mancos and Laraos, and Atun Yauyos. The Lurin Yauyos had three, Huarochirí, Mama, and Chacalla. It was later, as recorded by Franco de Melo in 1750, that the mining region of Yauli was annexed as another repartimiento (Spalding 2012). Each *repartimiento* comprised different Spanish and Andean population units: for the Spanish these were *pueblos* and *doctrinas*, and *waranqas* among the indigenous population.

The *repartimiento* of Huarochirí was subdivided in five *waranqas*: Colcaruna, Langasica, Checa, Chaucarima and Quinti (Spalding 1984). My research in the Peruvian National Archive showed that even as late as the late 18th century, the Huarochirí people still formally called themselves the "Five Waranqas" instead of conforming to the traditional Inka dual and quadripartite arrangement or using their moiety designation (Zuidema 1983) or the Spanish population units.[68] The number five is conceptually embedded in Aymara linguistic construction (Durston 2007a). The use of this terminology well into the colonial period could suggest a continuation of the symbolic aspects of socio-political organization among the Yauyos.

[68] AGN, GO-BI 5 Leg.141 Exp.126 Año 1741; ANG, GO-BI 2 Leg.99 Exp.909 Año 1740.

Each *waranqa* was composed of a number of *ayllus*, broadly defined as kin-based corporate groups with a single shared ancestor, communal landholding rights, social obligation of reciprocity, and a nested social structure that provided protocols of social behavior to kin members (Abercrombie 1998; Allen 2002; Isbell 1978; Weismantel 2006). However, this does not mean that population groups were not mobile, as different *ayllus* from different *waranqas* sometimes coexisted in the same settlements. This kin structure was also a critical language for the socio-political organization of Andean life; different scholars have proposed that the Inka Empire was built as an aggregation of *ayllus* throughout its subject provinces (D'Altroy 2002; Kolata 2013). These social population arrangements permeate pan-Andean worldviews of ethnic identity and affiliation.

My review of colonial documentation in different archival repositories further supports this idea of different communities at the micro (*ayllu*) and meso (*waranqa*) level, coming together to form a macro identity (Lurin Yauyos moiety). Conflicts over lands and water rights arose as soon as the Spanish first arrived in Huarochirí, and it became clear that the micro and meso levels of aggregation were significantly more important among the peoples of Huarochirí than the general narrative of a single ethnic group.

For example, by 1593 a conflict over irrigation lands arose between the people of Santiago de Anchucaya and San Pedro de Guancayre within the Quinti *waranqa*.[69] The conflict was over the Maruaca dike and annexed lands by the Millua river. While the people of Guancayre argued that they had used the dike since the times of the Inka and that they did not have any other water source for their *chacras*, the people from Anchucaya argued for a

[69] AGN, A-630, 1593-1597

relationship that predated the Inka. According to them, in past times the people from both towns "*se juntaban amablemente*" or shared the water, even cleaning the dikes together. Cleaning irrigations systems remains one of the most important practices of community interaction among Andean communities, and is a highly ritualized event (Netherly 1984). Here they would plant maize and potatoes. However, they also claimed that since the time of Thupa Inka Yupanqui – that is, from the incorporation of Huarochirí into the Inka Empire– it was their forefathers that "*sacaron a puro trabajo*" the dike and that the Guancayre people had "*pasiones*" or extreme animosity towards them. The Spanish authorities sided with Anchucaya (Figure 5.9).

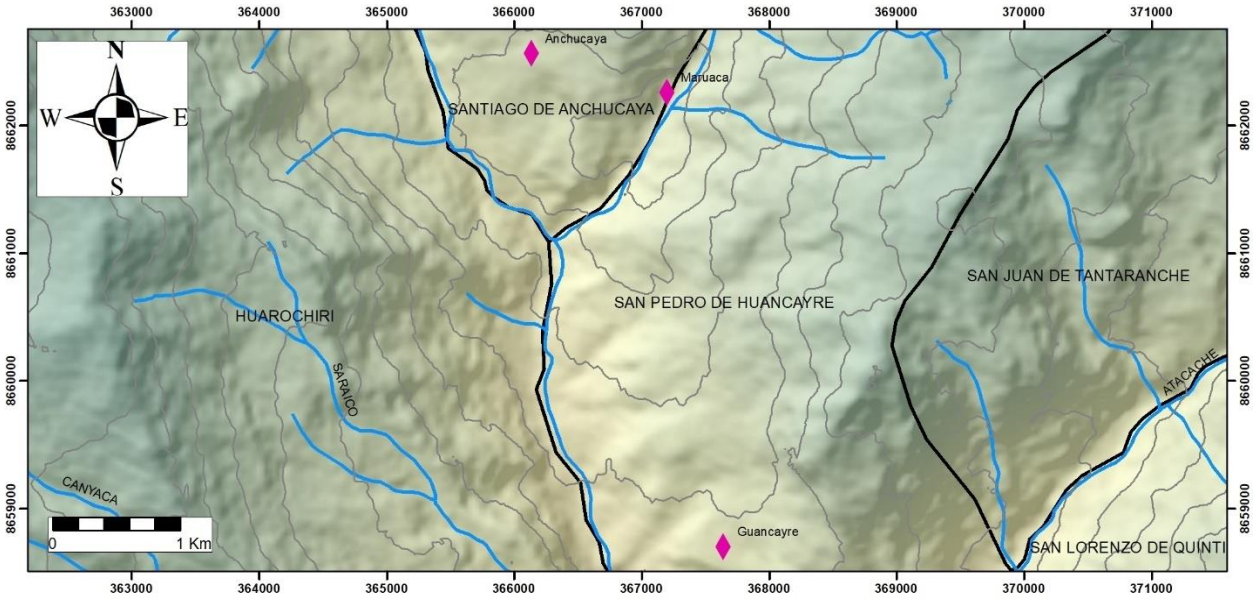

Figure 5.9: Map depicting the locations specified in the conflict between Guancayre and Anchucaya. The gray lines represent 15 minutes intervals from Maruaca using Tobler hiking model. The black lines represent district boundaries (map by the author).

The lands of Maruaca coincide in a high degree with the modern district boundary between Anchucaya and Huancayre, which once again correlates to the existing division of community boundaries upon which the Inka and the Spanish built their own demographic units. Interestingly, the document notes that the people used to come together seasonally to work the same lands, cleaning dikes in a manner allusive to of modern communities in the region. The

people of Anchucaya make a case based both on their local practices of cooperation among communities and on the Spanish demand of substantiating land relationships through precedent and history of ownership (Hamilakis and Anagnostopoulos 2009).

Through this example, I aim to highlight that the communities were not politically unified under a single authority. However, they came together to mark ritual activities, and had done so before colonial trials like this arose. This supports my argument that ritual interaction was the medium through with the children of Pariacaca reinforced the idea of "one birth".

The diversity –and in some cases clear rivalry– between the different components of the Yauyos people can be glimpsed through other documentary sources, such as the *Revisita de Sisicaya*[70] from 1588 and the *Carta Annua* from 1609. In the following paragraphs I discuss these documents in order to support the idea that interaction through mutually legible rituals was a practice already common in Huarochirí before the Inka conquest as the different communities came together as a nominal "one people" despite their own differences. This could be interpreted as a case of local level standardization: by becoming a single group through ritual, they could guarantee collaboration and cooperation in a context of lack of political centralization.

The Revisita de Sisicaya took place roughly 20 years before the compilations of the Huarochirí Manuscript and therefore may contain clues as to the social organization of the people of Huarochirí before the start of the extirpation of idolatries. By 1588, Sisicaya was composed by a total of ten *ayllus*: Chillaco, Andapocro, Llangaçapa, Cicicaya, Checa, Lupo, Quinti, Papano, Yampilla, and Chaucarima (Salomon and Grosboll 2009:28–29). Interestingly,

[70] Accoridng to Guevara Gil and Salomon (1994:3), *visitas* were "tours of inspections ordered by the Spanish Crown to scrutinize imperial affairs. Some constituted vast, detailed mappings of whole societies while others focused on local administrative problems." *Revisitas* took place usually by request from the indigenous populations once the numbers of people and taxpayers recorded by the visitas shifted and they were being levied by numbers that no longer represented their populations.

the *ayllus* represented populations that were not exclusively Yauyos, as the first four *ayllus* are identified by Yungas, or people originally from the lower valleys, in the regions close to Sisicaya. And while ostensibly Sisicaya was a part of the Chaucarima *waranqa*, the yauyos *ayllus* identified are not exclusive to it. It seems to be the case that Sisicaya was an enclave in the middle valley, where different *waranqas* were represented.

An issue not discussed in the text and that bears consideration is when the different *ayllus* moved to the middle valley: before or during the Inka incorporation? In the Huarochirí Manuscript there is mention of the idea of an expansion into arable lands with Inka support. A similar case of Yauyos expansion into middle valleys was studied by Dillehay (1976) in Chillón, which revealed the concerns with control of the *coca* fields in the middle valley. Moreover, description of the Manuscript suggests that in pre-colonial times different *ayllus* may have shared the same towns, but not in the variety that is recorded in Sisicaya. It is possible that the expansion to the middle valleys took place after the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí as a means to either guarantee control over the region or as a prize for their highland allies. The representation of the different *waranqas* in a single town also suggests that they were recognized as different political units despite their ethnic affiliation.

Another inference from the Revisita is that ethnic and community boundaries were permeable enough that they could incorporate the Yungas within the ritual system of affiliation to Pariacaca. The Manuscript states: “These Yunca groups, all the Yunca, once they forgot their former god, began to worship Paria Caca” (Salomon and Urioste 1991:71).

A second glimpse into the broad, encompassing, and only fictively unified structure[71] of the peoples of Huarochirí, is hinted by the Carta Annua. This account was written by two Jesuits come from Lima by request of Francisco de Avila. After uncovering the indigenous rituals that were related in the Manuscript, Avila kept in close communication with the *Compañía de Jesús* in Lima, arguing that he needed support since one single person could not deal with the volume of "idolatries" still practiced in Huarochirí. These priests were Pedro Castillo, who already knew Avila from his time in Cusco, and Gaspar de Montalbo (Taylor 1997:86).

The priests confirmed everything that Avila had stated about the density of idolatries in the region. They noted with approval that the people of San Damián de Checa –the same people that take center stage in the Manuscript– had reacted so well to Avila's preaching's that they identified former "sorcerers", rejected their own practices, and further asked to absolved of their past sins. One episode in particular is shocking to read:

> The next day, they went with Doctor Avila himself to destroy some huacas from a mountain about one *legua* away. That day some things happened that comforted them. The first one was that while the priests were going to meet with the Doctor, some foreign Indians came to them and asked to kiss their hands. They asked them who they were and where did they come from, and [the Indians] answered freely. "We are all idolaters and we are coming to show our idols and convert to God". When asked about the reason that moved them to do that, they said that they had learned that Doctor Avila had put edicts and preached that all should say what they knew, and they had come with the desire to be saved without anyone accusing them. And, that they would say what they knew about themselves as about others. It was extremely comforting for the priests and also reason for their compassion, for there was a reason for everything they experienced with the Indians. They were from Chorrillos in the Sisicaya district. Afterwards, the Indians went with the Doctor and the priests to show their w'akas in different parts of that mountain. They belonged to one ayllu or another, and while they said so, they took large stones in their hands and began to destroy the idols they had until that point worshipped. They did this with so much fervor and joy that it was impossible to watch without admiration, or to describe how it happened. (…) This took about three hours and then it was time to eat. Afterwards, the women that had brought food for their husbands went off to cut wood

[71] For a discussion of imagined communities and how they are imagined into existence by different scales of social praxis, see: (Anderson 1991).

> and the Indians went to take the bodies of the dead from their ancient burials. They got together a large number of corpses that were previously adored by the Indians as something divine, to whom they used to offer food and other things in their times, entrusting themselves to them. A large bonfire was made and they threw these unfortunates inside, and it was a marvelous thing to see principal Indians bringing their grandparents and dead, and throwing them to the fire saying "this is my uncle, this is so-and-so". (Taylor 1997:90-91; translation by the author)[72]

The scene described by the priests defies what we know or expect from the interaction between communities and the bodies of their ancestors. There are different interpretations of this that suggest the existence of different interest groups among the peoples of Huarochirí. First and foremost, there is a strong possibility that the priests lied in order to support Avila's claim of his pious acts in Huarochirí. Still, assuming that they did not lie, it is remarkable that the people from Sisicaya were so close to the Checa territory and that it was here that they identified the bodies they supposedly threw to the bonfire. Were they really their ancestors? Were the stones really idols? Were indigenous people preying on the lack understanding that the Spanish had about their rituals and artifacts in order to convince the ecclesiastical officials that they were converted?

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[72] In the original Spanish: "El dia siguiente fueron con el mismo Doctor Auila a deshacer ciertas huacas que auia en vn cerro mas de vna legua de alli. Este dia vuo algunas cosas de consuelo y la primera fue que yendo los Padres a encontrarse con el Doctor se llegaron a ellos vnos indios forasteros pidiéndoles la mano para besársela. Preguntaroles quienes eran y de donde venían y repondieron con mucho desenfado. Todos somos idolatras y venimos a manifestas nuestros idolos y convertirnos a Dios y preguntandoles la causa de auerse mouido a ello, dixeron que auian sabido que el Doctor Auila auia puesto edictors y hecho pregonar que todos dixessen lo que sabían, y que ellos venían con el desseo de saluarse sin ser acusados de nadie y que dirían de si y de otros todo quanto supiesen. Fue para la Los Padres de summo consuleo y no menor compassion porque para todo auia motiuo en lo que con los indios pasaron. Eran estos indios del chorrillo distrito de Çiçicaya. Luego començaron los indios yendo con el Doctor y con los Padres a mostrar sus huacas en diuersas partes de aquel cerro vnas de vnos ayllos y otras de otros y haciendo y diciendo, tomaron grandes piedras en las manos y començaron a deshazer los idolos que hasta allí auian adorado y esto con tanto feruor y alegría que ni se podía ver sin admiración ni es possible pintarlo como ello paso. (…) En eso se passaron como tres horas y luego fue hora de comer. Despues de esto las mugeres que auian traído la comida a sus maridos fueron a cortar leña y los indios a sacar muertos de los entierros antiguos y fueron juntando vn gran numero de cuerpos de los indios que antes adorauan como a cosa diuina y les offrecian comida y otras cosas a sus tiempos y se encomendauan a ellos. Hizose vna gran hoguera y echaron en ella a estos desuenturados y era cosa marauillosa ver venir indios principales cargados de sus aguelos y diffuntos y echarlos en el fuego diciendo este es mi tio, este es mi aguelo, ese es fulano."

We know from the Manuscript that the peoples of Huarochirí had access to the bodies of "enemies" if necessary, and this is better described by the rituals involving *huayos*:

> If they captured a man in warfare, they would first flay his face, and then make it dance, saying 'This is our valor!' And when a man was taken prisoner in war, that man himself would say, 'Brother, soon you'll kill me. I was a really powerful man, and now you're about to make a *huayo* out of me. So before I got our onto the plaza, you should feed me well and serve me drinks first.' Obeying this, they'd offer food and drinks to the other huayos saying, 'This day you shall dance with me on the plaza. They actually used to bring out the huayos and carry them in a litter for two days. On the following day, they'd hang them up together with maize, potatoes, and all the other offerings. About this hanging of huayos, people remarked, 'The huayos would return to the place where they were born, the place called Uma Pacha, carrying these things along with them' (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120)

In 1891, amateur archaeologist Henry Hilyer Giglioli described the finding of such a mask and a photo was republished with the Revisita de Sisicaya (Figure 5.10). The identity of potential flayed enemies' bodies that could still be in Huarochirí is not clear. Dávila Briceño mentions a number of potential enemies along the boundaries of Huarochirí and Yauyos, including atavillos, chocorbos, guancas, and taramas (see map, p.124). The Manuscript itself makes the Yunga people the antagonists of Pariacaca's narrative. The designation of Uma Pacha seems to support this hypothesis; Salomon and Urioste identify it as a place where the alliance between Yauyos and Yuncas was cemented (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120; footnote 623).

Overall, the description of the Carta Annua, if taken at face value, seems to once again remark on the composite character of the peoples of Huarochirí. Ritual, dances, and plazas (see: Chapter 7) were spaces of interaction and encounter before the Inka. However, the documents do not include any description of the types and sizes of the plazas. In reviewing the historical sources, I posit that the interaction among Yauyos communities –*ayllus* and *waranqas*– and between the Yauyos and Yuncas were already mediated by rituals and practices that informed their relationship with the Inka. Cultural familiarity between Yauyos and Inka practices made

ritual interaction an ideal social space through which both groups fully understood that the norms of a mutually beneficial interaction were created.

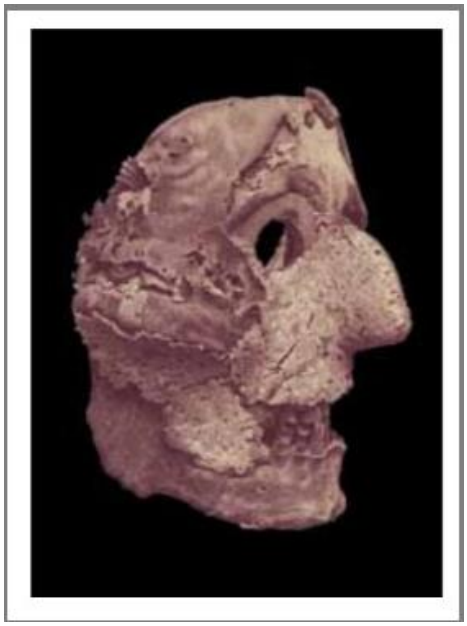

Figure 5.10: Huayo. First published in: Giglioli, Henry Hilyer (1891). On Two Ancient Peruvian Masks Made with the Facial Portion of Human Skulls. Internazionales Archiv für Ethnographie, 4, pp. 83-87 (Salomon, Feltham, and Grosboll 2009).

Prior archaeological research of the Anan and Lurin Yauyos

Archaeological study of Yauyos was pioneered through early reconnaissance by Tello (1909), Valcarcel et al. (1963), Bonavia (1970) and Villar Córdoba (1982). Through their descriptions –and my own survey– I identified certain similarities in the internal emplacement and layout: 1) settlements located on hilltops, usually between ravines overlooking the valley; 2) visual contact between settlements and mountains that documentary record identifies as *w'akas* (Figure 5.11); 3) variability in the layout and masonry of residential compounds within the same site (Figure 5.12); 4) a central plaza dominated by imposing rock outcrops (see: p.182,273); and 5) surrounding agricultural terraces (Figure 5.13). These features are consistent with the focus on landscape movement, visual relationship with important landscape markers, and lack of centralization beyond ritual that I have discussed in the previous section.

Most sites show little architectural evidence of an Inka presence, with a low superficial presence of Inka-style ceramic sherds. These observations are confirmed by the surveys carried out in the region (van Dalen 2014a; Chase et al. 2011).

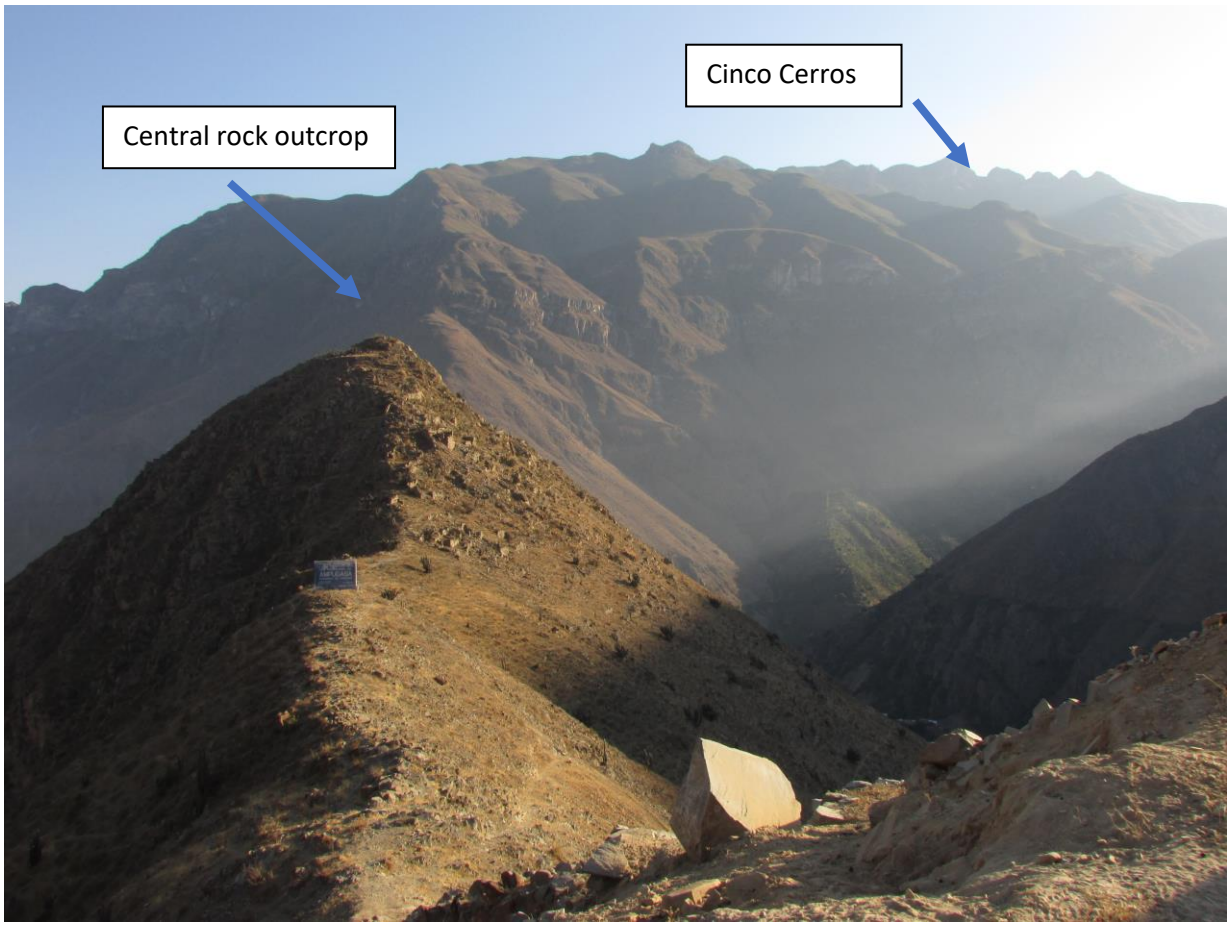

Figure 5.11: Ampugasa. This photo shows the first two characteristics of settlements in Huarochirí. The site is located on top of a mountain overlooking two ravines that meet on the valley floor. The photograph also shows the site of Cinco Cerros, a local w'aka visible from the site (photograph by the author).

Figure 5.12: Detail of local architecture in San José de los Chorrillos, Huarochirí (photography by the author).

Figure 5.13: Detail of the landscape during the 2010 survey. Notice the presence of terraces throughout the landscape (photograph PASL201).

One of the few systematically excavated Yauyos site is Huamanmarca in the Carania district (3940 masl), a LIP site, investigated by Enríquez (2014). According to her, the site covers an area of 120 ha and is also located on a mountaintop and the hillside. Domestic structures are rectangular in shape and surround a central plaza of irregular shape and roughly at the center of the site.

Enríquez identified a potential wall that complemented the hard-access location of the site; in conjunction with Huamani, this could suggest a more defensive concern in Yauyos sites outside of Huarochirí. This supports the idea of the Yauyos as loosely coalesced groups and warns against their generalization as bellicose throughout their whole territory. Results from the excavation center on human remains discussed later (see: p.193).

Farfán (2010) conducted survey and mapping at the foot of Mount Pariacaca. This work is compelling not only for its localization at the core of the Yauyos ritual landscape, but also because it provides direct evidence of a shift in architectural and layout form before and after the Inka incorporation. He recorded and mapped two sites: Tambo Real (Figure 5.14) and Pirca Pirca (Figure 5.15), at roughly 4400 masl and 2 km in distance from each other.

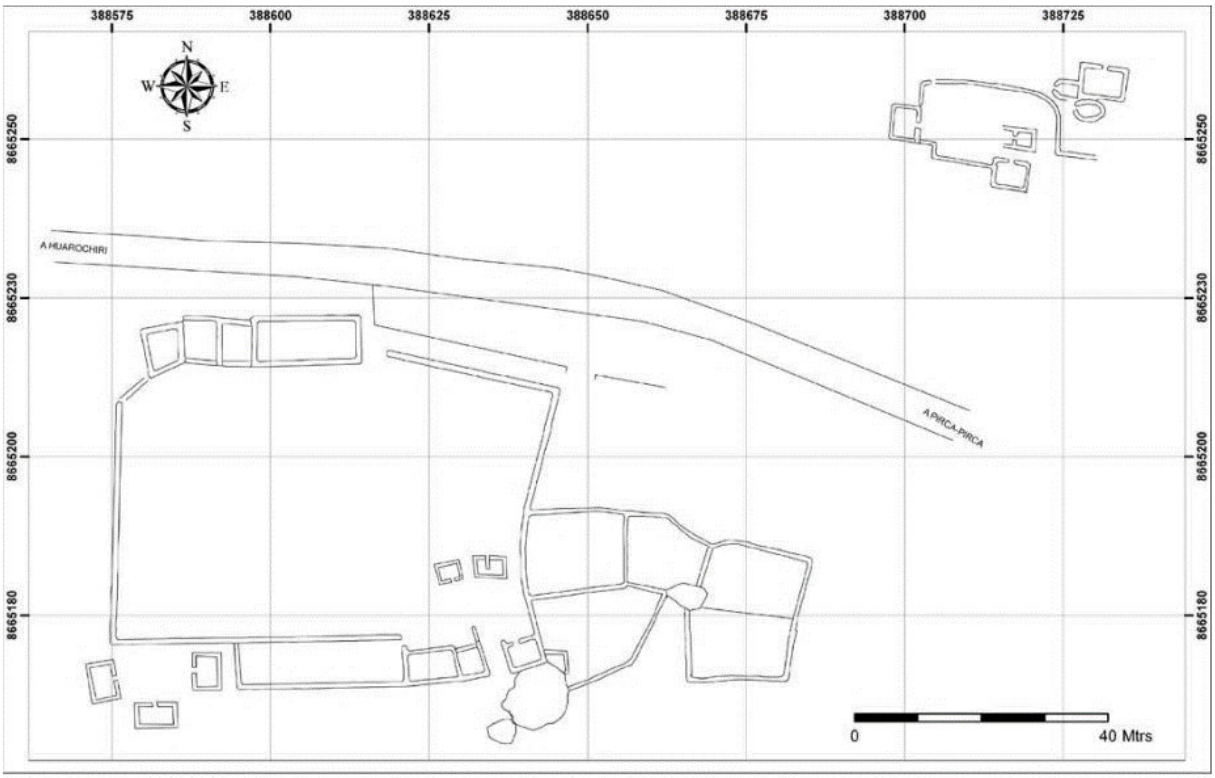

Figure 5.14: Map of Tambo Real de Pariacaca (Farfán 2010:395).

Tambo Real has two sectors: the first one of 10 to 12 connected rooms and two rectangular rooms within the patio. Farfán identifies this section as a *tampu*, a way-station at the service of messengers running between Pachacamac and Xauxa. The second sector was much larger, with a patio measuring 43 x 36 m. There are rectangular structures with restricted access, and the author considers there are buildings akin to a *kallanca* and a *kancha* (Farfán 2010:390–394). While not fully resembling Canchaje (see: p.65), the map of Tambo Real confirms that most spaces built by the Inka expressly as ceremonial installations followed the general plan of open plaza-like spaces, associated with rock outcrops and a preference for rectangular architecture.

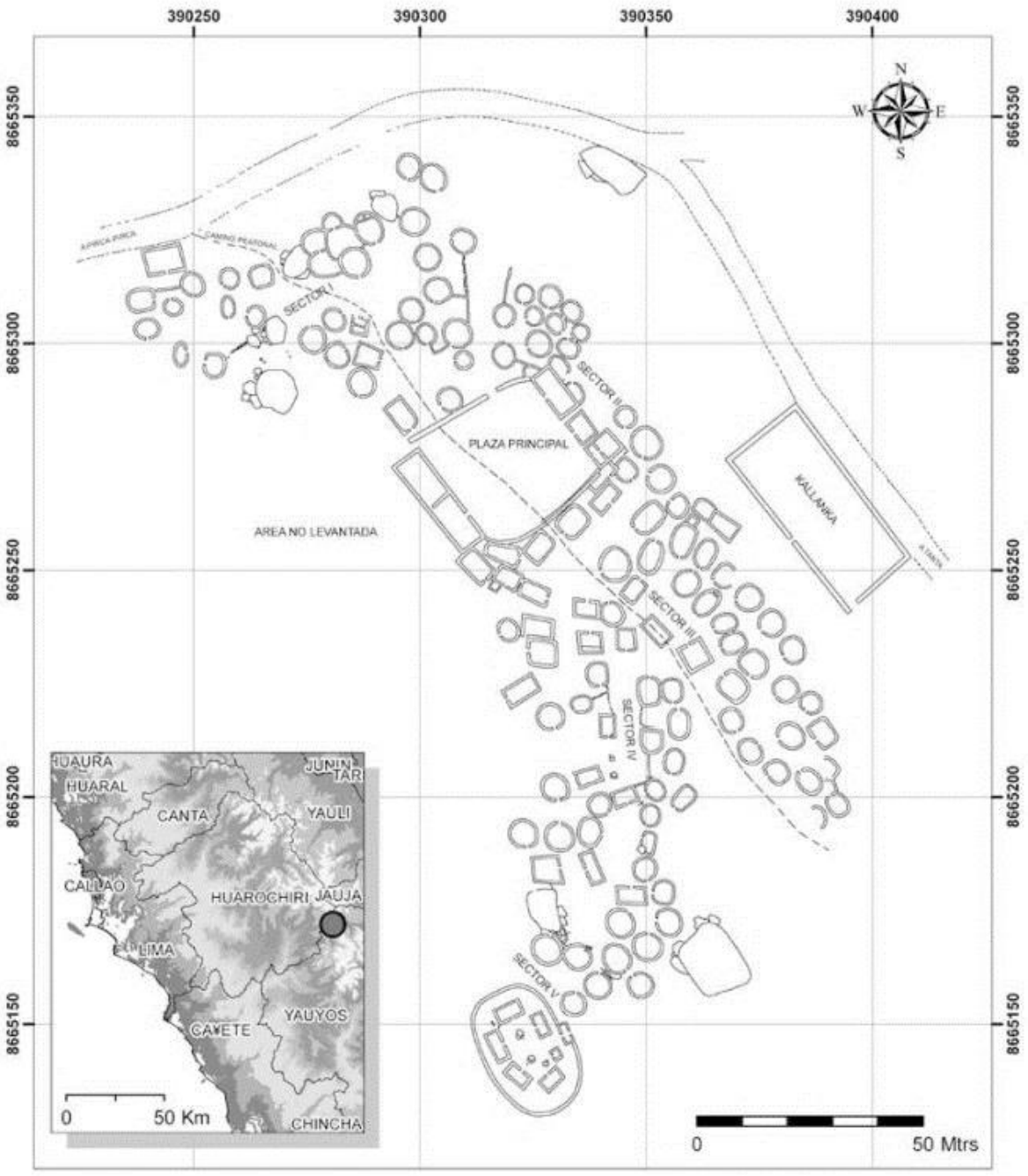

Figure 5.15: Map of Pirca Pirca (Farfán 2010:397).

The second site, Pirca Pirca, was built during the LIP and includes about 150 structures. The original buildings were organically distributed circular structures. Afterwards, the Inka modified the site through a plaza of 29 x 30 m surrounded by rectangular structures.

Additionally, a *kallanca* and a *kancha* were added (Farfán 2010:394–400). Farfán interprets the change of the site's layout as evidence of a forceful Inka imposition. However, I contend that it is equally probable –without excavation and dating of the site– to hypothesize that this is evidence of the Inka attaching themselves to the local tutelary deity and co-opting its worship as a means to establishing themselves as part of Pariacaca –and the yauyos– fictitious kin group. The preponderance of circular structures forming patio groups is consistent with the LIP occupation of Ampugasa (see: p.63). Interestingly, the large plaza in the middle associated with rectangular structures is dated to the LH, confirming that it was not part of the indigenous residential design.

In the Huarochirí or Lurin Yauyos section, early publications such as *Huarochirí: Ocho Mil Años de Historia* by Thatar (1992), made available general descriptions of many of the sites in the region, including superficial observations of architectural layouts and surface materials. The trend of publishing survey observations of the regions remains the main type of published work in the region (van Dalen 2014a). This information fits within general outlines described above. In *The Central Peruvian Prehistoric Interaction Sphere* (MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975), the authors suggest an early connection (10000-7000 BCE) between Huarochirí and the Ayacucho-Huanta region based on the predominance of similar projectile points in both areas, and later on they extend the Junín Complex (MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975:16–21). However, my work hints at a selective distribution of lithic points that belies this hypothesis.

By the 450 BCE-300 CE period the authors distinguish two types of sites: "fortified hilltop settlements with relatively large numbers of domestic structures" and "terraces on slopes overlooking tributaries of the Mala river" that suggests a rise in the importance of agriculture

(MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975:49). This pattern would continue mostly unaffected until the 650-850 CE period when they record five sites on the ridges of the Huarochirí basin; they describe the sites: "Three of the sites contain oval, stone burial crypts associated with badly damaged architectural complexes, at least one of which is composed of rectangular stone houses. A fourth site contains only domestic architecture, and the fifth one contains only oval crypts" (MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975:59).

The description of Huarochirí becomes richer by the 850-1425 CE period, which coincides with the LIP. Patterson's survey identified a total of 10 sites: three refuse deposits, one large cemetery with oval crypts associated with plazas, and six isolated structures. The authors argue that the region was inhabited by a number of segmentary lineages with differing proportions of landholdings. Those without extensive lands raided other groups, particularly around the 1000 masl boundary, bringing in the idea of conflict between Yauyos and Yungas. Additionally, the authors state that there were two integrating mechanisms in Huarochirí by this time: the "ceremonial round", which consisted of the movement from one ecozone segment to another to exchange goods, and the ceremonies honoring the principal *w'akas* of a lineage. According to the authors, in these ceremonies (MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975:65):

> The members would gather where the huaca was located, and the appropriate ceremonies were performed. At least some of these involved the veneration of the dead. (…) Everyone, including the mummy bundles, consumed food and maize beer at these festivities. Ceremonies such as this one may well have taken place at sites with oval burial crypts and plazas, like the one found in the Huarochirí Basin.

By the final period, 1425-1534 CE, which coincided with the Late Horizon, the authors note that it is very hard to distinguish the Inka presence in Huarochirí. They identify one site in the Huarochirí basin and three sites in the upper Rímac valley. The site in Huarochirí was a "large architectural complex" and the other three were a settlement with high density or

residential compound, a series of terraces associated with storehouses, tombs, a single structure, and four platform mounds. The identification of the sites was based on the scant association of Inka-imitation sherds or coastal wares whereas the preponderant ceramic style was the local brown coarse ware. They further argue for a change in the settlement pattern, with the dispersed population moving from the hilltops to nucleated villages, although it is not clear how they reach this conclusion (MacNeish, Patterson, and Browman 1975:72). Their descriptions of the latter settlements are very similar to what I have found in Huarochirí. However, my results demonstrated that these ritual spaces pre-dated the Inka and that the incorporation of Inka material culture was a slow-paced and selective process.

Albeit greatly influenced by the historical record, the authors still provide accurate –if incomplete– descriptions of the sites. Interestingly, they do see a rise in settlement density during the LIP, with variability between different settlements. They acknowledge that the Yauyos were not a single corporate identity and rather a number of lineages –communities in my research– that maintained their relationships through exchange and ritual. However, there is no direct mention of rock outcrops.

Miasta (2006) conducted limited excavations in sites next to the modern towns of Santo Domingo de los Olleros, San José de los Chorrillos, and San Lorenzo de Quinti. In Olleros he excavated two 1x1 m test pits in a refuse mound in the town itself, likely associated with an old house or chapel. The ceramics were predominantly brown undecorated wares and colonial glazed sherds. In Chorrillos –where the original splinter population that founded Olleros came from (Chapter 8) – he focused on the site of Punku. He excavated a 1x2 m unit in a small terrace with results similar to Olleros. Finally, in Quinti, Miasta excavated a 1x2 m in a patio associated with the old convent and temple. He recorded links between the ceramics found here and those of

Olleros and Chorrillos, as well as glazed sherds. However, the publication is limited to describing the short stratigraphy and the colonial ceramics. This makes it almost impossible to compare this evidence with broader-scope research on the sites and our own survey.

Ramón (1999) uses an ethnoarchaeological approach to the study of ceramic production in Santo Domingo de los Olleros. While he identifies two sites near the town, Cerritos and Santa Rosa (Tamputoco), there is no description or intervention to inform us of their characteristics. This is a hindrance in my own work, since these sites are probably associated with the population that inhabited Ampugasa. Ramón investigates the process of acquiring clay and manufacturing pots in the town, noting that the clay sources are at different distances yet all remain within the town's jurisdiction.

Many of the tools still used by the *olleras* are quite similar to the repertory of tools found at the site of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará (Makowski 2002), which was likely directly linked to the Cucuya community of Olleros and remains part of the traditional herding route by pastoralists moving to the lower valley when the *loma* is in season. Olleros was originally part of the Langasica *waranqa*, and then splintered with San José de los Chorrillos. My conversations with neighbors from Chorrillos confirmed that up until two generations ago, the *olleros* still made their way to this town to bring their pots. Ramón states that this trade is no longer performed as Olleros production became focused on the upper towns. This view is reinforced by Dillehay's (1976) work in the upper Chillón valley. He found slipped maroon and red ceramic sherds that were not present in the lower valley. This finding could reflect the contingent of Yauyos settlers to the valley still maintaining their original affiliation and networks to the people of Huarochirí.

Chase (2016a) conducted the first systematic excavations in Huarochirí. He carried out most of his work at the site of Llaqsatambo, near the town of San Damián de Checa. Chase et al.

(2011) report a region-wide survey and targeted test-pit excavations at four sites: Llaqsatambo (6 units), a group of Inka *colcas* to the southeast of the site (2 units), Cerro San Cristóbal (1 unit), and one test unit in the modern town of San Damián de Checa, originally a toledan reduction (1 unit) (Figure 5.16). Chase's team recorded a total of 55 sites in the survey, including structures, terraces, and funerary structures. They concluded that San Damián shows a *llaqta*-centric occupation, in which smaller sites are distributed around the main site (Llaqsatambo) with Inka presence –albeit not dominant– and without a significant change in the settlement pattern of the site from the LIP to the Colonial Period.[73]

Excavations in Llaqsatambo (Figure 5.17) demonstrated that most of the occupation was associated with the Inka Period and not the LIP. Both the shallow stratigraphy and radiocarbon dating support this hypothesis (Chase 2016b). Chase identified an Inka-style architectural addition on the side. This addition is not central or prominent in the site, which suggests that the buildings were not a "materialization of Inka ideology" (Chase 2014). Chase's results foster my research in questioning what can be identified as local among the Yauyos and how these features were used as a political capital of negotiation between themselves and the Inka.

[73] Chase et al. (2011:8.2) summarize: "Por análisis preliminar de los materiales recuperados de los sitios identificados y de patrones arquitectónicos, es aparente que la filiación cultural de todos los sitios es del Intermedio Tardío, el Horizonte Tardío, la Colonia y la época Republicana. Además se puede notar que los patrones de asentamiento no parecen haberse cambiado mucho durante los 400 años desde la redacción del manuscrito Quechua. Más bien, la prospección parece confirmar la ubicación "salpicada" de residencias alrededor de una llacta céntrica (Llacsatambo) y después, entre Llacsatambo y San Damián. La prospección también confirma, por haberse encontrado elementos arquitectónicos Inkas cerca de Llacsatambo, y en el sitio mismo la presencia Inka durante el Horizonte Tardío y señala la relación que estos tuvieron con los pobladores y sitios del área. Los Inkas sí fueron una presencia importante, pero no parecen haber dominado el área, como hicieron en otros sitios."

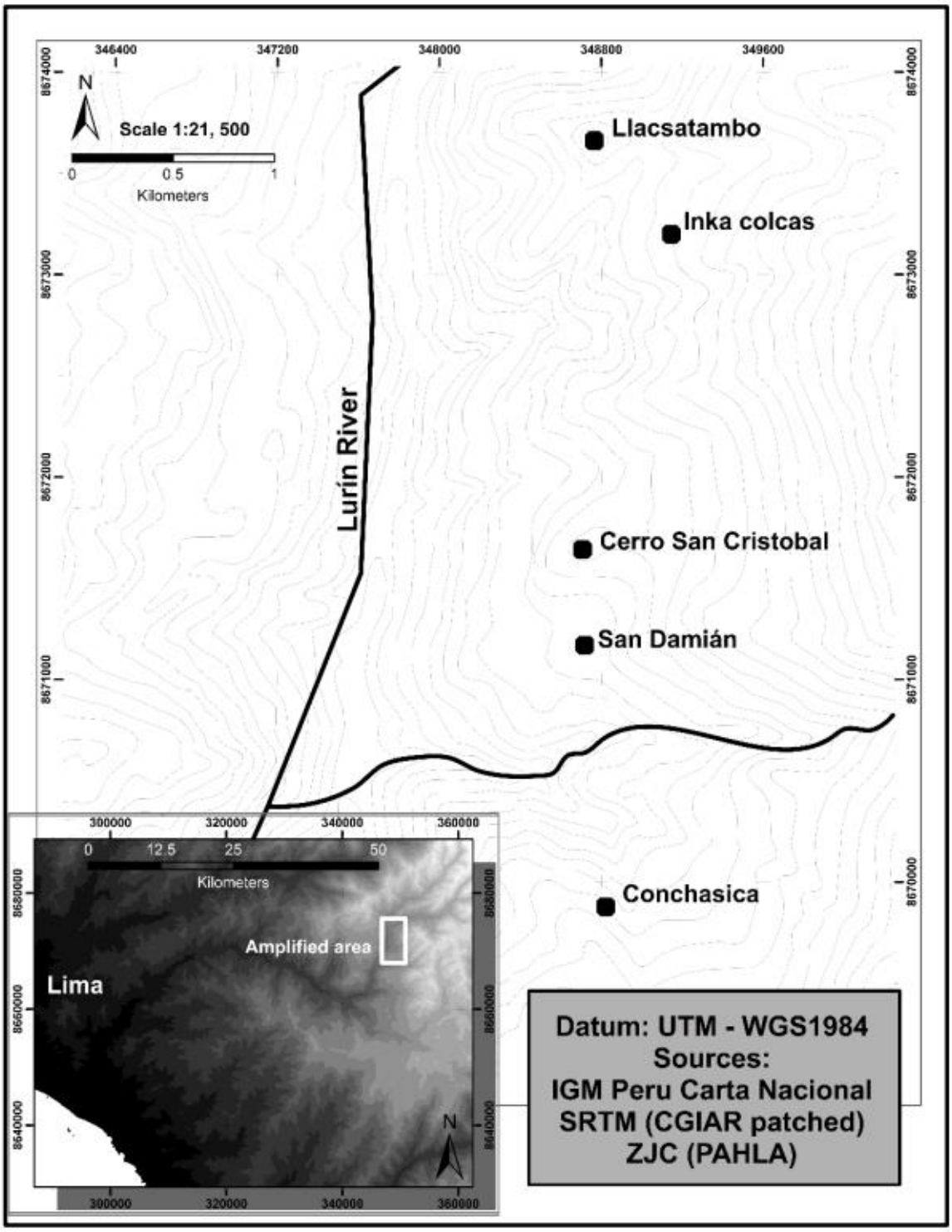

Figure 5.16: Location of the excavations areas recorded by Chase (2016a:117).

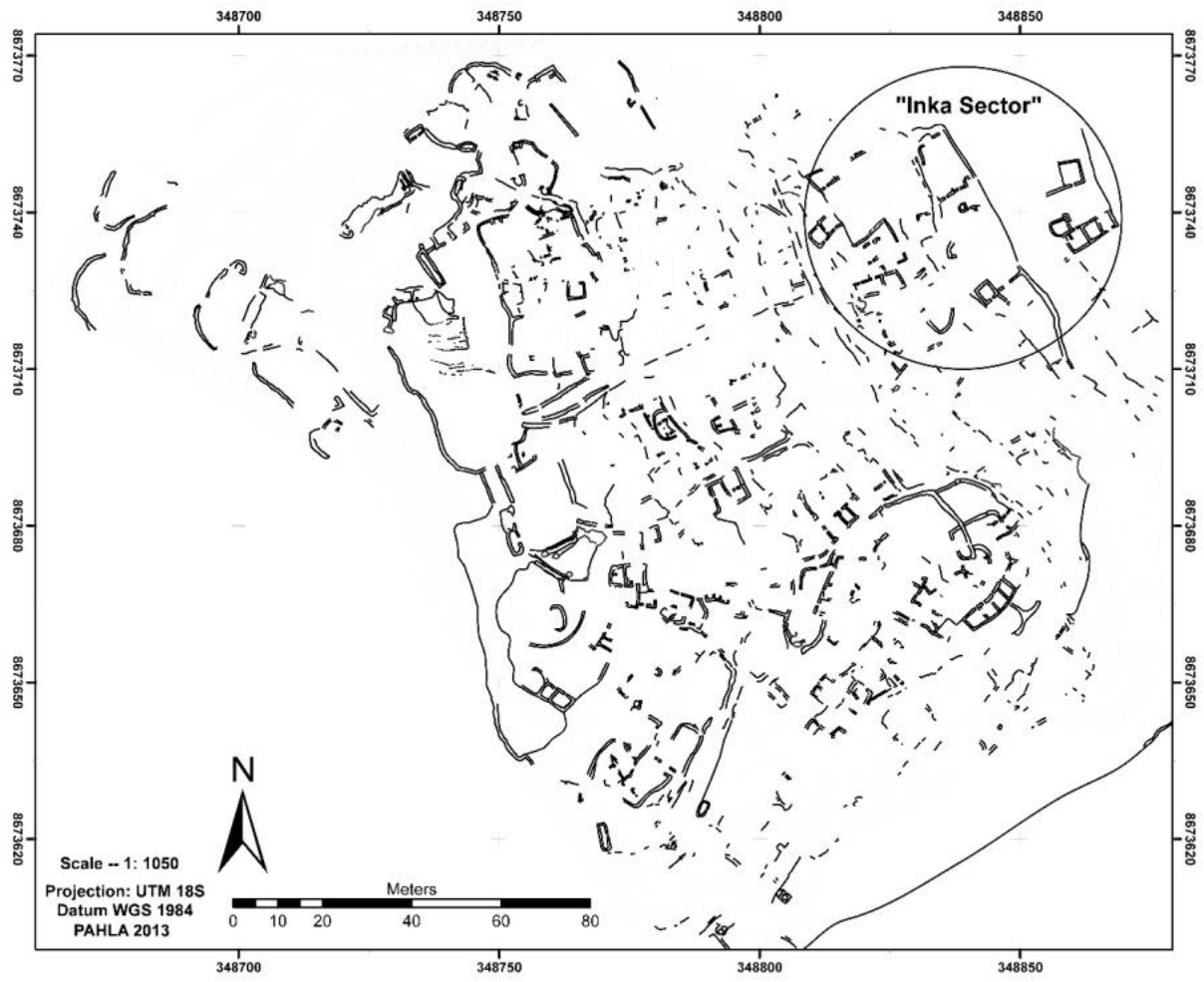

Figure 5.17: Map of Llaqsatambo (Chase 2016a:119).

Chase's work in San Cristóbal directly informs my research in Canchaje and supports my hypothesis that the Inka expertly inserted themselves into local ritual emplacements at the regional level (see: Chapter 7, p.249). San Cristóbal's main feature was a platform accessible through a stairway and a likely locus for collective ceremonies that involved drinking and feasting. Chase links San Cristóbal to an analogous *w'aka* in Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, a lower-valley Yauyos outpost created under the Inka (Chase 2014). In this manner, Inka population engineering would rest on the ritual appropriation of new places embedded within Yauyos spatial practices.

This review of the archaeological literature seeks to demonstrate that there was not a unified center among the different settlements of Huarochirí. More likely, as can be inferred from the historical record, they formed a loose cultural confederacy linked by kinship and exchange, which was reaffirmed through ritual beliefs and practices. Moreover, limited archaeological intervention also hinders our understanding of the true impact of the Inka in reshaping the province. We do find a pattern that is different from the standardization of PCR in the lower valleys through the use of rock outcrops. The outcrops were not limited to ceremonial sites, but also to residential settlements, and can be interpreted as a concerted attempt to reinforce the ties that bring all the different communities together as a single nominal ethnic group. This cohesion through ritual is both flexible and encompassing and, as suggested by the Manuscript and the variability of settlement life, it could bring together diverse populations as a single whole when and if needed. This local practice would be the basis for mutual legibility with the Inka.

In the next section, I will examine the Huarochirí Manuscript to characterize the specific ritual practices that created legibility between Yauyos and Inka. I look at the rituals from the perspective of community-building, kinship and landscape, and through these variables, I argue that Inka statecraft was more invested in making themselves legible to the Yauyos than the other way around.

The Inka in the Huarochirí Manuscript

The first mention of the Inka in the Manuscript is in Chapter 14. In this chapter Cuniraya Viracocha, sometimes also considered Pariacaca's father, goes to Cusco and convinces the Inka Huayna Capac to go with him to Titicaca Lake. Once there Cuniraya has the Huayna Capac send

for his men, who are then asked to go to the "world's lower foundations", where the *w'aka's* father dwelled, and to bring back one of his sisters. On the fifth day[74] the sister was delivered to Cuniraya and Huayna Capac. The text describes her as "a very stately and beautiful lady. Her hair was like curly gold and she wore a majestic costume, and in her whole aspect she looked very tiny". Salomon and Urioste (1991) argue that the clothing of the woman – *collana*– was linked with the high-ranking descent groups from Cusco, while her golden hair could foreshadow the Spanish invasion. They propose that in accepting the gift of this woman, Huayna Capac became subject to the Spanish. Cuniraya then compels Huayna Capac to draw a line across the world and for each of them to stay on different sides forever. Huayna Capac disappears with Cuniraya's sister, sending a *segunda persona* back to rule in his stead. It is interesting that the first episode of the Inka in the Manuscript is that of their subjugation, a mythical account of the empire's fall, before introducing the history between the Inka and the Yauyos. The Inka people are next mentioned in Chapter 17, when Pariacaca establishes his worship:

> From there, a great long time ago, even before the Incas were born, Paria Caca convoked all the people of Tauantin Suyo. Once all these people had gathered, Paria Caca founded the *huacsa* institution for his own worship. Later on, when the Incas appeared on the scene and heard about this, they also acted as his huacsas and held him in great honor. We call the fashion in which they gathered at that time Tauantin Suyo.

According to Salomon and Urioste (1991:94), the reason for this mention of Tahuantinsuyo may be an attempt to establish a pan-Andean role for Pariacaca that pre-dated the Inka.[75] After introducing the Inka as an already defeated people, and establishing their own

[74] Notice the recurrence of the number five mentioned in previous sections.
[75] Astuhuaman argues that: "En este texto exploramos la hipótesis que el culto a Pariacaca no se habría desarrollado solamente en la Sierra de Lima sino que tendría un carácter macro regional, los Inca lo habrían utilizado para anexar otros pueblos del Chinchaysuyo, siendo por ello el Apu bastante estimado por los cusqueños al convertirse en un waka aliado del Estado Inca" (Astuhuamán 2004:17).

lineage as surpassing Inka history, the Manuscript effectively separates the Yauyos from the Inka. In doing so, the Yauyos people are free to pursue their relationship with the Spanish. Chapter 18 details the way in which the Inka worshipped Pariacaca:

> We already mentioned that the Inca revered Paria Caca and acted as *huacsa*. It is said that he, the Inca himself, decreed, 'Let thirty men from the Upper Yauyos and the Lower Yauyos serve Paria Caca according to the full and waning lunar cycles.' In obedience to that command, thirty men served him in shifts of fifteen days, offering him food and feeding him (Salomon and Urioste 1991:96).

This chapter is particularly informative in showing the importance of Pariacaca as a pan-Andean powerful numen. The Inka are portrayed as recognizing the standing of Pariacaca and subjecting themselves to him. It is further said that thirty men sacrificed a llama in Pariacaca's name and they state that "Our father Paria Caca has subjects as far away as the limits of the land called Chinchay Suyo." Interestingly, Pariacaca's augury announces the Spanish arrival and the end of time as the Andean men knew it. Pariacaca, once again, is shown as outlasting and surpassing the Inka lord. This shows that the informants of the Manuscript did not only know and understand the history of the Inka lineage and their worldview for the Andes, but were also able to co-opt it in order to insert their own local *w'aka* as an equally powerful and meaningful numen.

Chapter 19 narrates the story of how the Inka became a *huacsa*. It relates back to the *ñaupa ynga*, that can be understood as either "old inka" or "first inka", and Maca Uisa, one of Pariacaca's sons. Maca Uisa aided the Inka in defeating an Amaya and Xiuaya rebellion. In specifying the good given to honor Pariacaca, we can also characterize potential ritual goods brought to Huarochirí by their incorporation into the Inka Empire:

> From then on, the Incas revered Paria Caca even more. They bestowed gold and ample amounts of their clothing on him, and every year they made people give maize, coca, and

other goods from their villages to provide for Paria Caca's thirty retainers (Salomon and Urioste 1991:99).

Interestingly, chapters 20 and 21 break with the narration of the Manuscript. The chapters detail the confrontation between Cristóbal Choquecaxa and the stone *w'aka*, son of Pachacamac, Llocllay Huancupa. According to Salomon (1990), these chapters inform us of Choquecaxa's – and following my interpretation, of the Manuscript's– position between the Andean and Spanish worlds. They also support the idea of a middle space that is both productive of confusion, negotiation, and ultimately, a tenuous order built upon familiarity. Choquecaxa's final perception that Andean *w'akas* and the Catholic God could cohabit the same space is, in a personal level, an example of how two allegedly illegibly belief systems could be made legible.

Chapter 20 opens with two idols who identify themselves as splinters of *w'akas* expressly sponsored by the Inka. Llocllay is a son of Pachacamac, sent by his father to look after the Checa people. Cati Quillay[76] is identified as Catequilla by Urton (1988) and in the text is an emissary of the Inka. It was he who questioned Llocllay's first appearance. Afterwards, Llocllay complains to his father that the Checa people were not taking good care of him. To avoid his wrath, the Checa gifted Pachacamac llama herders and the lands of Sucya Vilca[77], an action the Inka ratified. According to Salomon and Urioste (1991:102–103), these were previously Inka-owned

[76] In a note, Salomon (1991:102) adds: "Considering that this oracle [Cati Quillay] was mediated by an Inca-sponsored *huaca*, and that Paca Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult, the message suggests state cooptation of the newly discovered Llocllay Huancupa. Perhaps, from the Inca point of view, the adoption of such *purum huacas* afforded a safer course than fostering *huacas* of autochthony like Maca Uisa, who, as chapter 19 shows, retained his value as a symbol of resistance".

[77] Later on, Salomon (1991:111) mentions that Sucya Villa was a lake, associated with a plateau named Sucya Cancha. This was likely a coca field, further reinforcing the association between the Inka and the coca-productive areas in the central valleys of the Peruvian coast.

lands. Whenever an earthquake hit the Checa, they assumed that Pachacamac was angry and gave his son maize offerings from the Inka-kept stores.

In chapter 22, the Manuscript states that while the narrator had not witnessed how much the Inka revered Pachacamac, they knew both Titicaca and Pachacamac were considered as "having made them Inka"; in other words: "The Incas worshipped these two huacas most, far beyond all others, exalting them supremely and adorning them with their silver and gold, putting many hundreds of retainers at their service, and placing llama herds for their endowments in all the villages" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:111). The Inka gave offerings of gold and silver to all the different provincial *w'akas*, not leaving a single one unattended, without food or drink. These chapters suggest that the Inka were not only aware of the Yauyos ritual practices and *w'akas*, but actually had a hand in connecting the Yunga *w'aka*, Pachacamac, with the peoples of Huarochirí. From an Inka perspective, this move makes sense since it formalizes the idea of different ethnic groups, identified by a forefather *w'aka* that could then be connected through different forms of kinship. In other words, such a connection would make both the Yungas and Yauyos legible to the idealized model through which the Inka conceptualized the Empire.

The Inka engagement with Pariacaca as a means to engage the Yauyos is expanded in chapter 23 through the story of Maca Uisa. This time it is Tupac Inca Yupanqui facing a rebellion that lasted 12 years and where all his men perished. The Inka leader decides that the *w'akas* ought to aid him since he lavished them with gold, silver, and food. All of the *w'akas* convene in the main plaza of Cusco, Macahuisa standing in for his father Pariacaca. The Inka first begs for the *w'akas'* help and when none speaks up, he threatens to burn them. Pachacamac excuses himself by warning that if he were to move, the whole world –including the Inka– would cease to exist. Macahuisa then volunteers to face the Inka enemies using Pariacaca's main

weapons: lightning and rain. The contraposition between Pachacamac's denial and Macahuisa's heroics suggests the contraposition between Yauyos and Yungas that flows through the Manuscript. At this point the relationship between the Inka and the Yauyos is outlined in detail (Salomon and Urioste 1991:115–116):

> From that time onward, the Inca revered Paria Caca even more and gave him fifty of his retainers. The Inca said, 'Father Maca Uisa, what shall I give you? Ask me for anything you want. I will not stint.' 'I don't want anything,' Maca Uisa replied, 'except that you should serve as *huacsa* the way our children from the Yauyo do.' The Inca was deeply afraid when he said this, and answered, 'Very well then, father!' He was willing to offer Maca Uisa anything at all, for he thought to himself, 'He could destroy me, too!' The Inca then said, 'Father, eat!' and had some food served to him, but Maca Uisa replied with a demand: 'I am not in the habit of eating stuff like this. Bring me some thorny oyster shells!' (…) Since Maca Uisa didn't want anything else to eat, the Inca ordered some of his Inca ladies of the nobility assigned to him; but he didn't agree to that either. (…) So from then on, and for a long time afterward, the Inca acted as *huacsa* in Xauxa and danced ceremonially, holding Maca Uisa in great honor.

Finally, the last mention of the Inka in the Manuscript comes from chapter 24, which describes the Checa's Machua Yunca festival. It focuses on the exploits of Tutay Quiri, another of Pariacaca's sons, and the well-documented practice of the Inka of "capturing" foreign huacas and moving them to Cusco (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120):

> So, as we've said, as soon as Tutay Quiri finished his conquests, his children came here and danced their dance of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha. They danced and sang, calling the rite Masoma. The one called Ñan Sapa[78] was a human being. Later on, the Inca took away the *huaca* himself. But they made another one to be his proxy. This is the one that we know Señor Doctor Francisco de Avila carried away. The say Ñan Sapa, when he was human, wore the *quisay rinri* in his ears and bore the *canah yauri* scepter in his hands. In ancient times, they were made of pure gold. The Inca carried off that gold.

[78] Salomon and Urioste propose (1991:120) that Ñan Sapa was a mummified ancestor of the Checa.

This review of the representations of the Inka in the Manuscript informs my research in the following ways: 1) The Inka were not presented as an outside oppressor but rather as participants in Yauyos ritual spaces and as integrated into local rituality. This was possible because ritual practices between them were mutually legible. 2) Inka material culture is directly associated with ritual and may include access to coca leaves, gold, and the presence of retainers for Pariacaca's cult. And 3) according to their own idealized worldview, the Yauyos could be incorporated into local practices and history. The Spanish are rather presented as the "end of time" and a culturally illegible element in the Andean world. The Inka, therefore, are embedded within the same sphere of ritual practice in which the Yauyos were.

In other words, the representation of the Inka in the Huarochirí Manuscript suggest that interaction was mediated by ritual practices and the integration of the Inka into the performances in honor of Pariacaca. Legibility, therefore, could be built upon existing rituals in the region.

Summary: Who were the Yauyos of Huarochirí?

Building on the historical, ethnographic, and archaeological datasets reviewed, in this section I propose first, a model of local Yauyos organization before the Inka incorporation, and second, a model of how they aligned themselves within the Inka Empire. I propose that during the LIP the Yauyos people were composed of different communities aggregated into three different levels: First, at a micro-level, composed of *ayllus* that generally co-resided in hilltop settlements. My review of the primary sources and secondary literature, as well as my own archival research and archaeological reconnaissance of the region suggest there is no evidence of warfare or fragmentation of these groups during the LIP. These *ayllus* were probably representing the dual subdivisions within settlements in some cases while in others, as I argue in

Ampugasa, two different complementary *ayllus* could reside in complementary settlements. At the meso-scale different co-residential communities were united into what the Inka would characterize as *waranqas*, that is, a broad affiliation of different co-residence communities. Finally, at the macro-level the *waranqas* could have come together as a single people. In other words, ethnic unity is an imagined community (sensu Anderson 1991). The evidence to support that this aggregation of communities in at least those three levels existed was their recognition of hierarchical kinship ties among them and their materialization through central rock outcrops –*w'akas*– as the only recursive element shared by all the settlements. In other words, the broader Huarochirí identity may have been formed by loosely affiliated peoples that shared ritual practices and kinship to Pariacaca.

In this model, and building on the historical references, the idea of Anan and Lurin Yauyos was a reorganization by the Inka of the peoples of two different provinces as a moiety. In the same manner, I propose that the construction of *waranqas* may have been an Inka reinterpretation of the five meso-communities and their branding as the standard administrative unit they used throughout the Empire. The continuous use of this designation –the Five Waranqas of Huarochirí– may have been an attempt by indigenous communities to capitalize on an existing form of demographic organization understood by the Spanish by their research on Inka administration. In other words, the communities of Huarochirí seem to have attempted to build upon what they considered a mutually legible category between them and the Spanish colonial empire.

With the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí into the Empire, the use of legible pan-Andean cultural postulates and practices may have facilitated the reshaping of the region as an Inka province. While the Yauyos portray the Inka as allies in the Manuscript, that did not mean they

were not under the same regime and political institutions than other subject polities. This is supported by the construction of an Inka tampu and the modifications at the site of Pirca Pirca discussed above (Farfán 2010). Both the imposition of new archaeological settlements and the episodes from the Manuscript discussed above depict a scenario akin to the idea of captured *w'akas* (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1980 [1615]). As previously discussed, *w'akas* could be divisible and represented by mobile avatars (see: Bray 2014; Dean 2010a; Guchte 1999)[79]. *W'akas* intrinsically belong to the people of their community, yet they simultaneously stand for that people and community.

This understanding had to be shared between the Inka and their subjected highland polities in order to be effective. The Inka attempt to subject the *w'akas* through their capture in Cusco[80] was limited by the fact that idols were not replacements of the natural features. That is, while in the Manuscript the Inka can threaten the *w'akas*, he is still dependent on their help and needs to follow Maca Huisa's demand by becoming one of Pariacaca's worshipers. When the Inka Atahualpa took revenge over Catequil, who supported Huascar during their conflict, destroying it to pieces, there was enough of the *w'aka* to be recovered and worshiped by the local

[79] Kolata explains (2013:149): "wak'a as a concrete, fixed place in the landscape and the idol installed within becomes a composite religious artifact that references a specific time (the moment of origin), place (the land of the burned mountains), and people".

[80] Curatola (2008:18) summarizes the way in which the Inka decided their relationship with each huaca: "El soberano procedía a pedir el parecer del dios Sol y, sobre todo, a hacer preguntas a la misma huaca, buscando entablar con ella una comunicación oral directa. Si la huaca le contestaba, el Inca la reconocía como 'buena': esto comportaba que se le tributaran de inmediato honores y ofrendas y que, desde ese momento, su culto fuera reconocido oficialmente por el Estado. La huaca era llevada entonces de vuelta a su lugar de origen, donde se establecía un santuario, al cual cada año el Inca, puntualmente enviaba dones. Pero si, al revés, la piedra, o el objeto que fuese, se quedaba muda, el Inca declaraba 'que no era buena', a saber, que no era huaca, lo que significaba que no merecía forma alguna de veneración y más bien debía ser desechada".

religious specialists (Castro de Trelles 1992).[81] In other words, since the *w'akas* had different bodies –as the Inka himself– they could still remain within their communities, even after the abduction. There is no complete break and, in that sense, short of the Inka actively destroying the sanctuaries of the main *w'akas*, it seems they were mostly safe. Still, there is an underlying subtext of political control and subjugation in this interaction. I argue that this interaction is clearly manifested at the site of Canchaje, where the local ritual space (the rock outcrop) was subjected to control and direct overview by later add-on plazas, which characterize Inka political feastings and standardized rituals in the provinces (7, p.299).

One of the ways that the Inka could incorporate local *w'akas* into their idealized model of empire was through kinship. In the specific case of the Yauyos the Inka heavily invested in linking the highland deities with the coastal ones firmly under their control, as with Pachacamac (Makowski 2014). This model is supported by both the colonial record and archaeological findings in the Lurín valley. In the Manuscript, the *w'aka* Cuniraya Viracocha specifically links the lower and upper valleys through his own myth, dividing the world in different ecozones (Dulanto 2014). As discussed above, the Yunga people are the antagonists of the document. However, archaeological evidence from the excavations in Huarochirí by Chase (2013a; 2016a) or myself have not uncovered evidence of a previous Yunga occupation. In order to find evidence of this coastal-highland axis of interaction, we need to look at the lower and middle valleys.

[81] According to Kolata (2013:157): "Inca kings did not merely use the *wak'as* as a tool of command; they believed in the *wak'as*. They did not consult the *wak'as* of subject populations solely as a kind of cynical religious theater, to gain the political favor of potentially rebellious populations. They did so in search of efficacy, believing that the *wak'a*-idol complexes of the populations they conquered might possess vital spiritual essences and special knowledge that they could acquire to enhance their own prestige, authority, and universal renown".

Makowski's (2002) research in Pueblo Viejo-Pucará in the lower Lurín valley, for example, is a direct example of a newly intrusive form of architecture that reflects architectural features found only in the highlands. My own comparison of stable isotopes between the populations of Ampugasa and Pueblo Viejo-Pucara support this interpretation (8, p.332). Ramón's (1999) ethnographic work supports that exchange networks existed between Huarochirí and the lower valleys. I have personally observed that up until 10 years ago, community members from Huarochirí would still make their way to the lower valley with their herds, specifically to Pueblo Viejo-Pucará. Other lower-valley sites like Malanche (Mujica Barreda 1997) also show a new type of highland material culture, while sites like in the middle valley show a mixture of architectural types that could be referring to interaction (Sánchez Borja 2000; Cornejo Guerrero 2000). These sites date well into the LH, suggesting that Inka expansion was the catalyst behind it. I interpret these different sources as evidence that the interaction between coastal and upper valleys was a direct consequence of Inka imperial expansion, which further informs the materialization of the imperial worldview and the Inka idealized order of complementary opposites. I support this interpretation through the results from my excavations at the residential site of Ampugasa, where there is very limited evidence of coastal material culture before the Inka incorporation (6, p.236).

I previously argued that Huarochirí is an ideal case study for my research questions because, through the Manuscript, we can be aware of the ideal local worldview and investigate how it interacted with the Inka's own designs. A clear example of this is Chapter 23, when Macahuisa compels the Inka to assume the same position in Pariacaca's worship that the people of Yauyos have. In essence, the Inka becomes a huacsa, a dancer and ritual performer for Pariacaca. In those terms, the Yauyos community is also honored through their *w'aka*. The

relationship needs to be maintained and it can be read from either perspective: the Inka taking over Pariacaca's cult, or the Yauyos stating that the Inka served the Pariacaca. This ambiguity is a direct model of mutual legibility and building upon familiarity as mediated state and local interaction. When narrating their origin, the Yauyos rely heavily on their own local heroes and antecessors as they mark the landscape through their actions; the Inka are tangential. That may be the way in which the Yauyos saw themselves within the Empire: subjected, yet not voiceless. Pariacaca, Macahuisa, Tutayquiri, and the understanding of their worship, which was shared with the Inka, enabled the Yauyos to maintain some degree of power in this interaction. And this was grasped by the Inka: they understood the demands of the *w'akas* and how to fulfill their role in this social contract.

I propose reading the Manuscript as a statement by the Yauyos of how their locality surpassed and contained their interaction with the Inka empire. In Chapter 17 Tahuantinsuyu refers to a meeting of all men and the capacity of Pariacaca to call for such a meeting. Pariacaca exhibits the characteristics of a true *w'aka* in that he is able to talk and communicate with men (Ziólkowski 2002). The Empire, by its very name, is apprehended by the Yauyos and portrayed as a reunion of people that share cultural understandings and worldviews. It is precisely these shared idioms that are broken by the Spanish arrival and the "end of the world". In this manner the Inka Empire is an intrinsically Andean process that is easily legible by the Yauyos and within which they consider themselves –through Pariacaca– an active part that can speak and interact with the other communities of the world. This analysis suggests the Yauyos present an image of themselves that recognizes both their undeniable subjugation and the potential to gain from the Empire, have reciprocal demands and expectations, and be a part of a political aggregate that is

inherently Andean in a way that did not problematize their own understanding of their "place in the world".

I have hypothesized that ritual and ritual spaces mediated the relationship between the Inka and Yauyos. I argue that ritual spaces (rock outcrops and plazas) were the critical shared and legible idiom through which the Inka were able to cost-efficiently incorporate the Yauyos at the same time that the Yauyos were able to maintain and negotiate their own cultural practices within the scope of the Empire. Throughout the Manuscript there are several examples of how the relationship between the Inka and Yauyos was mediated by ritual, plazas, and the rock outcrops through the Huarochirí landscape. However, we need to first consider the role of ritual, and particularly ritual places, in mediating interaction among the Yauyos themselves.

Chapter 24 describes the establishment of the Checa ancestors in Vichi Cancha, an already sacred place. Then Tutay Quiri's children "dance their dance of origin"; that is, they claim the place in a way in which they can reckon, through ritual, their origin from it (Chase 2013b). In other words, they can change the past and their own social memory through ritual performance in specific meaningful and defined spaces. This points towards the permeable quality of the relationship among Yauyos groups and between them and their land. In this manner, the act of the dance in itself supports the hypothesis that the Yauyos and Inka could incorporate each other into their own social memories through the performance of ritual.

The importance of ritual plazas is made explicit in the previous discussion about the Huayos dance (see: p.123). Dance is central to Pariacaca's festivities and, implicitly, it maintains ties of identity among the peoples of Huarochirí. While ritual and feasting are generalized phenomena in the Andes (Bray 2003b), the performance of sacred dances using specific paraphernalia like the Huayos seems as a local practice, albeit extremely relatable to other

Andean societies. Feasting, dancing and eventual sacrifice are key elements of the process of integrating the people with their landscape and plazas played a key role in enabling the establishment of social relationship through these performances. This, however, does not imply that the plazas needed to adopt the traditional Inka forms. While the concept of legibility opens the door to a type of accommodation that surpasses a simplified understanding of resistance, we are also looking at local groups that are attempting to recreate and reinvent their own ethnic identities and their position within a new regime (Scott 1985).

My review of the Manuscript suggests that the Yauyos chose to portray the Inka Empire as another kin group integrated within the realm of Pariacaca and not the other way around. In this portrayal, the Inka are subservient to Pariacaca and even their Empire is a new manifestation of the already existing ability of their *w'aka* to bring the world together in dialogue. I do not attempt to construct an argument that the Yauyos were strong and powerful enough to directly dominate their relationship with the Inka. However, their representation of the Empire as part of their own history hints at a process of appropriation that may have been critical for accommodation.

In the next chapter I will investigate the specific contexts and spaces in which interaction and negotiation took place at the residential and ritual levels. By harkening back to the idea of cultural legibility and the pan-Andean mutually familiar principles between the Inka and the Yauyos, I will present the results of my excavations in Ampugasa and Canchaje and demonstrate that the progressive establishment of Inka institutions was grounded in the existing spaces and practices of their Huarochirí subjects.

CHAPTER 6

EXCAVATIONS IN AMPUGASA: LOCAL COMMUNITIES WITHIN THE INKA EMPIRE

In this chapter, I investigate practices that could signal both a Yauyos ethnic identity and the relationship between this identity and the incorporation into the Inka Empire, doing so at the residential level through excavations in the settlement of Ampugasa. My research centers on the question of which categories of interaction –ritual, social, economic, political, or a combination of them– were garnered as a tool to both maintain a local sense of identity and then to redefine it as a malleable political capital for negotiating the Yauyos' standing within the Inka Empire. In other words, at the residential level, were the pre-Inka and post-Inka Yauyos the same? Did their local practices remain the same or significantly change? My results show a minimal degree of Inka interference or attempts to change ritual or domestic practices within the settlement.

In the first section, I describe and contextualize the site of Ampugasa within the broader occupational landscape of Huarochirí. I selected this site for excavation because of its density of residential structures and close association with recognizable public and potentially ritual spaces (the Rock Outcrop plaza). Excavations at Ampugasa directly address the micro-scale of my research question. Through the results from the excavations, I analyze the replication of Pariacaca's veneration and impact of Inka material culture at the residential level.

In the second section, I describe the excavations in Ampugasa. I do so because a practice-based understanding of life in Ampugasa requires a clear understanding of the occupational history of the site. I build on the results to specifically address the question of chronology of this interaction and tease out who the Yauyos were as an ethnic group through their material culture.

Third, I will detail the results of the different material analyses of the artifacts recovered from my excavation. I argue that the materials recovered on the site show a preeminence of local artifacts in both domestic and ritual contexts.

Finally, I discuss what these results tell us about identity at the micro level and how it was impacted by the incorporation into the Inka Empire. I focus on the material expectations of a legibility-based understanding of interaction.

Throughout this chapter, I bring into question how the domestic and/or ritual life of the inhabitants of Ampugasa made room for their new position as part of the Inka Empire and the broader changes it brought to the construction of a regional ethnic identity. Were surviving local practices modified at all in order to accommodate the narrative of Inka political control at the residential level?

Description of Ampugasa

Ampugasa is a large residential complex (~1.6 ha) located at the top of Cerro Orcocoto, which towers above the town of the same name (Figure 6.1). While the site is within the boundaries of the Cuenca district, just below the site three different modern towns share the boundaries of their fields: Espíritu Santo de Antioquía, San Martín de Orcocoto (Cuenca) and Santa Cruz de Laya (Lahuaytambo) (Figure 6.2). This boundary coincides with the main productive land in this section of the valley and is, to this day, a prime location for fruit cultigens. Analysis of multispectral satellite imagery (Figure 6.3) demonstrates that this patch of land is the most productive and irrigable sector in this section of the valley, further supporting the idea that this contact zone was defined by access to productive lands.

Figure 6.1: Ampugasa, from the road that connects to the southern entrance (photograph by the author).

Figure 6.2: Location of Ampugasa at the intersection between Cuenca, Lahuaytambo, and Antioquía (map by the author).

Following the colonial sources, we know that the people of Huarochirí used to live in dispersed communities along different hilltops (Dávila Briceño 1965). Possibly each of these settlements could have housed one or two *ayllus* at most. Ampugasa was part of the territory defined by the Langasica *waranqa*, and the *ayllu* of Avichuca -who owns the lands were Ampugasa is- was directly related to the town of Santo Domingo de los Olleros. This town was responsible for a regional network of ceramic exchange (see: Quiroz 1981). It is possible that there was some direct contact between Ampugasa and Canchaje based on the ceramic trade. However, further compositional ceramic analysis is required to test this hypothesis.

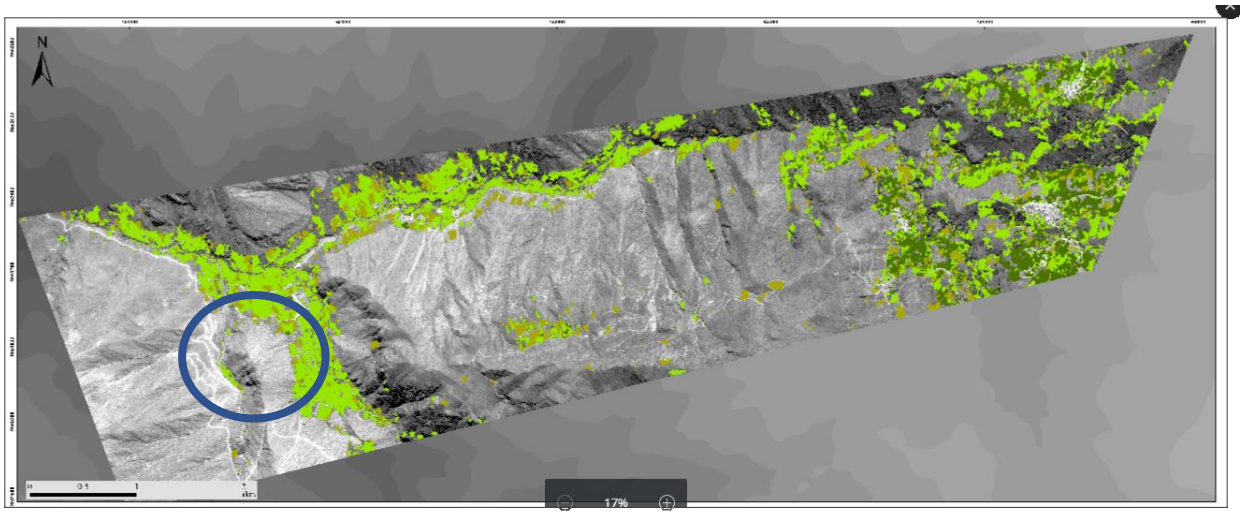

Figure 6.3: Multispectral imagery from the upper Lurín valley. The circle marks the location of Ampugasa. Through analysis it becomes clear that there is a concentration of vegetation right at the eastern boundary of Ampugasa, where it coincides with another site belonging to the modern district of Lahuaytambo and where the different communities come together (Imagery from World View-2, purchased through Apollo Mapping. Analysis by Gabriela Oré Menéndez).

The entrance to the site is from the south, through a set of about 8 rectangular compounds scattered along the eastern hillside (Figure 6.4). Modern electrical infrastructure was built in this area, hindering our ability to know if there were more compounds before this intervention. The area of the compounds is approximately 17 x 9 m and comprises smaller rectangular structures (between 4 and 8). The structures could either be wide rooms or smaller storage units of up to two stories that were accessible by small rectangular windows. Each compound was accessible

through one or two entrances and did not share a single orientation, but rather adapted to the topography.

Moving north through the compounds is the first peak of the site. This route comprises a number of retainer terraces, and in each terrace, we found up to one or two small rooms. The terraces were connected by stairs that led directly to the rock outcrop plaza.[82] We found further rectangular compounds at the western limit of this area.

At the top of the site there are two different peaks. The first peak houses a D-shaped plaza dominated by a rock outcrop. The plaza follows the hilltop's contour, with an approximate area of 280 m^2. The outcrop is accessible through the plaza by 5 curving rows of flat steps that have a general width of 0.85 m before reaching the top of the outcrop. There are looted funerary structures along these rows. We found two small square rooms poorly preserved to the southeast of the plaza. They measured 3 m^2 each and their function is not clear since the vegetation overgrowth has destroyed most of their walls.

The outcrop itself has an approximate area of 400 m^2. To the southeast we found a retainer wall that defined a small passage that rounded the outcrop. Below the passage there were three successive square rooms that measured approximately 8 m^2 each, with walls that reached up to 2 m. The function of these rooms is not fully clear, yet they are very similar to analogous rooms recorded to the east of the outcrop in Canchaje (7, p.242). At Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, similar rooms were at the base of an Inka ceremonial platform and had a funerary function (Córdova 2011). It is not clear if the rooms recorded in Ampugasa could be burials or an offering area, yet its location next to the central ceremonial space of the site suggests a ritually important function.

[82] These platforms are very similar to the ones recorded by Chase (2016a:194) in Llaqsatambo. In both cases, the walls have a retainer function and not a defensive one.

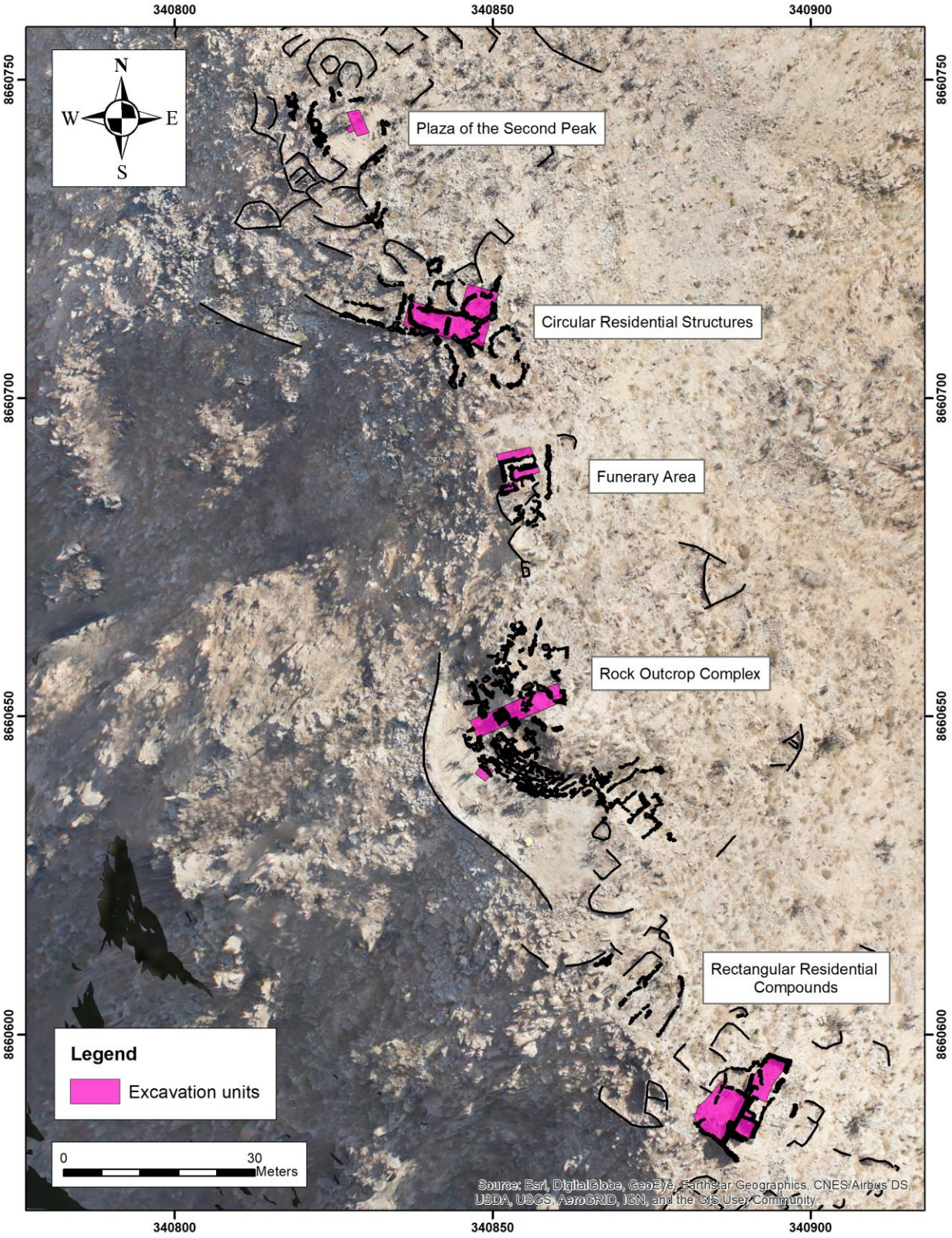

Figure 6.4: Sectorization of the site of Ampugasa showing the excavation units (map by the author).

On top of the outcrop we observed a number of small funerary structures and a circular patio. We did not find evidence of domestic activities. We also documented a small room towards the eastern edge on top of the outcrop that may have been accessible by a stairway coming up from the eastern cliff; however, this area was poorly preserved. This may have originally connected the outcrop to the lower rectangular compounds on the eastern hillside.[83]

To the north of the outcrop, we found a narrow and constrained natural corridor between the peaks. Along the corridor we registered at least two rectangular funerary structures that were likely roofed with slabs. We also found evidence of similar rooms towards the main funerary area: a relatively well-preserved –although heavily looted– standing structure of at least four rooms linked together by a corridor. The structure had an area of approximately 5.5 x 3 m and a number of smaller burials were annexed to it from the south, going into the outcrop. The structure dominates a small flat area that could be interpreted as a small patio and which is defined by yet another outcrop –smaller in size– to the north, which had no evidence of structures but served as a boundary with the second residential sector.

Here, structures were circular or ovoid and peppered with smaller rectangular funerary structures roofed with slabs. These circular structures were linked through small irregular patios. The rooms do not have a single orientation nor do their doorways share a pattern. Most structures had an average diameter of 4 m; rectangular rooms with rounded corners could measure up to 6 x 3 m. Access to this section was through a corridor following the western the edge of the mountaintop. The different groupings of circular structures were connected by corridors and long

[83] Drawing again on the comparison with the site of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, there is a similar structure located on top of an outcrop that oversees one of the domestic components of the site and the corrals (Lizárraga 2017; Watson 2011). It has been proposed that this structure was likely an outpost to control access to the site. It is possible that this room also had an analogous function in Ampugasa.

stairs and delimited by small platforms in the eastern slope. The existence of different groupings of domestic structure is significant, as the appearance of orthogonal or rectangular structures in the middle and upper Lurin valley has been identified as a marker of Inka conquest (see: Cornejo Guerrero 2000; Sánchez Borja 2000). Consequently, from the beginning we could observe that the shift from the LIP to the LH had an impact on the daily life of the occupants of Ampugasa.

Passing through this residential sector to the second peak, we found a circular plaza (~ diameter 11 m) surrounded to the east by small funerary structures. The western cliff is delimited by retainer terraces, some associated with structures. Within the plaza we found up to five large rectangular boulders with evidence of wear, which were unlikely moved to the top of the site by modern huarochirano neighbors. Consequently, I hypothesize that they were originally located in the plaza, and likely served as *huancas*, standing stones that could be considered as either *w'akas* or ritual markers.[84]

Ampugasa had a primarily residential function –which is substantiated by the materials recovered from our excavations– and public spaces were incorporated into residential life. Despite its location, the site was easily accessible and overlooked one of the most productive areas in Huarochirí, a natural frontier between the middle and upper valleys. Through its excavation, I address the third of my research questions: If local rituals in Huarochirí were geared towards creating a shared identity among different communities, what was the impact of Inka incorporation into community building?

[84] Dean (2010b:44) identified huancas as "rocks that were understood to be the petrified owners of places, such as fields, valleys, and villages. Located in the place that it owned, the wank'a was a symbol of occupation and possession. Given the wide range of locations in which wank'a have been found, the practice clearly preceded the rise of the Inka". Makowski and Lizárraga (2011) found evidence of similar boulders standing in the middle of the "temple" areas in Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, also atop a mountain and associated with monumental stairs and outcrops.

Excavations in Ampugasa

Excavations in the rectangular residential compounds

We conducted excavations at the best-preserved standing compound in the site. It was located midway between the southern entrance to the site and the outcrop, on the eastern hillside. This compound measured 16 x 8 m, was oriented NE-SW, and comprised nine areas. The following rooms were fully excavated[85] (Figure 6.5):

- Room 1: large open area to the western boundary of the compound, limiting with a stairway going uphill and an outcrop to the west. It measured 8 x 4 m.
- Room 5: almost quadrangular structure with three doorways facilitating circulation within the compound. This was the best-preserved room in the compound and measured 2.7 x 2.6 m.
- Room 6: small two-story structure adjacent to Room 5. The upper level was mostly collapsed, although it was possible to differentiate and access a window. The lower section measured 1.5 x 1 m and was roofed with wooden beams and stone slabs.
- Room 9: open rectangular area divided by a bench that enabled access to the group to the northeast. This area measured 7 x 4 m, and yielded evidence of residential use and refuse.

[85] The unexcavated rooms were: Room 2: north of Room 1, it was almost quadrangular in shape, measuring 3.5 x 4 m. Room 3: located towards the southern corner of the compound, it is almost quadrangular in shape, likely measuring 3 x 3 m. It is impossible to be more precise as the whole southeastern wall of the structure has collapsed. Room 4: a funerary structure within Room 3, measuring 1.5 x 1 m, and adjacent to the northwestern structure of Room 3. Room 7: open area between Room 6 and Room 8. It was likely a corridor enabling access to Room 9. It measured approximately 3 x 1 m, and it was almost completely destroyed. Room 8: likely a similar structure in form and function to Room 6, yet mostly destroyed. It measured approximately 1.5 x 1 m.

Figure 6.5: Excavation Unit 1 in the Rectangular Residential Compounds Sector. The rooms identified with a number were fully excavated (photograph and map by the author).

It is possible that there was a tenth room to the northern corner of the compound, however the rockslides from the structures above make it impossible to identify. The excavation focused on two issues: 1. Sampling a broad representation of the activities that took place within the compound, and 2. investigating the possibility that the difference in layout with the circular structures was a consequence of either status or chronology.

Excavation of Room 1 (Figure 6.6): we first removed a level of vegetation, organic remains, and surface materials (Loci 165 and 166; thickness ~2cm), with a higher density of materials to the west of the room. Below this level we found mortar (Loci 167 and 169; thickness ~11cm) and very large boulders to the northwest that were part of the original wall. To the

southeast of the room, we excavated an elongated sediment of fine lime (Locus 168; thickness ~22cm) that was part of the wall plaster. During the excavation it became obvious that we had made a mistake estimating the limits of the room, so we extended the excavation up to the southwestern wall of the compound. We removed the organic accumulation level (Loci 176 and 177; thickness ~22cm), and the mortar remains (Loci 178 and 179).

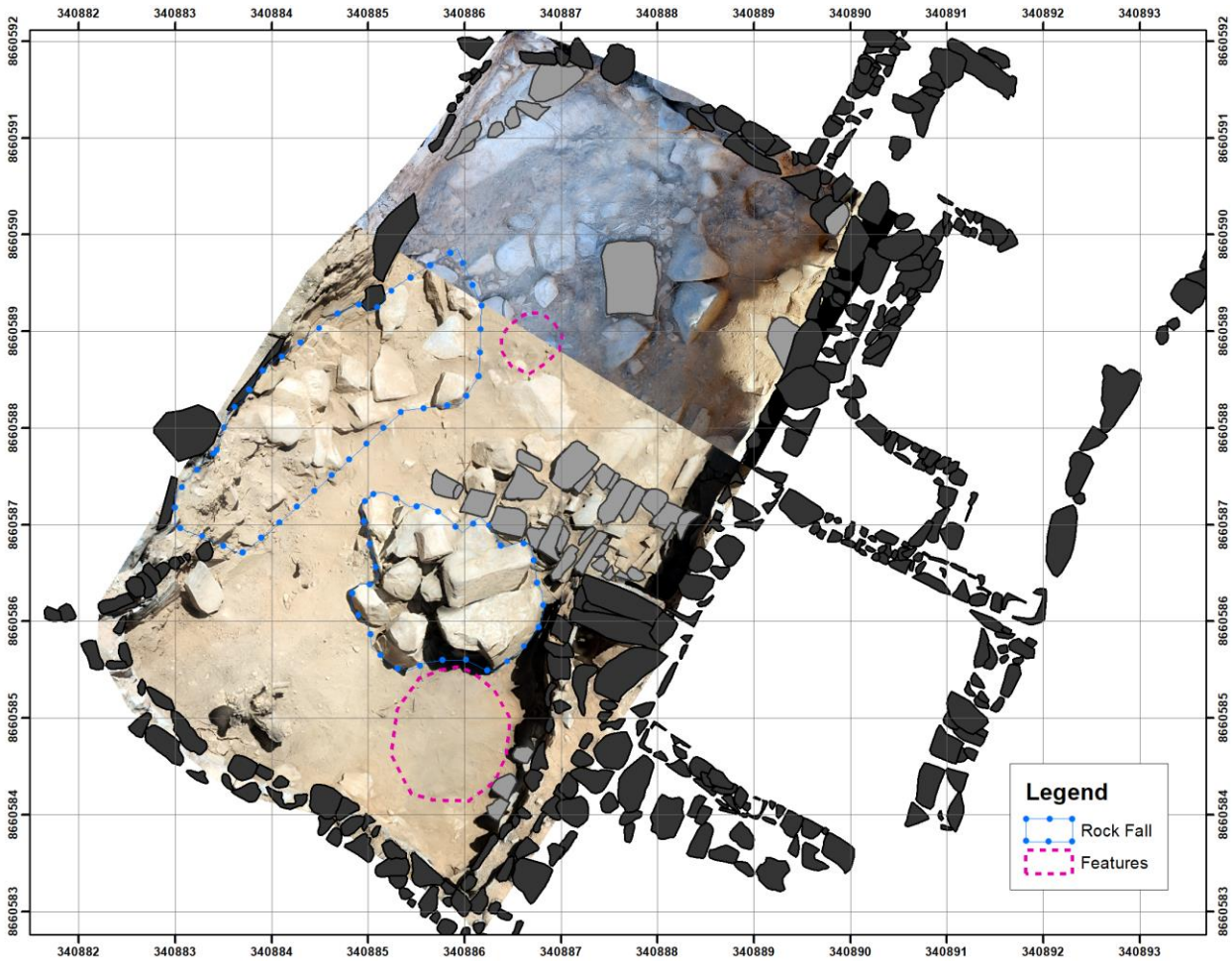

Figure 6.6: Excavation of Room 1 (drawing by the author).

Continuing with the excavation, we found evidence of different burning events of domestic refuse, including an ash level measuring approximately 2 x 1 m (Locus 180). No materials were associated with the lent. We continued with the removal of the wall collapse to

the north (Loci 181 and 182); most of the material came from these levels. We also uncovered a small closure associated with the access towards Room 5 and more burning events below the wall collapse (Locus 183; thickness ~11cm). The latter contained different material remains.

Afterwards, we found a paved floor made from flat horizontal stones regularly layered through the structure and associated with compact clay (Loci 184 and 185; thickness ~6cm). The southern half of the room was as well preserved since it suffered the largest density of rockslide. In this section we found a floor made with clay yet without paving (Locus 198; thickness ~8cm). Under the floor, next to the access closure closing, we found another burning event (Locus 186) similar to that of Locus 183.

In the southern section of the room we removed the last of the rockfall (Locus 192) covering the continuation of the floor (Locus 193). To the middle of the western wall we found a significant burning event located below the large boulders and directly on top of the floor (Locus 194 and Locus 197; thickness ~11cm); this measured 2 x 0.4 m, and was part of the spillover from a small circular pit slightly north from the closing to the access to Room 5 (Locus 195; thickness ~13cm) and the abandonment of the room. We also excavated a small post-hole located in the southeastern corner, which was filled with ceramic sherds and lithic debitage (Locus 196). This suggests that the room was originally roofed. However, we also registered a pair of protruding three-step stairways in the eastern wall; this suggests that at the very least the whole compound had two levels that were accessible from Room 1 and Room 2.

At the floor level we excavated a 1 x 1 m unit in the east corner of the room to define whether there was another use level under the floor (Locus 187). We removed the section of the floor within the test pit (Locus 188; thickness ~6cm) and found bedrock underneath (Locus 189). Associated with this level was a patch of gravel and reddish soil close to the eastern corner

(Locus 190) and the remains of an ash lent (Locus 191; thickness ~13cm). We interpret these features as filtrations of the burning event from Locus 186. The floor was directly leveled over the bedrock (Figure 6.7).

Figure 6.7: Excavation of Room 1 in the Rectangular Residential Compounds. A. General view of the room. B. Detail of the stairs leading to the window in the northeastern wall of the room. C. Photograph from the northeast, notice the closing of the access towards Room 5. D. Detail of the paved floor (photographs by PASL 2015).

Excavation of Room 5 (Figure 6.8): this room lacked the clear evidence of domestic activities recorded in Room 1. Both rooms connected through a quasi-subterranean corridor blocked from Room 1. This access had an estimated width of 70 cm and was oriented to the northeast in Room 1, which turned into a small downwards corridor of 1.3 m leading into Room 5, facing southeast. Room 5 is the single best-preserved structure within the compound and the walls reach up to 2.5 m in height. The room is a crossing point with three different well-defined accesses. The only section with significant collapse was the southern corner that faces the cliff.

The first layer was composed of small stones and modern organic remains (Locus 212; thickness ~8cm). Below, we found a great quantity of rockfall, compact mortar, and plaster

(Locus 213; thickness ~14cm). This layer continued, with the soil becoming grainier and more compacted towards the walls (Locus 214; thickness ~12cm). Below the collapse we recorded an overlay level directly covering the floor; we interpreted this as accumulated refuse after the initial abandonment (Locus 216; thickness ~25cm). The floor was broken and we could see ash filtrations on the eastern side of the room (Locus 217).

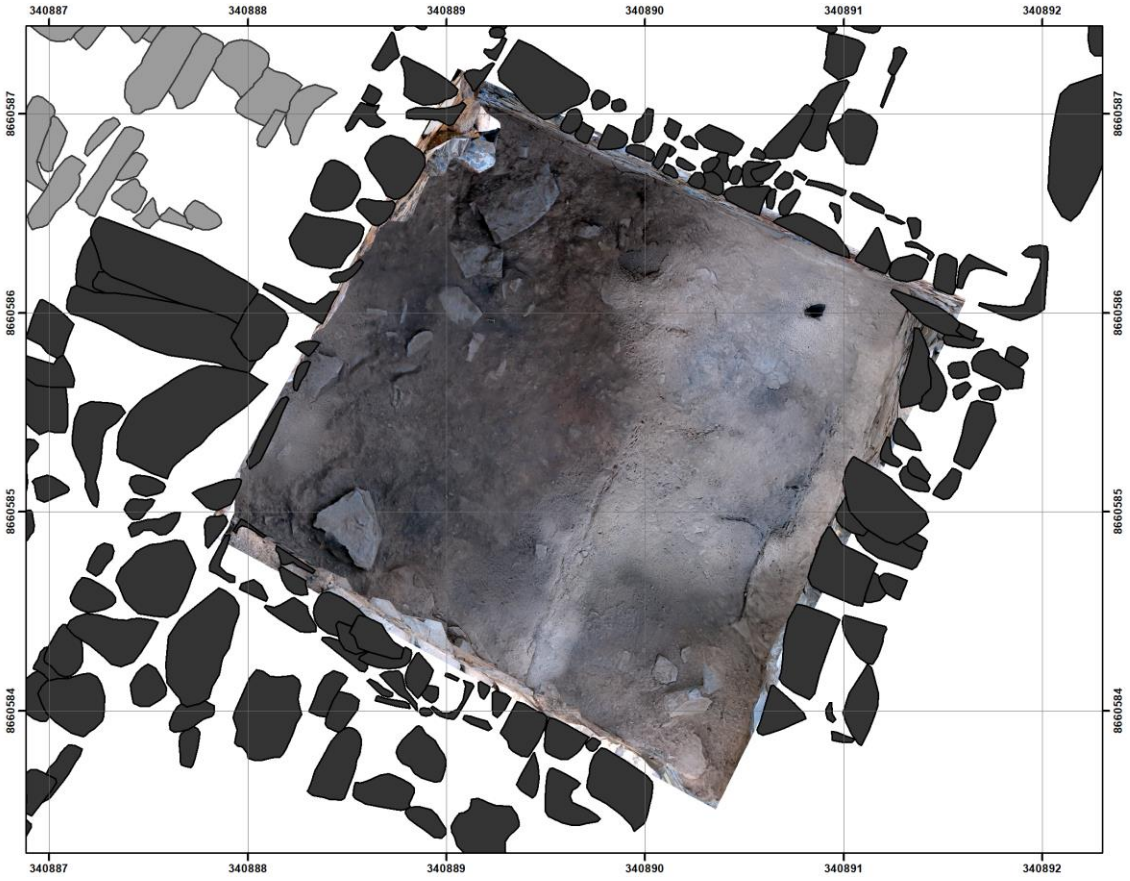

Figure 6.8: Excavation of Room 5 (drawing by the author).

We excavated a section of this layer of approximately 2.7 x 1.5 m adjacent to the eastern wall of the room. We determined that the ash composed an architectural fill with a great amount of material associations; it had a thickness of approximately 15 cm (Locus 215). Below we registered a potential second very thin surface that was covered with ash and in a worse state of preservation than Locus 217 (Locus 218; thickness ~8cm). We didn't find any evidence of

change in the artifacts between floors; we interpreted them not as two different occupations, but a refurbishing of the original surface. Below the second floor we excavated a second architectural fill made of gravel and a matrix of fine soil and refuse materials (Locus 219). The fill lay directly atop a number of large stones (Locus 220). We didn't continue the excavation because a number of holes appeared on the surface as we went deeper and we risked destabilizing the architectural group (Figure 6.9).

Figure 6.9: Excavation of Room 5 in the Rectangular Residential Compounds. A. Beginning of the excavation, collapse layer. B. Occupation level of the room, notice the remains of the ash layer in the upper part. C. End of the excavation, notice the final leveling layer showing holes between the stones in the matrix. D. Detail from the access at the east corner, notice that the doors are rectangular and the room likely has two stories with a ledger dividing them (photographs by PASL 2015).

Excavation of Room 6 (Figure 6.10): this structure was heavily looted. Since this was one of the only still-roofed structures in the compound we found evidence of a modern offering of

coca leaves. We continued with the excavation since this was still the best-preserved structure of its characteristics in the compound. The first layer was composed of very loose and fine soil, likely wind-laid, and with a yellowish tone that differed from the matrices in the surrounding rooms (Locus 221; thickness ~2cm). Below, we found the rockfall layer (Locus 222; thickness ~17cm) and underneath an overlay similar to the one in Room 5; the matrix was composed of semi-compacted fine soil mixed with a partial loosening of sections for the plaster (Locus 223). The surface was a well-prepared clay floor, extremely compacted, and with a white tint. We found a hole in the middle of the room, probably caused by looting (Locus 224). We cleaned out the hole (Locus 225) and found a filling of dark soil that was a continuation of the one in Room 5 (Locus 226). We found two further spillovers from this layer (Loci 227 and 228).

Figure 6.10: Excavation of Room 6 in the Rectangular Residential Compounds. A. Location of the room shows that there were at least two stories. B. End of the excavation, notice the remains of the floor at right and the looted area in the center of the structure (photographs by PASL 2015).

Excavation of Room 9 (Figure 6.11): Most of the eastern wall facing the cliff was gone. There was a longitudinal bench of 3 x 1 m that started in the west corner of the building, adjacent to the southwestern section of the wall. In the middle of this wall was the main access to the compound. The first layer was composed of modern vegetation and small and medium rocks (Locus 130; thickness ~12cm). Below this layer was rockfall, including large boulders and

mortar (Locus 131; thickness ~28cm). Patches of mortar and plaster accumulated near the walls (Loci 132 and 133; thickness ~30cm) and another level of rockfall filled the corridor (Locus 136; thickness ~7cm). In the parts of the room with less rockfall, such as the northeastern half, we found a level of wind-driven soil with a sandy consistency (Locus 134; thickness ~6cm). Underneath was the original surface of the room. The clay floor was poorly preserved –this with parts of the floor already exposed at the time of the excavation–and the matrix was composed of grainy compact soil, with intrusions from modern vegetation (Locus 135; thickness ~20cm).

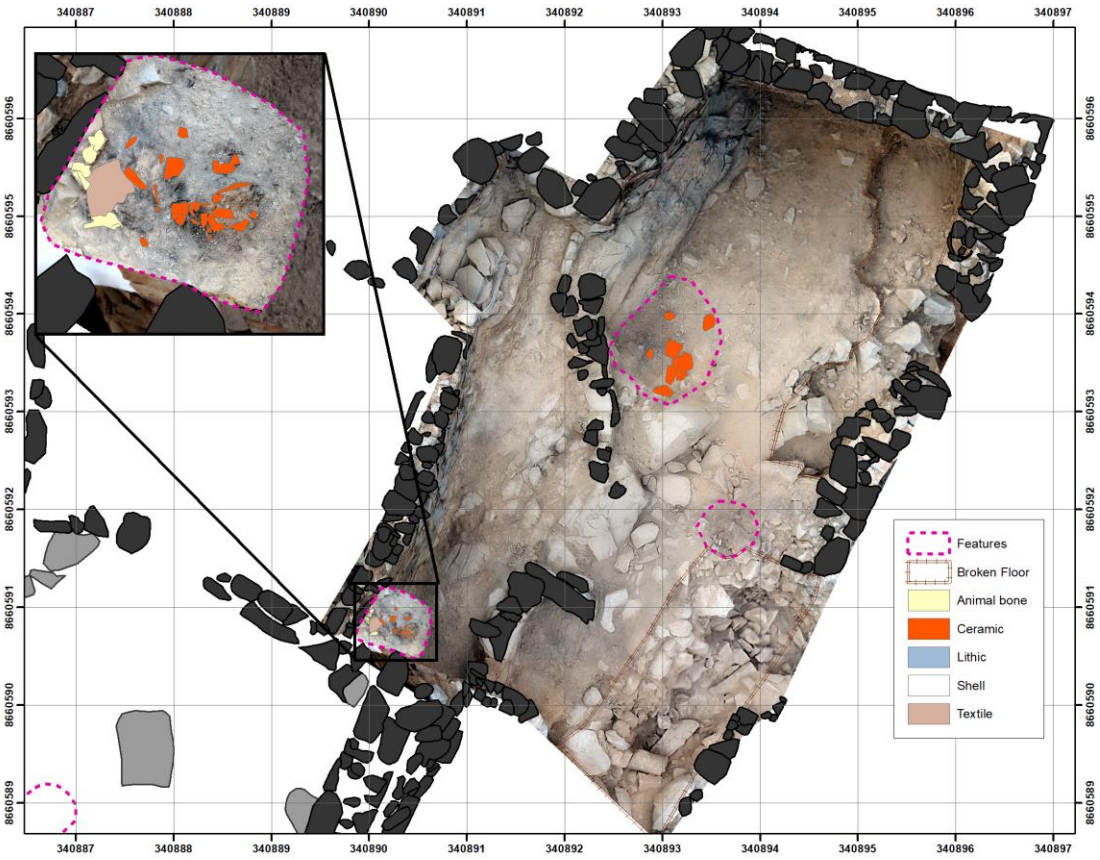

Figure 6.11: Excavation of Room 9 (drawing by the author).

In the west corner of the room we excavated a layered accumulation of materials as part of the abandonment process of the structure. We excavated three levels of this accumulation (Loci 137, 140, 141; thickness ~15cm); it had a high density of materials. Included among them

were a great quantity of large ceramic sherds, many of which were part of the same vessel, camelid vertebrae, botanic and carbonic remains, and a well-preserved basketry pouch. We have dated this midden to the early colonial period (see: p.72). Below this level was the continuation of the floor (Locus 138; thickness ~4cm), which was slightly broken towards the center of the room (Locus 147; thickness ~5cm).

We exposed a number of features on the floor's surface that illustrate the intensity of its use. A number of ash accumulations contained ceramic sherds, animal bones, metallic refuse, and lithic artifacts (Loci 142, 143 and 144; thickness ~10cm). The southern corner was partly collapsed; we cleaned up this profile and investigate the way in which the room was constructed. We found an architectural fill composed of medium-size rocks and mortar that yielded ceramic sherds, animal bones, carbon, lithic artifacts, and metallic waste (Locus 139; thickness ~9cm). We observed a very small accumulation of ash overlaying the fill (Locus 146) (Figure 6.12).

The stratigraphic column and recovered materials (discussed below) showed a domestic function for the compound. Activities included food preparation and likely some sort of artisanal production. Domestic spaces were directly related to ritual and funerary areas (such as Room 6). The rectangular pattern of these compounds is limited to this sector where we also found the higher count of Inka ceramic sherds. This is also the only sector where we found colonial refuse. This suggests that this part of the site was associated with the latter occupation. Following the shallow stratigraphy, the compound was abandoned close to the time of deposition of the colonial midden in the corner of Room 9.

Figure 6.12: Excavation of Room 9 in the Rectangular Residential Compounds. A. General view from the north. B. Detail of the occupation level from the south, notice the curved bench through which the room was accessible. C. Colonial accumulation of materials in the west corner of the bench. D. Detail from the colonial accumulation, notice the basketry pouch associated with animal vertebrae right on the surface of the bench (photographs PASL 2015).

Excavations in the rock outcrop complex

Excavations in the rock outcrop were the centerpiece of the research at Ampugasa. I aimed to understand the practices associated with the outcrops to identify the local ritual infrastructure and practices of the Yauyos before their incorporation into the Inka Empire.[86] I

[86] This expectation was supported by the fact that the outcrops are a recurring feature in all residential settlements of Huarochirí. I have personally recorded similar outcrops at the sites of Puntón (San Juan de Lanchis, Cuenca), Cinco Cerros (Antioquía), and Conchasica (San Damián). Chase (2016a) reports a central outcrop in Llaqsatambo and an isolated ritual outcrop in San Cristóbal. Makowski and Lizárraga (2011) report two "temples" at an outcrop between two sectors of Pueblo Viejo – Pucará in alignment with the ritual platform.

argue that this outcrop was the ritual center of the site for the following reasons: 1. it was located on the main peak and was the most visible feature when approaching the site; 2. I observed a number of funerary contexts on the outcrop, one of which was later excavated; 3. I consistently recorded central outcrops in Lurin Yauyos sites along the Lurin valley, and 4. the Huarochirí Manuscript emphasizes the role of mountain tops as identity markers. Excavations at the outcrop (~ 420 m^2) investigated evidence of a long-term use or of subsequent construction phases, characterized the activities carried out in the complex, and compared them with the descriptions of ceremonial activities from the Manuscript. We excavated two units: a 2 x 2 m test pit in the floor of the plaza, and a 15 x 3 m trench crosscutting the outcrop from its highest point to the plaza, including the excavation of two complete rooms (Figure 6.13).

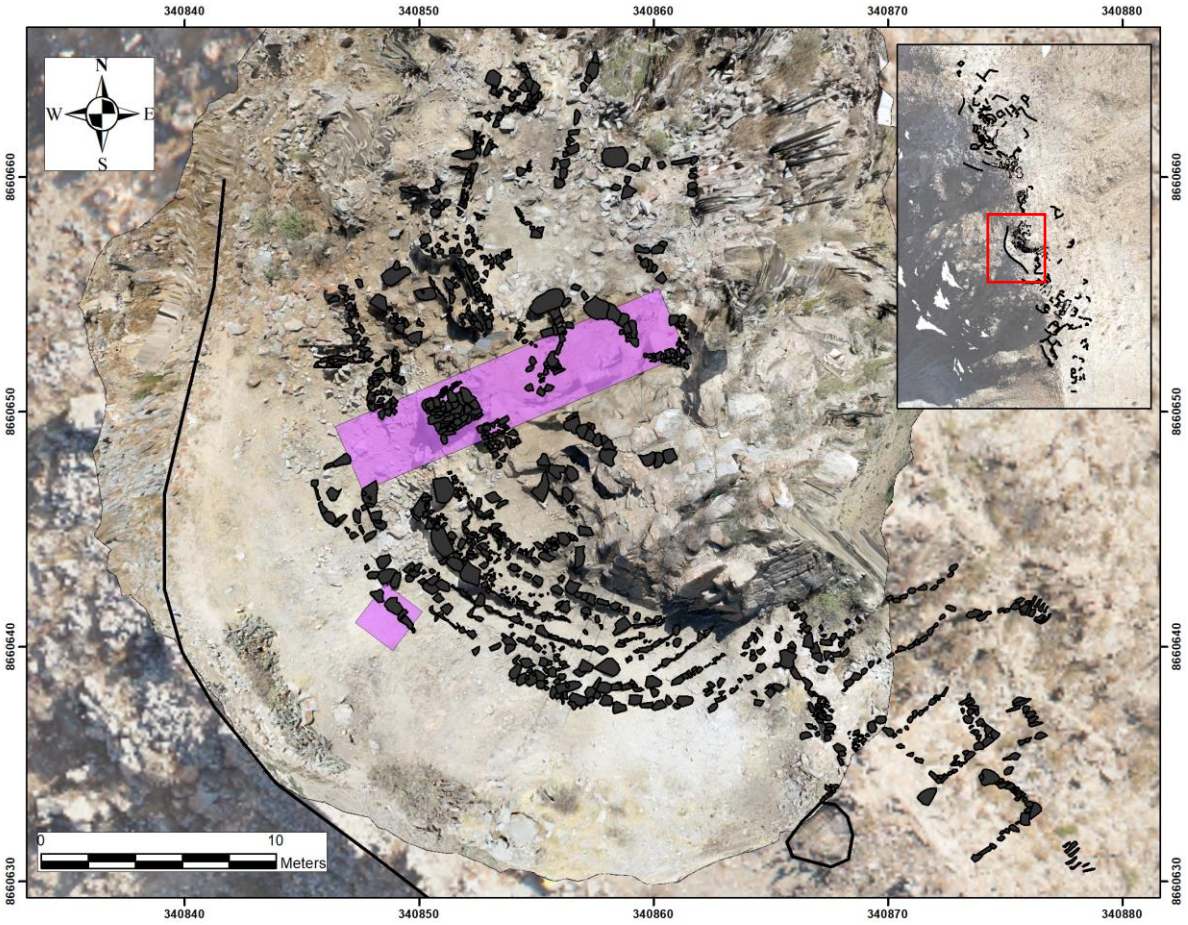

Figure 6.13: Rock Outcrop Complex. The excavation units are highlighted in fuchsia (map by the author).

Evidence from the test pit (Figure 6.14) suggested that we were in the occupational surface of the complex. The unit followed the orientation of the steps (northeast to southeast). We separated the loci excavated in the plaza floor and on top of the step. The first layer we uncovered was wind-driven modern soil, intruded by small stones and twigs; this layer continued on top of the step (Locus 099) and in the plaza floor (Locus 100; thickness ~2cm). We recorded a whitish soil on top of the step, which was probably part of the original preparation for the floor (Locus 151; thickness ~4cm); the stairs were leveled directly on top of the bedrock (Locus 156). Excavations of the plaza surface had a similar pattern. We exposed a number of small features resting on top of the bedrock, yet the almost complete lack of material associations suggests they were wind-driven (Loci 152, 153 and 154; thickness ~5cm).

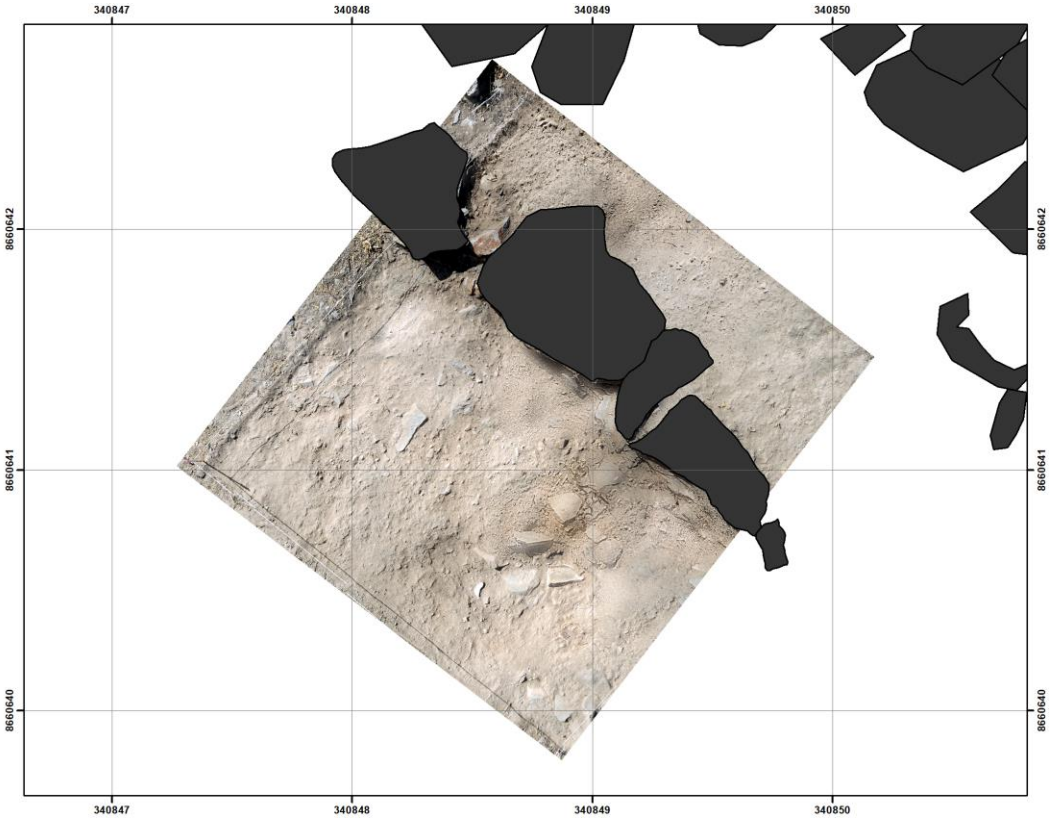

Figure 6.14: Excavation of the test pit (drawing by the author).

Under these features, we documented the continuation of the white-soil in two small patches (Loci 155 and 157; thickness ~4cm). Immediately under these features, we exposed the bedrock (Locus 158) (Figure 6.15).

Figure 6.15: Test pit in the Rock Outcrop Complex. A. Location of the test pit including part of the plaza and the end of the stairs. B. End of the excavation showing that the surface lay directly over the bedrock (photographs by PASL 2015).

Through this test unit we found that the current surface of the plaza was the only used one, without preparation of the natural surface. As mentioned above, research in plazas for the Inka period commonly uncovers evidence of feasting and food production (Bray 2003a). On the other hand, the Manuscript describes activities at rock outcrops that are hard to distinguish in the archaeological record, such as dancing and racing. However, there is mention of offerings as part of ancestor worship associated with the outcrops. We found evidence for the latter in the excavation of the trench.

The trench (Figure 6.16) was placed to include a majority of the built features. It was oriented to follow the general direction of the outcrop complex and comprised four areas:

- First area: the western extreme of the trench (~3 x 3 m) located directly on the plaza.
- Second area: to the east of the first area (~3 x 3.5 m), surrounding a looted funerary structure. We did not pursue its excavation because we found evidence of modern offerings such as cigarette butts and bottles of alcohol; we decided not to disturb modern offerings.

- Third area: east of the second area (~6 x 3 m) on the upper level of the rock outcrop. This section was later expanded 1 m to the north and it included the excavation of Room 1.
- Fourth area: to the eastern extreme of the trench (~2.5 x 3 m); this section included a small room right behind the highest part of the outcrop (Room 2) where we defined a poorly preserved stairway permitting access to the room from the northeastern steep hillside.

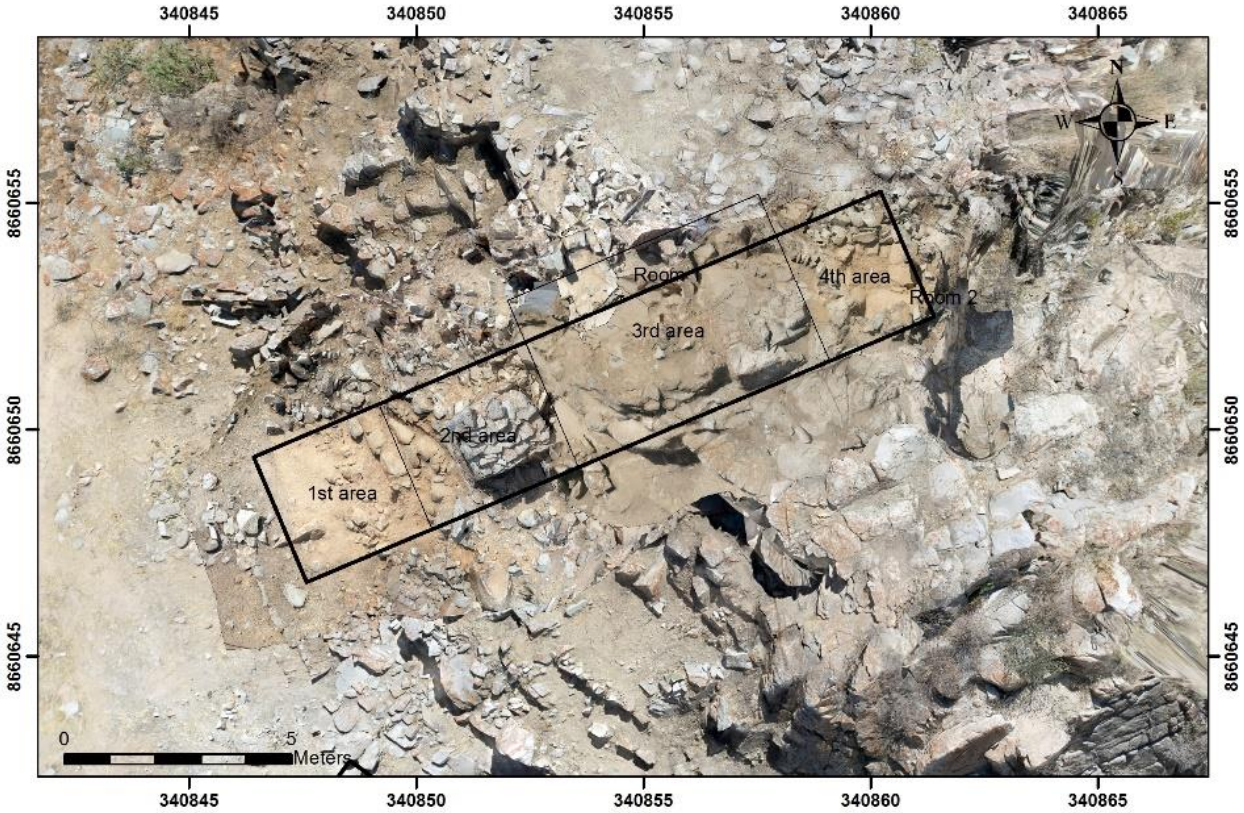

Figure 6.16: Sketch of the four different sectors of the Trench in the Rock Outcrop (map by the author).

Surface layers from the trench included a level of twigs, cacti, and loose stones (Locus 051; thickness ~2cm) and another with the initial rockfall from surrounding structures (Locus 055).

Excavation in the first area began by showing a surface layer of clay soil with small rounded rocks (Locus 056; thickness ~5cm). Immediately below we excavated the first abandonment layer, characterized by a semi-compact matrix of grainy soil intruded by gravel

(Locus 060). Below this level we found the surface of the plaza, which was not well preserved (Locus 067; thickness ~5cm). As was the case with the test pit, underneath we found bedrock (Locus 069; thickness ~21cm). We excavated 30 cm deeper, confirming there was no previous surface (Locus 072).

The excavation of the second area comprised narrow areas within the trench that surrounded a funerary structure. We could see that in front of its access there was a platform that linked it to another structure. We excavated a small part of this platform (1 x 0.5 m) and found the remains of rockfall (Locus 061) and mortar (Locus 065; thickness ~10cm). Finally, we registered the surface of the platform, which was made from compacted clay with small intruding gravel (Locus 070).

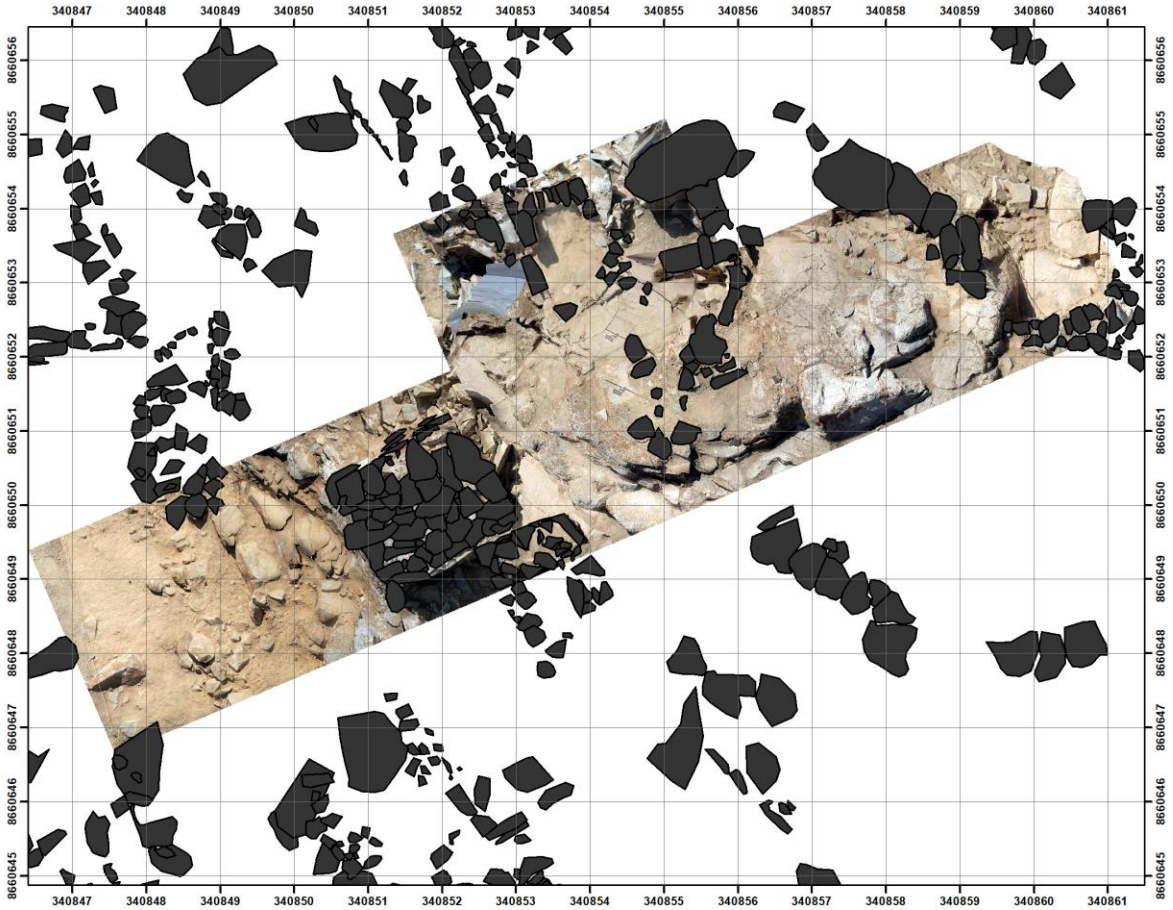

Figure 6.17: Excavation of the trench (drawing by the author).

Excavation to the northwest of the structure was prolonged to the northeast section of the funerary structure, which was "L" shaped. We found a layer of loose clay soil associated with vegetation and gravel (Locus 057; thickness ~20cm); below we found the flattened surface of bedrock associated with potential steps that functioned as a staircase. In the northeast corridor we uncovered a layer of rockfall and semi-compacted clay (Loci 058 and 062; thickness ~30cm). Finally, we registered a compact layer of grainy clay soil directly overlaying the surface of the flattened rock outcrop found in the northwest corridor (Locus 071) (Figure 6.18).

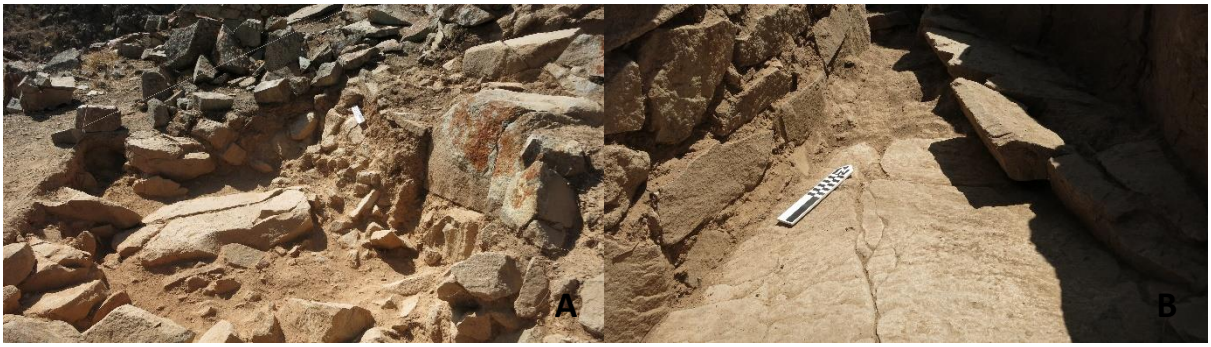

Figure 6.18: Trench in the Rock Outcrop Complex. A. First area of the trench, bedrock level. B. Second area, detail of the floor directly overlaid on the flattened rock outcrop (photographs by PASL 2015).

In the third area we excavated part of the rock outcrop leading towards a small plaza to the north and Room 1. Between Room 1 and the corridor there was a transversal small wall of about 1 m in length and 30 cm in width that was likely part of a closing event. The southern section of this corridor was already at the flattened bedrock level associated with a clay surface and carbon remains closing the corridor (Locus 059; thickness ~5cm).

To the west of Room 1 we found remains of plaster washed up onto the surface (Locus 084; thickness ~2cm). Below this was a layer of mortar associated with small patches of compact clay (Loci 085 and 086; thickness ~36 and 10cm, respectively), then the floor that was made up of small stones and compact clay (Locus 088; thickness ~9cm). Associated with this surface we found human bones from the spillover from Room 1. Finally, we registered a small niche almost

to the middle of the eastern boundary with the outcrop. This niche was a square recess of 15 x 18 cm, containing accumulated remains of llama or vicuña bones. We interpreted these remains as offerings for Room 1 (Locus 087; thickness ~18cm).

Room 1 measured 1.6 x 1.2 m and was oriented from the northwest to the southeast. In the middle of the east wall was a window partially covered by rockfall, yet not intentionally closed. This window had a width of 40 cm and the wall thickness varied between 20-30 cm.

In Room 1 (Figure 6.19) we removed the rockfall (Locus 201; thickness ~4cm) uncovering a small circular feature with a blackish color and loose soil in the southeast corner of the structure and containing human remains (Locus 202; thickness ~2cm). We found two other patches of bones (Loci 203 and 205; thickness ~3 and 5cm, respectively). We labeled the context as Burial 2 (Figure 6.20).

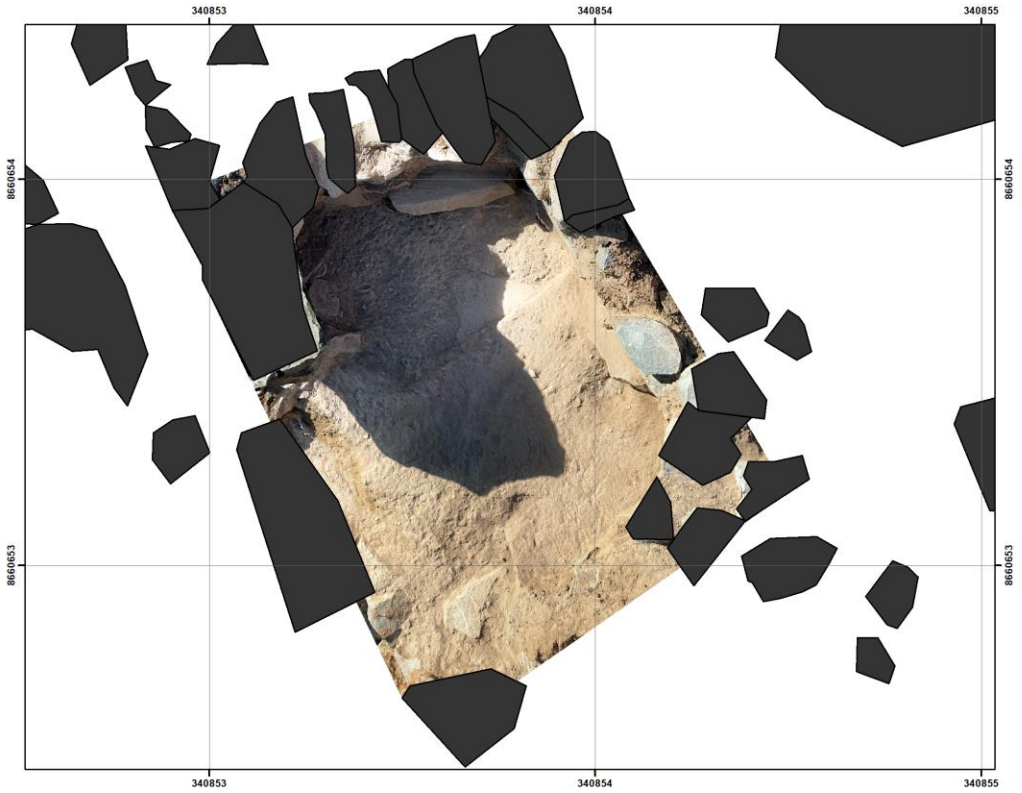

Figure 6.19: Excavation of Room 1 (drawing by the author).

Figure 6.20: Burial 2 from the Rock Outcrop Complex. The remains are divided among the three individuals recorded, showing the degree of fragmentation of the context (photograph by Martha Palma).

It contained fragmented remains from three individuals: one adult (only hand and feet bones, clavicle and patella), one child between 3 and 4 years old (a tooth, vertebrae, ilium, some ribs and phalanxes), and one perinatal (cranium fragments, vertebrae, coxal, humerus, and hand bones). Given the high quantity of missing bones, it is probable the individuals were moved to another location. They showed no pathologies and we did not find any burial offerings.

Next, we registered a level of mortar cut through by looting (Locus 204; thickness ~4cm). Below we found a soil matrix associated with the removal of the burial (Locus 206; thickness ~3cm) and associated with the spill in the corridor to the west of the room (Locus 086). Underneath was a floor overlay of semi-compacted clay surface with a very low density of gravel (Locus 207; thickness ~6cm). The original floor surface was poorly preserved yet we could trace it to the whole structure (Locus 208; thickness ~4cm). We excavated a small portion of the floor and found a fill level made up of semi-compact grainy soil with a high density of gravel. While we did not remove the whole floor, by cleaning the looting hole we confirmed that

the room was directly built atop the outcrop with fill used to level the bedrock (Locus 209). Finally, we cleaned out the access window (Locus 210; thickness ~9cm). These excavation results suggest that funerary offerings were a central part of the rituals associated with rock outcrops.

Afterwards we cleaned sections of the outcrop to the west, finding walls crossing the trench associated with the surface of the outcrop. In the space surrounding Room 1 we found a curved wall of 70 cm in width and a length of 3 m. We removed the modern soil up towards the outcrop from the west (Locus 073) and found a layer of loose limy soil (Locus 075; thickness ~4cm). We found two small lenses associated with organic remains (Loci 074 and 079; thickness ~11cm). Underneath we found an accumulation of rockfall (Locus 076) and three patches of compacted clay that were part of the prepared surface laid atop the rock (Loci 077, 078 and 081). Underneath Locus 076 we found remains of intrusive organic soil (Locus 080; thickness ~7cm) (Figure 6.21).

Figure 6.21: Trench in the Rock Outcrop Complex. A. Third area, detail of a niche with faunal offerings. B. Third area, occupational surface of Room 1 (photograph by PASL 2015).

The fourth area (Figure 6.22) of the trench centered on Room 2, a circular structure with a diameter of 2 m and a wall thickness of 50 cm. It was built directly atop the outcrop with a well-preserved curved wall to the southeast. The northwestern wall was not fully visible from the surface. Excavation of Room 2 started with the superficial layer which was made up of loose grainy soil (Locus 063; thickness ~4cm) and rockfall (Locus 064; thickness ~17cm). We uncovered a surface of compact clay and gravel that only continued up to the section of the outcrop over which the structure was built, facing part of the bedrock (Locus 066; thickness ~5cm). It is unlikely that the room had a continuous domestic occupation. It could either have a storage function or it could have been used to oversee access to the outcrop. Finally, we cleaned the access from the west and found three steps defining the entrance to Room 2 (Locus 068; thickness ~2cm) (Figure 6.23).

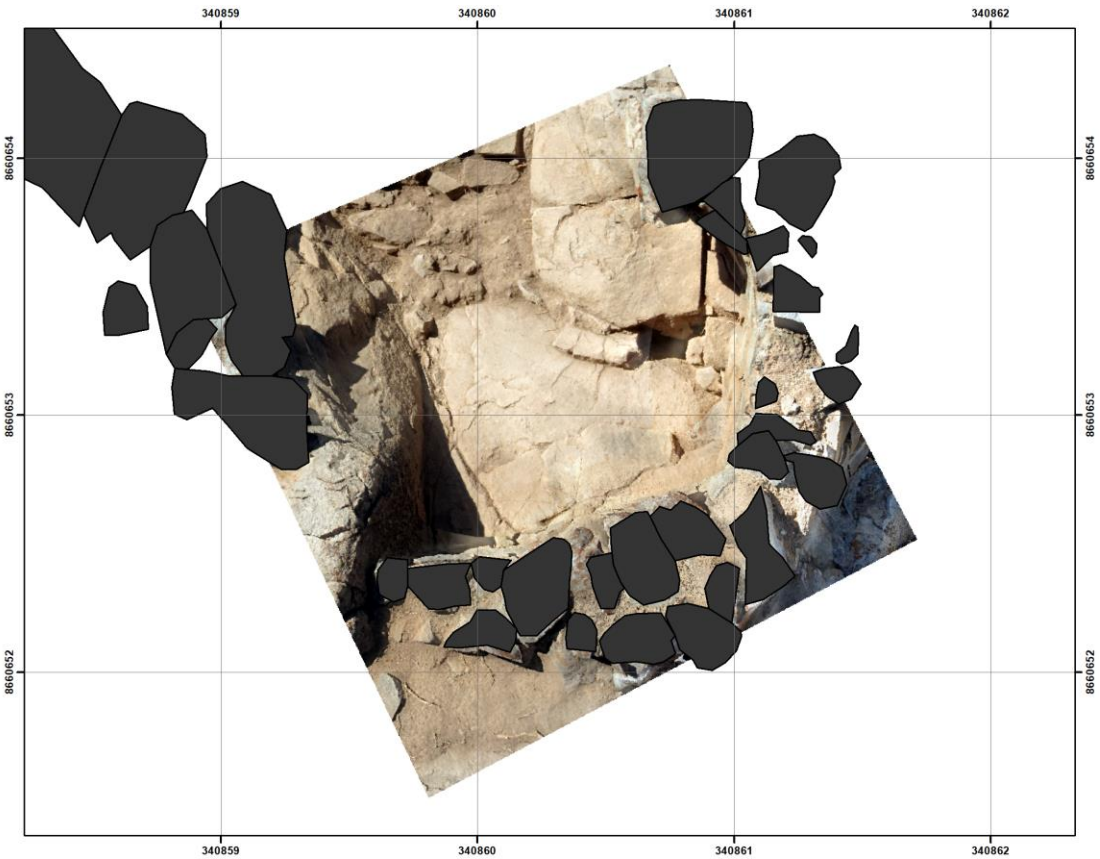

Figure 6.22: Excavation of Room 2 (drawing by the author).

Figure 6.23: Excavation of Rock Outcrop Complex. Fourth area, use level of Room 2 (photograph by PASL 2015).

While the Manuscript does not explicitly talk about animal offerings associated with ritual spaces, these, in conjunction with funerary structures, seem to be the main association with the rock outcrops. Additionally, unlike traditional Inka ritual spaces, we did not find evidence of feasting or continued use. On the contrary, the outcrop is interestingly positioned as both a sacred place where activities were sporadic and a necessary passing point between the two main residential sectors of the site. In this manner the outcrops force everyday engagement with a ritual locale without a continuous ritual performance. This suggests that the outcrops had a mnemonic role in linking the settlements with the Pariacaca ritual orbit rather than requiring the continued practice of sponsored rituals. This could explain the lack of Inka artifacts, which were associated with different types of ceremonies. However, the Inka would directly benefit from the rock outcrop's role in creating a form of ethnic identity among Yauyos communities. The excavations in the Funerary area support the claim that the outcrop was directly associated with potential ancestor worship, and a clear connection between the importance of the outcrop and the

location of the funerary area (Kaulicke 2001). I argue that ancestor worship was a legible idiom among Andean populations that created links within communities, and therefore did not require the Inka Empire to invest in changing it at the residential level.

Excavations in the funerary area

The isolated funerary structure stood approximately 25 m north of the outcrop and was built with worked boulders and roofed with slabs. The external walls were thicker than most of the other walls in the site (~50 cm), and the northwestern corner rose to 1.5 m of preserved wall. It included (Figure 6.24):

- Room 1: in the northeast corner. It measured approximately 2.8 x 1.7 m. It was heavily looted, with a large hole in the southeast corner and a fine layer of sand-like soil inside. The roof was well preserved and very thick and was held up by a standing column very similar to those recorded by Villar Córdova (1982:303–304) on the "kullpis" at Cantamarka, in the Chillón valley.[87] This is the only structure with such a feature in Ampugasa. There was a row of small flat stones surrounding the foot of the structure, which could signal the importance of the occupant of the tomb (Makowski 2002).
- Room 2: directly west and perpendicular to Room 1. It measured 3x2 m and was two stories high. The room also had clear evidence of looting.

[87] According to Villar Córdova (1982:303–304), the kullpis were "cilindrical towers of low height, with a roof or cornices made of flat stones and one single small door". He includes a section drawing and a photograph that show the inner column holding up the roof.

- Corridor: directly to the west of Room 1 and into Room 2. It had a length of 4.5 m and a width of 1 m. To the western extreme it was shaped almost like a triangle where it connected with Room 2. The maximal width in this part was of 1.8 m.
- Room 3: a small rectangular unit of 2.5x1 m, directly to the south of the corridor, with a wall separating them, and no evidence of looting. The structure was roofed with slabs, although only the brackets were in place, directly built into the wall.
- Room 4: directly east of Room 3 and measuring approximately 3x1.5 m with parts of the slab roof intact. Even though this room was one of the worse preserved of this group, it seems it was not heavily looted. There were remaining of human bones on the surface.

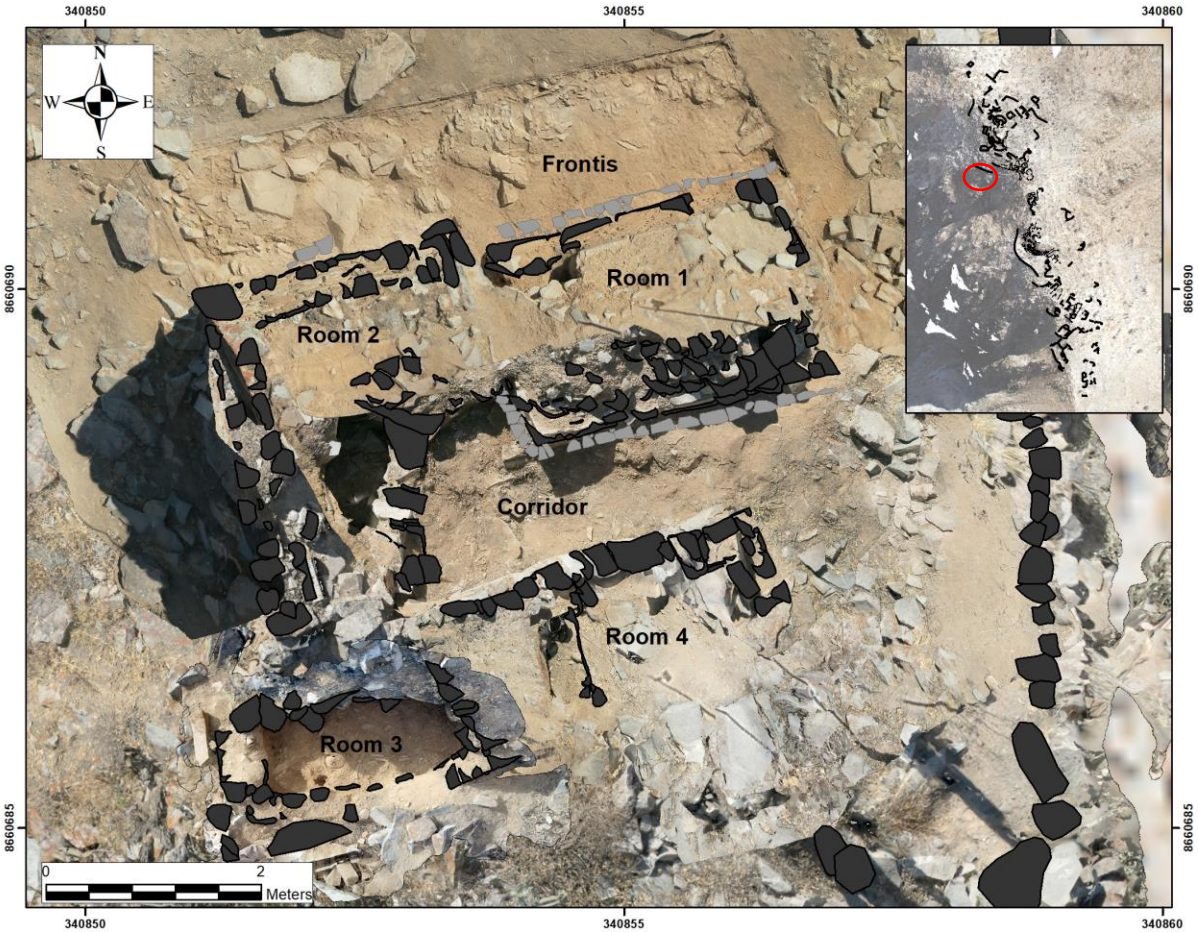

Figure 6.24: Funerary Area (map by the author).

Even though Rooms 1 and 2 were clearly the main rooms of the funerary structure we decided against excavating them given the degree of looting they showed. Since the looting destroyed significant parts of the walls, further excavating inside was potentially dangerous. Instead, we excavated three other units in the funerary area: Room 3, the Corridor, and a 1.5 x 5.5 m trench at the front of the structure adjacent to Rooms 1 and 2. The goal of this unit was to locate the surface and activities related to the small plaza over which the structure was built.

Excavations in Room 3 provided the main corpus of bioarchaeological remains. The first layer corresponded to wind-blown vegetation and loose stones (Loci 008 and 009; thickness ~17cm). The second layer was made up of mortar and large boulders from the roof and walls (Loci 010 and 012; thickness 28 cm). Directly below this we found the first human bones, labeled as Burial 01 (Locus 014).

At the top, the human bones were associated with a layer of semi-compacted grainy light-brown soil (Locus 015; thickness ~5cm) that became more pliable the deeper the excavation (Locus 017, 018 and 019; thickness ~11cm). Below, we found a layer of yellowish loose soil (Locus 020; thickness ~2cm); this coloring continued into the next level, where most of the bones were located. Most subsequent levels were arbitrarily defined by the visibility of the bones (Loci 025,026, 027, 034, 037, 041, 047, 103, 104, 110, 111, 112, and 115; thickness ~30cm). The occupation level of the structure (Locus 116; thickness ~8cm) was made out of thick clay and associated with flat stones on the surface.[88] We excavated a test pit at the western extreme of

[88] This type of preparation for the floors of funerary structures was previously recorded for the site of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará in the lower Lurin valley (see: Makowski 2002).

the structure to verify whether there was any previous level to the structure. We found a thin 2 cm leveling fill (Locus 120) that directly covered the bedrock.

The finding of Burial 1 was particularly compelling, as it is the first systematically excavated intact burial with multiple individuals from Huarochirí.[89] The bones were comingled; in order to facilitate the individualization process, during the excavation each single level of bones was registered with photogrammetric techniques.[90] Through this record, it was possible to identify at least four groups of individuals in the bottom layer of burial (Figure 6.25).

The minimum number of individuals was 19: 11 adults, 5 children, 2 infants, and 1 perinatal. Only four of these could be individualized, the rest were analyzed as a comingled context and the minimum number of individuals was established through the number of craniums (12) and pelvis (5). According to the cranium evidence, the distribution between adult females and males was even, with 3 females, 1 probable female, 3 unidentified, 3 probable males, and 2 as males. The age of the oldest individual –a female– was estimated at 48 years.[91]

The individuals were originally flexed, with their backs resting against the walls. During the excavation we found an imprint from basketry that suggests that the bodies rested on a mat and were probably tied in position. This is supported by my previous ethnographic work in Lahuaytambo, where I had access to a group of burials looted from the nearby site of Cinco Cerros. These individuals were associated with plain textiles and ropes (Figure 6.26).

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[89] Chase (2016a) excavated human remains under a floor as part of an offering or ritual; this individual was incomplete, and we have found similar contexts in the excavations of Ampugasa.
[90] We modeled 3D representations of each bone level, which was given a locus number. Additionally, we used the application iDig (http://idig.tips/) to take different photographs of the context during the excavation; in this interface, we were able to annotate the specific number assigned to each bone –which was also marked in the bone's individual non-acid paper wrap-, the type of bone, and any noteworthy characteristic.
[91] The bioarchaeological analysis was conducted by Martha Palma (M.A., Arizona State University).

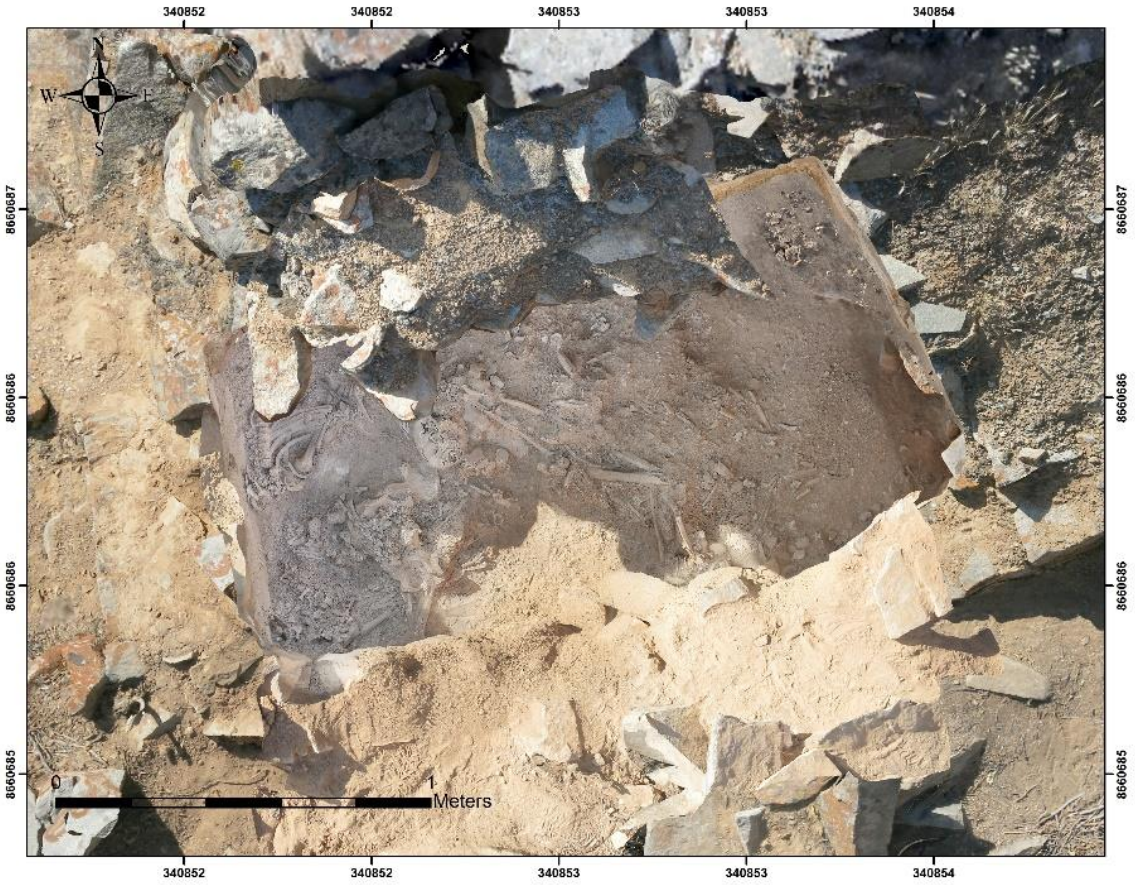

Figure 6.25: Funerary Area. Detail from articulated Burial 1 (map by the author).

Figure 6.26: Mummified remains from Cinco Cerros, currently at the school municipal building in Lahuaytambo. Notice the flex position of the individuals and the remains of rope next to them (photograph by the author).

While the burials from Cinco Cerro were associated with ceramic sherds and gourds, in Ampugasa we found there were few ceramic sherds, a ceramic spindle, and a shell probably used as a pendant. Chase (2016) reports similar contexts in the isolated funerary structures surrounding the main area of San Damián, further confirming consistency of funerary practices. This also supports the idea that funerary practices and likely a form of ancestor worship were one of the local practices that served to create familiarity within the Yauyos groups.

The analysis showed that the individuals were in good health. The main pathologies were: 1. an adult mandible with edentulism; it was impossible to determine the age of this individual since the mandible was not directly associated with the cranium; 2. an adult female suffering from active bilateral *criba orbitalia*, yet who did not show any sign of *porotic hyperostosis* in the cranial vault, and 3. an adult male who had a fracture that was in process of healing on the left region of the frontal cranial bone, this lesion had a circular shape and formed an uneven surface on the cranium. Overall, these results negate the ethnohistorical characterization of the Yauyos as a warrior-like society. Further discussion of Burial 1 will be reported on 8.

We excavated the Corridor between Rooms 1 and 2 as a proxy for the structures since we expected to find spillover artifacts from their looting. The first layer was the modern surface with loose stones, some with remains of mortar (Loci 002 and 007; thickness ~7cm). The next layer was rockfall, including roof slabs and mortar (Loci 011, 013 and 016; thickness ~20cm). At this level we found fragments of a human skull in a compacted soil matrix to the west and close to the access window in Room 2 (Locus 019; thickness ~5cm). We also found a closed-off access that linked Room 1 and decorated ceramic sherds and a small bead close to the access.

Below, we uncovered a semi-compacted uneven surface, perforated by rockfall. Room 1 was surrounded by a line of flat stones at the base, a potential sign of high status. We excavated a 1x1 m test pit at the foot of the closed-off access to Room 1 (Locus 022; thickness ~5cm), confirming that the floor was prepared with clay and gravel (Locus 023; thickness ~2cm). The floor rested directly on top of the bedrock (Locus 029), but not through the whole corridor. The southern section was intruded by bedrock, so the floor joined the rock (Loci 031 and 033; thickness ~3cm). Down from the access window in Room 2, we found a small circular metal sheet that was likely part of funerary offerings (Locus 032). Closer to the bedrock, we found a leveling layer of compact soil with a high density of gravel (Locus 035) (Figure 6.27).

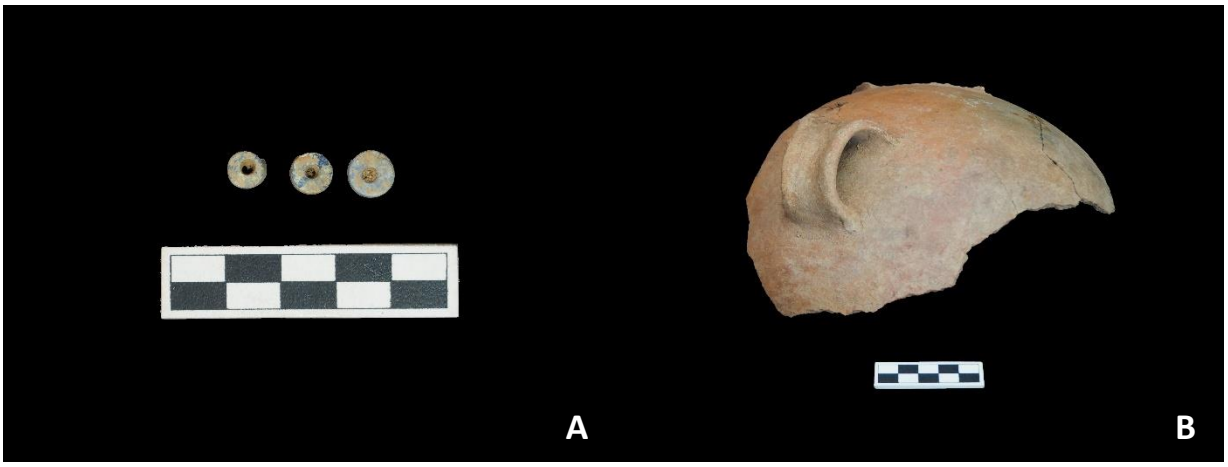

Figure 6.27: Associations from the excavation of the Corridor from the Funerary Area. A. Stone circular beads. B. Fragment from a cooking pot (photographs by the author).

Finally, we excavated a Trench (5.5 x 1.5 m) (Figure 6.28) in front of the northern section of the structure. The whole funerary structure lay in the flat space between both site peaks, and a retainer-low wall delimited the boundaries of this area from the hillslope. To the north, the flat area ended in a tall outcrop over which the circular residential structures began until reaching the second peak. We excavated the Trench to examine whether there was any evidence of further activities in the use of the surface of this flat area similar to a small plaza.

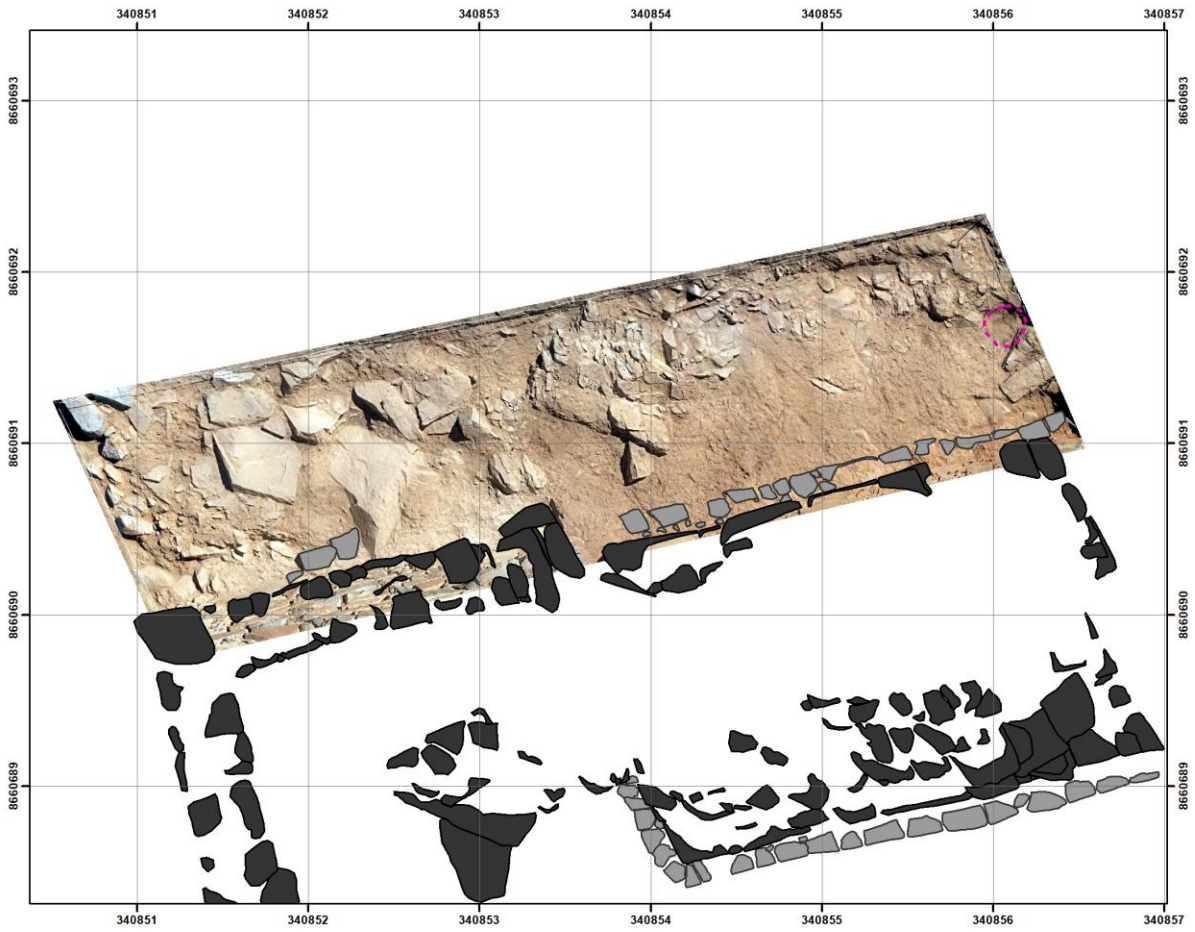

Figure 6.28: Excavation of the trench (drawing by the author).

The first layer corresponded to the modern surface and included loose, large stones that likely fell from the roofs of Room 1 and 2 (Locus 021; thickness ~5cm) and organic soil (Locus 024; thickness ~3cm). Under this layer we found mortar (Locus 028; thickness ~4cm) with a high density of gravel and slabs (Locus 030; thickness 8cm). Afterwards, we found the continuation of the line of flat stones at the base of Room 1 and a couple of flat stones at the base of Room 2, suggesting a similar arrangement. There was a semi-compacted overlay the rockfall to the east (Locus 036; thickness ~3cm) and loose soil to the west (Locus 038; thickness ~2cm). This level could be caused by the transit through this part of the site. With the evidence for looting, it stands to reason that the flat surface upon which the funerary structure is located was

used and transited for a long period of time before the wall collapsed. Below this was a partially preserved floor made of clay (Locus 039; thickness ~4cm). Underneath we found a second floor also made of clay and better preserved (Locus 040; thickness ~2cm). This succession of mostly clean floors was also recorded in Canchaje (Chapter 7); I relate it to cyclical use and refurbishing of the surface for specific ceremonies. Between both floors we found remains of the cranium of an unidentified small mammal in a matrix of very loose soil in the northern extreme of the Trench (Locus 042; thickness ~7cm). They were within a small hole with a diameter of 14 cm (Locus 043; thickness ~12cm) (Figure 6.29).

Figure 6.29: Excavation of the trench at the front of the Funerary Area; notice the arrangement of flat stones at the base of Room 1 and bedrock perforating the floor (photograph by PASL 2015).

Comparing this funerary area with nearby sites, we find a consistent association between burials and rock outcrop plazas. During my survey I found similar contexts in Cinco Cerros and Puntón. I interpret these burials located in a rather central and visible part of the site as an intentional statement of the relationship between an Ampugasa lineage and the sacredness of the

landscape (Gose 2008). This is supported by radiocarbon dating of Burial 1, which positions it between 1321-1347 CE, before the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí. Despite the early date, we found Inka-style ceramics associated with the funerary area. However, there seems to be no change in the individuals buried within the structures. Consequently, I argue this supports the hypothesis that the Inka were not interested in changing cultural and ritual practices in co-residence communities and rather showed their own acknowledgement and respect to these spaces by making offerings to the local ritual contexts. In other words, the ritual center of the site seems to have been respected and maintained after Inka incorporation.

Excavations in the circular residential structures

On the second hill of the site to the north, we registered at least 20 ovoid and circular structures. These were mixed with other constructions, such as platforms, corridors, stairs, and rectangular slab-roofed tombs. Unlike rectangular compounds, the stones were rougher and did not always show a flat surface to the interior of the rooms. The walls were not as high and the maximal height observed is of about 1 m. Some rooms connect through small internal patios, yet the pattern is not well-defined and the growth of the rooms within the area is organic and unplanned. Radiocarbon dates on the structures shows they were in use in the latter part of the LIP (8, p.327). We excavated in three structures (Figure 6.30):

- Room 1: elongated with curved corners; it measured 6x3 m and was the westernmost of the rooms excavated. It limited with a well-preserved stair going to the second peak on the west, and a corridor that followed the topography of the hill that traced back from the outcrop plaza complex. It had a well-defined closed access in the southeast corner leading to the corridor.

- Room 2: circular, with internal accesses connected to Room 1 and Room 3. The approximate diameter was 4 m, and it did not have an access connecting it directly to the outside.
- Room 3: circular, with an approximate diameter of 4 m. It connected by an access to Room 2, with another access opening towards more structures to the north. It did not have a direct access outside of the group.

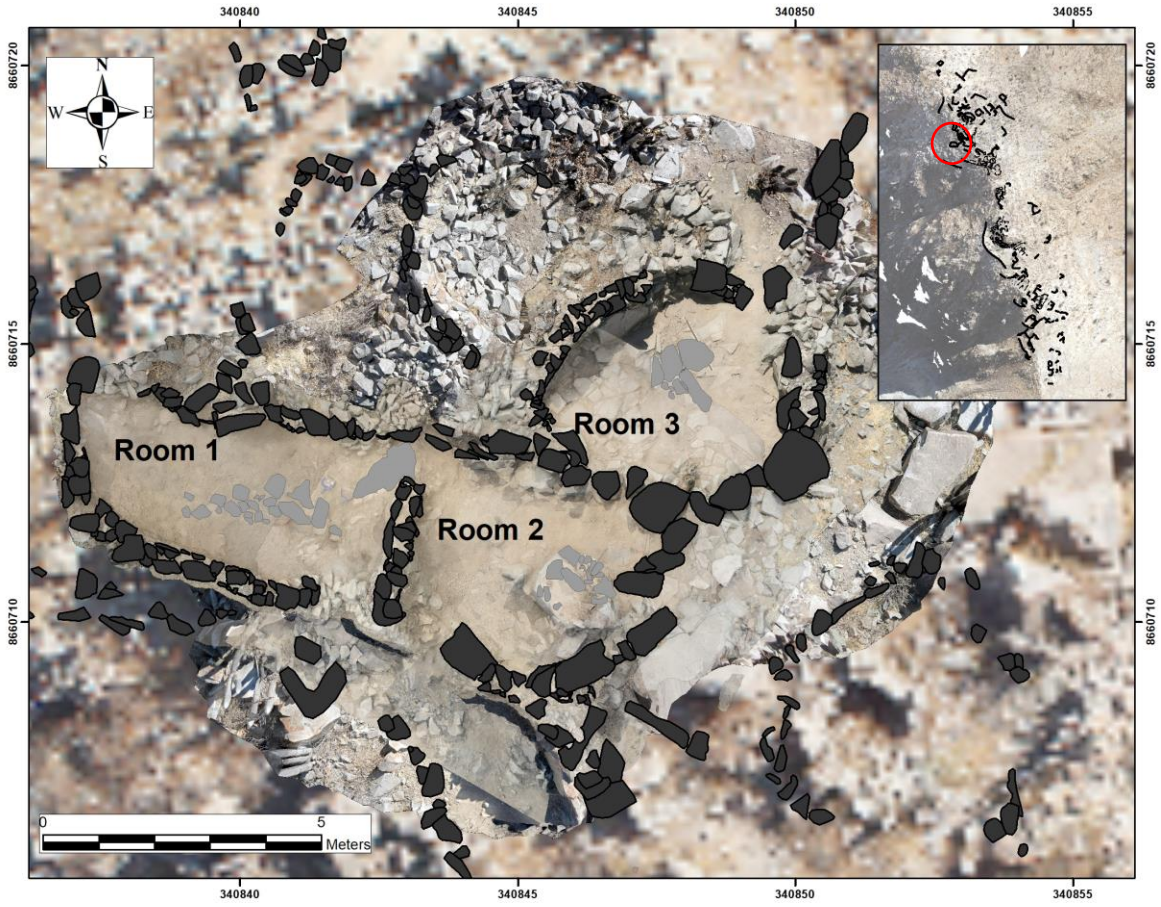

Figure 6.30: Excavation Unit 5 in the Circular Residential Structures Sector (map by the author).

Excavations in Room 1 (Figure 6.31) provided some of our best evidence for domestic occupation. The first layer corresponded to a wind-deposited stratum of fine and loose soil (Locus 159; thickness ~10cm), below which was rockfall (Locus 160; thickness ~11cm). Under this layer, and close to the access in the southeastern corner, we found a deep ash accumulation

that we interpreted as a burning event associated with the closing of the room (Locus 161). We found a very high density of materials in this context, including charred camelid bones, ceramic sherds, and musical and textile instruments. We found further ash accumulations all over the structure (Loci 163, 164 and 175). These were the only evidence of musical instrument we found at the site; the role of music in local ritual is explicitly addressed in the Huarochirí Manuscript.

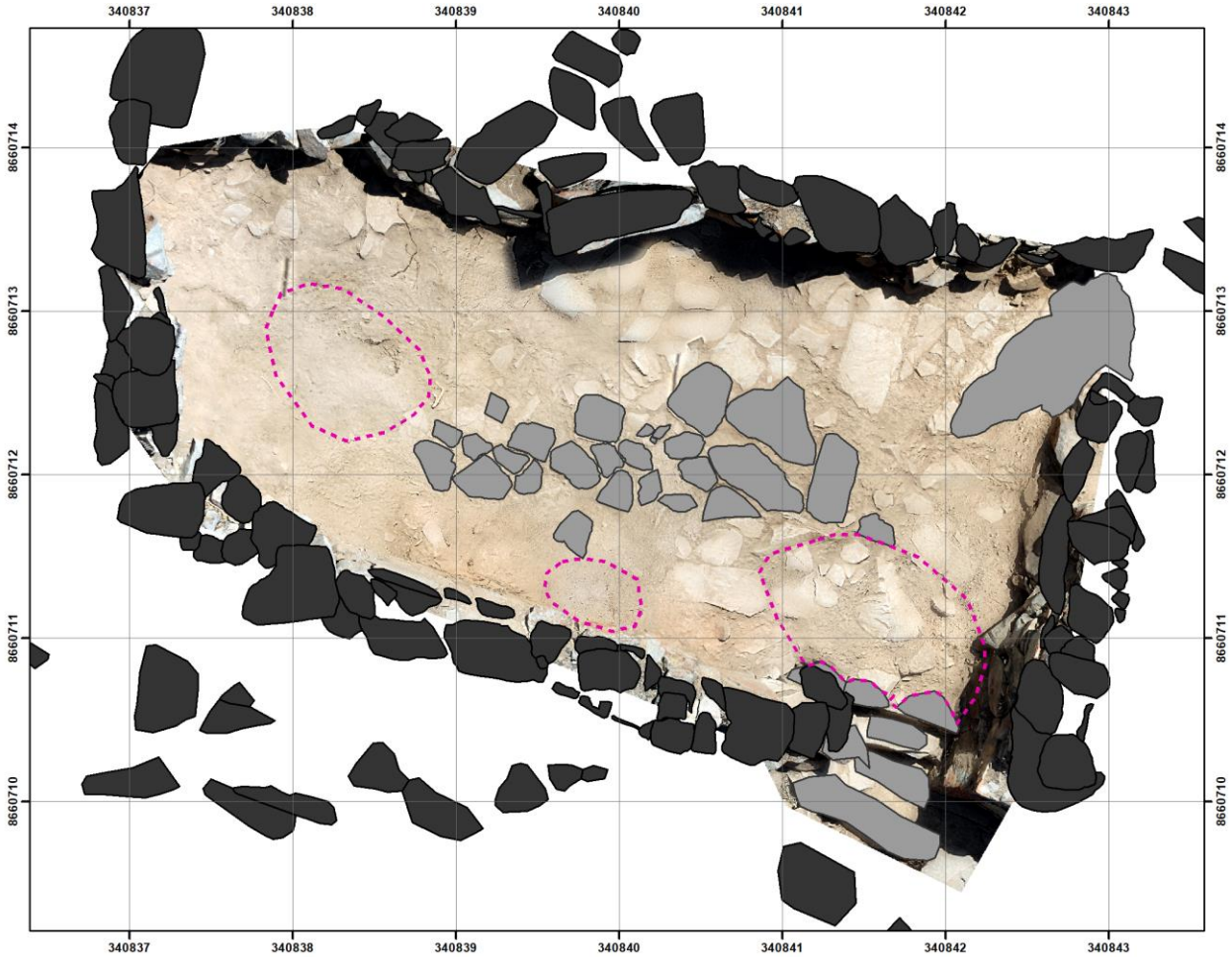

Figure 6.31: Excavation of Room 1 (drawing by the author).

Under these features, in the middle of the structure, we found a clay floor (Locus 170) paved with flat stones that were better preserved (Locus 171). This level continued up to the access and a small stairway that enabled entrance into the room (Locus 172; thickness ~5cm). We excavated a small spill-over from the plaster which was likely washed off by the rain

adjacent to the southern wall, linked to the abandonment of the room (Locus 174). We did not excavate below the floor surface because (as was determined from the previous excavation of Room 3), the structure was built directly on top of the bedrock (Figure 6.32).

Figure 6.32: Excavation of Room 1 in the Circular Residential Structures. A. View of the structure's floor; notice the paving, the opened access, and the remaining accumulations of ash. B. Access to the structure after cleaning. C. Textile sword made of animal bone associated with the burn event near the access. D. Flute made of animal bone, also associated with the burn event near the access (field photographs by PASL 2015; material photographs by the author).

Excavations in Room 2 (Figure 6.33) yielded very different results than those we expected for a domestic area; we found evidence of ritual contexts that are similar to the ones discussed in the rectangular compounds. The main feature recognizable from the surface was a large boulder, associated with a standing slab, identified as some sort of altar (Locus 109) (Figure 6.34). It was located adjacent to the middle of the east wall.

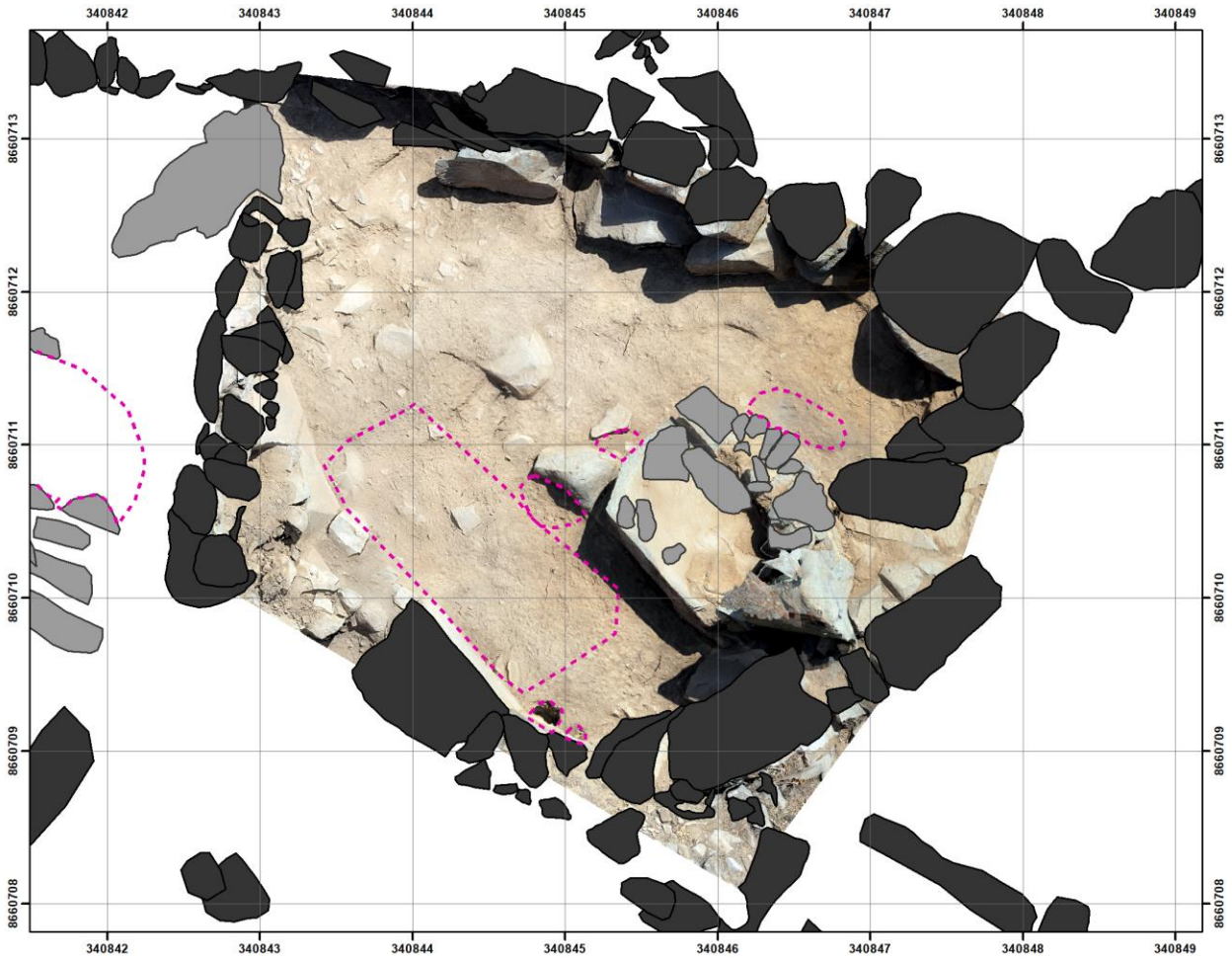

Figure 6.33: Excavation of Room 2 (drawing by the author).

The altar had a length of 1.4 m and a width of 1.2 m, with a height of 1 m. The northeastern edge of the altar had remains of a wall with a height of 30 cm, which was made up of small stones and mortar. There were remains from the falling of this wall (Locus 050; thickness ~5cm) and subsequent spilling over onto the surface of the altar (Locus 102). We found a post-hole in the southern corner of the room which, in association with this wall, suggests the altar was partially roofed. In the east corner of the altar and intermixed with different levels of mortar and flat slabs (Loci 107, 117 and 118; thickness ~7cm) we found a burial offering, including burial goods, labeled Burial 3 (Locus 106).

Figure 6.34: Stone altar in Room 2 in the Circular Residential Structures. The arrow is pointing to the location of Burial 3 (photograph by PASL 2015).

Burial 3 included at least five individuals: two perinatal, two infants, and a child. The first perinatal could have been a fetus (Figure 6.35). The first infant was probably a newborn, while the second one was between 2 and 6 months old at the time of death. Finally, the child was roughly 1 year old. All of the individuals showed remains of red pigment on the cranium and over the long bones. They were in the east corner of the altar associated with basketry remains, which suggest they were in a small pouch or covered. They had four Spondylus pendants. We do not know for sure if the Room had a domestic use before the closing of the access of Room 1 and was then repurposed as a funerary space.

Figure 6.35: Burial 3 in the stone altar. A. Location of Burial 3, last level. B. Bones showing extensive remains of red pigment. C. Detail of Burial 3 showing the location of one of the shell beads. D. Spondylus bead in the process of being manufactured (photographs by PASL 2015; material photograph by author).

The rest of the room was covered by a modern layer of organic soil (Locus 101), rockfall, and mortar at the base of the walls (Loci 108 and 049; thickness ~10cm). The floor of the structure was made of clay, but not well preserved (Locus 123; thickness ~8cm); the floor was broken into small patches (Loci 126, 125 and 128; thickness ~5cm). We found large concentrations of ceramic sherds intentionally laid down in the floor and, as we interpret it, associated with the repurposing of the room for the burials in the stone altar (Locus 113). One accumulation was located at the foot of the altar (Locus 124; thickness ~2cm) within an ash feature –interpreted as a burning event– also next to the altar but on its northeastern side (Locus

122) (Figure 6.36). Finally, we also recovered two post-holes in the southern corner of the room, which supports the idea that at least the altar was roofed (Loci 114 and 127; thickness ~16cm). We found a small ash area delimited by stones in the northern corner of the room (Locus 121). Finally, we cleaned out the external southwestern wall of the room and found no external access (Locus 129; thickness ~10cm).

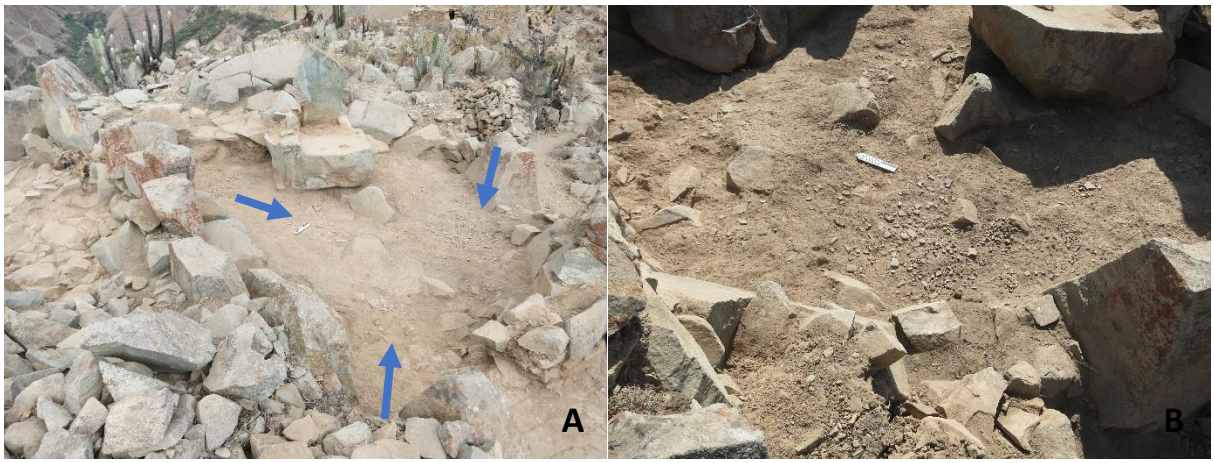

Figure 6.36: Room 2 in the Circular Residential Structures. A. Notice the three accumulations of ceramics on the floor. B. Detail of one of the ceramic accumulations (photographs by PASL 2015).

Room 3 (Figure 6.37) had the least evidence of use in the sector. The first layer was the modern loose soil with organic remains and gravel in the matrix (Locus 089; thickness ~2cm), covering a layer of semi-compact mortar and rockfall (Locus 090). I hypothesize that the poor conservation and the low quantity of material remains is related to the modern use of the structure as a passing area. The room's floor was made of compact clay (Locus 092; thickness ~7cm) and flat stones as partial paving in the middle of the room (Locus 093). We excavated a 2 x 2 m test pit in the western corner of the room (Locus 094) to investigate whether there was a previous level of occupation within the structure. We removed the floor (Locus 095; thickness ~10cm) and found patches of very loose yellowish soil (Loci 096 and 097; thickness ~22cm), suggesting that it may have been part of the floor preparation (Locus 097; thickness ~10cm).

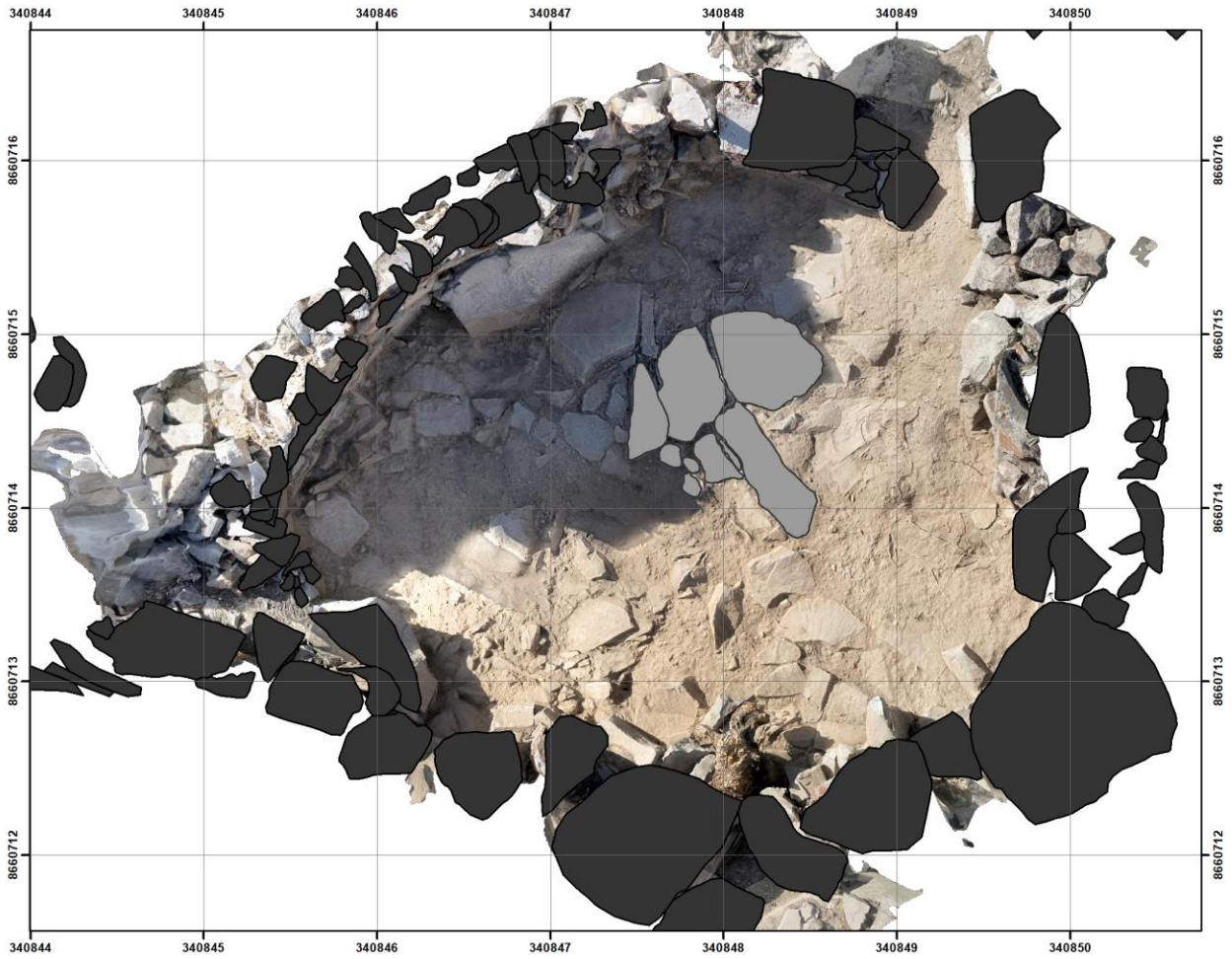

Figure 6.37: Excavation of Room 3 (drawing by the author).

Below this level we found the bedrock (Locus 098). This test pit confirmed the structures were part of a single occupational event directly atop the bedrock leveling (Figure 6.38).

Figure 6.38: Room 3 in the Circular Residential Structures. A. Floor level of Room 3. B. Detail of the test pit in Room 3, notice that the bedrock is very close to the surface level (photographs by PASL 2015).

Architecturally, the difference between the circular structures and residential compounds is not only limited to shape, but also the selection of stones for the wall faces and the lack of structural fill in the circular structures area. This may be part of the original layout of the site, where the main areas for occupation were the hilltops, making thin leveling enough for building. On the other hand, there seems to be specific characteristics that carry from one group to the other; for instance, we consistently find rock pavement at the very least located in the middle of the rooms. Another characteristic is the use of plaster and partial roofing with organic materials in the larger rooms. There also seems to be no difference in the use pattern of both areas; we find domestic structures in direct association with funerary context and ritual areas. Even though both areas were clearly built at different times, there is no substantial difference in the way in which domestic spaces were built as far as the layout.

The rock altar is undoubtedly one of the most interesting and informative contexts excavated in Ampugasa. Rock altars were not an exclusively local manifestation, but a generalized Andean space of practice and veneration. The presence of Spondylus could be considered evidence of an Inka offering, since this does not seem to be a resource widely available in Huarochirí before the Inka. Moreover, Spondylus also features in the Manuscript as one of the goods the Inka offered Pariacaca. In his *Tratado*, Francisco de Avila talks extensively about the cults associated with twin births in the region. Human twins were called *curi*, and their birth could either herald a time of great richness or great loss. There were extensive rituals associated with their birth that had to be carried out by their kin and took place both in plazas and in their own houses. In an annotation to the Manuscript, Salomon (1991:145 Footnote 827) notes that if the twins died young, they were kept in jars in the house, as one of them was

considered the child of lightning. They also had to wear special necklaces until the sin that made them born twins was forgiven.

While it is impossible to ascertain if the infant bodies in the altar were those of twins, the *Tratado* suggests that there were extensive rituals associated with them that were performed at the household level. If this was the case, it is possible that the use of Spondylus in the necklaces was another evidence of the Inka incorporating themselves into local ritual life, without changing the content of such rites, but rather by providing new spaces and paraphernalia to maintain them.

Excavations at the plaza of the second peak

Through wall-cleaning in the site, we found a circular plaza on the second peak with a diameter of 10 m and surrounded by possible funerary structures (Figure 6.39). Within the plaza we found a number of large vertical stone boulders, and even though most of them were displaced, we hypothesized that they were originally part of the plaza. We excavated a single Trench close to the center. The trench was positioned close to the vertical slabs and measured 4 x 2 m. The goal of this excavation was to investigate whether this plaza showed similar or different patterns of activity than the rock outcrop plaza (Figure 6.40).

First, we excavated the modern surface level. We found three of the boulders with an approximate height of 70-100 cm (Locus 229; thickness ~4cm). Below, we found a layer of fine, compact soil, which was probably carried by the wind and compacted by the rain (Locus 230; thickness ~3cm). Underneath was the occupational surface, which was prepared with clay and in some sections perforated by the bedrock (Loci 231 and 233; thickness ~15cm). Unlike domestic structures, the floor here was not well preserved or strongly compacted. Directly associated with the floor was an ash lent in the southeastern corner of the Trench (Locus 232; thickness ~1cm).

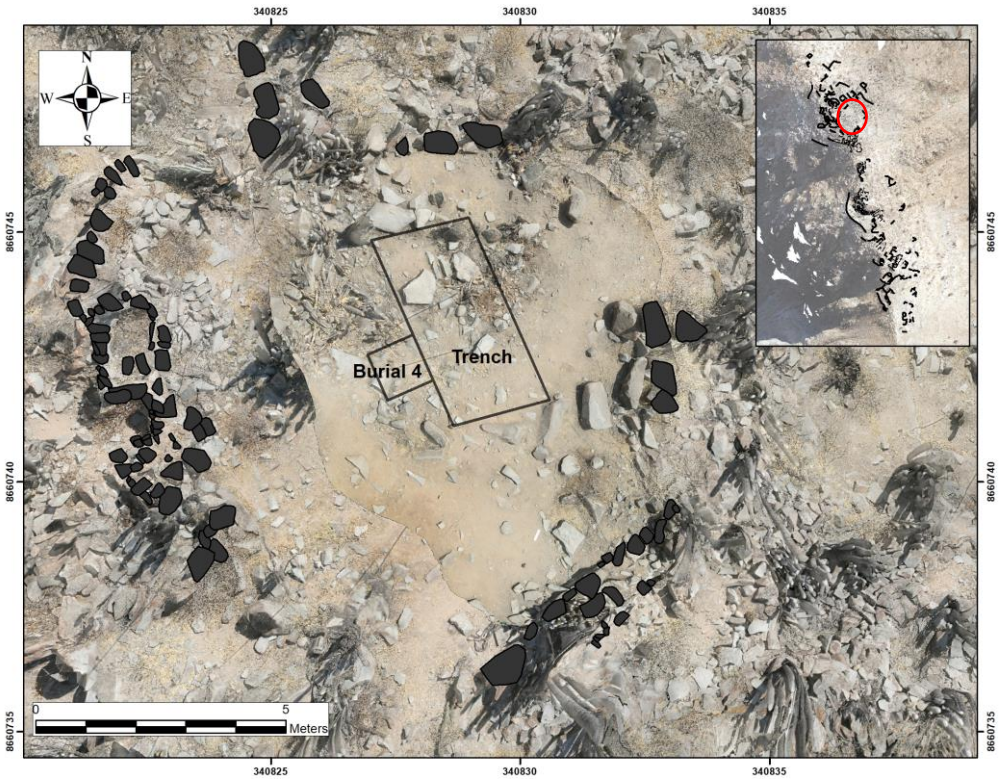

Figure 6.39: Plaza of the Second Peak. Location of Unit 6 and the expansion for Burial 4 (map by the author).

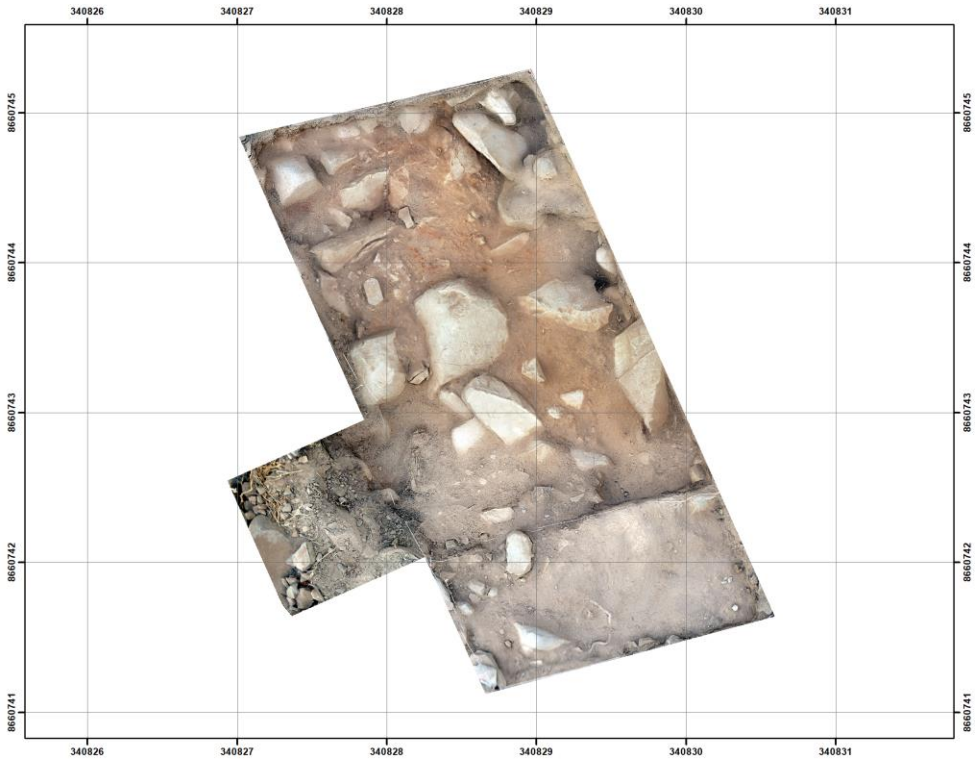

Figure 6.40: Excavation in the plaza of the second peaks (drawing by the author).

Under this surface we registered a layer leveling directly atop the bedrock (Locus 234; thickness ~12cm), where we recovered guinea pig remains, suggesting some sort of offering during construction. To the east of the Trench we uncovered the remains of a burning event associated with fox bones (Locus 235; thickness ~8cm). This small lent had a number of different materials, including ceramic sherds, animal bones, and remains of a *Choromytilus* shell, quartz, and carbon. A second ash lent to the center of the Trench had remains of bones from an unidentified mammal (Locus 237; thickness ~1cm). Below the fill level, we registered reddish rubble that went through the whole trench; it contained some scant remains of ceramic sherds, lithics, and animal bones (Locus 238; thickness ~4cm). This level directly covered the bedrock (Locus 239) (Figure 6.41).

Figure 6.41: Trench in the Plaza of the Second Peak (photograph by PASL 2015).

Towards the western boundary of the Trench, we found the remains of a secondary burial (Locus 236), labeled Burial 4. The burial was composed of two incomplete individuals, with

evidence of post-mortem manipulation, such as a cut in the diaphysis of one of the left clavicles and the perforation of a small hole in it. The burial was laid on top of a level of globular stones making a bed for the bones; this was a unique feature of this burial. I propose these burials were moved as a dedication to the plaza; however, this interpretation is preliminary and we were not able to extract enough collagen from the human remains for radiocarbon dating. The burial was associated with a bone pendant and a shell bead (Figure 6.42).

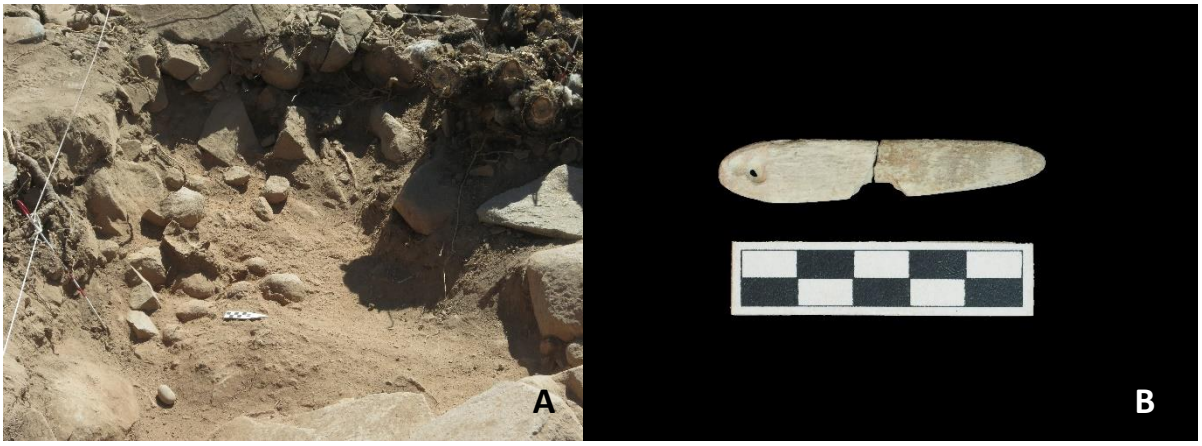

Figure 6.42: Burial 4 in the Plaza of the Second Peak. A. Detail of Burial 4, notice the globular stones on which the individuals were positioned. B. Pendant of faunal bone associated with the burial (photograph by PASL 2015; material photograph by the author).

Excavations in the plaza were inconclusive as a consequence of the lack of adequate dating. However, we can recognize a ritual pattern of burials under floors of important buildings and/or plazas also found by Chase (2016a) in Llaqsatambo. The fact that the burial was moved made us question who the individuals buried there were and whether, as in the case of the Funerary area, they could be considered local Yauyos inhabitants. Despite these limitations, we once again recognized the importance of burial as offerings in ritual contexts within walking distance of residential areas, making them part of the everyday experience of living in Ampugasa. In the following section, I will support the argument of a direct connection between residential and ritual practices in Ampugasa and argue that there was a very limited change in

these practices before and after the Inka incorporation. In doing so, I investigate which material features or practices could be considered integral in constructing local ethnic identity.

Micro-communities, masonry and ceramics in Ampugasa

If local rituals in Huarochirí were geared towards creating a shared identity among different communities, what was the impact of Inka incorporation into community building? I hypothesized that if the Inka were incorporated into the local community as fictive kin, there would be continuity of previous domestic patterns with additions of households associated to Inka material culture. Conversely, if domestic life was aimed to reinforce power relationships fostered by Inka population engineering, there would be shifts in both domestic patterns and in access to subsistence and luxury goods (see: p.17). While my primary research interest was the ritual emplacements, I link the residential occupation to the concept of community because the residents of Ampugasa reaffirmed their affiliation to broader aggregation of Yauyos identity by ritual practices surrounding the rock outcrop plaza. Excavations in residential units complete the picture of potential change by investigating access, permanence and changes in material culture.

There are two levels in which the excavations in Ampugasa inform this interpretation: first, by investigating the distribution of Inka-style materials within the site and in particular in ritual public areas; and second, in investigating whether there were any changes in the community's daily life after the incorporation of the Inka (i.e. new artifacts, access to new resources, shifts in the layout of domestic spaces). I investigated these questions as a matter of practice; that is, was there any change in the activities that made up domestic life and ritual practices within the settlement? The excavations in Ampugasa directly address the basic level of how one small community in Huarochirí lived and experience Inka imperialism.

In this section, I present a broad discussion of some of the different masonry and layout styles observed in Ampugasa, and of the ceramics recovered from the site. I focus in these two variables because they are the most accepted material markers of Inka provincial politics (see: Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1990; Malpass 1993; Malpass and Alconini 2010). Discussion of the rest of the materials will be carried out in 8.

Masonry and layout

I compared the styles from the residential sectors since they showed the clearest differences in layout. Archaeological research in the Lurin valley has consistently used architecture and masonry style as indicative of Yauyos presence on the coast (Sánchez Borja 2000; Makowski 2002); however, research has not fully evaluated the diversity of masonry styles within highland settlements. The circular residential structures (Figure 6.43) used selected stones joined by mortar. They included outcrops as part of the walls and had only limited leveling of the bedrock. There was also no compartmentalized layout, suggesting fluid access between different structures and internal patios.

Figure 6.43: Detail of masonry in the Circular Residential Structures. Notice that the walls are built around large boulders and the selected stones are not in straight horizontal patterns. There are large and medium stones that are in the middle of wall and not in the base. Finally, these walls were significantly lower than others in the site and there is very limited cementation. There are several sections in which the mortar has eroded but it is clear they used mortar (photographs by PASL 2015).

Rectangular residential compounds (Figure 6.44) had tall walls and were decorated with internal plaster. The face boulders were partially worked, using angular smaller stones instead of large ones. However, while the Rectangular Residential Compounds have a better manufacture than their circular counterparts, there is no difference in technique. Both arrangements are part of the same workmanship and fall within what could be identified as the local masonry industry.

Figure 6.44: Details of masonry in the Rectangular Residential Compound. Notice the height of the walls, and that there is a better fit between the small angular stones and a tendency towards horizontality in the way in which the stones were laid. There are some medium stones in the middle, yet they are smaller in size than those of the Circular Residential Structures. The mortar is better preserved (photographs by PASL 2015).

These results are comparable with those of the public areas. In the rock outcrop plaza, masonry covers the spectrum between both types of residential structures. The outcrop is fully incorporated by the masonry, but the funerary area shows the same masonry style than the rectangular compounds. This demonstrates that the rectangular compounds were already part of the local masonry repertoire before the Inka (Figure 6.45). Thus, masonry style is not a good marker for local and non-local styles in Ampugasa as the technical and stylistic choices of the Rectangular Residential Compound were already used in the LIP (Figure 6.46), although only in

ritual spaces. Layout difference may be a better indicator of change. However, even though the rectangular compounds show more work in their construction, they follow the same general idea of open spaces directly encapsulating ritual –and funerary– contexts.

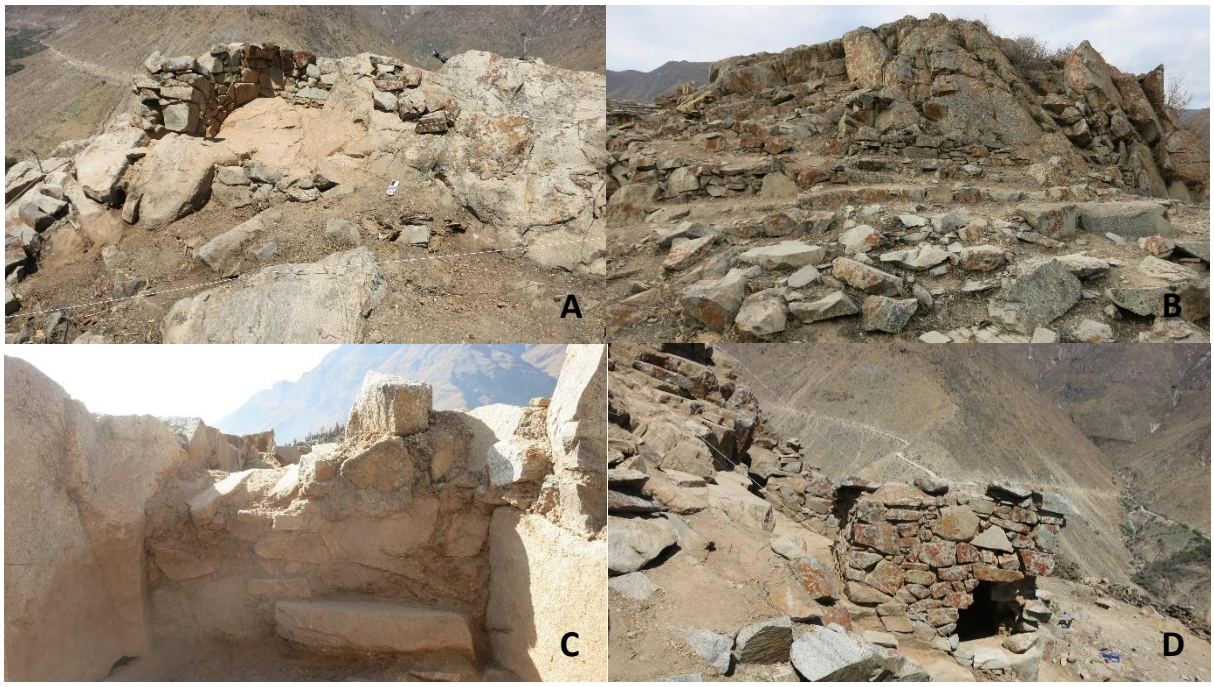

Figure 6.45: Details of some of the masonry examples from the Rock Outcrop Complex. A. Detail of Room 2, notice the way the wall adapts to the outcrop and the double-faced walls. B. Detail of the front of the outcrop, notice the wall surrounding the base of the wall which is very similar to the horizontal pattern recorded on the Rectangular Residential Compounds. C. Detail from one of the walls in Room 1, which shows a lack of horizontal patterning in a way which is similar to the style recorded among the Circular Residential Structures. D. Detail from the looted structure in the middle of the trench excavated at the outcrop, notice that despite the large hole at the base of the structure the walls and even roofing is standing (photographs by PASL 2015).

There is a significant change in the basic experience of domestic life with the construction of the rectangular compounds. Each potential household unit is enclosed and independent from one another, with high walls that enabled privacy. There are no adjoining walls, and the accesses are narrow and well-controlled. Within each compound there are internal divisions and it seems that specific rooms held specific functions. There is an explicit attempt at creating separate residential groups that was not present in the circular structures. One possible explanation is that new occupants arrived at the site. However, we have not found evidence of

such an influx of population. A second possibility is that new constructions were reflecting an attempt to separate specific familiar groups within the *ayllu*. A critical question, therefore, is whether or not both residential spaces were in use contemporaneously. While excavations are still insufficient to fully address this question, it is important to note that one of the rooms in the circular structures was closed off at some point. A number of ceramic sherd assemblages were left associated with ash on the floor, as was a burial event containing the remains of at least five individuals: two perinatal, two infants, and a child, in what we have identified as a stone altar (see above, p.202). The burial was dated to 1350–1450 CE, which coincides with the dates for the circular structures (see: p.72).

Figure 6.46: Funerary Area. Details of the walls showing the carefully-built masonry. Notice that there is integration of outcrops into the walls, and that the corners of the building are particularly well-angled. There is a careful arrangement and fit within the medium and small stones, even where the mortar is not well preserved. These structures have been dated to the Late Intermediate Period yet are comparable in quality and layout to the Late Horizon-dated structures (photographs by PASL 2015).

While the data is too preliminary to uphold either of these hypotheses, the idea that there were internal divisions within the *ayllu* and that communities were developing more vertical relationships conforms materially to the Inka practices of establishing alliances with local elites and formalization of new community and ethnic identities (Ogburn 2008). In summary, it is possible that while the spaces and logistics of domestic life did not change between the pre-Inka and Inka periods, there was in the latter a major emphasis on the identification and separation of

kin groups. This could potentially reinforce the Inka long-standing practice of emphasizing ethnic identity and standardizing domestic life to fulfill this goal, while not directly changing much in the day to day practices and materials associated to residential living.

Ceramic distributions

In this section, I focus on the spatial distributions and quantities of the diagnostic ceramic sherds recovered from the excavations in Ampugasa. For a more detailed presentation of the specific types and drawings of the sherds see the Appendix H. I will not discuss in detail the specific morphological characteristics of the sherds because chi-square tests run to investigate whether the morphological classification was significantly correlated with distribution proved that this was not the case. I therefore focus on function and style, rather than on the typological categories.

Of the total diagnostic fragments recorded, a total of n =1,213 were analyzed in a database that included 57 variables. While most of the variables were categorical, my team and I also recorded the following quantitative variables: minimal wall thickness, maximal wall thickness, base diameter, and mouth diameter. The distribution is as follows (Table 6.1):

Table 6.1: Distribution of analyzed diagnostic sherds from Ampugasa.

Unit	Description	Count	Percentage
1	Rectangular Compounds	796	65.6 %
2	Plaza Test Pit	1	0.1 %
3	Rock Outcrop Trench	60	5.0 %
4	Funerary Area	21	1.7 %
5	Circular Structures	285	23.5 %
6	Plaza of the Second Peak	50	4.1 %

In order to investigate if there was a dependent relationship among qualitative categories, I ran paired chi-square analysis to test the dependence hypothesis. I used the sherd counts as the

variable of analysis. This test is used to evaluate whether two categorical variables are strongly associated or dependent. The null hypothesis is that both variables are independent. A $p < 0.05$ was used as the threshold for rejecting the null hypothesis. In order to facilitate the accuracy of the chi-square test, I restricted analysis to a subset of 614 sherds, which my team and I had the most certainty in the accuracy of the variables. After running the chi-square test on paired variables, the only four significant correlations my analysis found in the analysis of ceramic categorical variables were between the type of vessel and excavation unit (p-value = 0.002035), external finish and excavation unit (p-value = 0.0003421), external finish and firing (p-value = 0.0001198) and texture and firing (p-value = 0.001584). Manufacture technique was not a dependent variable given the over-representation of the roll-up technique (n=580, 94% of the sample).

In the next analysis I examined the relationships among the different types of inclusions in each sherd. The type of inclusions in the paste also showed no correlation. The most common inclusions were varying proportions of calcite, quartz, mica or pyrite, feldspar, and smaller rocks. My team and I hierarchized and coded for the presence of different types of inclusions. However, when running a chi-squared test of the relationship between the first and second type of inclusions, I found that there was no significant correlation. This suggests that there was not an intentionally careful preparation of the clay. There was not a significant result either in the distribution per dominant type of inclusion. I hypothesize that ceramic manufacture was an artisanal and highly variable practice, and it continued to be so even while producing Inka-style vessels. Maybe the lack of selection of clays was supplied by more significant attempts to control the firing environment. This suggest a potential household level production of ceramic that did not change appreciably through Inka incorporation.

The majority of the sherds were fired in an oxidizing environment without a clear nucleus (n=355, 57% of the sample), while the majority of oxidized sherds were either variable (n=105, 17%) or had a diffused, slightly reduced nucleus (n=112, 18%). Three sub-groups of sherds with reduced cores made up only a small part of the sample (n=42, 7%) (Figure 6.47). Most of the reduced firing sherds came from domestic spaces, which suggests that there was more experimentation with firing technologies in the household. Given that oxidized firing wares were preeminent in all sectors, it seems there is no direct correlation between ceramic manufacture and distribution.

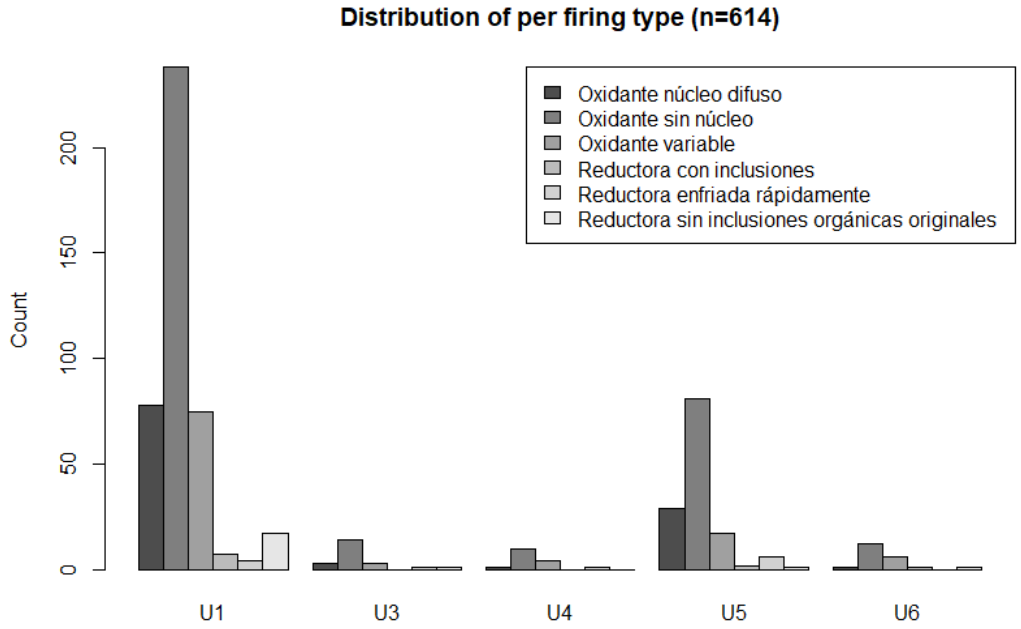

Figure 6.47: Distribution of ceramic sherds per firing type.

Firing did have a significant correlation between texture and external finish. This correlation, in conjunction with the distribution, further support that the manufacture of the piece rather than clay selection was an important part of the settlement's daily life.

While the paste composition itself was not showing a significant correlation between technology and sector, I focused on the distribution of types per sector.

Since the only correlation I could find was of distribution, I followed up by analyzing the primary type of inclusion in the pastes per excavation units (Table 6.2). The distribution of forms across the excavation units was significant (p-value = 0.002035) (Figure 6.48).

Table 6.2: Distribution of sherds per type.

Abierta	Piruro	Abierta	Aríbalo	Botella	Botija	Cántaro	Cerrada	Cuenco	Olla	Otro	Piruro	Plato	Pulidor	Tazón	Tinaja	Vaso
U1	0	3	15	7	4	0	9	217	9	128	8	6	2	2	0	9
U3	0	0	0	0	1	0	3	6	0	10	0	1	0	1	0	0
U4	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	7	0	6	2	0	0	0	0	0
U5	1	1	0	1	0	1	6	73	1	40	4	3	1	2	1	1
U6	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	7	0	10	0	1	0	0	0	0

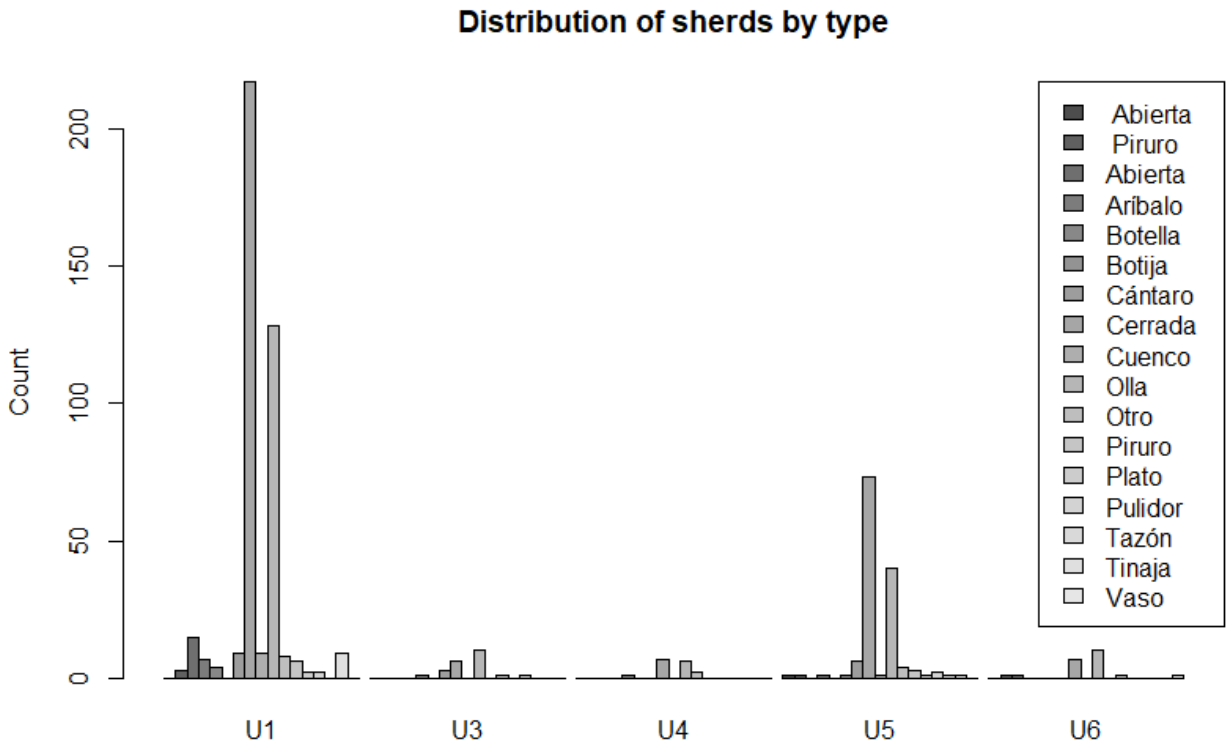

Figure 6.48: Distribution of sherds per type.

Aryballos are mainly used as ritual vessels in Inka feasting ceremonies. They are found predominantly in the Rectangular Compounds (U1). However, both types of residential areas coincide in the presence of cuencos or bowls, which suggests a predominance of serving, rather than cooking or storing inside the household. In order to further investigate these results, I

refocused my analysis towards ceramic style and the distribution of functional types taking into account the whole sample rather than the subset used for the paste discussion.

First, I investigated the distribution of Inka-style decorated ceramic sherds. As previously mentioned, the distribution of Inka materials is used by most archaeological research as an index of the extent of Inka impact in the regions that they conquered. Inka style ceramics are standard in their forms and motives and easily identified from the traditional brown coarse wares of Huarochirí (Figure 6.49). I looked specifically at the relationship between the inclusions and inclusion density recorded in the categorical variable table to identify a possible correlation.

Figure 6.49: Ceramic sherds in Yauyos style from Ampugasa (photographs by the author).

Covey has made a strong argument for considering "Inca imperial pottery" a variable category rather that a formalized style, even within the heartland of the Cusco basin (Covey 2015). Even the Inka-style pottery in itself could be an innovation that was grounded in elements from many of the traditions existing in the Cusco basin (Ixer et al. 2014). Inka style or Provincial Inka is well defined in literature as local imitations of Inka decorative motifs (D'Altroy and

Bishop 1990). Distributions of Inka style ceramics are also interpreted currencies in the performance and production of Inka authority. As feasting and commensal rituals were at the core of Inka production of power in the provinces, the body of Inka-style vessels, and in particular aryballos, directly represented the idea of the Inka feeding his people (see: p.325). While ceramics could be among the gifts bestowed by the Inka administration to local lords in public ceremonies to funnel political power, it is interesting that the lack of communal spaces added to Ampugasa's layout during the LH seem to argue against this potential interpretation.

As a contrasting sample I used the results from Feltham's (1983) survey in the middle Lurin valley and in particular those forms she identified as "brown wares". In Ampugasa, most of the fragments could be classified under this broad category. My team and I also recovered fragments similar to other LH categories. I tentatively identified these as: Inka, Polished Black, Lurín, Unidentified, and Yauyos.[92] Overall, and given the fact that there is little evidence of exchange before the Inka in the historical and archaeological record, I consider these sherds as new artifacts accessible after the Inka incorporation (Figure 6.50) (Makowski 2002; Makowski et al. 2008; Makowski and Oré Menendez 2014).

[92] Inka style here is defined as provincial Inka –or the Inka style locally produced, not from Cusco (Bray et al. 2005; Burger, Morris, and Matos 2007; Rowe 1944; Malpass 1993). The Polished Black style and the styles identified as Lurín correspond, in part, to the Ychsma style (Díaz 2004; Eeckhout 2004; Feltham and Eeckhout 2004). Makowski and Oré (2014) have argued that the Ychsma style is actually the Late Horizon Style coming from the Rímac valley and not a good marker for chronology. The Unidentified style is not, at this point, a chronological marker. It could very well be a sumptuary local Yauyos style. For the goal of this section, we separate it from the Yauyos standard utilitarian ware, since we still consider the ware to be function-specific and not generalized. Finally, the Yauyos style is a broad identifier aligned with Jane Feltham's (1983; 2005) research. However, our research suggest that this is not a single style limited to the coarse brown wares. In Chapter 8 I will elaborate on the diversity within the style through the results of LA-ICP-MS analysis.

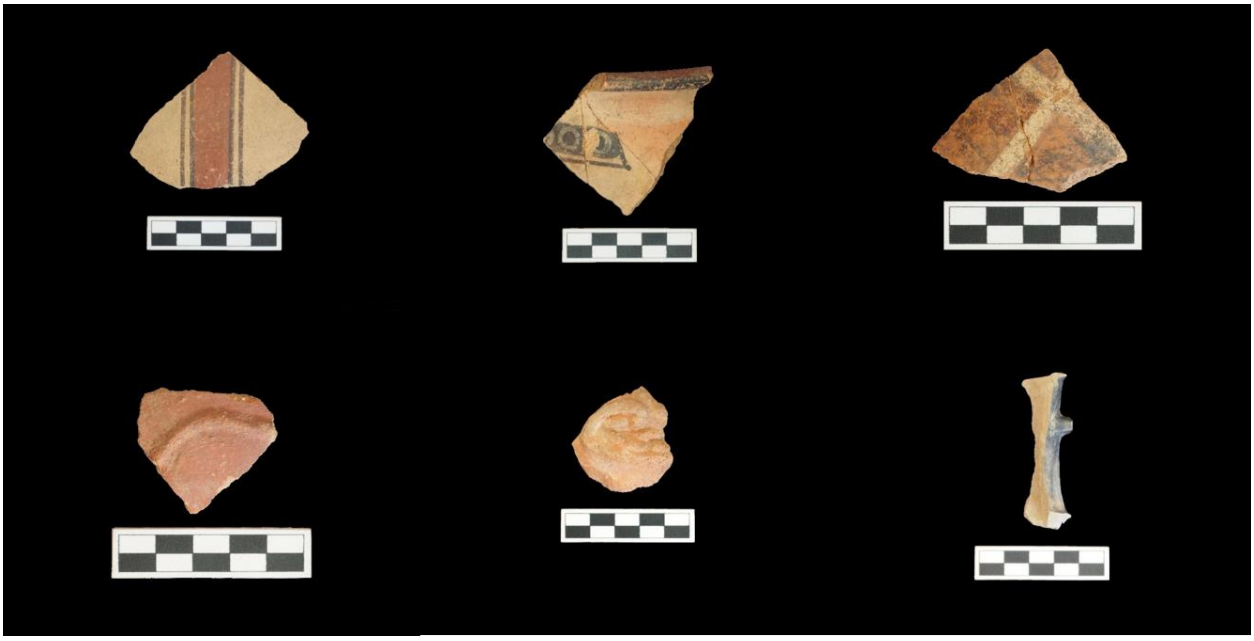

Figure 6.50: Ceramic sherds in Inka and other Late Horizon styles from Ampugasa (photographs by the author).

Out of these, only the first three can be confidently placed in the Late Horizon. However, for this analysis we separate the Yauyos style as decidedly local from the other four. The distribution of the sherds is as follows (Table 6.3):

Table 6.3: Distribution of ceramic sherds across units in Ampugasa.

	Inka	Polished Black	Lurín	Unidentified	Non-Local Total	Yauyos		Total	Non-local (%)	Yauyos (%)
Unit 1	24	4	3	6	37	720		757	4.89	95.11
Unit 2					0	2		2	0	100.00
Unit 3	4			1	5	49		54	9.26	90.74
Unit 4	3				3	17		20	15.00	85.00
Unit 5	6			1	7	261		268	2.61	97.39
Unit 6				6	6	42		48	12.50	87.50
TOTAL	37	4	3	14	58	1,091		1,149	5.05	94.95

Representationally, a roughly 5% distribution of Late Horizon style sherds in the sample falls within other excavations in the valley (see: Marcone and López-Hurtado 2015). The sample of Inka-specific sherds themselves is of about 3%. Results from Ampugasa show the distribution of ceramic sherds is not limited to public areas; it is significantly higher in the rectangular

residential compound; moreover, the evidence from the funerary area suggests that the Inka didn't attempt to replace or destroy the material associations and practices related to funerary practices and offerings to the central outcrops. I searched for a different way in which to directly engage the statistical results with the depositional data and then build upon the results to investigate the reliability and significance of these numbers.

Representationally, a roughly 5% distribution for Late Horizon style sherds in the sample is similar to other results in the valley. The sample of Inka-specific sherds themselves is of about 3%. From these statistics it is hard to measure the type of power relationship between a local settlement and the Empire; Marcone and López-Hurtado (2015:415–416) attempted such an endeavor. According to their model, the site of Panquilma in the lower Lurin valley has two occupational phases: Phase I was pre-Inka and Phase II was after the Inka's progressively more violent conquest. The percentage of Inka-style sherds, which were mainly recovered from a midden associated with feasting, was 0.9% in Phase I and 4.6% in Phase II. The authors interpret the difference in percentage as proof of increasing imposition of the Inka-style vessels as part of power displays and directly related to the imperial destruction of local elites' autonomy and power. Results from Ampugasa complicate this hypothesis. The distribution of Inka and Late Horizon style sherds is not limited to public areas. In fact, the rectangular compounds show the highest density of these sherds. This representation could be explained by the closure of some of the circular residential structures at the end of the Late Intermediate Period. However, the overwhelming majority of ceramic sherds remain in the local style and show no differentiation from the circular structures to rectangular compounds.

Given the small size of the sample, and that most of the sherds were associated with superficial contexts and rock collapse (over 90% of the sample for both domestic groups), we did not conduct spatial analytics on the sample since the results would not be significant.

In order to investigate whether there was a significant shift in the distribution of functional types between the residential groups, we went back to the border classification and included the sherds of the Ampugasa group. Only 24% of the diagnostic sherds (n=273) could be convincingly classified within a morphological group. The overall distribution of the sherds after the morphological analysis is presented in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4: Distribution of style per excavation area.

	Inka	Polished Black	Lurín	Unidentified	Non-Local Total	Ampugasa	Total	Non-local (%)	Ampugasa (%)
Rectangular compounds	24	4	3	6	37	720	757	4.89	95.11
Rock outcrop	4			1	5	51	56	8.92	91.07
Funerary area	3				3	17	20	15.00	85.00
Circular structures	6			1	7	261	268	2.61	97.39
Second plaza				6	6	42	48	12.50	87.50
TOTAL	37	4	3	14	58	1,091	1,149	5.05	94.95

When examining the distribution of specific classes of vessels in Ampugasa, we found the major concentration of ceramic sherds in the rectangular compounds, with the second highest concentration in the circular structures (Figure 6.51).

When comparing both residential groups, these percentages show strong similarities. For each residential group, cooking pots compose the majority of the sample and, in fact, cooking pots have a relatively standard distribution across the site, with storage jars showing almost the same representation along with small quantities of serving bowls. There is no main difference in access to types of vessels between residential sectors and therefore the domestic functions carried out within them seem to be the same. Cooking pots are the best represented type across

the different areas. In the result for the chi-square test on their distribution and functional classification, the p-value is 0.5156, which suggests there is no direct relationship between the function of the vessels and the place where they were found (Figure 6.52).

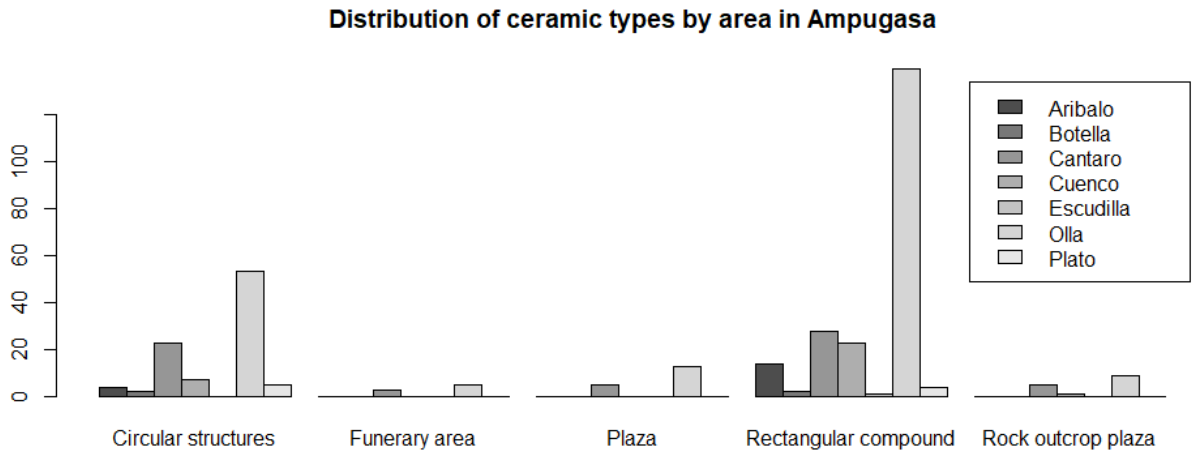

Figure 6.51: Distribution of functional types per area; whole sample.

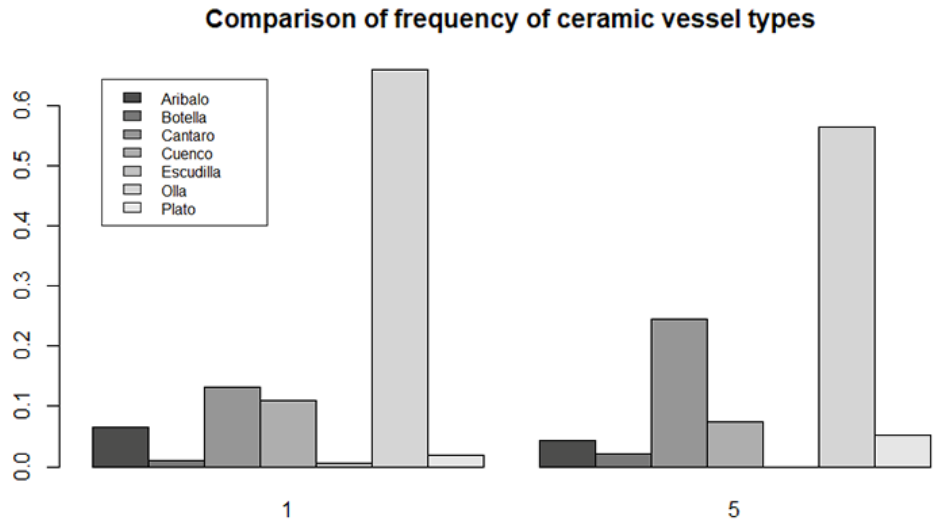

Figure 6.52: Comparison of frequency of ceramic vessel types in the residential areas.

Since the sample is clearly biased towards the domestic spaces, I ran the same analysis using only a subset of ceramic sherds recovered from the Circular Structures and the Rectangular Compound. The results were X-squared = 10.939, df = 6, p-value = 0.09029, and therefore, no

significant correlation between function and location of the sherds. However, when looking at this distribution and using the frequency or percentage of the type of ceramic vessels rather than the total count between both areas, the distributions are not completely different. These results suggest there was no significant change in the activities carried out within the domestic areas and –besides the aryballos– there were no new types of ceramic vessels introduced into domestic spaces after the Inka incorporation.

In order to best represent these results, I performed Kernel density analysis. Since the data collection was in locus assemblages, rather than recording every single sherd as a point, kernel density allowed us to create a feasible estimation of distribution when taking the centroid of the locus as the spatial variable. For the analysis I only selected loci for occupational surfaces and features associated with the use of the structure. I did not include data from the modern surface, rockfall, or architectural fills. Darker shades in the output indicate a higher probability of distribution of the type of remains input as the variable.

Next, I wanted to know if there was a significant difference of types of ceramic vessels distributed in occupational contexts between rooms of the same domestic group. I wanted to investigate whether there was a difference in the activities –as inferred by ceramic functional type– that took place within the residential space and whether these activities were comparable.

In the Circular structures, the distribution of specific functional type per loci did not show any functional specialization of the rooms, with cooking pots still the most common type (Figure 6.53). I then proceed with the Kernel density analysis and the Optimized Hotspot function for each centroid (Figure 6.54), and I show the results as the polygon to which the centroid belongs. In the image I only display the results for 99% confidence because the other results were not significant and for clarity of the map.

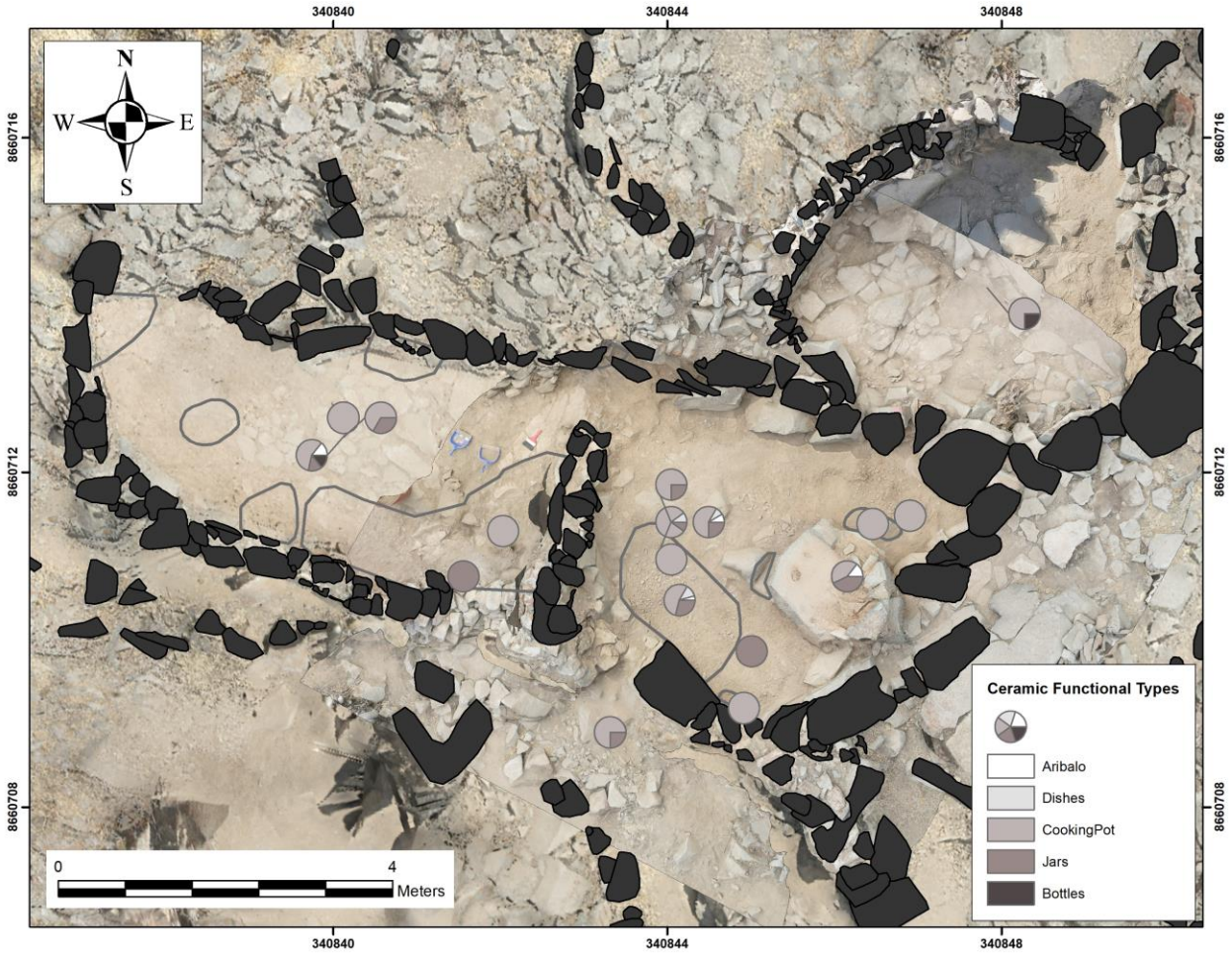

Figure 6.53: Spatial distribution of ceramic functional types in the circular structures.

The results show that the major concentrations of materials are associated with the closing of the structures. This is layer that excavation suggested was a bounded and one-time event, which is reaffirmed by the Optimized Hotspot results. It seems that prior to abandonment ceramic sherds were deposited on the surface of the floor. We can hypothesize that the variety and repertory of the vessels were probably available to the occupant, and the fact that there seems to be a ritualized abandonment suggests that the occupants were not forcefully or instantly removed.

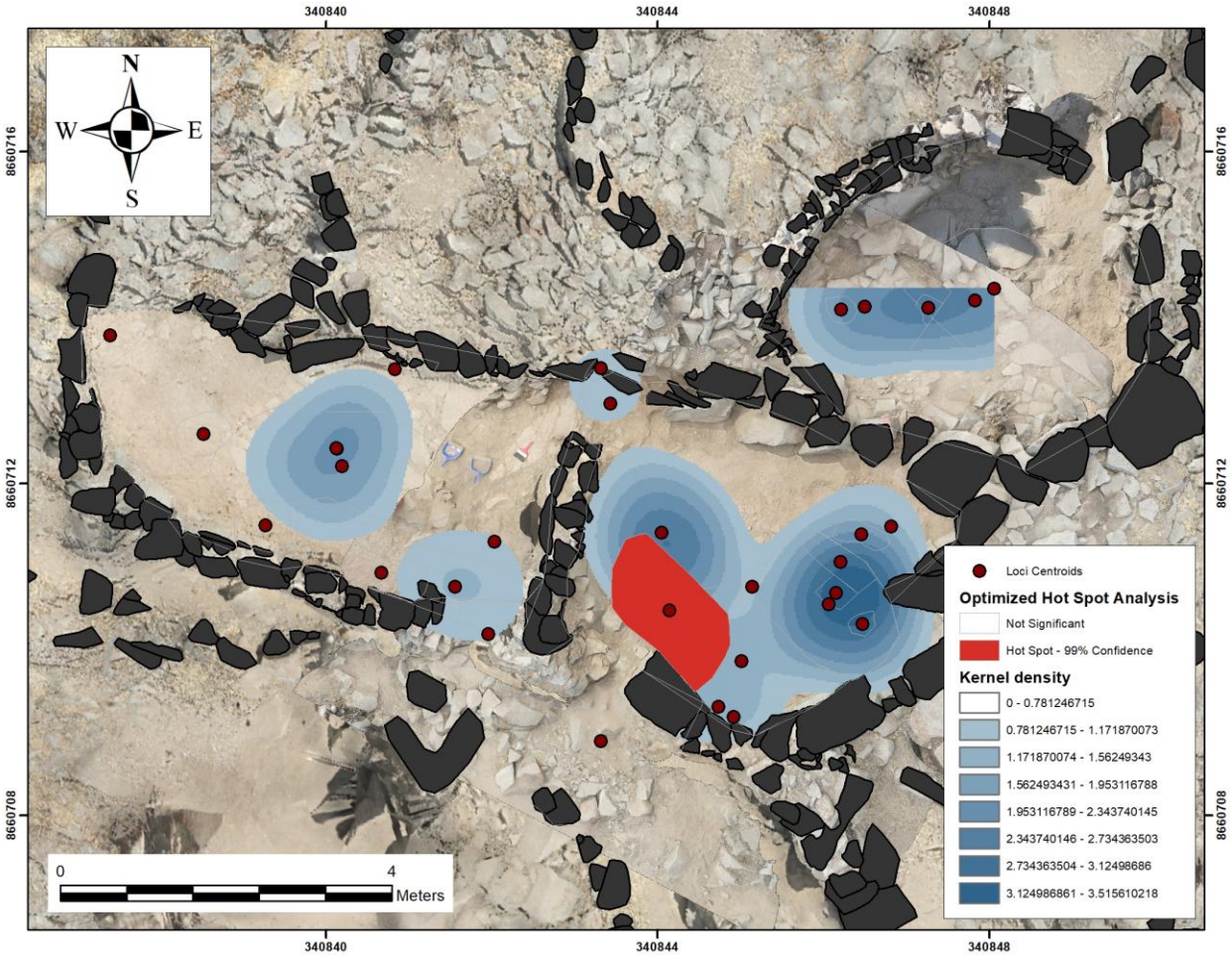

Figure 6.54: Results from kernel density and optimized hotspot analysis for ceramic sherds in the circular structures.

In the Rectangular compounds, we noted a similar pattern: cooking pots were the most common type of vessel, although there was a noticeably lower quantity of jars than in the circular structures (Figure 6.55). This could suggest that there was less storage within the household, although we have not found any specialized storing facility within the site as of yet. It is unlikely that this lack of jars is a function of household size, since the compounds include smaller rooms that should have had a storing function. However, more excavations are needed to address this hypothesis.

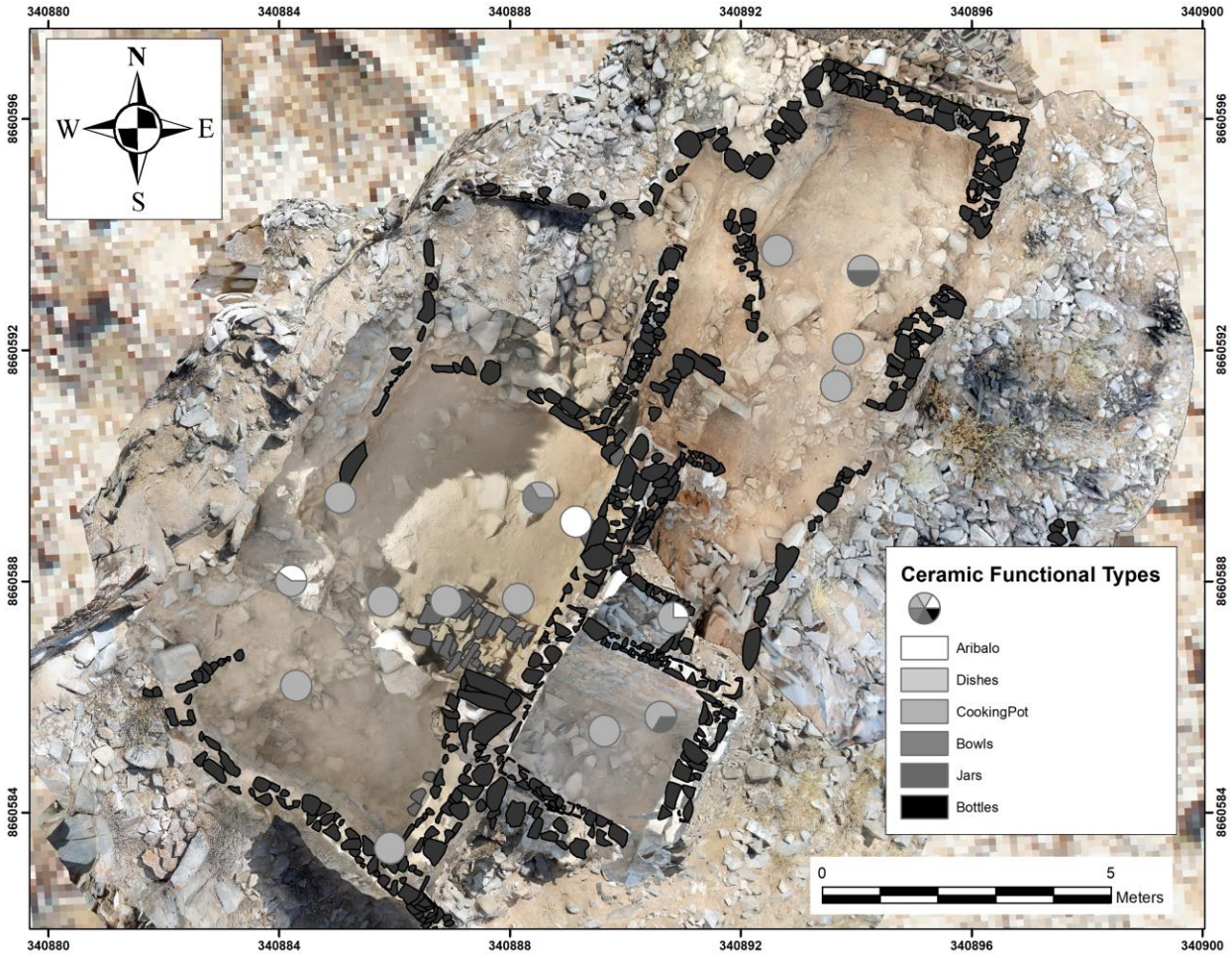

Figure 6.55: Spatial distribution of ceramic functional types in the rectangular residential compound.

The results from the Optimized Hotspot analysis did not show any concentration that could be considered a hotspot. However, the kernel density analysis showed that there was a non-random relationship between ceramic sherds and the ash features in the compound, suggesting small areas for cooking within the household (Figure 6.56). A large concentration in Room 9, in particular, was associated with different burning events and it is possible that this space was partially open and roofed with perishable materials. If Room 9 served as a patio, it would support the hypothesis that communal spaces were reduced in the new household configuration.

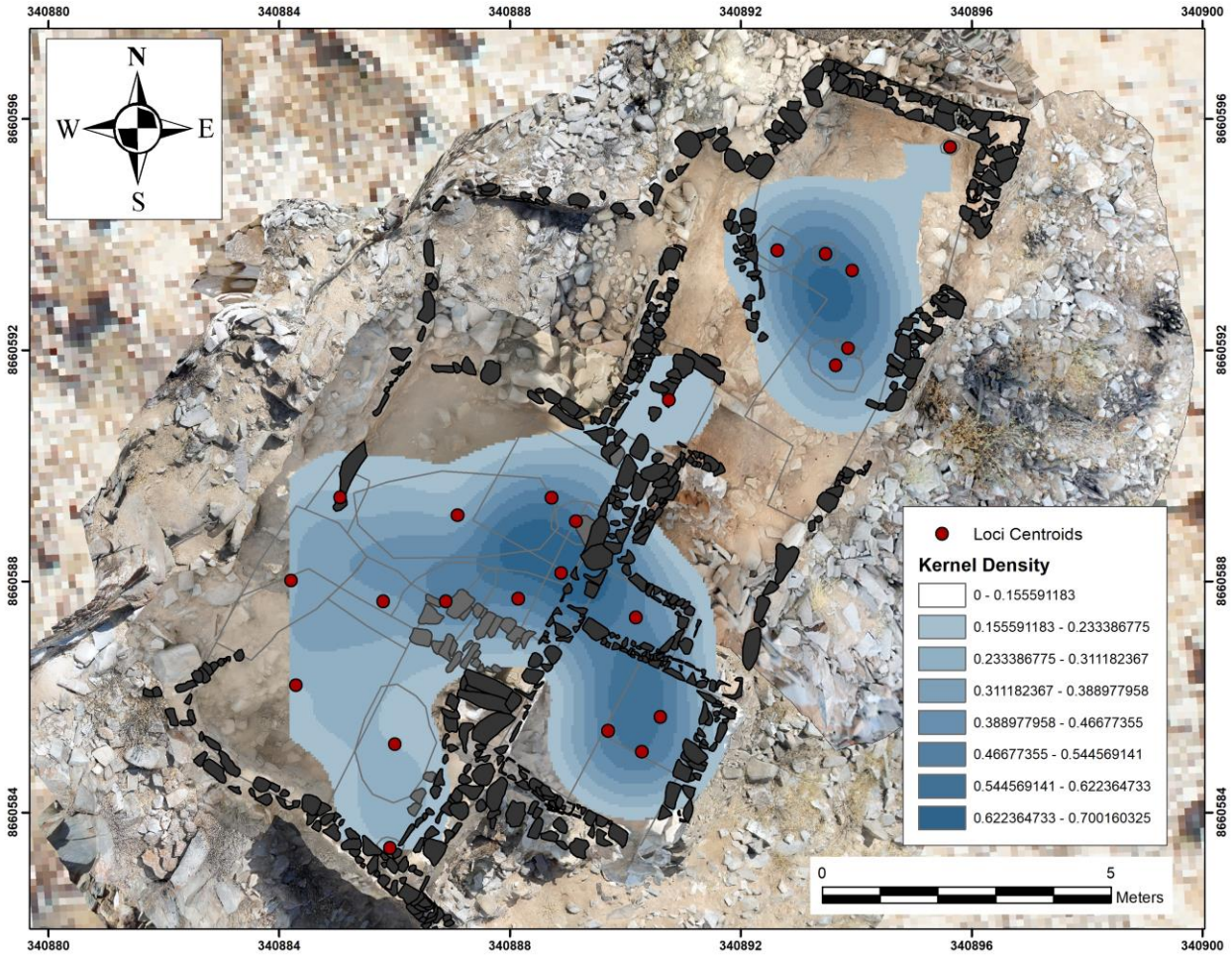

Figure 6.56: Results from kernel density analysis for ceramic sherds in the rectangular residential compound.

In running the same analysis in the non-domestic areas, I found that Inka-style sherds were located exclusively as part of the rockfall and therefore had a random distribution on the superficial layers. At most, we can infer that Inka sherds were present in one of the funerary structures surrounding the compound, which supports the interpretation that they were offerings to the central ritual location of the site, rather than artifacts used by the living as status markers. In the funerary area, Inka-style sherds were also spill-overs from the looted funerary structure. However, the architecture shows that the funerary structure was built in a single event and dating of the bodies in Room 3 shows a LIP date (see: Chapter 8). I interpret this data regarding the ceramic sherds as LH offerings to a LIP funerary structure that was part of the same ritual orbit

than the rock outcrop plaza. This further supports the hypothesis that the Inka were building on important local practices and inserting themselves into sacred spaces, rather than attempting to re-shape indigenous ritual practices in Ampugasa.

In summary, the ceramic evidence suggests that the incorporation of Inka-style sherds was not impactful in the residential life of the settlement, and was prevalent in either LH-dated contexts, or as offerings to honor the existing ritual spaces in the site. There is not a significant change in pottery production from one period to the other and most of the same utilitarian wares remained in use throughout the whole occupational sequence of the site.

Summary: Local practices and the Inka through archaeological lenses

In this chapter, I investigated whether the incorporation of Huarochirí into the Inka Empire had a significant impact in domestic life. So far, I have only discussed the masonry and ceramic data; however, the observations made in this chapter are supported by the analysis of other types of material culture (see: Chapter 8).

Based on my excavation results, I hypothesize that Inka material culture is primarily associated to ritual rather than every-day-life domestic contexts. The Inka may have marked their relationship with the different co-residence groups in Huarochirí by honoring their own ancestors through feeding them and giving them drink in their own standardized vessels. There is not a transformation of ritual space at the residential level of the Ampugasa community, as we could not find any additions that were added during the Late Horizon in the Outcrop Plaza. Interestingly, rather than a change in the quality of access to goods in domestic life, residential space in the Late Horizon seems to intentionally create a less fluid interaction between the

different familiar groups that lived in the settlements. This may reflect a standardization process by the Inka to conform to their own practices of demographic control.

I argued that the excavations in Ampugasa could be addressed as a micro-focus on a specific co-residential community, which we tentatively identified as an *ayllu*, and was therefore a basic unit of organization for the macro-ethnic identity of Lurin and Anan Yauyos fostered by the Inka. In looking at the circular structures and the rectangular compounds, I contraposed residential spaces from before and after Huarochirí became an Inka province. This is an issue that receives a significant amount of attention in colonial and historical archaeology (e.g.: Liebmann and Murphy 2011; Sauer 2014). However, colonialism was not first experienced by Andean populations with the arrival of the Spanish (e.g. Dillehay 2014; Wernke 2013). While under the Spanish, Andean populations experienced the introduction of new foodstuffs and they also reduced their capacity to access a variety of goods through pre-Hispanic interaction networks. With the Inka, feasting was a central aspect of establishing a relationship with new communities and of becoming a community member (Bray 2003a). However, feasting took place in local or regional level administrative or ritual emplacements, not in households. It is this previous experience and knowledge of the tools through which local agency could be inserted within empire that shaped the interaction between Andean populations and a subsequent foreign colonial power, such as the Spanish.

Following the results of the masonry analysis, there seems to be a shift in the way that households are conceptualized after the Inka incorporation of Huarochirí. In the LH there is an emphasis on the creation of restricted and separated domestic units. Originally the people of Ampugasa seemed to have lived close by to one another in circular residential structures and shared small patios and probably areas for communal food-processing associated with the

houses. However, at some point after the Inka arrival it seems that at least some of these houses were abandoned and residences were moved to the southern sector of the site. Here, domestic space was built using existing masonry techniques which before had been mostly limited to highly ritualized emplacements. There seems to be no significant specialization in room function within the new households. However, there are no in-between patios that could suggest constant communication. Rather than having the informal spaces of domestic interaction shared by the circular structures, the people of Ampugasa could have made use of informal cooking spaces in open sections of the site or of highly formalized spaces in the plazas atop the two hills of Ampugasa. The move between residential spaces, however, does not seem like a complete abandonment, as we still recorded Inka-style sherds in the circular structures. Additionally, there are specific contexts that suggest a ritual abandonment, such as burials, intentional closures of the accesses, and the careful overlay of ceramic sherds on top of the floor.

Looking at the *ayllu* as a basic unit of community and ethnic identity, we go back to Ogburn's (2008) original argument of the Inka favoring a vertical integration in which the different nested identities of their subjects were well-defined and accounted for as a means of demographic control and administration. However, all these processes were built upon local practices. I argue that the changes brought about by the Inka to Huarochirí were not built as "top-down" understandings of what a civil society ought to be, but rather from the "bottom-up" social practices and community rules of interaction in which most Andean societies –including the Inka– were embedded. In other words, the subtle changes made in Ampugasa reinforce the worldview of community life sponsored by the Inka, but directly rest on practices and material culture that were already indigenous to Huarochirí.

In the next chapter, I will focus on the meso-level of interaction between the Inka and the peoples of Huarochirí. By focusing on the excavations in Ampugasa, I will explore how the Inka related their own ritual practices to a sacred space in the landscape that was already a meaningful symbolic space of interaction and community-building. Through comparisons with Ampugasa, I will discuss the way in which legible cultural practices mediated Inka imperialism as a dialectic relationship between the co-residential and the multi-community level.