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PERFORMING THE PAST IN THE HISTORICAL, RITUAL, AND MYTHOLOGICAL LANDSCAPES OF HUAROCHIRÍ, PERU (CA. AD 1400-1700)

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For Annie

TABLE OF CONTENTS

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LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

Centuries ago, indigenous Andeans from Huarochirí in Peru's central highlands (Figure I.1) communicated the region's very deep past through mythical narratives about consorting, ancient, superhuman beings (*huacas*). One of these stories, from the second chapter of the Huarochirí manuscript, tells of the male *huaca* Cuni Raya Viracocha and the female huaca Caui Llaca. Cuni Raya was the Huarochirano huaca associated with the itinerant, pan-Andean creator Viracocha[1]–maker of agricultural fields, terraces, water canals, and executor of other ingenuities that put local huacas to shame; Caui Llaca was a beautiful, ever-virginal huaca. The following comes from Salomon and Urioste's translation (1991:46-50).

"A long, long time ago," the narrative goes, Cuni Raya would go about in the guise of a poor and socially unconnected vagrant. Like all other huacas and *villcas*[2], the clever Cuni Raya desired Caui Llaca. He turned himself into a bird and placed his semen into a *lúcuma* fruit, which impregnated Caui Llaca when she ate it. One year and nine months later, Caui Llaca sought to discover the child's father. She called all huacas and villcas to Anchi Cocha (see Figure I.1), where

[1] Conflation probably better describes the relationship between Cuni Raya and Viracocha (referred to as "Cuni Raya Vira Cocha" in the manuscript). Viracocha was the Andean supreme creator, at least since the earliest Colonial documentation. Viracocha was most likely diffused with Inka expansion *and* as part of the Colonial "concretization" (Urton 1990:126) of Inka state fixtures (cf. Mannheim 1991; Sarmiento 2007 [1572]), but as is often the case with such phenomena, it is difficult to say where the figure was a historical inheritance and where a post-contact product (see Demarest 1981; Gose 2008:36-80; Itier 2013; Urbano 1981).

[2] Of the difficulty defining villca, Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991:46 n44; italics in original) suggests that the manuscript and other sources indicate "that a *villca* is a human being who partakes of a *huaca*'s status." The Colonial lexicographer of Aymara, Ludovico Bertonio (2006 [1612]:742), provides the following definitions: "The Sun as they called it anciently and now call Inti" ("El Sol como antiguamente dezian y ahora dizen Inti") and "Shrine dedicated to the Sun or other Idols" ("Adoratorio dedicado al Sol u otros Idolos"). The use of huaca and villca together seems to be a product of the linguistic strata of the manuscript's production: the manuscript was written in Quechua, which Huarochiranos spoke together with "an ethnic tongue of the Jaqaru (Aymara-family) group" (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:22). The author may have been covering all bases, both in terms of communicating the variety of beings referred to and in linguistic terms. Cf. Mannheim and Salas Carreño 2015:55-59.

they eagerly gathered, dressed to impress and anticipating the chance to pair with the beautiful huaca. Once assembled, Caui Llaca asked which of them had inseminated[3] her, addressing each of the males individually with the exception of one attendee: Cuni Raya had shown up looking "like a friendless beggar" and was seated humbly at group's edge; such a figure could not possibly be the father. When none of the huacas claimed parentage Caui Llaca changed tacks. She set her child down and said, "'Go, identify your father yourself!'" When the infant crawled to the shabby Cuni Raya and "instantly brightened up and climbed onto its father's knee," Caui Llaca was despondent:

> "'Atatay, what a disgrace! How could I have given birth to the child of a beggar like that?' she said. And taking along only her child, she headed straight for the ocean.[4] And then . . . Cuni Raya Viracocha put on his golden garment. He started to chase her at once, thinking to himself, 'She'll be overcome by sudden desire for me.' 'Sister Caui Llaca!' he called after her. 'Here, look at me! Now I'm really beautiful!' he said, and he stood there making his garment glitter. Caui Llaca didn't even turn her face back to him. 'Because I've given birth to the child of such a ruffian, such a mangy beggar, I'll just disappear into the ocean,' she said. She headed straight out into the deep sea near Pacha Camac, out there where even now two stones that clearly look like people stand. And when she arrived at what is today her dwelling, she turned to stone.
>
> Yet Cuni Raya Vira Cocha thought, 'She'll see me anyway, she'll come to look at me!' He followed her at a distance, shouting and calling out to her over and over."

Cuni Raya eventually reached the Pacific coast, where he seduced the daughter of huaca Urpay Huachac, and, by scattering the contents of Urpay's small fish pond, populated the ocean with fish for the first time.

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[3] Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991:47 n49) notes that the root of the Quechua term here (*yumahuarcanquichic*) is sperm (*yumay*).

[4] Although the Lurín takes a parabolic course from Anchicocha to Pachacamac, late sixteenth-century *corregidor* Dávila Briceño (1965 [1586]:157) also describes the Lurín in the following terms: "Corre derecho al Ocidente" ("It runs straight [or directly] to the west").

Figure I.1 displays the myth's geographic context, based on matching the toponyms provided with place names on current Peruvian military maps.[5] Note the correspondence between the mythical pursuit's path and the course of the Lurín Valley and River from Anchi Cocha to Pachacamac on the Pacific coast. This "geomythology," wherein the female Caui Llaca is the Lurín Valley[6] and the male Cuni Raya is the Lurín River, which enters and fertilizes the valley, is redundant with expressions of a specific cultural precept: fecundity (e.g., a child, a watered valley, a fish-stocked ocean) comes from antagonistic or competitive complementarity/dualism (e.g., Caui Llaca was deceitfully impregnated and fleeing her pursuer; Cuni Raya's dubious coastal "seduction" was not sanctioned by Urpay). Such "insistence" (Ascher and Ascher 1997 [1981]:38-40), or meaningful repetition of important themes or principles, highlights a common characteristic of mythical narrative and time (Eliade 1954, 1984; Levi-Strauss 1963:211-212; Sahlins 1985). Further, the mythical events' temporal remoteness ("a long, long time ago") is inversely correlated to the importance or value the myth's principles held for the seventeenth-century Huarochirí narrators. It is also important to note that in the myth as oral narrative or as landscape there is no conclusive foreclosure on what the huacas were: Caui Llaca and Cuni Raya were (minimally)

[5] Geographic localization and socio-political affiliation of dozens of the manuscript's toponyms by Karen Spalding (1984:overleaf), María Rostworowski (1988:56, 2002 [1978]), and appearing on the map in Salomon and Urioste's (1991) edition of the manuscript (based on the work of John Treacy) is of immense value to Huarochirí research.

[6] This interpretation is corroborated in another myth in the manuscript's chapter 5, where a human woman is turned upside-down and lithified (turned into a huaca) with her legs and genitals in a position to be seen and to receive offerings of coca leaves (Salomon and Urioste 1991:59).

female and male persons, telluric/hydrological demiurges, geographic features, and (as valley and river) phenomenological entities of both cyclical (seasonal) and ongoing manifestations.

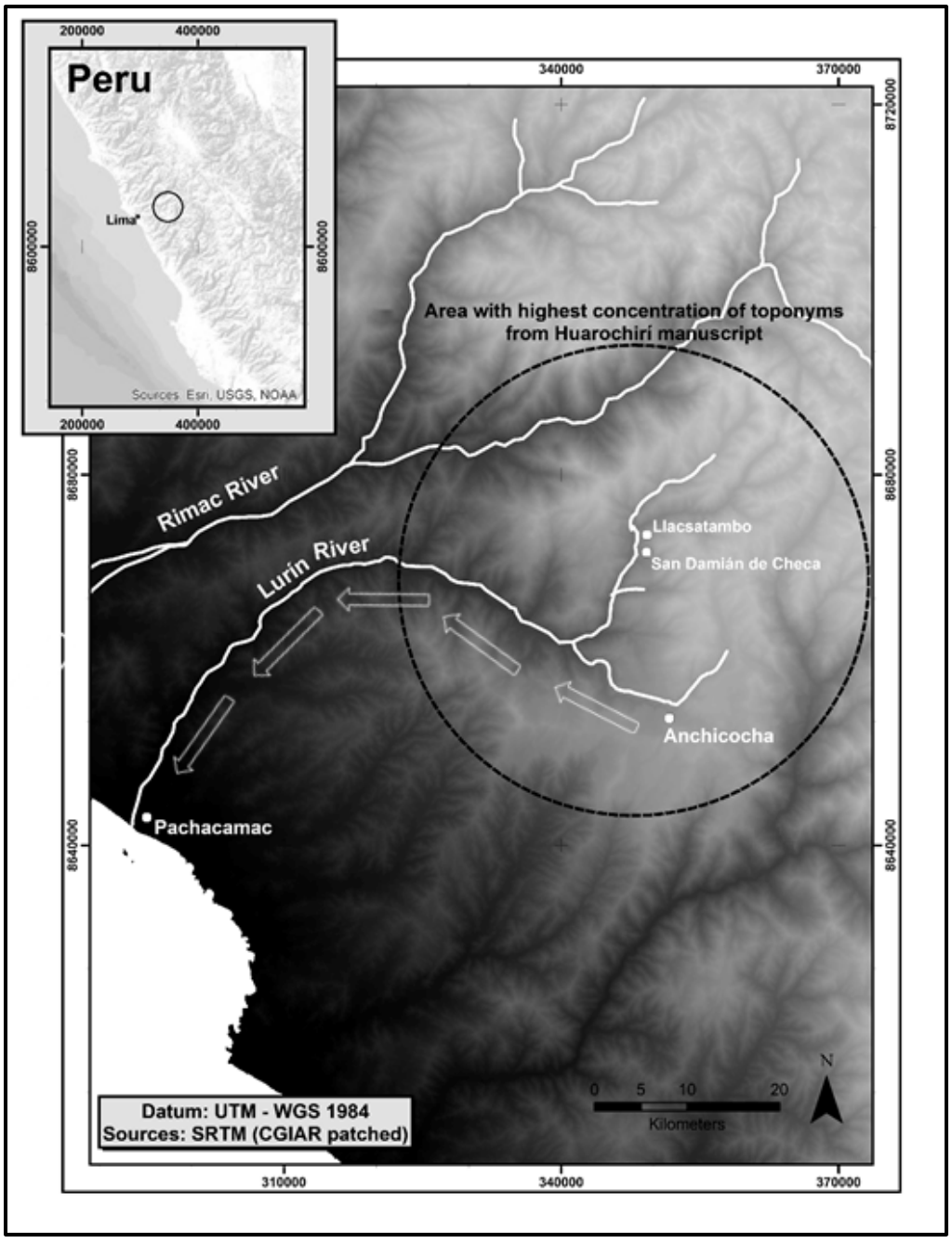

Figure I.1: Following the Lurín Valley and River, Caui Llaca's flight and Cuni Raya's pursuit began in Anchi Cocha and ended at Pachacamac on the Pacific coast. The circle demarcates the area with the highest concentration of toponyms mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript. (Map by author)

At the dissertation's end I will revisit this myth to address matters of historical succession, temporality, and other themes raised in the following chapters. For now it serves as an introduction to the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript, their intimacy with locally known landscapes, and their potential to illuminate time-related matters. At the same time, my intention is to expose the historiographic limitations of these interpretive approaches. In addition to the workings of time in myth just discussed, the fact that reconfiguration of collective pasts was fundamental to formal interactions between Andean peoples at least as far back as Inka expansion (Chase 2015, 2016c; D'Altroy 2001; Kolata 2013; Kosiba 2015a, 2015b; Silverblatt 1988) requires not only assaying different theoretical frameworks, but the application of extra-textual methods of data acquisition– in particular, archaeology. As I emphasize below, archaeological investigations carried out in a way that allows for new theoretical considerations improve our interpretations of the histories of Andean pasts. Similar to the way stereoscopic vision gives dimensional depth and resolution to photographs of geographic landscapes, a critical mass of recent archaeological data pushes historical and historiographic revisions of ethnohistorical texts, which combine to provide new temporal resolution on Andean pasts, their production, and ways they were experienced (*inter alia* Bauer and Smit 2015; Bauer et al. 2013; Chase 2015; Covey 2006, 2008a, 2008b; Eeckhout 2008; Kosiba 2015a, 2015b; Makowski 2015). In the end, archaeological data that give us purchase on Huarochirí's chronological history become the very means to relativize, and thus better understand indigenous Andean temporal and historical sensibilities, and in turn, our own.

Scope of the Study

This dissertation comprises an interdisciplinary study combining archaeological and historical research to investigate the various ways "the past" is codified, communicated, and made politically instrumental in the interactions between local groups and expansive polities.

Geographically and temporally, the research is focused on the central Peruvian area of Huarochirí from ca. AD 1400-1700. Huarochirí is a highland region on the western side of the central Peruvian Andes, east of the capital city of Lima. It comprised one half of the Inka district registered in Spanish colonial records by the macro-ethnic moniker "Yauyos" (Dávila Briceño 1965 [1586]), today divided into the Peruvian Provinces of Huarochirí and Yauyos (Figure I.2). Among the areas drawn in to the expansive Inka Empire, and later colonized by the Spanish, Huarochirí has been of unique importance to our understanding the indigenous Andean past because of its ca. AD 1600 Quechua document, which is the only Andean book about indigenous religion and mythology written in an indigenous language during the Spanish Colonial period.

The "Huarochirí manuscript" in large part comes out of and is about the *waranqa* (also *huaranga*) Checa–one of Huarochirí 's groups of "thousands" that reflected the Inka state's decimal administration (Dávila Briceño 1965 [1586]), which arranged and registered peoples into moiety-structured provinces of nested groups that were decimally numbered by households. The manuscript is a collection of narratives relating conditions and happenings in mythic and historic times by way of the deeds of superhuman beings (*huacas*)–their martial and romantic conquests, ground-shaking and shaping movements, and dealings with human individuals and groups. Depending on the group and their relationship to the *huacas*, these encounters and interactions were apocalyptically catastrophic or foundational and chartering.

As with other societies, in the late prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial Andes, ancestry and kinship were the source and currency of political legitimacy, collective identities, territorial rights, and social standing. Within groups and in the struggles between local, regional, and state polities, indigenous Andeans demonstrated legitimate descent through curation, display, and consultation of portable, mummified ancestors (*mallquis*) and through active, reciprocal ritual

relationships with material ancestors in the physical landscape or other portable ancestor objects. By the seventeenth century in Huarochirí, huaca referred to all of these, as well as to the active personages mentioned. Because these ancestors were generally associated with their descendants' origins, places of origin (*pacarinas*) and other locations and territories gained through these ancestors' foundational, mythical deeds, both Inka and Spanish statecraft focused on huacas (Chase 2015, 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). For the Inka, the incorporation of peoples and their lands into Tawantinsuyu, and attendant Inka practices of population resettlement entailed complex dealings with local and regional huacas, and the cooptation and modification of local elite lineages, corporate origins and histories (Bauer and Covey 2002; D'Altroy 2001, 2005; Silverblatt 1988). For the Spanish the onus was on severing the "idolatrous" relations between peoples and their huacas and converting Indians to a new historical vision of these ancestors, not as providential creators but as instruments the devil used to keep them and their deceived ancestors from the light of Christian truth.

For decades, the manuscript has been treated as a surrogate primary historical source for a culture area and era that has no written historical sources.[7] It has also been used as an interpretive aid (in many cases to cogent effect) for a variety of time periods and geographic areas in the Andes, despite the fact that it was compiled decades after the Spanish arrival to Peru (see Bourget 2001; Cornejo 2002; Eeckhout 2004a, 2004b, 2004c; Feltham 1983; Isbell 1997; Makowski 2002; Marcone and López-Hurtado 2002; Patterson 1985; Quilter 1990, 1997; Spalding 1984; Stern 1993). These treatments far outnumber archaeological investigations into the content of the

[7] That is, at least not currently legible; the Andean knotted cord (*khipu*) notational system is fairly consistently referred to in Spanish Colonial records as registering historical information. See Salomon (2004); Salomon and Niño-Murcia (2011); Urton (2002, 2003, 2015).

manuscript itself (though these have been carried out; see, for example, Astuhuamán 1999, 2008; Bonavia et al. 1984; Farfán 2001, 2010; Spalding 1984:98–101; Thatcher and Hellmuth 1968-1971). For many archaeologists and historians the manuscript reveals an indigenous Andean cosmos otherwise hidden or lost. And indeed the text's manifest leitmotif is the superation of worlds past by worlds present–an historical etiology of its narrators' place in space and time. However, until recently, systematic archaeology of the manuscript's center has been virtually non-existent despite multiple published requests from the region's most prominent ethnohistorians (Rostworowski 1988:56, 2002a [1978]:194, 201, 206, 211, 214; Salomon 1991:24).

The dissertation is based on research on and in the Central Peruvian highlands region of Huarochirí carried out over several years, including archival investigations, processing of historical information from published sources and geographical data from published maps and remotely sensed imagery with Geographic Information Systems (GIS). Most of the archaeological data in the dissertation is based on nine months (June-Dec. 2010, May 2011, and four one-week excursions to August 2013) of full-coverage pedestrian survey and site documentation, surface collections, site mapping (with a Leica TCR 705 total station, measuring tapes and compasses, and aerial photography), and excavation of test units at four major sites. Laboratory work and other materials analysis began for basic documentation and quantification in August 2010; more comprehensive ceramic coding was done in two intensive periods from June-August 2011 and June-August 2013. Other material analyses (radiocarbon dating, macrobotanical, faunal, X-ray Florescence, and human skeletal analyses) were carried out at various times between 2011 and 2014. Locations and participants will be specified in sections dealing with these data (see also Chase et al. 2011; Chase 2013).

To carry out this research I established and directed the Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto (PAHLA) and received permission to conduct archaeological research from the Peruvian government's Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC, since changed to the Ministerio de Cultura) in 2010. Two important aspects to the research process were PAHLA's work with the peasant communities of San Damián, Huarochirí, the Comunidad Campesina Checa and the Comunidad Campesina Concha. The former devoted four faena days to helping PAHLA to clear the overgrowth from the primary site (Llacsatambo) investigated by PAHLA. The second aspect is the involvement and training of dozens of Peruvian archaeology students and professionals. PAHLA offered workshops in archaeological field and laboratory methods and in this way staffed the project while contributing to the formation of Peruvian archaeology. Many participants have become long-term members of PAHLA.

In the dissertation I present results from some of the first systematic archaeology in the central area of the manuscript's production,[8] and show how these require new theoretical orientations to clarify earlier historical reconstructions of Huarochirí's past, thereby providing deeper insight into the material and narrative construction of these Andean worlds, both in the prehispanic and Spanish colonial eras. I argue that the collection and writing of the Huarochirí

[8] Two undergraduate students from the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, Pedro Patrocinios and Liliana Tapia (2002), conducted a good preliminary study of Llacsatambo in 2001, under the direction of Dr. Jorge Silva. The study is especially impressive given that it was in fulfillment of an assignment for the class Prácticas Pre-Profesionales II in the undergraduate archaeology course of study. Patrocinios and Tapia's project was a hybrid of patrimonial "puesto en valor" aimed at preservation, reconstruction, and tourism at Llacsatambo, and field archaeology that included mapping the site and quite limited (I have been told) surface collection. The report of this work is on file at the Peruvian Ministry of Culture (though upon obtaining a copy from the central offices, I was told insistently that this was not an official report endorsed by the Ministry). The report I received does not include the site map. I have seen slides of their map at a conference presentation, and asked about copies, offered to team up, and even to help pay for the pair to complete their mapping, but they were not interested. (These were self-interested acts on my part: with a copy of the site map I would be able to propose and receive the Ministry's permission for excavation units at Llacsatambo.) At any rate, Pedro and I have had a pleasant relationship, having spoken several times since that first encounter. Their surface collected artifacts (including a piece of copper) have been lost in the labyrinth of the old Instituto Nacional de Cultura/current Ministry of Culture.

manuscript captured and homogenized an array of culturally distinct ways of creating and communicating the past within a specific structure of chronological historiography by which Andean realities were rendered legible to Spanish legal and religious bureaucrats. That is, the text not only worked to produce new understandings of collective origins, identities, and territoriality, but has also obscured the very means by which indigenous Andean groups had previously understood, constructed, codified, and communicated their past and situated existence in the world.

Geography and periodization

The survey area and excavations of PAHLA's investigations are within the modern provinces of Huarochirí in the department of Lima in Peru's central western highlands immediately east of Lima proper (see Figures I.1 and I.2). The mountainous terrain is created by the meeting of the Pacific and Nazca tectonic plates, and historically has been categorized as "vertical" landscape, meaning that climate and agricultural production are determined more by altitude than latitude and longitude. The project boundaries range between 2900 and 4200 meters above sea level (masl), spanning the ecological areas designated *Quechua* (2300-3500 masl), *Suni* (3500-4000 masl), and *Puna* (4000-4800 masl) (Pulgar Vidal 1987). Climate ranges (primarily temperature, soil quality, and precipitation levels) between these ecozones affect agricultural production and other subsistence and economic activities carried out in these zones. It has been argued that these environmental conditions underpin the dispersed settlement pattern of kin groups at varying altitudes to maximize collective access to a range of products that John Murra christened "vertical complimentarity" (1980 [1956]). Much of the area lies in the rain shadow caused by the cold air produced by the deep waters of the Humboldt current off South America's Pacific coast, which causes a generally arid climate that is somewhat offset by heavy precipitation in the Austral summer's rainy season (November to April); this precipitation contributes to irrigation and non-

irrigated farming. There are also two major rivers that bisect the area, the Rímac and the Lurín, as well as their smaller tributaries; irrigation canals transport water for agriculture from these, small local lakes, and other, distant sources in the mountains to the east of the area (Peñaherrera del Águila 1983). Some of these irrigational practices have continued from the late prehispanic to the present (Salomon 2004a). It has been archaeologically documented that the area has been inhabited for millennia; its population currently resides in dozens of villages and annex hamlets (Thatar Alvarez 1992). Accepted history of the region holds that during the Late Intermediate Period (LIP, ca. AD 1000-1475) Huarochirí's inhabitants experienced the regional infighting and geographic consolidation of populations by which the LIP has been characterized as far back as the sixteenth century. In the Inkaic Late Horizon (LH, AD 1438-1532), Huarochirí's inhabitants (Yauyos, macro-ethnically) became favored allies of the Inka, and famed for their bellicosity. During the early Spanish Colonial period (Colonial, AD 1532-1700), traffic on the "royal road" from the Inka capital of Cuzco through Huarochirí to the new Spanish capital of Lima ensured interaction between indigenous inhabitants and Spanish colonists (Astuhuamán 2007; Rostworowski 1988; Salomon 2004; Salomon and Urioste 1991).

In terms of the size of the area included in the narratives of the famous Huarochirí manuscript (Figures 3), one aerial "reckoning . . . estimates the main mythic scene as about 108 air kilometers east to west and about 56 air kilometers north to south" (Treacy cited in Salomon 1991:11-12), but internal manuscript evidence makes clear that the epicenter of its dictation was an area between the hilltop site of Llacsatambo and the Spanish Colonial-era forced Indian

resettlement (*reducción*) of San Damián de Checas (the "Llacsatambo-San Damián axis").[9] As mentioned, many of the mythical, ritual and historical events in the manuscript are described as occurring within areas immediately surrounding this village (see Chapter Four).

The manuscript's "multiple authorships" and my terminology

We know that the manuscript was produced at the behest of Francisco de Avila, the parish priest of San Damián between AD 1598 and AD 1608. Whatever modus vivendi Avila and the Indians of San Damián had worked out during his first years in residence was under duress by AD 1607, when groups from different pueblos united to bring criminal suit against Avila for various exploitations of Indian labor, goods, and other offenses (AAL Capítulos, número 43 [1607]). The standard conclusion (Acosta Rodríguez 1987) regarding the order to compose the Quechua manuscript is that Avila wanted to use the accounts of the idolatries of Huarochirí's Indians to counter the suit. Idolatry was technically still a punishable offense, even if zeal about eradicating it from Indian populations had died down during the tenure of Archbishop Toríbio Mogrovejo. However, Archbishop Lobo Guerrero, who succeeded Mogrovejo, was enthusiastic about it, and in 1609, Avila's "revelation" of the ongoing pagan rituals of Huarochirí's Indians set off what was to be the most intense and sustained period of aggressive religious campaigns against non-Catholic cult among the Indians of the highlands east of Lima (AD 1609-ca. AD 1680). Due to the organization and formality of these efforts, historian Pierre Duviols (2003:25-26) labelled them the "official" and "autonomous organization of [the] Extirpation, with a capital E," to evoke the Inquisition (to which Indians were not subject).

[9] Among other references, one narrative in chapter 19 of the Huarochiri manuscript begins, "When they arrived here (I mean Llacsa Tambo)" (Salomon and Urioste 1991: 99). As Salomon notes, "This is the only point at which the text tells where myths were collected" (n449).

The direct authorship of the Huarochirí manuscript is a subject of debate of limited relevance for this study. I provide a shorthand to the ways I refer to these matters, based on the following assumptions drawn from scholarly consensus (see Durston 2007:230-231; Salomon 1991:31-32; Taylor 1999:xv; Urioste 1973:7-10): 1. To collect and write the manuscript's contents, Francisco de Avila enlisted an Indian ally proficient in Standard Colonial Quechua and its Central branch (Quechua I [Durston 2007:235]), Spanish, and likely also the Huarochiranos' spoken Jaqi-aru or Jaqaru (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:22); 2. This "native ethnographer" and author gathered his information from several different people or groups of people over some time, and with any number of interceding meetings with Avila; 3. In addition to the manuscript author's in-field questions to clarify testimony and extract specific information, he also made *at least* one follow-up field trip for clarification purposes, after Avila's preliminary review of the text(s);[10] 4. The manuscript, divided by chapters, was turned over to Avila, who continued to work on the chapters' order and producing his *Tratado*, a Spanish translation of the text with commentary (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:206-208). Based on more marginalia, it seems Avila had at least one more field visit in mind while he was engaged in this stage of working on the text (Salomon 1991:24). Therefore, I refer most frequently to the manuscript's "narrators" (i.e., the original "informants" who provided testimony), and occasionally to its "compiler" or "author," viz. the native ally in whose pen the text appears (Durston 2007).

[10] As an example and adjunct assumption: My impression is that the indigenous ethnographer and author completed or was completing the Checa-centered manuscript of an even 30 chapters when Avila requested more information on the elided Concha (who made up the other half of San Damián's population), which resulted in the manuscript's long thirty-first chapter dedicated to the Concha, their origins and history, huacas, rituals, etc.

The llacta-scape: A definition from Huarochirí

Before getting into more specific content, in view of the multiple and various treatments of landscape in recent scholarship, it will be useful to frame Huarochiri's landscapes within Quechua terminology. For example, the Quechua word *pacha* expressed both time and space (González Holguín 1989 [1608]:268). Similarly, though the Quechua word *llacta* is commonly taken as "the simple equivalent of 'town' or 'village,'" Frank Salomon (1991:23; italics in original) explains that llacta consisted of "the union of a localized *huaca* . . . with its territory and with the group of people whom the huaca favored." Historical etiology was integral to these unions, legitimized as they were by the feats of huacas and other ancestors in traditional, narrative pasts. Drawing on these concepts, I refer to late prehispanic Andean landscapes as composites of human groups, ancestor-huacas, ceremonial centers, and territories, all reproduced and legitimized in narrative pasts and other ritual performances. Unless otherwise specified (e.g., "the geographic landscape"), this is the sense of landscape I use throughout the dissertation.

The manuscript's contents

Though much of Chapter Two is devoted to a more detailed discussion, understanding Huarochirí's "accepted history" mentioned above requires that we first explore the diachronic production of a "regime of historicity" (Trouillot 2003:38) that I call Huarochirí's "canonical (pre)history." This refers to a specific sequential ordering of events and processes (drawn from and/or paired with the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript), fitted into rough chronological order according to Andean archaeology's Horizon/Intermediate period model and purporting to account for the goings-on in Huarochirí in the centuries preceding the manuscript's composition. The canonical prehistory also comprises a more general model of history and historiography, underpinned by assumptions about chronological temporality and the unidirectionally causal

relationship between myth, ritual performance, and historical events and processes. Specifically, the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí holds that the Huarochirí manuscript's mytho-historical narratives are testimony of historical invasions by highlands Yauyos into Huarochirí that drove previous populations out towards the coast. These invasions were carried on over several centuries, beginning around AD 900 (see Figure I.3).

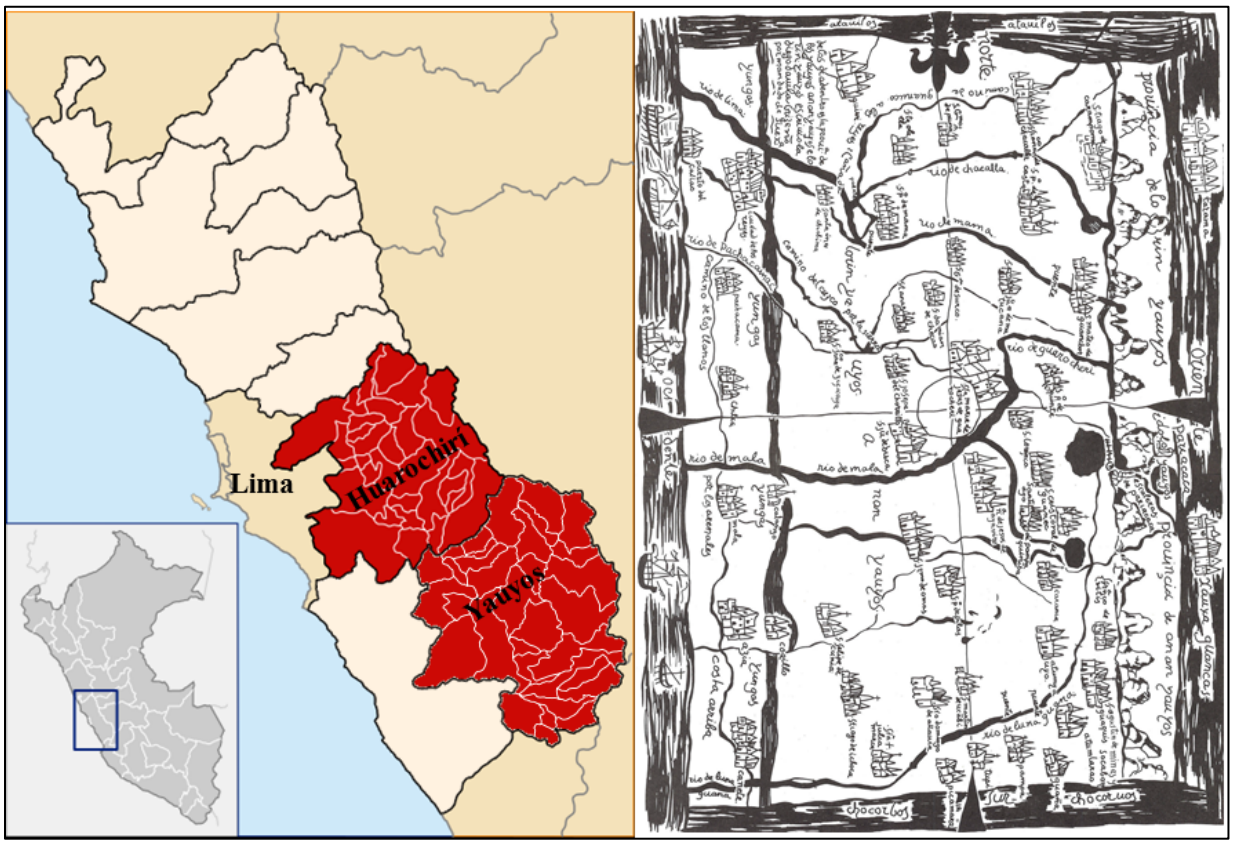

Figure I.2: Left: The modern-day provinces of Huarochirí and Yauyos, which made up the *lurín* (lower; also *hurín*) and *hanan* (upper) moieties of the Inka and early Spanish Colonial province of Yauyos. Right: The 1586 map of the same area by Spanish corregidor Diego Dávila Brizeño (Rostworowski 1988). The map on the left is flipped to correspond to cardinal directions. In the middle of the colonial map the Mala River can be seen running from the mountains to the Pacific coast (just skirting the map's quadripartite center of the Toledan reducción of Santa María de Jesus de Huarochirí); the Mala River is the border between the present-day provinces.[11]

[11] The map on the left of Figure I.2 is based on the original map by Eric Bronder; reproduced through GNU Free Documentation License (De AgainErick-Trabajo propio, CC BY-SA 3.0, https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=3255934). I have altered the original map by extending the red shading to indicate both provinces.

Further, the huacas, their myths and rituals recorded in the manuscript represent commemorative, post hoc *reflections* of the actual historical invasions and organization of social, political, agricultural, and religious order. This account has become the predominant, de facto explanation of Huarochirí's past, appearing in scholarly publications and popular literature alike (Bueno Mendoza 1992; *La Voz de San Damián* 1957: 183-206; Gutiérrez 1992; Mejía Xesspe 1947, 1957; Sykes 1990; Tello 1923a, 1923b; Tello and Miranda 1923).

The fundaments of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory emerge first from the manuscript's Checa narrators themselves, who related their local ancestral past in sequential and successive terms within the recurrent pattern of highlands invasions and conquest/expulsion of previous inhabitants; these previous inhabitants were called Yuncas, a label that is important to unpack because it referred to aboriginal peoples, original or prior temporal periods and conditions, and also to the lands, climate, peoples, and other biota of low, warm river valleys and coast to the west of highlands Huarochirí.[12] The invasions were carried out by the narrators' forefathers and led by their tutelary huaca, Tutayquiri (son of apical regional huaca Pariacaca): "[T]his land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own ayllus, the fields, the houses, and the ayllu designations" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:119). Taking the form of torrential red and yellow rain, "Tutay Quiri [then] set out from Llacsa Tambo to conquer" residual Yuncas populations, washing them down the Lurín and Rímac river valleys to the Pacific coast. As we will later see, it is significant that in

[12] Yuncas (or *yungas*) referred also to low, eastward descending Andes, but here I concentrate on the westward element. Also, as in Salomon and Urioste's (1991) translation of the Huarochirí manuscript, the capitalized Yunca refers to peoples so-called, while *yunca* refers to the geographic and environmental characteristics mentioned above.

the midst of this expulsion Yunca peoples who revered and worshipped Tutayquiri were said to have been spared and permitted to remain in their villages, from that moment forward to be recognized as "brothers" to the Checa (79-80).

For decades Andeanists have recognized Huarochirí's multiple, repeated myths of highland invasion as an especially concentrated, and well-articulated expression of the widespread "*huari-llacuaz*" socio-political arrangement. As drawn from seventeenth-century documentation of the Extirpation in the highlands of Lima's archiepiscopate, and presented by Pierre Duviols (1986:LVI-LXVI; 1973), the "dualist huari-llacuaz complex" (LXV)[13] was the basic principle of village-level social organization throughout the north-central highlands. Huari populations traced ancestry to primordial, autochthonous huaca-ancestors; they were sedentary agriculturalists, expert terrace and canal builders. *Llacuaces* were the descendants of highlands pastoralist invaders associated with high mountain precipitation phenomena like lightning/thunder, torrential rain and hail. The hierarchical predicate of village social relations was right by invasion/conquest (llacuaz) over right by autochthony (huaris). The productive complementarity of this asymmetrical dualism (see Urton 2012) worked most obviously in agricultural cycles wherein huaris appealed to their ancestors' connection to crop fields while llacuaces could bring the seasonal rainwater from the heights above. Their respective and intertwined chthonic and invasive qualities evoke the way the Inka "envisioned agriculture as warfare–a victory claimed by disemboweling the earth" (D'Altroy 2015:405; Bauer 1996).

The (Checa) Yauyos and Yuncas of Huarochirí were llacuaces and huaris, respectively (Gose 2008:18-19; Salomon 1991). Questions of the temporal-historical nature of these relations

[13] "[C]omplejo dualista huari-llacuaz" (Duviols 1986:LXV).

will be discussed shortly. For now it is sufficient to note how within the Llacsatambo foundation narrative the Checa narrators seem to frame their past in successive historical terms recognizable to the Spanish and modern historians alike. Indeed, *historiography* in its most literal sense was the manuscript's express raison d'être, as its preface makes clear: because writing was unknown to "the ancestors of the people called Indians," their past had "faded from view." The remedy was the written manuscript documenting "the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:41). Contemporaneous documents from Huarochirí, such as annual Jesuit reports (Arguedas and Duviols 1966; Polia Meconi 1999), corroborate much of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents, often in remarkable detail. At the same time, from specific items that appear in these texts, the limited scope of what is described and explained by the Checa in the manuscript is obvious. There are huacas, including some directly related to Pariacaca (Polia Meconi 1999:277, 304-306) that do not appear in the manuscript. This is also an effect of the sheer number of different huacas (and idols–a broad Spanish category for many distinct types of Andean things) that existed in the area, according to Extirpation reports.

Over nearly a century, our understanding of the late prehispanic and early Spanish colonial indigenous Andean past was shaped primarily by the contents of historical documents and their interpretations. This ethnohistory was oriented by specific historical and temporal models, the long debates over historicist vs. structural Inka historiographies being the predominant and most explicit example (Covey 2006; Rowe 1945, 1967; Zuidema 1964, 1985, 1990). While we have seen exceptional erudition and creativity in recent efforts to reconcile these specific interpretative models (Gose 1996, 2008; Julien 2000; Pease 2010), archaeological research has not always featured prominently as the guiding interpretive apparatus and source of data in addressing historiography in the Andes. Huarochirí presents an outstanding case in point.

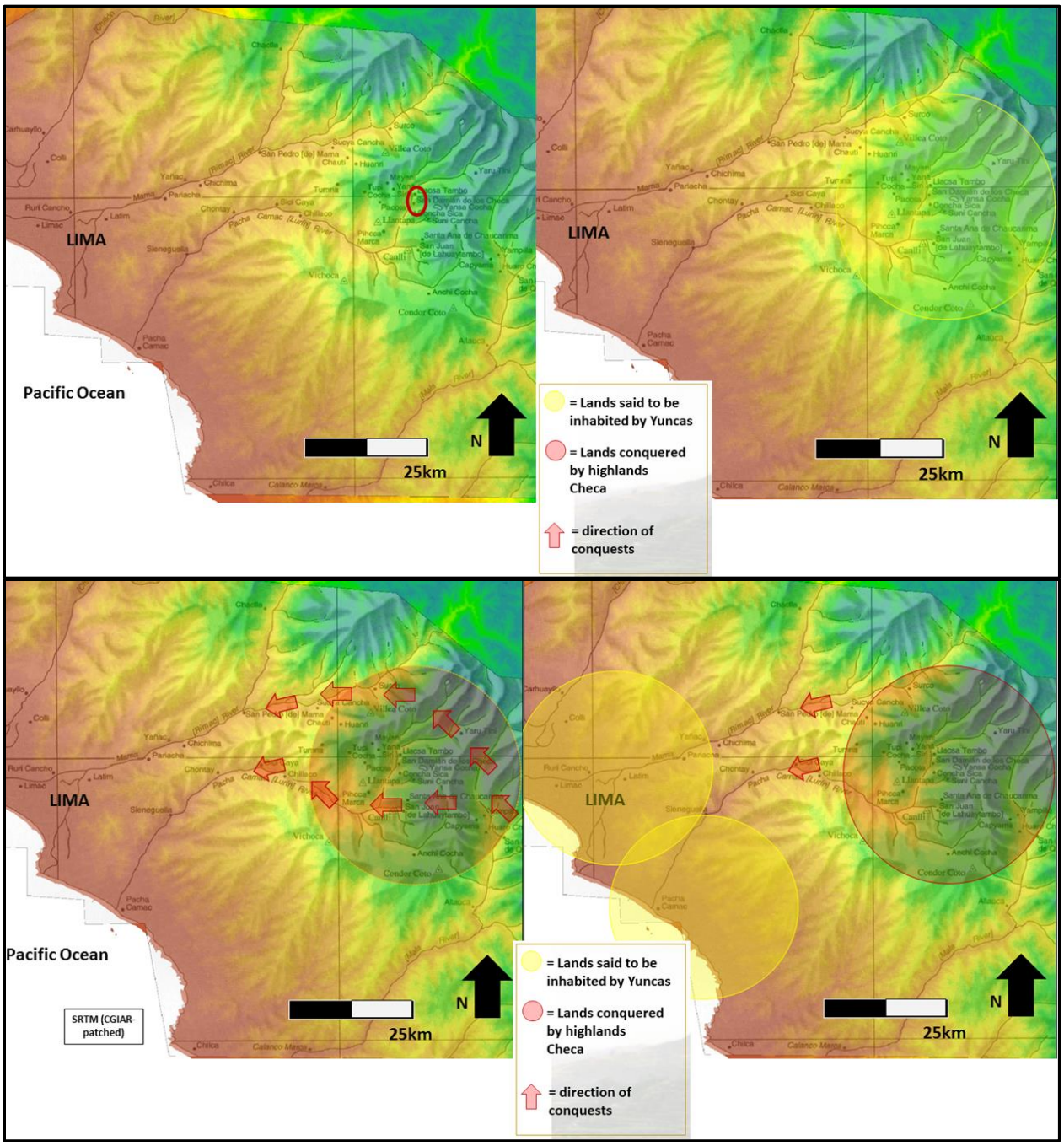

Figure I.3: Geographic scheme of the invasion and conquest narrative central to the Huarochirí manuscript's narrators. This motif is repeated throughout the manuscript, at times in the same areas, but in different eras, or headed by different huacas. The graphic also shows what, within Huarochirí's canonical prehistory, is the pattern of historical waves of invasion from the highlands towards the coast that took place over centuries prior to the manuscript's composition. The red oval in the upper left quadrant indicates the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis. (Map prepared by author based on front matter in Salomon and Urioste 1991 and the Space Radar Topography Mission [SRTM] 90m Digital Elevation Database.)

History, Archaeology, and Interpretation

Archaeological research presents the opportunity to break through the prehistoric barrier, providing purchase on the layered pasts of oral tradition and historical documents, which is why Huarochirí's scholars have published repeated calls for archaeologists to study the center of the manuscript's production. Historian Kenneth Mills (1997:16) has written of the "intensely local" character of the practices and beliefs narrated in the manuscript and in "Andean religion" more broadly. The data recovered in my research raise questions about identifying and defining "the local" during the late prehispanic and early Colonial eras (Chase, 2016a).[14] How much of Huarochirí's "intensely local" religion may be associated not with a deep, pre-Inka history, but with settlement and landscape creation related to, say, Inka expansion? Here, I am zeroing in on this dissertation's central concern with the temporalities involved with the geographically local past, i.e., whether the "world of experienced rather than imagined landmarks and spatial relations" (Salomon 1991:12) was necessarily expressive of the narrators' long-term chronological acquaintance.

Historical and anthropological understanding of the late prehispanic Andes is currently in a transformational moment largely brought about by a critical mass of archaeological research in the Cuzco area (Bauer 1992, 1998, 2004; Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2006a, 2006b; 2008a, 2008b, 2015; Kosiba 2010, 2012, 2015a, 2015b) and other parts of the Central Andes (Arkush 2011; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Burger et al. 2007; Covey 2006a, 2008a, 2008b; D'Altroy 1992, 2005; D'Altroy and Hastorf et al. 2002; Kosiba 2015a, 2015b; Malpass 1993; Malpass and

[14] As I argue in Chapter Three, the Huarochirí narratives themselves should have tipped us off, as they describe explicitly the performative creation of new collective origins and shifting "ethnic" designations.

Alconini 2010; Shimada 2015).[15] This welcome surge has led to the conclusion that the archaeology of the late prehispanic Andes "is ready to stand independently of the documentary record" (Covey 2008:810).

Rather than dispense entirely with colonial documents, however, I propose that this archaeological independence presents opportunities to gain greater understanding of Andean culture by allowing critical reevaluations of the forms and meanings of the texts' contents beyond attempts to determine their truth or falsity (Bauer and Covey 2002:846-847), which in the end is simply another iteration of the positivistic orientation of the ethnohistorians who reconstructed the Andean past by using the Colonial texts with an underdeveloped sense of semiotic and cultural variability and the ideological power of the written word. Thus my commitment to the introduction of archaeological research to the entirely textually-dominated accounts of Huarochirí's past is entwined with the conviction that the easy positivistic answers are rarely sufficient or satisfactory. In broad strokes, the other primary concerns I have carried into my research can be summarized by the following:

Hermeneutics

Rostworowski (2002a [1978]:24) explicitly refers to Huarochirí's huaca myths as "the reflection"[16] of battles between different ethnic groups occasioned by highlander invasions of Huarochirí and on into low-lying river valleys. Surely these myths, rituals, and beings may reflect, among other functions, but they were also certainly part of performative efforts to make desired

[15] The "Central Andes" is defined here as the western sierra and coastal region that fell within the boundaries of the Inka Empire at its apogee, including parts of southern Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Argentina, and Chile (see Quilter 2014).

[16] "Las luchas entre dioses son el reflejo de guerras entre distintos grupos étnicos" (Rostworowski 2002a [1978]:24).

presents. But the view of cultural expressions as inconsequential vestiges of "real" events speaks of a historiography that is far too literalistic and accepting of (some of) the ostensibly denotative historical functions of the narratives. Moreover, like arguments against torture, opposition to such contorted historiography is based on principle, but also on the fact that it leads to bad information.

For example, Rostworowski interprets the mythical Yunca occupation of the Huarochirí highlands in primordial times (Salomon and Urioste 1991:43-44), before invading Yauyos took control as "presumably occurring during the hegemony of [the expansive Middle Horizon] Huari," during the apogee of coastal Pachacamac (i.e., Ychsma). The argument is that the Wari Empire's[17] alliance with the coastal polity would have facilitated "Yunca" expansion into Huarochirí's highlands and buttressed long-term occupation. The Wari originated in the southern Peruvian highlands, where the empire's capital remained throughout its suzerainty. During Wari expansion, colonized peoples were moved to lower elevations (Moseley 2001:237; Schreiber 2001:87, 2005:257), where newly established Wari settlements were also situated for increased crop production, especially of maize and (lower elevation) coca (Schreiber 2001:89-91, 2005:249). Thus, the Wari archaeological culture at once displayed attributes both of invaders and founders of agricultural areas; the impression the Wari state would have left in local areas likely depended on geography and the phases of expansion.[18] More important for now is to point out the

[17] I use "Huari" for the style horizon and "Wari" for the urban center in Ayacucho and its imperial geopolitical adjuncts (see Quilter 2014:xiv).

[18] The huari (autochthonous, agriculturalists) of the huari-llacuaz duality should not be confused with the archaeological culture of the expansive Middle Horizon Wari Empire (ca. AD 500-1000). However, this does present a simple example of "historical feedback loops" in Andean archaeology in that the name for the archaeological culture came from the ethnohistoric and ethnographic descriptions of the huaris. Obviously, we do not know what this prehistoric Wari polity called itself, but this has not prevented this label from being put through further looping cycles wherein the huaris of huari-llacuaz organization recorded in the seventeenth century become identified with the Middle Horizon Wari civilization, which leads to selective emphasis on the sedentary, irrigational, and agricultural aspects of Wari expansion, at times to the exclusion of other details of Middle Horizon interactions between the Wari and local polities.

historiographic approach, expressed by Rostworowski, that takes the manuscript narratives' assertions of primordial Yunca (though note, not coastal) occupation of the highlands and matches them to a particular archaeological and historical Horizon while ignoring or at least failing to account for other details just as integral to the narratives. That is, while it is true the narratives assert primordial occupation[19] of the highlands by Yuncas, they also describe these cold, snowy highlands as having been fertilely warm and host to tropical fauna in those primordial times: the Yunca lands were also "*yunca* lands." This interpretive approach ratifies the historical "truth" of the narratives' socio-political elements by providing them a historical basis, but the attendant literalism of the approach cannot account for the accompanying climatological assertions.

Some of these myths may well contain echoes of the historic Wari expansion, which did indeed include introduction and expansion of irrigated agricultural terraces in many parts of the Central Andes (Isbell 2008:753; Moseley 2001:232-237; Quilter 2014:213; Schreiber 2001:73), often in steep terrain.[20] But even if this is the case, the narrative's insistence on environmental circumstances that do not reflect the highlands climate during Wari times, that is, conflating "Yunca" lands with "yunca" lands urges other, non-literalistic (which of course is not to say false) interpretations. I give these matters more attention in Chapters Two and Three.

Motifs and motives

The universalization of motives and drives at the expense of cultural variability. For Rostworowski, the highlanders "coveted" coca lands; they wanted to expand their vertical holdings (see Murra, above); perhaps "*an increase in their population* . . . forced them to look for new lands

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19 That is, for Rostworowski, during Wari expansion, ca. AD 500-1000.

20 This is a point Rostworwoski finds described in the Huarochirí myths (1988:55). See Chapter Three.

for cultivation." Highlands areas that were "painstakingly cultivated by the coastal people . . . were the motivation for the greed of the Yauyos" and for their invasions and expulsion of the prior "coastal peoples" (Rostworoski 1988:55; emphasis added). In short, the explanation for the motives of invasion and conquest in these ethnohistories display an "absence of what one might term a social theory beyond folk ideology of rational conscious agentivity" (Silverstein 1993:46), and a normative assumption of the human inclination toward economistic strategizing.

Patterns of discontiguous settlement or occupational in the Andes, whether the result of aggressive expansion or some other means, have been amply documented. Against the explanations of Murra and those informed by his economic/ecological model, Peter Gose has argued well that "[e]cological maximization does not provide a sufficient explanation of the archipelago model, since trade could have achieved the same effect. What we have to account for is the preference for colonization and direct control, which ecological maximization does not specify" (1993:491n19). In his article on Inka segmentary state formation, Gose provide a cultural/ideological explanation for the "predatory" or expansive dynamic in Andean asymmetrical dualism, locating it in the drive, shared broadly by Andean polities of various sizes, to control sources of water beyond their territorial control. These water sources were associated with the human dead, and "had to be coaxed or coerced into sending water back to the local level" (481-482).

I am in broad sympathetic agreement with this approach and many of the specific conclusions in this article as well as those in Gose's more recent expansion on this theme (2008), which he intertwines with considerations of the huari-llacuaz complex, indigenous Andeans' reception of invading Spaniards, and the evolution of Andean religion over the Colonial centuries. My point of departure can be traced, I think, to the perspective afforded by my archaeological data.

After mentioning Murra's "dubious explanation of [the vertical archipelago] territorial pattern as the outgrowth of an 'ideal' of maximizing access to products from different ecological zones," Gose's alternate explanation is reasonable, considering the textual basis of his study: "If there was any ideal involving territorial discontiguity, it had to do with regional expansionism and colonization, as is particularly clear in the Yauyos case [attributed to Avila]. A bellicose ethnic group could express its regional supremacy by passing through the territory of neighboring peoples and taking land it wanted elsewhere" (Gose 2008:491-492).

The Huarochirí manuscript narratives do indeed seem to express expansionistic motives, as does the corpus of reports from the Extirpation of Idolatries, from which the huari-llacuaz complex was reconstructed. But then we must ask (or rather, my archaeological data prompt me to ask), what was the source of this bellicose character and this drive to expand? Is it "universal" and "natural"? Or was it perhaps ethnically inborn? The options are not attractive. Moreover, my archaeological data allow us to see that, in the case of Llacsatambo of the Checa Yauyo, "invasion" and "conquest" did not always mean invasion and conquest of the sort to which Gose refers, i.e., of invasion and territorial appropriation.[21] The archaeological data from Huarochirí–patterns in architecture, ceramic distributions, faunal remains, and especially stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates–suggest that the historiographic and interpretive logic and the reconstructed chronology of the predominant version of Huarochirí's past must be accounted for in other terms.

[21] I must point out that the subtlety of Gose's phrasing in the passages cited make it possible that what he describes is *exactly* what happened with the Checa and Llacsatambo. That is, he does not mention taking land *from* a group's neighbors, but passing through their lands *en route* to occupying other lands. I should also mention that my arguments about the "metaphorical" and performative aspects of Huarochirí's past making owe much to Gose's formulation of Inka temporality and spatiality published over two decades ago (1996).

However, in terms of ultimate causes, I have nothing to offer in place of these explanations. I do not know why the Indians of Huarochirí and elsewhere in the Andes organized themselves in nested, asymmetrically dual arrangements. But they did do it, and it infused performative practices and expressions of the past (as with Llacsatambo). Hence my concerns here with the temporal/historical aspects of these arrangements. Within these parameters, I suggest that, unlike the economically or politically causal-*cum*-historical sequences offered by Murra, Rostworowski, or Gose, the narratives invite us to think differently about drives and desires. If the Yauyos desired or coveted yunca coca lands (Rostworowski 1988), was it in the way a man desires a woman? Were highlands invasions and their "reception" by sedentary agriculturalists homologous with the arrival of water from high mountains to hot, parched farmlands? These episodes could also be aggressive, violent, and uncontrollable, as shown in the myths of Pariacaca's flooding of Huallallo (Salmon and Urioste 1991:68), or of the inability of Capyama's family to contain the spate he sent to their fields (140-141). (In fact, if there really was no "conquest" of Llacsatambo, seasonal torrential precipitation really was more physically violent than the settling of that llacta.) Over and over, the Huarochirí myths *insist* on the similitude of huari-llacuaz arrangements, agriculture, and procreation. Gose is correct about the fundamentally hierarchical nature of Andean asymmetrical duality. But the material covered in this dissertation also evinces the cyclical and alternating facets of the asymmetry, and the ways groups of real people could and did shift between ranks.

I understand the "risk" in these suggestions of succumbing to the soporific effects of a dominant ideology that obfuscated and rendered palatable differential distribution of power and exploitative relations. I do not think it possible to deny or sidestep these realities (in the indigenous Andes or elsewhere). But insisting on the primacy of these facts as causes or motivations begs the economic and political question, naturalizing and universalizing our own concerns, values, and

assumptions in a way comparable to Avila's historiography of Huarochirí. If we are incapable of conceiving of basic drives and motivations more fundamental than economic gain and political power, then, truly, the hegemony of oppressive political, social, and economic systems is complete.

Outline of the dissertation

Chapter One is a detailed exposition of the historiographic and theoretical anthropological orientations that inform my specific arguments about Huarochirí, and which, I submit, are apposite for future studies of Huarochirí as well as research on the late prehispanic through early Colonial history of other Andean areas with a rich body of written texts. I draw on work from the anthropology of history to develop a historiography that takes account of the multi-stage production of history and acknowledges cultural differences in historical consciousness. Taking up previous scholarship of "history" and "structure" (Gose 1996; Julien 2000:3-16) so influential to the historical anthropology and historiography of the Andes, I examine the practices and understandings that constitute valid, meaningful collective engagement with the past, including creating and recreating meaningful pasts. I refer throughout to a single concept expressed in two slightly tweaked ways: "Legitimate engagement with the meaningful past" and "meaningful engagement with the legitimate past." In both cases the intent is to encourage thinking in terms of "past making," of which disciplinary history is only a part.

In simple terms, the techniques employed by the modern professional historian to collect and situate documentable facts in chronological order (and the products of these researches) constitute a valid, meaningful engagement with the past for institutional, disciplinary history. There is general consensus on the epistemic bases of disciplinary history, ongoing debates and discussions about evidentiary criteria notwithstanding (some degree of consensus is in fact the necessary prerequisite for the existence of such debates). These, of course, are the bases of my

archaeological and historical research presented here. At the same time, it has become increasingly apparent that different temporal and historical sensibilities were at work in Huarochirí, and making sense of the notable discrepancies between the archaeological and historical materials requires an interpretive approach akin to cultural history and *Annales* studies of historical *mentalités*.[22] The dynamics of performance and performativity (*sensu* Austin 1962) are most salient in the Andean historical *mentalité*, as found quite explicitly in the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives and the archaeology of the Llacstambo-San Damián axis.

In summary, the "theory section" combines Michel-Rolph Trouillot's critical historiography (1995) with Neil Whitehead's culturally informed "historicity" (2003; see also contributors to Hirsch and Stewart 2005) to show how consideration of historicized political contexts and cultural proclivities is indispensable to understanding how any given history is constructed. While the apparent lack of correspondence between mytho-historical narratives and archaeological data from Huarochirí and neighboring areas is a problem for the canonical historiography, accounting for the performative dynamics of Andean engagements with the past goes a long way towards reconciling these discrepancies and making sense of Huarochirí's historicity. This "Andean historicity," or what I will be referring to throughout the dissertation as "past making," derived from my original research and the ethnohistorical approaches forwarded by Andeanists based on their careful and rigorous hermeneutics of Andean cultural expressions (including Spanish writings produced in South America during the Colonial period), dovetails

[22] Resonating with my argument about the essential unity of history and anthropology, historian John Burrow (2007:448-455) helpfully traces the *Annales* pedigree from Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch back to the École Normale Supérior and their teacher there, anthropologist Lucién Levy-Bruhl, who was preceded at the institution by Emile Durkheim, whose teacher was historian Numa Denis Fustel de Coulanges.

productively with Adam T. Smith's (2006:160, italics in original) "archaeological theory as *the form in which a culture expresses its consciousness of the pastness of its things*," resulting in critical contributions to the recent "thing theory" and "ontological turn" in anthropology.

Chapter Two is a diachronic account of "the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí," together with its historiographic, epistemological, and temporal underpinnings. Again, briefly, Huarochirí's canonical prehistory is a specific sequential ordering of events and processes (drawn from and/or paired with the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript), fitted into rough chronological order according to Andean archaeology's Horizon/Intermediate period model; the canonical prehistory purports to provide a diachronic account of Huarochirí in the centuries preceding the manuscript's composition. It holds that a series of invasions by highlands Yauyos (from whom the five Checa lineages came) drove the area's previous inhabitants (the autochthonous Yuncas) from the mountains and into lower, warm river valleys and the plain of the Pacific coast over a span of six centuries or so prior to the manuscript's composition. The manuscript's contents are taken as reflections of historical invasion processes in the area prior to the advent of the Inka (Espinoza Soriano 1992; Rostworowski 2002a [1978]). The canonical prehistory is not the work of any one scholar, but its most articulate expression came in the late twentieth-century scholarship of Maria Rostworowski (2002a [1978], 2002b [1999]), whose rigorous research in colonial archives and innovative interpretations of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents breathed chronological life into what others (e.g., Arguedas 1975 [1966]; Espino 2003; Tello 1999), took to be expressions of "eternal Andeanisms." While the label "canonical prehistory" is not used as a pejorative, I do argue that increased familiarity with the Huarochirí manuscript and uncritical acceptance of its canonical explanation hindered archaeological investigation in Huarochirí, which in turn perpetuated the

effacing of indigenous Andean practices of past making, and their performative, non-written forms of codification and communication.

What, then, can be offered in contrast to Huarochirí's canonical prehistory? The first and most basic answer I offer is more intensive, rigorous, and systematically collected archaeological data from the region (just what Rostworowski and Salomon have long suggested). But as the extant ethnohistory and archaeological research illustrates, a fundamental shift in our understanding of the semiosis (or sign-related actions) of indigenous Andean temporality/time, the past, and "history"–in specific terms of how/what they meant, and their effective operations–is equally important.[23] In Chapter Three I show that stratigraphic patterns and radiocarbon data from excavations at sites in the center of the Huarochirí manuscript's composition do not corroborate the predominant ethnohistorical interpretation of Huarochirí's past in "form" or "content," at least in the case of the narrators' ceremonial center of Llacsatambo. These data also challenge the account of the manuscript's Checa narrators concerning their ancestors' conquest and appropriation of Llacsatambo from aboriginal Yunca dwellers.

But "just the facts" are not enough. Even "all the facts" are not enough, as Jorge Luis Borges argues in a thought experiment about the realization of positivist fantasies of knowledge: A boy with an acute perception of time and good memory for names was bucked from a horse, and when he came to, "his perception and his memory were perfect." The boy is Borges' Funes, whose complete and unassailably accurate historical knowledge make him a fantastic embodiment of the

[23] From another angle, the distinction I am drawing can be expressed in relation to George Lau's recent, well-taken argument that "[t]he danger of taking Moche imagery literally lies . . . in assuming that Moche images provide real, impartial, or complete texts of the past" (2004:176). I agree wholeheartedly with Lau, and further suggest that we also ought to be aware that the very grounds of what different peoples consider "real, impartial, or complete" (or "literal," for that matter) are not universal (much less expressed in universal forms), but are culturally and historically contextual.

aspirations of modern Western historiography (or at least the logical conclusion of the ideals professed as its underpinnings). However, with his new capabilities Funes does not become a superhero historian, or even a proficient one. Cognizing and remembering all things with equal assiduity, "unable to ignore (or forget) differences, to generalize, to abstract," Funes was miserable. In the course of the story the narrator confesses a shortcoming of his retelling of the account Funes gave him: "I will not attempt to reproduce the words of it, which are now forever irrecoverable. Instead, I will summarize, faithfully, the many things [Funes] told me. Indirect discourse is distant and weak; I know that I am sacrificing the effectiveness of my tale." This is the brilliant irony of Borges: even after being exposed to the nightmare of knowing a comprehensive body of undifferentiated facts, the narrator still embraces the ideological fantasy; that is, the narrator acknowledges Funes' miserable state, yet still apologizes for "sacrificing" the fullness and cogency of the story by having to resort to summary. But of course, it is only in the narrator's "failing" that there is a story that is able to be told at all.[24]

Borges articulates the point of the theory and comparative cases discussed in Chapter One, i.e., all collectively accepted histories and other meaningful engagements with the past are necessarily made by inadvertently or strategically ignoring differences, by generalization, and abstraction; by highlighting what is recognized as consequential and discarding insignificant ephemera (or contradictory information, which may, by failing to correspond to the salient and consequential, be incoherent or unnoticed). But beyond political expediency, what are the specific semiotic and cultural criteria by which these procedures take place? What is it that structures William James' "great blooming, buzzing, confusion" of the phenomenal world at different times

[24] The quotations come from Jorge Luis Borges. 1998. *Collected Fictions*, translated by Andrew Hurley, 131-137. New York: Penguin.

for different peoples? More specifically, what constituted meaningful interaction with the culturally legitimate past for the indigenous Andeans of Huarochirí in the fifteenth through seventeenth centuries?

Chapter Three answers this question by exposing the productive discrepancy between Huarochirí's ethnohistorical accounts and the archaeological data. I explore the broadly theoretical and culturally particular shortcomings of the "canonical prehistory" of Huarochirí and, by focusing on what textual and archaeological information reveals about the nature of huacas, origins, performed pasts, and collective identities, I offer an interpretation of the practices and ideology of past making in prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial Huarochirí . The manuscript narrators and their ancestors performed collective pasts and presents by skillfully navigating by the lights of salient socio-cultural and political notions of complementary but asymmetrical dualism.

Having established in Chapter Three the performative nature of past making in Huarochirí together with what the site of Llacsatambo was *not*, in Chapter Four I present archaeological data from GIS modelling, systematic pedestrian survey, site mapping, excavations, and materials analysis in order to suggest what sort of site Llacsatambo *was*. I carry this out through the presentation of multi-scalar data ranging from analyses of excavated macrobotanical and faunal materials to geographic distributions of different tomb types to artifactual evidence of connections between the highlands Checa and the (coastal) Yunca. Finally, I discuss intriguing connections between the ceremonial site of Cerro San Cristobal (whose morphology is resonant with the specific descriptions of rituals in the Huarochirí manuscript) and other recently excavated, high-altitude Inka stone platforms. Excavations at Cerro San Cristobal yielded oviform artifacts that are evocative at once of apical Huarochirí huaca Pariacaca (who was born as five eggs) and another recently discovered class of Inka artifact known as "stone ancestors," which (like the oviform

artifacts from San Cristobal) were deposited in the foundation of a stone platforms that marked boundaries or sight lines in highlands Ayacucho. The several intersections of data types show the different material, practical, and narrative ways the ancient Checa performed their past, and how this participated in the expansion of the Inka state and ceremonial alliances made in terms of reciprocity and expansive kin networks, including huaca tutelage.

I conclude in Chapter Five, first revisiting the narrative of Caui Llaca and Cuni Raya to demonstrate the fundamental differences in the denotative qualities of sequence, priority, and death in the canonical prehistory and Andean past making traditions. With newly acquired insight I revisit a modern-day folk history of Colonial Indian mass suicide to suggest that it contains echoes of the past making and political legitimization expressed in the Huarochirí narratives and archaeological evidence. I then zoom out to consider different past making practices involving images of deceased ancestors and mummified human bodies that were very much alive and active in the worlds of the living, across the broader prehispanic and Colonial Andes, in Mesoamerica, and in Hegelian, Darwinian, and "cosmic time."

CHAPTER ONE

Historicity, Performativity, and People, Pastness, Things (PPT): Theories of Huarochirí

We scholars of the indigenous Andean past are fond of pointing out the irony in the fact that the written products of the intense and concerted efforts on the part of the Spanish clergy to eradicate indigenous cult in the Colonial Andes are now, four to five centuries later, the richly detailed basis for our knowledge of the very thing that was to be extirpated. Stored in and recovered from various archives, many to be published and broadly read (at least by today's "reverse extirpators;" see Chapter Three), documents like the Huarochirí manuscript and reports of the field campaigns and subsequent trials against Indian "idolatries" allow modern-day, geographically and ethnically removed parties to explore indigenous Andean religion, often including the Indians' own recorded words. As far as this combination of traits goes among Colonial Andean documents, the Huarochirí manuscript is unmatched.[1]

However, one of the arguments of this dissertation is that there is actually an "irony of ironies" presented by the Huarochirí manuscript and its historiography. It is this: even as the manuscript's contents provide us unparalleled insight into the indigenous Andean world, the text and its traditional historical interpretations *do also* in the end *obscure* both Huarochirí's (pre)history and Andean forms of understanding, codifying, and communicating legitimate collective pasts. In the terms set out in the Introduction and used throughout the dissertation, this

[1] A close second: The Archivo Arzobispal de Lima's Hechicerías e Idolatrías section holds around 200 case files from the Extirpation of Idolatries, beginning in the seventeenth century (the number is approximate because from time to time new files are removed from other sections and added to the Idolatries section; during my first visit to the Archive in 2003 I noticed ten such files had been recently penciled in to the Archive's typed in-house inventory [cf. the inventories published by Laura Gutiérrez Arbulú in 1993 and the updated edition on idolatrica.com]). In addition to several studies drawing on this corpus of documents (e.g., García Cabrera 1996; Gose 2008; Griffiths 1996; Mills 1994, 1997), some 40 of these cases have been transcribed and published in full (see Duviols 1986, 2003; García Cabrera 1994; Sánchez 1991), including three from my own MA thesis (Chase 2004).

obfuscation is a product of the amalgamation in writing of several different past making practices, their forms and contents. But this alone cannot account for the historiographic hermeneutic most associated with the Huarochirí manuscript. Rather, this was informed by an epistemology of explanation that united explanation through narrative sequence, causality, and chronological time (Burrow 2007:276-277, 285-288; Schiffman 2011)[2] that passed diachronically through historiographic traditions from Antiquity through the seventeenth century and on to the present; one of its effects was to narrow the possibilities for legitimate historical explanation (cf. Carr 1961; Fasolt 2004; MacCormack 2007; Palmié 2013). In the modern era these bundled precepts were increasingly paired with culturally depauperate, positivistic notions of human rationality and economistic practicality. A further irony is that the narrower the field of legitimate historical explanations, the broader its application became; it eventually seeped in to the worlds of the historical actors, remaking them in its own image (see Sahlins 1981, 1985, 1995; Obeyesekere 1992). That is, these motivations and explanations were not only advanced as analytical explanations, but became values ascribed to the historical actors themselves.

As I argued for the case of the Caui Llaca/Cuni Raya myth, the hegemonic in a past-making tradition or "regime of historicity" (Trouillot 2003:38) is expressed in its culturally insistent precepts. The very fact that there is a recognized logical-historical fallacy such as "*post hoc ergo propter hoc*" evinces the sequential and causal structure of Western historiography. That is, any

[2] For Burrow, the connection of explanation through historical narrative was focused on detecting anachronism in texts in order to determine their historical authenticity and came out of Renaissance humanism. Historian Zachary Schiffman (2011) published a similar conclusion about anachronism and the division of past from present in *The Birth of the Past* shortly after Burrow's work came out. More so than Burrow's work, Schiffman's book is entirely concerned with the shift in accepted understandings of time (and therefore history) in the Western tradition from the Classical Greeks through the Renaissance down to the present. His arguments about ancient Greek temporal sensibilities that did not distinguish past and present are interesting items of comparison with the varieties of temporalities discussed in the dissertation (see especially Chapter Five).

historical explanation constructed on this fallacy is wrong by virtue of improperly diagnosing historical sequence and causality. I agree with the historiographic logic in which the discovery or exposure of this fallacy amounts to something like a "particular negative" on a syllogistic square of opposition, or an improper deduction. What is of concern when dealing with different cultures' meaningful engagements with the legitimate past are the premises upon which correct or incorrect deductions of historical cause can be made. As Evans-Pritchard (1976:22-28) showed, in the case of Zande witchcraft and collapsing granaries, causes and explanations for occurrences exist on several levels, but ultimately, "socially relevant" causes are not only the most important, but also those that can most vary between different societies and cultures.

The legitimate causes (e.g., demographic growth, intragroup solidarity, "natural" drives to increase political and economic advantage over other socio-political groups–sometimes more simply and morally phrased as "greed" or "covetousness") underpinning historical explanation in the canonical (pre)history of Huarochirí (Chapter Two) come from or are aligned with ostensibly universal economistic and social scientific theories. But closer reading of the narratives, especially in the light of the newly obtained archeological data, makes it clear that such motives are imputed onto the ancient and historical Huarochiranos. The narratives and archaeology suggest different motivations for performing conquests. In the case of huaris and llacuaces, the drive to live in asymmetrically dualistic arrangements (i.e., in settlements consisting of the proclaimed descendants of autochthonous and of invaders alike) are most frequently expressed in terms of attraction and desire of the sort presented in the myth of Caui Llaca and Cuni Raya, and discussed further in the Introduction. In the Huarochirí myths these driving motivations are sometimes allegorized in sexual encounters and the watering of parched fields.

Comparable to this explanatory flattening is the way that the writing of the manuscript (and its subsequent historiography) obscured a variety of Andean past-making practices, both in "form" and "content." Though I cannot provide an exhaustive account and analysis of the quantity and categories of expressive and communicative forms contained in the Huarochirí manuscript, its exceeding complexity can be seen in the terms used in different titles and subtitles of published editions of the text. These include: book, myths, rites, ancient, idolatry (Adelaar 1988), narration, gods, men (Arguedas and Duviols 1966), ancients, source, institutions (Galante 1942), manuscript, traditions (Taylor 1987), demons, magic (Trimborn 1939), children [of Pariacaca], oral tradition, mythology, ritual, customs (Urioste 1983), testament, ancient, colonial, and religion (Salomon and Urioste 1991).[3]

The oral tradition considered to be the basis of the manuscript's contents is itself actually a verbal rendering of a variety of communicative media, genres, and sub-genres: embodied rituals such as dance and pilgrimage;[4] music;[5] recitations like prayers, oaths,[6] incantations and other performative utterances;[7] anthropogenic and other visual representations like architecture,

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[3] In the order they are cited above the titles (in Dutch, Spanish, Latin, French, German, and English) are: *Het boek van Huarochirí: Mythen en riten van het oude Peru zoals opgetekend in de zestiende eeuw voor Francisco de Avila, bestrijder van afgoderij* (Adelaar 1988); *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí: Narración quechua recogida por Francisco de Avila [¿1598?]* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966); *Francisci de Avila de priscorum Huaruchiriensium origine et insitutis* (Galante 1942); *Rites et traditions de Huarochirí: Manuscrit quechua de début du 17e siècle* (Taylor 1980); *Ritos y tradiciones de Huarochirí del siglo XVII* (Taylor 1987); *Francisco de Avila: Dämonen und Zauber im Inkareich* (Trimborn 1939); *Hijos de Pariya Qaqa: La tradición oral de Waru Chiri (mitología, ritual, y costumbres)* (Urioste 1983); *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Salomon and Urioste 1991).

[4] Salomon and Urioste 1991:58, 79-81, 84, 120-121.

[5] Salomon and Urioste 1991:58-60, 294, 325, 329-330, 337, 340, 385, 411, 450, 454.

[6] Salomon and Urioste 1991:45, 104, 105, 108.

[7] Salomon and Urioste 1991:48-49, 59, 65, 80-81.

costume, dress, ornamentation;[8] enactment of reciprocal and hierarchical social relations through offerings and feasting,[9] curation and care of ancestors,[10] sexual union, procreation and other kinship/genealogy creation, conquest,[11] mutilation and execution of war captives.[12] To provide a single example of the ways the performance of one of these acts could constitute a past-making relationship: The connection between reciprocity, origins, and corporate pasts is made clear in a 1609 *Carta Annua* written from Huarochirí. In expounding on apical ancestor-huaca Pariacaca, the Jesuit author wrote that "many of the Indians understand that this idol is their creator, and that he gives them food and raiment, guinea pigs, llamas, and everything else. And thus, in acknowledgment of all this they offer him sacrifices" (Polia Meconi 1999:275).[13]

History and Historiography

In terms of formal notational systems alone, the Andean region in the late prehispanic through early Spanish colonial period was a veritable laboratory of semiotics (Chase 2004). Gaining its royal-bureaucratic maturity during the sixteenth-century reign of King Philip II (AD 1527-1598), the Spanish commitment to written records was on par with their faith in "the Word" (Abercrombie 1998:133; MacCormack 1985, 1989; Rappaport and Cummins 2012:191-218). Alphabetic writing and written documents are excellent loci from which to observe Spanish

8 Salomon and Urioste 1991:46-47, 58-59, 62-63, 74, 167-168, 240, 294, 320, 394, 396, 464, 467.

9 Salomon and Urioste 1991:58-59, 61, 65, 67, 75, 84.

10 Salomon and Urioste 1991:155, 319-320.

11 Chapter Three explain's why I place these items together. Salomon and Urioste 1991:44, 47, 49, 56-57, 63, 75, 77-78, 80, 82-83, 120.

12 Salomon and Urioste 1991:120, 322-323, 340; see also Salomon 2015.

13 "Entienden muchos de los indios, q. este idolo es su criador, y q. el les da la comida / y vestido, cuyes, llamas, y todo lo demas, y assi en reconocimiento de todo ello le offrescen sacrificios" (Polia Meconi 1999:275).

cultural insistence (see Burns 2010; Cummins 2002; MacCormack 1991, 2007; Rama 1996). In the earliest days of Spanish presence in the Americas, due legal and cosmological diligence for conquest consisted of first reading aloud a written document (*el Requerimiento*, or "the Requirement"), often only in the general vicinity of congregated or settled natives (Seed 1995:69-99). In the ongoing Spanish colonization of Andean peoples, writing was suffused with and connected by the same cultural precepts of order, civility, religiosity, personal and collective protocol that informed urban organization and architecture, corporeal practices and discipline, visual representation and aesthetics, and proper kinship and marriage practices (Cummins 2002; Rappaport and Cummins 2012:219-250).

The Spanish cultural precepts insisted upon in writing were entirely tied up with their notion of the legitimate past (i.e., history) as contained in the Bible and Classical Greek and especially Roman Latin texts (MacCormack 2007); writing and reading texts was the proper vehicle for history, or meaningful engagement with the past. In terms of writing, culture, and governance, nothing in recent Spanish experience with Old World Others like Northern European Protestants or Iberian Jews and Muslims, nor even their encounters with the New World societies of the Caribbean or Central Mexico (see Cummins 1994) had prepared the them for what they encountered in the Inka Empire: a geographically vast and linguistically diverse empire, sophisticated and precise in regulation, but without a written notational system that they were able to compare to alphabetic writing. The Spaniards' incomprehension of *khipus* was the beginning of a legacy that continues to the present.

From the time of the earliest colonial accounts, khipus were considered valid media of historical knowledge (Urton 2002). Other Andean forms of interaction with legitimate pasts, like oral tradition, ritual, architecture, and landscape were, with few consequential exceptions, a

different story. From its outset the Huarochirí manuscript makes explicit where the balance settled for its seventeenth-century composer:

> "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 here the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:41).

Such confidence not only in the written word, but in the transcendent reality of the history it recorded is another legacy passed down from the Spanish Colonial era to the modern historiography of Huarochirí. The wool this can pull over our eyes is expressed well by Constantine Fasolt (2004:13): "Writing leads us to confuse the record with the reality, to mistake the exchange of information for understanding, and to misconstrue mere distance in space and time as an abyss– as if there could be communication if reader were not joined to writer by something above and beyond the writing." In the case at hand, the connective "something" consists of the explanatory motivations and assumed denotational functions of writing discussed above.

In plain historiographic terms, what I produce in this dissertation is "revisionist history." I see no need to hide from the sometimes scandalous epithet (McPherson 2003), nor could I avoid it anyway. I propose revisions to the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí based on new archaeological data and on reinterpretations of the Huarochirí manuscript and other colonial documents. In questioning the past making tradition passed from the Renaissance, through Huarochirí and down to the present, and challenging what counts for legitimate explanation within this tradition, the dissertation is also revisionist *historiography*.

Consider, for example, the following two evaluations of the historical contribution of Guaman Poma de Ayala, the first from John Hemming, the second from Frank Salomon. What

Hemming (2003 [1970]:18) sees as a "wild and incoherent book" by a "naïve and dotty" author,[14] Salomon (1986:8-9) forwards as one touchstone of an "ideal ethnohistory." It is, I think, precisely the "wild," "incoherent," and "dotty" in Guaman Poma that, in Salomon's (1986:8) more culturally informed ethnohistory, allow a vision of the *Nueva corónica* as approximating an ideal ethnohistory, "an operation within [Guaman Poma's] own culture [and] an attempt to expand its capabilities by apprehending what lay outside it." The matters of historiography, historicity, and past making are multi-layered and byzantine. For instance, I consider Inca Garcilaso de la Vega's work to be of more "anthropological" than historical value, more enlightening in terms of cultural generalities than of the historical particulars of the Inkaic Andes. This is perhaps what Peruvian historian José de la Riva-Agüero meant when he wrote that "If a portion of [*Comentarios reales de los incas*] enters in the dominion of Art, it would be that Art which we may call, with Aristotle, 'truer than History' (in Thurner 2011:27). For John Hemming (2003 [1970]:18), this makes Garcilaso "unreliable" as a historian. But Garcilaso too had his historiographic criteria and standards by which he not only made sense of, but evaluated the truth of recorded fables ("*fábulas historiales*") of Inka origins (Pease 1997:121-122).

[14] Despite this evaluation, Hemming finds Guaman Poma's "illustrations of Inca and sixteenth-century life . . . authentic" (2003 [1970]:18). Instead of contradiction, these statements express Hemming's positivistic historiography. By "authentic," Hemming means empirically, factually true, without regard to cultural difference, as further illustrated in his review of Garcilaso's deviations from factual, historical reportage ("he meanders, forgets, romanticizes, or blatantly distorts").

As a comparative case, consider Burrow's treatment of the accounts of King Arthur in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *The History of the Kings of Britain* (ca. AD 1130). While these accounts cannot be simple fabrications because "the concept of fraudulence logically presupposes that of authenticity" (which was not to develop as a concern of Western historiography for another few centuries [see note 2, above]), Burrow agrees with William of Newburgh's assessment that Geoffrey's *History* "was all made up, 'either from an inordinate love of lying, or for the sake of pleasing the Britons.' Apart from Geoffrey's obvious quest for preferment, *these are pretty much the alternatives*" (2007:220-226; emphasis added). What the two cases share is a "zero sum," true/false historiographic dichotomy. However, they contrast in that Burrow's historiographic evaluation resounds that of a contemporary of Geoffrey's, indicating intellectual inheritance over centuries of Western historiography (evinced also by Hemming).

So, in these examples, the valuation aligned with Huarochirí's canonical prehistory was for writing over non-written modes of past making, followed the "obvious" superiority of a certain kind of writing (i.e., the kind Guaman Poma and Garcilaso did not do). But an assertion of the superiority of written history over non-written modes of past making does not of itself qualify as part of the hegemonic historiography of which the canonical prehistory partakes. Many contributors to Huarochirí's canonical prehistory expressed great confidence in the reliability of Andean oral tradition. Rather, this is made up of the coupling of these assumptions with other criteria taken to define the constitution of reality, such as the assertion, unwitting or not, that legitimate narrative past making must be chronological. In response to a recent effort to reestablish and stabilize the criteria and parameters of evidence and argumentation in "*faire de l'histoire*,"[15] I adapt a phrase from the title of an article by Webb Keane (2005) to suggest that:

Narratives are not the garb of the chronological past[16]

From the side of institutional history, Alan Megill (2007) speaks most directly to issues which concern me of historicity, and lived and performed "multi-media" narratives in the construction of collective pasts. For example, Megill contrasts "historical traces" with "historical sources,"[17] considers the operations and appropriate roles of narrative, memory, and identity in reconstructing the past, and the need for scholars to engage in counterfactual history, all towards the delimitation of a proper "historical epistemology." But even when critiquing the uncritical

[15] See for example Megill (2007:109) on "the project of doing history."

[16] The sub-heading is a play on Webb Keane's "Signs are Not the Garb of Meaning" (2005).

[17] "Traces" are material and textual jetsam which were produced in the past, but not intentionally as accounts of that past. "Sources" are historical material produced intentionally to represent/communicate the past (or the present) to future investigators. Cf. Marc Bloch's (1953:55) historical "tracks." Much of Megill's classification in this portion of his book parallels Bloch's intentional and unintentional historical evidence (60-61).

reliance on narrative in scholarly and popular history, Megill reveals the temporal configuration that is implicit to this historical epistemology, and it is the very same assumption that underpins the most prominent manifestation of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory (Rostworowski 2002a [1978]). Megill writes: "By *narrative*, I here mean an account that is *chronologically ordered* and has a recognizable beginning, middle, and end" (Megill 2007:66).[18] Note that though the difference between historical process and narrative sequence is acknowledged, the two are still ultimately united in Megill's account of what constitutes narrative.

While Megill is intentionally requiring chronology in his proposal for the making of a valid historiography, too often the equation of narrative and chronological sequence is unconsciously asserted (i.e., the assumption that chronology "just is," for everyone), as it is in many manifestations of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory. To adapt a phrase, within this historiographic school, narrative sequence is chronological or it is not historical at all. This is an overstatement, exaggerated for effect, but in the case of a corpus of narratives like the Huarochirí manuscript, a harder look into sequence, priority, and origin needs to be taken in order to figure out what counted as legitimate engagement with the meaningful past for ancient Huarochiranos, and the possible ways chronological time could intersect with their past making. I suggest that in the manuscript's narratives, as well as in material practices like building and occupying a llacta, seemingly chronologically inflected sequential references to priority had more to do with rank in asymmetrically dualistic configurations that were understood as the conditions of possibility. I further maintain that this does not make these configurations ahistorical, but historically operational.

[18] In the original "narrative" is italicized; the emphasis on "chronologically ordered" is my addition.

As Michel-Rolph Trouillot (1995) cogently argued, "history" (the term and our commonly understood concept) partakes both of "the sociohistorical process" ("historicity 1") and our knowledge of that process (through the "sociopolitical management" of the evidence and accounts of the sociohistorical process, or "historicity 2" [1995:29]). But in order for "that which happened" to become "that which we know of what happened," a host of intervening steps need to obtain and coalesce. Most basically, for "x" to have occurred historically–Trouillot uses the famously unfamiliar Haitian Revolution and Republic of 1803–it must first in its own time be conceivable and recognized as an event, as something happening. Once recognized, some sort of record must be produced, which future interested parties can access; these parties also must find significance in the event and its record. Finally, as knowledge of the significant event is produced (in popular retellings, holidays, ceremonies, commemorations, historical publications, national monuments), it must resonate powerfully enough within current contexts and sensibilities to perdure in historical understanding. Without this confluence of factors, Trouillot's two senses of history do not correspond (Rappaport and Cummins 2012:153-154), in what we could call an "infelicitous historicity."

Ultimately, what Trouillot's sequence tells us is that the historical nature of any event or process in the past–history's existence itself–is contingent on the values of a series of presents. My intention is for this interplay of past and present to be reminiscent of anthropological definitions of myth, and particularly treatments of myth and history (Dundes 1984; Hill 1988; Rumsey and Weiner 2001; Sahlins 1985, 2004); because at the heart of both lies cultural significance. We can think of Trouillot's "socio-historical" processes as both the "concrete circumstances [that are] essential to the very possibility of signification" (Keane 2005:186) and the emergence of meaning over time. I am not arguing that myth and history are the same, only that they share similar

constitutive frames from which both derive their currency. The complex endeavor to understand and account for the historical sensibilities of different regimes of past making involves tracking multiple historical phenomena which interact in "complex referential loops"[19]–cycles and epicycles whereby the gross contours and specific crucial details of collectively understood pasts and desired and inhabited presents are continually co-constituted. The cogency of Trouillot's historiography comes from the way it turns the suppositions of historian Otto von Ranke's "*wie es eigentlich gewesen*"[20] on themselves by revealing that "the historical" has, as it were, a *chaîne opératoire*. Telling things "as they really happened" requires uncovering the semiotic, conceptual, and political conditions which, over time, create or silence the past over time.

To advance on Trouillot's insightful, power-oriented twist on Collingwood's historiography (1946), archaeologists and historians must also focus on the social, semiotic, and cultural construction of the criteria involved in what I call past making.[21] In this vein, Neil Whitehead (2003:ix-xi) announced his preference for and use of the concept of "historicities" over history or historiography.[22] After pointing out that "working with incomplete as well as socially

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[19] This phrase comes from Michael Dietler's (2005:34) description of the chronologically circular construction of Hellenic colonization, both in the ancient Mediterranean and in modern British adoption and re-imagining of the ancient Greeks.

[20] Von Ranke's programmatic phrase for the essential approach and aim of an objective, modern history has been recognized by Moses Finley, for example, as "probably the most famous of all pronouncements about the nature of history" (in Stroud 1987:379). It is roughly translated as (re)producing history "as it really happened," that is, facts that are free of overdetermined interpretations or theories. The phrase appears in the preface to his 1824 *Geschichte der romanischen und germanischen Völker von 1494 bis 1514*. Note, however that the traditional, scientific historical interpretation of this work has been challenged by Peter Novick (1988:21-31), who argues Von Ranke's intentions were in a more interpretive vein.

[21] Indeed, the division of culture and politics is artificial, as recent expositions of Gramscian hegemony illustrate (Crehan 2002; Kolata 2013:1-27; Sahlins 2004).

[22] In order to avoid confusion with the more standard and established use of "historicity," in the dissertation I generally refer to what Trouillot and Whitehead call historicity as "past making" or "meaningful engagement with the past."

and culturally biased materials" is a basic "condition of historiography" far and wide, Whitehead names the constitutive foci of historicity-oriented research as "the investigation of the cultural schema and subjective attitudes that make the past meaningful." Thus "it reflects both the historical experiences of a given group and the cultural significance of recalling the past." Of course, "multiple histories may occur from multiple historicities."[23] But as I argue has been the case with the Huarochirí manuscript, "our record of histories has expanded much farther than our understanding of the historicities [or past makings] that create them, and this disjuncture in our understanding has produced a rather defective framework of analysis in anthropology" (Whitehead 2003:ix, xi).

To be clear, I advocate for real, positive knowledge of the indigenous Andean past–I could hardly do otherwise while bringing archaeological data to bear on our readings of historical texts and expounding the virtues of doing so–and this is just to the point. First, the materials that come to constitute archaeological data could also be culturally and politically instrumental in the production of presents and pasts in the past. Second, the ways they did or could do so, that is, the cultural logics of effective, meaningful social and cosmological action–what Swenson (2004:259) has called "emic functionalism"–are amenable to anthropological efforts to understand them. Indeed, greater comprehension of the choices and activities of past individuals and societies depends on our respect for and active efforts to figure out how these semioses (or sign-actions) worked, a precept that would seem to go without saying in socio-cultural ethnography among living populations.

[23] Cf. Abercrombie (1998:196) on Spanish scribes' vexation at the "multiplicity" of the Andean past.

Performance and performativity

Here I introduce the theories of performance and performativity whose utility and applicability to Huarochirí will be elaborated on and made clearer in Chapter Three's discussion of the shortcomings of Huarochirí's "canonical prehistory" and Chapter Four's exposition of the nature of huacas, entities central to the manuscript and Andean history. Briefly, attempts to derive history from the Huarochirí manuscript have been hampered not only by a lack of archaeological data, but also by a historiography that does not adequately consider cultural variance in historical sensibilities ("historicity," *sensu* Whitehead), nor how these different sensibilities play out in the multiple stages that constitute the production of history (sensu Trouillot's historicity 2). So, in the "canonical prehistory" of Huarochirí (see Chapter Two), huacas, and their myths and rituals are interpreted as post hoc re-soundings of occurrences in the past, like invasions/conquest, that were the fundaments of the present order and of Checa rights to territory, resources, and socio-political standing (see Figure I.3). Additionally, while Huarochirí scholars *have* recognized in the manuscript a particularly elaborated version of the dualist huari-llacuaz phenomenon,[24] they have also tended to treat this structure as a reflection, the result of actual historical events (Espinoza 1992; Gose 2008; Rostworowski 2002a [1978]). However, the combined historical and archaeological data from Huarochirí and neighboring regions show the socially and temporally generative nature of huacas, myths, and rituals of origins. In Llacsatambo-San Damián specifically, the case is one of the existence of narrative expression of structured huari-llacuaz

[24] As explained in the Introduction, huari-llacuaz refers to the complementary dualistic social structure recorded in the Colonial period throughout the central and northern Peruvian highlands (Arriaga 1968 [1621]; Duviols 1973). Within towns, settlements, and other allied indigenous populations were those who traced their ancestry either to autochthonous agriculturalists or to semi-nomadic highlands invaders, that is, the conquered and the conquerors, respectively.

hierarchies (i.e., Yauyos and Yuncas), but in a situation where the material evidence does not corroborate the narrative assertions. How to account for such discrepancies?

As I alluded to in the Introduction, collective pasts associated with ceremonial centers, ancestral landscapes, and huacas (with their related narratives and rituals), played a critical role in mediating colonial encounters between indigenous Andeans, like those of Huarochirí, and the expansive Inka and Spanish polities. These dynamics drew from and contributed to "performative past making" (cf. Sahlins 1985:xii-xiii). By performative I mean both formally presented and received acts that can be considered to follow some sort of "script" (i.e., performances), and the class of semiotic acts (i.e., performatives) that do or can make a change in the world by their execution and reception (Austin 1962; DeMarrais 2014; Inomata and Coben 2006). The common example of a performative utterance is "I now pronounce you man and wife;" when made by a recognized priest or justice of the peace at the wedding ceremony of an engaged couple, the utterance is not "just" speech, it *is* the making of the married couple. Conversely, were a random person to approach a friend and me in the street and say the same words it would change nothing with regard to the status of our relationship. (See "felicitous" and "infelicitous" below.) A focus on semiotic performatives is so apt for studying culture and history because their power is to make new collective realities, but only to the degree that their form and substance are cogent within extant, shared semiotic-cultural contexts.

The performative past making on display in late prehispanic and early Spanish colonial Huarochirí consisted of the conjunction of these two senses of performativity (performances and performatives), which informs my suggestion that the lenses of performance and performativity are particularly useful in making sense of Huarochirí's past. More specifically, I focus on performances of the past in the past, together with their performative efficacy (Austin 1962). In

Chapters Three and Four I present specific examples from the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives and in the archaeological record of acts that worked effective changes in the world of their participants. The Checa narrators' ancestors are said to have danced a new pacarina into being; through a sort of ritual adoption these invading ancestors took on the status of the autochthonous peoples they had conquered and expelled, eventually becoming Yuncas. In the archaeological record we see how, for example, Inka investment to increase the feting of key ancestors and huacas effected changes in their social relations, status, and biographies. In the Llacsatambo area this took the form of aggrandizing ceremonial sites and underwriting celebration and full-time retainers, including the establishment of infrastructure–storage facilities, for example–that linked local peoples into broader networks of production, distribution.

Performances of ritual and mythical narrative can mark or correspond to times that are important to the reproduction of society in physical, social, political, and cosmological ways. Performances also produce their own kinds of time in both micro- and macro-cosmic realms and may also be socially and politically transformative (Babcock 1984; Bell 1997:160–62; DeMarrais 2014; Inomata and Coben 2006; Kertzer 1988; Swenson 2007, 2011; Turner 1969:166–203; Van Gennep 1960). This alteration of time may last only for the duration of the performance, or may actually establish new collective eras (Hughes 1995:5). As discussed by J. L. Austin (1962), when performative actions conform to established, collectively understood social institutions and practices, they are "felicitous"; conversely, they are considered "infelicitous" when the utterance or the action and the external social world do not correspond. However, because performative actions by their nature may alter the world, I suggest that it is necessary to consider them on a continuum between felicity and infelicity *over time*.

Two modern Peruvian inscriptions illustrate this point nicely. The painted inscription observed in Figure 1.1 was a statement of fact: Eder Pinaud was indeed (municipal) mayor of San Damián at the moment this picture was taken. However, despite the simple declarative form of the second "inscription" (Figure 1.1), Eder Pinaud was *not* regional mayor, as the text reads (nor did he win the position in 2011). Instead, this was a statement intended to perform a fact into existence through assertion—i.e., an attempted performative act that in time became definitively infelicitous.[25] The ubiquity of such statements in political campaigns and any automatic or seemingly natural ability to interpret and categorize these as political propaganda only serve to underscore the intended point: material, verbal, and spatial performative acts are part and parcel of political struggles.

Figure 1.1: Performative semiotics, politics, and temporality: the eft shows a painted statement on the inner wall of San Damián's soccer stadium declaring the fact of Eder Pinaud's status as mayor (photograph taken November 10, 2010); the right shows the grammatically equivalent statement on a store wall near Peru's central highway (photograph taken November 11, 2010) declaring a desired future state of affairs in terms of a *fait accompli* in the present—an attempted performative utterance. (Photographs by author)

[25] My emphasis here is on the form of the language used and its potential to mislead future understanding of historical conditions. I am not necessarily implying that the word "*para*" ("for") in the second inscription is intentionally omitted to manipulate the voter, though other declarations of the same genre are indeed deployed in just this way. For example, during campaign speeches it is common for U.S. presidential candidates to say things like, "when I am President, I will make changes to these policies," or "we are taking the White House," irrespective of any confirmatory poling data. The same tactics are used every day by sports coaches, military generals, and business entrepreneurs.

And yet, if these twenty first-century Peruvian inscriptions became the object of study hundreds or thousands of years from now, would we not want to inform those future researchers of the temporal-performative dynamic of these inscriptions so that they could accurately reconstruct the past, rather than letting them take the inscriptions at face value? Lacking this awareness would likely lead these future researchers to construct inaccurate chronologies or political histories of the area.

While in this example, the intention was to bring into reality a desired state of affairs by declaring a present objective as a future *fait accompli*—essentially a performance of the future, the dissertation's focus is on the performative efficacy of huaca-centered performances of the *past* during the late prehispanic and early Spanish colonial periods in Huarochirí.

When dealing with political affairs like ruling and being ruled, performance of the past tied to identity may seem less weighty–even epiphenomenal–compared to the "naked economic and military" power exercised by expansive polities in colonial encounters (Mintz 1985:xv). But a great deal of social science since Max Weber (1978, 2009 [1948]) has focused on the primary concerns of ruling elites to make and substantiate claims concerning the legitimacy of their rule (see Barker 2001:8). In a recent study of the activities and resource expenditures of governing classes, Rodney Barker (2001) expands on Weber (in the direction of, but ultimately moving beyond, Geertz [1980:123-135]) to explore the breadth and depth of what he terms "endogamous self-legitimization," or the ways ruling classes perform justifications of their positions *not only* to those they rule over, but *to themselves*, that is, to address and shore up their own identities (Barker 2001:45-69).

The sixteenth-century Spanish historian of the Inkas, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa (2007 [1572]:116), recorded a supreme example of such endogamous self-legitimization involving the

recursive, performative making of past and present among Andean political elite. In establishing his new status as Inka Emperor, Pachakuti Inka "personally went to the hill of Tambotoco or Pacariqtambo . . . and entered the cave from where they claim that [first Inka] Manco Capac and the siblings who came with him the first time to Cuzco emerged," thus becoming the new Manco Capac. Afterwards, Pachakuti embellished the site and "set it up as a shrine and *huaca* for requesting oracles and to sacrifice" (Sarmiento 2001 [1572]:95),[26] in the same stroke enhancing his status and the Inka past.[27]

In these practices, however, what counts as legitimate in substantiating ruling identity is historically and culturally specific. For example, the vision of Viracocha, experienced by Inka Yupanque (the same Pachakuti mentioned above, pre-coronation), wherein the creator-god encouraged and ratified the upstart's overtaking of Cuzco (Betanzos 1996 [1551-1557]:29), would have been nonsensical in Simon Bolivar's 1815 "Jamaica Letter" (written as part of the movement for the independence of the northern South American intendencies from the Spanish Empire). In fact, in the letter Bolivar himself makes the case that the production of legitimacy is historically and culturally specific. As he justified revolution and the establishment of republics by way of political and legal philosophy, and historical examples from antiquity forward, Bolivar referred to the Mexican Quetzalcoatl ("the Hermes or Buddha of South America") in a discussion about what

[26] "Y para esto instituyólo por adoratorio y huaca, donde fuesen a pedir oráculos y a sacrificar" (Sarmiento 2001 [1572]:95).

[27] According to Sarmiento, these efforts were just a portion of a broader effort on the part of Pachakuti Inka to investigate the "historias y antigüdades de esta tierra, principalmente de los incas," about which he was very curious (2001 [1572]:94-95), and to build up Cuzco (the latter "to frighten the ignorant people and fool them into blindly following him"). Again engaging in "past making" Pachakuti "disinterred the bodies of the past seven Incas, from Manco Capac to Yahuar Huacac Inca, all of whom were in the House of the Sun. He embellished them with gold" and other adornments and caused that the mallquis should be feared, feted, and made integral to all the yearly royal ceremonies (Sarmiento 2007 [1572]:117).

the Mexican people lacked to overthrow Spain. For Bolivar, "however ingratiating the guise," the return of Quetzalcoatl, "divine law-giver among the pagan[s]," would fail to inspire and unify nineteenth-century Mexicans towards revolution. On the other hand, the "Virgin of Guadalupe the Queen of the Patriots" did indeed inspire "an intense devotion to the sacred cause of liberty" among the Mexican population (in Bertrand 1951).[28]

Thus, to reiterate: what all of this signals is that in broad terms, performatives prove ideal for the study of the dynamics between culture and history because the special power of performatives is to make new collective realities, but only to the degree that their form and substance are cogent within extant social, cultural, and historical contexts. Thus, the idea that "[t]he past must be subjugated and harnessed in order to create the social order of the present" (Yoffee 2007:1) pervaded both the Inka and Spanish expansions. In such pursuits, the past was a potent and invaluable cultural resource (Appadurai 1981; Chase 2004; D'Altroy 2001:210; Flores Galindo 1987; MacCormack 1991; Patterson 1997; Silverblatt 1988; Urton 1990). Huacas were such an important focal point for the agents of expansive polities and their "would-be subjects" (Comaroff and Comaroff 1992:236) precisely because of their originary associations. Cosmologies and political power were both the means and the stakes of these colonial struggles over the practical and interpretive control of the past. These dynamics, of course, complicate the task of

[28] Another example from Colonial Peru: in one frequently cited case it is recorded that as part of a millenarian movement founded on the illegitimacy of Spanish Colonial rule and their immanent defeat and ouster from the Andes (the Taki Onqoy of the 1560s), a group of Indians set up a Catholic cross along with their huacas for a ceremonial meeting. "And their sorcerer preachers spoke in that house with their huacas and these same huacas gave answers to these preachers." In contrast, the Indian religious authorities revealed that the "stick" they had included had "not spoken for the cross, and he who speaks to us is our God and Maker" (Albornoz in MacCormack 1991:184). The huacas' ongoing verbal interaction was appropriate for the Indians' "God and Maker," and displayed the historical relationship that legitimized the elite ritual standing of the indigenous specialists, while simultaneously undermining any Spanish Catholic legitimacy to rule or dictate in Andean religious matters. For the Spanish, such claims, if true, only proved the wholesale illegitimacy of the entire Andean religious enterprise (and by extension the false premises of the Andean past), as only the Devil would speak through idols while rejecting the Cross.

reconstructing the history of these pasts. As we will see in greater detail in Chapter Three, it is clear that a huacas' past did not "just happen" but rather was performed. Huacas were intrinsically tied to performative past making and collective identities. In the construction of pasts that resonated with a desired present. However, this is not to suggest a wholly constructivist invention of tradition. As discussed earlier, while it is true that the efficacy of efforts to "perform the past" depend on creative appropriations of the past in the present (Kolata and Ponce Sangines 1992; Schnapp 1997:11–37; Smith 2004), it is also true that whatever the desired present order may be, it, too, is informed and conditioned by the lived past.

Archaeological theory

The history of archaeology manifests dissonant variations of the "epistemological hypochondria" characteristic of anthropology more broadly (Geertz 1989:71). On the one hand (and despite "handmaiden" designations), the concrete and scientific facets of archaeological data and analyses (e.g., stratigraphy, radiocarbon dating, artifact analysis) have often been taken as archaeology's most trustworthy evidentiary traits. This is visible not only in archaeological practice and writings in certain eras, but in the uncritical way these data are presented to account for early periods in *volk*ish or nationalist histories (Dawdy 2009:132-133; Krauze 2005:19-95; Payne 2008:50, 254-255). On the other hand, the history of archaeological theory and practice evinces a low-frequency anxiety over the discipline's defining terms, punctuated by explicit calls for reassessment and regrouping (Binford 1962; Clarke 1973; Hodder and Hutson 2004; Kluckhohn 1939; Taylor 1983 [1948]; Trigger 1989). The existence and definition of independent archaeological theory has been of particular concern.

In a recent reassessment of archaeological theory (Johnson [and respondents] 2006), Adam T. Smith proposed that we "understand archaeological theory as *the form in which a culture*

expresses its consciousness of the pastness of its things" (2006:160; italics in original). For several reasons to be fleshed out over the course of this dissertation, Smith's formulation is most useful for thinking through and presenting my own archaeological and historical research, and thereby for understanding with greater clarity the historical and cultural practices of late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí. For Smith, this approach allows us to see how archaeology is "constituted relationally, as an ongoing reflection upon the materiality of the past." Smith's formulation requires a reckoning: the materials (archaeological and textual) we collect and turn into data for our own ends (reconstructing the past) were themselves to varying degrees implicated in ongoing processes of constructing and reconstructing presents and pasts in the past–a historical dimension of the "imbroglios," "networks," or "entanglements" much discussed in recent anthropological literature (Hodder 2012; Ingold 2007, 2013; Kohn 2013; Latour 1993, 2005, 2013).[29] The absolute separation between what peoples in the past *thought* their things did and what we ("moderns," archaeologists) "*know*" by virtue of our work with these things is thus eliminated by Smith in a way that would be appreciated by any professors of "the ontological turn."

I am not implying that there is no epistemological hierarchy in my analyses and conclusions, and this will be evident in the ways I compare and contrast archaeological with

[29] As discussed earlier with Trouillot, the reverse is also true. That is, "history is set in the midst of change. The historian not only writes *about* the constant flow of events; she also writes from *within* the flow" (Stanford 1998:53; emphasis in original). Though this point is well taken, Stanford also displays an extremely problematic understanding of epistemology, in particular empiricism, experience, and performativity. Misusing Austin to make a point about the verbal nature of historical evidence, Stanford goes on (67) to state that "[e]mpirical methods are the methods of experience," and then asks: "[H]ow can the historian, if his subject is earlier than the twentieth century, have had experience of that subject? Can the study of history then be an empirical exercise? And if not, can it be truthful?" I must note that Stanford sets these questions up in an attempt to problematize them but, in my reading, the cause is lost because of the faulty premises to *his* faulty premise questions. One may well mention to Stanford that though a biologist has no experience whatsoever of being a tadpole and becoming a frog, biology is nonetheless empirical.

On historical evidence and performativity, see the section below.

narrative data (and I am convinced I "have it right"). Anyway, my concern here is not really with redefining disciplinary archaeology, and I certainly will not be making any arguments about sixteenth- and seventeenth-century "Checa archaeologists" in Huarochirí. Rather, my interest is in the way this theoretical reorientation resonates with the interaction and mutual co-constitution of peoples, "their things," and "pastness" in this part of the Andes, and as a more general anthropological phenomenon. The historical and cultural milieu I deal with, from the material and geographical bases of prehispanic and early Colonial Andean socio-political life to the destructive Spanish Catholic campaigns against Andean "idolatry" ostensibly precipitated by the Huarochirí manuscript's composition, are par excellence expressions of and struggles over the consciousness of the pastness of things. My archaeological and historical research constitutes not only an exploration of these cases, but is itself a contributing cultural expression of consciousness of the pastness of "our"[30] things.

What makes Smith's theoretical statement so appropriate to the analysis and presentation of my research is the way it clears a common ground to which these several instances of the co-constitution of people, pastness, and things can be gathered. Smith's classification separates "a culture" and "its things" as related but unlike terms, mutually dependent but apparently irreducible. His relational constitution of archaeology as "a culture," "pastness," and "its things" gestures towards object-agency network theories while retaining for archaeology the analytic privilege of

[30] Here the cogency of Smith's formulation for political analysis really reveals itself: the intentional writing of "ours" bespeaks a "cosmopolitan archaeology" (Smith 2004), one part of which is my making these data "universally" available through the dissertation, technical reports, and other presentations and publications. In what other ways can these things be considered "ours," i.e., of or belonging to the "global community" as "world heritage," the United States, the archaeological/anthropological community (whose members are from all nations that have professional archaeologists), the University of Chicago, or even to me (casually, unthinkingly, when speaking with possessives, I have very nearly always referred to the artifacts as "mine," "my materials," or "my artifacts")? In what ways are the things I study "theirs," i.e., of or belonging to Peruvians, Huarochiranos, Checas, Limeños?

discerning objects and agents through time (which, though not "symmetrical," is in the end not so different from the underpinnings of Latour's [1993, 2005, 2013] suggested method for actor-network-theory). To posit "a culture" which stands in possessive relation to "its things" justifies a shorthand substitution of human beings or people (*qua* human beings) for culture. To be sure, this relationship gets considerably more complicated in the remainder of the dissertation, but for now the flexible structure of people, pastness, and things (the consideration of which I will hereafter refer to as PPT) is apposite for presenting the remaining parts of my theoretical framework.

People/Pastness/Things (PPT)

While retaining Smith's expansion in time and space of archaeological theory, I push his formulation in a different direction by exploring not only the co-constitutive relationship of people to pastness to things, but by arguing that the form this relationship takes is determinative of externally and self-ascribed collective identities, of the terms of their existence, character, relations, and categorizations. This direction emerged from the results of my archaeological and historical research in Huarochirí. For example, to return to the definition of landscape I discussed in the dissertation's Introduction, the concept expressed in the Quechua word llacta included several different agentive entities joined socially. Belonging to a llacta was not the same as belonging to a modern state or city, for the llacta/huaca also had real, consequential, interactive claim on a *llactayuc* ("a llacta's possessor/possessed"). As I have mentioned and will flesh out in greater detail in Chapter Four, huacas were "intrinsically material," which is to say they had Cartesian extension. They were also actors–ancestors whose originary conquests and alliances situated a people and llacta in space, time, and in relation to other peoples, huacas, and llactas; the ongoing involvement of huacas necessarily maintained or changed the status quo. For example, another facet of an example I have already discussed is that the Checa narrators of the Huarochirí

manuscript related that, led by huaca Tutayquiri, their ancestors had conquered the llacta Llacsatambo and became "settlers" (*llactayucuna*) by subsequently adopting and being adopted by the local huacas (*llactahuacacuna*) (Salomon 1991:24; Salomon and Urioste 1991:79-81, 117-119; Taylor 1999:160-171, 302-317).

The compound term llacta thus embodies co-constitutive past-making relationship. Further, Checa collective identity–for themselves *and* for Inka and Spanish administrators–was entirely tied up with their recognition of and relationship with "things" that were intimately "theirs." Primordial and genealogical senses of pastness were the very conditions of the current order. As we will see, during Inka expansion, the identities and temporal situations (in a developmental mode of savage pre-Inka or civilized Inka subject) of conquered and/or incorporated groups had everything to do with which "things" (huacas, llactas) were recognized as "theirs." Spanish colonization and evangelization entailed yet another past-making configuration of PPT (Chase 2004, 2016b).

Of course, explorations of PPT are a pillar of the "new ontological turn." PPT is at the heart of Latour's sociological and anthropological project, particularly in his formulation and critique of modernity (1993). As neatly summarized by Alf Hornborg (2013:246), the gist of Latour's argument about modernity's configuration of people, pastness, and things is that "the social condition and technological accomplishments of European modernity have been founded on a categorical distinction between Nature and Society. It is by drawing a boundary between the world of objects and the world of meanings that the modern project has emerged." For Latour it is precisely the smokescreen of this "purification" ideology which abets the massive proliferation of material nature-culture "hybrids" that is the other hallmark of modernity. Here, then, is PPT in modernity: what makes "moderns" (a chauvinistic temporal/historical designation implicating the

"premodern") is their relationship to "things," both ideologically as agentive human subjects (society) to un-willful, non-human objects (nature), and effectively as creators and inhabitants of a hybridized world. As an exposition of the construction and operations of a specific historical and cultural arrangement (networks and gatherings, Latour might say), the work is provocative and cogent. However, Latour's case is just one configuration of a tendency observable in a multitude of other times and places,[31] which is only to say that PPT arrangements are perhaps innumerable, and more broadly construed and applicable than Latour's modernity.[32] Thus, mirroring the irony by which Latour's title both confirms and denies modernity, let me suggest the following:

Everyone has always been "modern"

By "everyone has always been 'modern'" I mean simply the following: If being modern means living in and working out multiple forms of human-nature networks and products and subscribing to a specific ideology of the proper, correct, enlightened, relationship between signifying human subjects (society, culture) and material objects (nature), both of which constitute a value-laden temporal/historical order (adopted/lived *and* classificatory imposition), then the skeletal or structural form of what Latour refers to as "the constitution" of modernity is detectable in any number of (or even all) historical and socio-cultural instances. Or, without violence to the argument, I could replace "modern" with "originary" as befits the cases I deal with throughout the

[31] To recall, the tendency referred to is the social production of lived (emic) and classificatory (etic) eras and collective identities consisting of the projected or practiced relationships between human beings and their non-human things.

[32] In contrast to the historical parameters inherent to Latour's *We Have Never Been Modern* and reiterated in his more recent "Anthropology of the Moderns" (2013), the lens of *longue durée* is a strength of others' critical inquiries into the culture of the West and modernity (e.g., Fabian 2014 [1983]; Fasolt 2004; Gillespie 2009; Graeber 2014; Pagden 1982; Sahlins 1976: 166-221, 2005:415-469, 527-583, 2008).

dissertation: as Severin Fowles (2013:1-37) has convincingly demonstrated for religion and secularism, temporally modern and temporally originary are not starkly opposed. In fact, he argues the modern move towards secularization is just one step in a process of regaining "primitive," true religion (i.e., private, immanent, decoupled from politics). However, this is not unique to modernity. As I show for the Andes, projects of getting human groups back to their "true" origins and eternal relationships through the introduction of new religious doctrines, relationships, and material implements was characteristic of the interactions between local and expansive polities spanning the late prehispanic and early Colonial periods (see also D'Altroy 2001; Estenssoro 2003; Gose 2008; MacCormack 1991, 2007; Mills 1997; Silverblatt 1988). For example, as we have seen with *llacta*s, and will explore further in Chapter Three, the new establishment of societies of humans and huacas was generative of new origins.

The call for a special focus on modernity, sounded early and emphasized often by Latour (1993, 2005, 2013), and picked up by others in the social sciences, has been important both in obviating postmodern anxieties and as an admonition to present-day knowledge producers who would see the modern vantage point as uniquely privileged and universalizing (natural, in the final analysis, but only reached after a great deal of cultivation). After nearly a quarter-century of reiterations, the dividends of this special focus are diminishing. Ironically, one result of the proliferation and repetition (and of course, nuancing) of the original argument is the perpetuation, in altered form, of "the modern" as a special case. To suggest a remedy: exposition of modernity's constitutive dynamics is much more powerful when cross-fertilized by the realization that "we of the West are also one of the Others" (Sahlins 2013:xi), facilitating the propagation of the Latour's insights to other cultural and historical contexts. Modern social sciences *do* rest on specific relational configurations and ontological assumptions, but not uniquely so, despite particularity in

form and timing. Other societies from other times also organized themselves, their world, and others by virtue of differential configurations of people, pastness, and things. Thus an important anthropological task is to work out the relational configurations, forms, ontological assumptions and assertions of any given group of interest, and to trace their development and fortunes over time. My attempt at this task is to explore the performative semioses involved in understanding, codifying, and communicating collective pasts and presents in prehispanic through early Colonial Huarochirí, which shares with "modernity" particular networks and relations of peoples and things as non-human people or actors, entirely intertwined with temporal notions like origins, or "historical" proximity to other groups whose being in the world likewise consisted of comparable networks and relations.

Taking up the critique of modernity, historians and archaeologists have brought their knowledge of the historical and cultural specifics of their research areas to dismantling modernity's ostensible universality. Excellent studies by Dipesh Chakrabarty (2000) and Severin Fowles (2013), for example, provide sophisticated and thought-provoking accounts of postcolonial India and prehispanic and modern Pueblo "religion," respectively. The arguments of both works pivot away from modernity's historical/temporal and categorical modalities but are not mere deployments of Latour's project: Chakrabarty does not draw on Latour[33] and Fowles (2013:13, 103, 108) is at points supercilious towards the panaceaism of Latour's social science. Both Chakrabarty and Fowles well address an anthropological ideal by providing and accounting for local cultural knowledge which happens to undercut major tenets of modernity (though these

[33] Though note Chakrabarty's "asymmetrical ignorance" (2000:28)–the fact that European historians may ignore historians from other world areas without risking being labelled provincial, while it is not the case other way around–is quite similar in word and meaning to Latour's (2005) push for "symmetrical" sociological inquiry and description.

societies are chronologically "modern"). The potential risk in studies oriented in this way is reemphasizing the modern as exceptional–particularly vis-à-vis the "premodern"–in being oriented by temporal and relational-ontological configurations (at the very least, as the impediment to more accurate understanding of subaltern [sub-continental] Indians and the "doings" of North American Pueblo Indians).

By dealing with and dwelling on the critique of the modern, this dissertation also may appear to run the same risk of reiterating modernity's ideal separations and practical promiscuity concerning subjects and objects. However, my point is to not to deconstruct modernity, many staples of which I employ in my research and analysis, but to argue that it is but one configuration of PPT among many. This (unknown) number of configurations can be explored to produce fuller understanding of other times, other peoples, and other places without rendering them "irreducible" or incomparable to our present situation (cf. Kluckhohn 1953:507; Kroeber 1936).

To back up my claims, there are two main points I should address through examples. The first is that the kind of PPT constitutive of modernity has existed in the past, but this only becomes apparent through researching and reconstructing configurations of PPT within and as historically and culturally specific contexts. The second (related) point is that uncritical, generalized, and broadly applied models of the relationships between peoples, pastness, and things (see Latour 1993:41) preempt our efforts to understand others and ourselves. Examples of this tendency are discussed below, but the risk of overcompensation in the opposite direction should also be noted. To be sure, Descola's goal "to show that the opposition between nature and culture is not as universal as it is claimed to be" aligns with my aims. But to declare as he does that this opposition "make[s] *no sense* to *anyone* except the Moderns" (2013:xviii; emphasis added) suggests an absolute incommensurability that could foreclose on explorations of PPT at different times and in

different places,[34] and again makes modernity a special case. But let me move on to address the points raised above.

The grossest, most simplistic PPT classification is of the sort that separates modernity from premodernity in recent ontology and materiality studies in the form of "the premodern notion that *there is no inanimate matter*" (Stafford in Küchler 2005:208; emphasis added; cf. Latour 1993:41). This is precisely the kind of generalization that reinforces the exceptionalism of modernity. Who are these unspecified premoderns, and how were their cosmos constituted? Certainly the ancient Sumerians were (chronologically) "premodern." And indeed, for them, as texts show, "Salt" was not an "it" but a "Thou," who by performing the actions desired by a victim of sorcery could come to be regarded as the victim's Creator; "Grain," too was enjoined by the ancient Sumerians as an active intercessor between humans and gods (Jacobsen 1946:130-131). However, these examples are not from a premodern world with "no inanimate matter," but instead indicate extensive socio-political networks wherein specific agentive commissions were created and deployed in and for particular interactive tasks. For scholars unwilling to consider these contexts carefully the Sumerian expressions amounted to an "inextricable confusion in which men, beasts, plants, stones, stars are all on one level of personality and animated existence" (Lang in Jacobsen 1946:130). But more rigorous, PPT-oriented examinations generally yield more culturally sophisticated pictures which also belie overly simple categorizations like "the premodern."

[34] I use this statement primarily for the sentiment it communicates. Descola's work is inherently pluralizing (though bounded in structured categories). In the paragraph following the cited sentences, Descola acknowledges that modernism is "but one of the possible expressions of the more general schemas that govern the objectivization of the world and of others" (2013:xviii).

For example, Thorkild Jacobsen (1946:131) displays such analytical precision (and with notable precocity in view of recent anthropological trends mentioned above[35]), as he urges readers to conceive of "the relations between phenomena of nature [in ancient Sumer] as social relations," structured and operating "as an order of wills." The facts of the matters in the Sumerian case were that items like Salt, Flint, and Grain *could be* "alive, hav[ing] personality and a will of their own." Yet these elements were not persons, Jacobsen maintains, and their wills and properties did not inhere *sui generis* in each individual item. Rather, their original and ongoing source was the gods of the Sumerian pantheon and their mythical deeds. The hierarchical order of wills, subject-object relations, and agency in ancient Sumer was that of a state, Jacobsen argues (1946:127). The gods created, ordered, ruled over, and sustained humans and other willful things; in a plethora of combinations (institutions, households, families, magic-working, trade) these subjects worked together and against one another, but always subordinate to the gods and ordering principles that we might call "socio-natural" (1946:136-150).[36]

Generalization of the crude "premodern" notion of matter mentioned above is *not* unique to modern scholarship, but only one of countless expressions of PPT through time. Closer to the historical and cultural subject matter of this dissertation, the Victorian historian William Prescott,

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[35] For comparison with established Andean scholarship, cf. Rowe's contemporaneous "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest" (1946). The ratio of archaeological to textual evidence is comparable in the two pieces, but Rowe's work is much less interpretive than that of Jacobsen's on the ancient Near East. The work of Peruvian intellectual Josè María Arguedas is probably much closer in its synthesizing and philosophical approach to that of Jacobsen. The latter's approach is also comparable to that of scholarship from centuries earlier, such as in the writings of Garcilaso or Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua.

[36] Jacobsen argues that the socio-political form of the Sumerian cosmos was "Primitive Democracy" (1946:129), which must have been in effect in the dawn of Sumerian civilization, because it was not in practice during the imperial eras in which we find greatest expression of the Sumerian idea of the order of the cosmos, viz. "Primitive Democracy." This historical convolution presents a political version of Fowles' (2013) exposition of the temporal convolution in the modern construction of premodern religion (harking back to the "true" and "primitive").

author of *History of the Conquest of Peru* (2002 [1847]) and British explorer, geographer, and Secretary of the Royal Geographic Society Clements Markham (1964 [1873]) gave comparably simplistic renderings. As Prescott traces Inka origins from "the time . . . when the ancient races of the continent were all plunged in deplorable barbarism," he identifies that chronological and developmental baseness by these peoples' indiscriminant worship of "nearly every object in nature" (2002 [1847]:3). To be sure, such an evaluation of pre-Inka Andean cult, with its imprecise configuration of people, pastness, and things is apt expression of the guiding principles of the social evolutionism of nineteenth-century anthropology (see Kehoe 1998; Lubbock 1865; Morgan 1877; Stocking 1968:35-38, 72-79, 195-233; Tylor 1871). However, Prescott here is drawing directly from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish writings on the Inkaic Andes, which in turn were based on (or at least informed by) imperial Inka testimony (Bauer and Smit 2015; Covey 2007). Here, then, we see PPT also in the ideology of Inka expansion (as passed through the increasingly entrenched Spanish imperial apparatus): before being incorporated into Tawantinsuyu, non-Inkas lacked discernment, and by worshipping "nearly every object in nature," lived in crude associations with their "things," instead of having appropriate relationships (cultic and familial within the hierarchy of the state) with the "correct" things (huacas, llactas, ancestors), either as ratified or revealed to them by the Inka.[37] To enter in to these relationships was to adjust collective histories and vice-versa, but it was also to become part of Tawantinsuyu (see Chase 2015; 2016a, 2016b; Kosiba 2010, 2015a, 2015b). As already discussed, Spanish Colonial extirpation involved comparable evaluations and transformations, and understanding the late

[37] For his part, Markham referred to "the *popular* religion of the Andean people, which consisted in the belief that *all things* in nature had an ideal or soul which ruled and guided them" (1964 [1873]:xi; emphasis added).

prehispanic and early Colonial periods in Huarochirí requires giving special attention to the specific *processes* (cf. Smith 2004) by which peoples and the pastness of their things came to constitute one another and to these relationships' particular structures. In short, because these things were important to them they must be important to us.

At the same time I insist on the maintenance of analytical distance and the perspective it provides, as argued in Ruth Benedict's oft-cited fish analogy: an anthropological exposition of a deep-sea fish's world would be misleading and incomplete if the anthropologist relied exclusively on the fish's point of view, because it would never occur to the fish to mention water.[38] One of the best examples of PPT is found in the unfolding co-constitution of subjects and objects over time in Hegelian and Marxist historical dialectics (Marx 1977 [1867], 1998 [1869]; Marx and Engels 1996 [1846]), and recognition of the realities of commodity fetishism could emerge only through a critical-analytical approach to the particular form these relationships took in nineteenth-century capitalist Europe. So it is with Huarochirí: uncovering the histories of the performed pasts of huacas, llactas, individuals and groups requires the analytical data provided by archaeology in forms like stratigraphy and radiocarbon dates.

In the following chapter I give an analytical, diachronic account of one particular manifestation of PPT in a past making tradition, i.e., the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí. In one form or another, each of the historiographic and theoretical themes discussed above are present in the centuries-long construction of this canonical prehistory. In short, though they were expressed

[38] Over a period of years I have been unable to track this idea to any specific Benedict work, though I have found it presented in sources ranging from psychology books on modeling theory (Britt 1997:111), introductory anthropology texts (Gezon and Kottak 2014:back cover) and in conversation (Marshall Sahlins, personal communication 2005). I have also heard the idea attributed to Marshall MacLuhan.

differently over time, a set of related ontological and semiotic precepts passed from the Spanish Colonial encounters with Andean numina to the twentieth-century historiography of Huarochirí. The most basic of these was the assumption of the separable natures of brute matter and agentive force. In the sixteenth-century Spanish Andes, this had to do with Judeo-Christian discourse surrounding idolatry: because huacas were "intrinsically material" (see Chapter Three), for Spaniards they could only be brute (and mute) matter. Spaniards did not uniformly and categorically dismiss Andean accounts of huacas' animate interactions, but the agency in these displays was not regarded as inherent to the huaca-objects themselves but to the Devil or his servants (Chase 2004). Over the centuries that followed, the matter was not only that huacas' inexorable existence as res extensa precluded their being res cogitans: In the nineteenth- and twentieth- century historiography of Huarochirí, the reduced scope of possible historical agents also restricted the range of what could be considered legitimate historical actions and motivations, and huacas could only be an exotic expression of particular episodes of Andean peoples' pursuit of these goals. The shortcomings of this historiography will be discussed in light of the historical and archaeological information derived from my research in Huarochirí.

CHAPTER TWO

The Myth of a History: The Making, Content, and Implications of the "Canonical Prehistory of Huarochirí"

"Chronicles of the Impossible": This is Frank Salomon's (1982) term for the results of native Andean scribal efforts to reconcile the fundamental incongruities between indigenous Andean and Western (i.e., Spanish Colonial and present-day) historical sensibilities. Francisco de Avila's writings on the Huarochirí manuscript narratives (his *Tratado* in Arguedas and Duviols 1966) show that Spanish authors too wrestled with "combining two drastically differing viewpoints about the nature and usefulness of the past" (Salomon 1982:9). Not that Avila was willing to attempt conceiving Andean temporal-historical sensibilities as anything but idolatrous befuddlement. Avila's conviction–what he *knew*–was that, however temporally confused and convoluted the Indians' oral traditions about their origins and past were, they and their ancestors told of in these narratives lived in universal, linear, chronological time. The fact that any deviation from chronological history was conceived of as not only error, but attributable to Andean Indians' state of religious confusion underscores the sacred nature for Early Modern Spaniards of this specific temporal scheme and products written by its logic.

And so, in the face of "the impossible," and with great confusion and even violence against the meanings of the stories, as Salmon indicates, the narratives of the Huarochirí manuscript were sequentially ordered (by means of a dialectic tacking between internal textual clues and external referents from Spanish history; see Chapter One) and Huarochirí's "history" was created. As I show in this chapter, different aspects of this history were variously perpetuated, discarded, and picked up again between the seventeenth century and the present. Here I present a diachronic account of what I call "the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí," which came to its fullest development during the late twentieth century, and I consider its historiographic, epistemological,

and ontological underpinnings. (It is important to note that "canonical prehistory" is not pejorative, nor is it the work of any one scholar.) The "canonical prehistory" of Huarochirí is a specific sequential ordering of events and processes (drawn from and/or paired with the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript), fitted into rough chronological order according to Andean archaeology's Horizon/Intermediate period model (see Rostworowski 2002c [1992]:27n2). It purports to account for the goings-on in Huarochirí during the centuries preceding the manuscript's composition. It also comprises a more general model of history and historiography, underpinned by assumptions about chronological temporality and the causal relationship between myth, ritual performance, and historical events and processes. Specifically, the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí holds that the highlands Yauyos invasions that drove previous populations towards the coast were carried on over six centuries, beginning around AD 900 (see Figure 2.2). Further, the huacas, their myths and rituals recorded in the manuscript represent commemorative, post hoc *reflections* of the actual historical invasions and organization of social, political, agricultural, and religious order. This account has become the predominant, de facto explanation of Huarochirí's past, appearing in scholarly publications and popular literature alike (Bueno Mendoza 1992; Coello Rodríguez 2000; Coello Rodríguez and Díaz Arce 1995; Espinoza Soriano 1992; Gutiérrez 1992; INC 2008; Kaulicke 1974-1975; Ortiz Rescaniere 1977; Patrocinios y Tapia 2002; Sykes 1990).

This chapter is in no way a comprehensive account, not even of the history of the history of Huarochirí and its manuscript. Rather, I follow developments in the work of scholars who have been involved with and written about the Huarochirí manuscript that correspond to key elements of the predominant interpretation of Huarochirí's (pre)history as it has reigned over the last several decades. Many of these readings made valuable contributions to our understanding of Huarochirí's past (as I see it). As indicated already, the archaeological data I gathered in my field and laboratory

research in the center of the manuscript's composition do not support some of the most basic assertions of the canonical prehistory. As I will show here and in the next chapter, except in a few very specific claims, this does not categorically foreclose on the ethnohistoric interpretations, but instead requires new interpretations of the ethnohistoric material.

I begin with the manuscript itself, and Avila's struggles with the chronology of its narrative contents. I then jump to the nineteenth century and "the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology" (Salomon 1991:29), and continue following scholarly treatments of the manuscript and Huarochirí's prehistory to the present. I then present some of the ways the canonical prehistory has factored into the archaeology of Huarochirí, and conclude by discussing at length one particular historiographic error stemming from the canonical prehistory (the error is simple, but very revealing and important, as I argue). Over the course of presenting and discussing this historiographic error I make the broader interpretive suggestion that the Huarochirí manuscript and its late prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial social organization was based on a historical-segmentary ideology.

Avila and the historical organization of Huarochirí

The fundaments of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory emerge first from the manuscript's Checa narrators themselves, who related their local ancestral past in sequential and successive terms within the recurrent framework of highlands invasions and conquest/expulsion of previous inhabitants. These invasions were carried out by their forefathers, led by their tutelary huaca Tutayquiri (son of apical regional huaca Pariacaca): "[T]his land was once all full of Yunca. As soon as Tutay Quiri's children had expelled those Yunca, they began to distribute among themselves, according to their own ayllus, the fields, the houses, and the ayllu designations" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:119). Taking the form of torrential red and yellow rain, "Tutay Quiri

[then] set out from Llacsa Tambo to conquer" residual Yuncas populations, washing them down the Lurín and Rímac river valleys to the Pacific coast. As we will later see, it is significant that in the midst of this expulsion Yunca peoples who revered and worshipped Tutayquiri were said to have been spared and permitted to remain in their villages, from that moment forward to be recognized as "brothers" to the Checa (79-80).

Though the specific terminology does not figure prominently in the manuscript's narrative, from the time Rostworowski (see below) and Duviols (1973), Andeanists have recognized Huarochirí's multiple, repeated myths of highland invasion as an especially concentrated and well-articulated expression of the widespread "*huari-llacuaz*" socio-political arrangement. As drawn from seventeenth-century documentation of the Extirpation of Idolatries in the highlands of Lima's archiepiscopate, and presented by Pierre Duviols (1973, 1986:LVI-LXVI), the "dualist huari-llacuaz complex" (1986:LXV)[1] was the basic principle of village-level social organization throughout the north-central highlands. Huari populations traced ancestry to primordial, autochthonous huaca-ancestors; they were sedentary agriculturalists, expert terrace and canal builders. *Llacuaces* were the descendants of highlands pastoralist invaders associated with high mountain precipitation phenomena like lightning/thunder, torrential rain, and hail. The hierarchical predicate of village social relations was right by invasion/conquest (llacuaz) over right by autochthony (huari). The productive complementarity of this asymmetrical duality worked most obviously in agricultural cycles wherein huaris appealed to their ancestors' connection to crop fields while llacuaces could bring the seasonal rainwater from the heights above. Their respective

[1] "[C]omplejo dualista huari-llacuaz" (Duviols 1986:LXV).

and intertwined chthonic and invasive qualities evoke the way the Inka "envisioned agriculture as warfare–a victory claimed by disemboweling the earth" (D'Altroy 2015:405; Bauer 1996).

The (Checa) Yauyos and Yuncas of Huarochirí were *llacuaces* and *huaris*, respectively (Gose 2008:18-19; Salomon 1991). Questions of the temporal-historical nature of these relations will be discussed shortly. For now it is sufficient to note how within the Llacsatambo foundation narrative (which is reconstructed from two different manuscript chapters) the Checa narrators frame their past in successive historical terms that have seemed recognizable to Spanish Colonial and modern historians alike.

Indeed, *historiography* in its most literal sense was the manuscript's express *raison d'être*, as its preface makes clear: because writing was unknown to "the ancestors of the people called Indians," their past had "faded from view." The remedy was the written manuscript documenting "the lives of the ancestors of the Huaro Cheri people" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:41). Still, with their multiplication, even in written form, the narratives' general historical order confounded the cleric behind their compilation. Concerning the Huarochirí manuscript, Avila admitted the chronological puzzle before him and his determination to figure it out. He wrote, "In all of these fables and history I have not been able to find out their order and succession, which was first and which came after, because all of these things are extremely ancient; still, by the time it is all rendered into writing it is possible that I may have figured it out, or at least as accurately as possible" (in Arguedas and Duviols 1966:206).[2]

[2] "En toda esta historia y fábulas no he podido averiguar el orden y sucesión de ellas, cual fue el primero y cual después, porque son todas cosas antiquísimas, mas podrá ser que, para cuando esto se vuelva a escribir, lo tenga sabido o a lo menos lo más verosímil" (Avila in Arguedas and Duviols 1966:206).

Though not the only effective criterion in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish historiography (see e.g., MacCormack 1991, 2007; Ossio Acuña 2008:187; Pease 1997; 2010), Biblical history was the primary contributor to Avila's struggle, as well as to the logic informing his hope of achieving historical "accuracy." As Salomon (1991:3) notes, "[t]he tendency to force non-Christian testimony into patterns congruent with 'universal history' and a unified Bible-based chronology is conspicuous in many Peruvian chronicles, both indigenous and Spanish, and Avila's *Tratado* shows that he partook of it." Thus in the manuscript's early chapters we see Genesis-like periods of darkness and telluric creation, explicit explanations of peoples' relationship to their "gods," and the origins of the natural order and cultural practices and traditions. Later material is associated with known historical phenomena like Inka presence, the advent of the Spanish, and Spanish colonial institutions, events, and people. Between these two poles are events generally pertaining to the Checa or their ancestors but lacking absolute historical referents more precise than, for example, local events having taken place "before the Inca's birth" (Taylor 1999:222-225).[3]

Following Avila's seventeenth-century commentary on the Huarochirí manuscript, its next major appearance came in 1873, when Clements Markham published "the first modern edition of the Huarochirí mythology" (Salomon 1991:29), an English translation of Avila's *Tratado* (Markham 1964 [1873]:121-147), the priest's Spanish-language version of the Huarochirí manuscript's first seven chapters. Markham estimates this to be "one of the very few fragments from which we can glean some slight knowledge of the mysterious civilized nation which occupied the coast of Peru, before the Ynca conquest." Markham's view of the *Tratado* text was in essence

[3] "[A]ntes del nacimiento del inga" (Taylor 1999:222). In a footnote Taylor offers: "Or perhaps: 'before the lineage of the Inca was established'" ("O, tal vez: 'antes que se estableciera el linaje de los incas.")

hermeneutically stratigraphic. It was a textual homologue of the area's history, and because the conquering Inka had "used all their influence and power" to supplant original Yunca culture, "great care must be taken to eliminate all Ynca words and ideas, before use can be made of the report, in an inquiry as to the Yuncas of the sea board;" the Inka strata had to be removed to uncover the Yunca stratum below (Markham 1964 [1873]:xvii-xviii). Avila's subsequent stratum could also be penetrated to reveal the historical contours beneath, for the Colonial priest had "unconsciously furnishe[d] evidence that the inhabitants of Huarochirí originally came from the coast. In response to myths of a primordially warm, tropical (yunca) highlands, Markham asserted: "Avila enter[ed] into an elaborate explanation to prove that this is impossible. But obviously the tradition referred to the time when the ancestors of the Huarochirí people inhabited the *yuncas* of the coast" (1964 [1873]:xviii; italics in original).

Though Markham's comments were critical of Avila, they partook of and perpetuated the hermeneutic standard of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory, found earlier in Avila's interpretation of Huarochirí's narratives as stylized renderings of chronologically historical occurrences. This hermeneutic was echoed by archaeologist Pedro Villar Córdova in his *Arqueología del departamento de Lima* (1982 [1935]:346-347), as the account of the foundational mythical battle wherein Pariacaca vanquished the ancient and anthropophagus huaca Guallallo was attributed to Huarochiranos' historical origins on the coast and subsequent migration to the highlands.

Markham continued to practice and advocate divination of knowledge by recourse to mythical and folk narrative, methods entirely in harmony with the social evolutionism of the time, and articulated by the expression "our contemporary ancestors" (Frost 1976 [1899]; Service 1968; cf. Lubbock 1865:597; Morgan 1877). In his offering on Peru's "Megalithic Age," presented at the 1904 *Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongress* in Stuttgart (Markham 1906:523), Markham

asked and responded: "Whence came these people who formed what may be called the ancient megalithic empire [of Tiwanaku]?[4] The answer must be sought for in tradition." The principles informing this approach were the same as those which led Markham to "assume that the contemporary distribution of Quechua and Aymara in geographical terms corresponded approximately to that of pre-Inka times" (Cerrón-Palomino 1998:88). That is, the ancestral was to be found in the essential and developmentally fixed folk-contemporaneous.[5] In addition, as discussed in this dissertation's introduction, though Roger Ravines (1989:14) credits Markham with the establishment of "the first periodization for prehispanic Peru: Inkaic and pre-Inka,"[6] William Prescott (2002 [1847]) had already suggested a pre-Inkaic age, the only coherent option open to one working with Colonial writings on the Inka.[7] What is important here to Huarochirí's "canonical prehistory" is the strong reliance on written records to reconstruct the Andean past characteristic of nineteenth-century European-American field of "ancient history" (see Prescott 2002 [1847])[8] from which archaeology as a scientific pursuit would increasingly differentiate itself over the course of century (Kehoe 1998; Marchand 1996; Schnapp 1997).

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[4] I use "Tihuanaco" to refer to the style horizon, as opposed to "Tiwanaku," which herein refers to the monumental urban center in the Bolivian altiplano and its archaeologically defined colonial sites (see Goldstein 2005; Kolata 1993, 2003; Owen 2005); I make the same distinction in writing "Huari" for the style horizon and "Wari" for the urban center in Ayacucho (Quilter 2014:xiv).

[5] To be sure, this was not a purely romantic sentiment, and was coupled with concepts of cultural degeneration of the sort elaborated by Ephraim Squier and George Davis some decades earlier (1848), and which Markham expressed in declaring that the "savage tribes of Collao" (past and present both, because they were developmentally equivalent) could only have learned the sophisticated architectural techniques and styles of Tiwanaku from a bygone Quechua group (Cerrón-Palomino 1998:87).

[6] "Sir Clements R. Markham establece la primera periodificación prehispánico: incaico y preincaico" (Ravines 1989:14).

[7] Tantaleán (2014:159n2) points out Prescott and further notes that Sebastián Lorente suggested a number of different cultural periods in Peruvian prehistory in 1876.

[8] Of course, this is not to imply unanimity in the conclusions and interpretations of these authors. For example, during an early leg of Markahm's first voyage to Peru, he was hosted in Boston by Prescott for 10 days. Markham's son expressed confidence in Prescott's authority on the Inka (Markham 1917:133), but Markham (*père*), relying

The most prominent representative of this archaeological shift in Peru was the German, Max Uhle, often recognized as the "father of Andean archaeology" (Kolata and Ponce Sanginés 2003:22-23; Rowe 1954, 1998; Tantaleán 2014:29-32). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Uhle forged Andean archaeology's "chronological horizons" and "periods" (Rowe 1998:17; Uhle 2003 [1903], 1912:23-24, 1913).[9] Uhle's stratigraphic reasoning, based on his empirical field studies, was delivered at international conferences and through publications in which Uhle endeavored also to dismantle both the specific conclusions and methodological tendencies of the ancient historical approach to the Andean past mentioned above. Uhle's familiarity with Markham's work, including Markham's sketchy English translation of the *Tratado* (1964 [1873]:121-147), is on display in Uhle's 1903 *Pachacamac* monograph (2003 [1903]), wherein Uhle draws from translations of four different Spanish Colonial texts (from Avila, H. Pizarro, Polo de Ondegardo, Molina) contained in two of Markham's publications (1872, 1873). The German archaeologist's paper from the 1908 *Internationalen Amerikanisten-Kongress* in Vienna (1970 [1910]:379; italics added) was a direct critical rejoinder to Markham's work on "The Megalithic Age in Peru" (1906),[10] delivered in Stuttgart at the 1904 *Internationalen*

largely on Garcilaso, came to disagree with some of Prescott's interpretive tendencies and conclusions about the nature of highland-coast relations, particularly concerning the Inca and Pachacamac (Markham 1873:vii-xii; Prescott 2002 [1847]:44n2, 45n, 51n, 55n).

[9] The framework Uhle drew on and elaborated in developing "the first relative chronological sequence for [Andean] archaeology" is of course a modern, positivist-scientific configuration of space and time (Tantaleán 2014:30). Henry Tantaleán (29-37) emphasizes Uhle's reliance on social evolutionary principles, but Uhle's concept of "epigonal" styles of ceramic decoration that degenerated over spatial and temporal distance from their original centers shares much in common with diffusionism (like that of fellow German Friedrich Ratzel [1844-1901]), and even some precepts of "hyper-diffusionists" (like Grafton Elliot Smith [1871-1937], who hypothesized that mummification's first and most perfected Egyptian form degenerated as it was diffused geographically and chronologically from Northeastern Africa [see Trigger 1989:150-155]). Tantaleán (2014:46) does later acknowledge Uhle's diffusionism.

[10] Adolph Bandelier would propose his "rudimentary two-phase cultural sequence" consisting only of pre-Inkaic (*chullpa*) and Inkaic, shortly after Uhle published this critique (see Kolata and Ponce Sanginés 2003:22-23).

Amerikanisten-Kongress. In this critique Uhle presented "a new system of the origin of Peruvian civilizations . . . no less fantastical than the previous opinions about a simplistic Inkaic epoch [following] the pre-Inkaic in Peru." Uhle scathed the megalithic theory of the origins of the Tiwanaku ruins: In the absence of any archaeological basis, Markham resorted to Colonial texts recording "obscure traditions regarding the arrival of conquerors from the south" to support the theory.[11] Reliance on such unfounded traditions were not to be given quarter: "Broadly speaking, we cannot have a well-ordered archaeology unless we are based exclusively on authentic proof, comprised of discoveries in the dirt" (1970 [1910]:379-380).[12]

It is not that Uhle rejected the use of Colonial documents nor even recourse to recorded myths as important tools in understanding the Andean past. His positivist scruples were with a lack of critical discernment between proper topics of research and the attendant misapplication of sources of evidence. So, in understanding ancient Andean religion or interpreting fantastical decorative motifs, as in his research at Pachacamac (e.g., 1991 [1903]:28n1, 33n2, 46-55), recorded myths were the appropriate source (as long as the logic and facts used were sound). But to bring such evidence to bear on reconstructing historical processes or linguistics (1912:14, 16, 17, 19, 23) was to transgress scientific boundaries and adulterate data. Thus, in his writings relating to the Huarochirí manuscript's region, the historical sources Uhle used to complement

[11] The particular "obscure traditions" cited by Markham in the critiqued article are not those of Huarochirí but instead Inka narratives of invasions from the south and Markham used these stories to theorize Tiwanaku's history. Still, the form of these narrative traditions is notably comparable to those of highlands-coast invasions in the myths of the Inka, Huamachuco, and Huarochirí (Chase 2016c).

[12] "[S]e dedujo un nuevo sistema sobre el origen de las civilizaciones peruanas, no menos fantastico que las opiniones anteriores sobre una simple época incaica y preincaica en el Perú;" "[Y] como esta teoría carecía de todo fundamento arqueológico, se buscó el apoyo de tradiciones oscuras relativas a la llegada de conquistadores venidos del sur; "No podemos, en general, tener una arqueología bien ordenada sino apoyándonos exclusivamente en pruebas auténticas, constituídas por descubrimientos en el suelo" (Uhle 1970 [1910]:379-380).

archaeological, linguistic, and ethnographic information were the *Relaciones Geográficas* and other fact-finding reports (1912). In contrast to Markham's methods and conclusions, these data led Uhle to conclude that the "Yauyos and the inhabitants of the valleys of Lima and of Pachacamac [i.e., the Rímac and the Lurín] were all Aymaras. . . . [A]t the apex of Aymara civilization, tribes of this race expanded throughout Peru as Quechua tribes did during the Inka period" (Uhle 1970 [1910]:382).[13] In this assessment, the pioneer of Andean archaeology provided the chronological basis for situating the commencement of the Huarochirí manuscript's invasion narratives in the Middle Horizon (ca. AD 500-1000), a standard of the canonical prehistory (see Uhle 1912:14-17, 23-29). Despite fundamental differences, invasion was the mechanism at the base of the hypotheses of both Markham and Uhle.

As alluded to above, I discuss Markham and Uhle at such length because, beyond their specific and concrete contributions to the canonical history of Huarochirí (e.g., publication of the *Tratado*, locating Huarochirí's linguistic characteristics in the Middle Horizon), core hermeneutical elements of the canonical prehistory's most developed, late twentieth-century manifestations were established in their writings. We can see Markham's disposition towards Spanish Colonial texts in Maria Rostworowski's interpretive approach to the Huarochirí narratives as culturally encoded Andean history, as opposed to viewing them as historically specious, fabulous, "obscure traditions" (Cerrón Palomino 2015:50; Chase 2016a, 2016b; cf. Bauer 2015;

[13] "Los Yauyos y los habitantes de los valles de Lima y de Pachacamac eran todos Aymaraes. . . . [E]n el gran momento de la civilización aimará, tribus de esta raza se extendieron por el Perú como lo hicieron las tribus quichuas en el período de los Incas" (Uhle 1970 [1910]:382).

In terms of and historical linguistics, the origins and spread of Aymara related languages is far from decided to general consensus (see Beresford-Jones and Heggarty 2010; Cerrón-Palomino 1998, 2000a, 2000b, 2004, 2013, 2015; Heggarty and Beresford-Jones 2009; Urton 2012). At any rate, here it is Uhle's method of inference, not the accuracy of his assessment that is relevant to the point.

Bauer et al. 2013).[14] At the same time, Uhle's skeptical attitude towards the Spanish Colonial mytho-historical accounts of the Andean past set the positivistic tone that Rostworowski would express in muted form. That is, even if narrative content and form were culturally variable, still the particular historical realities they reflected consisted of activities that were economically and politically strategic, and experiences within a universal empirical rationalism (see Kohn 2013; Latour 2005; Obeyesekere 1992; Sahlins 1976, 1988, 1995; Sahlins et al. 1996).

Integrative Andeanism: Tello, *Indigenismo*, and Ethnohistory

If Uhle was the father of Andean archaeology, Huarochirí's native son, Julio C. Tello, is its *villca*, huaca, or mallqui (at least for Peru). In yet another of Huarochirí's ironies, the influence of this venerated, tireless "s*abio de* Huarochirí" spanned the knowledge of all of Andean prehistory, joined the lowest to the highest of Peruvian political classes, and was trans-continentally recognized and celebrated, but did not have much impact on our understanding of Huarochirí itself. Here I bundle Tello's work with that of the ethnohistory of Luis Valcárcel and John V. Murra to show the constitution of the "integrative Andeanism" that emerged over the course of the twentieth century. In drawing equally on archaeology, history, ethnography, linguistics, etc., this school was methodologically integrative; it was politically so in its concern for and involvement with ethnic nationalism, indigenismo, cultural and legal heritage. Its interpretive approach was geographically and temporally integrative in defining Andean culture; key insights from any time period or place within the Andean culture area had bearing on the whole. The breadth of these issues exceeds this study's parameters, and I will only touch upon matters having to do with Huarochirí's canonical prehistory.

[14] Interestingly, in a 1995 interview Rostworowski mentioned "Las Incas, el libro de Markham, me causó gran impacto" (Varón Gabai 1997:39).

Tello's anthropological formation began as it does for any scholar, in absorbing and participating in his own immediate cultural and historical context; for Tello this was Huarochirí proper at the end of the nineteenth century (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005:14, 16, 21). Tello's early bio-archaeological work included the extraction of thousands of skeletons from the open tombs of Huarochirí; in the first decade of the twenty-first century Huarochiranos still occasionally told me about having seen Tello in the area, searching for tombs. Though the objective of these studies was not to illuminate Huarochirí's past, in their peripheries Tello imparted insight valuable to the area's archaeology and pertinent to this dissertation. For example, a perfunctory classification of the structures from which he had removed skeletons[15] consisted of two basic types of tomb-dwellings (caves and *chaukallas*) and a third, "[*l*]*lactas*, which were buildings . . . grouped together to form villages of varying extent. . . . [T]he first two types correspond to the most ancient dwellers of the region, while the third appears to be of genuine Inca construction" (Tello 2009 [1912]:112-113; italics in original).[16] The importance of this diagnosis will become more apparent in the discussion of my archaeological research.

Tello's most substantial research in the manuscript's general area was in Casta, in the Marcahuasi hills north of the Rímac (Tello and Miranda 1923). Characteristically, it combined archaeology, history, and ethnography of present-day ceremonies ("manifestation of an archaic religious cycle")[17] to give a integrated picture of these Andean people and the chthonic huaca of

[15] Huarochirí's rugged and isolated geography meant that these archaeological sites were relatively well preserved "ruins where methodical exploration will certainly clear up problems of the utmost importance in the anthropology of Peru" (Tello 2009 [1912]:112).

[16] To this Inca classification Tello (2009 [1912]:113) added "for these buildings undoubtedly belonged to the people subjugated in the period of the viceroyalty of Don Francisco de Toledo," which bears mentioning because it indicates the "culture history" temporality within which Tello was operating.

[17] ". . . manifestación de un arcaico ciclo religioso" (Tello and Miranda 1923:475).

the Yungas, Wallallo (see Figure 2.1). When Tello wrote about Huarochirí's myths it was as part of a general, synthetic Andean cosmology, with Huarochirí's specific huacas as part of a common Andean pantheon (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005:28), in turn avatars of natural forces and processes (Tello 1999:39-42, 45-49). For Tello, identifying the huacas and other cosmological figures in iconography on artifacts from across the Andes and from Chavín to the Inka and in myths and ceremonies from antiquity to the ethnographic present (1923a; Tello and Miranda 1923) was possible because the basic elements of the cosmological bedrock were the same, even if over time specific figures and representational forms evolved, were adapted, agglutinated, fused, or simplified (1923a:83-84; Kroeber 1927:633-634). Or, starting from the other end, Tello "traced elements of Chavin iconography and styles of art in historic and contemporary indigenous beliefs and art. These he interpreted as evidence of continuity in Andean culture" (Murray 2007:322). Or again, in Tello's work "religion was the factor that integrated the diversity of ancient and present-day Andean societies" (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005:33).[18]

Tello's methods were not always clear to other archaeologists. Tantaleán (2014: 51) notes that "one gets the sense that Tello already knew what he would find in his expeditions before he conducted them," but attributes this to Tello's approach of testing hypotheses in the field (cf. Kroeber 1927: 633-634; Murra 2009: 63).[19]

[18] "[S]iendo la religion el factor integrador de las diversas sociedades andinas antiguas y actuales" (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005:33).

[19] Comparing the Huarochirano to Schliemann, Krober wrote: "Tello is endowed with extraordinary energy, with intuitional insight, with the gift of making startling finds and weaving them into constructive syntheses. . . . [H]e uses the evidence which seems significant to him; and the basis of choice is by standards which he does not define, and which sometimes remain baffling to others" (in Murra 2009:63).

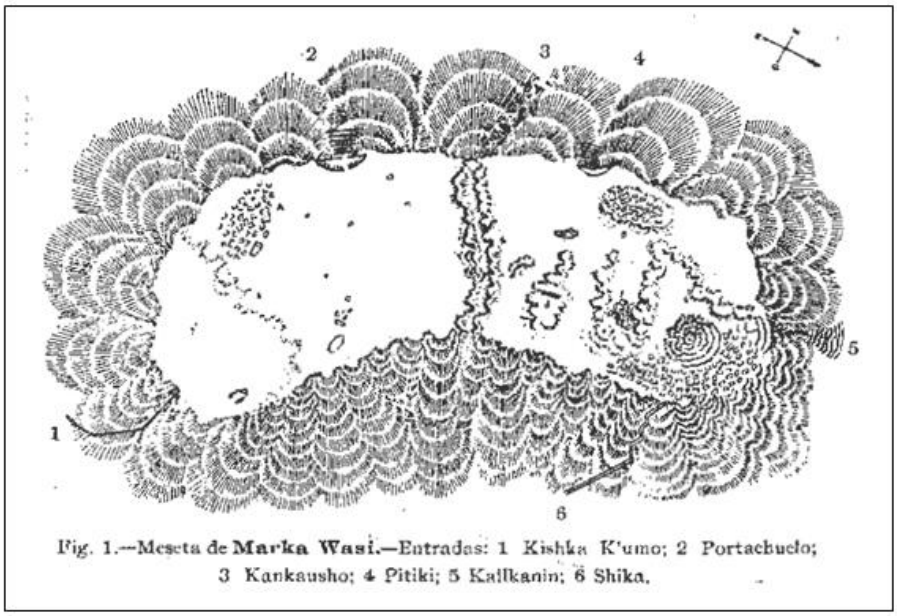

Fig. 1.—Meseta de **Marka Wasi**.—Entradas: 1 Kishka K'umo; 2 Portachuelo; 3 Kankausho; 4 Pitiki; 5 Kallkanin; 6 Shika.

Fig. 5.—Plano del Templo de Wallallo, en el que se vé las cinco murallas de fortificación y la ciudadela de la meseta.

Fig. 6.—Lado SO. del Templo, en el que se vé los cinco muros de fortificación.

Figure 2.1: Illustrations of the Marcahuasi site (just north of the middle Rímac) and the temple of yunca huaca Huallallo, as proposed by Julio C. Tello (1923a). The primordial and fiery Huallallo is one of the most important huacas in the Huarochirí manuscript, where he is an eternal foil to the highlands precipitation huaca, Pariacaca. Since this work by Tello, there has not been any notable follow-up archaeological research on what would seem to be a singularly important site for the study of Huarochirí (though archaeologist Villar Córdova did mention and disagree with Tello's identification of Marcahuasi as Huallallo's dwelling; see Villar Córdova 1982 [1935]:346-348).

Tantaleán (2014:45) goes on to describe the zeitgeist as a "time of the construction of the 'imagined community' of Peru . . ., which was embodied in the ancient past and a national archaeology," which Tello orchestrated. Tello's "integrative Andeanism" came out of his overriding objective of (re)constructing a culture area; or better, expounding the culture of autochthonous, ancient, and ongoing civilization in the Andes (Tello 1912, 1943, 1967). Tello's notion of a culturally unified

Andes certainly informed Huarochirí's canonical prehistory, as did its attendant multidisciplinary approach. More specific to later historical interpretations of the Inka in Huarochirí, this was simply the last phase of "long historical development," the late prehispanic "comprised a confederation of nations bound by tradition and harmonically coordinated by the Inka Empire" (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005:32).

Though I do not think intentional political activism of an *indigenista* stripe effectively factors into the late twentieth century expressions of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory, Tello's integrative Andeanism was integral to a developing Peruvian indigenismo, particularly pronounced in the Luis Valcárcel's pioneering ethnohistory (1925), an interdisciplinary approach that John Rowe, John V. Murra, and R. Tom Zuidema, among others would raise to such a place of prominence that by the end of the twentieth century one French scholar could boldly state: "Of all the social sciences of the Andean academic world, ethnohistory indubitably takes the prize" (Molinié 1997:691).[20] Of these, the most directly involved with María Rostworowski's intellectual development was John Murra. Already known for his immensely and enduringly influential historical reconstruction of Inka economics and broader Andean political economy, in the late 1950s Murra began to research provincial archival documents and associate closely with a group of notable Peruvian intellectuals. Interestingly, as Murra became more enthusiastic about the possibilities of combining provincial archival sources with archaeological fieldwork as a means of uncovering different forms of economic organization, the decades-long intellectual and political search for an authentic indigenous Andean essence led some academics (including Murra himself,

[20] "De todas las ciencias sociales del mundo académico andino, es sin duda la etnohistoria la que se lleva la palma" (Molinié 1997:691).

eventually [1984]) to gravitate towards the core economic principles (verticality and reciprocity) that Murra had proposed as common to the possible variety of historical practices in the Andes (Murra 2002 [1975]). Further, the arc of Andean civilizational-*cum*-cultural particularism, initiated and elaborated by Tello and Valcárcel, was being drawn out and closed in pursuit of more general cultural understandings and practices that were uniquely and "always" Andean (de la Cadena 2007; Tantaleán 2014:96-102). There is great irony here in that Murra's true insight into the political economy of the expansionist Inka state came while researching and teaching about African and Pacific Island cultures (1980 [1956]:xxi) and he continued advocating for comparative anthropology throughout his career (1970b; 1986; Murra and Morris 1976).[21] In view of the "integrative Andeanism" of Tello and Valcárcel, we should also note Murra's caution that the Huarochirí manuscript narratives "cannot be made to stand for the Andes as a whole," but instead showed the promise of investigation beyond Inka themes (1970b:7).

By the year of Tello's passing, his student and faithful colleague, M. Toribio Mejía Xesspe (1947:4-5), listed Markham's English translation of the *Tratado* (and Romero's 1917 Spanish translation of that), Trimborn's (1939) German translation of the Huarochirí manuscript itself, and Galante's (1942) 31 manuscript chapters translated into Latin as the "cosmogonic and traditional" sources that, combined with Dávila Briceño's 1586 "geographic and economic" report, were the historical documentary gateway into Huarochirí's prehispanic and Colonial religious world. Mejía Xesspe's Spanish translation of the manuscript's 31 chapters remains unpublished (Salomon 1991:29). Later, in a "state of the field" article on Andean ethnohistory (Murra 1970b), it was

[21] Though much has been made of the "lo andino" issue in Andean studies during the second half of the twentieth century (and I have also previously written about the concept's theoretical impact [see e.g., Kolata 2013:23-25]), the degree to which I have treated the "integrative" and "essentialistic" view of the Andean world in the text above is sufficient for my present purposes of presenting the construction of the canonical prehistory of Huarochiri.

exactly to these two fonts, the Huarochirí manuscript and non-Inka, provincial Colonial documents like the *Relaciones Geográficas*, that Murra pointed to as most promising avenues for Andean research moving forward (1970b). Rostworowski based her earliest Huarochirí writings on just these sources (2004a [1972]; 2002a [1978]:195-202).

The real watershed for the widespread scholarly use of the Huarochirí manuscript in the interpretation of the Andean past was its 1966 Spanish translation by Peruvian luminary of letters, José María Arguedas, published together with transcribed historical documents and studies by historian Pierre Duviols (Arguedas and Duviols 1966). Arguedas was vocationally devoted to–even tortured by–conveying the authentic Andean experience, indigenous and mestizo. The gifted author approached this mission from a variety of angles: ethnography and folklore studies, linguistics and language mastery, poetry, fiction, and combined all of these in creating his translation of the manuscript. For Arguedas, the Huarochirí manuscript was "the near uncontaminated message of [Andean] antiquity," and the message was "ancient man's full understanding about his origin, about the world, of man's relationship with the universe and between men themselves." It had been imparted by "quite common Indians, affected by Christian beliefs but yet immersed in the ancient religion in an embodied way, enactors of the prehispanic life" (in Arguedas and Duviols 1966:10).[22]

The manuscript and a new historical turn

Murra was integral to the production of this seminal publication. The self-doubting Arguedas credited Murra with finally convincing him to undertake the translation (Arguedas and

[22] "[E]l mensaje casi incontaminada de la antigüedad;" "la concepción total que el hombre antiguo tenía acerca de su origen, acerca del mundo, de las relaciones del hombre con el universo y de las relaciones de los hombres entre ellos mismos;" "son indios bastantes comunes, contagiados ya de creencias cristianas pero sumergidos aún y de manera muy encarnizada en la antigua religión, actores de la vida prehispánica" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:9-10).

Duviols 1966:13). In letters to Murra, Arguedas lamented his "defective" translation, too mytho-poetic, informal, and rushed (López-Baralt and Murra 1996:133-136),[23] but Murra agreed with Arguedas as to the manuscript's significance and what it represented. "The Huarochirí stories reach deep into the Andean cultural substratum. Even the Inca are marginal and ephemeral to its basic themes" (Murra 1970b:7). Scholars Karen Spalding and María Rostworowski also shared Murra's general assessment of the manuscript's potential (and were both influenced by his Andean economic models); each produced a corpus of research which differed from one another in approach and objective but pioneered the modern historical study of Huarochirí.

Spalding, who provided Arguedas the manuscript's paleographic transcription (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:14), has published research on the region's history over the last half-century (*inter alia* 1967, 1974, 1984, 2012), and her early work included the most systematic and useful extraction and reproduction of history from the Huarochirí region since Avila. Though not set on precise chronological data from the manuscript's contents, she did see in them expression of Andean social, political, and economic institutions, like the ayllu, that must have preceded the Inka state inasmuch as they perdured beyond its undoing by the Spanish (1984:48).[24] For Rostworowski, too, one of the Huarochirí manuscript's virtues was that it largely bypassed the imperial Inka bias of many Spanish chronicles as well as the "distorted understanding of pre-

[23] The latter two items were precisely the problems Murra would later mention in a review of the work (1970a:445). Linguist Alfredo Torero, who worked directly with Arguedas on the translation, later claimed that Murra balked on his promise to write an ethnographic piece for inclusion in the Arguedas and Duviols volume "porque éstos [the Huarochiri narratives], en lugar de sustentar sus tesis–místicas, innatistas, de sociedades andinas siempre solidarias, sin ricos ni pobres, y de 'archipiélagos multiétnicos' cuyos recursos explotaban sin conflictos las más diversas etnías–, las contradecían flagrantemente" (Torero in León Llerena 2012:78n7).

[24] Spalding's archaeological research (with Thomas Patterson) at middle Rímac Valley architectural complexes devoted to Huarochirí huaca Chaupi Ñamca stands out for its demonstration and discussions of Inka state involvement with these cult centers (1984:98-101; cf. 1984:89; Thatcher and Hellmuth 1968-71).

Columbian reality" occasioned by the Spanish tendency to interpret and document the Andean world in European terms (2002a [1978]:193-194).[25]

The Huarochirí manuscript, then, was something like a surrogate primary historical source on a world and eras otherwise lacking such. While ethnohistorians like Rostworowski (2004 [1972]:32) saw in other Colonial documents, such as the AD 1558-1570 court proceedings over rights to coca lands (Rostworowski 1988), the means to reconstruct aspects of indigenous societies as far back as the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1100-1470),[26] the Huarochirí manuscript was something more: "Thanks to Avila's informants (1966) our vision of the past is amplified and we are able to go back to even more remote times" (Rostworowski 2004 [1972]:32).[27] For Rostworowski, the Huarochirí manuscript was mytho-historiography that communicated the historical past of the central Peruvian coast and highlands in culturally codified ways. "The data passed down to us by Avila seem at first blush purely legendary but they do not lack a basis in truth and are founded in deeds that occurred in time" (Rostworowski 2004 [1972]:32).[28] The manuscript's narrative leitmotif of foreign huacas and peoples aggressively invading highlands Huarochirí and driving the aboriginal (Yunca) populations and huacas towards the Pacific coast was the mythical reflection of historical circumstances and processes "developed over a long

[25] "[S]us informaciones hayan distorcionado el entendimiento de la realidad precolombina" (Rostworowski 2002a [1978]:194).

[26] Though Rostworowski was also very clear that only archaeology could verify the facticity of partisan claims to territorial occupation or invasion by witnesses' ancestors (2004 [1972]:32).

[27] "[G]racias a los informantes de Ávila (1966) nuestra visión del pasado se amplía y nos podemos remontar a tiempos aún más remotots, cuando los yungas dominaban las vertientes occidentales de la cordillera marítima" (Rostworowski 2004 [1972]:32). The second part of the statement will be treated below.

[28] "Los datos transmitidos hasta nosotros por Ávila parecen a primera vista puramente legendarios, pero no dejan de tener una base verídica y se apoyan sobre hechos que sucedieron en el tiempo" (Rostworowski 2004 [1972]:32).

period of time": Whereas the lands of Huarochirí were previously Yunca (occupied by groups like the Colli and Carhuayllo, who were centered on the coast at the time of the manuscript's composition), groups of highlands Yauyos Indians from the mountains south of Huarochirí entered the area "in waves" and seized this territory for themselves, though establishing a ritual and kin-based modus vivendi with the deposed. The tales of these deeds still thrilled the descendants of the "ancient conquerors," who had retold and reenacted them over the years, until they were captured in writing via Avila's project (Rostworowski 2002a [1978]:205, 2002c [1992]:24).[29]

The historical approach to the Huarochirí myths, first by Spalding and then Rostworowski, was a brilliant historiographic innovation made possible by their extensive knowledge and use of Spanish Colonial archival and other documents from Huarochirí and its immediately surrounding areas. The location of personal, huaranga, and ayllu names from the Huarochirí manuscript in documents pre- and post-dating the manuscript's composition imbued the narratives with a concrete sequential-historical and geographic specificity not previously seen. Though both treated the Huarochirí manuscript's contents as particular cultural and historical expressions, the breadth of Spalding's project (a historical political economy spanning the spread of the modern World System) contrasts with Rostworowski's greater focus on chronologizing the Huarochirí manuscript's historical referents (though see Spalding 1999:947). In contrast to Tello's structural and cosmological exegesis, Huarochirí's huacas were historical for Spalding and Rostworowski. Some, in myths, represented historical events, while others were actual historical personages (see Tutayquiri below).

[29] "[E]s la tradición de un pueblo que por oleadas conquistó y ocupó nuevos dominios. Su dios Pariacaca fue el primero en apoderarse de nuevas tierras; le siguieron otros héroes de los cuales se conservaba el recuerdo; antiguos conquistadores cuyas hazañas y relatos aún estremecían a sus decendientes" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:205).

Within the "historicist/structuralist" debate over the nature of late prehispanic Andean historicism, Dennis Ogburn (2004:102) places Rostworowski's work in the "historicist camp" (i.e., alongside John Rowe and Catherine Julien), while Catherine Julien (2000:10) characterizes the same work as structuralist in the tradition of Zuidema.[30] Salomon (2004:9) places Rostworowski's Huarochirí reading "[a]mong structuralist-influenced models," a more appropriate middle-ground. When it comes to evaluating her interpretation of Huarochirí's history, I think this ambivalence is telling because, while there are elements of Rostworowski's reading that are most usually related to both of these historiographic "camps," she seems to be avoiding entrenchment within either, making her work comparable to the most sophisticated (and correct, in my view) of historical anthropology, which recognizes that all socially meaningful actions and semioses are both structured and historical, i.e., playing out in and over time.[31] In the case of Huarochirí, Rostworowski recognized a version of the widespread huari-llacuaz structure, but saw it within the motion of history.

Salomon (1991:6) summarizes the history Rostworowski derived from the manuscript and other documents by asking, "What human movements does the Paria Caca mythology allegorize?

> "In a series of highly original studies María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco (1978: 31-147) has interpreted the narratives as reflections of a large and gradual prehistoric movement in which pre-Incaic highlanders of the ethnic group called Yauyo worked their way downward and southwestward, from their early home on the high

[30] I must note here that these classifications are mostly based on Rostworowski's work on strictly Inka history. In the former case Ogburn is discussing derivation of historical information from myths. In the latter, Julien is specifically pointing to Rostworowski's expounding of the diarchical theory of Inka kingship. Nevertheless, the point (being that Ogburn and Julien are both right in their classifications) is still illustrative and valid in its representation of Rostworowski's historiography.

[31] See, inter alia Cohn (2004); Comaroff and Comaroff (1991, 1992, 1997); Dawdy (2010); Gose (1996, 2008); Hamann (2002, 2008, 2016); Palmié (2014); Sahlins (1981, 1985, 1995, 2004); Salomon (1982, 1999, 2002, 2004); Trouillot (1995); Urton (1990); Whitehead (2003).

> tundras at the Cañete River headwaters (including the Mala, Lurín, and Rímac valleys, which form the heartland of the mythology), toward the Pacific shore and its rich deltas" (Salomon 1991:6).

As we have seen, the use of other Colonial documents and comparison of their information with the Huarochirí manuscript's contents was programmatic for Rostworowski. In these other writings she found support for her reconstruction of the Huarochirí manuscript's chronological historical referents. The notion of a balkanized political landscape of endless battles prior to Tawantinsuyu fit perfectly with Inka "epochal history" and the period of *behetría*s that the Inka subdued and united (Julien 2000; Kosiba 2010; MacCormack 2007; Rostworowski 2004 [1972]:66). The scheme of sedentary, agriculturalist peoples being conquered by tribes like the bellicose Yauyos prior to Inka expansion reads just like folk histories found throughout Central Andean highlands (Arriaga 1968 [1621]; Duviols 1973; Gose 2008; Guaman Poma 1980 [1613]), and was supported in the Huarochirí area itself in other administrative documents (AAL Papeles Importantes 3 [1594-1616]; Dávila Brizeño 1965 [1586]). She supported her placement of the invasions mythologized in the manuscript as early as the late Middle Horizon (ca. AD 800)[32] by reference to an early seventeenth-century report of the mummy of "Tarayquiri" or Tutayquiri (see below), which was claimed to be over 600 years old (2002 [1978]:211). Further support came by comparison of the manuscript contents with the writings of indigenous chronicler Guaman Poma (1988:54-55; Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:206, 209). One of Pariacaca's sons was named "Huariruna," or "the Huari people," which Guaman Poma used to label a historical time period.[33]

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[32] Rostworowski even once mentions that the highlands incursions may even have started as early as the Early Intermediate Period (ca. AD 100-700), stopping Yunga up-valley expansion, because "siempre nuevos groupos serranos sentían necesidad de una expansion territorial y echaban a los costeños" (2004 [1972]:32).

[33] Wari is the archaeological name of an expansive Middle Horizon empire from the southern central Peruvian highlands, but, as discussed, huari is also a structural category of huacas and settled, agriculturally-based valley dwellers as opposed to the llacuaz pastoralist-invaders (Duviols 1973).

But to understand Rostoworowski's reading of the Huarochirí manuscript, the influence of the already mentioned mid-sixteenth-century suit over coca lands (*Justicia 413*; Rostworowski 1988) cannot be overestimated.[34] This remarkable document provided many ostensibly historical correlations to the general theme and many specific aspects of the Huarochirí manuscript. It is another account of antagonistic relationships between highlands and coastal peoples and specifies the nature of these relationships before and during Inka rule. It is this expressed antagonism and the economically strategic explanations witnesses provided for their actions that most color Rostworowski's interpretation of the Huarochirí myths. Because the legal setting in which the document was produced does not *seem* to have encouraged or allowed for mythical explanations or justifications, and historical actions of invasion, etc., are connected not to huacas but to named, historical individuals, it appears Rostworowski viewed this document as a historical counterpart to the mythical Huarochirí document. Thus, the sorts of explanations and agents from *Justicia 413* were what "really" (historically) lay beneath the Huarochirí manuscript. Hence Rostworowski's historiographic model for Huarochirí, wherein economically strategic events executed by historical actors come first, later to be remembered and reflected in huacas, myths, and rituals.

Another manifestation of this view is the euhemeristic literalism of Rostworowski's historiography, which extends to her historical interpretations of a structurally-organized ethical charter for the manuscript narrators' generation (i.e., "we" of the present as opposed to those of a former pacha), best illustrated in the following example: The recurrent episode in the Huarochirí narratives involves a highlands huaca testing the generosity and hospitality of a people by sitting on the outskirts of a collective feast dressed as a beggar. Aside from exceptional individuals who

[34] This reliance notwithstanding, Rostworowski (2004 [1972:76-77) acknowledged the potentially singular character of *Justicia 413*, and questioned if it was justifiable to apply the antagonism and violence (between the highlands and coastal groups) expressed in the case to the broader Andean past.

are spared for their attention (see Salomon and Urioste 1991:61-62, 127), the people ignore the disguised huaca, fating themselves to defeat and consignment to an inactive, inert, and one-dimensional past, as they are washed from their settlements at the return of the wrathful, stormy huaca. Rostworowski suggests that these myths may be vestigial recollections of the historical episodes of reconnaissance; the "huacas" were highlands scouts or spies collecting intelligence prior to attacks on Yunca settlements (2002 [1978]:208-209).[35]

A fair summary of the conclusions and historical reasoning that came out of this long development, becoming the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí, is provided by historian Waldemar Espinoza Soriano, a decade and a half after Rostworowski's most focused work on Huarochirí. The ratified and settled nature of the canonical prehistory is captured in Espinoza's superlatives:

> "When the Cusqueños arrived, the population of Huarochirí . . . had a long presence in these territories: hundreds of years of experience and a perfect knowledge of their ecology, traditions, legends, and myths. *Thus, the Inkas found this territory totally occupied, organized and being governed by leaders of Yauyo origin for centuries*. The aymara (aru) speaking ayllus and the other ayllus–yungas, or natives of Huarochirí enjoyed a well-known sedentary existence *of many centuries' duration*. Their construction, fields and artisanal activities were so well managed under administrative control so efficiently exercised by their *curacas* and *capacuracas*, that the Inkas were impressed. . . . As pastors and agriculturalists, masters over multitudes, [the yauyos] ruled over the 'yungas' population, *whom they had invaded four centuries earlier*, propagating themselves across a considerable area which almost reached the coast itself. This is why the Inkas respected them and acknowledged their rights over the fields, houses, water, and pasturage over which they had ruled ever since they defeated and ran the ancient yungas inhabitants out of the area . . . . The Inkas

[35] I recall watching an interview with Rostworowski on Peruvian television several years ago, in which she was discussing Inka Pachakuti's battle with the Chancas, as found in the Spanish chronicles. Her explanation of the story of the *pururaucas*–the stones that came to life and battled alongside Pachakuti to defeat the Chanca–was that Pachakuti saw his armies outnumbered and so dressed several stones as warriors to fool the Chanca into believing his armies' numbers were greater than they were. This is another illustration of the narrow, "practical strategic" reasoning that informs Rostworowski's reading of myth and which, for me, does not do justice to the semioses that made meaningful collective pasts and presents in the late prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial Andes.

> were not about to intervene in this internal organization of sayas, huarangas, and ayllus. *Everything remained intact*" (1992:120-121; italics mine).[36]

Because of the detail and diffuseness of the preceding diachronic account of the development of this specific historical hermeneutic, in conclusion there are just three fundamental characteristics of the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí that I wish to highlight. They are of course interrelated, so it may be helpful to explain that the first has to do with the treatment of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents as historical *media*. The following two characteristics have to do with the manuscript's contents being treated as *historical* media.

First, the historiographic trade-off that resulted from Rostworowski's reading the manuscript's narratives as historical *media*, was the narratives themselves, as well as the huacas, their myths and rituals became post hoc reflections of historical events, decoupled from the ongoing production of the past and present. Their referents were in the past. Malqui-huacas (like Tutayquiri), for example, were commemoratively important, but vestigial to the geo-political present; a myth or pilgrimage was only a collective reenactment of actual historical events in the past. It is not that Huarochirí's huacas and their attendant myths/rituals lacked potency in the present. After all, ancestor huacas were half of the pump of reciprocity keeping the stuff of life in circulation, the process primed by the myths and rituals. Rather, it is that these powers were

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[36] "Cuando arribaron los cusqueños, los pobladores huarochiranos, como ya hemos visto, tenían una larga trayectoria en estas comarcas: centenares de años de experiencia y un perfecto conocimiento de sus ecologías, tradiciones, leyendas y mitos. *Los incas, pues, encontraron a dicho territorio totalmente ocupado, organizado y gobernado por dirigentes de origen yaro (o yauyo) desde hacía siglos*. Los ayllus de habla aymara (aru) y los otros ayllus *yungas* o nativos del área de Huarochirí acusaban una notoria vida sedentaria *de muchas centurias*. Sus construcciones, chacras y actividades artesanales estaban tan afianzadas bajo un control administrativo tan eficientemente ejercido por sus curacas y capaccuracas, que los incas se quedaron admirados. . . . Como pastores y agricultores dominadores de multitudes predominaban sobre los pobladores 'yungas', *a quienes habían invadido cuatro siglos antes*, propagándose por una considerable extensión territoria, por cuanto llegaron casi hasta la costa misma. Por eso los incas les iban a respetar y reconocer sus derechos *sobre los campos, casas, aguas y pastos que señoreaban desde que vencieron y derrotaron a los antiguos habitantes yungas del área*. . . . Los incas no iban a innovar su organización interna de sayas, huarangas y ayllus. *Todo quedó intacto*" (Espinoza Soriano 1992:120-121).

essentially conservative, socially and historically speaking. Their referential or representational passivity corresponded directly to their effective socio-historical character in the canonical prehistory. In Trouillot's terminology, this is an example of how historicity 2 constrained historicity 1 in Huarochirí.

This leads to the other two characteristics, which have to do with the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript being treated as *historical* media. The first is the way the "notions of temporal sequence and causation" (Durston 2007:232) that have been part of Huarochirí's historiography from Avila to the present have played out in the canonical prehistory. The origin of the manuscript's mythical allusions and expressions are events, more specifically invasions. That is, these invasions are the historiographic "first causes" in the canonical prehistory (Rostworowski 2004 [1972], 2002a [1978], 1988; cf. Gose 2008:18-21, 167-174): If the manuscript narrators told of highlands invaders driving agriculturalist aborigines from sierra to coast, it must be because these events, carried out by just such groups from just such categories, did first happen. Such causality sounds a lot like the explanatory principle in archaeological diffusionism, which Tello, for example, had championed. Surely a similar sort of historiographic positivism underpinned both.[37] For Rostworowski, motivations of economic maximization and intragroup antagonism over resources drove these invasions.[38] Whereas Yunca populations were

[37] It is important to note that Rostworowski's work does not wholly exclude the possibility that the Huarochiri myths and rituals reflecting earlier prehistoric invasions served as "models for" (Geertz 1973:87-125) subsequent invasions. Rostworowski limits herself to the myths and descriptions of rituals that exist in written form (i.e., those of the manuscript), which is simply sound historiographic method. Further, she admits the possibility that alternating periods "of peace and war may owe to ritual battles established to fulfill certain ceremonies" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:216); ". . . de tiempos de paz y de guerras se debiera a luchas rituales establecidas con miras a cumplir ciertas ceremonias" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:216).

[38] Perhaps Rostworowki's reading comes from the political realism from indigenísmo, born of the sort of ethnic attitudes and policies of the *Oncenio* (Salomon 2002). That is, Indian pasts had to be narrowly rational, materially and economically practical. If one was going to be indigenous, one had to be extra careful not to fit any of the ugly stereotypes of being backward, superstitious, or, in the case of the Yauyos/Yungas historical classifications, illogical to the point of making category errors.

self-sufficient (as long as they could count on water from the highlands via rivers, a major caveat Rostworowski repeatedly references), the Yauyos sought to expand their access to the varied ecozones separated by altitude, for in this way alone could their resource holdings provide the full array of good produced in cross sections of the Andes (Murra 2002 [1975]; Rostworoski 2004 [1972]:19-21).

The final characteristic is simply the location of their referents in chronological time, roughly from the late Middle Horizon to the manuscript's composition. As we have seen, this periodization has become a fixed part of the historical picture of late prehispanic Huarochirí (see Figure 2.2).

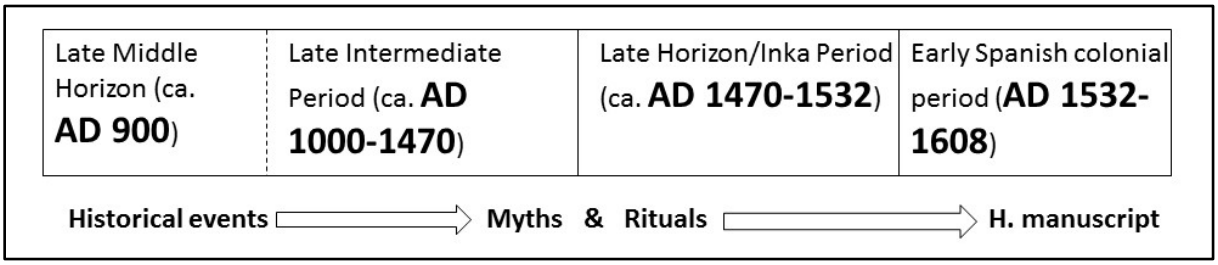

Figure 2.2: The periodization and causal directionality of the "canonical prehistory of Huarochirí."

Though Spalding, Rostworowski, and others did consult the archaeology current at the time in formulating their histories (in Spalding's case, she carried out original field research with Thomas Patterson), the fact is that until very recently this existed only for the coast and foothills of the Huarochirí manuscript's area. As an illustration of how integral the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí became for research of the area's past, in an article titled "Reflexiones sobre la arqueología de la sierra de Lima" (1974-1975), the author, Peter Kaulicke, notes the general lack of highlands research, "but on the other hand, there have been notable gains in the field of ethnohistory and valuable contributions from anthropology" that give a history of the area's

peoples between the fall of the Wari and the rise of the Inka (1974-1975: 29).[39] His article is an attempt to comprehend the processes that led to the situation captured by the ethnohistorians. However, aside from a few studies of Archaic, Preceramic, and Formative period highlands sites, in every case the only studies he is able to cite pertaining to the manuscript's area during his target period are the ethnohistorical ones reviewed above. In other words, the ethnohistory was the prehistory of Huarochirí at the time; all an archaeologist could do (barring actual fieldwork) was apply temporally and geographically proximate research to account for what was known (thanks to the ethnohistory).

In a more recent, thought-provoking article, Jane Feltham (2005; see also Feltham 1983, 1984, 2009) summarizes "what we know from ethnohistory about the Yungas and the Yauyos together with . . . what we might expect to find in the archaeological record that would verify these statements" (2005:133). Feltham's ethnohistorical summary matches what I have called Huarochirí's canonical prehistory (though with more muted statements of periodization); her list of archaeological expectations is shaped by the same conceptual or interpretive framework and are therefore internally reasonable and logically consistent, but rarely met in the archaeological record. Despite assertions of (repeated) invasion and conquest "there is little archaeological evidence for warfare" on the coast and in the middle Lurín valley (2005:135-136).[40] Inka rule in the Lurín "[f]rom an ethnohistorical point of view . . . seems to have been unimportant" though in the archaeological record it "dominates" the region (2005:141). In the face of these discrepancies

[39] "Por el otro lado, si hay logros notables en el campo de la etnohistoria y contribuciones valiosas de la antropología" (Kaulicke 1974-1975:29).

[40] There is a curious lack of discussion of Makowski's recent work at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará (Makowski 2002; Makowski et al. 2005), which does meet Feltham's criterion of highlands settlers building with stone on the coast. At any rate, the archaeology has shown that Pueblo Viejo-Pucará was an Inka-driven resettlement of Caringa highlanders, so it does not support Middle Horizon-Late Intermediate period periodization of the Huarochirí manuscript's invasions.

Feltham suggests re-readings of the colonial documents, but stops short of a wholesale reconsideration of the canonical prehistory. She concludes by acknowledging the productivity inherent in potential discrepancies between the archaeological and historical records, an observation resonant with this dissertation, inasmuch as the archaeological data from Llacsatambo and its surrounding area do not support the literalistic readings of the canonical prehistory.

In the last quarter century there have been archaeological investigations of Huarochirí, and more specifically, Llacsatambo. However, a tripartite chronological classification (pre-Inka, Inka, and Spanish colonial periods) of settlement and activity in the area has been seemingly uncritically adopted from this ethnohistorical model and applied by archaeologists who have published preliminary observations of the sites central to the manuscript's redaction (Bueno 1992; Coello Rodríguez and Diaz Arce 1995; Coello Rodríguez 2000; INC 2008; Patrocinios y Tapia 2002). Given the rigor of the ethnohistorical research, the richness and detail of the Huarochirí text, the striking toponymic correspondence between the manuscript and sites on the ground, and even the apparent correspondence between ethnohistorical periodization and superficial architectural morphology at sites, this ratification by archaeologists is understandable but unfortunate. Ethnohistorians like Rostworowski were making noteworthy interpretations by reaching beyond the limits of the historical data. Instead of complementing this with rigorous archaeological research that could supply much needed new data, archaeologists seemed content to apply the ethnohistorical model to evaluations of the sites central to the area of the manuscript's composition.

These have been the archaeological ramifications of the predominance of the canonical prehistory in Huarochirí. To conclude this chapter I will bring up one specific example of the impact of the canonical prehistory on historical studies of Huarochirí. This case seems point to

another characteristic of the canonical prehistory related to viewing the manuscript's contents as post hoc reflections of past events, namely, not paying enough heed to the partisan nature of the narratives and taking the Checa narrators at their word.

Tutayquiri's mummy: An example of the effect of the canonical prehistory

Among the many historical contributions accompanying the 1966 publication of Arguedas' *Dioses y hombres de Huarochirí*, Pierre Duviols provided a transcription of Jesuit Fabián de Ayala's letter to the archbishop of Lima reporting on extirpation activities in Huarochirí. In the letter, dated April 12, 1611, Ayala describes the itineraries of groups led by Francisco de Avila through Checa territories in Huarochirí; Avila's groups' inquests, location, gathering, and burning of Indian huacas, mallquis, and other "idols," and the erecting of crosses in their place show the procedural continuity of anti-idolatry *visita* protocol from the mid-sixteenth century (Albornoz 1989 [ca. 1582]) through the archival records ecclesiastical manuals (Arriaga 1968 [1621]; Gutiérrez 2011) of the seventeenth-century Extirpation. Ayala reports that when Avila discovered the mummified corpses of "ancient and valiant captains and soldiers" he had them taken back to town of Santiago and burned, except for "one named Tarayquiri, who had been dead for over 600 years."[41] Even without further details about this figure (aside from the mummy's astonishingly good condition and Avila's intention to have it transported to Lima), Avila's recorded reaction can most reasonably be interpreted as evidence that he recognized this as the preserved body of Tutayquiri, the hauca most directly related to and involved with the Checa lineage, their origins

[41] "[L]os capitanes y soldados valerosos antiguos . . . . [D]exando solo uno llamado Tarayquiri, que con haver más de 600 años que murió" (in Arguedas and Duviols 1966:252).

and destiny. While it is possible the 1611 document itself contains the variant spelling, I find it more likely that Duviols simply incorrectly transcribed the paleographic lower case "ut" as "ar."[42]

At any rate, as mentioned above, in 1978 María Rostworowski utilized the 1966 Arguedas and Duviols volume and other historical documents to write about "the advance of the Yauyos towards the coast in mythical times" (2002a [1978]:205-214). In her discussion of the report of the mummy's discovery, Rostworowski cites Duviols' transcription of the 1611 Ayala letter. In the following, Rostworowski *summarizes*: "In the pueblo of Santiago de Tuna the idolatry inspectors found the mummified corpses of the region's ancient captains and soldiers and burned them all with the exception of that of Tutayquiri, which Avila kept because he [Tutayquiri] was the leader."[43] She then *directly quotes* Ayala/Duviols: "'who had been dead for over 600 years'" (Rostworowski 2002a [1978]:211). It seems that Rostworowski either recognized a likely error in Duviols' transcription, did not want to undermine the historical connection between this documented mummy and the huaca Tutayquiri, or did not want to compromise the flow of her prose with explanatory digressions. Whatever the case the summary and quotation are obviously deliberate.

In her seminal history of Huarochirí, Karen Spalding (1984:64, 312n63) mentions the "ferreting out" of Tutayquiri's mummy, citing the Duviols transcription of Ayala, but, as usual, is

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[42] This judgement is based on my own work with original sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Peruvian documents, on published acknowledgements of other transcription errors in Duviols' work (see De la Puente 2012; Duviols 1986, 2003; Polia Meconi 1999:13), and the fact that, in his transcription of the letter, Gerald Taylor (see below) writes "Tutayquiri." In a 2009 edition of the original Arguedas and Duviols study the name of the mummy is changed to read "Tatayquiri" (Arguedas and Duviols 2009 [1966]:258). I cannot determine whether Duviols had a role in this change, but of interest is that this version of the name contains the Aymara root *tata* ("father," "lord") (Bertonio 2006 [1612]:704), which would be entirely appropriate.

[43] "Los visitadores de idolatría encontraron en el pueblo de Santiago de Tuna los cuerpos momificados de los antiguos capitanes y soldados de la comarca, los mismos que fueron quemados, salvo el de Tutayquiri que Ávila guardó por ser el principal" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:211).

judicious in not specifying the location of the find. Spalding does mention the "contemporary villages of Yambilla, Lupo, and Santiago" in a discussion of archaeological survey carried out in the upper Mala (1984:44).

"The preferred study edition" of the manuscript, according to Salomon (1991:29) is Quechua specialist Gerald Taylor's Quechua/Spanish edition (1987). In a footnote (1987:205n4), Taylor cites the Ayala letter on the discovery of the Tutayquiri mummy. Inexplicably, in his summary he also places it in Santiago de Tumna. In his transcribed section of the letter only "Santiago" is mentioned (just as it is in the body of Duviols' transcription). Though the footnote cites only the archival document itself, without any mention of Rostworowski, I cannot imagine his interpretation was not influenced by her work. Concerning the mummy's age, Taylor proposes that "Tutayquire's 600 years probably correspond to a figure symbolic of extreme antiquity."[44]

In Salomon and Urioste's (1991) translation and edition of the Huarochirí manuscript, Salomon cites Duviols' transcription, and writes the following in a footnote on Tutayquiri: "A report dated 1611 tells how Fabián de Ayala destroyed the mummies of a sacred cave in Santiago de Tumna. Among the 'ancient captains and valiant soldiers,' he found 'one called Tarayquiri [*sic*], who, although he died over 600 ago, remains so intact in body, that it is amazing'" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79n301). Salomon's quotation of Ayala/Duviols is more complete than Rostworowski's (in providing the spelling of the mummy's name), but his inclusion of the location of Santiago de Tu(m)na comes apparently from the summaries of Rostworowski or Taylor; the pueblo of Santiago *is* named in the Duviols transcription, but Tuna is not.[45]

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[44] "Los 600 años de Tutayquire corresponden probablemente a un cálculo simbólico de extrema antigüedad" (Taylor 1987:205n4).

[45] In 2004, Salomon wrote: "This common Checa ancestor (whose mummy, supposedly 600 years old, a Spanish priest found and destroyed in 1611) was Tutay Quiri" (Salomon 2004:57). Salomon was aware that the Jesuits had travelled through Yambilla during this tour (Salomon 1991:27).

Finally, in 1999, Mario Polia Meconi published transcriptions of the Jesuit Cartas Annuas, and Tutayquiri appears in a letter from Juan Sebastián de la Parra[46] that deals with the same anti-idolatry itinerary found in Ayala's letter. Parra's report of the excursion that yielded the famous mummy was apparently not firsthand, but taken from a letter from Fabián de Ayala dated May 3; Parra frames the episode by citing this letter (Polia Meconi 1999:305-306).[47] Polia Meconi's transcription of Parra reads: "More than 200 bodies of the dead were taken out of quite well-known sepulchers and all were burned except for one that was kept: the body of an Indian named *Tutayquiri*, which was over *800* years old" (Polia Meconi 1999:306; emphasis added).[48] In a footnote on Tutayquiri Polia Meconi outlines the huaca's identity as laid out in the Huarochirí manuscript, citing Avila, Gerald Taylor, and Arguedas (306-307).

I find no reason not to conclude that the mummified human Avila discovered was the huaca Tutayquiri, son of Pariacaca and patron of the Yauyos. Much less convincing is the accuracy of the mummy's purported age, a suspicion that is given support by the 200 year age discrepancy between the two reports; whether these ages have any correspondence with historical highlands to coast invasions recounted in the Huarochirí manuscript is unknown, and was at any rate not confirmed or falsified by my archaeological research. However, there is a verifiable and potentially consequential error concerning the reports of the location of Tutayquiri's mummy in Santiago de Tuna that has been perpetuated in Huarochirí's canonical prehistory. Given the principal

[46] The letter is titled Annua dela Prouincia/del Peru del año de 1611, and is dated April 30 1612 (Polia Meconi 1999:300).

[47] However, note the date given for this letter is different from the April 12 date of the Fabián de Ayala letter transcribed by Duviols.

[48] "Sacaronse tembien de sepulcros muy / çelebrados mas de dozientos cuerpos muertos, y todos se quemaron, solo se guardo vn / cuerpo de vn yndio llamado *Tutayquiri* . . . q. con auer mas de *oçhoçientos* años" (Polia Meconi 1999:306; emphasis added).

settlements of Avila's itinerary, as documented by Ayala and Parra, it becomes difficult to see how the claim that Tutayquiri's mummy was located in Santiago de Tuna could have been made.

Parra mentions Avila's work in his San Damián parish (Polia Meconi 1999:300). From there the visita party travelled southeast to the provincial capital town of Huarochirí and to smaller settlements in its ambit: Yambilla, Santiago, and San Lorenzo de Quinti (see Figures 2.3-2.6).

But the visita itinerary and nearly the entirety of the contents of the two letters can be put aside, for the final line of Ayala's letter reads "De Santiago de Anchocaya y abril 12 de 611" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:253). So, to be as clear as possible: the Tutayquiri mummy discovered and preserved by Francisco de Avila was *not* located in Santiago de Tuna (roughly 35 kilometers northwest of the discovery), but rather in the area of Santiago de Anchucaya, its modern Peruvian name. Anchucaya appears on two painstakingly prepared maps (Figures 2.3 and 2.4) that reconstruct Huarochirí's Colonial settlement geography.

On the pastedown map in Spalding's (1984) *Huarochirí,* in a boxed text box but not geographically placed, she writes "San Lorenzo de Anchicaya (also Viñaviña, Quinti)" under the subheading "Toledan Villages [est. 1580s]." Rostworowski's map of indigenous colonial communities and corresponding huarangas (2004b [1988]:287) shows a settlement named "Santiago de Anchicaia," part of the Quinti huaranga.

Confusion over the town's baptismal name can be seen as far back as Dávila Briceño's hand-drafted 1580s (Rostworowski 2004b [1988]: flyleaf) map of Huarochirí, with the capital town of "sta maria de jesus de guarocheri" placed at the direct center of the quadri-partitioned province (Figure 2.5). A town named only "S. Lorenço" is located across the upper Mala River (or

"rio de guarodcheri"), just west and slightly south of the capital. Across the river to the west and slightly north of the capital is a town designated "S Po de quinte."[49]

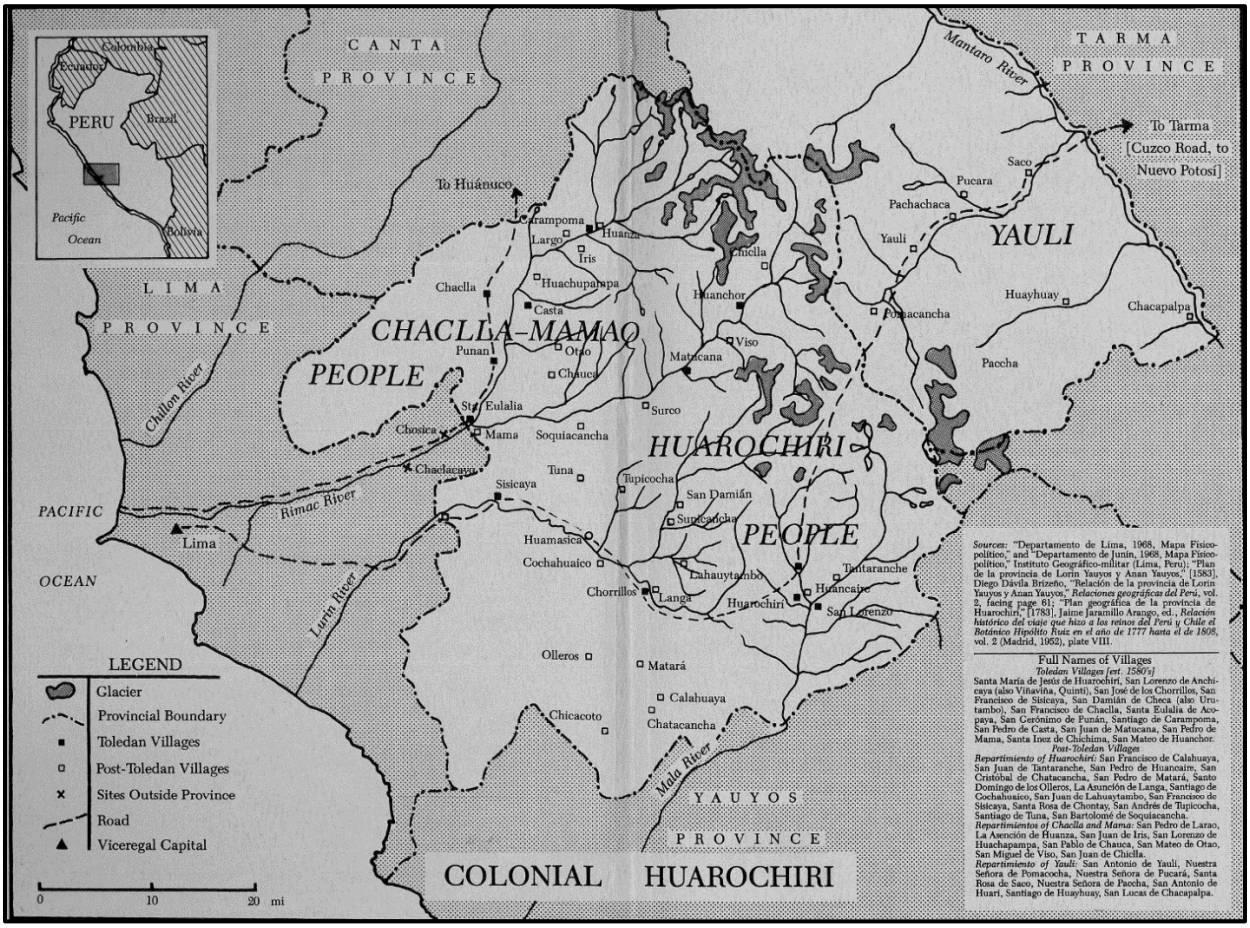

Figure 2.3: Karen Spalding's (1984: pastedown) historically reconstructed map of Colonial Huarochirí. Note "San Lorenzo de Anchicaya (also Viñaviña, Quinti)" under the subheading "Toledan Villages [est. 1580s]."

Rostworowski's map names this settlement "San Pedro de Huancairi" and, in contrast to Spalding's "Viñaviña" designation, equates San Lorenzo de Quinti with "Biña-Biña." Dávila Brizeño's written report at least gives some oblique insight into the San Lorenzo/San Pedro muddle

[49] Because the "P" has a diagonal mark that makes it look like it could be a letter "R," perhaps prompting interpreting the abbreviation as indicating San Lorenzo de Quinti, all other instances of the letter "R" on the map and paleography of the period show the abbreviation is Po, standard for San Pedro.

by naming the parish and pueblo of "*San Pedro y San Lorenzo de Quinte*" (1965 [1586]: 160; italics in original).

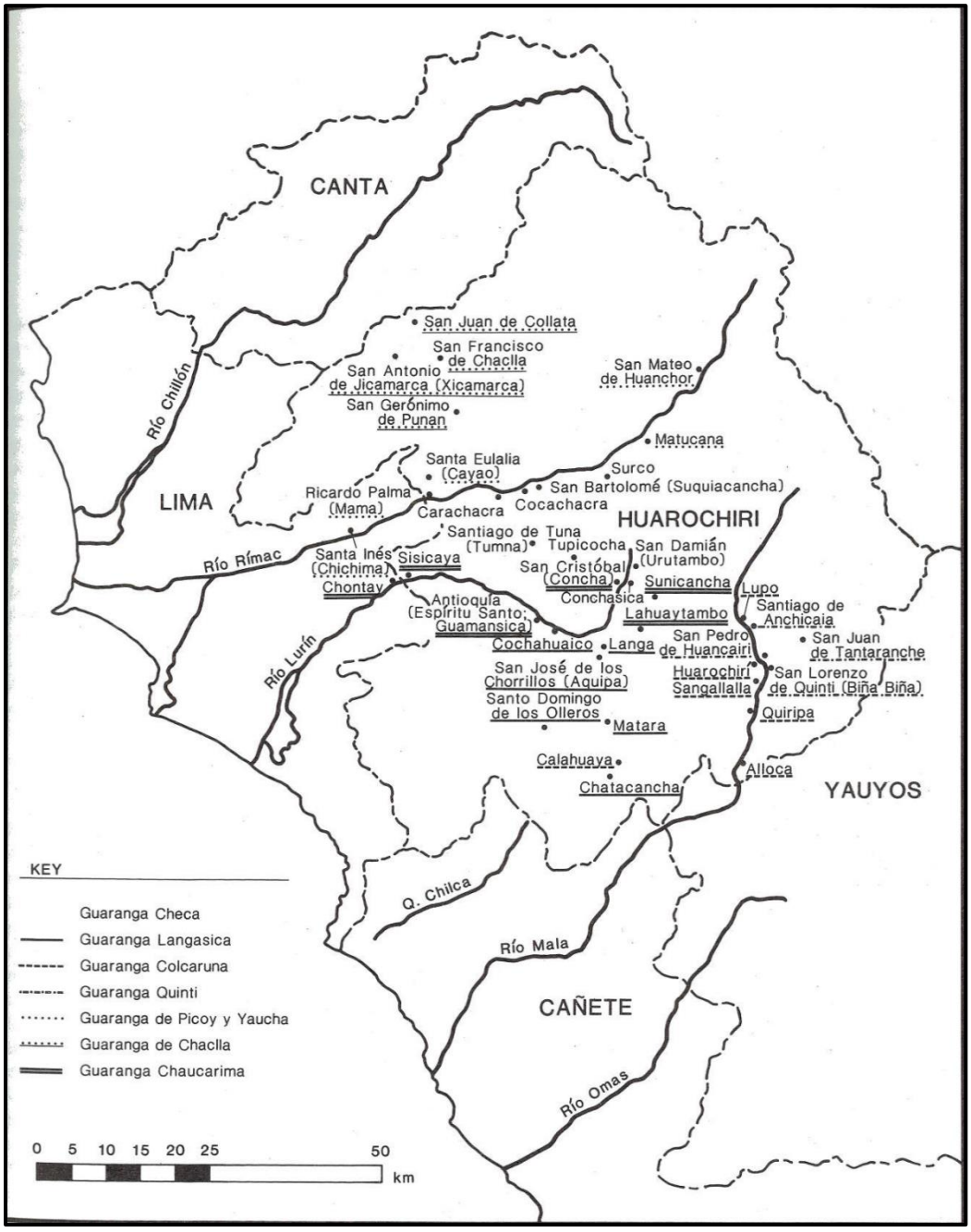

Figure 2.4: Rostworowski's (2004b [1988]:flyleaf) historically reconstructed map of Huarochirí's huarangas and their settlements. Note her placement of "Santiago de Anchicaia" of the huaranga Quinti.

To be sure, the "Santiagos" mix-up owes much to simple oversight, and I have not tracked its historiography so assiduously to nitpick.[50] Rather I devote so much space and detail to it because it demonstrates the workings of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory in both simple and complex ways. Most simply, the perpetuation of this interpretive error illustrates the incipient stages of a referential snowball effect that can characterize "standard historical accounts," and underscores the need for critical care in drawing on and applying previous scholarship.[51]

But there is something more profound going on here: How does this error–not a passive omission but an active extrapolation–come about in the first place? What phantom force made Tuna seem to materialize or become visible in a document that does not contain the word or any reference to the village? By what spell were we blinded to an inspection itinerary listing places that cluster dozens of rugged kilometers away from Tuna, including the clear reference to Santiago de Anchucaya as the document's provenience? The answers are to be found in the canonical prehistory of Huarochirí and the internally referential processes by which it has proliferated, starting with the Checa narrators themselves, and been taken up in subsequent scholarly work.[52]

Canonical Prehistory and Checa ideology

[50] For a contrasting example, in a 1995 interview Rostworowski mentioned going to Tello's classes at San Marcos. A few questions later, when asked when she began attending classes she answered 1948 (Varón 1997). In the introduction to the publication of another interview three years later, the date was repeated: "In 1948, she took courses at San Marcos University with archaeologist Julio C. Tello" (van Deusen 2000:263). The problem here is, of course, that Tello passed away in June of 1947 (Astuhuamán and Daggett 2005; Daggett 2009), and a simple slip–probably not even on memory but simply misspeaking–becomes a perpetuated error. In this case I can think of no "damage" of any significance that might be occasioned by this slip. I maintain that the Santiago de Anchucaya/Tuna oversight does hold potential significance for the reasons elaborated above.

[51] In the "History" segment of a promotional video produced by San Damián's municipal government and uploaded to YouTube in 2010, the narrator tells about the Spanish extirpators finding Tutayquiri's mummy in Santiago de Tuna (see San Damián – Historia, Turismo y Obras 1).

[52] I must note that I accepted the location of Tutayquiri's mummy in Tuna over several years of my own research on Huarochiri, discovering this error only very recently. As I discuss above, associating Tutayquiri's mummy with Santiago de Tuna makes so much sense as to appear self-evident. Similarly, in Chapter Five I explain how the design of my excavation sampling strategy was shaped entirely by my acceptance of the chronology of Huarochiri's canonical prehistory, even after fairly extensive field observations of the sites.

Tutayquiri's mummy *should have been* in Santiago de Tuna. By all indications (excluding the few items from the Jesuit letters) and for all those familiar with the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives, it "belonged" there, in a prominent Checa settlement, the westernmost node of the Chanco pilgrimage route that "followed in Tutayquiri's steps." Tuna sits in the hilltops astride the two river valleys that were the path of Tutayquiri's conquest (the Rímac and Lurín), nearly exactly between them. Moreover, from the time the Huarochirí manuscript was compiled down to the twenty-first century, Tuna retained the Checa ayllu names and structure with an integrity second only to that of Tupicocha (see Salomon 2004:61). As much as it fits within this Checa self-representation and their expansion down the river valleys towards the coast, the discovery of Tutayquiri's mummy among the Quinti raises questions about the nature and timing of this picture. All of the "indications" that would place Tutayquiri's mummy in Santiago de Tuna come either directly from Checa informants in the Huarochirí manuscript or from sources recording the fate of the Checa from ca. AD 1600 forward.

Read differently, these same sources suggests that the manuscript materials were gathered during a specific historical juncture in the relative standing or the socio-political reckoning between the Checa and the Quinti *huaranga* (see Introduction). It seems there was a Checa project afoot to supersede their traditional subordinate relation to the Quinti and ascend as territorial masters in their own right. This "project" would correspond to Salomon's (2004:59) proposal: "[I]t appears that although the Huarochirí Quechua Manuscript speaks of Llacsa Tampo, which is close to San Damian, as the main Checa ceremonial center, the actual center of gravity of Checa demography and organization shifted further north, to the Tupicocha-Tuna area, toward the middle colonial era, perhaps in the early seventeenth century."

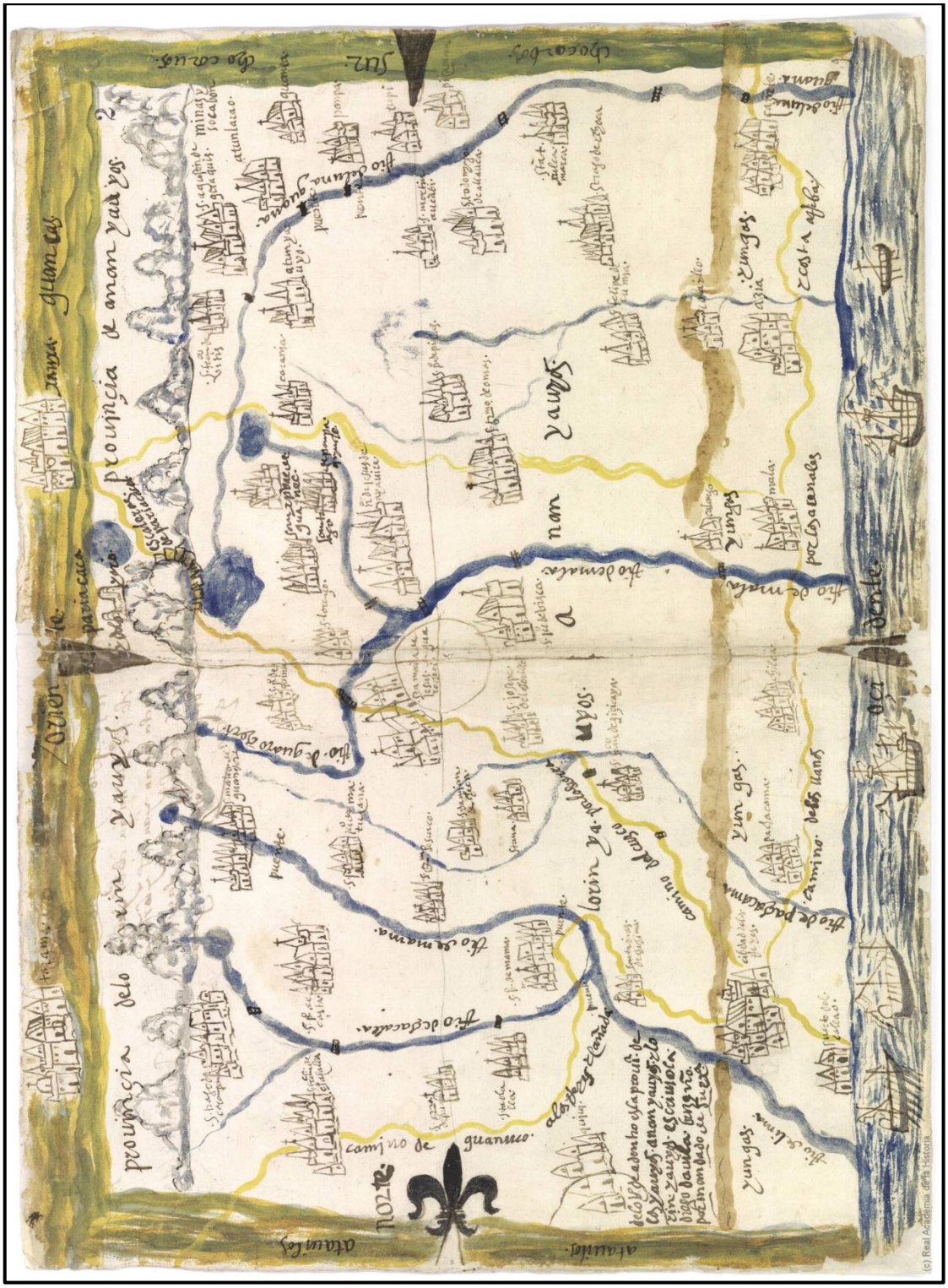

Figure 2.5: 1586 map of the Provincia de Yauyos accompanying corregidor Diego Dávila Brizeño's report for the Relaciones Geográficas. Note the reducción of Santa María de Jesus de Huarochirí that makes up the quadripartitioned Province. The settlements being discussed in the text above cluster around Huarochirí proper. Digital copy courtesy of Tom Cummins.

This light makes it easier to see a generative performativity in the manuscript's testimonies of the conquest of Llacsatambo and the Rímac and Lurín river valleys, and also the Chanco pilgrimage, all of which feature Tutayquiri as the Checa's tutelary huaca, guiding force and "motor" of their destiny. The traditional hierarchy and new Checa project can be represented spatially (see Figure 2.6) as, respectively, a southeast-northwest (Quinti-Llacsatambo) axis, and a more horizontally east-west (Llacsatambo-Tuna) axis (the latter corresponding to the area covered in the Chanco procession).

But Tutayquiri, was (one of)[53] Pariacaca's last born (Salomon and Urioste 1991:71, 79, 82, 95), and the narratives of these conquests are directly associated with reports of the traditional subordinate status and consequent poor treatment of the Checa by the most senior of Pariacaca's children. Though related as "children of Pariacaca" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:70, 83; Spalding 1984:54), the relationship between the Checa and the Quinti was antagonistic and strained in a way that reflects not just structural distinction but perhaps also the rancor and umbrage of historically recent or more likely ongoing segmentation: "In earlier times, they say, the Checa were Quinti, the younger brothers of the Quinti," and thus, "[t]he Quinti thoroughly despised the Checa because the Checa were born last" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79).

[53] Though the manuscript repeatedly mentions the Checa as the last born, in the final chapter the narrators also declare that "the Concha were the very last of Paria Caca's and Tutayquiri's offspring to be born, and the least prestigious of them" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:143).

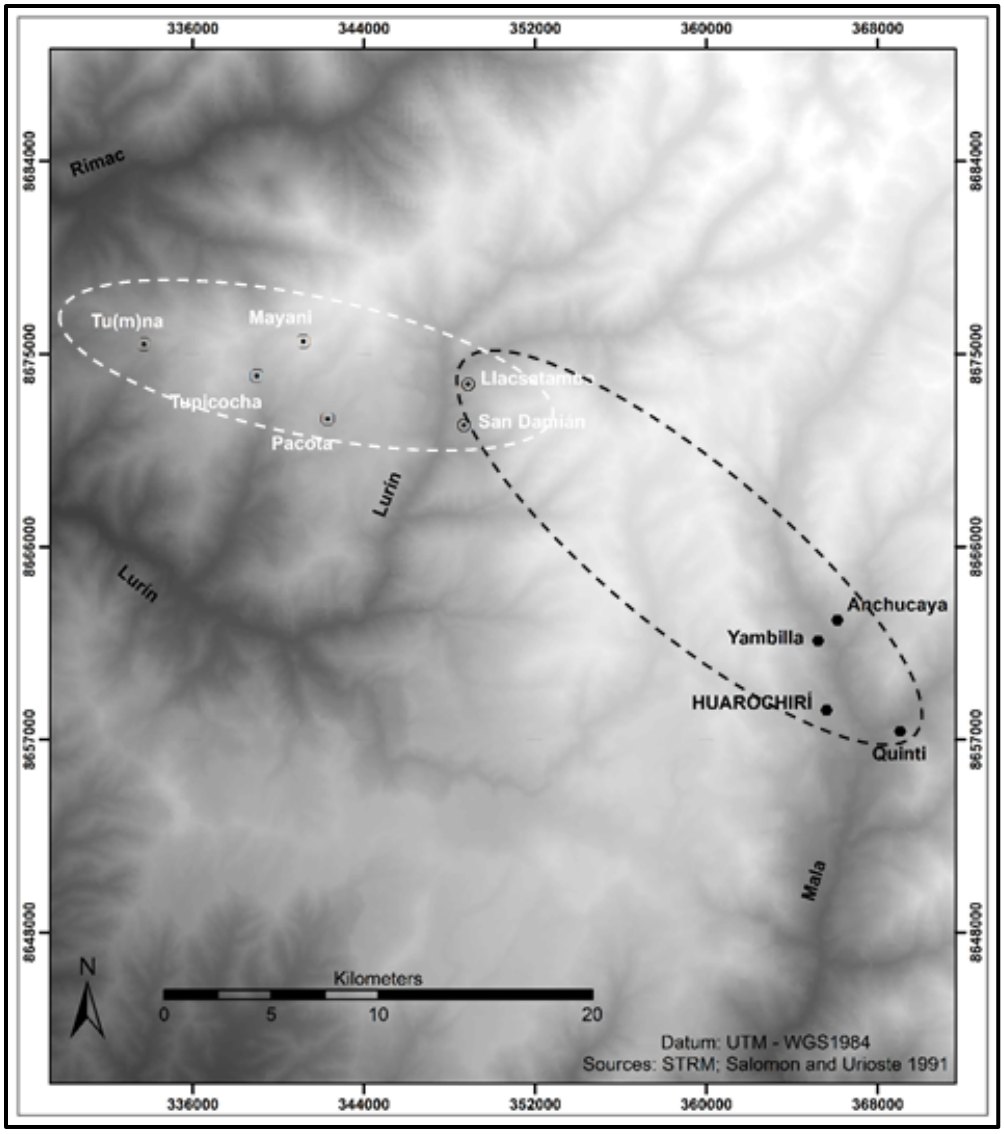

Figure 2.6: Map showing the proposed "old" Quinti-Checa axis and the "new" Checa axis represented in the Huarochirí manuscript. I suggest that the Checa were enacting a segmentary split from the Quinti, in part by establishing their own territory of conquest headed by Tutayquiri and expanding down the Rímac and Lurín River valleys. Note also the settlements of Quinti, Huarochirí, the areas of Yambilla and Anchucaya (where Tutayquiri's mummy was reportedly found by Francisco de Avila), and the location of the Checa village of Tuna (where scholars have written was the place Tutayquiri's mummy was found by Avila). (Map by author.)

Following the Checa complaint concerning the Quintis' regard for them, the manuscript narrators tell us that "Tutay Quiri spoke to [the "despised" Checa], saying, 'Don't be sad, children, no matter what they say. Let them scorn you; in spite of it you, the Checa, will in future times have

the title of *villca*. And as for those who belittle you, people will speak scornfully to them, saying, 'Little Quintis, little bugs!'" Immediately following this tutelary promise in the manuscript is the narrative of Tutayquiri's conquest of Llacsatambo and driving areal Yunca peoples down the Rímac and Lurín towards the coast (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79; italics in original).

It is of more complex and far-reaching significance that Tutayquiri's mummy was not only *not* found in Checa territory (as we have understood for nearly four decades), but that it was located among the Quinti huaranga.[54] The animosity between the Quinti and the Checa has already been noted, as has the relationship this son of Pariacaca had with the Checa. The manuscript narrators indicate Quinti primacy over the Checa in several ways. Narratives place some of Pariacaca's first martial and sexual conquests in the vicinity of the Quinti reducción of San Lorenzo (Salomon and Urioste 1991:61-63). The yunca huaca Huallallo Caruincho is placed in the most primordial times of "the present, solar world (Salomon and Urioste 1991:43n17), along with the earliest Yunca inhabitants of Huarochirí's highlands. Several times throughout the manuscript the narrators mention the defeat of Huallallo and his Yuncas by apical Yauyo *huaca*, Pariacaca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:44, 61, 66-70, 92-95). Pariacaca's repeated victories over Huallallo (for they were ongoing, it seems) established perpetual superiority of highlanders over the Yunca and were the archetype for all other highlands conquests (Salomon and Urioste 1991:66-68); they also marked a point of conversion and covenant between Pariacaca and his children. According to Taylor's

[54] There is a Huarochiri myth (Salomon and Urioste 1991:82-83) indirectly blaming the truncated conquests of Quinti agricultural lands on Tutayquiri's seduction of by a lower-altitude female huaca, but the connection is too weak to warrant placing the mummy in Quinti care. Tutayquiri was only the leader of the conquest party of Pariacaca's children and, following the example of the young but powerful Tutayquiri, the others bridled their advance when "this woman . . . beguiled them" as well. This is the direct reason given for the limited Quinti lands.

The manuscript also relates an instance in historical times of envy between the Checa and Quinti leading to a huaca's appropriation (Salomon and Urioste 1991:99-100), but it was the Checa doing the envying and appropriating from the Quinti. Of course, as I suggest above, this story could be of a Checa partisan tint, perhaps compensating for the historically attested Quinti possession of Tutayquiri.

translation of a marginal note (1987:146), the man who, prior to the first momentous battle between the two archetypal huacas converted his sacrificial devotion from Huallallo to Pariacaca, was Quinti, a detail significant to Taylor because it indicates that the Quintis once rendered cult to a yunca huaca. This, and the placement of a Quinti man in this originary moment speak to the Quintis' primordial existence. The clearest statements deal with birth order: The eldest of Pariacaca's conquering offspring was Choc Payco, the very name of the Quinti man who attempted to deceive both the Checa and Pariacaca in a failed attempt to win Pariacaca's favor (Salomon and Urioste 1991:94-95).

There are several possible scenarios that would make sense of the apparent discrepancy of Tutayquiri's mummy. In the myths, Tutayquiri was also involved with the conquest of Quinti territories (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:83), possibly pointing to Quinti custodianship. It could also be that, as the ranking offspring of Pariacaca, the Quinti retained curation, display, and feting rights to the ancestors of the other children of Pariacaca (similar to the mallquis of the Sapa Inkas [see Gose 1996]). That is, as the "original segment" perhaps all subsequent and subordinate segments were viewed as "contained" within the eldest, Quinti, segment. It is just as likely that the pressures of Spanish Catholic extirpation had caused the Checa to safeguard their mallqui-huaca in a remote and hidden place.

There are other possibilities as well, but the real point of these exercises has not been to explain why Tutayquiri's mummy was in the Quinti area of Anchucaya, but rather why we have all placed the mummy in Tuna over four decades. As I have indicated above, I am suggesting, 1. This is the most historiographically basic manifestation of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory; that is, the acceptance and perpetuation of information from authors prominent in the "canonization" process; 2. The reason this error could go unnoticed for so long is that it resonated with the contents

of the canonical prehistory, the first version of which came from the Checa narrators themselves and was their partisan version of the realities of Huarochirí's world; 3. These partisan Checa accounts were part of a segmentary fission of the Checa from the Quinti. If there was an axial shift underway in the early seventeenth century, as Salomon suggests, it makes sense that Checas emphasis in the narratives on the *prior* establishment of their special relationship with Tutayquiri, his conquests down the Rímac and Lurín, and Pariacaca's promise of their imminent ascendancy over the Quinti were part of performing this shift. It pays to remember how the manuscript was compiled: as part of a special project based on extended questioning, members of this group specifically (the Checa) were asked to account for their world, present and past. What they communicated has been taken and passed on in the literalistic interpretive fashion I discussed above in a way that seems to have blinded us to the performative nature of Huarochirí's huacas, myths, and rituals. This and other characteristics of Huarochirí's celebrated and powerful inhabitants is the topic of Chapter Three.

CHAPTER THREE

What is a Huaca? When is a Huaca?

In the previous chapter I presented the "canonical prehistory of Huarochirí" together with the generally complacent acceptance of the model by archaeologists who have worked in the manuscript's area. Curiously, the results of our adherence the canonical prehistory include visions of Huarochirí's past that are in some cases atemporal in nature, or based on anachronistic projections or in others. However, at the time of the manuscript's composition, Huarochirí was in the midst of the second successive colonization by an expansive state; realignment of collectively held pasts was central to the imperial expansion of the Inka and the Spanish alike. As Alan Kolata (1996:64) has argued, in order "[t]o approach a better understanding of the dynamic relationship between the state and local communities, we must reformulate . . . static, ahistorical models." Karen Spalding and María Rostworowski's historical readings of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents broke away from the view that the narratives came out of an undifferentiated Andean antiquity and established the grounds for increasingly detailed and rigorous historical investigations, expressly through archaeological research. In the absence of subsequent empirical archaeological work these historical studies were not advanced upon, but instead congealed into Huarochirí's generally accepted past.

The canonical prehistory comprises an entire "regime of historicity" (Trouillot 2003:38), including placement of the activities reflected in mythical narratives within a chronological and sequential frame, a historical and historiographic hermeneutic intertwining the causal primacy of historical events/processes (like invasions/conquests) with assumptions about the way these historical occurrences were represented or reflected by huacas, myths, and rituals. The identification of historical incidents–in particular the repeated arrival of invading parties–as first

causes amounts to an "eventful and adventful" history wherein the events/processes themselves have no interpretive motif or motivation; the Yauyos invasions and conquests over Yuncas "just happened" and were only later given cultural form in myths and rituals of commemoration. So, if we revisit the Cuni Raya/Caui Llaca narrative from the vantage point of the canonical prehistory, we should expect to find some kind of "eventful and adventful" historiographic interpretation, which is indeed the case. Rostworowski (2002 [1978]:207-208) indicates the same "mytho-geography" mentioned in the presentation of the myth in the dissertation's Introduction, and then adds: "The entire myth may well indicate the route followed by a highlands ethnic group in its search for new lands, or perhaps only its initial advance toward the coast, at a time that the Yauyos and their god Pariacaca were not yet completely secure in their domination of the highlands."[1] For Rostworowski, the means of conveying history were culturally specific, but even so, it all worked the same way modern historiography was supposed to have. And even as the events and processes were particular to Huarochirí in a specific era, still the general shape of history is the same for ancient Andeans as for us (i.e., universal, chronological "notions of temporal sequence and causation," [Durston 2007:232], general human motivations).[2]

Rostworowski's historical interpretation of the Cuni Raya/Caui Llaca myth may very well be correct, or rather, partially correct. But the problem with unproblematized "eventful" historiography is that, as we have seen in Trouillot's argument, an event's happening is enmeshed

[1] "Todo el mito podría indicar bien el camino que siguió un grupo étnico serrano en su búsqueda de nuevas tierras, o tal vez sólo su primer avance a la costa, cuando los Yauyos y su dios Pariacaca aún no estaban del todo afianzados en su dominio de la sierra" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:208).

[2] As discussed in the previous chapter, while it may seem that the historical invasions in Huarochirí "just happened," the canonical prehistory is not an explanatory vacuum; the events/processes did not happen as simple contingency but appear to be informed by "universal" rational-economic behaviorism, e.g., highlands groups' "natural" desire to expand their territories into "coveted," fertile yunca lands.

within hermeneutic networks of meaning or interpretation that both influence what may be considered an event and what the effective significance, causes, consequences, etc., of the event are and will be. The need for this approach to Huarochirí's past is glaring. Both Inka and Spanish statecraft involved strategies for controlling local and regional pasts materially, practically, and ideologically (Chase 2016a, 2016b, 2016c). In the late prehispanic Andes, ancestry and kinship were the source and currency of political legitimacy, collective identities, territorial rights, and social standing. The Inkas and their Andean contemporaries demonstrated legitimate descent through curation, display, and consultation of portable, mummified ancestors (mallquis), and through active ritual relationships with material ancestors in the physical landscape (huacas). In both cases these ancestors were generally associated with their descendants' places of origin (pacarinas) and other locations and territories gained through these ancestors' foundational, mythical deeds. Thus, the incorporation of peoples and their lands into Tawantinsuyu, and attendant Inka practices of population resettlement entailed complex dealings with local and regional huacas, and the cooptation and modification of the corporate origins and histories of local elite lineages (Bauer and Covey 2002; D'Altroy 2001, 2005; Rowe 1946; Silverblatt 1988).

In different but comparable ways, the material and discursive elements of the past were the very media and stakes of the ideological struggles at the heart of Spanish/indigenous religious interaction in the Andes from the earliest encounters (Estete 1891 [1534]; Xérez 1891 [1534]) through the first centuries of the Spanish Colonial era (Arriaga 1968 [1621]; Chase 2004; Duviols 1977; 2003; García Cabrera 1994; MacCormack 1985; 1991; Mills 1997; Ramos and Urbano 1993). Denial of indigenous accounts of the past and attempts to replace it with a different explanatory rubric and material/spatial regime was a central tactic of evangelization. In addition to extracting the locations of and meanings attached to local numina (e.g., landscape features,

shrines, portable objects), teams of extirpators executed an habilitation process of despoiling the spaces and things as adjuncts of diabolical deception. The Huarochirí manuscript, the circumstances surrounding its composition, and the concerted extirpation campaigns that followed, are at the very heart of these battles.

These are the historiographic devils we know (or have fair awareness of); what other aspects of meaningful engagements with the past and temporal sensibilities in the indigenous late prehispanic and early Colonial Andes have bedeviled historical and historiographic reconstructions such as Huarochirí's canonical prehistory? Most basic, of course, is the "problem" of groundtruthing the historical interpretations of the canonical prehistory. My archaeological research was in part aimed at filling this lacuna. But, as I have briefly mentioned, recent data I collected through systematic archaeological fieldwork and laboratory analysis problematizes both the canonical prehistory and the manuscript narrators' specific accounts of their ceremonial center, Llacsatambo. However, while systematic archaeological fieldwork in the central geographic axis of the manuscript's narrators was a primary intervention of my dissertation research, the light these new data may shed on the Andean past will be limited if the data do not lead us to rethink our anthropological theories and models, as clearly illustrated by the previous archaeological publications on Llacsatambo and its immediate surroundings. Therefore, after presenting the archaeological data that can be put into most consequential dialogue with the canonical prehistory, I provide historical anthropological analyses that fit the data better and explain why the canonical prehistory is theoretically ill-fitting and inadequate to account for the culturally and historically specific semioses operating in the world of the late prehispanic Huarochirí and its Colonial manuscript.

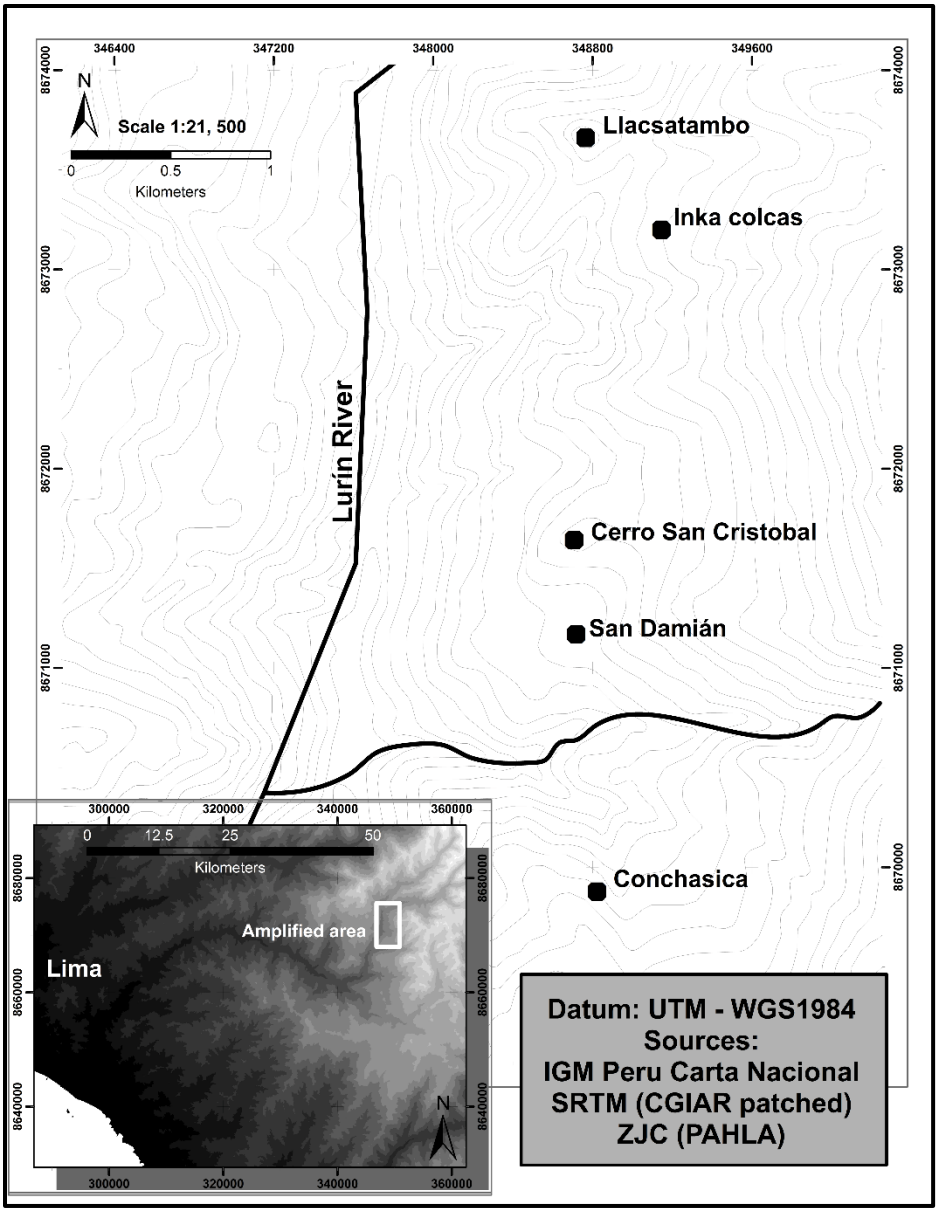

Figure 3.1: Map of the "San Damián-Llacsatambo axis," the central area of the Huarochirí manuscript's composition and the focal point of the archaeological investigations of the Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí-Lurín Alto (PAHLA). (Map by author)

PAHLA and the Canonical Prehistory

In the preceding analysis we have seen the complexities of meaningful engagements with the past in late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí. A performative historicity consisting of recursive relationships between historical actions and segmentary, ranked socio-political

categories with their own "built-in" sense of priority and sequence makes reconstructing Huarochirí's past a daunting, but not insuperable, task. In order to address the task I established the Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto (PAHLA) in 2010 for intensive, systematic archaeological and historical research in the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis–the central area the manuscript narrators called home (Figure 3.1). Archaeological fieldwork consisted of full-coverage survey of the 12 square kilometer area at the center of the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis, surface collections, site mapping, and test excavations at four major sites. The specifications of my archaeological field and laboratory research are laid out in the dissertation's Introduction and more detailed presentation of the archaeological data appears in Chapter Four. Having laid out the canonical prehistory in the preceding chapter, here I present the recovered data that bear most directly on this prevalent version of Huarochirí's past, that is, the results of excavations and the radiocarbon dates obtained from excavations at two sites in the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis.

To recall from Chapter Two, the principal tenets of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory are the following: 1. The manuscript's huacas, myths, and rituals, as well as the text itself, are post hoc reflections of historical circumstances and events, namely, 2. several waves of highlander (Yauyo) incursions into lands inhabited by aboriginal lowlanders (Yuncas), and consequent coastward expulsions of the latter throughout the Huarochirí territory and more specifically at the Checa center of Llacsatambo, 3. occurring over a period of between four and eight centuries prior to the ca. AD 1608 composition of the manuscript; 4. Inka involvement (ca. AD 1470-1532) in the area consisted of a loose, informal alliance based on Checa military service for the Inka, who feared and feted Huarochirí's huacas; the character of Inka intervention was not physically or ideologically infrastructural (see Figure I.1, Figure 2.1).

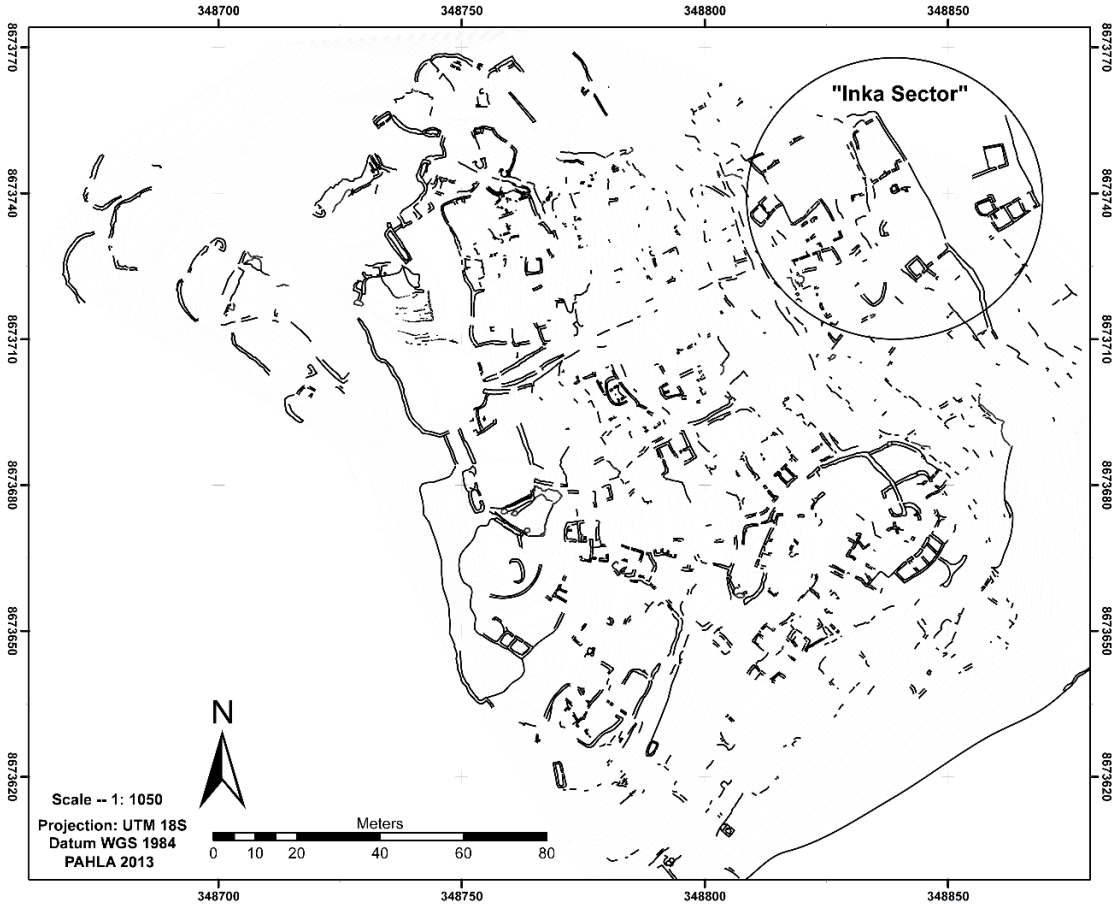

Figure 3.2: Map of the architectural center of Llacsatambo, the ceremonial center of the Checa narrators of the Huarochirí manuscript. (Map by author)

Despite approaching this project with hypotheses of performative historicities, these were mostly hermeneutic in nature, and my field research design and execution were still very much informed by the canonical prehistory. The patterns I saw in my preliminary archaeological examinations of Llacsatambo and the surrounding area, matched the observations of other archaeologists (Bueno 1992; Coello Rodríguez 2000; Coello Rodríguez and Diaz Arce 1995; INC 2008; Patrocinios and Tapia 2001), seeming to confirm a LIP settlement with limited and late Inka additions (for full exposition and analysis, see Chapter Four). Eight test excavations were distributed between Llacsatambo and the series of Inka *colca*s to the southeast (Figure 3.3). The

distribution strategy was to investigate changes and continuities in practices related to performing the past at this Checa "place of origin" through the aforementioned episodes of colonization in the area by sampling spaces associated with unmistakable Inka architectural styles (i.e., in the Inka storehouses and Llacsatambo's supposed "Inka sector;" see Figures 3.2 and 3.3), as well as spaces associated with structures of more regional architectural style, in hopes of gaining chronological resolution on areal activities and site occupation.

Figure 3.3: Photograph of the Inka colcas or storehouses to the southeast of Llacsatambo's center (the base of the hilltop site can be seen in the right background). These rectangular buildings are aligned to conform to the topography of the hill on which they sit, a feature typical of Inka colcas throughout the Andes. Bulldozing for the dirt vehicle road, seen in the foreground, likely demolished some portion of the southernmost extent of the series of structures. (Photograph by author)

These excavations and subsequent analyses have not revealed evidence of a series of occupations at Llacsatambo previous to Inka arrival, as the Checa narrators claimed. Nor did they indicate site occupation dating to the late Middle Horizon, as suggested in the ethnohistorical literature and subsequently canonized in Huarochirí's prehistory. Instead, the stratigraphy was

comparable in all the excavation units, indicating a single, relatively brief and late occupation and use of Llacsatambo and, obviously, the Inka colcas (Figures 3.4-3.6). Pottery decorated in the styles characteristic of Inka fine serving wares (Figure 3.7) was recovered from the lower levels of four of the six Llacsatambo units; the remaining two units on the plaza at Llacsatambo's apex were too shallow to expect discernment of a distributional pattern within what little soil matrix there was above bedrock (Figure 3.5).

Figure 3.4: Photographs of the stratigraphy in the two excavation units placed within Inka structures (note the trapezoidal windows and niches in the structure on the left) in the "Inka sector" of Llacsatambo, the levels of both are on sterile bedrock. Though there was more evidence of occupation activities in the unit on the right (LTUE07) than the unit on the left (LTUE02), both were relatively shallow and showed a single occupation. (Photographs by author)

Four reliable radiocarbon dates have been obtained from samples of carbonized wood excavated from secure contexts. All have been calibrated to two sigma.[3] The dates from the lowest cultural levels in the excavations in the Llacsatambo structure with double-jamb windows and niches (LTUE07) place its construction and use between AD 1448 and AD 1623. Those obtained

[3] The carbon samples were processed by the NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory and DirectAMS Radiocarbon Dating Service.

from the lowest level of cultural activity in the Inka storehouses (TIUE01) date them to between AD 1455 and AD 1518. The dates from two domestic and work structures at Llacsatambo without architectural features or forms clearly identifying them as Inka influenced are AD 1318-AD 1428 (LTUE06), and AD 1403-AD 1448 (LTUE05).[4]

Figure 3.5: Photograph of an excavation unit (LTUE04) placed in front of Llacsatambo's largest tomb structure, near the apex of the hilltop site. The structure has previously been considered one of the most characteristic of a local Late Intermediate period at Llacsatambo. The unit's stratigraphy was shallow and evinced a single occupation, similar to that of the Inka structures. The location of the structure and unit atop a flat or planed hilltop exposed the surface to wind deflation and rain erosion which contributed to the shallowness of the matrix.

In these final two cases, the dates come from samples obtained from the hearth on the level of the first structure's original occupation (L.18), and from beneath the original occupation surface (L.14), below the foundation of a wall stub in the second structure.

[4] The distinct split (i.e., at AD 1448) between the former and latter sets of dates must be noted as possibly (perhaps even probably) indicating pre-Inka and Inka-era occupations of Llacsatambo. The squaring of these dates with the stratigraphy and stratigraphic location of the ceramics of Inka decoration is ongoing. The primary point here is that these dates militate against the centuries-long occupation of Llacsatambo as expressed in the ethnohistory.

Figure 3.6: Photograph of sterile level of one of the excavation units (TIUE02) placed in the Inka colcas with a portion of the stone floor (see Appendix B) corresponding to occupation left intact on the right side of the photo. As in all other others, the stratigraphy of this unit was shallow and evinced a single occupation (perhaps consisting only of its construction).

In summary, the archaeological data recovered thus far do not support the periodization, chronology, or causal/representational order of the canonical prehistory. If the evidence is correct, it is likely that the ancestors of the Huarochirí manuscript narrators built the ceremonial center of Llacsatambo, rather than usurping it from pre-existing Yuncas in what we would call a historical event. In addition, this seems to have taken place much closer to Inka times than previously imagined.

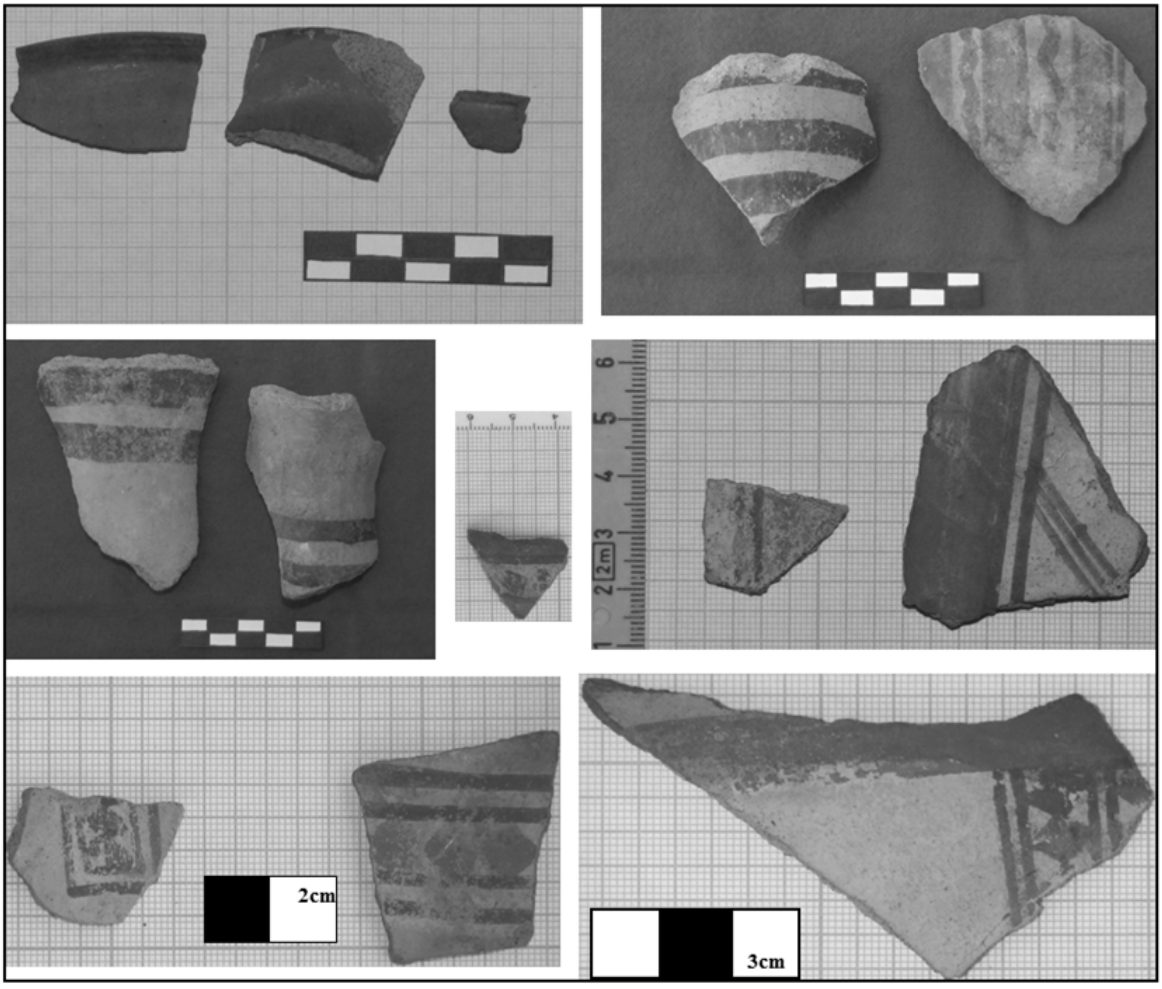

Figure 3.7: Examples of decorated Inka pottery from the surface collections and excavations at Llacsatambo. (Photgraphys by author)

From what vantage point do they make sense in connection to the Huarochirí manuscript narratives and accounts from other historical documents (especially in light of the many cases in which the archaeological data from Llacsatambo do match even specific aspects of the manuscript narratives, as presented in Chapter Five)?

Performing the Past in Huarochirí

The criteria for the expositions and analyses that follow are drawn from the manuscript itself and other Colonial writings, as well as from the pertinent and related archaeological research that provide insight into the culturally and semiotically meaningful cosmos which the Checa

narrators of the manuscript inhabited and made up. What seems most important in terms of theoretical orientation is figuring out what counts in different societies and cultures as meaningful engagement with the past (institutional or disciplinary history being one example for the modern West). Roy Harris's semiotics of "integrationalism," wherein "communication is envisaged . . . as consisting in the contextualized integration of human activities by means of signs" (Harris in Salomon 2004:31) is particularly illuminating for understanding Andean historical consciousness and practice. This includes a focus on semiosis, or sign "actions" or "processes" (see Peirce 1998 [1907]:411) which occurs "whenever humans use a material symbol to place persons or activities into 'integrated' semiotic relation. One knows something is a sign if people's activities come into a relationship by virtue of it" (Salomon 2004:31). My employment of these concepts is less precise than Frank Salomon's, who draws on the formal tenets of Harris's theory in order to expand understanding of the social-semiotic efficacy of *formalized* sign *systems* other than writing (like the Andean *khipu*). However, like Salomon, I am interested in the way semiosis theories encourage the conception and detection of non-written signification. For me the key is the conception of semiosis as that which brings people together into a meaningful, comprehensible action of collective consequence.[5] Occupation of a llacta's ceremonial center, carrying out active reciprocal relations with the huacas, and other ritual performances including the articulation of related originary narratives of the key feats of the ancestors and huacas, were practices of semiosis that made legitimate collective pasts and presents for late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochiranos. This in turn reveal something very important about the canonical prehistory's eventful and adventful historiography: Because of their putative universality, the "realist" political

[5] "In contrast to those who treat signs as coded messages, Peirce located signs within a material world of consequences" (Keane 2005:186).

and economic motivations imputed to the Huarochiranos of the past would have lacked the situated, cultural cogency to inspire the sorts of meaningful actions and interactions that made the world of Huarochirí.[6] Rather, cultural expression participated in the constitution of motivations and vice-versa. Huarochirí's archaeological and historical records testify of this in showing that performing conquest was of higher priority than the political and material gains that would be afforded by actual territorial conquest.

How can we know that historicity for Huarochiranos was performative? In what follows I provide some drawn out and detailed answers to this question. But before getting into these, let me give the simplest and most obvious answer. We know that among the Checa the past was performed and performative because they tell us so.

The Checa narrators of the manuscript did not claim Llacsatambo as their place of origin (*pacarina*), at least not their original place of origin. Rather, after providing a brief account of their *pacrina* of (still geographically unspecified) Vichi Cancha, the Checa explain that, immediately following their huaca Tutayquiri's conquests of the yunca (or lowland valley dwellers who ostensibly occupied the llacta previous to the Checa) at and in the territory around Llacsatambo,[7] the Checa (ancestors of the manuscript narrators) divided up the fields, houses, and villages that were left behind. Even extant huacas were allocated, or "received" by the invaders (Salomon and

[6] This is an argument in the vein of Terry Eagleton's critiques (1976), against "decoding" cultural expressions as mere representations facilitating the satisfaction of "real," fundamental drives like political advantage or economic gain.

[7] I write of Tutayquiri's conquest of both *yunca* who dwelled at Llacsatambo based on Taylor's (1999:163) translation, and of *yunca* around Llacsatambo (primarily westward between Llacsatambo and the Pacific coast), based on Salomon's (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79) translation of the same line. Based on the rituals performed at Llacsatambo and the annual Checa pilgrimage that began and ended at Llacsatambo, this seems like a reasonable interpretation.

Urioste 1991:119-120).[8] Then the Checa gathered at Llacsatambo and "danced their dance [*taki*] of origin, just as they'd once danced it in Vichi Cancha" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120). Like what we will see in the example of Caque Poma and Tanta Carhua below, this performance of an origin-taki indicates the performative creation of a "new past" whereby a people and huaca-conquered place were recursively defined.[9] Tutayquiri's[10] conquests were also the basis for Checa territorial claims in the early seventeenth century. Accordingly, each November,[11] the "*Chanco*," a Checa pilgrimage and hunt began and ended at Llacsatambo, ostensibly commemorated these conquests by imitating Tutayquiri's original movement through their territory (Figure 3.8). In

[8] One wonders if something similar may have happened or been said to have happened at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará (see below).

[9] Taylor (1999:319) discusses the implications of the Quechua terms used in this section (variants on the root "pacari-" which denote emergence, origins, dawning, the moment of appearance, etc.) and their undeniable connection to specific places (pacarinas), not of occupation but original emergence of a social collective. See also Santo Thomas (2006 [1560]:391-392); González Holguín (1989 [1608]:266-267).

[10] The origins of Tutayquiri's relation to the Checa are not clearly addressed in the Huarochirí manuscript, except that tradition held that he was born in Vichi Cancha, the same place from which the Checa ancestors (in one of their two origin myths) were said to have emerged (Salomon and Urioste 1991:117-119).

[11] The Huarochirí manuscript narrators note efforts to make the Chanco *taki* (ceremonial origin dance) associated with Tutayquiri coincide with "la fiesta de San Andrés" (Taylor 1999:155), which Salomon informs fell on November 30 (Salomon and Urioste 1991:78n296). Intriguing contemporaneous information that can be compared with elements of the Huarochirí manuscript's description of the cultic activity performed for Tutayquiri comes from Guaman Poma (1944 [1613]:256-257), who describes November as "Aya Marcay Quilla" (roughly, the month of carrying [with the arms] the deceased). In November, the deceased were visited, removed from their vaults ("*bobedas*") or small stone habitations ("*pucullo*"), feted with food, drink, fine clothing and other decoration and then paraded around. (Based on the accompanying illustration, the deceased were borne about on crude litters.) After the processions, the dead were returned to their tombs and given foods ("*sus comidas*") served on gold and silver dishes ("*bagilla*" or *vasijas*) or earthenwares ("*de barro*"), depending on the importance or "poverty" of the feted deceased. These activities reflect Guaman Poma's (290-291) description of (initial) burial customs carried out by the "Chincahisuyos," or those of the northwestern quarter of Tawantinsuyu, which included Huarochirí. Similar to Guaman Poma's "Aya Marcay Quilla" descriptions, the Chanco "surround hunt," dance, and pilgrimage were performed in November, involved "circular" (i.e., beginning and ending at the same place) ancestor procession, the gathering of kin groups (in Taylor [1999:167] the people gathered at the furthest extent of the pilgrimage "*esperaban que llegase Tutayquire*;" in Salomon and Urioste [1991: 80] these people would declare: "Here comes Tutay Quiri!"), the distribution of corn beer and meat in vessels, and ritual dancing (Salomon and Urioste 1991:80-81; Taylor 1999:165-171). After providing the definition of "*Aya*" as "dead body" ("*cuerpo muerto*"), González Holguín (1989 [1608]:39) also defines "Ayamarca" as "mes de Noviembre." (Cf. AAL Legajo III, expediente 10, folio 4v, where Ysabel Guaricolque removed the buried body of Francisco Mallqui in order to curate the body in a way almost identical to that described in Guaman Poma; this is claimed to have happened in November of 1655.)

addition to indicating performative historicity, this narrative tells us a great deal about the role and functioning of huacas in these temporal processes. We turn to these themes now.

Huacas

Whatever disputes may exist among scholars as to the meaning of the Huarochirí manuscript, it is indisputably *about* huacas, perhaps the richest text on huacas in all of Andean literature. Perhaps no aspect of indigenous Andean life preoccupied and vexed the colonial Spanish as severely, or in as many ways, as huacas (*wak'a*s, *guacas*). For two centuries, Spanish clergy and other state actors grasped at huacas in all senses, attempting to apprehend them intellectually and physically. With few exceptions, however, the chauvinistic practicality aimed at eradicating non-Christian cult among the Indians informed and determined the parameters of these exploratory endeavors; extirpators of Andean "idolatry" (Huertas Vallejos 1981; García Cabrera 1994; Griffiths 1996; Mills 1997; Duviols 2003:25-26) inquired about, defined, described, explained, and uncovered huacas as means to destroying them. This is why Peruvian intellectual Raúl Porras characterized the Colonial extirpators as "reverse archaeologists" ("*arqueólogos al revés*") (Duviols 1977:429-430).

Despite an antiquated "treasure-hunting" tint to Porras' depiction of archaeology, one aspect of his evocation of huacas as a nexus between Spanish colonial extirpation and modern archaeology is more than superficially apt: the material complexities of Andean numina defied both Spanish colonial and modern explanation. This is due in large part to historically deep and persistent semiotic concepts of the referential and representational function of symbols, as well as to ontological notions of the ultimately incommensurable natures of the agentive and the material.

The currency of these issues is evinced by numerous recent studies spanning a number of academic disciplines (Allen 1998; Brown 2003; Daston and Galison 2007:17–53; Dobres and

Robb 2000; Gell 1998; Gosden 2004:33–40; Harvey 2006; Ingold 2007:1–38; Küchler 2005; Latour 2005; Meskell 2005; Miller 2005:11–15). Similar concerns have prompted archaeologists to reexamine "animism and other ontologies" (VanPool and Newsome 2012:244) in order to interpret the material record more completely (Alberti and Bray 2009; Brown and Walker 2008). I propose that huacas defy the dualism of the unmarked (but not unstated), putative Cartesian[12] ontology discussed in much of this recent literature by circumventing the spirit/matter dichotomy altogether.

In his study comparing huacas to European-Mediterranean images, idols, and icons, Henrique Urbano (1993:15-16) declared that, unlike these latter representations of some separate, "higher" reality, "*huaca* . . . is reality itself."[13] Exploring the cultural ontology of huacas–this "emic" reality of which Urbano writes–should be a primary focus of the study of huacas.

Further, the "reality" of huacas is amenable to archaeological and historical analyses. That is, precisely because they were dense centers of social, historical, and cultural gravity, huacas have the potential to be singularly revelatory in archaeological investigation of the Andean past. Human life bent around and pivoted on huacas *both* in perception *and* in effective historical fact.

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[12] This generalized evocation of Cartesian ontology may rely more on what two authors (Baker and Morris 1996) have recently titled "the Cartesian Legend" as opposed to Descartes' genuine philosophy. This is important because Descartes' "conception of the nature of a person" (Baker and Morris 1996:5) has bearing on the "personhood" of objects. VanPool and Newsome (2012) present the convincing (and, ultimately, correct, to my view) exposition of certain pots from the U.S. Southwest as people with spirits. They also offer explanations of how such conclusions can be drawn from archaeological contexts, as well as the implications of animism for explaining archaeological data. Their example of "how pottery creation transcends the Cartesian dichotomy" (VanPool and Newsome 2012: 247) may reinforce another aspect of Descartes' dualism–that between matter (as extension) and spirit. Finally, there are recent arguments (Baker and Morris 1996:172-176) that Descartes' philosophy inherently allowed for the idea of "an exercise of the power of the body to act on the soul" (though the reference is to the human body).

[13] "*Huaca* . . . [e]s la propia realidad" (Urbano 1993: 16; italics in original).

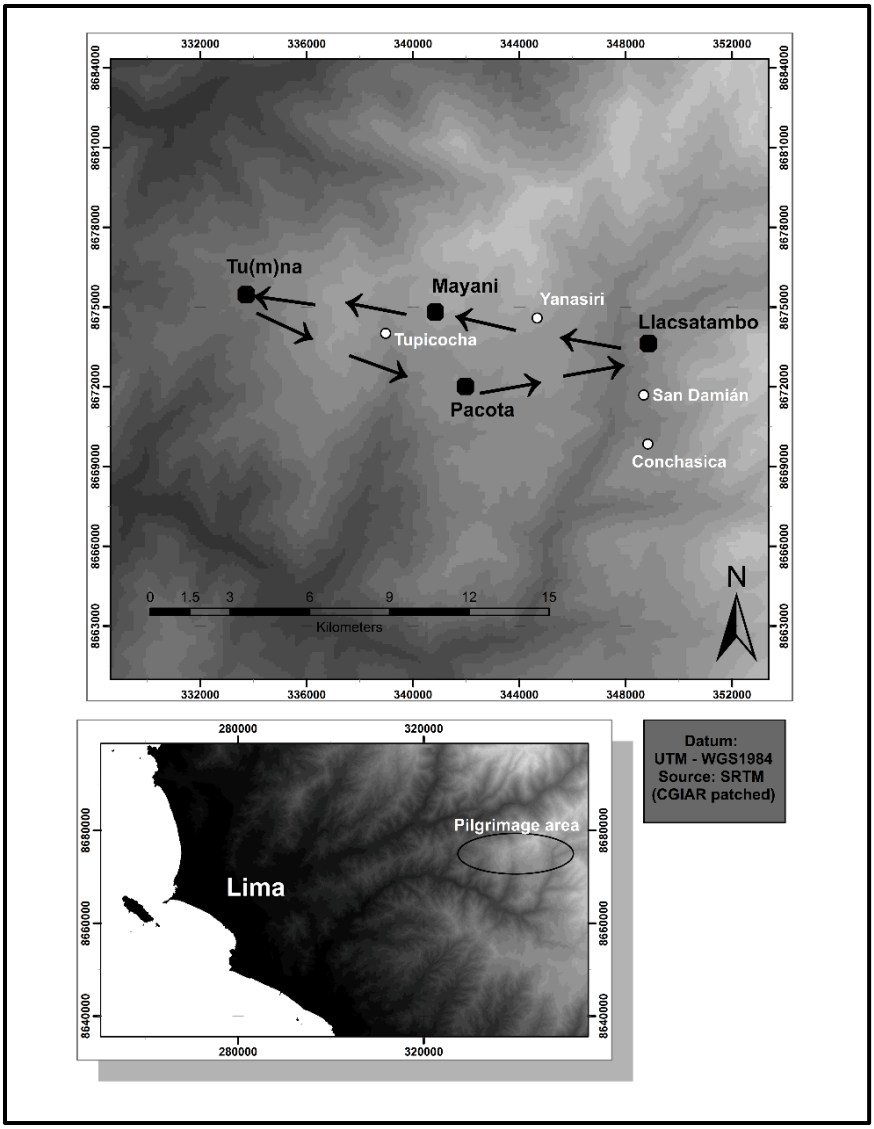

Figure 3.8: Map of the Chanco pilgrimage performing Tutayquiri's conquests of the Yuncas and establishment of current Checa order. "Tutay Quiri set out from Llacsatambo to conquer the Yunca. . . . Every year, in the month of November, the Checa would go out from this village . . . saying, 'We go in Tutay Quiri's steps, We go in the path of his power'" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79-80). (Map by author)

As I will argue, huacas were fundamentally temporal entities, integral to performing the past in Huarochirí and so must be studied through their associations both with and in time (cf. Salomon 1998), which includes concepts of origins and "pastness," historicity, tradition, time reckoning (e.g., calendrics), and genealogy. Not only is this temporal orientation required by the nature of huacas, but it provides insight into historical events and processes and also aids in the

conceptualization of "temporal *perception*[s]" (Lucas 2005:70, italics in original; Bradley 1998:87, 2002) in the Andean past. As demonstrated by studies of the Andes' most famous huaca assemblage—the Inka *ceque* system—time and temporality have long been recognized as important explanatory aspects of huacas (Bauer 1998; Cobo 1990 [1653]; Rowe 1979; Zuidema 1964, 2011). Here I propose additional types of temporal inquiry that expand our understanding of what huacas were, by investigating what they *did* and *meant* in the Andean past, and suggest how this understanding assists archaeological research.

As with the rest of the dissertation, the approaches and suggestions submitted here are necessarily interdisciplinary: historical and archaeological sources are used together in a dialectical fashion to define, identify, and explore the various facets of huacas (cf. Wernke 2003:95). After discussing the basic practical and theoretical aspects of my analysis, I address the "what" together with the "when" of huacas by presenting a specifically historicized characterization of these entities. I then discuss two ethnohistoric cases in order to flesh out the historically and socially interactive constitution of huaca agency. Finally, turning to newly gathered archaeological data, I discuss three different huacas associated with the Huarochirí region of central highland Peru. Throughout this chapter, the data and attendant interpretations from any one case combine to inform possible interpretations for the others. The idea of huacas as a kind of Andean "history" (that is, as performative past making) is repeatedly touched upon. To compliment my research in Huarochirí I draw also on material from neighboring areas to the north and from Cuzco.

Why "When" with "What"?

In a very basic sense, the importance of asking "When was a huaca?" becomes obvious when the historical trajectory of the term is considered (Mannheim and Salas 2015; Ramírez 1996:121–51). Certainly, a great deal would be lost with respect to our understanding of huacas in

the past if, for instance, we considered only the limited range of objects referred to colloquially as huacas in modern-day Lima (huaca generally referring to any of the monumental ruins that dot the capital city). In fact, it is surely worth asking when these Central Coastal structures and complexes, or those of the Peruvian North Coast, began to be called huacas, and whether (and when) anciently they were considered to belong to the same general classificatory category as the huacas Pariacaca, Tutayquiri, and Llocllay Huancupa of Huarochirí.

Early Spanish colonial definitions of the term included "temple of idols or the idol itself" (Santo Tomás 1951 [1560]:279), Juan de Betanzos' "shrine or idol" together with a narrative of Contiti Viracocha performing supernatural feats and revealing to the Canas Indians that he was their creator (Betanzos 1996 1551]:10; cf. Santillán's 1563 writings on the Cusco's ceque huacas, "whom they worshipped as gods" in Zuidema 2011:13), and Cristóbal de Molina's description's (2008 [1573]:7-8, 128-134), in which he wrestles with the multiple referents of the term, writing that huacas were *made* where people emerged from the earth or at other subterranean places, but also refers to them as animate and godlike beings. By the second half of the sixteenth century, a reluctance to equate huacas with gods, except in Classical terminology (Avila in Arguedas y Duviols 1966:202-203, 207n3; Garcilaso 1991 [1609], bk. I:76; MacCormack 1991; 2007; Urbano 1993), and as Kenneth Mills writes about this period: "[M]any Spanish commentators writing of huacas meant almost exclusively treasures that had been buried or concealed with dead Andean nobles" (1997:42; this includes Montesinos' 1561 entry and de la Cerda's 1589 comments [n12]). In the seventeenth century, Gonzalez Holguín's dictionary (1989 [1608]:123) defines "*Huaka*" in the same way as the earlier Santo Tomás, i.e., as both temple and place of idol worship. Later, Bernabé Cobo, relying notes from the later sixteenth century, would return to defining huacas as idols, the shrines which housed them, natural landscape features, and some mytho-historical detail

concerning them (1990 [1653]:47-85). Among Garcilaso de la Vega Inka's frequently valuable descriptions of general Inka and Andean cultural tendencies was his ample definition of huacas (1966 [1609], bk. I:76-77), which includes objects, places, anthropogenic structures (even specific spaces *within* structures, viz. internal house corners), landscape features, materials offered in sacrifice, flora, fauna, and (most significant for the focus of this section), *events anomalous or exceptional enough to be considered outside the flow or course of natural occurrences* (though even these Garcilaso explains in material terms [e.g., eggs with two yolks, large Amazonian serpents]; cf. Van de Guchte 1999).

Historicized Characterization of Huacas

On the basis of the combined ethnohistoric and archaeological data, I propose a definition for one specific type of huaca associated with the central Peruvian highlands and coast pertaining to the specific time period mentioned (i.e., the late fifteenth to mid-seventeenth centuries). This definition is not meant to be comprehensive, but rather derives from a preponderance of local and historically specific evidence that supports a characterization of huacas as sharing a core set of traits: huacas were 1. agentive[14] superhuman entities, though not inexorably separate from humans

[14] As argued in the introduction to this chapter, the agency of huacas is evident both in the expressed perceptions and the detectable activities of human beings in the Andean past. Examples can be found throughout this chapter, but to provide just a few explicit cases: Huacas such as Pariacaca, Llocllay Huancupa, and Cuni Raya initiated contact and interaction with human individuals; for instance, Huatya Curi, who enjoyed Pariacaca's protracted, multi-episode patronage, the unnamed woman whom Pariacaca warned to escape the destruction of her village, or the unnamed man whom Pariacaca prevented from sacrificing his child to the huaca Huallallo Caruincho (Salomon and Urioste 1991:50-61, 67), or groups. This interaction initiated by huacas was also frequently destructive; for instance, Pariacaca and Tutayquiri wiped out whole populations (Salomon and Urioste 1991:61-62, 117-128); Maca Uisa assisted in defeating armies (114-116); it was feared that Pachacamac's anger and the mere turning of his head caused devastating earthquakes (101, 113, 115); illness was believed to be the result of huacas' anger at the people (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:49). Even huacas whose influence was of more limited geographic scope, such as those of the village of Sayán in the Central highlands (AAL Leg. IV, exp. 24) were considered responsible for the deaths of several children in the early1660s.

in a qualitative sense;[15] 2. intrinsically material;[16] but 3. not restricted by or to any particular thing—that is, huacas were materially partitive[17] but did not conform to any sharp semiotic division between signifier and signified.[18]

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[15] The "ontological continuity" between human beings and huacas is another issue on which no easy consensus has been reached. Among others, Pierre Duviols (1973) and Frank Salomon (1998) have written sophisticated and carefully considered treatments of the question and its intricacies. My argument here aligns with Duviols' (1973:158) assertion that "in Andean cosmogonic thought, men and gods were conceptualized under continuous genealogical categories, with very permeable boundaries between divine and human." (The quotation in Spanish and within a fuller context: "en el pensamiento cosmogónico andino hombres y dioses se concibían bajo categorías genealógicas contínuas, con fronteras muy permeables entre lo divino y lo humano. Siempre existe un punto de la ascendencia humana en que el antepasado mítico–que es hombre y huaca–se convierte en huaca de piedra, y otro punto en que esta huaca da origen a un linage humano. La virtualidad de tales metamorphosis derrumba las murallas que solemos levantar entre el mundo natural y el mundo sobrenatural"). In general terms, Arriaga (1968 [1621]:23-24), writing of indigenous "worship" of "high hills and mountains and huge stones," asserts that in numerous fables about their changes and metamorphoses, . . . they were once men who have been changed to stone." Other, specific examples of this huaca characteristic include mallqui-huacas (e.g., Ñan Sapa in Salomon and Urioste 1991:120), the huaca Chutacara (also called Omapacha), who was said to have been human before his lithic conversion (Taylor 1999:324-327), like the man Yaru Tini before his lithification and name change (to Capac Huanca), or the lithification of man Armicu and his children by Pariacaca's fiat (Salomon and Urioste 1991:125-128). Twins and the mother who bore them (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:31; Garcilaso 1991 [1609], bk I:77) could also be huacas. In a sermon against huaca idolatry, Avendaño succinctly summarized the general cultural tenet expressed in the specific cases above: "Vuestros sabios dicen que estas huacas antes que fueran piedras y se convirtieran en huacas, eran hombres como nosotros, de carne, de huesos, y que el Contiviracocha, como dicen los llacuaces, o el Huichama, como dicen los yuncas, los convertieron en piedras" (in Duviols 1973:162).

The relationship between mummified mallquis, villcas, and huacas in the ethnohistorical literature are multitudinous and varied, and any sort of differentiation can probably at best be provisional and based on generally observed tendencies. One possible (though simplistic) way to construe the relationship may be: living, human huacas were villcas, who, through death, mummification, and curation, became mallquis (see Gose 2008; Salomon 1991:20, Salomon 1995; Salomon and Urioste 1991:46n44).

[16] A great deal of speculation, debate, and writings spanning several centuries have been devoted to the nature of god and/or the divine in Andean religion (Demarest 1981; MacCormack 1991; Urbano 1993), but huacas are always described, defined, or explained in material terms (see the discussion in the body of this chapter). Tutayquiri could be rain, but was also possibly a mummified (and so presumably once living) human (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79-80; Arguedas and Duviols 1966:252). Putting historiographic debates about the ca. 1560s Taki Onqoy uprising aside, anything resembling the religious-somatic aspects of the movement (where huacas "possessed" Indians and incited overthrowing the Spanish) could be seen as powerful evidence that huacas in the Central Peruvian highland area were understood to be inextricably material. That is, in the wake of the first decades of Spanish destruction of Andean sacra, indigenous sensibilities were violated significantly enough that Andean bodies (voluntarily and involuntarily) rematerialized the "dematerialized" huacas (Gose 2008:94-117; Millones 1990; Stern 1993:51-79). At the same time, there are numerous examples of the broken parts of destroyed huacas being gathered back together and venerated (as opposed to the construction of new media wherein the huacas' "essences" or "spirits" could reside). For the recouping of the remains of extirpated huacas (or sometimes *huancas*, *conopas*, mallquis, etc.), see Arriaga 1968 [1621]:83-84, 85, 88, 89; Hernández Príncipe [1621] in Duviols 2003:735, 745; "Misión de los jesuitas a las provincias de Ocros y Lampas" [1618] in Duviols 2003:735. Cf. the case of Catequil (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:328-329; Topic 2008:80).

[17] Cf. Strathern's (1988) "partible" personhood. I use "partitive" *not* in its numeric or grammatical sense (i.e., "the partitive case"), but in its broader linguistic sense (e.g., in the phrase, "getting a breath of fresh air" "air" is partitive; subtracting–hypothetically–a breath of air does not diminish "air" as an entity). There is a tricky dual sense

Again, this answer to the question "What is a huaca?" is historically and regionally specific, and the particularities of this context must be taken into consideration. Historical documents dealing with huacas were produced as an integral part of the antagonistic and aggressive religious campaigns intended to eradicate them. It is also true that Spanish Catholic influence on

in which huacas were partitive: ontologically and materially. The former is exemplified by the unity in plurality of Pariacaca's being at once "five eggs that became five falcons that became five men" (Salomon 1991:6). Salomon explains one instance of this aspect of Pariacaca's constitution, expressed in Quechua as "*pihcantin*: 'five' plus the suffix *–ntin*, which denotes the combination of intrinsically related or fitted parts: 'the five of him together'" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:66; italics in original). The quality of being materially partitive is more comparable to synecdoche or metonymy (though I avoid these terms for reasons explained in the note below) and may be expressed verbally in accounts of huacas Pariacaca, Tutayquiri, and Maca Uisa (the latter two were sons of Pariacaca) attacking villages as rain or hail (i.e., two particulate entities), or even as lightning, which is unified but divides into forks and branches (Salomon and Urioste 1991:59, 61-62, 68, 80, 115, 127). The frequent appearances of genealogically related huacas (e.g., Pachacamac's son Llocllay Huancupa, Pariacaca's sons, mentioned above) may have been an alternate form of the materially partitive nature of huacas (see Astuhuamán 1999, 2008), though these cases involved the emergence of new (albeit related) huacas. In artifactual terms, one articulation of the materially partitive nature of huacas comes in Carolyn Dean's discussion of "presentation stones," which were not mediating *representations* ("signs, icons, indices, and symbols"), but "were perceived as the embodiments of things or ideas. They were 'presentations' rather than 'representations' and were not substitutive. While representations *mediate* between absent or invisible prototypes and past events, embodiments make the absent or the past *immediate*. . . . Thus those rocks that make absent or invisible individuals, actions, or ideas materially present . . . can be thought of as presentational stones" (2010:40-41; italics in original). Through a kind of trans- or consubstantiality, huacas may have been "immediately" present in several places and "in" different times simultaneously.

I have chosen to avoid using synecdoche or metonymy to explain huacas because the terms' semiotic subdivisions may provide more precise and varied ways of thinking about huaca phenomena in their material and verbal iterations. For example, a single "Pariacaca stone" (suggested by its location and egg morphology), such as that excavated at San Cristobal, or like that documented in seventeenth-century Yampilla/Yamabilla (Polia Meconi 1996 [1611-1613]:213), both of which are discussed later in this chapter, may in itself be considered an example of synecdoche or metonymy. But these instances do not account for the huaca Pariacaca being understood as inherently ontologically or materially plural: Pariacaca was *five* eggs, *five* falcons, *five* men, the dual snowcapped mountain peak, *and* the entity that shaped the landscapes in the snowcap's vicinity. Synecdoche in its "pars pro toto" form could account for the "egg stone" representing Pariacaca. But if the stone itself was also considered a huaca (Pariacaca), as was the snowcap to its east (Pariacaca), this would entail material partition of huacas, while the huaca Pariacaca remained whole.

[18] Here, again, Dean's artifacts of "presentation" is one possible way to explain the argument. But as is shown by the treatment of Catequil after his destruction by Atahualpa (Cabello Balboa 1951 [1586]:328-329; Topic 2008:80) or Huascar (Topic, Topic, and Melly 2002:207), as well as similar treatment of huacas that had been destroyed by extirpators, this lack of restriction to any particular material thing did not mean that the particular material itself was simply dispensable. If anything, these cases graphically illustrate the inextricable materiality of huacas. The destruction and salvaging do not seem to have represented the ultimate destruction and "resurrection" of Catequil. (As Astuhuamán [2008] and Topic [2008] illustrate, Catequil existed in various locations and materials.) Nor, presumably, was this the case with the recouped huacas written about in the other colonial sources already mentioned (i.e., Arriaga 1968 [1621]:83-84, 85, 88, 89; Hernández Príncipe [1621] in Duviols 2003:735, 745; "Misión de los jesuitas a las provincias de Ocros y Lampas" [1618] in Duviols 2003:735). Nevertheless, to mention again, the salvaging of *these* materials *does* seem to have been of vital importance to the peoples who shared a relationship with these huacas (rather than just finding or manufacturing another material manifestation of the huaca.

the practices and religious views of the indigenous can be detected in many of these texts (Durston 2007; Mannheim and Salas 2015; Salomon 1991). Nevertheless, it seems extremely unlikely that all of these basic, common aspects of huacas were sui generis products of the Spanish colonial era.

Still, even provisional acceptance of such a unified characterization of huacas from this time period requires further exploration of the temporal conditions and productive effects of specific huacas. In order to do so, the different ways agency is discussed with respect to huacas in this chapter must be briefly considered. In the first instance, huaca agency is characterized by the activities of these entities as perceived and described by the native population. But, as mentioned earlier, "huaca reality" was not limited to the subjective perception of indigenous Andeans. Because this agency was the emergent product of sociopolitical interactions between huacas and human groups, huacas were socio-politically generative (Astuhuamán 2008; Bauer 1991, 1992; Gose 2008; Patterson 1985; Salomon 1991; Topic et al. 2002; Urton 1990; van de Guchte 1999; Zuidema 1964, 1977-78) and were also temporally originary (discussed below).

As apical ancestors of kin groups, many of the mythical/historical deeds of huacas served to win territories and create group identities and alliances. Their material presence in the living landscape marked complex residential patterns and corporate rights to land and other resources. In short, because huacas and their attendant rituals frequently demarcated boundaries of various types (Bauer 1991, 1992, 1998; Isbell 1997; Rostworowski 1988; Salomon 1991:19–24, 2004:68–69; Urton 1990; Zuidema 1964, 1977–78:149), temporal issues that may be archaeologically discernible (such as the history of a group's recognition of and cultic performance to geopolitically salient huacas) should prove potent in reconstructing the past. With this approach, "the landscape of the gods becomes as informative as that of men" (to use Susan Alcock's [1993:172] expression),

and the "transconquest Andes" (Wernke 2003, 2007) become more amenable to comparison with other areas of the world (e.g., Thal 2005; Munn 1996; Polignac 1995; Sahlins 1985:58).

Temporal implications of the materiality and interactive agency of huacas

Two examples of the temporal processes of the material emergence and recognition of huacas demonstrate how their agency was as real and intrinsic to their existence as their materiality. This agency emerged from the *interaction* between huacas and humans, even when the agentive action was held to have occurred between huacas only (because such could only be known through human accounts).

The first example concerns the huacas associated with the north-central highland region of Ancash and comes from the report of Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe's 1621 extirpation tour (Hernández Príncipe 2003 [1621]). The report is well-known among Andeanists for its description of an Inka *capacocha* (or *capac hucha*) ceremony from a provincial viewpoint (Duviols 2003:732-746; see also McEwan and Van de Guchte 1992; McEwan 2015). Hernández Príncipe's report details the genealogies of four groups descended from Carhua Huanca, a lithified regional huaca associated with lightning. He focuses in particular on the lineage of Carhua Huanca's second son, the huaca Caha Yánac, reporting that the elite governors of Ocros "worshipped" him "as their progenitor" (Duviols 2003:734). However, in Hernández Príncipe's rendering, this lineage's right to rule was not inherited from a pre-Inkaic,[19] apical ancestor-huaca but rather was based upon the sacrifice of Tanta Carhua by her father Caque Poma. This capacocha sacrifice occurred perhaps a century prior to Hernández Príncipe's visit (Duviols 2003:734–35) and transformed Tanta Carhua

[19] In the genealogy, Caque Poma (alive during the Inka expansion around the end of the fifteenth/ beginning of the sixteenth century) was five generations from apical ancestor and lightning huaca Carhua Huanca (Duviols 2003:734).

into a huaca. The ceremonial political event earned Caque Poma Inka recognition as kuraka among his kin and within the larger community. Upon returning from Cuzco, the daughter Tanta Carhua was said to have been willingly entombed alive, perhaps atop a preexisting local huaca (Zuidema 1977–78:739, 744). The tombs of both father and daughter became centers of ritual veneration.

The reciprocal interaction between the Inka and Caque Poma that led to the creation of a new huaca and cemented Caque Poma's political station marked the beginning of a new era in Ocros (Duviols 2003:734-736).[20] It also produced what could be construed as "temporal feedback," whereby the past and the present informed one another recursively (cf. Bender et al. 1997; Clendinnen 1987; Farriss 1995; Gell 1992:37-53, 149-189, 221-241; Gillespie 1989, 2001; Gose 1996, 2008; Hamann 2002, 2008; McAnany 1995; Munn 1992; Sahlins 1981, 1985:47, 104-135). Hernández Príncipe's description of the arrangement of deceased males of Caque Poma's lineage in their multi-chambered tomb structure is interpreted by Zuidema as being centered on Caque Poma's mummy: "It was Caque Poma's change of rank that awarded him the central position *with reference to his ancestors and descendants*" (1977-78:145; italics added).[21] In Ocros the creation of this huaca coincided with a rearrangement of the "corporate history" to pivot on the transcendent figure who brought right of rule to the lineage. Hernández Príncipe warns that Caque Poma's was not a unique case and that there were other Indian leaders who had acquired their status in the same way (Duviols 2003:745; Kolata 2013:193–97).

[20] While Tanta Carhua is not explicitly referred to as a huaca in Hernández Príncipe's report, I maintain that treating her capacocha burial site as a huaca is justified on many counts (cf. Salomon 1995:332). For example, there was kin-based and other priestly cultic and oracular practice carried out at the tomb (Duviols 2003:744–45; Zuidema 1977-78:141) as well as regional worship of Tanta Carhua (Zuidema 1977-78:146), an *ushnu* was constructed at the site (Duviols 2003:745), and there were Inka state fields kept for the maintenance of her cult (Duviols 2003:742).

[21] Though not altering the principal elements of my interpretations, I note potential problems with Zuidema's reading and exposition of this document, which will be addressed in an upcoming work.

In the second example, local-imperial political interaction and the inextricable relation between huacas and kin groups are also important features, though here the exercise of agency by animate huacas is more clearly on display. The example concerns how the huaca Llocllay Huancupa revealed himself to the woman Lanti Chumpi while she was digging in her highland field. In their first encounter, the huaca's form was so unremarkable that she "just threw it right back down on the ground" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101). It was only after a second identical encounter with the same object that Lanti Chumpi considered that she might be dealing with a huaca. The relation continues:

> "And so, thinking, "I'll show it to my elders and the other people of my ayllu," she brought it back. At that time there existed in the village named Llacsa Tampu another *huaca*, called Cati Quillay, an emissary of the Inca. Cati Quillay was . . . one who could force any *huaca* that wouldn't talk to speak. Saying, 'Who are you?' 'What is your name?' 'What have you come for?' he started to make the *huaca* called Llocllay Huancupa talk. Llocllay Huancupa answered, saying, "I am a child of Pacha Camac . . . My name is Llocllay Huancupa. It was my father who sent me here, saying "Go and protect the Checa village!" The people rejoiced exuberantly, exclaiming, "Good news! Let him live in this village and watch over us" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101–2; italics in original).

Salomon provides crucial insight into the particularities of Llocllay's ratification as a *huaca*, pointing out that the delivery of "this oracle was mediated by an Inca-sponsored huaca [Cati Quillay]" and that Llocllay's father "Pacha Camac was also a heavily Inca-subsidized cult" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:102n473).

Once the huaca's identity, affiliation, and mission were confirmed, Lanti Chumpi's courtyard was enlarged to house it. But subsequent problems apparently arose:

> "At one time, maybe because people didn't take good care of him, Llocllay Huancupa went back to his father Pacha Camac and disappeared. When the people saw this happen, they grieved deeply

> and searched for him, adorning the place where Lanti Chumpi had first discovered him, and building him a step-pyramid [*usno*]. But when they still couldn't find him, all the elders readied their llamas, guinea pigs, and all kinds of clothing, and went to Pacha Camac. So by worshipping his father again, they got Llocllay Huancupa to return. People served him even more, with renewed fervor, endowing him with llama herders . . . declaring 'These are llamas of Pacha Camac.' The Inca also ratified this practice. . . . As for maize offerings, they gave him maize belonging to the Inca from the common granaries, to provide for his drinks" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:102–3).

The account raises important temporal questions about huaca agency and ontology. In terms of the material thing itself—that is, the twice-excavated object—when was it a huaca? Was it a huaca the whole time it was buried in the field? Was it only a huaca following its (first or second) disinterment? Or was it only a huaca once it had been identified by Lanti Chumpi and/or ratified by a politically important, state-sponsored huaca? These are not merely rhetorical questions; timing in the process of Llocllay Huancupa's revelation, in the "commissioning" of the object as a huaca, as well as its subsequent history suggest how huaca agency emerged and operated within and among human individuals and groups (cf. Salomon 1998:8). The strong indication of Inka brokerage between regional huacas and local groups is nuanced in the account by Llocllay's initial and insistent revelation to a common woman, and her initiating the process of his identification. The resulting impression is one of the emergence of huacas as mediators at precise moments in Andean geopolitical relations.

When else is a huaca?

Further considerations of huaca characteristics show them to be "originary" entities (cf. Moore 1995; Squair 1994) whose intransigent but partitive materiality and agency made them potent forces in the Andean past, as well as potentially unique avenues for developing archaeological understanding of that past. Here I apply the term "originary" in a broad sense to

encompass a range of debates about the ways the past and present are materially and conceptually related. The drive to connect with the material past for any variety of present ends is virtually ubiquitous in human societies (see, e.g., Barkan 1999; Bradley 2002; Dietler 2005; Hamann 2002, 2008; Johnson 2006; Mayne 2008; Schnapp 1997). In politically charged processes like the production of social identity and claims of rights to natural resources, the ponderous "aura of naturalness that comes from deep historicity" (Smith 2004:3) is a powerful force, making the past itself a valuable "cultural resource." As originary entities, huacas, together with their narratives ordered the past and present for those who venerated them.

This originary character suggests that an archaeology of huacas may hold great potential for understanding temporality and temporal perceptions in the Andean past. For example, the fact that huacas of the Huarochirí manuscript were at once the beings that conquered and consorted in the originary past, possessed or exercised ongoing agency (Tello 1999:40), and were also particular material entities present in the living landscape, made experiences of "temporal collapse" possible through encounters between humans and huacas. These powerful moments could occur spontaneously and unexpectedly (Taylor 1999:105, 349–57). But, as Salomon (1999:20) explains, there were also "methods of remembrance" and other activities that "accompanied an idea of the past as a parallel reality into which one could enter by ritual means, retrieving powerful knowledge and thereby influencing the future."

In this sense, the materiality of huacas meant that the causal and organizing principles of the present order (as derived from an originary past) were in many cases continually present and accessible to people. The agency of huacas meant that this access could go both ways, providing avenues for the "invention of tradition" (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983), whereby the present and the foundational, orienting past could be harmonized. These emic insights regarding the temporal

significance of huacas may be viewed in relation to historical events and processes. For instance, archaeological research directed toward uncovering the historical duration of ritual practices at or associated with a huaca site may aid in detecting sociopolitical events and processes such as site and regional settlement, or the establishment of group alliances and collective identities (e.g., Astuhuamán 2008; Bauer 1991; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Reinhard and Ceruti 2011; Topic et al. 2002; Topic 1992, 2008). In turn, the huaca characteristics explored up to this point—their agency, partitive materiality, and originary nature—provide new insights into how such entities figured in the creation of transregional community alliances during the Late Horizon. Such changes, expressed in narrative form as huaca "biographies" or pasts, were constructed over time, and their genealogical rankings adjusted with the shifting political fortunes and relations of the groups that venerated them.

Consideration of the temporal nature of huacas permits archaeologists to explore how people in the Andean past made cultural order from the chaos of history. It should also lead to new discoveries and interpretations of extant archaeological data. The significance of such a focus can be seen in recent work at the site of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará (Makowski 2002, 2015; Makowski et al. 2005; Makowski and Vega Centeno 2004). Makowski (2002) draws together a several strands of evidence to make the case that the site was a *mitmaqkuna* (Inka-era resettlement colony) settlement of the Caringa, who were relocated from the highlands of Huarochirí to the coast to guard the valley and the llama flocks offered to Pachacamac (Rostworowski 2002b [1999]:181–83). The evidence includes the highlands character of the site's architectural style and layout, the fact that present-day Huarochiranos from highlands Olleros still use the area for winter pasturage, highlands style of the site's funerary practices, and the robust highlands component of the ceramic

assemblage.[22] We will return to the importance of these lines of evidence later, but most significant for this section is that among the site's several ceremonial structures is a naturally occurring but modified rock outcrop (see Figure 3.9) identified as a huaca.

Figure 3.9: Modified rock outcrop huaca at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, the yunca resettlement site of the Caringa of highlands Huarochirí (from Makowski 2002).

The highland Caringa's recognition of this mid-lower-valley huaca (Makowski 2015), in contrast to the other entirely anthropogenic ritual structures at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, offers a fascinating archaeological counterpart to the originary narratives characteristic of huacas (see Arriaga 1968 [1621]:117–18; Castro de Trelles 1992 [1560]; Chase 2004; Duviols 1973:159, 1986,

[22] Though I will not be able to explore this fully in the dissertation, it is worth noting a couple of things about the ceramic assemblages from Pueblo Viejo-Pucará and Llacsatambo and periodization. Though Makowski confidently places the occupation of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará in the Late Horizon, he notes that the entire ceramic assemblage consisted of recognizable Late Horizon and Late Intermediate period wares (2002:141). The ceramic assemblage from my work at Llacsatambo shares a comparable division. This raises (even begs, in logical terms) the question of our temporal classifications of ceramic wares and suggests that it may be more accurate and helpful to begin thinking of the relationship between recognizable Horizon and period styles and local and plain wares, with the latter as contemporaneous with as much as preceding the former. (This sort of reclassification has been taking place with Gallinazo and Moche ceramics on the Peruvian North Coast.)

Second, as is the case with my surface collections and excavations of Llacsatambo, there was a complete absence of Colonial glazed wares from Makowski's extensive work at Pueblo Viejo-Pucará (2002:141). While the most likely explanation is site abandonment closely after contact or reducción, this may not be the whole story, as I have evidence of Llacsatambo continuing to be used into the Colonial period and even to the present.

2003; García Cabrera 1994; Gose 2008; Mills 1994, 1997; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Sánchez 1991; Topic 1992, 2008; Topic et al. 2002), and the data correspond exceedingly well to the specific ethnohistoric cases discussed above. Landscape-feature huacas ostensibly carried autochthonous associations linking people to territory (Arriaga 1968 [1621]; Duviols 2003; García Cabrera 1994:163–65; but see Bauer 1998:25). In Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, it appears that the Caringa either recognized a new huaca or identified the modified outcrop as a partitive manifestation of a preexisting huaca from their homeland. In either case, in a new, imperially mandated situation, the people of this colony identified or adopted and united with this huaca and were thus cosmologically situated within their new geographic and political setting. The archaeological data from this site vividly illustrate the indispensable nature of huacas to human territorial inhabitation. Indeed, organized, collective being in the world without huacas seems to have been inconceivable, which is perhaps why the absence of huacas (whether stolen, lost, captured, or destroyed) is recorded as causing such grief, anxiety, and unease.[23]

These phenomena are indicative of a broader sociality than that between human actors only. The insistence on importing huacas, adopting autochthonous huacas, or having "epiphanous" huacas (Makowski et al. 2005: 310) revealed seems inherent to this sociality and should inform archaeological analysis of late prehispanic territorial expansion or colonization. Indeed, Pueblo Viejo's huaca evinces the "expanded sociality" inherent to a llacta. As discussed earlier, llacta implied "the union of a localized *huaca* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *huaca* favored" (Salomon 1991:23; italics in original). Because huacas

[23] For destroyed huacas see Arguedas and Duviols 1966; Cabello Balboa (1951 [1586]:328–29); Duviols (2003); García Cabrera (1994); Griffiths (1996); Mills (1997); Millones (1990); Salomon and Urioste (1991:126); Topic (2008:80). For lost huacas, see Salomon and Urioste (1991:102). For stolen, sequestered, or vanished huacas see Cobo (1990 [1653]:91–95); D'Altroy (2002:142, 222–23, 2005); Hernández Príncipe (1919 [1613]:184); Salomon and Urioste (1991:100, 120); Sarmiento (1999 [1572]:165–66); Spalding (1984:63).

were material, agentive, and social, human settlement activities in the form of llactas "implie[d] both being possessor of a local *huaca*'s sanctum *and being possessed by it*" (1991:23, emphasis added), as well as being enmeshed in the inherent territorial and genealogical adjuncts mentioned.

Pueblo Viejo-Pucará gives tangible testament to the generative, originary, and interactive dynamics referenced in the ethnohistoric observations discussed above, showing archaeologists that the presence and involvement of huacas in the sociopolitical and geographic production of landscape was not just a cultural ideal or verbal tradition. Indeed, late prehispanic settlements (qua llactas), in material fact and cosmological understanding, were huacas (Salomon 1991:24). For example, the Checa narrators of the Huarochirí manuscript claimed that their ancestors conquered the llacta Llacsatambo and became "settlers" (*llactayucuna*) by adopting and being adopted by the local huacas (*llactahuacacuna*) (Salomon 1991:24; Salomon and Urioste 1991:79–81, 117–19; Taylor 1999:160–71, 302-317).[24] This idea enhances traditional archaeological settlement analysis by infusing it with new cultural and historical meaning, while understanding of these huaca characteristics should, in turn, lead to the generation of new data on settlements, sociopolitical alliances, even ethnogenesis.

Despite the illumination that Pueblo Viejo-Pucará's archaeological data provide, there are particular "biographical" details of its huaca (as the Caringa understood and would have related them) that will likely remain unknown. How did the huaca manifest within the newly ordered llacta of Pueblo Viejo- Pucará, and how and when was it recognized or commissioned as such? What was this huaca's narrative past? Did the Caringa know this outcrop as Pariacaca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:68–69, 75)? Or did they identify it as one of Pariacaca's kin, comparable to

[24] See Taylor (1999:314, 482) for instances in the Huarochirí manuscript where "the gloss 'local *huaca'*. . . corresponds to the Quechua term *llacta*" (cf. Duviols 2003:733). See also Taylor (1999:20; emphasis added) for an instance of "*huacas locales*" being translated from the compound plural "*llactahuacacunapas*."

Tutayquiri or the wounded Chuqui Huampo, who stayed down-valley and was the first to receive offerings of coca from Sisicaya (Salomon and Urioste 1991:69, 80; Salomon and Grosboll 2009)? There is also the possibility that the huaca was Chaupi Ñamca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:85), Pachacamac (Rostworowski 2002c [1992]), or the offspring of one of these huacas. As the case of Llocllay Huancupa shows, it is possible the outcrop was a completely new son or daughter of any of these huacas.

Huacas: Conclusions

On the whole, the historical and archaeological data on huacas presented above make it quite clear that a culturally distinct "regime of historicity" and temporal sensibility were operative in the late prehispanic and early Colonial Andes and Huarochirí more specifically. The past was not simply neatly layered over by subsequent presents, as Markham's stratigraphic view would have it. Or put another way, the present was not simply a non-reflexive, cumulative product of all moments that came before, in a simplistic evolutionary sense. Rather, the past was performed, though, as discussed earlier this does not (cannot) mean "invented from whole cloth." While performative felicity or infelicity is partially determined by the cogency, desirability of the performative propositions in the present and things like differential distribution of power within a society, all of these are most often also dependent on and determined by cultural inheritances transmitted to and within present subjects from shared, lived pasts. Still, the complexity and cultural nuance of performing the past in Huarochirí, as seen through a detailed examination of huacas, show its canonical prehistory to be insufficient for reading history from the manuscript and reconstructing the region's past(s). Not only was the temporal directionality not as linear as supposed in the canonical prehistory, but causality was not either, and there were multiple categories of active, genesic forces at work: human individuals and groups, huacas, myths and

rituals, environmental conditions. As I discuss below, archaeology, especially combined with ethnohistory and an awareness of the performance of the past, is a powerful way of penetrating the barriers not only of prehistory, but of history/prehistory presented in written documents. But before getting to that, there are other themes that can be explored in order to enhance archaeological and ethnohistorical approaches and interpretations to Huarochirí's temporalities and past.

Yuncas

This complex word/title/adjective, its appearances and their effects in the Huarochirí manuscript may be the single most telling facets of temporal logic in the highlands communities and of the wrenching efforts to make it fit Early Modern Spanish historical temporality. The great seventeenth-century Quechua lexicographer, Diego Gonzalez Holguín, provided the following definitions (1989 [1608]:371): "The [coastal] plains or valleys" and "The Indians native to [these zones]."[25] Yunca is used in these and other ways in the Huarochirí manuscript. As Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991:43n21) explains: "It refers to the warm valley regions of the Pacific littoral; to the ecology, landscape, and biota typical of such regions; and (capitalized in translation) to the peoples who dwelled there. The Checa and other highlanders thought of the Yunca people as aboriginal, in opposition to the invading peoples with whom at least some of the narrators identified." The connection between these different meanings is already apparent, but in the narratives of the Huarochirí manuscript they are even more fundamentally united–to the degree of co-constitution–than is initially apparent. Specifically, the manuscript narrators' identification of "Yunca people as aboriginal" is in fact just one expression of a much more profound temporal

[25] "Yunca o yuncaquinray. Los llanos o valles.
Yunca. Los Indios naturales de alli" (Gonzalez Holguín 1989 [1608]:371.

categorization communicated through the myths: Yunca/yunca denoted "first conditions," the primordial or fundamental.

Was a Yunca always a Yunca? What about yuncas?

The Huarochirí manuscript's elementary division (considered to be ethnic by most manuscript scholars) is between highlanders and Yuncas; the aboriginal quality of the latter is present in the descriptions of primeval Huarochirí from the manuscript's first, Genesis-like chapters. During the reign of the anthropophagous huaca Huallallo Caruincho, "[t]hese villages and all the others like them were full of Yunca." The convolutions of lowlanders dwelling high in the mountains anciently that would result from a strict application of Gonzalez Holguín's definitions is resolved in the narratives, after a fashion, for the ancient highlands were also yunca lands in ecology and climate. Beautiful lowlands toucans, parrots, and monkeys lived up there, and the fertility of the land and climate meant that "foodstuffs . . . ripened exactly five days after being planted." That is, until overpopulation became a problem, at which point "they lived really miserably, scratching and digging the rock faces and ledges to make terraced fields. These fields . . . are still visible today on all the rocky heights" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:43-44, 60).

Avila, for his part, critiqued the historical veracity of these accounts in his *Tratado* (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:207-208) and established to his satisfaction that the devil was their source. Among the assertions that Avila declared false was the claim that the high-altitude terrain surrounding the snowcap Pariacaca, the rest of Huarochirí, and indeed the entire cordillera from southern Colombia to Argentina had in the distant past been warm and fertile agricultural lands labored by ancestors. Against this past in Huarochirí, Avila argued that there was no evidence of any climate shift in these mountains. He then offered the following:

> If any Indian were to oppose me by saying, 'If it was true that Pariacaca had not been yunca or warm lands, why did there seem to be evidence and traces of [ancient] planted fields up there?', I would say that, God permitting, the devil could easily make those tiny terraces in order to deepen the deception of those who, having abandoned God's natural light, would serve the devil; or still, it could be that these traces were the result of the same waters that run there currently" (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:208).[26]

Surely, rejecting Avila's explanation (or at least part of it, for there is modern scientific resonance in his geological explanation) that the Checas were simply deceived or naïve in their narratives does not leave the sort of literal reading of the myths (as with the canonical prehistory) as the sole remaining option for historical interpretation. It goes without saying that the manuscript narrators and Avila shared the same *capacities* to observe and to reason. It was the *ways* those capacities were used and the *ends* to which they were put were socially, culturally, and historically developed, and thus differently constituted. This played out in the Huarochirí manuscript contents and subsequent treatments as the awkward fusion of "two drastically differing viewpoints about the nature and usefulness of the past" (Salomon 1982:9). The same goes for the ways of meaningfully engaging with, codifying, and communicating the past. For all of these, what seems to have been important, of value, to the narrators of the Huarochirí manuscript was not unidirectional, linear priority, sequence, and causality, "not a chain of events, but a pattern of events" (Salomon 1982: 10). But for all this Avila still did not abandon the Huarochirí narratives as ahistorical for the same reason the myths have been read for historical information to the present day: their sequential form.

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[26] "Y si algún indio me opusiere que si es así, que en Pariacaca no era yunga y tierra caliente como parece que allí hay rastros y señales de chacras, les diré que el demonio fácilmente, permitiéndolo Dios, haría aquellos andencillos para mayor engaño de quien, dejando la lumbre natural de Dios, servía al Demonio; o ya podrá ser que esto proceda de las mismas aguas que allí corrieran" (Arguedas and Duviols 1996:208).

In a draft of this chapter, a marginal note written by Dain Borges next to this Avila quote read: "And I hope the Devil hasn't messed with radiocarbon dating."

The narratives are (of course) sequential, containing priority in the form of the primitive, primordial, original, autochthonous character of both the Yuncas and yuncas. But is the nature of the sequentiality and priority in these narratives chronological and historical? My argument is that they are not, though historical events and processes certainly could (and probably did) operate recursively as "models of" and "models for" the premises insisted upon in these and other Huarochirí narratives and vice-versa. I will discuss this in greater detail immediately below. But concerning the primordial Yunca habitation and yunca climate of the highlands, I think what we are seeing in these texts, and in their subsequent treatment culminating in the canonical prehistory, is a certain *sort* of priority and narrative sequence being pressed into the priority and sequence of a chronological historical mold. The manuscript presents us with two competitive complementary categories of people and huacas, the defining traits of the one group are autochthony and sedentism, the defining traits of the other, semi-nomadism and invasion practices. If an inexorably chronological and linear historical inquiry (that is, Avila's project) is set to these categories and their narratives, and determined to subsume them, the order of the resulting "historical" product must be effectively foregone, i.e., it would have to look a great deal like Huarochirí's canonical (pre)history from the composition of the manuscript to the present.

By describing the process in these terms I am making two arguments. The first is that the chronological-historical distortion described immediately above is just what happened in the particular case of the Huarochirí manuscript. Second, the *historical* transmogrification of the manuscript narratives was *structural*. As we will see, there was plenty of room for contingency, historical movement, and shifting identities among and between the Andean categories. Could it be that the ahistorical or historically "cold" (Levi-Strauss 1966), and deterministic characteristics attributed to so-called structuralist readings of expressions of Andean temporal consciousness are

really the product of these expressions being congealed within the structure of Western historiography?

For example, one of the manuscript's narratives about Pariacaca's conquest of the aboriginal Yuncas contains a declaration about the Yuncas' fundamental unity. The statement in the original text reads: "*porque yuncacunaca huc causayniocllam tucoynin(pas) carcan*" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:176; cf. Taylor 1987:166; Arguedas and Duviols 1966:62-64), and, as translated by Taylor and Salomon and Urioste, has to do with comportment or practices: "the customs of all the Yuncas were exactly the same" (Taylor 1987:167);[27] "all the Yunca shared one single way of life" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:71).

In contrast, the historicized interpretation (Rostworowski's 2002 [1978]:207; emphasis added) is that "according to Avila, the life of the yungas was just one," and the statement is taken to indicate *unity of historical experience*: "That is, what happened to the Colli[28] can be applied equally to the other groups situated in the mountains immediately adjacent to the valleys. *All* were defeated and subjugated by the Yauyos."[29] Ironically, then, Huarochirí's canonical prehistory would, by definition and a priori, fix all of the various coastal and valley groups at the end of the same chronologically historical sequence. Thus, by historicizing, it structures.

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27 "Porque las costumbres de todos los yuncas eran exactamente las mismas" (Taylor 1987:167).

28 The Colli were a Yunca group living in the Chillón at the time of the manuscript's composition. In the manuscript the Colli are said to have not only originated in the highlands, but to still have ancestral tombs up in the Llacsatambo area. They are also ethnohistorically prominent as one of the protagonist parties in the mid sixteenth-century lawsuit over coca fields in the Chillón (Rostworowski 1988).

29 "[S]egún Ávila, la vida de los yungas era una sola o sea que lo acontecido a los Colli puede aplicarse igualmente a los otros grupos instalados en la sierra inmediata a los valles. Todos fueron vencidos y sojuzgados por los Yauyos" (Rostworowski 2002 [1978]:207). Rostworowski's version is based exactly on the Arguedas translation (Arguedas and Duviols 1966:62-64).

Alternatively, encouraged by my archaeological findings, I have found it productive to see Yunca/yunca to mean a categorical unity, similar to the way that the primordial highlands were presented as Yunca/yunca in *all* ways (ethnically, ecologically, climatologically, temporally). That is, to be yunca was to exist categorically as a suite of characteristics structured in an asymmetrically dualistic, competitive complimentary fashion. As elucidated by Peter Gose (1996) in his explanation of "upper" (*hanan*) and "lower" (*hurín*) Cuzco and the structure and history of the Inka *panaqa* system, this configuration implies no "chilling" cessation of particular historical events and processes, as the status and identities of specific individuals and groups shifted and moved according to multifarious combinations of historical fortune, agency, and strategic manipulation *within* and *of* categorical relations.

Yunca and Yauyo, Huari and Llacuaz

With the hypothesis just provided it becomes easier to see the hierarchical social and political dimension of being Yunca/yunca in Huarochirí. As alluded to briefly in the previous chapter, the primordial situation of Huallallo and his Yuncas, at least as told by the highlands Checa, was a prelude to their defeat, ouster, and the establishment of a new hierarchical order (which demoted, but still included the Yuncas). One of the most dramatic narratives in the manuscript lays out the "first" instance of this process:

> "In ancient times, they say, Huallallo Caruincho dwelled in the area of Upper Paria Caca. . . . At that time the whole region was completely Yunca. When he lived there huge snakes, toucans, and all sorts of animals filled the land. . . . [A] man came along weeping and carrying one of his children. He was also bringing his thorny oyster shell, coca, and balls of *ticti*,[30] meaning to give them to Huallallo in a drink offering. 'Son, where are you going crying like

[30] *Ticti*, a thick porridge, was a standard offering to huacas and ancestors, as were the Spondylus shell and coca, as innumerable Colonial records attest.

> that?' one of the Paria Cacas asked him. . . . 'Father,' he replied, 'I'm taking this dear little kid of mine as food to serve Huallallo.' 'Son,' replied the Paria Caca, 'don't take your little one there. Carry him back to your village. Give me that thorny oyster shell of yours, your coca, and your *ticti*, and then take your kid right back. In five days you must come back here to see me do combat with Huallallo Caruincho,' Paria Caca said. 'If I overwhelm him with floods of water, you must call out to me, "Our father's beating him!" But if he overpowers me with a blaze of fire, you must call out to me, "The fighting's over!"' The man got scared when Paria Caca said this and said, 'Father, won't that Huallallo Caruincho be enraged at me?' 'Let him get angry! He won't be able to do anything to you'" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:66-68).

Five days later the man returned to witness the epic battle between Huallallo and Pariacaca.

> "Paria Caca, since he was five persons, began to rain down from five directions. That rain was yellow and red rain. Then, flashing as lightning, he blazed out from five directions. From early in the morning to the setting of the sun, Huallallo Caruincho flamed up in the form of a giant fire reaching almost to the heavens, never letting himself be extinguished. And the waters, the rains of Paria Caca rushed down toward Ura Cocha, the lower lake [i.e., the Pacific Ocean]. Since it wouldn't have fit in, one of the Paria Caca's five selves . . . knocked down a mountain and dammed the waters from below. Once he impounded these waters they formed a lake . . . called Mullo Cocha.[31] As the waters filled the lake they almost submerged that burning fire. And Paria Caca kept flashing lightning bolts at him, never letting him rest. Finally Huallallo Caruincho fled toward the low country, the Antis [i.e., the eastern Andean lowlands]" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:68).

One of the Pariacacas remained just above the lowlands to safeguard against Huallallo's return. Mana Ñamca, a female yunca huaca from the down in the Rímac Valley, had accompanied Huallallo and launched her own fiery assault against Pariacaca, even injuring one (Chuqui Huampo) before ultimately being driven into the ocean (Salomon and Urioste 1991:68-69). Pariacaca then established his cultic order with provisions for his feting, annual ritual

[31] Mullo/u is the Quecha word for the Spondylus princeps shell, and Mullu Cocha is the name of a present-day highland lake at the base of the Pariacaca snowcap east of Huarochirí.

commemoration of his life and deeds, and the socio-political rankings and direction and magnitude of reciprocal relationships between groups of "his children."

As important and fixed as the *categories* of Yunca and Yauyos (invaders) and their co-constitutive interdependence appear to have been, their correspondence to specific, historical indigenous groups was mutable (cf. Barth 1969). Thus, the narratives relate that, though "defeated and expelled," Yuncas were not excluded from Pariacaca's new order. In fact, through ritual devotion, whole Yunca groups were counted among the children of Pariacaca. And as we have seen, groups of Yauyos like the Checa not only identified as but performatively transformed into Yunca, becoming *llactayucuna* by virtue of the mutual adoption between them and autochthonous huacas following their victorious invasion and performance of their origin taki at Llacsatambo.

However, these accounts did not narrate a linear path to a state of resolution between Yauyos and Yuncas, for the rumors of Huallallo's defeat had been greatly exaggerated. The aboriginal *huaca* reappears in the narratives, attempting other ploys to defeat or otherwise antagonize Pariacaca and his children (Salomon and Urioste 1991:44, 61, 66-70, 92-95). The two Pariacaca sentries stationed between the highlands and yuncas post-victory communicate the same principle less directly, which is: the primordial, man-eater Huallallo and his consort Mana Ñamca remained perpetual threats that may at any time need to be extinguished by celestial mountain water. The positioning of the Pariacacas and their containment of the Yunca huacas in yunca lands expressed the proper hierarchy between Yauyos and Yuncas, and while these conditions obtained, the complimentary facet of the asymmetrical dual relationship was free to be carried out.

And so, according to the narrators, Yunca coca farmers made offerings of their first yield to Chuqui Huampo before partaking of the vital crop themselves, as per Pariacaca's mandate. Also, many of these Yunca groups are said to have made ritual processions from coast to highlands to

worship Pariacaca in times prior to the manuscript's composition. Among these Yunca groups, the manuscript names the Caringa of the lower Lurín (Salomon and Urioste 1991:75). This is the same group that built and occupied the archaeological site of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará in the Lurín foothills (Makowski 2002). Recall that the primary archaeological components of Makowski's conclusion that Pueblo Viejo-Pucará was the Caringa settlement are those things that most clearly correspond to highlands styles, in contrast to those of coastal groups, such as funerary practices, elements of the ceramic assemblage, and architectural style and layout (see Figure 3.10). The point here is to illustrate yet another example of how people could move fluidly between the categories of Yuncas and highlands invaders.

Figure 3.10: Example of the architecture from Pueblo Viejo-Pucará, the resettlement site of the Caringa of highlands Huarochirí in the foothills of the Lurín valley. The masonry and forms of the structures are typical of highlands architecture. (Photographs by and courtesy of Carla Hernández Garavito; copyright and permission courtesy of the Programa Arqueológico Valle de Pachacamac and Krzysztof Makowski.

The archaeological evidence from Pueblo Viejo-Pucará conclusively shows it to be a resettlement of highlanders to yunca lands during Late Horizon Inka expansion and restructuring. Yet a little over a century later, the highlands Checa (Yauyo) narrators of the Huarochirí manuscript themselves listed the Caringa as one of several Yunca groups devoted to Pariacaca.[32]

[32] This may well be a more complicated situation than presented above, as multiple and differing ethnohistoric accounts include the possibility of the existence of a coastal Caringa group that was part of the Ychsma *señorio* prior to the transplantation of the highlands group at the hands of the Inka (Makowski 2002). If this were the case it would not negate my argument, but only add the interesting possibilities of the fusion of parvenu highlanders with extant native Yuncas, etc.

As already mentioned briefly in the previous chapter, all of this resonates with the dualist huari-llacuaz structure of many other highlands villages. It was first recorded under this label in the extirpator of idolatry manual written by the early seventeenth-century Jesuit, Pablo José de Arriaga (1968 [1621]:117) following his tours of the central and northern Peruvian highlands. In his instructions to aid fellow extirpators, Arriaga wrote:

> "First. When the examination takes place in a town in the sierra, the Indian should be asked if he is a *llacuaz* or huari, for they call huari or *llactayoc* anyone native to the town of his ancestors and who have no recollection of having come from outside. All whose fathers and ancestors were born elsewhere they call llacuazes, even if they themselves were born in the town. This distinction is preserved in many districts, and the llacuazes, like persons newly arrived from somewhere else, have fewer huacas. Instead, they often fervently worship and venerate their malquis which, as previously noted, are the mummies of their ancestors. They also worship *huaris*, that is, the founders of the earth or the persons to whom it first belonged and who were its first populators. They have many huacas and they tell fables about them which furnish much light upon their idolatry. For these and other reasons, there are generally divisions and enmities between the clans and factions and they inform on each other. Thus, we learn about the huacas of both groups, profiting by the occasion when it arises. If one knows to which clan an Indian belongs, he is to question about this" (all italics in original).[33]

Arriaga's observations, supported by countless others in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Colonial documents, and Duviols' later (1973) elaboration on them, really seem to emphasize the

[33] "Primero, si el examen es en pueblo de la sierra, se le ha de preguntar al indio si es Llecuaz o Huari, y llaman Huari o Llactayoc al que es natural de aquel pueblo *y todos sus antepasados lo fueron, sin tener memoria de haber venido de fuera*, y Llacuaces llaman a los que, *aunque sean nacidos en aquel pueblo ellos y sus padres y sus progenitores*, vinieron de otras partes. Y así se conserva en los ayllos esta distinción en muchas partes, y los Llacuaces, como gente advenediza, tienen menos huacas y adoran mucho y veneran sus mallquis que, como dijimos en la relación, son los cuerpos de sus progenitores. Y los Huaris, que son fundadores, *como gente cuya fue la tierra y fueron los primeros pobladores*, tienen muchas huacas, y los unos y los otros tienen y cuentan sus fábulas, las cuales dan mucha luz para saber su idolatría. Por estas y otras razones suele haber entre los ayllos y parcialidades sus bandos y enemistades y descubrirse unos a otros y por esta vía venirse a saber las huacas de unos y de otros, y es bien aprovecharse de esta ocasión cuando se ofrece. Sabido de qué ayllo es el indio, se le pregunta" (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:248; italics mine).

cooperative nature of the huari-llacuaz (Yuncas-Yauyos) arrangement in counterpoise to the antagonistic dynamic frequently expressed in other Colonial documents, and as a tenet of Huarochirí's canonical prehistory. (Though, importantly, the distinction between the categories, with its possibilities for "divisions and enmities" is always maintained.) I will revisit this discrepancy at the end of the dissertation but for now I want to highlight Arriaga's careful, noncommittal stance towards the historical veracity of the traditions of huari and llacuaz peoples in order to compare it to Salomon's (1991:8) apt characterization that "the mythology of Huarochirí construes a folk memory of conquest as an ideology of affinal interdependence" (Salomon 1991:8). Similarly, in Gose's assessment (2008:19; italics in original), "conquest became a pretext for agrarian cooperation and an ideology of complementary differentiation in ayllu formation" functional modus vivendi between different ethnic groups. Unlike the prehistorical hypotheses of Rostworowski or Espinoza, by and large, Salomon's hypothesis includes some suggestions but is generally cautiously agnostic, as far as the prehispanic Andes.[34] For Gose, Andeans' acceptance of "invaders as ancestors" (as in the huari-llacuaz structure) must have been prehispanic because it underpinned Andean reception of the Spaniards (as "Viracochas").

What about the Inka?

While Alan Kolata (1996:68) has argued that "[t]he notion that an expansive state society would have only superficial impact on local communities" is inadequate to explain the complexities of imperial/colonial situations, within Huarochirí's canonical prehistory the Checa

[34] In addition, note the characteristically careful language of Frank Salomon and Sue Grosboll (2009:21; emphasis mine) in referring to the Huarochirí manuscript myths as "allegorically representing the *protohistoric* movements of Yauyos . . . towards the coca fields and the coast." They further note (2009:22) that these movements have been periodized *by archaeologists* as spanning the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon, but they leave open the possibility that these "incursions" took place later than has frequently been asserted.

accounts of limited Inka involvement in the region were generally accepted as historical fact (e.g., Espinoza's [1992] confident expression of the Inkas' light touch in Huarochirí). The findings of recent archaeological research at Pachacamac (Makowski 2015; Eeckhout 2008) and in Huamachuco (Topic 1992, 1998, 2008; Topic et al. 2002) coincide with PAHLA's findings at Llacsatambo in suggesting much greater Inka influence in these areas than previously thought, particularly by underwriting interactions and networks between peoples from the highlands and from the coast (see Chapter Five). The data support Kolata's argument, but also indicate the degree to which the designs of expansive states could be carried out in "local" ways (Chase 2016c). This was, in fact, a characteristic of the negotiations between the Inka and neighboring peoples in the Cuzco area from the earliest episodes of Inka expansion, as Kosiba has convincingly shown (2010, 2015). In late prehispanic Huarochirí, it would appear that the forging of these historically new relationships between the highlands and coast was facilitated by understandings of the foundation of asymmetrical duality of the huari-llacuaz variety that were common to the Inka and to the peoples being brought into the empire.

For example, in his account of the Inka settling of Cuzco, Betanzos (1996 [1551-577]:15-16) framed the narrative in historical terms and explicitly attributed "yunga-like" agro-ecological characteristics to an autochthonous Cuzco-area population. On the founding Inkas' way to Cuzco, "where Alcavicça was," Manco Capac and his coterie invaded "a small town [very near Cuzco] which had coca and agi." The "Indian[s] of this coca town" fled at the sight of [founding Inka queen] Mama Ocllo's ferocity, and settled in the Gualla valley "from whence the Indians have come who even today produce the coca of Gualla." The invading, warlike, parvenu Inkas then convinced Alcavicça of their mandate to settle in Cuzco, and colluded with him to plant "some land with maize. . . . With the planting completed, Manco Capac and Alcavicça rejoiced in good

friendship and satisfaction" (Betanzos 1996 [1551-1557]:16). Later, upon Alcavicça's death, Inka descendants assumed rule of Cuzco (17-18).[35]

Sarmiento's (2007 [1572]:56-57) later account of the "first settlers of the Cuzco valley" also included the huari-llacuaz settlement dynamic from Betanzos, but added another dimension that shows how new historical encounters and the structure of asymmetric duality worked in such a way that particular ethnic groups or peoples could shift categorical identifications over time. In this chronicle, Cuzco housed peaceful, native farmers "for many centuries," and "*Alcabiza*" (Alcavicça in Betanzos) was the invading warlord (*sinchi*) whose company "settled and populated with the consent of its natives," becoming "brothers and companions of those most ancient natives" (2007 [1572]:57; emphasis added). While a simple comparison of the two versions may seem to indicate only that Sarmiento's narrative contains additional information not found in Betanzos, I argue that Sarmiento's added details outshine even his political aims in casting Inka rule as illegitimate, providing even greater relief to the historicity and structure of the autochtonous-invader dynamic.

In summary, according to the Colonial documents, it seems that any group's categorization as autochthonous or invader was determined by two interrelated phenomena: 1. historical encounters and relationships between different Andean groups; 2. nested, segmentary hierarchy organized relatively at each level by asymmetrical duality. Getting some sort of critical purchase on the prehistorical claims recorded in the documents requires data that can provide an additional temporal dimension. As Rostworowski and Salomon have long recognized, this would come from

[35] Note in this narrative how, comparable to the modern Tupicochan (Huarochirí) historical etiological account of land rights presented by Salomon (2002), the death of the previous settler population leads to the interlopers' land sovereignty (but without any express indication of the extinction of all autochthonous scions). See Chapter Five.

archaeology, prompting my dissertation fieldwork and analyses. As I have argued in this chapter, the discord between the archaeological data recovered thus far and the predominant interpretations and historiographic models of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents required reexamination of the ethnohistory and reconsideration of indigenous Andean temporal and historical sensibilities and meaningful ways of engaging with the past.

In the next chapter I extend the historical anthropological proposals I have presented for late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí by applying them to the data obtained through PAHLA's multi-scalar archaeological research. The archaeology presented thus far primarily works towards showing what Llacsatambo was *not*, via the apparent divergences between the historical and material records. Through the extensive archaeological data presented in Chapter Four, I show how various elements combined in performative, past making practices to constitute the relational landscapes of Huarochirí and the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis.

CHAPTER FOUR

Historical, Ritual and Mythological Landscapes: Archaeology and the Huarochirí manuscript

In the previous chapter I reported archaeological data that strongly suggest that the ancestors of the manuscript's narrators did not conquer their ceremonial center from aboriginal lowlanders, contrary to the narrators' claims. But instead of representing the close of a groundtruthing exercise, these findings open a much more interesting, complex, and ultimately informative inquiry into the apparent discrepancy in representations of a collective past at different times and via different media. The archaeological data and textual evidence from Huarochirí and beyond elicit interpretations of the performative semioses and related practices and media involved in the ongoing interactions between pasts and presents. Feltham's (2005) observation about the productivity of discrepant narrative accounts and archaeological data is exactly right for the case of Llacsatambo and the Huarochirí manuscript. Of course, to the same degree that the discovery of such discrepancies can be initially troubling, finding particular correspondences between the two sorts of data is exciting.

For example, in this chapter I present a great deal more of the archaeological data from my research in the Llascatambo-San Damián axis, including the results of post-excavation faunal analyses. When these analyses showed the remains of a "*gato silvestre*" or wildcat (*Felis* sp.) from one of Llacsatambo's excavation units, I immediately thought of the appearances of a bobcat (Salmon and Urioste 1991:59) and a "*gato montés*" or mountain cat (Taylor 1999:312-313) in mythical and ritual contexts in chapters five and 24 of the Huarochirí manuscript, and felt the excitement of a material confirmation of manuscript content. Salomon has published studies of *huayos* or human-bone masks (2015), puma headpieces (1998:Figure 2), and even a suite of khipus pertaining to the descendants of the ayllus of the Checa huaranga (2004; Salomon and Niño-

Murcia 2011), all of which feature in the Huarochirí narratives (Salomon and Urioste 1991:48, 119-120); I present more confirmatory "matches" and suggestions below. More than simply exciting, these are important discoveries that aid our attempts to understand the Andean past. But the real opportunity presented in combining archaeological and textual data is to challenge the very approach that is framed in terms of contradiction and confirmation, not to do away with it but to see how we might expand our understanding of what and how things may correspond to these categories for the peoples we are studying as well as for ourselves.

Ultimately, archaeological data can give us a firm grasp on Huarochirí's chronological history as a means to relativizing temporal and historical sensibilities in general–those of indigenous Andeans, Spanish Colonial clerics, and modern, social scientific history, one of our own modes of meaningful and legitimate interactions with the past. Archaeology's added material and spatial dimensions are also new angles from which we can approach the subject.

The Huarochirí narratives indicate that the lives of its narrators were not neatly divided into activities that were sacred and profane (cf. Eliade 1954, 1959); indeed, anthropological literature increasingly recognizes that these sorts of categories are much more complexly interrelated in peoples' practices and self-conceptualization, and even as analytical aids than previously realized (Fogelin 2008; Fowles 2013; Latour 1993; Pauketat 2013; Swenson 2015a, 2015b; Topic 2008). This being said, it is impossible to ignore the mythological, ritual, and religious character of the Huarochirí manuscript's contents. However, that the manuscript should be so heavily weighted towards such matters is only to be expected given the conditions of its production (Acosta 1987; Durston 2007). Avila, himself a religious official, aimed the inquiries at "idolatries." Thus, indigenous religion is what he got. Of course, the Spanish Colonial reducción towns like San Damián are religious, or at the very least religiously motivated (Cummins 2002;

Mumford 2012; Wernke 2013). While Karen Spalding (1967, 1984) has reconstructed Huarochirí's socio-political geography by drawing on historical documents and maps, this chapter focuses on the mythical and ritual landscapes by presenting the archaeological and historical findings of my field research in Huarochirí.

Archaeological field research, preliminary GIS analysis, and identifying Llacsatambo

PAHLA was the culmination of the seasonal archaeological and ethnohistorical research I began in Huarochirí in 2005. My initial forays were oriented by the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript, and historical and archaeological publications on the area. From bases in the Checa and Concha *reducción* of San Damián and other Checa pueblos like Tupicocha and Tuna, I launched pilot reconnaissance and informal pedestrian surveys with Peruvian military maps and a handheld Global Positioning System (GPS) unit. I documented archaeological sites and assayed potential full-coverage survey boundaries in order to formulate a viable archaeological research plan. Between research trips to the field area, I used Geographic Information Systems (ESRI's ArcMap module) for collection, cataloging, and analysis of geographical, cartographic, historical, social geographic, and preliminary field data. By digitizing and georeferencing published maps (see Figures I.3, 2.3, and 2.4) of Huarochirí manuscript toponyms (Salomon and Urioste 1991; Spalding 1984) and topographical government maps (IGM 2003, hojas topográficas 24k, 25k),[1] I was able to refine preliminary survey boundaries and to design survey strategies. In subsequent field visits, survey boundaries and site sizes were ground checked and finalized. Historical research in national and university archives in Lima, and the municipal archives in San Damián was also

[1] The projection and datum employed for all of PAHLA's geographic registration, analyses, and illustration was Universal Transverse Mercator [UTM], World Geodetic System [WGS] 1984); the digitized topography was created using maps (scale 1: 100,000) from the Peru's Instituto Geográfico Militar (IGM 2003). I also used the IGM's digital Carta Nacional for the Huarochirí area. Maps of the Huarochirí manuscript's toponyms are from Spalding (1984:pastedown), Rostworowski (1988: 56, 2002a [1978]:overleaf), and Salomon and Urioste (1991; based on the work of John Treacy).

an ongoing part of the project since 2005. Figure 4.1 is a three-dimensional digital elevation model (DEM) (constructed by digitizing topographic lines from IGM maps) of the geographic center of Checa territory in the seventeenth century, encompassing the extent of the Chanco pilgrimage (see Figure 3.8). The isometric view in this figure facilitates visualization of Salomon's (1991:81n324; italics in original) suggestions that "[t]he [Chanco] ceremony seems to symbolize the plenitude of varied Andean subsistence" [i.e., by encompassing different zones of production in the vertical ecology]. "The interrelationship of hunters and farmers is also highly elaborated in the dialectic of *huari* and *llacuaz*" (see Chapter Three).

Over the course of these preliminary studies, four sites of historical and cultural relevance for the project's aims became focal points for my field research: the Checa llacta of Llacsatambo (Salomon 1991; Rostworowski 1988:56), an associated series of Inka colcas (storehouses) (Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1984:283, 288; Kendall 1985:35, 71-72; Bueno 1992:51; Topic and Topic 1993:30-33; Coello Rodríguez 2000), San Damián Colonial reducción and present-day municipal pueblo, and the hilltop of Cerro San Cristobal, above San Damián (see Figure 3.1).

Upon being presented with the stratigraphic and radiocarbon data from Llacsatambo and their apparent discord with the manuscript narratives and the ethnohistory several colleagues have posed the same critically important question: Could it be that the site I worked at was not the Llacsatambo referred to in the manuscript, but a later settlement christened with the historically significant name of the "real" Llacsatambo (the one that housed Yuncas before being invaded by Tutayquiri and the Checa)? The inquiry is of course just to the point, for pronounced discrepancies in results often require revisiting the original premises. Before getting to specific justifications for concluding that the site researched and presented here is the same Llacsatambo referred to in the

Huarochirí manuscript, I should first point out that were the question's proposed scenario true, it would strengthen my broader argument about place and performative pasts in Huarochirí. That is (speaking of premises), if for at least the last sixty years (see *La Voz de San Damián* 1957) the modern-day residents of San Damián had considered and explicitly referred to these hilltop ruins as the Llacsatambo of the Huarochirí manuscript, while the "real" Llacsatambo in fact lay elsewhere, it would be yet another compelling example of performing the past in Huarochirí.

Premises aside, the preponderance of evidence indicates that the site I researched and refer to herein as Llacsatambo is the same as the Checa llacta in the Huarochirí manuscript. Over two decades Frank Salomon has seemed to grow increasingly confident in identifying the modern-day ruin of Llaquistampu with the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Llacsatambo, first suggesting the probability (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74 n252), and more recently making the equation between the two explicit (Salomon and Niño-Mercedes 2011:226-227). I suspect this subtle shift comes from Salomon's increasing firsthand geographic familiarity with and ethnographic knowledge of the area (as well as correspondences with the publications of other scholars on the area) over that time. I agree with Salomon, and the data, including historical information, GIS-aided analysis (e.g., Delaunay graph with rasterized cluster analysis), and formal archaeological survey, corroborate his diagnosis. As discussed in previous chapters, Avila's history and internal referential clues from the Huarochirí manuscript itself center its contents on the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis; the manuscript's toponyms that have been located on modern-day maps cluster most densely around this axis (Figure 4.2). PAHLA's systematic survey was carried out on these bases, and within the circumscribed area covered, the only other site with characteristics that would qualify it as a viable candidate was Conchasica, the llacta of the other major group represented in

the manuscript.[2] The depositional evidence from excavations on San Damián's plaza (Figure 4.3) was consistent with an early colonial settlement constructed on previously unoccupied space, and matched profiles of non-archaeological excavations beneath Santiago de Tuna's peasant community building.

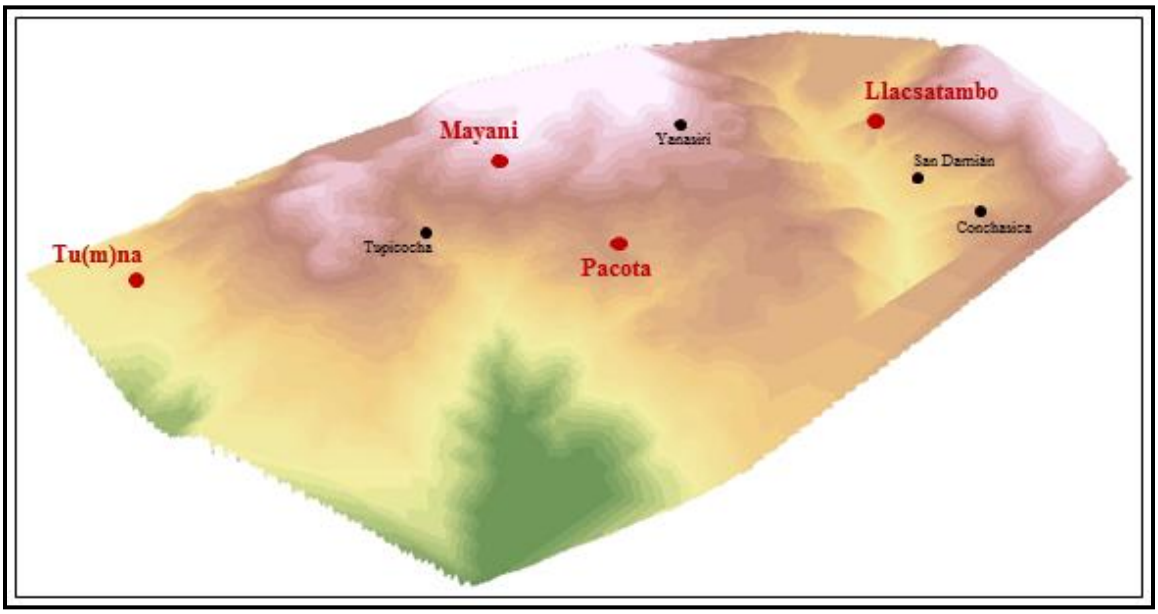

Figure 4.1: Three-dimensional model of central Checa territory and the Chanco pilgrimage's geography. (Site nodes mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript are in red, while the smaller black toponyms fall within the area but are not mentioned specifically as part of the ritual.)

In short, research can advance securely on the conclusion that Llacsatambo presented in this dissertation is the same referred to as such in the Huarochirí manuscript.[3] Though I do argue below that Llacsatambo should be understood as more spread out and less immediately concentrated or spatially contiguous site than it has been previously, resolution of the apparent

[2] Though Conchasica did not officially fall within PAHLA's intensive, full-coverage survey area, I have informally surveyed the site many times and have a three-dimensional rendering of the site based on aerial photography at this and other sites (see Figures in Appendix A).

[3] It is also interesting to note that the "central" point seems to be Tupicocha (not Llacsatambo-San Damián), perhaps indicating that the demographic and cultural shift discussed in Chapter Two was underway as of the manuscript's compilation. Today Tupicocha is the only Checa village that maintains the seventeenth-century ayllu organization mentioned in the manuscript.

discrepancies between the archaeological data and the Huarochirí manuscript's account of invasive conquest of a Yunca settlement lies in the reconceptualization of past making in Huarochirí.

Survey results

Though originally planning to carry out full-coverage survey of the extensive area immediately encompassing the three major Checa villages (San Damián, San Andres de Tupicocha, Santiago de Tuna) and the two other nodes of the Chanco pilgrimage route (Mayani and Pacota), Conchasica, and Cinco Cerros, PAHLA's survey parameters were eventually dramatically reduced for a few different reasons (see Appendix A). First, by the time I had obtained governmental permission for the research and worked with the Checa Peasant Community to establish four community faenas to clear Llacsatambo of its heavy vegetation, it was far enough into the highlands' dry season that there would not be time to do such extensive survey and expect also to be able to map and excavate test units at primary sites.

The severity of the terrain (e.g., its slope including numerous cliffs, its crumbled, rocky surface), particularly between the upper Lurín River valley and the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis, made for slow-going pedestrian survey along convoluted transits which required frequent correction. Safety concerns were also occasionally a factor. However, as far as PAHLA's long-term field research aims to do full-coverage survey of the entire area mentioned above, it is encouraging that the most rugged part of the area has now been covered.

In the end, PAHLA surveyed a 12 km^2 area, documenting 55 archaeological sites of varying size as well as varying relevance to the themes of this dissertation (see Chase et al. 2011).

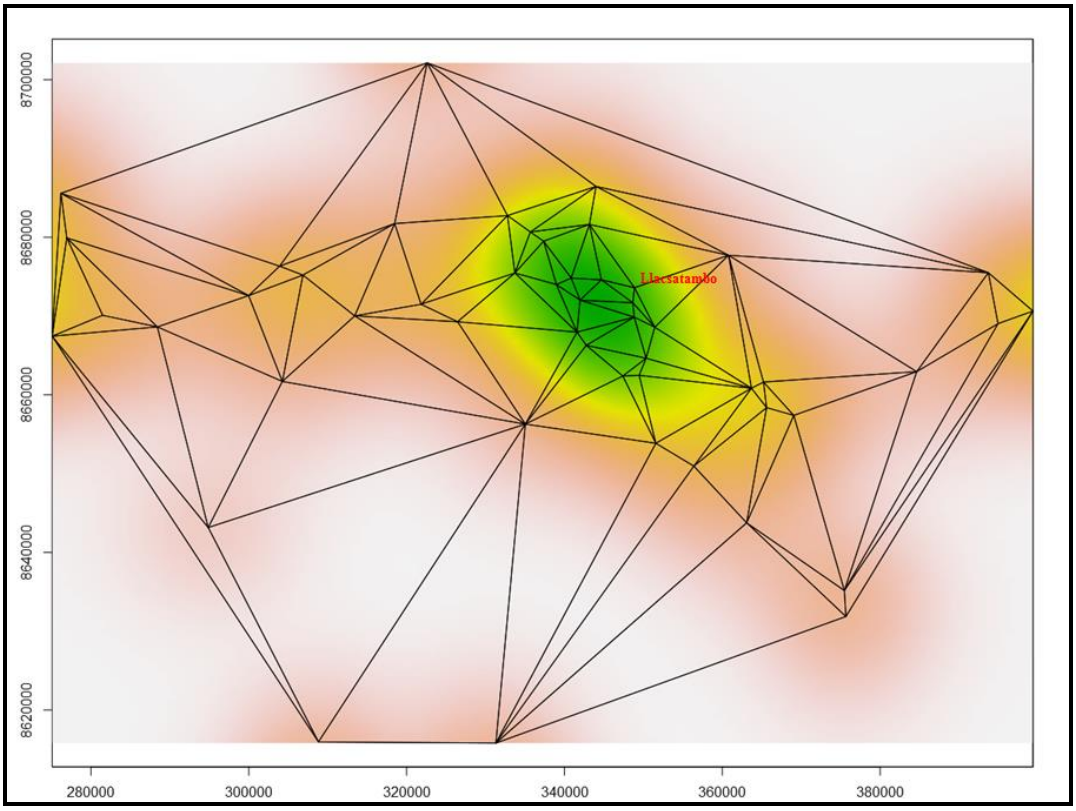

Figure 4.2: Delaunay graph with rasterized cluster analysis of the geographically identified toponyms mentioned in the Huarochirí manuscript. Each node represents a toponym. For the arguments of the dissertation, this simple analysis and display (i.e., points were not weighting per number of times mentioned, for example) makes visible three important trends: the density center in Checa territory; the strong east-west axis (indicating the importance and integration of distant highlands and coast, including Pariacaca and Chaupi Ñamca); the southeast-northwest direction of the distribution/density (demonstrating the predominance of the Quinti-Checa connection [see Chapter 2]). (Figure prepared for author by Robert Bischoff)

For the same reasons that we did not document individual houses in San Damián (though only a third to one half of these were being occupied at any given time), the decision was made early on *not* to register agricultural terraces or canals, i.e., the difficulty of determining how recently these had been constructed and/or used in this still-occupied and exploited terrain.[4] This was also the

[4] In our last week of excavations at Llacsatambo, a man at a nearby estancia discovered a *puquio* (underground spring) and had with a couple of days constructed a durable canal to channel the water. Likewise, we observed *communeros* and others disassembling, constructing, and reconstructing terraces during much of our time in the area.

general rule for *pirca*, a folk archaeological term (from the Quechua for wall) denoting loosely stacked stone walls lacking mortar.

Figure 4.3: The original cuadra delimitation laid out for the construction of the Colonial reducción of San Damián de Checas in the 1570s. Pictured is PAHLA archaeologist Lic. Abraham Magno Imbertis Herrera excavating SDUE01 on the plaza of San Damián. (Photograph by author)

Occasional exceptions were made in cases of corral-type enclosures that included more durable tomb or field shelter structures (several of which are found just east and upslope of the Inka colcas). Though I had already determined to map and excavate at Llacsatambo, the Inka colcas, and San Damián, informal pre-survey reconnaissance led me to include Cerro San Cristobal in the test excavations. From within these parameters I focus on 43 archaeological sites within PAHLA's survey area that exhibit evidence of occupation in the area from the Late Intermediate period, the

Late Horizon, and early Spanish Colonial period (see Appendix A).[5] For the purposes of exposition in the dissertation I am including the llacta of Conchasica as a forty-fourth site, though it did not fall within the systematically surveyed zone. In addition, though San Damián was never given a formal site number we did complete survey and surface collection of the entire pueblo, recorded by streets and cross-streets. I have divided these sites into the following categories (Table 4.1): 1. Major to intermediate habitations or settlements; 2. durable circulation constructions; 3. storage structures; 4. minor habitations; 5. field shelters/corrals; 6. independent tomb structures or burial caves with anthropogenic features. These are not mutually exclusive categories, as major settlements all contained tomb/burial components and storage structures, for example. Thus this categorization corresponds to the sites' primary salient feature or function. One site, Cerro San Cristobal, does not fall in to any of these categories.

In the field and the technical report submitted to the Peruvian government, independent artifact clusters were also documented, collected, and assigned site numbers. I do not include them here because each turned out not to indicate an activity area. (They did, however, provide diagnostic artifacts like, for example, fragments of large, thick, Spanish-era vessels for liquid storage [Rice 1994; Rice and Van Beck 1993; Rice and Smith 1989; Deagan 1987; Goggin 1960] that will be archaeometrically analyzed in the future in an attempt to trace provenience and early Colonial ceramic production and distribution). In no case was the superficial ceramic evidence

[5] In the technical report submitted to the Peruvian government 55 sites were documented, and there are many others besides in the survey area. As discussed above, the San Damián-Llacsatambo axis is relatively densely populated and in many cases there are habitations or other anthropogenic structures that incorporate likely archaeological sites. Decorum and interest in maintaining relations with San Damianinos led to the decision not to scrutinize in these cases. Documenting only structures without evidence of current or recent residents partially accounts for the low number of "minor habitations," for example.

sufficiently clear to register a site's occupation entirely and unequivocally within a single chronological period (e.g., Late Horizon, Late Intermediate Period).

Table 4.1: Documented archaeological site types, PAHLA survey

Site type	Quantity	Site names/numbers*	Comments
Major habitations or settlements	3	P36 (Llacsatambo), San Damián, Conchasica	
Durable circulation constructions	4	P01 (Inka road), P45, P46, P49	
Storage structures (stand-alone)	3	P09, P24, P27 (Inka colcas)	
Minor habitations	13	P06, P10, P11, P12, P17, P18, P19, P23, P23b, P25, P33, P34, P50	See footnote 5
Field shelters/corrals	6	P21, P22, P28, P29, P31, P32	
Tombs/burial caves	14 (-20)	P07, P16, P30, P37, P38, P39, P40, P41, P42, P43, P52, P53, P54, P55**	The numerical spread in this category owes to the six "field shelters/corrals" of the preceding category. See sub-section on "*caullamas*" below.
Cerro San Cristobal	1	P26 (San Cristobal)	

*The gaps in site numbers are due to my retaining of the original numbers as contained in the technical report filed with the Peruvian Ministry of Culture. I do this because, while some of the registered sites are not relevant to the dissertation, the site numbers must be consistent for any comparison with the official technical report.

**For greater detail on P55 see Appendix A, Table A.1.

Caullamas?: Field shelters/corrals

The PAHLA survey documented a series of "field shelters/corrals" that were ambiguously categorized as either tombs or field shelters. These structures occur in the corners of large, walled-in spaces and share formal architectural qualities with tombs (circular form, stone "vaulted" ["*falsa bóveda*"] ceilings, framed, quadrilateral access points) in the broader region, but lacked superficial human remains (cf. González et al. 2014:108-109). On the one hand, all above-ground tombs in the area have been looted, so it is difficult to disqualify a structure as a tomb for lacking human

remains. On the other hand, given the location of these structures in the interior corners of these large walled-in spaces, it is possible or even likely that they served as temporary or shift shelters for pastoralists to guard their corralled animals (see Figures 4.4 and 4.5). It also bears mentioning the function of these compounds as camelid pens does not exclude the possibility that the adjacent roofed structures were tombs rather than field shelters; camelids were frequently associated with burials or the cult of the dead across the Andes (Delgado González 2013:105; Kolata 1993:121-122; Millaire 2015). Patrocinios and Tapia (2002:19) cite Lavallé's ethnographic observations of modern-day camelid corrals in classifying similar structures adjoining corral spaces at Llacsatambo as shelters, for newly-born animals as well as pastors. The common form of these compounds is roughly rectangular, with one of the long sides (generally eastward) resembling a terrace retaining wall (Figure 4.5). "The shelters" are generally located in or very close to one of the corrals' corners. Though not "standardized," the shelters are all of a single level, made up of one or more walled chambers of between 60cm-1.2m depth, and roofed with a thick layer of fieldstones and earth in both the *falsa bóveda* and *viga* (stone beam) (Farfán Lobatón 2011) support style of tomb structures across the region, called "*kullpi*," "*chulpa*," or "*chuklla*" (Bueno 1992:46; Salomon 2002 ["*chaucallas*"]; Van Dalen and Patrocinios 2014:176-177, 190; Villar Córdova 1982 [1935]:289-336). Both the (semi) circular and rectangular chambers also resemble the food storage structures-*cum*-tombs of Pueblo Viejo-Pucará in the lower Lurín (see Chapter Three; cf. Kauffmann Doig 1978:513). The structures share features in common with those in Pumpu described by Ramiro Matos as shelters connected to corrals and pastors (1994:67-70). Matos gives his categorization in order from least to most sophisticated with which the Huarochirí structures share some characteristics. But on the simpler end, the Huarochirí structures lack cultural evidence

like pottery or a hearth; they are also too small and simple to fit with those on the more sophisticated end of the Pumpu types.

Whatever the case, these "field shelter/corral" sites were neither just tombs, nor long-term habitations. As discussed in the subsection on mortuary sites, a number of tomb structures are part of larger enclosures, but these walled-in patios are generally smaller than the corral compounds, and in every case present more architecture (i.e., larger structures, a higher number of structures of greater variability often including funerary and domestic structures both); this is the case both at Llacsatambo and for the "free-standing" mortuary sites documented during survey. The question, then, is the nature of these chambered structures of the field shelter/corral type.

In father José de Arriaga's anti-idolatry manual (1968 [1621]:28-29; italics in original), one item in the lists of what we might call household huacas (*conopas*) includes "*caullama*"–stones often fashioned after the image of a sheep to which offerings were made "for the increase of the herd" (see Figure 4.6). Like other conopas, curatorial relations with caullama were hereditary through primogeniture (Hernández Príncipe 1919 [1613]:184), but conopas were generally portable objects,[6] while the Huarochirí manuscript gives caullama a more geographically fixed rendering. Two of the Huarochirí manuscript's dense chapters treating the ritual regimen the Checa performed as Pariacaca's children (chapters 9 and 24) detail activities centered at Llacsatambo, including travels with llama herds between the ceremonial center and a few still geographically undetermined sites. Llamas are repeatedly mentioned as part of these rituals (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74, 122); in their festival travels, "everybody used to go to the *caullamas*. They brought their llamas along adorned with bells and earrings, just as they did on

[6] See AAL Leg. VII exp. 14 [1677]:f. 3r; Chase 2004:7n17; Griffiths 1996: 315-319; Mills 1997:208-209.

their way to Paria Caca . . . each [lineage] going to his respective *caullama*. As they traveled to their *caullamas*" they would play conch shells (Salomon and Urioste 1991:122; italics in original).[7]

Given this geo-spatial dimension, an intriguing, but admittedly very conjectural identification may be offered. With their relative abundance and proximity to Llacsatambo's architectural center, it is possible that the corral and shelter "compounds" corresponded to the caullamas as socially and geographically spatialized deity-places associated with the fecundity of households' camelid flocks, or perhaps as shrine-like houses for otherwise portable conopas. Though no faunal material was collected from these sites themselves (no excavations were carried out in them either), analyses of the faunal materials from excavations at nearby Llacsatambo indicate the abundant presence of camelids, the consumption of their meat, working of their bones, and even possible mixed breeding between llamas and alpacas (see Appendix C). It is of course entirely possible that these corral compounds are more recent constructions used for herds of sheep, goats, and cows (the recent presence of the latter is attested to by cow dung); they also may have housed both camelid herds and European animals both over time. The faunal material from Llacsatambo excavations also indicates the historical consumption of pigs (*Sus scrofa*), goats (*Capra hircus*), and cows (*Bos taurus*), though compared to camelids and deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), the remains of animals of European origin represent a *vastly* smaller proportion of the entire universe of fauna excavated and analyzed from Llacsatambo (between .75 and 2.14 percent of identified species by weight, and .40 and 2.2 percent by element count).

[7] In both chapters, the description of this ritual makes reference to Chaucalla as one of the destinations to which celebrants would travel and from which they would return to Llacsatambo. Chaucalla's geographic location is still unknown, but Bueno (1992) uses the term ("*chaukalla*") as a category for domestic architecture in the upper Lurín, particularly at Llacsatambo and Conchasica.

Figure 4.4: Survey site P28, "field shelter/corral" (multi-chambered structure within large walled space). Of the seven corral and shelter sites this particular one had the most elaborate and best preserved architecture. Notice the semi-circular structure on the left (with stone-vaulted roof), and the two chambers with quadrilateral access points in the middle and on the right. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.5: Eastern retaining wall of one of the six "field shelter/corral structures (survey site P40). (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.6 shows a stone carved in the shape of a ram's head, matching descriptions of conopas and caullamas from Spanish Colonial period extirpation documents. This stone belongs to Benigno Rojas, who lives on the low, flat "*pampa*"[8] of Llacsatambo, and farms adjacent and nearby fields and terraces. One of many of his collection of artifacts, Benigno found the stone while preparing ground for planting. Several of his terraced fields are in the same vicinity as the

[8] Pampa is the Quechua word for a wide, open, (roughly) flat space, like a plain.

corrals with vaulted chambers near Llacsatambo, but he does not to my knowledge pasture any animals. The conopa in the shape of a ram (an Old World animal) is an apt illustration of formal change and continuity in the first century following the Spanish invasion of the Andes, and mirrors verbal references to camelids as "*ovejas*" (sheep) in Spanish Colonial texts.[9]

Figure 4.6: Conopa-like carved stone belonging to Benigno Rojas of Llacsatambo. (Photograph by author)

Mortuary structures: tombs and caves

Before beginning PAHLA's survey phase I did a practice run with two colleagues to test the functionality of my survey procedure. From a single point we spread out 30 meters apart from one another to begin walking transects just before dusk. Through walkie-talkies we counted down to synchronize the start of our walking. Five seconds had passed when a colleague radioed to report a site; an enormous boulder, low stone walls, and bones. Incredulous, I responded by asking him to look closer. Were they not animal bones? They were not. If the long bones were not confirmation enough, the human cranium accompanying them was. Unwittingly, we had started our practice survey almost literally atop a human burial structure, and would continue to have such encounters throughout survey, mapping and surface collections, and excavations.

[9] In Colonial documents these were often referred to with a qualifier as "*ovejas de esta tierra*," or "this land's sheep."

Perhaps nothing speaks as powerfully–or as frequently–to the Mobius strip of past, present, performance, life, and death in prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí as the ubiquity of housed human remains. They are sprinkled about and constitute the landscape just as canals, fields, terraces, and houses. And the remains of a single person in the small *machay* (burial cave) from the practice run proved an extreme minority class; accessible *machayes* and stone tombs are as a rule group affairs (see Figure 4.15). Anthropologists have long acknowledged and discussed primary and secondary burials (Hertz 1960 [1907]:27-86; Van Gennep 1960:146-165) and other ongoing interaction between the living and the dead associated with open-access tombs, or what for the Andes William Isbell (1997) has called "open sepulchers" (Buikstra and Nystrom 2015; Dillehay 1995; Doyle 1988; Klaus and Tam 2015; García Cabrera 1996; Isbell 1997; Lau 2015; Salomon 1995, 2015; Shimada et al. 2015). This robust line of anthropological inquiry informs my arguments about the active and generative role of the dead and the past in late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí, and the ubiquity of mortuary sites in the Andean highlands push us to conceive of death not as oppositional to life, but instead as a passage to another sort of living. Those passed made the present, not only as historical catalysts in chronological etiologies, but in an ongoing, existential way. The processes by which this happened are the same as those by which mortuary sites helped constitute Huarochirí's landscapes: through the flow of people and resources to the establishment, maintenance, feeding, clothing, making offerings, praising, and pleading for reciprocation with ancestors whose presence in their patrimonial homes was the very foundation of pacha (AAL Leg. V, exp. 16 [1667]; Doyle 1988; Duviols 1986; Gose 1996; Hernández Príncipe 2003 [1621]; Isbell 1997; Salomon 1995). This should mean the distribution of these sites mirrors human settlement and activity, and this is just what PAHLA's survey results show (Appendix A). In the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis, mortuary biofacts and artifacts become denser and more

populous the closer their proximity to Llacsatambo; from there they spread out in patterns homologous to the geographic diffusion of the activities of everyday life: canal maintenance, animal pasturage, tending of fields, visiting and distributing resources to family.

In PAHLA's survey area, burial sites that were not part of a larger settlement can be broadly divided into the two categories mentioned: machayes and stand-alone tombs (kullpi, chullpa). The two types of burial cluster in the way described: chullpas–both single and grouped structures (like "mini-necropolises")–are part of what makes up Llacsatambo as a "dispersed" or "distributed site." They occur on the scarps to the east of Llacsatambo's hilltop center, beyond the sharpest part of the site's tapered pampa, among or near a substantial amount of eroded architecture that was likely considered part of Llacsatambo in times past (Figures 4.7 and 4.8).

Figure 4.7: Series of four stand-alone tomb structures (chullpas; identifiable by their rectangular access portals) on the steep escarpment east of Llacsatambo's hilltop center. These structures are part of the architecture leading me to suggest that Llacsatambo is best understood as a "distributed" or "dispersed" site. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.8: Conjoined chullpa tomb-structures (P54) on the steep scarps facing Llacsatambo. Note the similarity in layout between these structures and Llacsatambo's apical tombs (Figure APEX TOMBS). (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.9: Site P30, a rustic (possibly LIP), multi-chambered and multi-tiered tomb within sight of Llacsatambo. (Photographs by author)

These structures form the third corner of triangulation between Llacsatambo's center and the Inka colcas to the southeast. More rustic and differently styled multi-chambered mortuary buildings are also located within this triangle (Figure 4.9).

The machayes cluster to the north of the "triangle;" they are more opportunistically built and situated, generally consisting of stone walls enclosing the hollow of caves or (even slightly) overhanging cliffs (Figures 4.10). It is almost as if chullpas were meant to concentrate the dead and consolidate the ancestors' power while the intention with machayes was the opposite, i.e., the dispersal or dissemination of ancestral power, as if to socialize extended geographic space and diverse resources.

Figure 4.10: Burial caves (machayes) with anthropogenic architectural elements (sites, clockwise from upper left: P38, P53, P37, P55). (Photographs by author)

Functionally, these two forms may have also encouraged and brokered solidarity between different lineages on the one hand, while working as expressions of the ambitions of single lineages

on the other.[10] (For a detailed discussion of practices of the cult of the dead, as detailed in the Huarochirí manuscript and other seventeenth-century texts, see Chapter Three, footnote 11. These accounts give insight into the activities involving chullpas and machayes, and important connections to other Huarochirí performances.) Surely the more distributed and discreet locations of some of these machayes can also be attributed to the need to camouflage the ancestors' homes from the sharp eyes of Spanish extirpators.

All of the sites of this type (tombs/burial caves) documented by PAHLA had been heavily looted. In fact, it is likely that they had been looted, ruined by extirpation (including having their contents removed and burned), and used and looted over again. They have also continued to act as posts for reciprocal exchange with the dead (see Figure 4.21), and probably even as burial places in times since the dwindling of Extirpation activities in the late seventeenth-century. However, all were found in disturbed condition, and in only one case did we recover an item obviously associated with the sorts of food offerings mentioned above; the broken portion of the inflection point and rim of a large, open vessel (like a platter) was uncovered in LTUE04, a 2 meter by 2 meter excavation unit in front of the access window of Llacsatambo's best preserved tomb (Figure 3.5).

Two final observations about these mortuary sites are offered in the figures below. The first is a very personal vision of the practice commonly noted throughout the Central Andean highlands of marking burial sites with red pigment, often over an earthen plaster (Figures 4.11, 4.12) (Alcalde Gonzales 2004; Van Dalen and Patrocinio 2014:204-205; cf. Benson 2001:2).

[10] An interesting modern-day parallel: Today Llacsatambo is held as the ancestors' patrimony to the Checa Peasant Community, now entirely undifferentiated by ayllu in San Damián. At the same time, individual heads of household curate and make offerings to crania for the benefit of their fields.

Figure 4.11: Rock with red pigment recovered near machayes just northeast of Llacsatambo (cf. Alcalde Gonzalez 2004: 291, figura 16). (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.12 shows a flat stone recovered immediately outside the access window of the machay documented as site P53. The rock is stained by four fingers of an ancient Huarochirano's hand, which would have been covered in pigment in the process of decorating/marking the tomb.

Figure 4.12: P43 machay detail showing vestiges of the tomb's decoration with red pigment, both on the stones and the mud-plaster exterior. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.13: Flat stone with fingerprints in red pigment, recovered immediately outside the access window of the machay documented as P53. (Photograph by author)

Comparable handprints have also been located marking burial structures in the highlands of Ancash (Alcalde Gonzales 2004:302, figura 24). Though any plaster finish that would have covered P53's masonry had vanished through erosion, the presence of this stone, which was likely fastened to the tomb's exterior in mud-plaster, bears witness of the embodied rituals of tomb creation and maintenance in Huarochirí.

The second observation has to do with the materials shown in Figure 4.14. In addition to displaying remnants of some textiles that either clothed or were offered to mummified ancestors, the photography shows the sorts of rope scraps that are common to machayes that housed mummies.[11] The ropes served to hold the corpses into their flexed and seated position until desiccation was complete and the mummy could hold the form on its own.

[11] I have personally observed such rope scraps in multiple looted *machayes* in Huarochirí and throughout Cuzco.

Figure 4.14: Rope in looted mummy-tomb in a Huarochirí machay (site P39). (Photograph by author)

However, I received a different explanation from Llacsatambo resident Benigno Rojas[12] one afternoon as we visited the machayes he curates for the benefit of his fields. When I asked Benigno about the ropes he explained that they had served to restrain those Indians who objected to dying, being deposited in a tomb, and mummified. My initial confusion faded as Benigno continued explaining a situation that I recognized as the "*auto de los muertos*" (the "Act of the Dead"), a folk historical, era-separating- and creating-event. As Salomon (2002:483) writes, "The regionally consensual notion of general history" informing the tradition "is the belief that rock shelters and chaucallas full of human bones are the result of mass 'Indian' suicide." I revisit the Act of the Dead in the dissertation's conclusion to offer an interpretation that differs from Salomon's. What is important for now is to note that Benigno was articulating a theory of the interplay of the past and present that is common throughout Huarochirí: the inhabitants of the area in the prior age

[12] Interestingly, Benigno does not originally hail from Huarochirí, but was brought there by marriage to a Huarochirana.

perished, which explains their presence (in chullpas and machayes) and serves as the foundational condition for the legitimacy of the current relationship between the land and its inhabitants.

Figure 4.15: Crania collected in a long, low, single-vaulted burial structure at a site called Picotaya, east of Llacsatambo (and just outside PAHLA's survey perimeter). This is not a common or even usual grouping and is likely the product of some conscientious person(s) consolidating the skulls from several of the (invariably) looted tombs in the area. (Photograph by author)

Llacsatambo

In the previous chapter I presented some of the most important data from PAHLA's excavations at Llacsatambo and the Inka colcas. They largely worked to confirm what Llacsatambo was *not* (i.e., a residential site inhabited for six to eight centuries or more by one ethnic group that was then driven out by an invading group who took up residence at the established llacta). Here I present additional data to address what Llacsatambo *was* in Huarochirí's past. These data derive from architectural survey and site mapping, surface collection of artifacts, excavations, and ceramic, faunal, and macrobotanical analyses. First, though, it will be helpful to

review the basic historical and social context for the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis and the composition of the Huarochirí manuscript.

As mentioned, the Huarochirí manuscript was collaboratively composed by and is centered on the Checa, a kin based social and political group. At the time of the manuscript's composition, the Checa were politically situated as the "fifth of five" *waranqas* (or "thousands") of the Lower Yauyos "cluster" of Huarochirí (Salomon 2004:56-57). Mythological homology of this structure is found in descriptions of the partitive unity of Pariacaca, the snowcap mountain and apical ancestor-deity of these groups: though a single *wak'a*, Pariacaca was born as "five eggs that became five falcons that became five men, the founders of" these five *waranqas* (Salomon 1991:6). The Checa tutelary deity Tutay Quiri was one of Pariacaca's sons (Salomon and Urioste 1991:79). In the 1570-80s, the Checa were forcefully resettled into the Spanish colonial reducción of San Damián, which, like all reducciones, was constructed specifically to civilize, evangelize, and exploit indigenous populations by moving them from their scattered settlements into nucleated towns, thereby also severing their ties to pre- or non-Christian sacred places. But even over three decades after the resettlements, by the ca. 1608 redaction of the manuscript, its Checa narrators still identified Llacsatambo (2.5km north of San Damián) as their social, political, temporal, and ritual axis point, i.e., as their *llacta*.

What kind of site was Llacsatambo? Spaces, forms, and activity patterns

As discussed in Chapter Three, the design and layout of Llacsatambo's architecture obviously draw on regional cannons of style and technology; its architectural style, technique, and spatial patterning are, for the most part, typical of LIP sites in the central Peruvian Andes, particularly in the areas of Yauyos, Huarochirí, and Canta (Villar Córdova 1935; Casana 1976; Dillehay 1976; Sykes 1990; Van Dalen 2014). Late Horizon influence is also just as clear for many

parts of the site, above all the so-called "Inka sector." However, beyond these easily discerned cases, the site presents an almost hallucinatory organization of space and architecture, the latter displaying local-imperial hybrids. That there was activity at the site prior to the Late Horizon is apparent from the radiocarbon dates. At the same time, other excavation data reveal the Late Horizon origin of many structures and sectors that for decades have been considered pre-Inka. This is to say that classifying Llacsatambo as a standard LIP fortified hilltop site, though quite compelling by appearances, is a mischaracterization (cf. Farfán Lobatón 2011; Bueno 1992; Van Dalen 2014). It is possible that Llacsatambo was something like the "special function settlements" (Parsons et al. 1997) in the Tarama-Chinchaycocha region, whose purpose was to integrate populations of *puna* dwelling camelid herders and *kishwa* dwelling agriculturalists, an arrangement (huari-llacuaz) amply present in the Huarochirí manuscript narratives, as has been discussed.

What I consider Llacsatambo's primary architectural center measures four hectares, most of which is occupied by dense layout of architectural structures all made of fieldstone and mud mortar. These constructions are draped over a very steep hill, and the terrace walls that supported many of these structures (especially on the site's middle northeastern side) have collapsed and eroded downslope. The precipitous drop on the hill's northern and western sides makes Llacsatambo well-protected by virtue of very difficult access along 650 of the 989 meters of its perimeter. The eastern approach to the site is comprised of a 150 meter long pampa that widens from 50 to 70 meters. The pampa's eastern terminus wide runs into a series of low ridges and cliffs with canalized water running through them and a tiered pedestal (*peana*) that currently holds a one meter cross. (The peana was formerly located about 30 meters west and north, attested to by a low, eroding dirt mound). As one approaches the architecturally covered hill from the east the abodes

of present-day residents mix with a series of stone steps astride a rectangular structure that used to be a (twentieth-century) Catholic chapel, according to residents, and now serves as a goat pen and storage space. The lowest eastern and southern slopes have been turned into corrals for cattle, though at least one (5 meter by 2 meter) ancient structure still stands, incorporated into the pirca of the corrals. Llacsatambo's most monumental feature is its "perimeter" wall (actually stretching only along the site's lower southeast side for about 115 meters), which reaches many as four meters of height in sections (Figure 4.14). This serves as a retaining wall for the eastern reaches of the pampa. The fieldstone bulwark is well-built, at one point taking a perfect 90 degree turn towards the hilltop. This is the first of a series of concentrated retaining walls that run up the southeastern access. Entrance points that remain intact show the baffling effect the walls were likely meant to produce.

Just north of these walls is what may be the site's eastern entrance, now hidden by the corrals, vegetation, and modern-day pirca. It consists of a zig-zagging stone steps fixed in soil and leading to a meter-high wall of tuff bedrock into which a scooped groove was carved as the path's final step.[13] On the continuing eastward ascent is an oblong 60 meter by 30 meter compound set apart by one of the concentric terrace walls and another set of low walls and adjoined structures. The center of this enclosure contains a levelled patio space surrounded by large, compartmentalized structures. The roughly 2 meter by 3 meter compartments open onto the compound's interior and some share an internal access between them. A test excavation unit (LTUE06) showed that the compartments served as habitational work stations.

[13] In an article in the mimeographed compilation of articles, radio addresses, poems, governmental reports, descriptions of traditions and advertisements titled *La Voz de San Damián* (1957), three entrances are described at Llacsatambo, with one referred to as a "gateway." It is most probable that the ruins were in better repair when this description was given.

Figure 4.16: The highest standing segment of Llacsatambo's "perimeter wall" on the southeastern side of the hill. The marked segment of the scale stick is 1.5 meters. (Photograph by author)

Variations of this arrangement occupy the entire southern, southeastern, and mid-slope eastern sectors of the site. One other discernable compound of this character occurs in the site's northern center, just north of the large, apical plaza. Another excavation unit (LTUE05) was placed inside a slightly larger compartmental structure with an interior, dividing stub wall; this structure lies near the miniature plaza/patio connected to Llacsatambo's best preserved and most prominent set of multi-chambered tomb structures.

To the northwest and northeast of the compound walls closest to the tuff rock entrance are a series of highly deteriorated terrace walls and collapsed structures, a pattern that continues through the middle of the hill's eastern slope all the way to the cliffs on the site's northern side.

This collapse, occasioned over time by the hill's steep grade and erosion during the often heavy rains from November to April/May.[14] The erosion and collapse resulted in this sector being the most abundant in surface artifacts, which were also of the largest average size for any sector. Excavations planned for the future will focus on this sector. Despite the deterioration, intermural access corridors (n=4) are clearly visible, running both roughly north-south and east-west, conforming to the hill's topographic contours. The longest connect the apical plaza to the site's eastern edges, and the southwestern compound to the northern reach of the "Inka sector." On the hilltop's northernmost and northwestern sides, several small bedrock plateaus were enclosed on their outer edges by low walls, and single level tomb structures of single and multiple chambers. Given the abundance of camelid remains excavated, it is quite possible that these plateaus were also taken advantage of as llama and alpaca pens (Patrocinios and Tapia 2002).

Devotion to ritual activity at the site is apparent in nearly all sectors, with single or multi-chambered tomb structures being joined with domestic units by walls, as parts of the surrounded walled patio or court spaces. In some cases tombs directly adjoin domestic-like structures, but most frequently these occur as separate parts of the walled patio spaces. The site's highest areas are occupied by large, well-built, multi-chambered tombs. The central area of Llacsatambo's apex is a large plaza space flanked on two sides only by the retaining terrace walls that have kept the plaza from eroding down either side of the hill. The northern end of the flat plaza abruptly abuts a rock outcrop that is the highest spot on the site, and housed a tomb structure with a single, large, framed opening. Though the outcrop gradually tapers down towards the east to meet the level of the plaza,

[14] Though this was the surely the primary mechanism causing collapse, grazing cattle also cause significant destruction. San Damianinos lead their cows to graze on the hill during the rainy season, when abundant and quickly re-growing vegetation emerges from the slopes. In one of life's perfect misalignments, the rains also soften the mortar holding Llacsatambo's structures together, thus making them susceptible to collapse when bumped by hungry cows.

a stone staircase was constructed upon these parts of the slope, creating a two-sided step platform that leads to the llacta's highest tomb.[15] One excavation unit (LTUE03) was placed on the eastern edge of the terraced plaza.

Immediately south of the apical plaza is Llacsatambo's most durable and impressive tomb structure (Figure 4.15, Figure 3.5), consisting of two large rectangular open air tombs facing away from each other but meeting on one end at an acute angle. Both have multiple square, framed access points opening onto patio spaces; one of the structures consists of at least three chamber levels. An excavation unit (LTUE04) was placed directly in front of one of the access windows on the northern side of these tombs.

There are few sectors of the site that do not contain some sort of mortuary structure or element. Surface collection and excavation have produced hundreds of ceramic sherds from medium- to large-sized food and liquid storage and serving vessels, including several pieces typical Inka decoration and form (e.g., long, narrow neck and "*asas falsas*" from an Inka *urpu* vessel for serving *aqha*, or corn beer) (Figure 4.17, Figure 3.7). Some patterns consistent with the collective feasting of shared ancestors are apparent in these data. Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence indicate that the site at times contained a concentration of ancestor remains as well as multiple huacas corresponding to (or being the necessary constituents of)

[15] Scholars have pointed out the characteristically Inka tendency to incorporate or even integrate natural topographic features like rock outcrops into settlement construction (Bingham 1979 [1930]; Hyslop 1990; Morris and von Hagen 2011). The same practice has also been previously noted in Huarochirí (Bueno 1992:41 on Chuycoto, a site Bueno periodizes to the Middle Horizon and the Instituto Nacional de Cultura [2008] places in the LIP). At Llacsatambo, features like this tiered staircase leading to Llacsatambo's highest point (the rock outcrop on its west side and anthropogenically tiered with crude earthen steps marked by fieldstone) is just one example of the common, even prominent incorporation or use of unaltered stone throughout the site. Another example includes the construction of the most prominent and well-preserved tomb to meld into the hill's outcropping rock, or as if emerging from the bedrock. Bedrock frames one side of the southeastern corridor leading to the site's apex; similarly, a recently discovered, staircase constituting the site's lowest eastern entrance point is cut into but partially made up of a shelf of tuff.

various social and political relations (Taylor 1999:247-265; Chase et al 2011; cf. Coello Rodríguez 2000; Patrocinios y Tapia 2001).

Figure 4.17: The dual tomb structures at the top of Llacsatambo. This photograph is taken from just east and slightly north of structure to show the point where the two structures converge. Given their prominent position (only the single-opening tomb on the north of the plaza is at a higher altitude and was not made of nearly the same amount of architectural material as these dual tombs) and the incorporation of the rock outcrop in the compound, it is possible this was the spot referred to in the Huarochirí manuscript as "the rock called Llacsa Tambo" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74). (Photograph by author)

In the Huarochirí manuscript Llacsatambo is associated with at least five different huacas: Pariacaca, Tutayquiri, Maca Uisa, Llocllay Huancupa, and Cati Quillay (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74, 79, 99, 101, 103). In addition to feasting evidence, carbonized coca (*Erythroxilum* sp., *Erythroxilum coca*) remains were recovered in flotation samples from three of the excavation units. Two of these units (LTUE05, LTUE06) were within domestic-work structures (see Appendix D). The third (LTUE04) was in front of the window to one of the apical tombs.[16] Coca was a ritual

[16] I was responsible for processing the soil samples. Lic. Gabriela C. Bertone and Paula Espósito of the Laboratorio de Investigaciones Arqueobotánicas del Perú, Departamento de Etnobotánica y Botánica Económica,

substance sine qua non in the Andes and is referenced throughout the Huarochirí manuscript in the context of huacas rituals at Llacsatambo (Salomon and Urioste 1991:67, 69, 71, 73, 99, 108). It is even once mentioned directly in connection with Llacsatambo (74). As I discuss in greater detail below, we have faunal evidence of the butchering of camelids (*Lama* sp.), more specifically from vertebrae and between ribs to make large cutlets that were roasted and eaten on site. Interestingly, though there was almost no presence of maize in PAHLA's excavations, LTUE06 (see below) contained two small cooking pots, turned upside-down and smashed in place as part of a ritual closure of the structure, apparently (Figure 4.16). A relatively large amount (n=750) of carbonized quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*) grain was floated from the soil sample. Quinoa figures in to Checa origins, and could be an ingredient in ticti ritual offering porridge, but is no longer (to my knowledge) cultivated in the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis.

Figure 4.18: Two refitted cooking pots from LTUE06 at Llacsatambo. These were smashed upside-down with a deposit of burned quinoa grains as part of what appears to be the closing of the compartment of a larger structure. (Photographs by author)

In the Huarochirí manuscript, references to Inka-Checa relations are generally put in terms of a loose, informal alliance based on Checa military service for the Inka, and the Inka fearing and

Museo de Historia Natural, Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos conducted the flotation of the samples and macrobotanical analysis.

feting the ancestors and huacas of Huarochirí (Salomon and Urioste 1991:94-106). As they did in many areas, the Inka were said to have validated and even aggrandized the cultic activities and built spaces of the Checa's ancestors and huacas. And, indeed, as discussed in Chapter Three, preliminary archaeological examinations of Llacsatambo and the surrounding area did seem to confirm this. The structures at Llacsatambo displaying the most characteristic Inka architectural traits (double-jamb windows and niches, orthogonal wall alignment, trapezoidal access and communication points) cluster primarily on the northeastern slope of Llacsatambo's hill at a lower elevation than most of the rest of the site's architecture. Thus, unlike at other sites, the Inka style buildings were not constructed in the most prominent spaces, such as, for example, at Pachacamac (Uhle 1903; cf. Eeckhout 2008; Makowski 2015), nor were they placed over destroyed local LIP structures, as at Wat'a near Cuzco (Kosiba 2010). This apparent Inka architectonic "grafting" onto Llacsatambo has been taken to suggest that Inka colonization here involved alliance formation with the pre-established, conquering Checa (see Chapter Two). In this rendering, the Inka would seem to have reinforced Checa group identity by valorizing their llacta, just as they honored their huacas.

Many of these vessel fragments are of the same, well-fired paste limited almost exclusively to Inka wares from Llacsatambo.[17] Within PAHLA this was labelled "*pasta beige*" as we became increasingly aware of its occurrence while in the field and laboratory. The combination of paste type and inclusions in these fragments matches that of fragments Feltham describes as typically

[17] By this I mean "distributed Llacsatambo" (see above), for Inka-style pottery of "pasta beige" fabric were recovered outside of Llacsatambo's architectural center (at site P34, for example; see Appendix A). I write "almost exclusively" *only* to leave open possibilities based on further analysis, because there is one fragment of Colonial pottery from Llacsatambo that may be a "hybrid" combining the clay of the pottery matrix described above, but with finer silica inclusions and fashioned into a new vessel form. In addition, there is a (slight) possibility that a coastal-style zoomorphic spout bottle from San Cristobal's stone platform (see below) consists of the combination of clay paste and inclusions that make up "pasta beige."

Inka, collected as part of her thorough and meticulously documented survey research of the lower Lurín Valley (1984). "Both the firing and paste are distinct from those of the Late Intermediate period; Cusqueño pottery is bright orange or light beige, with rounded red and black inclusions" (Feltham 2009:96).[18] Feltham was here writing particularly of Late Horizon Inka wares from Sisicaya, a site colonized by the Inka and endowed with a tambo and other imperial features. The presence of this paste type at Sisicaya and Llacsatambo indicates that the Lurín River Valley was likely incorporated into Tawantinsuyu as an integrated unit. Greater detail on the presence of "pasta beige" in both areas are provided in the recent, comprehensive studies of paste and ware types, and archaeometric analyses of chemical compositions of pottery fragments from multiple archaeological contexts and clay samples from the length of the Lurín, Rímac, Chillón, and Chilca River Valleys, including several fragments from PAHLA's early collections and excavations at San Cristobal, San Damián, and Llacsatambo (Makowski et al. 2015; Oré Menéndez 2012).

In the classification of Late Horizon pottery from the central coast and highlands from these studies, "pasta beige" corresponds to Ware 13, Paste O (Makowski et al. 2015:144).[19] However, only two of PAHLA's samples were of "pasta beige" (IG988 and IG990) while the rest consisted of coarser, chunkier, and less thoroughly fired fragments. The portion of the study using laser ablation-time of flight-inductively coupled plasma-mass spectrometry (LA-TOF-ICP-MS) for readings of chemical composition shows that ten of the 12 PAHLA samples match the chemical composition of "Group 1," a category that corresponds to "Highlands Style" (Makowski et al. 2015:149). Significantly, the raw clay and pottery chemical signatures strongly suggest that the

[18] "Tanto la cocción como la pasta son diferentes de las del Intermedio Tardío, pues la alfarería cusqueña tiene color naranja vivo o beige claro, con inclusiones redondas, rojas y negras" (Feltham 2009:96).

[19] Ware 13, Paste O or "pasta beige" falls into Chemical Group 2.

clay sources for Group 1 were located at Sisicaya or upriver, nearby (Oré Menéndez 2012:111-112). This suggests that relations between the highlands Llacsatambo and mid- to lower-valley Sisicaya existed "beyond" or outside of Inka auspices; this *could* mean the relations existed prior to Inka intervention, but the information from these studies only indicates that production and distribution of pottery other than Inka-associated fine wares was taking place between these groups up and down the Lurín in the Late Horizon.

Two observation for moving forward with this promising line of inquiry. First, the scatterplots of the chemical groupings (based on parts-per-million amounts of the elements Cesium and Rubidium) show some overlap between the plotting for cases of "Upper Valley Highland style" and "Inka-Lurín style"; the plots of the two PAHLA "pasta beige" fragments fall within this overlap (Makowski et al. 2015:148), indicating they may correspond to the latter rather than the former style, as indicated by PAHLA's standard analytical methods. Second, while this recent study (Makowski et al. 2015:141) found a lack of correlation between paste type and the different pottery styles (e.g., "local" highland, Ychsma, "Inka-Lurín"), PAHLA's fragments of "pasta beige" from Llacsatambo *do* correspond exclusively to Inka styles.

Of course, this is not to say that the two were entirely coterminous; Inka style pottery not corresponding to pasta beige did occur at Llacsatambo (Figure 4.18) and at sites in the general survey. As always, further research is required to determine the relationships between goods and socio-political groups within the Inka Empire.

Figure 4.19: Examples of pottery fragments from Llacsatambo of the "pasta beige" paste type. PAHLA found total correspondence between this paste type and Inka forms and decorations (i.e., no "pasta beige" fragments that were not Inka-related). (Photographs by author)

But the observations concerning the presence of "pasta beige" Inka wares at Sisicaya and Llacsatambo, and the evidence that pottery from Llacsatambo was made of clay from near Sisicaya supports the thesis of Makowski et al. (2015:145) that "the stylistic and technological variety of the Late Horizon pottery in Lurin was not the result of local, small-scale exchange at the individual or community level. It is more likely that it reflects the extensive movement of goods as part of the imperial tribute system." I would add only that this broader movement of goods was not only accompanied by but often motivated by the rituals of Inka-brokered, huaca-related kinship networks (discussed in Chapter Three and below).

Figure 4.20: Neck fragment from a serving vessel decorated in a classic Inka motif, shown here as an example of Inka style pottery from Llacsatambo not consisting of pasta beige. The fragment was recovered during excavation at Llacsatambo (LTUE05.L10) from a layer of fill used to level the structure's surface prior to the construction of the interior dividing wall. This deposition further confirms Inka involvement with construction of much of the site. (Photographs by author)

The Huarochirí manuscript includes a remarkably concentrated expression of Late Horizon processes of local-imperial landscape transformation through the forging of new ritual relationships between the highlands and the coast that complements the ceramic data. In the narrative set at Llacsatambo, the recently arrived huaca Llocllay Huancupa–sent by his father, the coastal huaca Pachacamac, to protect this llacta of Pariacaca's children–was made to identify himself by "another huaca, Cati Quillay, an emissary of the Inka" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101-102).[20] Though the Inka role in forging this important new coastal/highlands alliance is represented in the narrative as happenstance, but as discussed briefly at the end of Chapter Three, new understanding of Inka involvement with Catequil, the powerful huaca of the northern highlands, and the extent of Inka investment in and responsibility for Pachacamac, suggest that the Inka were behind the entire process uniting the Checa and Pachacamac. However, such was the cogency, the

[20] Cati Quillay seems to be the quechuized version of Catequil, a huaca from the northern highlands of Huamachuco (Topic et al. 2002:306-307; cf. Salomon and Urioste 1991:101n469).

"conversion" of local-imperial ritual landscapes that despite Inka machinations, Checa tradition held that Llocllay revealed himself to a *local* woman. After the huaca's ratification (via "Inca emissary"), the Checa *themselves* built Llocllay's shrine. Later, when Llocllay abandoned the Checa, they won him back by redoubling their ritual devotion. They delivered to Pachacamac guinea pigs, textiles, llamas, and maize-beer from the highlands. The narrators explicitly mention Inka ratification of the llama offerings, and that the maize "belong[ed] to the Inca from the common granaries" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:103). Even more notable, the Checa narrators say that they built an *ushnu* for Llocllay (Salomon and Urioste 1991:101-103; Taylor 1999: 250-251). That is, the highlands Checa built a structure that was the very signature of vicarious Inka presence in the provinces (Meddens et al. 2014) to preserve their alliance with a coastal huaca. This act and its verbal recollection demonstrate the depth and extent of Inka influence in these landscapes of ritual alliance.

In contrast to Llacsatambo's variegated "biography" as it is presented in the Huarochirí manuscript and the canonical preshistory, it may seem that stratigraphy, radiocarbon dates, and artifact styles give a comparatively undifferentiated view of life at the llacta. But different patterns of the consumption of animals and artisanal work with animal bone and other materials do seem to indicate status difference by sector. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the excavation units on Llacsatambo's apical plaza were too shallow to yield much data for comparison. But the artifacts from LTUE02 and LTUE07, within structures in the Inka sector can be compared with those from LTUE05 and LTUE06 to suggestive effect. For this comparison I will refer to the latter two units as belonging to the "Work Sector."

Fauna

In terms of comestible animals, the species recovered in all of PAHLA's excavations included guinea pig (*Cavia porcellus*), white-tailed deer (*Odocoileus virginianus*), llamas and

alpacas (*Lama* sp.), cattle (*Bos Taurus*), domestic pig (*Sus scrofa domestica*), goat (*Capra hircus*), sheep (*Ovis aries*), and smooth-hound shark (*Mustelus* sp.). Due to the highly fragmented state of most of the excavated animal bones, analyses did not include determination of a minimum number of individuals (MNI); fragmentation also means that the broad order *Artiodactyla*, or unidentified ungulate (which includes llama and alpaca, deer, sheep, goat, cow, and pig), is the most populated taxonomic classification in PAHLA's faunal analysis (see Appendix C).[21]

The identification and analysis of the faunal materials from the excavations at Llacsatambo (n=789; w=3769.95 grams) indicate at least one status division among the people staying at the llacta, identifiable in meat consumption and vocational pursuits. The majority of positively identified animal remains from Llacsatambo consisted of camelids, followed by deer. A comparison of the rates of fragmentation at Llacsatambo and San Cristobal provide grounds for further inferences about types and duration of activities in each context. For example, from the excavation unit at San Cristobal, *Artiodactyla* remains made up 67.7 percent of the faunal remains by NISP, but only 39.73 percent by weight, indicating a high rate of fragmentation. Given the depositional context it can be safely concluded that these remains were refuse used as fill for the stone platform. In contrast, from excavations at Llacsatambo, camelid remains (*Lama* sp.) made up 32.4 percent of the total faunal remains by NISP, but 69.63 percent of the total faunal remains by weight. The larger, more intact camelid bones excavated at Llacsatambo likely attest to a more immediate consumption to deposition process, and the contexts of the remains can be taken to reflect butchering or eating activities more closely.

[21] Faunal samples collected in the field were identified and analyzed by biologist Víctor Vásquez Sánchez, Director del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas – "ARQUEOBIOS" in Trujillo and by archaeologist Teresa E. Rosales Tham, Director del Laboratorio de Bioarqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Perú. See Appendix C.

For those in Llacsatambo's Inka sector, in addition to occupying a more ornate, or at the least a slightly more spacious living space, archaeological evidence shows that eating deer meat may have been a fairly exclusive privilege. Meanwhile, while the percentages of camelid (*Lama* sp.) remains butchered from the choicest camelid body parts (pelvis, femur, tibia) were comparable between the "work" and "Inka" sectors (WS=15.3 percent; IS=18.8 percent), for those occupying the Work Sector, access to choice camelid parts and especially to deer seems primarily to have been a function of craft labor (see Table 4.2). The repeated occurrence of specific deer parts (only one of which shows evidence of having been burned)[22] throughout different depositional loci of LTUE06 is most likely related to the fabrication of bone tools or a specific industry like processing deer hides. In contrast, the deer remains from LTUE07 include fragments of vertebrae, pelvis, femur, tibia, and tarsals, all of which represent choice cuts for meat. These samples also have much higher percentages of butchering marks and cooking than their counterparts from the "Work Sector." Further evidence of the bone working enterprise that occurred in the LTUE06 architectural compartment comes in the form of four more items of worked camelid bones.[23]

Thus, a considerable division of labor, perhaps to the level of small industry, was carried out at Llacsatambo in addition to ritual labor. Certainly ritual specialists (*yanca*) were resident during the Late Horizon, if not earlier; if there were earlier yanca residents at Llacsatambo, their status and was bolstered and their cult made more lavish by the Inka. Perhaps the comparability of

[22] These parts were: five first phalanges, 15 second phalanges, and eight third phalanges in L16; L8 and L15 also contained phalanges (all loci within LTUE06).

[23] The body parts were: the right proximal metatarsal, a fused femur head, diaphysis of the right metatarsal, and a piece of a scapula.

choice cuts of llama meat in different sectors is due to *all* of Llacsatambo's permanent residents being yanca, to whom llama meat was *hucha*, or reciprocally owed.[24]

Table 4.2: Camelid and deer remains from the "Inka sector" and "work sector" at Llacsatambo

Sector	Units	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J
"Inka"	LTUE02 LTUE07	38	23	2	2	9	5	5.2%	8.7%	23.6%	21.7%
"work"	LTUE05 LTUE06	218	49	9	2	28	1	4.1%	4.0%	12.8%	2.04%

A=total # (NISP) of camelid bone fragments
B=total # of deer bone fragments
C=# of camelid bone fragments with traces of butchering
D=# of deer bone fragments with traces of butchering
E=# of burned camelid bone fragments
F=# of burned deer bone fragments
G=% of camelid bone fragments with traces of butchering
H=% of deer bone fragments with traces of butchering
I=% of burned camelid bone fragments
J=% of burned deer bone fragments

Manuscript narratives mention butchering of llamas at Llacsatambo (Salomon and Urioste 1991:123) as payment to yanca; the bone work, hide processing, and yarn spinning (several ceramic and two bone *piruros* were found in LTUE05 and LTUE06) could have been carried out by the yancas' families or by the yancas themselves. However, I still contend that Llacsatambo was primarily a site periodically visited, for intermittent and regularly scheduled rituals like the Machua or the Chanco and other tasks. One of the primary reasons the Colonial reducciones failed where they did[25] was that production in the Andes was an itinerant and spread out affair, as

[24] As others have noted (Durston 2008; Salomon 1991), hucha also came to be translated as "sin" (*pecado*) during the pastoralization of Quechua associated with the *Tercer Concilio Limense* (a counter-reformation overhaul of Church doctrine and practice in the Andes, 1582-1583). As a criterion for classifying Indian idolatry, this translation had enormous ramifications that played out over the next 120 years (see Chase 2016b).

[25] That is, nearly everywhere in the Andes (Mumford 2012; Saito et al. 2014), though this took different forms within Huarochirí and throughout the Viceroyalty. At "Callaguaya," to the near southwest of Huarochirí proper, a 1594 hearing (AAL, Papeles Importantes 3 [1594]) tells explicitly of the reversion to scattered and cyclical habitation patterns for the sake of agriculture. The large Mawku Llaqta reducción in Arequipa's high Colca (Wernke 2011, 2013, 2015; deFrance et al. 2016) was ultimately abandoned, leaving some of its delineated blocks unoccupied by

discussed in the sub-section on mortuary structures above. There are other concrete indications–such as the lack of large, concentrated middens in or around Llacsatambo–that the llacta was primarily ceremonial in the LIP and LH, with temporary, seasonal occupation or use. This is consistent with the picture presented above of Llacsatambo as a certain type of labor-centered Late Horizon tambo discussed below. The same seasonal occupation pattern in the late prehispanic is argued for Marcahuamachuco and settlements in the Tarama-Chinchaycocha region (Parsons et al. 1997:337).

Even if it was only seasonally occupied at different times by different lineages or parts of lineages, this arrangement still allowed for things like the biographical tethers of personal experience that connected individuals to place. In a deep locus (L16) of LTUE06, was buried a young child in the soil above bedrock (Figure 4.21), just beneath the deposit of eight third deer phalanges, which by all appearances seem to have been objects of the vocation specifically identified with this structure. Infant burials in house floors is common in the ancient Andes and across the world, and as Toohey et al. (2016) have recently argued for a site in highlands Cajamarca, these sorts of burials were possibly related to ideas that young individuals who had not developed into full social beings did not qualify for burial among others of the lineage. Or, they suggest, "[p]erhaps the living desired to keep these children close to home after death because of their liminal, privileged, or dangerous status." They may even have been "proto-ancestors" (not the authors' phrase), able to be in "communication with the deities" (Toohey et al. 2016:35).

architecture. Meanwhile, San Damián and the other Colonial reducciones of Huarochirí continue to be occupied to the present (though its present-day residents practice a pattern of distributed settlement comparable to that found in the historical and archaeological record for late prehispanic and early Colonial Huarochirí).

Figure 4.21: Cranial vault of infant buried beneath the occupational surface of the structure corresponding to LTUE06 (L16) See also Appendix B. (Photograph by author)

There were no funerary goods associated directly with the burial at Llacsatambo, the greater part of which had deteriorated into the soil. Bioarchaeologist Martha Palma Málaga determined through the remaining dentition that the child was around three, perhaps four years of age at the time of its death. No other such burials have been documented by PAHLA.

The overall picture of Llacsatambo from archaeology's vantage point is consistent with recent research into the variety of Late Horizon *tamp'u* or tambos (Morris and Von Hagen 2011:93-94). These installations of the Inka state were neither urban settlements comparable to European villages, nor only relatively small lodgings with the primary or sole function of housing and provisioning Inka state travelers along the *Qhapaq Ñan* (Inka Royal Road), as they are frequently defined and treated in the scholarship (Hyslop 1984:276; Mumford 2012:25, 204n58, n59; Murra 2002:153-170; D'Altroy 2002:237-238). Given Llacsatambo's architectural density and complexity (with abundant ceremonial features), the excavated evidence of craft and tool

production, hierarchical patterns of consumption and production activities, and the proximate, comparatively large Inka-style colcas, it is apparent that in prehispanic times the settlement could serve to house elite travelers, but that it was much more than just a way-station. The evidence indicates that Llacsatambo was a multi-functional production, residential, and ceremonial center of the "urban" sort recently discussed by Jeremy Mumford (2012:25, 204n58, n59).

A final argument concerning Llacsatambo before moving on: I have already touched upon this in my definition of landscape derived from Salomon's explanation of the concept of llacta, but given the observations presented above it bears specific restating and application here. The argument is that Llacsatambo is best understood as a "distributed site." Although the archaeological site Llacsatambo is generally considered to consist of the hilltop and pampa (and is thus officially registered [INC 2008]), on the basis of uncovering a significant amount of deteriorated architecture on the low cliffs east of the pampa, I suggest that the llacta included this area as well. Beyond this extension, the distributed site concept would mean that the Inka colcas, corrals, fields, and chullpas were also Llacsatambo. This is best expressed when the primary geographic reference is to "Checa" instead of Llacsatambo. For example, Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991:120n611) discusses a pair of Yunca ayllus as "not of invader stock and not resident in Checa," which speaks more to the apparent indigenous Andean spatial sensibilities (see Murra 1975; Ramírez 2005), since residing in Checa could refer to San Damián de Checa, Llacsatambo (and its distributed geography, as discussed below), or even any of the Checa villages running towards the Pacific coast. I think that this realization may aid our attempts to interpret the Huarochirí manuscript, particularly those parts using multiple geographic references and descriptions of places that we have not yet positively identified. In part, this is to say that these places may not *be* positively identifiable or fixable to a single, constant location (Abercrombie

1998; Chase 2015; Coben 2006; Urton 1990). Place making was past making in the prehispanic and early Colonial Andes, and both were performative. Llacsatambo, for example, could become the new Vichi Cancha; Checa Yauyos became Yuncas; patrilineal groups experienced fusion and schism. The interactions between local and expansive groups put collective places and pasts in play. This requires continued attempts from multiple angles to understand what was meant and what was done in the Andean past.

Cerro San Cristobal

Directly above San Damián (slightly towards the northwest) is Cerro San Cristobal (Figure 4.22), a terraced hill whose flanks house modern-day corrals, canals, several domestic compounds, and a cave complex with human remains and recent offerings in the form of *aguardiente* and a twentieth-century Peruvian coin (Figure 4.23). The hill's upper portion contains a ca. 3 hectare archaeological site consisting of a long, unilaterally walled, and inclined spiral path, a series of rustic stone platforms, and a section of heavily looted and deteriorated mortuary architecture. San Cristobal is very nearly equidistant from the two large archaeological sites of Llacsatambo and Conchasica, the prehispanic through early Colonial llactas of the Checa and the Concha; there is high intervisibility between each llacta and San Cristobal. This site was not located on the basis of any clear reference given in the Huarochirí manuscript but rather through the PAHLA's systematic survey. Its morphology and archaeological features suggest ritual functions of a periodic nature; unlike at Llacsatambo and Conchasica, there is no evidence of archaeological domestic architecture of any notable density on San Cristobal. On the hill's upper east approach, possibly once formally connected to the "Inka path" ascending from San Damián is an inclined pathway that varies between 3-4 meters in width and its lower segments are supported by retaining walls on the hill side. The first 25 meters segment of this retaining wall (furthest south) must have been

recently removed from its historical course and rebuilt at an acute angle that runs over (as opposed to running with) courses of earth of graduated height. This was surmised by the wall of exposed earth that remains aligned with the rest of the spiral pathway, and the fact that, unlike the rest of the path's retaining walls, this segment is pirca (stacked stones without mortar) while the stones themselves have the same density and size of lichens as those stone which still make up the retaining walls. We suspect this was done when the power lines were installed during the Fujimori regime (1990-2000).

Figure 4.22: Cerro San Cristobal (photograph taken from east of the site). The stone platform, especially two of its five massive boulders, is visible just above and left of the photograph's center. (Photograph by author)

Following an ovoid course, the path spirals around and leads up to the top of the hill. Towards the end of its ascent, as it leads up and around to the roughly planed hilltop, the path is flanked by stone platforms supporting large boulders. At about 270 m from its start the walls open up onto

something of a plaza space surrounded by five or six (depending on lumping/splitting) rustic, mostly single tiered platforms and the foundation of a 40 meter, two-element wall of stone and earth.

Figure 4.23: Cave with human remains (machay) on the lower western side of Cerro San Cristobal. Note in the photo's center the bottle of aguardiente left in offering. (Photograph by author)

The southernmost platforms do not inspire absolute confidence as ancient structures because most of their stones visible above ground are loosely stacked with no earthen mortar, and are free of the lichens found on the earthbound stones that make up the walls and two other platforms. It is perhaps worth mentioning that many of these loose stones are broken metates, worn smooth. One of these platforms supports a green wooden cross measuring 8 meters tall, which, together with the hill's Christian name, suggests that it was the target of Spanish Catholic extirpation (Figure 4.24). Interestingly, in informal conversations with the people living on San Cristobal and in San

Damián, no one ever offered a name for the hill other than San Cristobal, and our questions about the hill's possible ancient use or significance rendered no answers, not even the sort of speculative suggestion San Damianinos often provide when asked about Llacsatambo or Conchasica. The answer we did regularly receive was that some years ago (when there was a *good* mayor or a *better* priest than those currently operating) the hilltop was the endpoint of a procession from San Damián's chapel during the Festival of the Cross (May 3). The excavation at San Cristobal provided direct evidence of the modern use of the site in the form of pane glass, likely from a lantern.

Figure 4.24: Cross anchored in stone platform on Cerro San Cristobal. The hill's name and the prominence of the cross suggest that Cerro San Cristobal was a target of the Extirpation of Idolatries in the seventeenth century. (Phtograph by author)

In the northeastern sector of the hilltop lies a low (between) stone and earth platform of roughly triangular shape incorporating a few large boulders. A single additional course of stones makes the western two-thirds of this platform slightly lower than its eastern point (Figure 4.25). The easternmost side of the plaza contains a platform constructed of medium- to large-sized fieldstones and earth. This platform is sub-rectangular in shape and is demarcated by five large andesite boulders, all of which are connected to the platform (Figure 4.26).

Figure 4.25: Triangular stone and earth platform on the northern side of the plaza space on the apex of Cerro San Cristobal. The platform is 5 meters by 10 meters by 12 meters and ranges between 60 centimenters and one meter high. (Phtotgraph by author)

In addition to surface collections made along the path and on the hilltop, the easternmost platform (with the five andesite boulders) was partially excavated, with a 2 meter by 2 meter test pit placed over the structure's western edge (Figure 4.27). This edge of the platform, which faces the plaza, may have been the only side made of cut stones (or ones that were at least aligned) to

create a planar exterior face. This side included, if not a second tier, then at least a second step leading up to the platform's top and center; each step consisted of a single fieldstone element. Excavation revealed that the platform had an interior structure designed to embed and buttress it against the hill's disintegrating, granular bedrock. Among the fieldstone, earth, and ash comprising the platform structure fill were high densities of pottery sherds (n=3,110; wt=12.07 kg) and faunal remains (n=1,812; wt=2.49 kg) far exceeding the weights and counts of materials from any of the excavation units at Llacsatambo, San Damián, or the Inka colcas. This unit also presented what was easily the most complex stratigraphy of any of PAHLA's excavation units. The San Cristóbal unit reached a depth of 1.7 meters, at which point an immense boulder that seems to have served as a foundation for the platform abutted bedrock.

Figure 4.26: Stone platform on the eastern side of Cerro San Cristobal's hilltop plaza, including its five massive boulders. Note: This photo was taken over a year after backfilling the PAHLA excavation; the three steps are not original but a product of this reconstruction. (Photograph by author)

Within this excavation unit, in a locus that contained compact soil suggestive of foot-traffic–presumably of those who would have been approaching the platform–an item of finely crafted metal was uncovered at a depth of 20-30 centimeters below the original ground surface (Figure 4.29).

Figure 4.27: (left) Excavation unit (2 meter x 2 meter) covering a section of the Cerro San Cristobal's eastern stone platform and the ground immediately approaching the platform from the plaza (this photo was taken after the removal of the locus consisting of the second step of stones); (right) detail of early stages of excavation, showing the platform's two stepped tiers. (Phtographs by author)

The artifact, measuring about 3 cm in length by 2.3 cm in height by 1.3 cm in width, and weighing 11.02 grams, is in the form of a hand grasping what appears to be an egg (Figure 4.29). The object appears to be either the hook for a projectile rod ("spear thrower") or an *illa*, or amulet thought "to contain the fecundating essence of the good they represent" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:74n257). While the spear thrower hook According to Quechua lexicographer González Holguín's definition from the same time as the Huarochirí manuscript's composition (cited in Taylor 1999:139n87), illas were believed to produce general wealth for the owner. Interestingly for the case presented here, as an example of the shape these illas could take González Holguín mentions an egg ("*vn*

hueuo"). The results of X-ray fluorescence have shown the amulet to be made of nearly pure copper (see Table 4.3 and Figure 4.28).

Table 4.3: Elemental composition of the hand and egg artifact (via Energy Dispersive X-Ray Florescence)[26]

Element	Si	K	Ca	Ti	Mn	Fe	Co	Ni	Cu	As
%	-	0.08	1.05	-	-	1.01	0.14	0.54	85.97	1.09

It should be noted that this artifact is relatively small compared to ethnographically identified illas, which are also not usually made of metal (Flores Ochoa 1977; cf. Delgado González 2013:88). Also, the object shares much in common with European charms called *higas*, present in the Americas from the sixteenth century forward, (Deagan 2002:94-99).

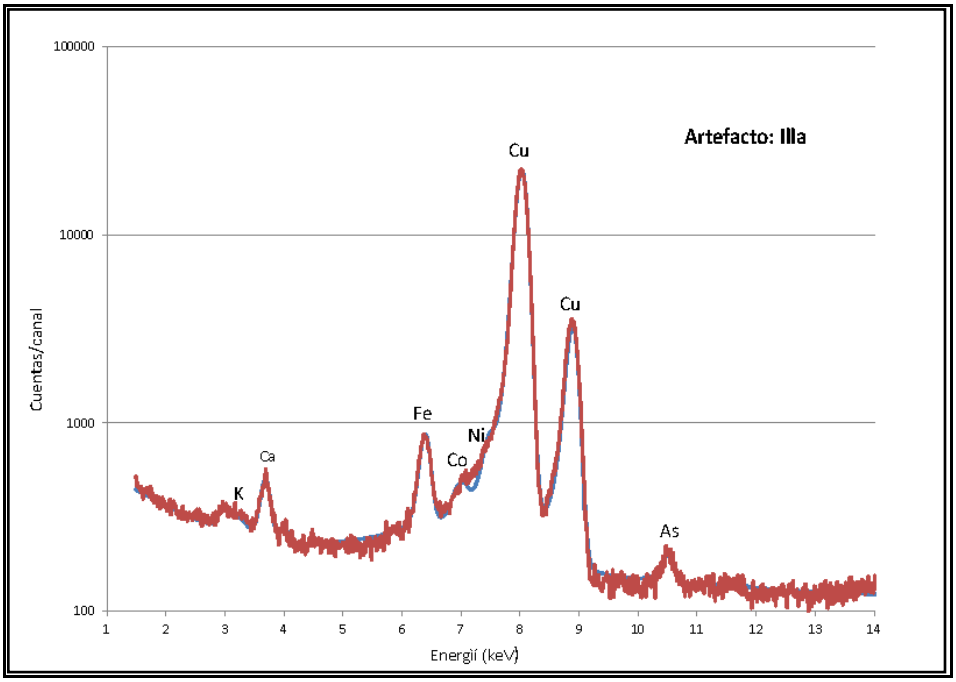

Figure 4.28: EDXRF spectrum of the hand and egg artifact (on a semi-logarithmic scale).

[26] The EDXRF procedure and analysis was carried out by Mirian Mejia of the Facultad de Ciencias Físicas and Dr. Jorge Bravo of the Laboratorio de Arqueometría at the Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos.

Higas were worn as amulets and were frequently made in the shape of a hand or closed fist.[27] Moreover, in determining whether it was an illa or the hook of a spear thrower, the fact that the "egg hand" item was made of copper is no silver bullet. If this was a late prehispanic artifact (perhaps suggested by its relatively shallow deposition), copper fits the tripartite Inka ranking that homologized metals and social status (Lechtman 2007), wherein the provincial Checa, even as allies, would be related not with gold nor silver, but copper. At the same time, Most of the Chimú spear thrower hooks described by Uhle (1909:626) were made of copper. For the purposes of this dissertation I tentatively consider the object as an Andean illa, to examine how its form and association with other material from San Cristobal's stone platform resonate with "insistent" imagery in Huarochirí and other areas of the indigenous Andes.

Through the excavation of this unit, several different loci seemed to consist of sterile soil or even bedrock only to present ceramic, faunal, or lithic artifacts. This was the case with a locus at a depth of about 1.5 meters below surface, when, from what appeared to be a matrix of sterile soil and bedrock, we uncovered a stone worked into the shape of a large egg. The stone had been placed at the interface between the bedrock and the immense foundation boulder (see Appendix B). The stone measures approximately 20 by 16 centimeters and has a pecked and flattened base that allows it to stand upright (Figure 4.30). Significantly, unlike the bedrock underlying the rest of the hill, the stone egg appears to be made of the same white andesite as the boulders on the upper surface of the platform. Further, the egg was accompanied by large lithic flakes that preliminary refitting suggests match the cortex scarring observed on the surface of these boulders (Figures 4.31, 4.35).

[27] I appreciate Alexander Menaker first bringing this connection to my attention.

Figure 4.29: Different views of the copper illa (amulet) of a hand holding an egg, excavated from the approach immediately adjacent to the San Cristobal platform. (Photographs by author)

Figure 4.30: The "egg stone" excavated from the base of Cerro San Cristobal's eastern platform. (Photograph by author)

Figure 4.31: Cursory refitting of the lithic flakes that were deposited at the base of San Cristobal's stone platform together with the "egg stone" demonstrates they were likely removed from the boulders that top the platform, evincing a single construction event for the platform. (Photograph by author)

The intentional burial of the stone egg and the large flakes and the site's location relative to San Damián as well as to the prehispanic llactas are equal parts compelling and vexing. The platform at San Cristóbal could represent the burial of a huaca to protect it against extirpation during the colonial period, or it could have been a shared or even mediating boundary marker for the pre-reducción era Checa and Concha. Of course, it is also possible that both scenarios could be correct. While I have elsewhere made the argument for considering Cerro San Cristobal's platform and the "egg" artifacts as Late Horizon, Inka influenced phenomena (Chase 2015), here I present this argument together with more recently acquired data that may suggest other interpretations. Considering the balance of the evidence, my provisional conclusion is that Cerro San Cristobal was a significant, if entirely ceremonial, pre-Inka site (and if so), likely already dedicated to Pariacaca. However, there are nagging data that make me less settled about this conclusion than those concerning Llacsatambo or the Inka colcas, in particular items (like the

"stone ancestors") within specific depositional patterns (the evidence of single construction event) that closely parallel Inka patterns similarities. First, let us revisit these points.

Cerro San Cristobal's stone platform as Late Horizon phenomenon

The results of the excavation of the stone platform on Cerro San Cristobal evoke many connections suggesting Late Horizon associations. The egg stone may be included among the "stone ancestors" made of white and red andesite recently discovered and presented by Meddens et al. (2010; McEwan 2015; Meddens 2015) at a site called Ingapirca/Waiman in highlands Ayacucho.[28] Like the egg stone, these stone ancestors were found buried within a high-altitude platform. Meddens et al. (2010:177; emphasis added) explain that their stone platform is one of a class that is "closely associated with the notion of *boundary* or *liminal space*." This observation resonates with the location of the San Cristóbal platform between Llacsatambo and Conchasica. It is important to note here that the platform sites and stone ancestors reported by these investigators were Inka and not Huari (see Cook 1992), further suggesting the association of San Cristóbal's stone egg with the Late Horizon.[29] Of equal significance for understanding the past in this area of Huarochirí is the egg morphology of the artifacts and the imagery related to Pariacaca.

[28] Delgado González (2013:95-96, 110) recently compared a "portable huaca" stone from an offering near Arcopata in Cuzco with the "stone ancestors" excavated from platforms. The portable huaca's shape and planed base are comparable to the stone ancestors, but in contrast to the context of Cerro San Cristobal's egg stone, the Arcopata stone was no associated with any evidence of the consumption of food or drink.

[29] The discovery of Meddens et al. had only recently been published at the time PAHLA recovered the "egg stone," and it was not identified in situ, but rather after it had been removed and placed on the edge of the excavation unit as if it were stone fill. I was able immediately to separate the egg stone and the flakes mentioned above (Figure 4.33). However, it was not until after backfilling the excavation unit that I was able to read the Meddens et al. article (in the June 2010 issue of *Latin American Antiquity*). Upon reading that in Spanish Colonial literature these sculpted stones "are variously described as resembling 'a sugarloaf,' 'pineapple,' 'pinecone,' or 'bowling pin'" (Meddens et al. 2010: 182), I returned to photographs of the locus from which the egg stone and flakes were excavated because of another stone, this one matching the "bowling pin" description (Figure 4.34). This unfortunate oversight has a fortunate side in that I have a photograph of this other possible ancestor stone in situ, and I know that it is now buried in the backfill where it can easily be (re)excavated.

The fact that the stone egg and the flakes from the andesite boulders topping the platform were interred almost directly upon the local bedrock constitutes evidence of a single construction episode. In general, the basic morphology, material, composition, and location of the egg stone all seem characteristically Inka (cf. Meddens et al. 2010:182–83). But these aspects also seem to correspond to the huaca Pariacaca, who "was born" and "dwelled as five eggs." Stone eggs (*runtu*) alone or in sets feature prominently in the seventeenth-century documents as "idols" in areas where Pariacaca's cult had spread, most probably during the Late Horizon (AAL, Leg. III, exp. 10 [1656]:6v, 8r; Astuhuamán 2008:109–10; Duviols 1973:168; 2003; Polia Meconi 1996 [1611–13]:213; Salomon and Urioste 1991:54, 57, 92).

Other data suggesting a Late Horizon association for this site include the Inka road noted above, which leads to the access point of Cerro San Cristobal's spiral path. In addition, fragments of a spouted zoomorphic bottle of the kind Topic and Topic (1993:25) associate with the Late Horizon were excavated from the platform at San Cristóbal, and a surprising 40 percent of excavated ceramic fragments from the platform consisted of strap handles, which is also consistent with a Late Horizon occupation of San Cristóbal (Topic and Topic 1993:36). In addition, the copious amount of ash, carbon, and faunal materials mentioned (including an entire deer antler) are comparable, though on a much smaller scale, to excavated contexts at other Late Horizon platforms (see Ziółkowski 2007:141; but cf. Delgado González 2013). There is also a magnificently preserved section of Inka road (Figures 4.32) connecting San Damián to the flat pampa on which San Cristobal's spiral pathway begins. Other, relatively short sections of stone-lined path are located between San Cristobal and Llacsatambo, and a very lengthy segment (though with several sections where the stone lining is gone or eroding) leads around the base of Cerro San Cristobal.

Figure 4.32: Middle section of what has been characterized as an ancillary section of the Inka road, running between San Damián and Cerro San Cristobal. The path is of enduring quality, consisting of massive worked rock. (Photograph by author)

These data suggest the possibility that San Cristóbal constituted a shared Concha-Checa boundary that was mediated by the ideology of Pariacaca in the same way that their kinship, their relation with the Inka, and their llactas were. Various scholars have demonstrated that the Inka promotion of Pariacaca throughout Chinchaysuyu was part of their imperial expansion (Astuhuamán 1999, 2008; Chase 2016c; Salomon 1991). If Llacsatambo and Conchasica were settled as part of an Inka-associated Late Horizon push into the upper Lurín, it was surely as "Pariacaca's children" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:143). The view of and from San Cristóbal is one of the development and operation through time of kin-related huacas like Tutayquiri and Pariacaca, and huaca-related kin like the Concha and Checa, in regional settlement and in the creation and maintenance of sociopolitical relations during the Late Horizon.

Cerro San Cristobal's stone platform: further data and considerations

The preceding is the case for San Cristobal's stone platform as a Late Horizon, "local-imperial" creation (Chase 2016c). More recently acquired data complicate this picture. First, the radiocarbon dates from two samples of carbonized wood excavated from secure contexts do not indicate Late Horizon construction of the stone platform. The first sample came from Locus 30 (between six and 18 centimeters thick), corresponding to one of the deepest strata of SCUE01, lying beneath the locus (L26) that contained the ancestor stone and lithic flakes. The matrix consisted of bedrock, pockets of loose clayey and ashy loam; this sample's calibrated date was 104 BC-AD 52.[30] The second sample came from Locus 24 (15-20 centimeters thick), which was a fine, ashy silt loam placed between bedrock and two narrow stone alignments that acted as interior buttresses supporting the rest of the platform (superior to the buttresses); this second sample's calibrated date was AD 684-765.[31] There is some reason to suspect the accuracy of the second date. Were the stone platform a Late Horizon construction, we would expect its samples' dates to be close to that of the sample from the Colonial reducción of San Damián (from the interface of levelling fill and sterile soil), i.e., somewhere in the range of the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries. However, while the two dates are extremely close to one another, neither conforms to the expected chronology. The date returned for the San Damián sample was AD 648-765.[32] This date is difficult to reconcile with the excavation contexts of fill for a pueblo constructed in the Colonial period,

[30] This sample (AA103905) was processed by the NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory at the University of Arizona.

[31] This sample (D-AMS 007823) was processed by DirectAMS Radiocarbon Dating Services in Seattle, WA. For this sample, a date of AD 648-693 corresponded to 0.566 relative area under the probability distribution; a date of AD 698-765 corresponded to 0.434 relative area under the probability distribution.

[32] This sample (D-AMS 007824) was processed by DirectAMS Radiocarbon Dating Services in Seattle, WA. For this sample, a date of AD 648-691 corresponded to .645 relative area under the probability distribution; a date of AD 702-721 corresponded to .044 relative area under the possibility distribution; a date of AD 731-765 corresponded to .311 relative area under the probability distribution.

though it is it could be attributed to the gathering of heterogeneous materials for the fill; the same explanation could apply independently to the second San Cristobal date. But as a way to account for *both* dates, this explanation is highly unlikely, particularly in light of the date from the other sample from the same San Cristobal excavation locus (processed by Arizona AMS). More convincing given the similarity of their sample numbers (SCUE01.L30 and SDUE01.L8) is the possibility that the two samples were mixed up or mislabeled at some point between excavation and mass spectrometry. Despite having another radiocarbon date from the same locus, this confusion is more problematic for figuring out the chronology of San Cristobal than it is for San Damián (because the latter site is historically documented). In short, the radiocarbon dates for San Cristobal's platform are not as chronologically reliable as hoped and in any case do not correspond to the late prehispanic and early Colonial periods.

Another challenge to periodizing the stone platform and its associated artifacts is the lack of clear ceramic indicators of its period of construction. As mentioned, PAHLA's ongoing ceramic analyses are the first to be carried out for this part of Huarochirí, making precise periodization of sites by pottery types and frequencies difficult, if not currently impossible in cases without examples of clearly diagnosable (e.g., Inka or Inka-influenced, LIP [Ychsma, Cajamarquilla, Mantaro area], Middle Horizon [Wari, Chancay], or earlier) decoration, manufacture, or form. Moreover, as has been recently emphasized specifically for this region of the Andean highlands and coast (Makowski 2009), it has become increasingly apparent that traditional cultural diacritics like ceramics are not exceptionally helpful in reconciling archaeological periods with chronological historical events and processes. This is not an admission of defeat, but a welcome announcement of a current moment of reformulating the theories and specific data for the derivation of archaeological information from pottery. Nuancing the archaeological designation of

locality in the Andes, Isabelle Druc (2013:485) has written that "[a] shift in Andean ceramic studies is emerging, which takes into consideration the concepts of production styles, technological communities, and the construction of identity. Style and abundance are no longer secure criteria" (Druc 2013:485). As indicated above, these recent turns are applicable to Huarochirí, but, for San Critobal the absence (with one possible exception) of pottery decorated in Inka style or even undecorated "pasta beige" among the diagnostic fragments contrasts too significantly with the materials from Llacsatambo or even P34 to be ignored. While it is true that the Inka colcas also lacked any Inka-style pottery, these cases are incomparable on the basis of the enormous difference in the amount of ceramic materials recovered from the two sites. These results would militate against a Late Horizon periodization for the San Cristobal stone platform but for one puzzling case consisting of fragments of a zoomorphic spout bottle, treated at greater length below. In brief, the bottle's form and decoration are coastal, possibly Middle Horizon, but its fabric, inclusions, and firing also resemble those of the Inka/Late Horizon pasta beige.[33] Further analysis, both of the spout bottle fragments and of other pasta beige fragments is necessary to determine the degree of correspondence, if any.

Analysis of the enormous relative amount of animal remains recovered during excavation at San Cristobal, does provide a step towards eliminating the hypothesis that the egg stone was a huaca hidden during Colonial times. Three fragments of *Capra hircus* bone constitute the entirety of the definitely identified European faunal remains excavated from the stone platform (that is, .34 percent of the total faunal material from SCUE01 by NISP). The three fragments were recovered

[33] I must mention that the recognition of "pasta beige" as an Inka/Late Horizon product happened after the selection and separation of diagnostic sherds (rims, bases, handles, decoration, etc.) from the universe of pottery fragments recovered from San Cristobal. Thus it is possible that non-diagnostic (e.g., body) fragments of pasta beige do occur within the San Cristobal collection and simply went unrecognized. This matter can be addressed by future review of the collection.

from a single locus (L6; the same context as the illa) comprising the semi-compact soil of the approach from the plaza to the platform's first step; these bone fragments likely were not part of the material composing the platform itself.

Thus, while there is abundant evidence of a great deal of consumption and/or disposal of American animals as part of the construction of San Cristobal's platform, there is virtually none to suggest the presence or use of European animals in the process. This is significant even when compared with the scant evidence (2.9 percent by NISP; 3.74 percent by weight) of the presence and use of European animals at Llacsatambo. Despite massive disparity between the raw NISP counts (SDUE01, n=30; SCUE01, n=875) and respective weights (SDUE01, wt=170.3 grams; SCUE01, wt=2350.04 grams) a comparable difference in the relative amounts of European fauna from the two units is worth noting because definitely identified European animals from San Damián accounted for an exponentially higher percentage of total recovered fauna than they did in Cerro San Cristobal (SDUE01=43 percent; SCUE01=.34 percent). To emphasize how radical this difference is: SDUE01 was 1 meter by 2 meters compared to SCUE01's 2 meters by 2 meters. Moreover, the cubic meterage excavated from the reducción (SDUE01) was lower than half the amount removed from SCUE01. Despite these disparities, and the fact that SDUE01's total recovered fauna would make up just 3.4 percent of the total fauna from SCUE01, the *raw number* of definitely identified European faunal elements from San Damián is *over four times greater* than the raw number of those recovered from the Cerro San Cristobal unit. By any practical measure (based on a single test excavation) there was no consumption of European animals associated with the stone platform's construction or attendant ceremonies. Even their presence in fill material (likely trash) is entirely negligible. Though these findings cannot definitively prove chronology of occupation or use of these sites, they do strongly suggest that Cerro San Critobal's stone platform

was entirely prehispanic. While Llacsatambo (and Conchasica) continued to be occupied and/or used in the decades preceding reducción, we do not have any clear evidence of the continued maintenance of the San Cristobal's platform in the Colonial era. However, this difference is as likely due to the different character of these sites (i.e., the entirely ceremonial San Cristobal vs. Llacsatambo's use for domestic, work, and ceremonial purposes), as to anything strictly chronological.

Ceremony and coastal connections: special finds at San Cristobal

Cerro San Cristobal stood out from all other sites in PAHLA's survey area due to several other artifacts from surface collection or excavation. Though it was in the form of five sub-centimeter sized pieces of debitage, San Cristobal was the only site from which any obsidian was recovered. Surface collection of the area where the pathway opens onto the plaza produced a small but easily identifiable fragment of ceramic panpipes (Figure 4.33), which facilitated later identification of a much smaller fragments from the platform excavations. Musical instruments like these panpipes (most famously associated with the Andean song "El Condor Pasa" adapted by Simon and Garfunkel) were integral to ceremonial performances in the indigenous Andes.

Excavations also yielded the spout of a *calero* (lime-pot) used in the ritual consumption of coca, a bone spatula (that would have accompanied the calero) made of a camelid scapula, and fragments of a zoomorphic (feline motif) spout bottle most typical of coastal pottery (Figure 4.34). Though there fragments do not represent a complete vessel, based on comparisons the fragments seem to correspond most to the Nievería style (Gayton 1927). Nievería is the name of a Middle Horizon site just over 20 kilometers from the Pacific Coast in the Rímac River Valley, considered a cemetery for the Cajamarquilla. The style was first identified and associated directly associated with the site by Uhle, who excavated a series of graves there. "Nievería is also the name assigned

by Menzel (1964:31) to the 'local style of fancy pottery of the central coast in Middle Horizon 1B.'" The vessel forms presented by Gayton and Menzel "include: single spout jars, some with a strap handle; double-spout, bridge handle jars; canteen-shaped flasks; three-tiered bottles and pouring bowls" (Knobloch 1991). The feline spout bottle fragments were excavated from Locus 9, representing the deposition of a layer of artifact-rich soil undergirding the stones of the platform's lowest step. The porous quality of this soil matrix suggests it was wet when deposited. This context was integral to the platform's structure. If the feline spout bottle fragments from San Cristobal are indeed Nievería, their presence would support the problematic second radiocarbon date from the stone platform (and vice versa), even if only as a "relative" *terminus post quem* for its construction (i.e., within the context of the platform's single construction event). Even if the fragments do not represent a Middle Horizon Nievería vessel (e.g., if their chemical composition indicates source affinity with the Inka pasta beige pottery), together with the calero fragment they attest to relations between the coast, chaupi yungas (coca-growing lands), and highlands (perhaps centuries prior to the Huarochirí manuscript's production); these relations may have underpinned the later access to coca evinced in Llacsatambo's excavation.

Figure 4.33: Ceramic panpipe fragments from surface collection and excavation at Cerro San Cristobal. (Phtography by author)

Figure 4.34: Fragments of feline motif spout bottle from San Cristobal's stone platform. The design is one that generally corresponds to coastal styles. (Photography by author)

A great deal more data are necessary before making pronouncements about the nature of this relationship, but possibilities include trade between two or more socio-political entities, or direct control (i.e., in a vertical archipelago format). The latter is intriguing in terms of interpreting the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives, for such an arrangement could have served as the basis for identifying Huarochirí highlands as "Yunca," especially if the center(s) of this direct control were in the lowlands.

Final speculations on possible San Cristobal-Huarochirí manuscript connections

Part of the Machua, or Yunca-inflected half of the Checa ceremonial cycle was a journey between Llacsatambo and the (geographically unidentified) huaca Quimquilla. As with other parts of Checa ritual, both llamas and humans took the trip. Quimquilla was a llama-wealthy huaca, and celebrants would slaughter their llamas and give the meat to Quimquilla's ritual specialists (yancas), hoping the huaca would reciprocate by favoring them with llama-wealth. Both Salomon (Salomon and Urioste 1991:124n661) and Taylor (1999:341) point out that the narrators describe the return trip to Llacsatambo in specific terms of circular movement and indicate as central to the

account the untranslated word "*huaroca*".[34] Taylor suggests its relation to *huaraca* ("*honda*" or sling). Salomon makes the same connection, but the Salomon and Urioste translation (1991:124), has the participants using the word as a proper noun, declaring: "'We're rounding the Huaroca.'" Salomon (124n661; italics in original) suggests that "the verb *tumani* denotes circular motion so [the Huaroca] may be the name of a round monolith or hill."

The entirely speculative nature of the connection between "the Huaroca" and Cerro San Cristobal again goes without saying. In fact, though we do not know the geography of this ceremonial journey (most grossly in terms of general direction because Quimquilla remains unidentified), it is suggested that its participants were related to the previous Yunca residents of Yaru Tini, likely present-day Yelutina, upland and east of Llacsatambo (Salomon and Urioste 1991:124n664).[35] At any rate such geographic precision is beside my intentions here, which is to point out the broad formal features of Cerro San Cristobal evoked in the Machua/Huaroca narrative. San Cristobal's walled path spirals around and up to the hilltop platforms of the obliquely round hill.[36] As with many other things in Huarochirí, this example intrigues, spurring on future investigations.

[34] The whole in Quechua: "ymanam allimanta coyoi coyoilla rihuan yna caycuna puricoytas huarocactam tumani ñispa ñircancu" (Taylor 1999:340).

[35] By the same (or perhaps mirrored) virtue, the Colli resided in the low valley of the Chillón River at the time the manuscript was put together, and this is their only historically or archaeologically verified geographic location.

[36] Though not immediately obvious during the earliest phases of PAHLA's survey of San Cristobal, after further observation, it was eventually concluded that the path did indeed complete a full 360 degrees and beyond in its winding to the hilltop. This field observation has been sustained by later three-dimensional topographic rendering of aerial photographs taken from a drone (see Appendix A).

Figure 4.35: The "egg stone" and lithic flakes separated from excavated matrix. (Phtograph by author)

Figure 4.36: Another "ancestor stone" possibly deposited with the "egg stone" and lithic flakes at the base of Cerro San Cristobal's stone platform. While this worked stone is much larger than the egg stone and the ancestor stones recovered by Meddens et al (2010), its flattened base and "bowling pin" shape are important indicators that it belongs to the same class of artifacts. (Photograph by author)

The archaeological data presented here and in the previous chapter (i.e., stratigraphic patterns, radiocarbon dates from excavations at Llacsatambo and the Inka colcas) demonstrate apparent discrepancies between the version of the past related by the Checa narrators of the Huarochirí manuscript in the seventeenth century and the historical, material processes by which Llacsatambo was settled. However, when placed in broader semiotic, cultural context the data encourage the reconceptualization of notions of sequential order and hierarchy, historicity, past making, and performance in the Huarochirí of prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial times. I am reminded of the multifarious miscommunications between Spaniards and Indians during the seventeenth-century Extirpation of Idolatries (Duviols 1986, 2003; Mills 1997)–the very campaigns ostensibly set off by Avila's "discovery" of those idolatries narrated in the Huarochirí manuscript. Much of this confusion was the result of intentional deception, misdirection, direct resistance on the part of Indian populations (García 1996; Mills 1994), as well as a frequently changing Church program for evangelization (Estenssoro 2003). But a great deal of the miscommunication must also be attributed to different semiotic sensibilities (Chase 2004, 2016b), and some of scholars' comparisons of themselves and their colleagues to Inquisitors should challenge us to pay more heed to the latter of these sources of confusion: different peoples, different ways.

The data presented in this chapter show the many ways the collective identities and pasts were performed as landscapes of reciprocal movements and flow between and through categories of the living and dead, past and present, invaders and autochthones, higher and lower relative statuses. If there were no Yuncas at Llacsatambo by my lights it is surely because I am forgetting that the invading Checa ancestors *became* Yuncas. The archaeological data from the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis simultaneously show how the manuscript narrators' ancestors both were and

were not what tradition claimed them to be; determining that they were not (literally, historically) conquerors of Yuncas allows us to discover what they did to become invaders and (adopted) Yuncas.

CHAPTER FIVE

The past, the present, and the ever-present: two views from Llacsatambo

This final chapter begins with an exposition forcibly resettled from the previous chapter to summarize the arguments put forward in the dissertation, and to lead into conclusions and discussion about the historical, ritual, and mythological landscapes of Huarochiri. The panorama from Llacsatambo's hilltop, and a great deal of the surrounding terrain is dominated by two features. To the llacta center's slight southeast sit the rectangular Inka colcas at a distance of a few hundred meters. These relatively massive buildings (much larger than any of the structures upon Llacsatambo's hilltop itself) for surplus storage were standard features at Inka provincial settlements (D'Altroy and Hastorf 1984; Hyslop 1990; Levine 1992; Morris and Thompson 1985; Topic and Topic 1993: 30-33). These colcas were built at a very slightly lower altitude than the structures on Llacsatambo's apex, and rest on a terraced hillside. Llacsatambo's main access point faces the colcas nearly directly, and the storage structures can be seen from about 70 percent of the built space at Llacsatambo (Figure 5.1), which would have made it very difficult for any at Llacsatambo to miss the architectural symbol of state subsidies of the ritual activities carried out at Llacsatambo on behalf of the Checa's ancestral huacas (see e.g., Salomon and Urioste 1991:113, 115-116). The colcas (Figure 5.2) may in fact have provisioned those who built Llacsatambo, and the data suggest that this building process was itself ritually performative.[1]

[1] Aside from a rustically elegant stone floor (see Appendix B) and a handful of plain ware sherds used as fill, excavations in the Inka colcas yielded little cultural material; flotation of soil samples and macrobotanical analysis did return very scant evidence of their possible use for potato storage. Carbonized potato (*Solanaceae, Solanum* sp.) remains were found in both colca excavation units, but the counts were low (n=5, n=19). Each also had negligible counts of quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*; n=1), and one possibly had *ají* (*Capsicum* sp.; n=1). For the complete macrobotanical analysis, see Appendix D.

Figure 5.1: Panoramic photograph of Llacsatambo (the peak slightly right of center) and the Inka colcas (in the mid-lower left). (Photograph by Teddy Abel Traslaviña Arias. Used by permission)

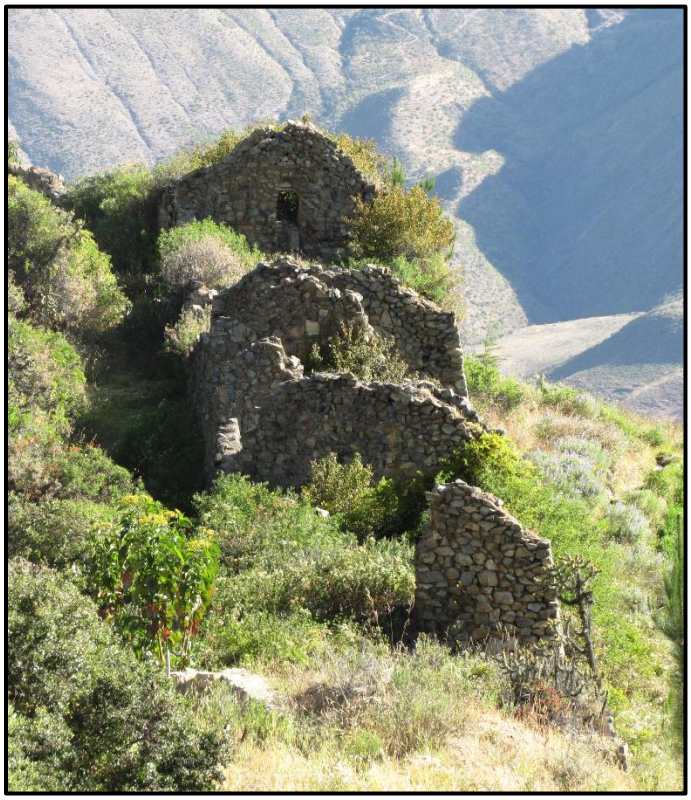

Figure 5.2: Llacsatambo's Inka colcas. Despite the function of the structures, no significant amount of stored goods of any sort was recovered from PAHLA's excavations. (Photograph by author)

At a much greater distance, across the vast gape of the upper Lurín Valley to Llacsatambo's south is the morphologically unmistakable mountain peak of Pichcca Marca (the five villages or settlements), or Cinco Cerros as it is now called. Like the Inka colcas, Cinco Cerros is visible from within most of Llacsatambo's hilltop, and is far more visible throughout the surrounding area than are the Inka colcas (Figures 5.3, 5.4). In the manuscript, Pariacaca sidled up to the Pihcca Marca *people* as they were drinking and not one offered him a drink. In wrath Pariacaca returned five days later "as red and yellow rain and exterminated that village." By being split into five pieces and having his head escape the decimation through the shamanic power of one of his followers, their huaca Maca Calla was preserved. The huaca's head led the man to a new five mountains, "where he build the villages, Pihcca Marca" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:127-128).[2] In considering the Checa of Llacsatambo, Pihcca Marca/Cinco Cerros can be taken as a mythological (but *not* ethereal) homologue to the life and world of the Checa in the eras surrounding the manuscript. Here was an ever-present ethical charter, collective mandate, and ratification of their place in the universe, while simultaneously a mirror of an alternate past and future. That is, the narrative in the "shadow" of the mountain "said" the following: "You see those 'five' over there, they were not hospitable and generous with Pariacaca, and they were conquered, most of them being scrubbed from space and time. May we five (huarangas), the children of Pariacaca always remember the proper treatment of the huaca, the ancestor, that we may not suffer the same fate."

[2] "Later," the myth continues, after the new settlement, again on five mountains, "Tutay Quiri went and conquered them" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:128). Both sets of repeated episodes, in different places and with different protagonists over sequential time illustrate several of the arguments of this dissertation exactly. Different personnel settled in different places undergo different episode of conquest at the hands of different huacas. But for all this difference, all of the elements are just the same, differentiated only be the passing of time and/or generation (which in the end makes all elements of both episodes intimately related). Pariacaca, the father, eradicates one settlement of five, except for a scion who founds a new but still quintipartite settlement, only to have it "later" conquered by Pariacaca's son, Tutayquiri. If these were "cold" societies (i.e., oriented by structure), they were continually thawed by the "heat" of the lives and actions of different personnel, dwelling in a new place over time (i.e., history), to be conquered by a new huaca.

These two views *from* Llacsatambo give us a view *of* Llacsatambo in and as time, past and present, structure and event, social and hierarchical distance and proximity. The Inka patrons and their colcas were relatively new, and the Inka's llacta was both geographically and politically distant. True, the colcas were there to augment the cult of Checa huacas. And though some of these huacas had been recently introduced by the Inka, they arrived in the spirit of kinship and extended networks of protection and reciprocity (see below, and Chapter Three). In contrast, Cinco Cerros veritably defined the defeated past that Checa performances were designed to avoid. The fate of Cinco Cerros' ancients was a product of Pariacaca's deeds (and "later" also of Tutayquiri); it was a "present past" as a landscape fixture, and in light of the repetition and change that made up its narrative, it was a past that was "ever-present."

In the preceding chapters I have suggested that, while archaeology and disciplinary history and their positive aims can and must be carried out for Huarochiri, our conclusions will persist in being wide of the mark if we insist that late prehispanic and early Spanish Colonial Huarochiranos shared in equal measure and in all of the same ways the empirical methods and epistemological suppositions of our particular forms of meaningful engagement with the past. The negative effects will be exacerbated if we also impute onto the ancient Huarochirnaos the values and motivations that are coincident adjuncts of the sciences (but only in a historically particular way.)

Instead, because the information we acquire on these people suggests it, we ought to focus on understanding their ways of engaging with the past. The semiotics of the past making I write about for these Andeans were different from those that inform my research pursuits; denotation in the present of "past things" like dead bodies, conquered enemies, or sequential narratives about times long, long ago worked differently. And they worked to different ends than my fact-finding.

Were I to travel back in time and present my data to the manuscript narrators or their ancestors, I suspect it would have little if any impact.

Figure 5.3: Photograph of Llacsatambo's plaza taken from the rock outcrop on the plaza's northern side. Notice Cinco Cerros/Pihcca Marca (just right of center). The photograph was taken as comuneros of the Comunidad Campesina Checa gathered for the ceremony preceding the opening faena day with PAHLA. (Photograph by author)

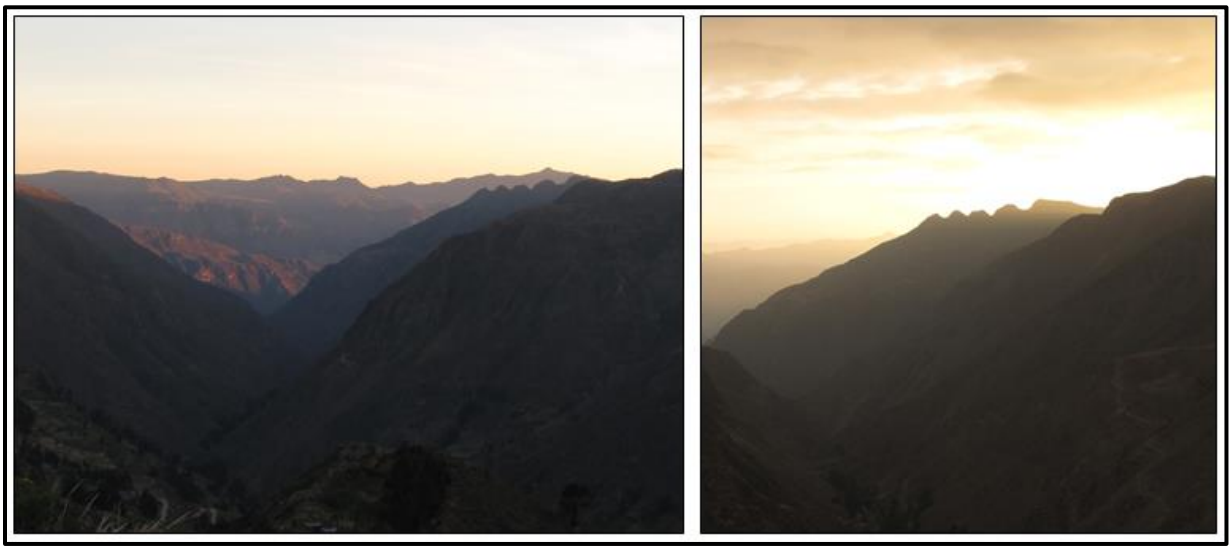

Figure 5.4: Two zoomed-in photographs of Cinco Cerros from Llacsatambo at sunset (note the red and yellow atmospheric coloring washing over the landscape from Cinco Cerros towards the Pacific, to the west). (Photographs by author)

In part, my proposal is no more complicated than what used to be explained by the term "fictive kinship," i.e., collective identities and pasts are constructed, fabricated (*sensu* Latour), or as I discuss in the dissertation, performed. This approach includes no requirement to dismiss biological relationships, only the recognition that to rely solely on biology as means to identify kinship or other social relations is to create a distorted picture of concrete, effective kin relationships in the real world. In fact, my archaeological research and application of the resulting data to the narratives and history of Huarochiri is analogous to researching biological relatedness among people that socially co-identify. From this vantage point, proclaiming that the archaeological data do not correspond to the Huarochiri narratives, or vice versa, is correct and necessary; proclaiming that the narratives are therefore ultimately false or mistaken is not. Rather, the production of the archaeological data–that is, information obtained and analyzed through systematic application of empirical scientific methods–establishes the steady perch necessary to launch into the realities of others' fictions.

My proposal is also more complicated than this in that it requires not just a commitment to semiotic relativism (again, not seriously controversial from Saussure to the present), but to reconstructing (which includes reimagining) the particular concepts, associations, and practices ingredient in the ongoing production of these historical semiotic (i.e., cultural) worlds. Nathan Brown (2008:328n3) gives what I think is an important caution for following the promising direction of Latour's theories of fabrication, materials, science and technology. Brown points out that Latour (1999) perpetuates a division he is trying to undo when he contrasts "things," which are active materials or complex material configurations ("like dolomite or Einstein's Patent Bureau electric coordination of clocks in Bern") to plain, sundry "objects" (like a "banal rock"). In a new

rendition of an old philosophical saw, Latour asserts that the former "cannot be thrown at you" the way mere "objects" like rocks can be. But "rocks" and their social, political, even ontological complexity are central matters of this dissertation because of the ways they were of great moment to Spaniards and indigenous of the fifteenth- to eighteenth-century Andes; the division in Latour's examples do not do justice to these phenomena.

Having said this, it really is Latour's examples that are problematic. His conceptual dichotomy (broadly construed) could be useful for understanding Huarochirí, when the criteria used to determine activity or sophisticated socio-material congeries are expansive and open enough to include the variety of cultural, social, and historical configurations, as they are in the very work cited (*Pandora's Hope*) and Latour's other works (e.g., 1993, 2005, 2013). For example, huacas in Huarochiri were rocks, but not all (or even just any) rocks were huacas, and the attempt to trace the socio-cultural and historical complexities that made this distinction constitutes valid anthropological inquiry.[3]

Regarding the archaeological evidence from the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis and the arguments I make with them, some summary is in order. There is no question that the area was occupied in some fashion prior to the Late Horizon. The radiocarbon dates from Llacsatambo and the Inka colcas show a clear division (at AD 1448) between the obviously Inka-influenced architecture (LTUE07, LTUE02, TIUE01) and structures of more typical regional style (LTUE05, LTUE06). The difference could be attributed to randomness both because of the small sample size (n=6) and because some of the excavation contexts consisted of construction fill (see Appendix B). At the same time, the presence of pottery with Inka-style decorations in some of the earliest

[3] I think that after all is said and done, Latour's project can be primarily viewed as a reinvigoration of important (though perhaps forgotten by some) aspects of traditional anthropological inquiry (even if Latour himself seems to have "forgotten" this between 2005 and 2013).

layers of occupation and even construction fill indicates Late Horizon remodeling if not wholesale construction (cf. Doutriaux 2004; Kosiba 2010; Wernke 2003, 2006). Future research will focus on determining a clearer construction and occupation sequence for Llacsatambo. The provisional conclusion is that Llacsatambo was greatly elaborated on and most intensely occupied during the Late Horizon, conforming to Inka practices of adopting extant local sites and making of them grander ceremonial centers for commensal ceremonies between the state and regional populations via local elites (Morris 1972). The "distributed site" concept I discuss above for Llacsatambo was in part the result of new alliances, networks, and demands of the state, and in part the result of the maintenance of the peoples' spatial practices prior to Inka "compulsory urbanism." For example, the concentration and dispersal of ancestral burial sites in *chullpas* and *machayes* indicate that collective identity was relational and embodied in people more than places of constant physical proximity, like towns which primarily qualify as places by virtue of concentrating residents. This is not to suggest that place was not important to indigenous Huarochiranos, because it was vital. It is just that places were or could be persons. The burial patterns suggest gathering and dispersal of people (living and ancestral) and places followed a cyclical temporality. Residence at the hilltop site of Llacsatambo, before and after the Inka advent, and immediately following the Spanish arrival was part-time for most, with ceremonial or other *mit'a* (labor turn) performances broken up by time among fields and pasturage zones (Appendix A).

Status differences are apparent at Late Horizon Llacsatambo. The so-called "Inka Sector" and the collapsed terraces immediately adjacent produced the highest counts of state "serving wares," pottery of the imperial Inka "pasta beige" and decorated in fine Inka-style. These were instruments of state sponsored ceremonies of commensalism (Bray 2003; cf. Druc 2013; Hayashida 2015), which were directed or presided over. Those responsible must have stayed in

this sector, whose well-built, relatively ornate structures also enclosed a greater average amount of interior space than those of the "Work Sector," for example. Higher status was moreover practiced in the greater consumption of hunted meat (deer), a part of the "luxury of variety" that may come from "elite control of trade networks," authority to compel specialists or at least special efforts to obtain food, or "gifts or offerings." Its unequal distribution at Llacsatambo demonstrates the establishment of luxury in the performance of status difference (deFrance 2014:63), as does the evidence that deer was just eaten in the higher status sector, while in the lower status sector the presence of deer remains was also due to labor that both made tools of the bones, and likely then put the bones to work further processing hides.

Particularly important and difficult are the ways the archaeological and textual data sometimes do and sometimes do not correlate. On one hand, the most likely scenario emerging from the archaeological data matches the Huarochiri manuscript's narratives fairly well. Checa presence in the Llacsatambo area is concentrated by Inka involvement that consolidates huaca ceremonial devotion (e.g., the Inka commissioning of 30 retainers for the cult of Pariacaca and his sons [Salomon and Urioste 1991:100], or Inka brokerage of the huaca-centered alliance between Pachacamac and Pariacaca discussed above), the construction and provisioning of the *colcas,* intensification of craft production at Llacsatambo, and the performance of commensal ceremonies between the Checa and the Inka state. On the other hand, the archaeological data do not correspond to literalist historiographic readings of the Huarochirí narratives of conquests that drove out previous "Yunca" inhabitants. Of course, as I have argued, all of this involved the performance of a new past for the Checa, one which *made* their llacta (in the sense I have adopted from Salomon), that is, the union in the past and present of the Checa, Llacsatambo, Tutayquiri. And this did not

exist without the invasion and conquest of Yuncas, bringing us back to the *apparent* discrepancies between a fabricated past and contradictory archaeological data.

The archaeological data recovered thus far do not support the chronology or causal/representational "order" of Huarochiri's canonical prehistory. But they *do* make sense when viewed from the vantage point of a different, performative historicity. That is, if among the prehispanic and early colonial Checa the accepted, "emically-functional" (Swenson 2004) relationship between the present and the past was one in which any desired present was intimately dependent on a vital, active, ongoing past and vice-versa, then interaction with the past would be dialogical and emergent, in the manner of a conversation. That is, if the archaeological evidence is correct, it is likely that the ancestors of the Huarochirí manuscript built the ceremonial center of Llacsatambo, rather than usurping it from pre-existing Yuncas in what we would call a historical event. And if this is so, why narrate the llacta's past in terms of a llacuaz invasion of huari settlements? I am suggesting that this owes to the fact that the founders were not interested in nor attempting to "do history," but were instead performing a successful, fertile llacta, which, as we have seen, required the competitive, complementary pairing of residents who could draw on chthonic, agricultural powers and residents who could bring the vital waters from above.

To be sure, this is not an argument for synchronic structure over diachronic history: Andean archaeology's Early, Middle, and Late Horizons "all involved the expansion of highland systems into lowland regions" (Quilter 2014:224; Carneiro 1970). More specifically, in contrast to PAHLA's findings to date, Tom Dillehay's archaeological research in the Chillón Valley confirmed the historical nature of highlands to coast invasions (1976, 1977). But these partake no less of huari-llacuaz organization for their chronological, event-based, historical reality. Among all of the highlands villages with population segments tracing ancestry to autochthonous or

invading ancestors (huari or llacuaz, respectively), the historical, compositional admixtures of performed and lived pasts is surely unimaginably variegated. Concerning the temporality and historicity of huaris and llacuaces, Yauyos and Yuncas, the claim to different origins could be the expression and form of eventful political ranking (e.g., invasion/conquest, diplomatic subjugation) *and*/*or* the expression of long-term modus vivendi (i.e., the competitive complementary of sedentary and semi-nomadic peoples, the productive opposition of earthy, fixed agricultural plots and the seasonal, forceful advent of water from above), as well as temporal routines/rhythms. Thus, comparable to the way "progress" or "decadence" have served as the conceptual underpinnings of Western historiography from Classical antiquity to the present, or the cyclical repetition of the rise and fall of dynasties informs certain Chinese historiography (Chang 1981; Platt 2012), in these periods and areas of the Andes, past and present were accounted for by an ever-cycling asymmetrical dualism. However, this was not limited only to "representations" of the past, but also extended to "presentations" of the present and past as well. In the final analysis, then, "Andean history" (i.e., encompassing Trouillot's "historicity 1" and "historicity 2" both) consisted inexorably of asymmetrically dualistic socio-political arrangements; in the context of the expansive Inka state, this arrangement took on the additional dimensions of a historical segmentary ideology in which these dual asymmetries were further hierarchically nested.

The precise degree to which lived historical situations influenced the structure of the performative past and vice-versa for any given highlands village will be difficult to know with certainty. However, as the data from Llacsatambo in Huarochirí seem to illustrate, archaeology can greatly aid in separating out the elements and processes whose concretion is the content of

colonial historical documents. Techniques like stable isotope analysis can provide data from which to make more sure inferences about populations' geographic origins and migrations.[4]

Despite archaeology's potential to provide more precise chronological resolution to canonical history, precise historical certitude may be a social scientific fetish whose demands we cannot meet. This becomes apparent given the nature of performative historicity, kinship and identity, and political allegiance–especially in times pregnant with the potential for rapid and momentous change such as Inka expansion and Spanish invasion. Still, archaeological research is precisely suited to help determine whether particular known cases of late prehispanic Andean tracing of ancestry to ancient or recent dwellers or invaders reinforced or precipitated specific historical-political conjunctures. We may also be able at least to gather the data necessary to address the possibility of real, long-term filiation between populations with different geographical origins. But once again, at its broadest, the goal in carrying out such analyses will be to obtain specific bio-chemical data in order to relativize the importance of biological and geographic proximity in the creation and maintenance of relatedness or social identity for peoples from the Andean past. That is, just as I have argued that obtaining absolute and relative chronological data (via radiocarbon dates and site stratigraphy) from the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis in order to gain perspective on the different past making practices of the people of Huarochirí, stable isotope analyses should be combined with the available archaeological and ethnohistorical data in order to consider the different ways kinship and other social filiation were made in Huarochirí's past.

[4] A field study and museum collections search to gather skeletal data from Huarochirí for stable isotope analysis is currently being arranged between PAHLA and colleagues from Vanderbilt University and Harvard University/Peabody Museum.

Indian is the new gentile (but gentile was the new Yunca, and peasant is the new Yauyo)

Before discussing my theses on performativity, past making, asymmetrical dualism, and their temporal implications in comparative fashion I want to put these theses into a final conversation with another anthropological study of Huarochirí, namely that of Frank Salomon's exposition and interpretation of the folk-historical "Act of the Dead" mentioned in the previous chapter. Recall that current Llacsatambo resident Benigno Rojas explained that the ropes present in the heavily looted tombs above his terraces had been used to restrain those who were less than willing to be entombed; I recognized the scenario Benigno was laying out as a version of the "*auto de los muertos*" (the "Act of the Dead"). As Salomon (2002:483) writes, "The regionally consensual notion of general history" which underlies this tradition "is the belief that rock shelters and chaucallas full of human bones are the result of mass 'Indian' suicide." These human remains are known as "gentiles," a temporally and developmentally tinged classification that obviously traces back to the evangelizing aspect of Spanish colonialism (i.e., as the Hebrew word for those not of the covenant House of Israel had been adapted by early Christians as a classification for those not baptized into the new covenant of Jesus Christ, so in the processes of Colonial evangelization did gentile come to designate pre-Colonial Indians. In Huarochirí and elsewhere, "*los gentiles*" are those who inhabited the area in *the* previous time–a categorical status and designation. Though commonly identified as "pre-Hispanic" or "the pre-Columbian dead" (Salomon 2002:478, 480), their obviously Spanish Catholic designation represents one of the many temporal and social ambiguities that infuse modern-day interaction with these dead. Gentile would have referred originally to their pre-Christian status, but as Salomon points out, their era–at least its nadir–is squarely situated in the Colonial period, up to the late seventeenth century for the

residents of the historical Checa pueblo of Tupicocha.[5] While they lived in their time, they also "live" in our time: they infuse the land as its "'first and original owners' . . . and all others use the land on their sufferance," but are also a constant potential threat to the living. They are ancestors, grandparents more specifically, "[y]et nobody claims them as *personal* ancestors" and they are not "referred to as '*our* grandparents'" (Salomon 2002:479-480; emphasis in original).[6]

In discussing how Tupicochans' deal with these apparent contradictions, Salomon dismisses the explanatory relevance of "the common Andean mythologies of *pachakuti*, cataclysms that leave prior worlds submerged beneath the surface of this one," indicating that "this common notion of rupture plays little if any part. The word is known, if at all, only from schoolbooks or journalistic accounts of Inkas" (Salomon 2002:481; italics in original). From this point of departure, Salomon presents the "ideas of autochthony" among Huarochiranos, which they locate historically in the transition from Colonial to republican rule. The peoples encountered and colonized by the Spanish were "*Indios*"–a category tinted by secular ideologies of social evolution and development analogous to the religious notions of Indian benightedness which Spaniards expressed by labeling them "*gentiles*." Salomon reconstructs the formulation of the Act of the Dead as the creative solution to a double bind that constrained rural Peruvian peasant communities during the dictatorial presidency of Augusto Leguía (1919-1930): The communities were given the possibility of gaining legal rights to their lands, but the conditions required evidence of collective historical heritage that violated the communities' foundational identity (and sense of

[5] Elsewhere I treat the idea of the gentile designation as a reference to idolatry and Christian conversion (Chase 2016b).

[6] My experience working with the Checa Peasant Community in San Damián and at Llacsatambo corresponds exactly to Salomon's, described here for Tupicocha. In the ceremonial speeches that marked the beginning of the Community's faenas to clear Llacsatambo of its vegetation, the site and its ancient inhabitants were referred to generically ("*the* ancestors"). Significantly, however, when I used the same phrase during my apportioned moment for speech, it elicited some snickers from comuneros.

dignity), namely, they must show that they descended from Indios, and were thus Indios themselves. The Act of the Dead established the communities' legitimate historical claim to the land while simultaneously allowing them to avoid the severely negative stigma of irredeemable backwardness.

Salomon's exposition has been a guide throughout my research in Huarochirí, the results of which lead me to propose an added historical dimension to his thesis. Of the denial of traditional notions of autochthony via the Act of the Dead narrative Salomon (2002:494-495) writes: "This least indigenist of mentalities, it appears, is the one that enabled communities to retain 'Andean' and even pre-Hispanic cultural structure (the federated-ayllu form of gevernance, closely isomorphic with pre-Hispanic or even pre-Inka patterns), which more purposefully ethnic collectivities have long since relinquished." The evidence and arguments I have presented in this dissertation raise the question of whether this "least indigen*ist*" narrative may have something most indigen*ous* about it. That is, in light of performative past making informed by and perpetuating asymmetrically dualistic socio-political identities in Huarochirí (i.e., autochthonous-invader/huari-llacuaz/Yunca-Yauyos), the Act of the Dead, as collected by Salomon and shared with me by Benigno Rojas amidst the tombs in Llacsatambo's shadow, begins to sound familiar. Without compromising its composition and mobilization in the twentieth-century, the Act of the Dead and Huarochirí manuscript narratives argue for the ascription of geo-political legitimacy as emerging from the relative and differential standing of the autochthonous and the current "llactayucuna" (cf. Hamann 2002); the temporal/hierarchical dimensions of each population are likewise isomorphic, and by this order the right of the present population is underwritten by the previous population (cf. Gose 1996).

Discussion

The historical sensibility I have presented for the late prehispanic and early colonial Andes, though proper to Andeans of this period in a cultural sense, is not irreducible, exotic beyond comparison with temporal sensibilities and historicities in other cultures and time periods. For example, Kojève's characterization of "Hegel's historical Time . . . as a movement that starts with the future and moves through the past into the present," (Fabian 2014 [1983]:200n20) is predicated on teleological primacy–something like an Aristotelean "final cause" being the already extant fact "driving" the transformational process of an object through causal stages which chronologically precede the finished, fully-formed object. "[W]hereas biological Time would be characterized by the primacy of the past," Kojève continues, "[i]t may be that the Time in which the Present takes primacy is cosmic or physical Time" (Fabian 2014 [1983]:200n20). Again, here "primacy" is *causal*, not chronological. This is not the same as *ahistorical*, but rather akin to the performative history Marshall Sahlins attributes to 18th-century Hawaiians (1985:xii-xiii). Kojève's general concept of "cosmic" time and Sahlins' specific exposition finds correspondence with what I characterize as the historicity of late prehispanic and early Spanish colonial Huarochiranos. Different expressions of comparable historical sensibilities and past making in the Andes have been illustrated in Gary Urton's (1990) seminal study of the early colonial construction of prehispanic Inka "reality," and more recently by Peter Gose (1996, 2008; see below), who made a convincing argument modelling the intersections of socio-political rankings, new historical events, cosmological principles, and even spatial arrangements in Inkaic Cuzco.

Anthropological research suggests that we ought probably to think about a plurality of pasts in the Andes. Indigenous Andeans surely experienced what I would call a mundane slippage of time from present to past, visible in aging and other entropic processes. This also appears in

Andean expression in a chronologically comparative (but cyclically tinged) way, e.g., last year's crops did not come in as well as this year's. A chronologically cumulative past is also detectable in the Inka's historical structures/structured history mentioned above (Gose 1996).

A different sort of Andean past, perhaps the one Salomon (1999:20) describes as a reality parallel to the present and accessible through special ritual means (Salomon 1998:11-12, 1999), was at work in more specifically marked, significance-rich activities and contexts, like those involving and invoking ancestors (which, of course, overlaps with the agricultural activities of the chronologically comparative and in the structured historicity mentioned above). As Salomon (1995:315, citing Meyer Fortes) reminds us in his article on the interactions between living ancestors and the merely living in Tawantinsuyu's capital and provinces, not all of one's dead relatives become ancestors. Or as Levi-Strauss wrote of our sense of the historical past: "History . . . does not account for the present, but it makes a selection between its elements, according only some of them the privilege of having a past" (Levi-Strauss 1966:231). The dynamic of ancestor making and the "selectivity" of history are akin to performative past making both in terms of processes of selection and recognition of present situation through established categories of legitimate pastness. This is the past I am addressing in writing of the performative historicity of late prehispanic and early colonial Huarochirí above.

Scholars of ancient and Spanish colonial Mesoamerica have long noted (and debated) the cyclical and linear conceptions of time and history as recorded in the region's pictorial and alphabetical documents (*inter alia* Boone 2000, 2007; Carrasco 1982; Clendinnen 1987; Farriss 1995; Hassig 2001; Krech 2006) A brief comparison with one recent theorization of social memory and "time leaps" in the expression of Mesoamerican temporal sensibilities (Megged 2010:26-34) will clarify the distinction between history and the historicity folded within and between

Huarochirí's pages and stratigraphy. Time leaps have to do with the structural homology between Mesoamerican historical narratives and cosmic time, specifically the repeating structure of cataclysm and the reestablishment of social, political, spatial, and anthropogenic order. Historically this was achieved through performance of primordial, foundational actions, the recollection and depiction of which were inflected by historical, on-the-ground specifics (Megged 2010:27-31). In these historical narratives, chronological sequence is seemingly disrupted at transitional moments by "leaps back" to representations of the gods' mythical, primordial deeds (those apposite to the historical crises at hand), followed by a return to the historical events (Megged 2010:29-30, figures 2 and 3).

As we have seen in the Andean historicity presented above, the sensibilities thus depicted (comparable to what I have elsewhere called "temporal collapse" [Chase 2015]), are only apparently disjunctive from within a monolithic concept of history. For example, on an AD 1382 inauguration depiction, Joyce Marcus comments that "[t]he scene refutes the notion that scribes were writing history, since at least three of the people shown . . . could not have been in attendance, [as] they lived 100 years or more before" the central figure; or again, on a Copán inauguration scene: "this . . . cannot be considered 'history' because it includes rulers whose reigns were separated by centuries" (in Megged 2010:31). These characterizations are fair enough if we are intent on restricting the definition of history to the dogmatic disciplinary, institutional practice solidified in Europe and the US from the nineteenth century to the present.[7] And, though to my view there is no question the documents in question are and were intended to be historical, these

[7] Of course, such a pure, secular history would not only ignore concepts and agents that do not fit within this specific framework, but which nonetheless are active forces in the lives of peoples and nations, but it is itself a culturally and historically dependent frame of reference (at the very least in regards to the values espoused and promoted in it).

are the distinctions that lead me to advance the concept of historicity to explain the Huarochirí data. (That is, in the Mesoamerican past making on display in these depictions, the presence of mythical beings does *not compromise*, but rather *constitutes* their legitimate historicity.)

Marcus' indication of historical discrepancies in these Mesoamerican documents (namely the impossibility of the interactive presence of beings whose lives could not have been coeval) brings to mind a well-known but underemphasized detail from Spanish histories of the Inka. One of the earliest of these histories is by Juan Diez de Betanzos, a Quechua-speaking Spaniard with affinal connections to Andean royalty. Chapters 6-8 of Betanzos' *Suma y narración de los Incas* (2010 [1557]) deal with the pivotal events by which the Inkas won primacy over competing polities to become *the* imperial power of Cuzco and then the Central Andes, namely confronting and defeating in battle their chief rival the Chancas, led by their lord Uscovilca.

As written by Betanzos (1996 [1557]:19-30), Uscovilca "ruled," "found out," "decided," "consulted," "ordered;" Uscovilca "gave" a unit of soldiers to the two captains he "himself sent" towards Antisuyo because he "wanted" to take on Cuzco himself. The reigning Inka desired "to negotiate with" the bellicose Uscovilca, but in the end retreated while his son Inka Yupanqui continued to marshal fighting men when he saw "Uscovilca was coming."[8] Ultimately, Uscovilca was captured during the battle and killed. "And when his people saw him dead and also the great number of their own slaughtered," they fled (Betanzos 2010 [1557]:74-75).[9]

[8] Here I combine my own translation with those of Hamilton and Buchanan (in Betanzos 1996 [1557]:19-30). The corresponding Spanish words and phrases are (Betanzos 2010 [1557]:65-74): "era señor," "tuviese noticia," "paraciéndole que era bien ver," "entró en consulta," "mandó/les fue mandado por Uscovilca," "les diese," "envió ansimismo," "quería," "con él capitular," "viniese," "venía."

[9] "[E] como los suyos le viesen muerto y viesen la gran matanza que en ellos se hacían . . . huyeron" (Betanzos 2010 [1557]:74-75).

Fifteen years after Betanzos' history, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa completed his commission to gather the official history of the Inkas as part of the reorganizing and bureaucratic efforts of the Viceroy Toledo (Sarmiento 2001 [1572]; 2007 [1572]). Sarmiento interviewed Cuzco Inkas and kurakas in Jauja and Huamanga, and his manuscript was approved by dozens of Inka kin. Uscovilca is first mentioned in chapter 26 of Sarmiento's *Historia de los Incas*. He and his younger brother, "thieves and cruel tyrants" both, are named as the founders of the Chanca upper and lower moieties. Immediately following, Sarmiento explains that the brothers had died long before the fabled confrontation with the Inkas. Thereafter the Chancas carried Uscovilca's statue into battles and this was why the Chancas' feats were always attributed to Uscovilca. (Sarmiento 2001 [1572]:84-85). The same metonymic dynamic can be seen in the slippages in the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives about the conquests of Tutayquiri and the Checa.

Brian Bauer and colleagues (2013:28, 58-59; see also Bauer and Smit 2015) reconcile the discrepancy by treating Uscovilca as a mythical ancestor and a metonym of the Chanca–a logical and useful interpretive move which aligns the narrative with modern historical sensibilities. However, my tedious list of verbs communicating Uscovilca's intentions and actions militates against dismissal of Betanzos' Uscovilca as historiographic oversight or shorthand and points instead to the need to take the different historical sensibility and past making expressed and practiced by Betanzos' Inka informants seriously (see Eeckhout and Owens 2015).

Death and the dead here are excellent ways to think about different temporal registers and different cultures of past making. We live a tradition with the temporal assumptions that whatever else death may be, it is a universal and inevitable consequence of time passing (or living beings passing through time); it is by this same virtue a marker of the passage of time (for us). But as Gose (1996) observed of the Inka, death was also fundamentally about (relative) socio-political

rank, vocation, even spatial/geographic organization (cf. Salomon 1998 on huacas). In Huarochirí and neighboring areas, death was something more than a characteristic of the passage of time. It could be an achievement, and not just one of individual accomplishment, but one so charged with bounty and potency as to be beneficial to whole social collectivities.

This evokes a play on Faulkner's oft-cited declaration "The past is never dead. It's not even past." In late prehispanic and early Spanish colonial Andean past making (at least among the Inka and in Huarochiri), a certain kind of past was *only* past because it was dead. But being dead and past did not mean the cessation of existence.

Once Again, Cuni Raya and Caui Llaca

Let us now revisit the narrative of Cuni Raya and Caui Llaca from the dissertation's Introduction (Figure 5.5). As discussed, the myth's appearance in the manuscript's second chapter is significant, as the chapters were organized to approximate the structure of the Hebrew Bible: accounts relating the most ancient, foundational acts of creation and ordering of the world (i.e., those presumably of greatest antiquity and thus most identified with the Book of Genesis) were placed at the manuscript's beginning (Salomon 1991; Arguedas and Duviols 1966:206-208). Recall the sequential structure that helped us to place and interpret the myth geographically. Does the form of this sequential structure mean that we are to take the Lurín Valley as having "occurred" or formed first, only then to be followed and filled by the Lurín River? We know geologically that this is not how valleys and rivers work. Their formation and course over time is the product of their ongoing, mutual influence: river water goes where the land offers least resistance (an interesting contrast to the antagonism within the Huarochirí myths), eroding valley channels that further guide the water in the same process. In like manner Caui Llaca and Cuni Raya intimately and perpetually intertwine in myth, in the past and in the present. These geological facts also

prompt us to think of the seasonal, cyclical occurrence of the mythical "event," at once primordial and annually present, which is perhaps to say eternal. What the data from Huarochirí seem to indicate about the chronology of many of the fundaments of this late prehispanic and early Colonial society, is that Avila and subsequent archaeologists and ethnohistorians erroneously conflated *narrative* sequences with *chronologically historical* sequences.

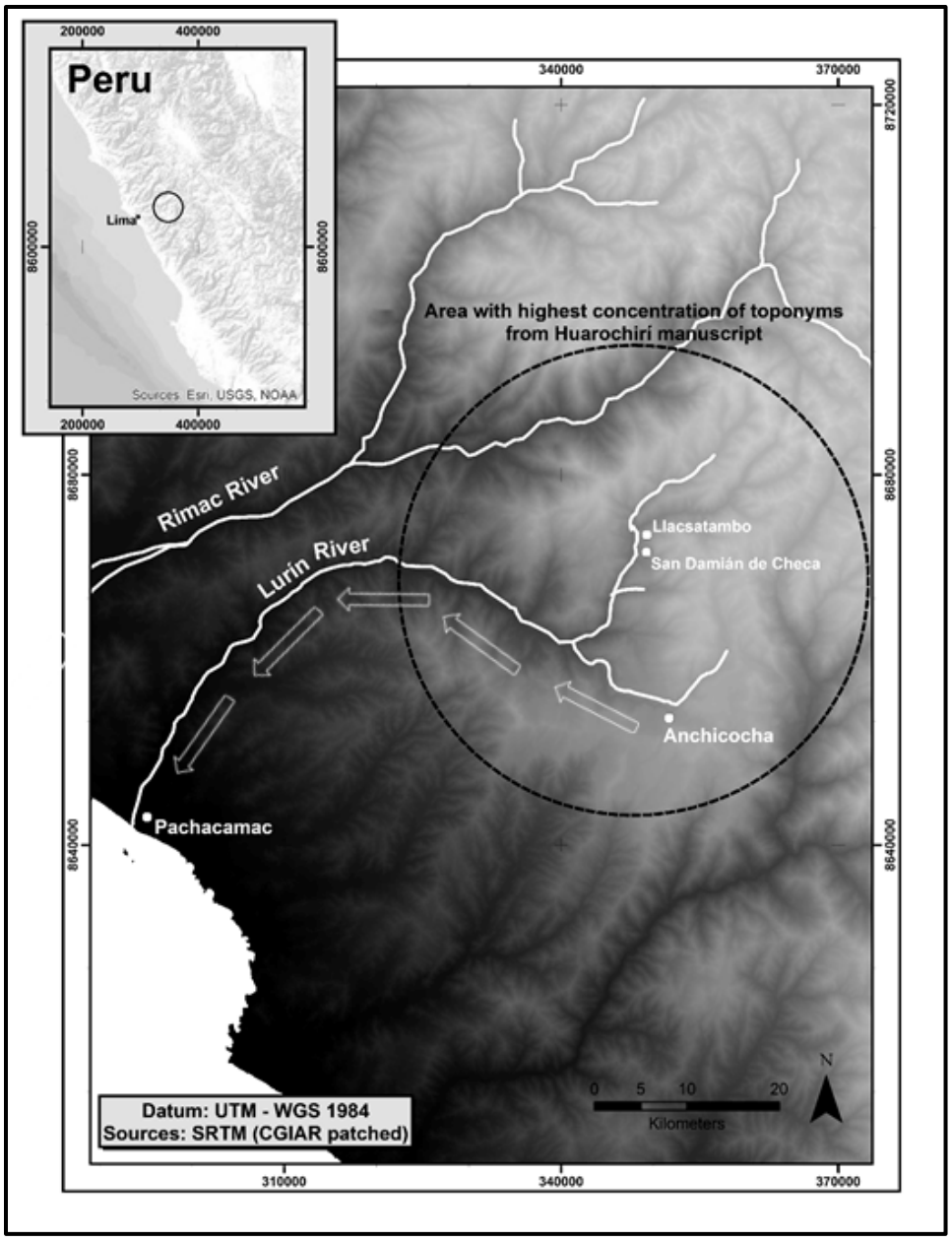

Figure 5.5: Geo-mythology of Cuni Raya and Caui Llaca: sequential but not chronological (Map by author)

As I have argued, the two types of sequence are not synonymous (cf. Megill's assertion in Chapter 1), which leads to three further, related points. First, while hierarchy is one of the operative principles in this and other Huarochiri narratives, it is not hierarchy as a permanently fixed status inhering in specific people or groups in perpetuity, and *this* is why "hot" historical possibility obtained in Huarochirí. Unquestionably, power inequalities were implicated, but the superiority of hierarchical rank was only as good as its cyclability and complementarity. Llacsatambo's "conquering" llacuaz "invaders" became Yuncas (autochthonous huaris), through mechanisms presumably in place because either one was impotent without the other. Second, because of the nested, segmentary nature of late prehispanic and early Colonial socio-political arrangements, relative hierarchical rank could be mutable not only diachronically, but synchronically as well, which perhaps suggests that in reference to Andean social arrangements "asymmetry" (see Urton 2012) is preferable to hierarchy because the former allows for heterarchy of the sort to which I allude above (cf. Crumley 1995; Wernke 2003:176–197; 2006, 2007:156-157). Finally, the motivations referred to in the Caui Llaca/Cuni Raya narrative are the same as those in other Huarochiri myths of the descending invasions of highlands waters and huacas: desire to couple and wrath and the rejection of social acceptance. Strategic calculation for material benefit is displayed, but works through the leveraging of sexual desire.[10] Because of these expressions, I argue that the concepts of "foundations" or "origins" are indeed at the heart of the Huarochiri manuscript's narrative sequences, but as principles, not historical moments,[11] i.e., not the first in a

[10] The beautiful woman Chuqui Suso got Pariacaca to provide water to her dying crops through the promise of sex, but then deferred to elicit further reciprocal aid from the apical huaca (Salomon and Urioste 1991:62-63). After falling in love with the huaca Collquiri, the woman Capyama slept with him. As bride price the former supplied a great deal–so much it threatened destruction, the other, menacing aspect of "invading" waters (Salomon and Urioste 1991:139-141).

[11] Though also integral to my arguments is that many chronologically historical events and processes were informed by these principles.

chronological string of unique moments occurring at an inevitable, set pace through causal but unrepeatable series; not origin as a historical Big Bang that set off a chain of unique, causally connected but non-recoupable events.

Trouillot's analytic of the production of the past is quite appropriate for the Andes. From the robust anthropology of history in Andean scholarship cited above, let us conclude by revisiting just a handful of works. Decades ago, Frank Salomon (1982:11) informed us that "[f]or Andeans, the sources of diachronic knowledge were completely different [from those of Spanish historicity,] and had never been organized on the principles of absolute chronology, cause-and-effect, or eschatology." Instead "the useful past was embodied" in a variety of multi-dimensional media. At nearly the same time, Gary Urton (1984, 1988) showed how history and social structure were codified and communicated in geographical boundaries, or in the sections of a twentieth-century adobe wall in Pacariqtambo. Thomas Abercrombie (1998) and Peter Gose (1996, 2008), working primarily (but not exclusively) with texts, elucidate the co-constitution of past and present in a plurality of practices and materials that attend Andean past making.

To this three- (four-, five-?) dimensional past making, this chapter adds archaeologically recovered materials. For Huarochirí, these data provide an additional temporal dimension to the text-based canonical prehistory, and combine with the Huarochirí manuscript narratives to produce a more detailed vision of the performance of the past. What emerges supports but through counter-position expands upon Gose's (2008) recent exposition of the mechanism that underwrote productive coexistence in the Central Peruvian highlands (of which huari-llacuaz and the reception of Spaniards as Viracochas were expressions), which he terms "invaders as ancestors." In light of the empirical data from the archaeological research, the picture in the Huarochirí manuscript's narratives given by the Checa of their forbears at Llacsatambo is one of "ancestors as invaders,"

an inversion that couples appropriately with the former thesis to produce conceptual and historical complementarity.

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APPENDIX A

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto, Full-coverage pedestrian survey

As discussed in the body of the dissertation, the primary goal of PAHLA's pedestrian survey was to provide a systematically collected inventory of archaeological sites in the area immediately surrounding Llacsatambo (the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis). Though complete, contiguous coverage was the ideal that we always sought to approximate, it is not assumed that PAHLA's site inventory is complete. Site visibility and documentation was affected by the steep terrain, ground vegetation, and number and experience of surveyors.

Each day of survey began with two to six surveyors. On days with six or more surveyors, I made three groups of at least two each, both to expedite site documentation and to pair less experienced students with more experienced archaeologists. Surveyors' transects were separated by 15 to 90 meters (depending on the severity of the ground slope–often this involved being separated by vertical cliffs). On average, the width of the transects was just over 50 meters across the whole survey area. Each surveyor (or team) was equipped with a hand-help GPS device, a two-way radio, a scale bar, a digital camera, measuring tapes, pin flags, plastic bags for surface collections, and a clipboard with site registration forms, including a grid for sketching site plans (for examples of these and all PAHLA standardized field forms, see Chase et al. 2011). Surveyors would coordinate via radio and walk in the same direction (guided by the GPS units' electronic compasses). If terrain was not too steep, surveyors walked in the "middle" of their transect, meaning they were responsible for scanning equal swatches of ground on either side; in cases of very steep terrain, surveyors were oriented towards their uphill side. When a site was found, the surveyor radioed me to describe the site and (if it was determined documentable) to receive a unique site number. If the site was "complex," defined as consisting of architecture together with

other artifacts, or architecture that was expansive or complex, the surveyor from the nearest transect marked their stopping point with a pin flag, turned off their GPS tracking function, and assisted in documenting the found site, including surface collection where necessary. Site delineation followed standard procedure of pacing the extent of the site until architectural or artifact density receded. Site coordinates (northing and easting in UTM-WGS 1984) were registered as the mean of 20 GPS readings at the site's center (Conolly and Lake 2006: 63-64). Upon delineation of a site, surface collection of all artifacts was be carried out at sites smaller than 100 meters squared. At large sites (i.e., those we mapped with a total station and or excavated), I determined an appropriate strategy either for full-coverage collection (as attempted at Llacsatambo) or appropriate sampling of diagnostic materials (as at Cerro San Cristobal).

The former consisted of the whole crew walking five meter transects each morning in a sector I had designated. Pin flags were placed everywhere a surface artifact was located (or at the middle point of a cluster of 5 or more artifacts). Then, while mapping and excavations were carried out for the remainder of the day, one to two students collected the flagged artifacts, recorded them in field notebooks (by material and applicable sub-classifications), and (with a stadia rod) recorded the number of the point shot by the operator of the total station (via radio). With two stadia rods we were able to map Llacsatambo's architecture and also assemble a series of thousands of points which correspond to documented and collected surface artifacts. Those data are still in need of thorough processing–a task I will undertake earnestly in the near future.

In the case of Cerro San Cristobal the collection strategy consisted of walking five meter transects across the entire hilltop portion of the site collecting of every ceramic fragment of a diagnostic nature (i.e., rims, handles, bases, or decorated sherds), at least one of any paste type, temper, surface treatment, thickness, and/or fired color encountered (as judged by the surveyor

and myself in the field). All bags were labelled according to transect, type of material, date, and collector; in the evenings and on weekends counts were checked during artifact washing and a paper label duplicating the information on each bag's exterior was placed inside the bag.

After fully documenting the site (filling the form, providing descriptions, measurements, counts, a site plan map and photographs [including the orientation of the photograph in cardinal directions], and labelled and secured bags of collected artifacts), the assisting surveyor returned to his/her transect and both surveyors continued from the points they had left off (with GPS tracking turned back on). I kept a master list of documented sites, updated in real-time and consisting of a table of site numbers, brief descriptions, and initials of the surveyors responsible. At the end of each day I collected survey forms from all surveyors.

As mentioned, because of the occupied state of the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis, I decided that we currently lacked criteria for determining the antiquity of agricultural terraces (which virtually cover the entire survey area) and canals. Though artifact scatters were frequently considered, there were no cases in which it was determined that they were not eroded from a larger site, thus all sites documented here have architectural components.

The following tables (A.1, A.2, A.3) group the documented sites by type, provide basic spatial data and the counts and weights of each category of artifact collected from those sites with surface artifacts. Following these tables are a series of maps (Figures A.1, A.2, A.3) marking the location of the sites documented; Figures A1.1 and A1.2 are maps of the northern and southern halves of the PAHLA survey area "zoomed in" to show the site distribution with greater clarity. Figure A1.3 is a map of the entire PAHLA survey area with sites color-coded by their type. PAHLA covered an area of 12 square kilometers comprising the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis.

Table A.1: Documented archaeological site types, PAHLA survey

Site type	Quantity	Site names/numbers*	Comments
Major habitations or settlements	3	P36 (Llacsatambo), San Damián, Conchasica	
Durable circulation constructions	4	P01 (Inka road), P45, P46, P49	
Storage structures (stand-alone)	3	P09, P24, P27 (Inka *colcas*)	
Minor habitations	13	P06, P10, P11, P12, P17, P18, P19, P23, P23b, P25, P33, P34, P50	See Chapter 4 n5
Field shelters/corrals	6	P21, P22, P28, P29, P31, P32	
Tombs/burial caves	14 (-20)	P07, P16, P30, P37, P38, P39, P40, P41, P42, P43, P52, P53, P54, P55**	The numerical spread in this category owes to the seven "field shelters/corrals" of the preceding category. See sub-section on "*caullamas*" above.
Cerro San Cristobal	1	P26 (San Cristobal)	

*Gaps in site numbers are due to my retaining of the original numbers as contained in the technical report filed with the Peruvian Ministry of Culture. I do this because, while some of the registered sites are not relevant to the dissertation, the site numbers must be consistent for any comparison with the official technical report.

**Site P55 comprises an area occupied by a series of burial structures and extremely deteriorated terrace walls and architecture that was likely domestic. The site sits on a steep incline "facing" Llacsatambo's architectural center and is connected to it by Llacsatambo's low, tapering pampa. Because I suggest in the text that this site was likely considered part of Llacsatambo in times past, I do not list it as a possible new "Major habitation or settlement." At the same time, because the tombs structures are relatively well preserved and identifiable by associated human remains, I list the site within the "Tombs/burial caves" category.

PAHLA SITE CODES:

Type: Site type
- MAJ: Major habitations or settlements
- TRA: Durable circulation constructions (transport)
- STO: Storage Structures (stand-alone)
- MIN: Minor habitations
- FSC: Field shelters/corrals
- TBC: Tombs/burial caves
- CSC: Cerro San Cristobal

El_masl: Elevation, meters above sea level
East_X: Easting coordinate (UTM – WGS 1984 – 18S)
North_Y: Northing coordinate (UTM- UGS 1984 – 18S)
EA_ m²: Estimated site area in meters squared
SA: Surface artifacts, observed/collected
Ar_Cat: Categories of collected artifacts
- Y=collected
  - C: Ceramic
  - L: Lithic
  - S: Human skeletal material
  - F: Fauna
  - M: Metal
  - T: Textile
  - O: Other
    - (D): Documented/observed only

Table A.2: Site locations, size, and artifact content

Site #/name	Type	El_masl	East_X	North_Y	EA_m²	SA	Ar_Cat
P01	TRA	3650	348866	8671464	4230	--	--
P06	MIN	2945	347763	8673348	18	Y	C, F
P07	TBC	3125	347688	8674477	300	Y	C
P09	STO	3173	349303	8674590	437	Y	C
P10	MIN	3386	347893	8674640	35	--	--
P11	MIN	3386	348854	8671119	60	--	--
P12	MIN	3438	349104	8672003	8	--	--
P16	TBC	3522	349040	8673384	16	Y	S (D)
P17	MIN	3481	349239	8671582	300	Y	C
P18	MIN	3456	349208	8671818	16	--	--
P19	MIN	3526	349333	8672196	30	Y	C
P21	FSC	3637	349355	8672477	25	--	--
P22	FSC	3625	349326	8672469	25	--	--
P23	MIN	3398	348951	8671987	15	--	--
P23b	MIN	3394	348794	8671726	30	Y	L
P24	STO	3450	348964	8672224	10	--	--
P25	MIN	3389	348635	8672507	10	Y	C
P26	CSC	3425	348652	8671649	320000	Y	C, L, F
P27	STO	3572	349150	8673191	2250	--	--
P28	FSC	3605	349237	8673153	253	--	--
P29	FSC	3617	349330	8673333	459	--	--
P30	TBC	3583	349223	8673388	700	Y	C, S (D)
P31	FSC	3615	349280	8673194	270	Y	C
P32	FSC	3630	349371	8673366	120	--	--
P33	MIN	3618	349357	8673374	416	--	--
P34	MIN	3573	349222	8673392	300	--	--
P36	MAJ	3552	348753	8673674	125000	Y	C, L, S, F (D), M
P37	TBC	3518	349249	8674012	7	Y	C, S (D)
P38	TBC	3527	349317	8674113	20	Y	T (D), S (D)
P39	TBC	3538	349323	8674114	24	Y	T (D), S (D)
P40	TBC	3541	349340	8674138	1	Y	C, S (D)
P41	TBC	3562	349354	8674119	50	Y	S (D)
P42	TBC	3575	349290	8673938	1.5	Y	S (D)
P43	TBC	3582	349308	8673946	700	Y	C, T, S (D), O
P45	TRA	3270	348530	8671352	880	Y	C, L
P46	TRA	3314	348468	8671675	390	Y	C
P49	TRA	3446	349039	8672209	700	--	--
P50	MIN	2980	347965	8672510	20	Y	C

Table A.2 (continued): Site locations, size, and artifact content

Site #/name	Type	El_masl	East_X	North_Y	EA_m²	SA	Ar_Cat
P52	TBC	3524	349142	8673827	75	Y	T, S (D), M (D), O (D)
P53	TBC	3501	349141	8673815	32	Y	C, L, T, M, F, S (D)
P54	TBC	3587	349208	8671356	450	Y	C, S (D)
P55	TBC	3550	349142	8673711	22284	Y	C, L, M
San Damián	MAJ	3235	348486	8671139	334000	Y	C, L, M, F
Conchasica	MAJ	3678	349193	8668699	80000	Y	C (D), L (D), F (D), S (D)

Table A.3: PAHLA general survey surface collections

Site #/name	Type	EA_ m^2	Site/Architectural Features	Artifacts Collected number, weight (g)
P06	MIN	18	terraces; multi-chamber	C: n=1, w=11.40
P07	TBC	300	terraces; patio	C: n=9, w=60.82
P09	STO	437	squares; field stone	C: n=12, w=44.34
P17	MIN	300	niches; terraces	C: n=11, w=32.56
P19	MIN	30	rectangular; terraces	C: n=10, w=69.74
P23b	MIN	30	square; trap. niches	L: n=1, w=3.50
P25	MIN	10	ovoid	C: n=1, w=1.12
P26	CSC	320000	Stone/earth platforms; spiral pathway	C:n=1535, w=6736 L: n=17, w=2490 F: n=1, w=4.22
P30	TBC	700	ovoid w/structure	C: n=14, w=468.24
P31	FSC	270	rectangular w/structure	C: n=1, w=5.54
P36	MAJ	125000	dense LIP-LH architecture; field stone walls, patios, domestic or work structures, tombs	C: n=8664 , w=61924 L: n=16, w=1106 M: n=1, w=10
P37	TBC	7	overhang w/stone wall	C: n=13, w=57.80
P40	TBC	1	overhang w/stone wall	C: n=4, w=23.40
P43	TBC	700	multi-structure w/surrounding wall; recti- and curvilinear	C: n=8, w=185.96 T: rope (D) L: n=1; w=41.89 (w/red pigment)
P45	TRA	880	rustic field stone paving	C: n=15, w=100 L: path stones (D) M: n=1, w=9.24 F: n=2, w=2.92
P46	TRA	390	rustic field stone paving	C: n=2, w=29.16
P50	MIN	20	d-shaped w/niche	C: n=3, w=8.96
P52	TBC	75	cave w/stone wall	T: n=, w=23.00 M: coin (D), earring (D) O: glass bottle (D)
P53	TBC	32	large cave w/well-built stone entrance window	C: n=133, w=1100 L: n=1, w=96.94 (w/red pigment) T: n=3, w=21.00 M: coins (D) F: desiccated cuy (D)
P54	TBC	450	long, low tombs	C: n=7, w=45.06

Table A.3 (continued): PAHLA general survey surface collections

Site #/name	Type	EA_ m²	Site/Architectural Features	Artifacts Collected number, weight (g)
P55	TBC/ MAJ	22284	rectangular funerary structures in series	C: n=218, w=2400 L: n=1, w=300 M: n=1, w=66 (lead "spindle")
San Damián	MAJ	198000	Colonial reducción to present-day pueblo	C: n=1525, w=11489 L: n=5, w=142 M: n=10, w=1327 F: n=1, w=18.44

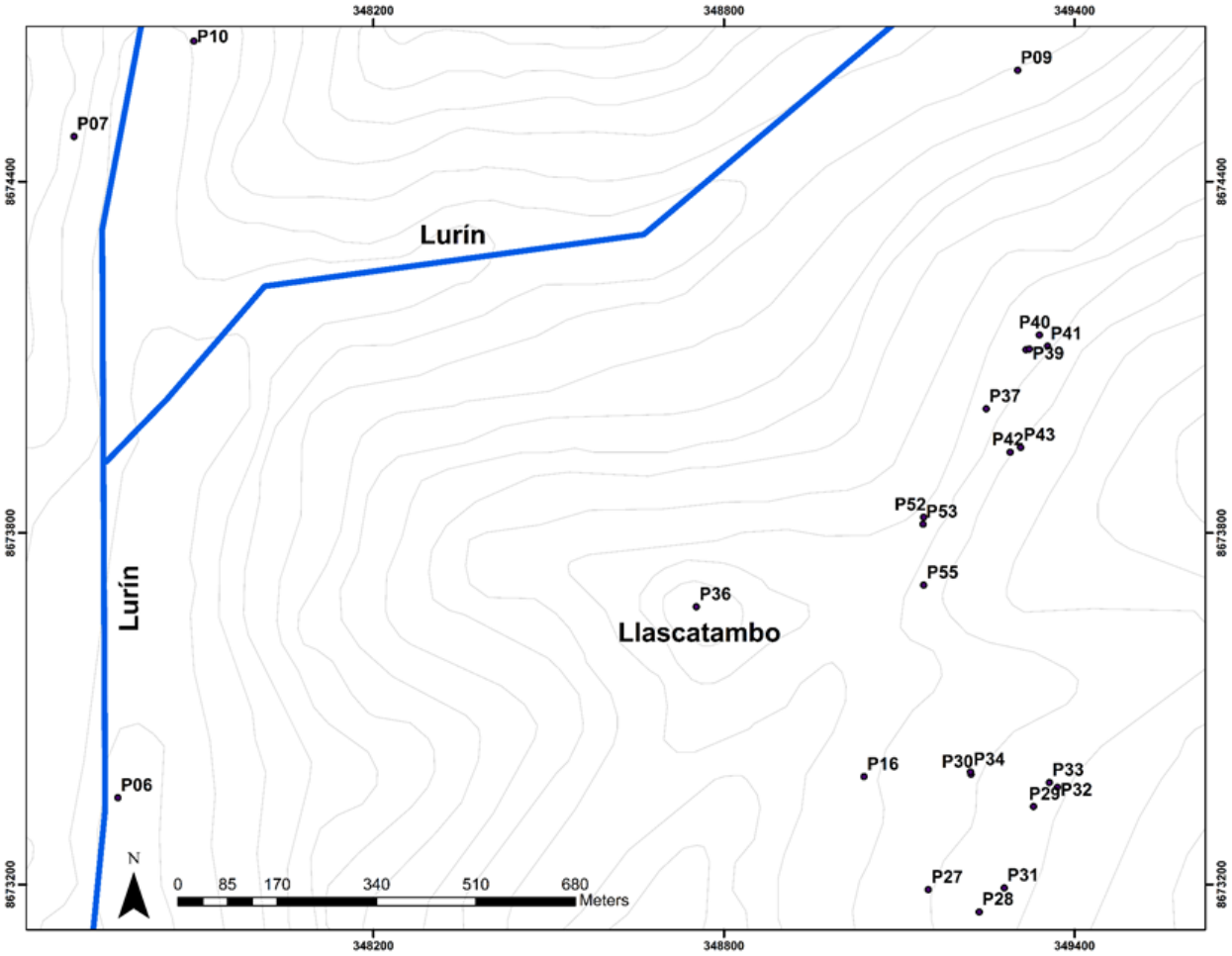


Figure A.1: Northern half of PAHLA full-coverage pedestrian survey of the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis, with documented sites. All terrain within the frame was observed via walked transects of between 15 and 90 meters width. (Map by author)

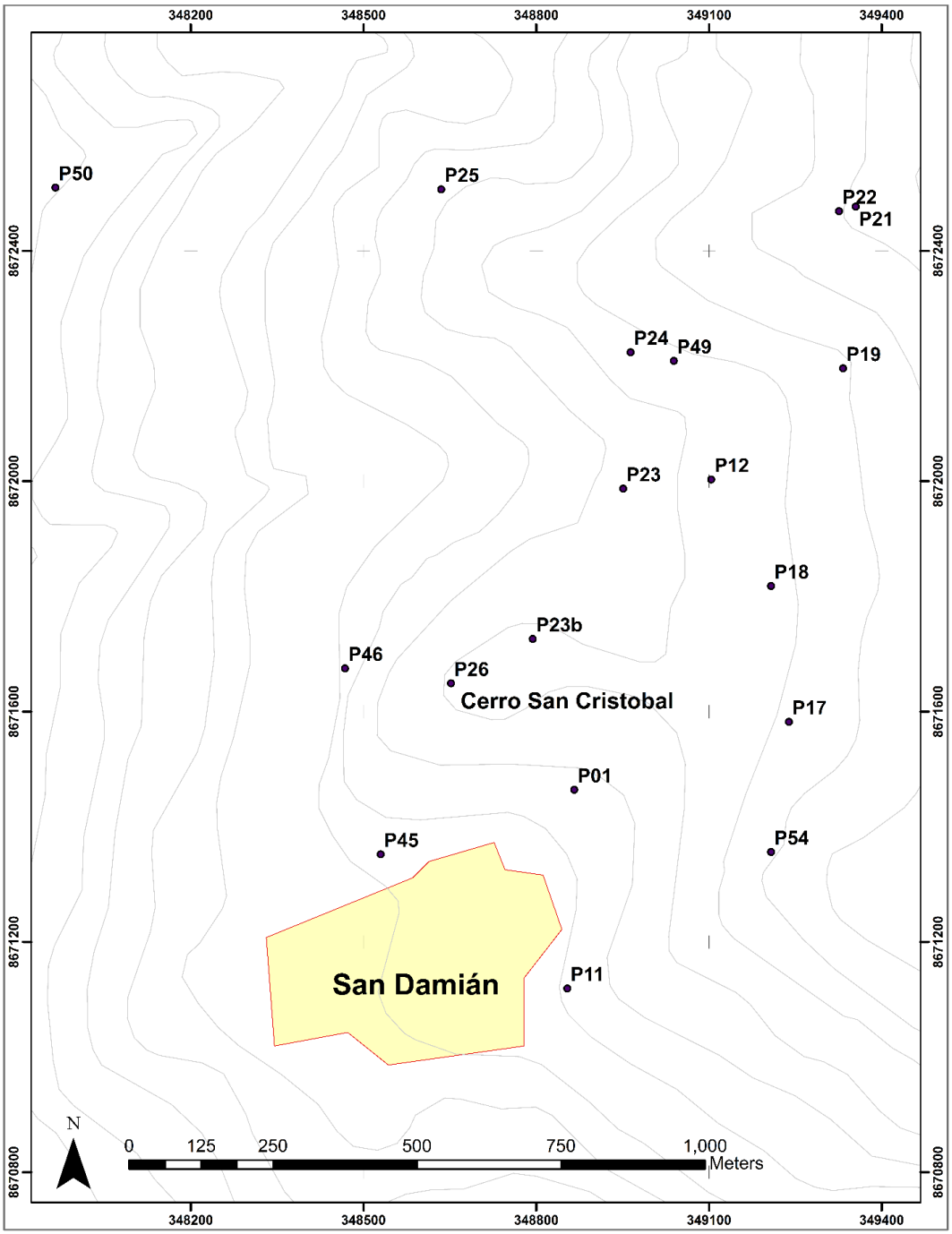


Figure A.2: Southern half of PAHLA full-coverage pedestrian survey of the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis, with documented sites. All terrain within the frame was observed via walked transects of between 15 and 90 meters width. (Map by author)

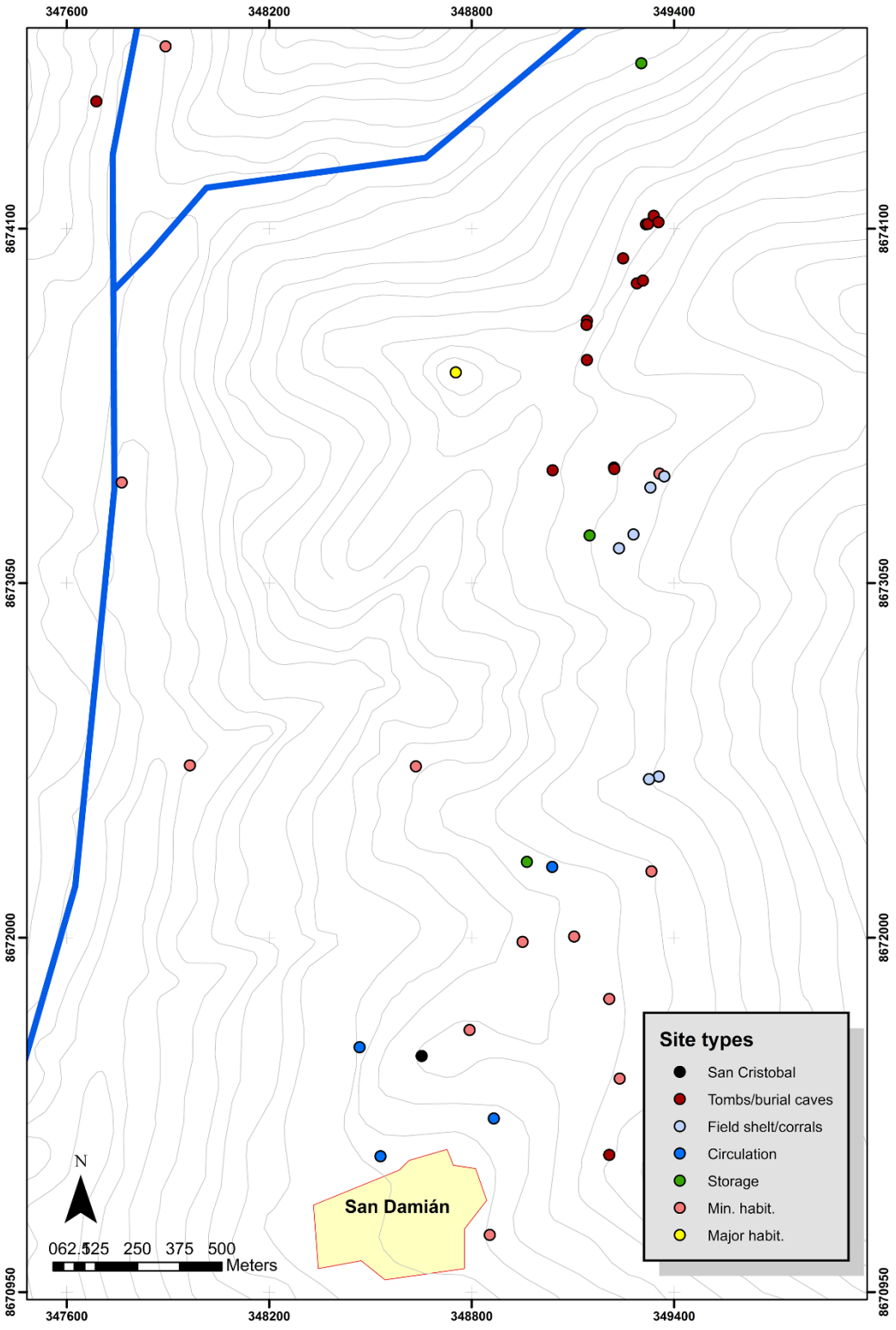


Figure A.3: All PAHLA sites by type. (Map by author)

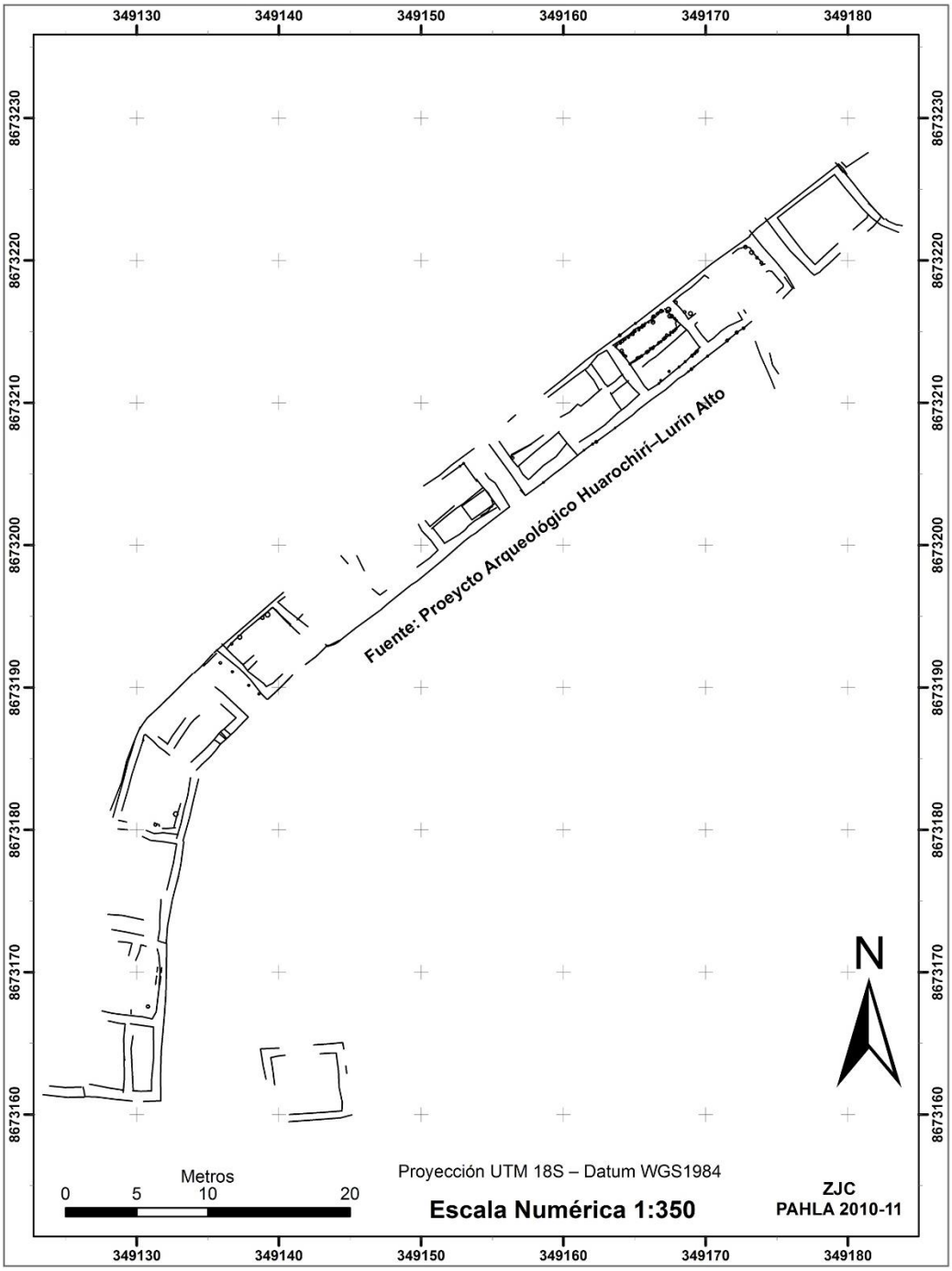


Figure A.4: Map of Inka colcas (P27). The interior space of these colcas is unusual in that it is divided into halves or even quarters. Two test units were excavated inside the colcas. The map of the Inka colcas was "tied" in to this main mapping datum grid, so it shares precision with the map of Llacsatambo. (Map by author)

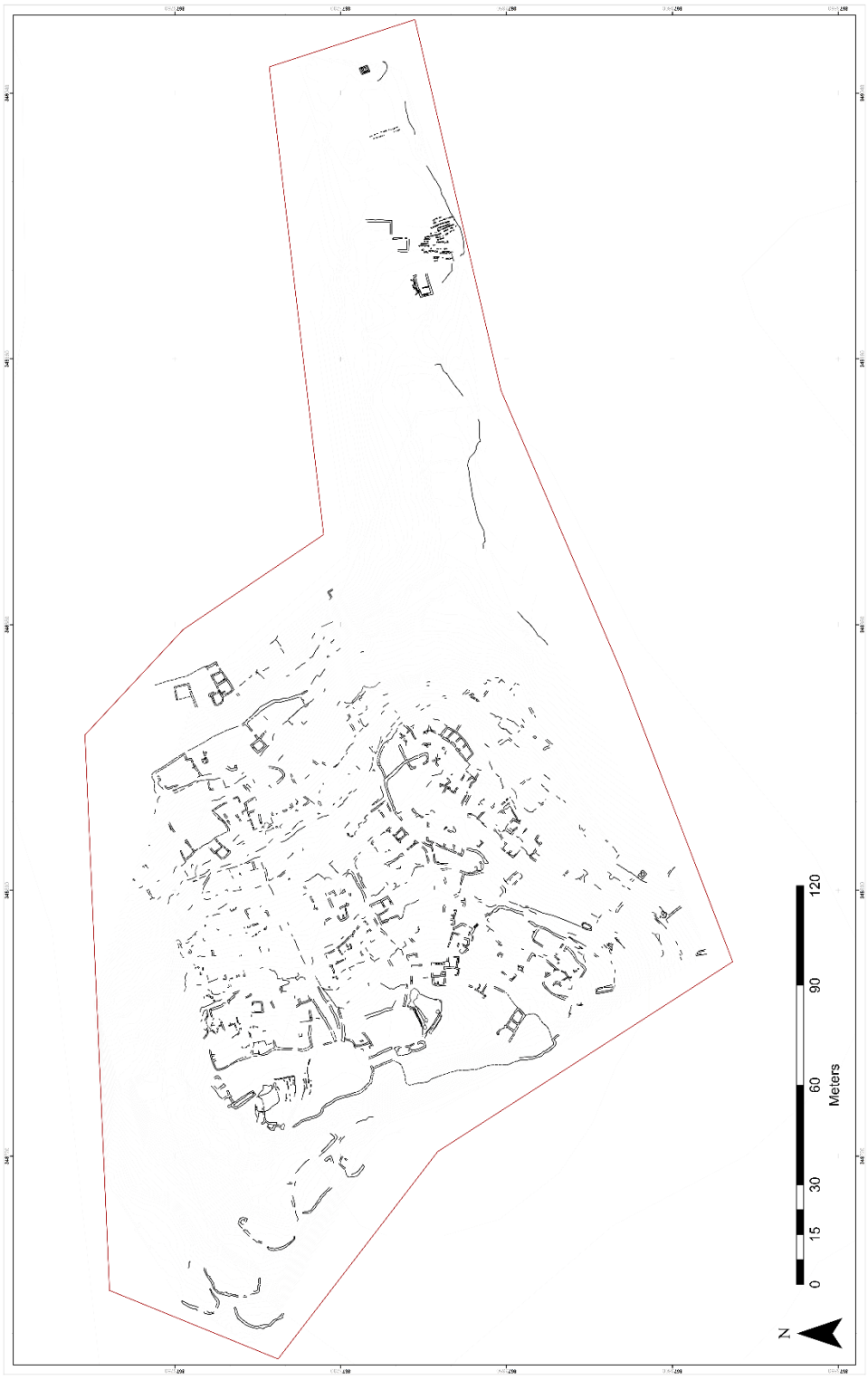


Figure A.5: Map of all of Llacsatambo (continued on following page).

Figure A.5 (continued from previous page): Map of Llacsatambo. Site mapping of Llacsatambo and the Inka colcas took place throughout the second half of 2010, with three trips to supplement the map made for a week at a time over the six months that followed. PAHLA's main mapping datum was established via the average of 1000 GPS readings. Without a differential GPS, this was only able to provide an accuracy (in terms of UTM-WGS 1984 coordinates) below 50 centimeters. However, once established, the Leica TCR 705 total station used to map the sites rendered points in three dimensions with sub-3 centimeter precision. These levels of accuracy and precision were deemed sufficient for a site the size of Llacsatambo. (Map by author)

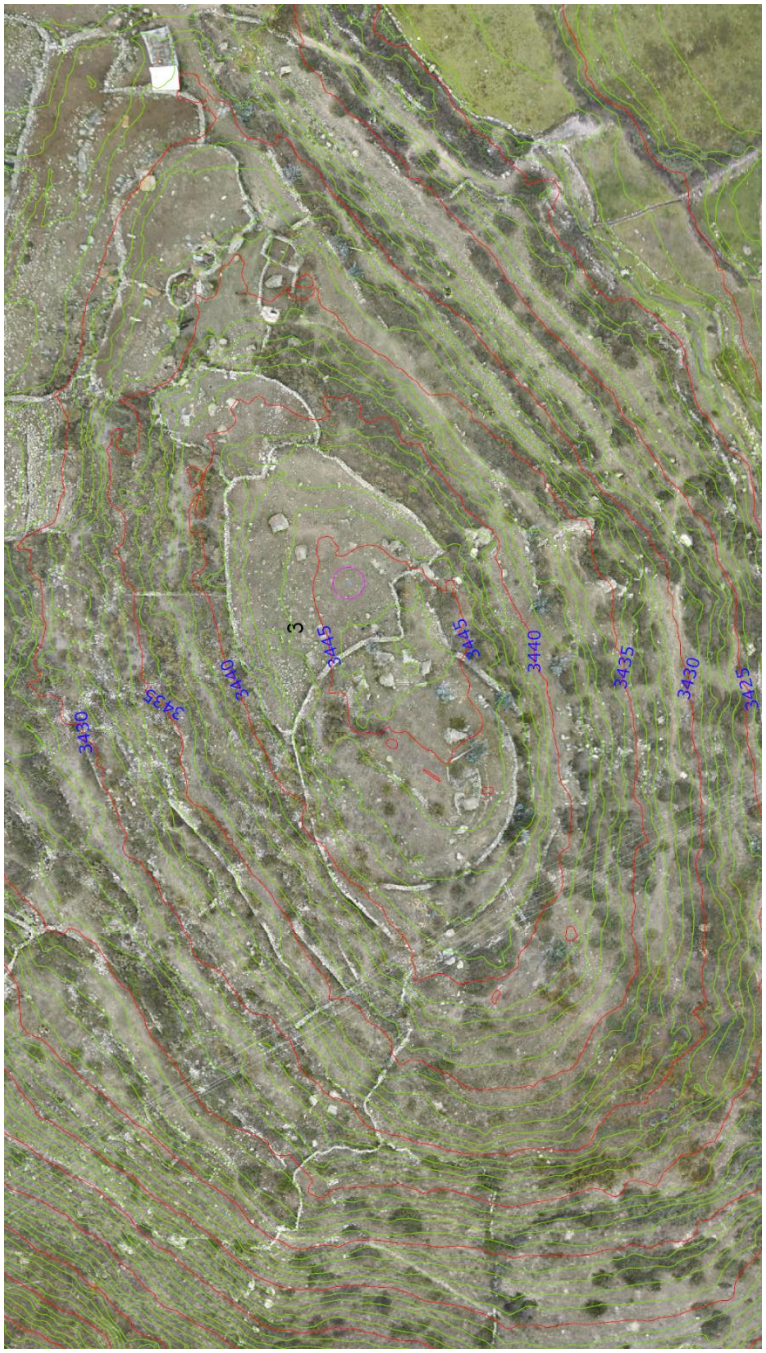


Figure A.6: Topographic photograph of Cerro San Cristobal. Green lines demarcated one meter, fuchsia lines mark five meter differences in altitude. The figure shows that the stone platform excavated by PAHLA lies at the hill's apex. In addition, the space between 3435 and 3440 masl illustrates the elliptical form of the pathway leading up to the platform. (Photography and photogrammetry by Erik Maquera for PAHLA)

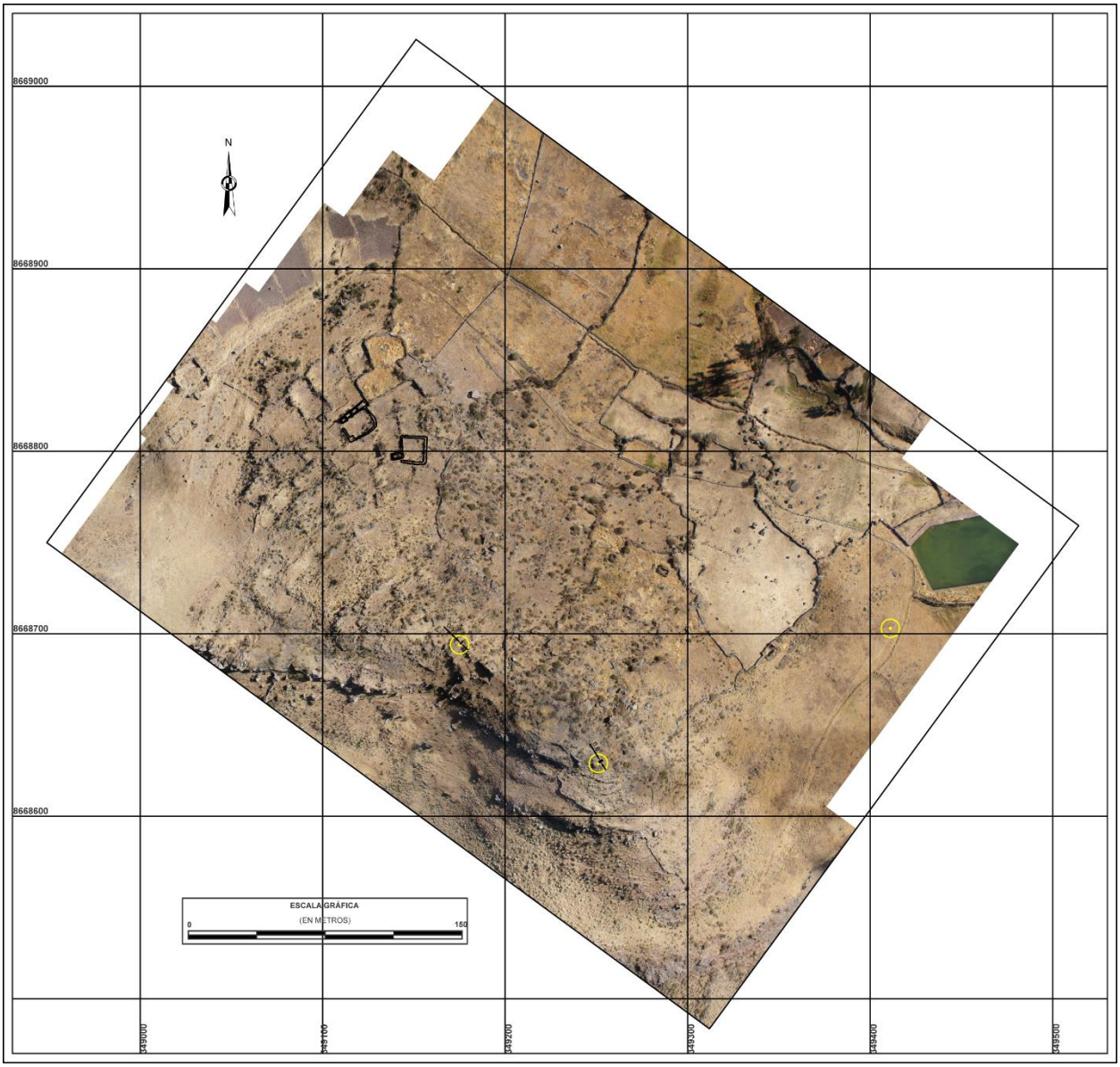


Figure A.7: Three-dimensional composition of Conchasica from georeferenced aerial photographs. Conchasica was the llacta of the Concha, the next most prominent group in the Huarochirí manuscript after the Checa. Though architectural mapping of this llacta has just begun, not the two compounds that have been drawn and the similarity between them and Llacsatambo's walled patios with adjoining domestic and/or mortuary structures. (Photography and photogrammetry by Erik Maquera for PAHLA)

APPENDIX B

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto, Excavations

Based on the contents of the Huarochirí manuscript and canonical prehistory, previous, preliminary studies of the Llacsatambo-San Damián axis, my own preliminary architectural survey of Llacsatambo (including the Inka colcas), and published archaeological reports on areal architecture and spatial distribution, I began PAHLA under the assumption that Llacsatambo was a typical LIP "fortified hilltop site." The most notable Late Horizon-Inka architectural features at Llacsatambo seemed to cluster in the "Inka sector." Moreover, compared to all other architecture in the area (with the exception of the road between San Damián and the base of Cerro San Cristobal), the Inka colcas seemed to come from a different level of organized enterprise: the size of each structure, the quality of the construction, the uniformity of the whole compound all stood out as the product of an efficient, powerful, and organized entity.

Thus, in order to address diachronic questions of the interactions between the Inka state and the ostensibly geographically entrenched, local Checa, I positioned the test excavation units by a stratified sampling strategy that would allow investigation of "obviously" local, LIP activities ([mis-] judging by the architecture), and activities that were obviously Inka-influenced. I also expected that the excavations may reveal architectural and spatial rearrangements by stratum, e.g., that excavations in Llacsatambo's Inka sector would show that the imperial structures were built upon the foundations of razed LIP constructions. Because of the paucity of established research on artifacts from this area of Huarochirí, particular attention was given to the stratigraphic location of ceramic materials to be compared with pottery collections from PAHLA's general survey. The distributional scope of these efforts was greatly expanded by archaeometric investigations colleagues from the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú of the chemical compositions of

pottery and clay from sites spanning the length of the Rímac and Lurín River Valleys. This research commenced at nearly the same time as the launching of PAHLA with mutually beneficial data returns (see Chapter Four).

In addition to a focus on changing patterns in artifact density, variety, type, or function was amplified by macrobotanical and faunal analysis carried out for material from all excavation loci whose dimensions permitted it. Small, standardized "bulk samples" (Lennstrom and Hastorf 1992: 206), consisting of two to four liters each, were systematic separated from soil that was screened for artifacts. The 134 samples were sent for manual flotation and subsequent analysis of light fractions to the Laboratorio de Investigaciones Arqueobotánicas del Perú, Departamento de Etnobotánica y Botánica Económica, Museo de Historia Natural and the Universidad Nacional Mayor San Marcos (see Appendix 4). Faunal material was removed from excavated soil matrices during the process of screening through $1/8^{th}$ inch mesh and sent to biologist Víctor Vásquez Sánchez, Director del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas – "ARQUEOBIOS" in Trujillo, and by archaeologist Teresa E. Rosales Tham, Director del Laboratorio de Bioarqueología de la Universidad Nacional de Trujillo, Perú (see Appendix 3).

In order to obtain permission from the Peruvian Ministry of Culture to excavate it was necessary to propose the location of excavation units before beginning official areal survey, surface collection, or mapping. Based on my stratified spatial/architectural sampling strategy I determined that my research questions about the material and spatial performances of collective pasts through two consecutive episodes of imperial expansion in Huarochirí would be best addressed by distributing test units at four different major sites: Llacsatambo, the Inka colcas, Cerros San Cristobal, and San Damián. A total of ten test units were excavated at these sites. Seven of these units measured 2 meters by 2 meters, while three measured 1 meter by 2 meters. Six of

the 2 by 2 meter units were placed at Llacsatambo (see Figure A2.1), while one was placed inside the colcas. The six Llacsatambo units were located on the plaza (n=2), in Inka-style small administrative or domestic structures (n=2), and in what were thought to be local, Late Intermediate Period domestic structures (n=2). One of the 1 by 2 meter units was placed in the colcas, and one was placed on the plaza of San Damián (see Table A2.1).

Excavations were carried out and registered according to a modified version of Harris' locus-deposition matrix (1989) to facilitate "running" analyses of historical deposition and stratigraphy.[1] While this method is most effective when used in excavations with broad horizontal coverage, the principles of identifying and registering loci and thereby reconstructing events and processes of deposition is still effective in test excavations, and is particularly well suited to differentiating stratigraphic evidence of construction, occupation, destruction, and/or abandonment in the three-dimensional spaces of each excavation unit (Roskams 2001: 241-266). All excavation units reached sterile soil before being lined with plastic sheet (with a twentieth-century Peruvian coin placed on the plastic) and backfilled

[1] The modification to Harris' system was simply the inclusion of 10 centimeter arbitrary levels as a control measure designed to help prevent excavations of significant depositional contexts without their first having been recognized and properly documented.

PAHLA EXCAVATION UNIT CODES:

Unit code:	Designated excavation unit number
NW_Coor:	Coordinates (UTM – WGS 1984) and altitudes for the northwest corner of each unit
SD_Coor:	Designation, coordinates (UTM – WGS 1984), and altitudes for each unit's subdatum (from which the units and loci were mapped and measured
Size:	Excavation unit's horizontal dimensions
Site:	Unit's location
Figures:	Unit's plan and profile maps in Appendix 2

Table B.1: PAHLA excavation units, location and size

Unit code	NW_Coor	SD_Coor*	Size	Site	Figures
SCUE01	E: 348660.79 N: 8671652.378 Z: 3431.361	Subdatum A: E: 348663.83 N: 8671653.476 Z: 3432.039 Subdatum D: E: 348663.075 N: 8671653.168 Z: 3432.038	2 x 2 m	San Cristobal	
SDUE01	E: 348532.606 N: 8671122.738 Z: 3242.932	Subdatum H: E: 348533.091 N: 8671120.332 Z: 3243.085	2 x 1 m	San Damián	
TIUE01	E: 349162.707 N: 8673209.759 Z: 3568.467	Subdatum I: E: 349160.984 N: 8673208.617 Z: 3568.572	2 x 1 m	Inka colcas	
TIUE02	E: 349154.48 N: 8673203.904 Z: 3568.343	Subdatum J: E: 349153.32 N:8673201.572 Z: 3568.489	2 x 1.5 m	Inka colcas	
LTUE02	E: 348842.078 N: 8673724.996 Z: 3518.701	Subdatum E: E: 348842.003 N: 8673724.899 Z: 3518.688	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	
LTUE03	E: 348750.337 N: 8673704.772 Z: 3555.798	Subdatum F: E: 348752.369 N: 8673705.366 Z: 3555.938	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	
LTUE04	E: 348762.509 N: 8673679.123 Z: 3556.821	Subdatum G: E: 348761.323 N: 8673676.661 Z: 3557.264	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	
LTUE05	E: 348771.959 N: 8673669.332 Z: 3553.354	Subdatum K: E: 348772.123 N: 8673669.223 Z: 3553.34	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	
LTUE06	E: 348846.338 N: 8673666.877 Z: 3536.754	Subdatum L: E: 348846.784 N: 8673666.872 Z: 3537.13	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	
LTUE07	E: 348859.192 N: 8673735.311 Z: 3510.224	Subdatum C: E: 348859.94 N: 8673733.907 Z: 3510.597	2 x 2 m	Llacsatambo	

*This unit has more than one subdatum because the first was lost when its stake, nail, and string were taken one night

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto, Excavation Profile and Plan drawings

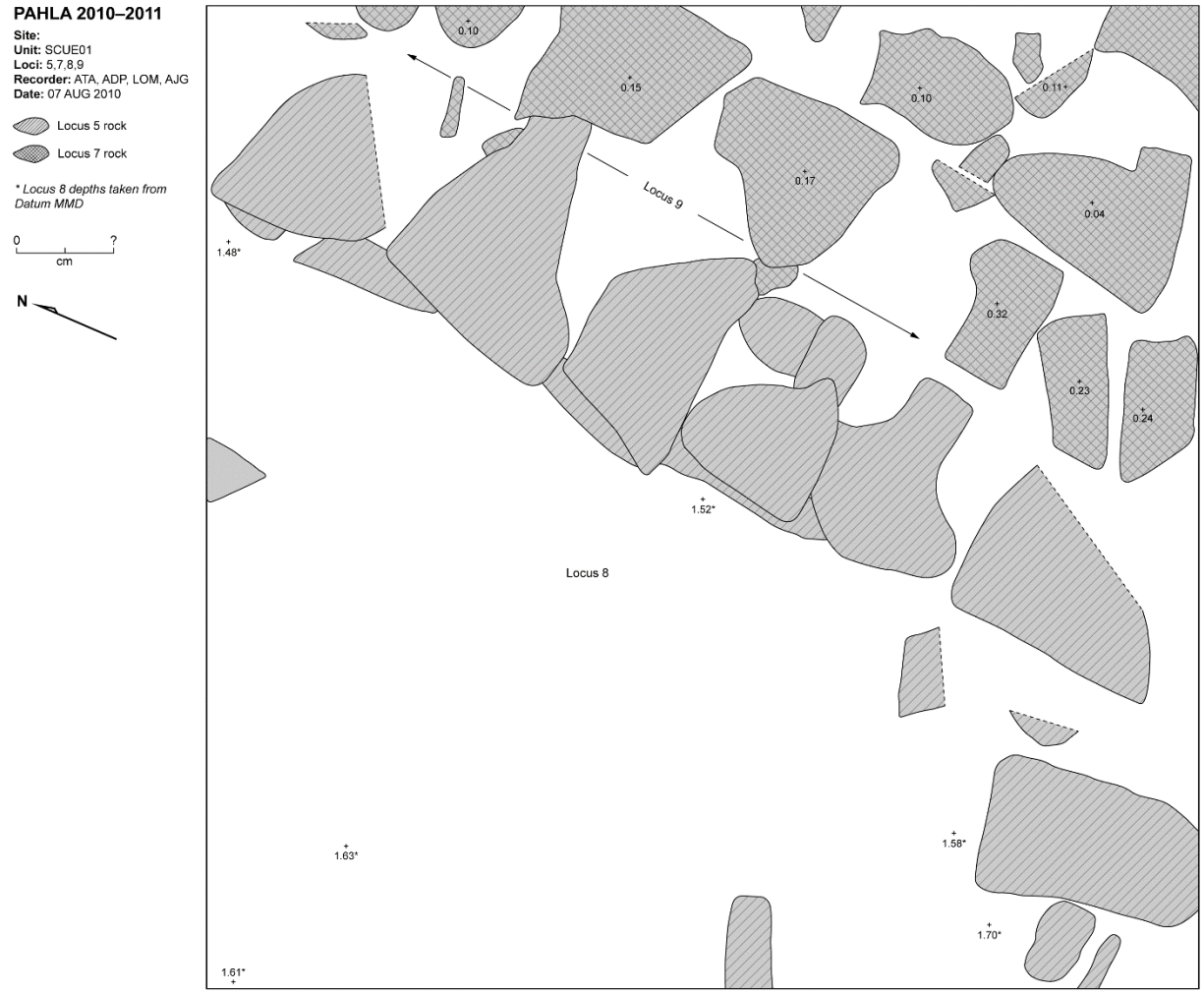


Figure B.1: Plan of SCUE01 L.5, 7, 8, 9; the first and second steps of Cerro San Cristobal's stone platform consisted of the stones of Locus 5 and Locus 7.

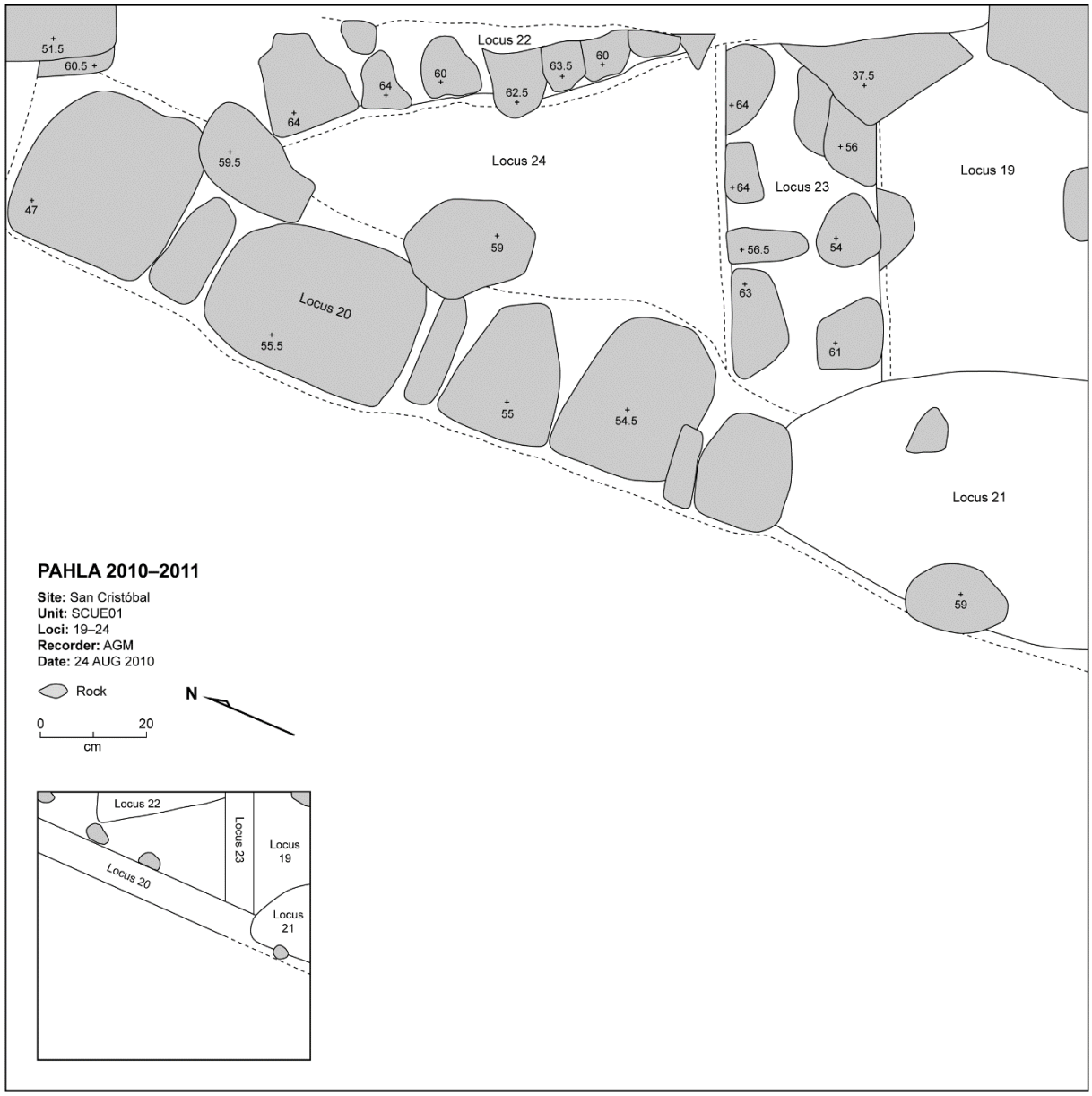


Figure B.2: SCUE01 L.19-24. The two masonry alignments of Locus 20 and Locus 23 were part of the interior architectural structure of Cerro San Cristobal's stone platform.

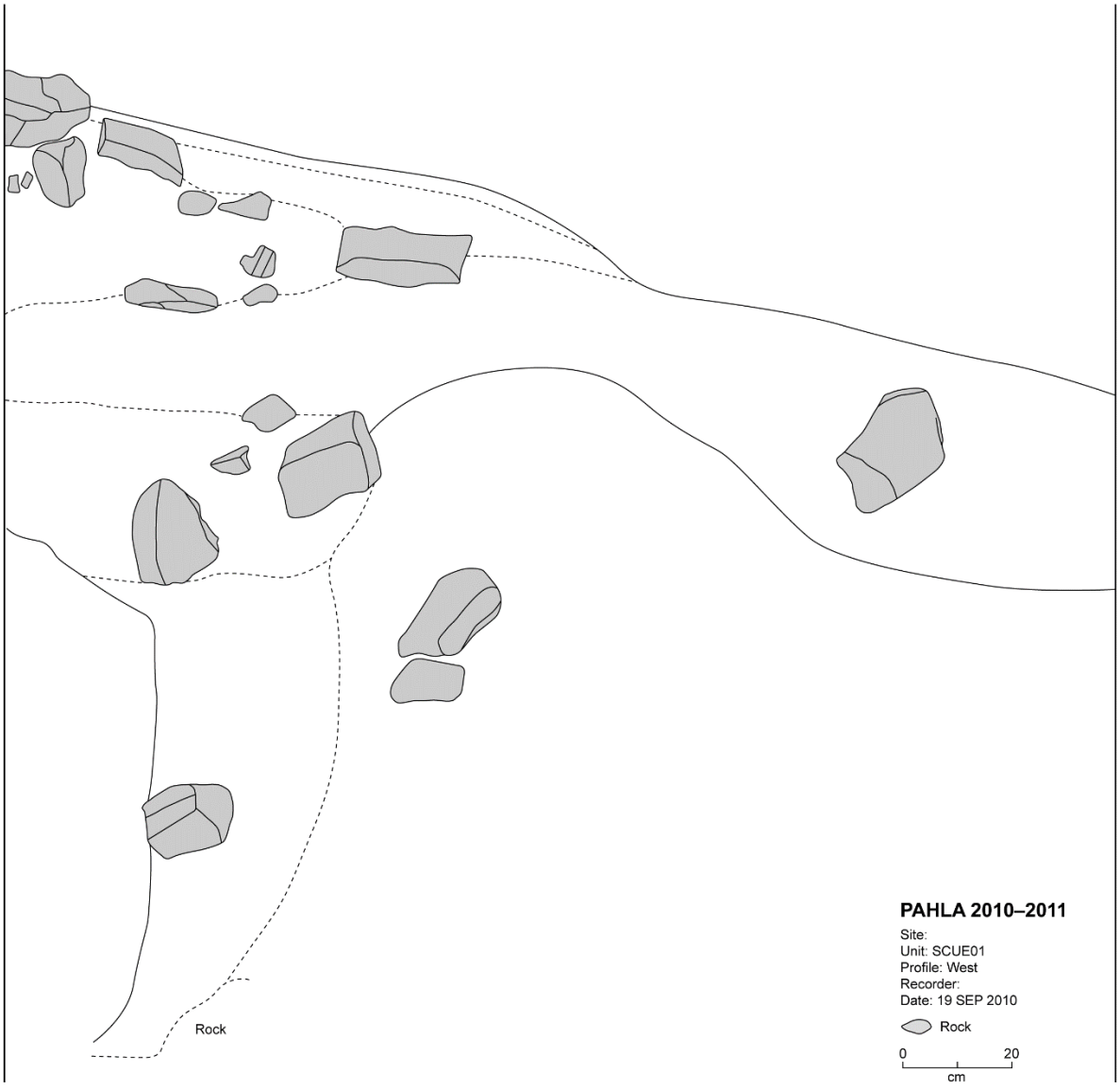


Figure B.3: SCUE01 west profile. The "egg-stone" and lithic flakes were deposited between the bedrock (middle to lower right quadrant of the sketch) and the massive foundation boulder (extreme left, from mid-point to the bottom of the sketch).

Figure B.4: SCUE01 East Profile. This profile's form is "projected" and sketched as if the western four-fifths of the unit's bedrock had been removed (see Figure B.3), for the east profile could not be viewed from the sketch's angle.

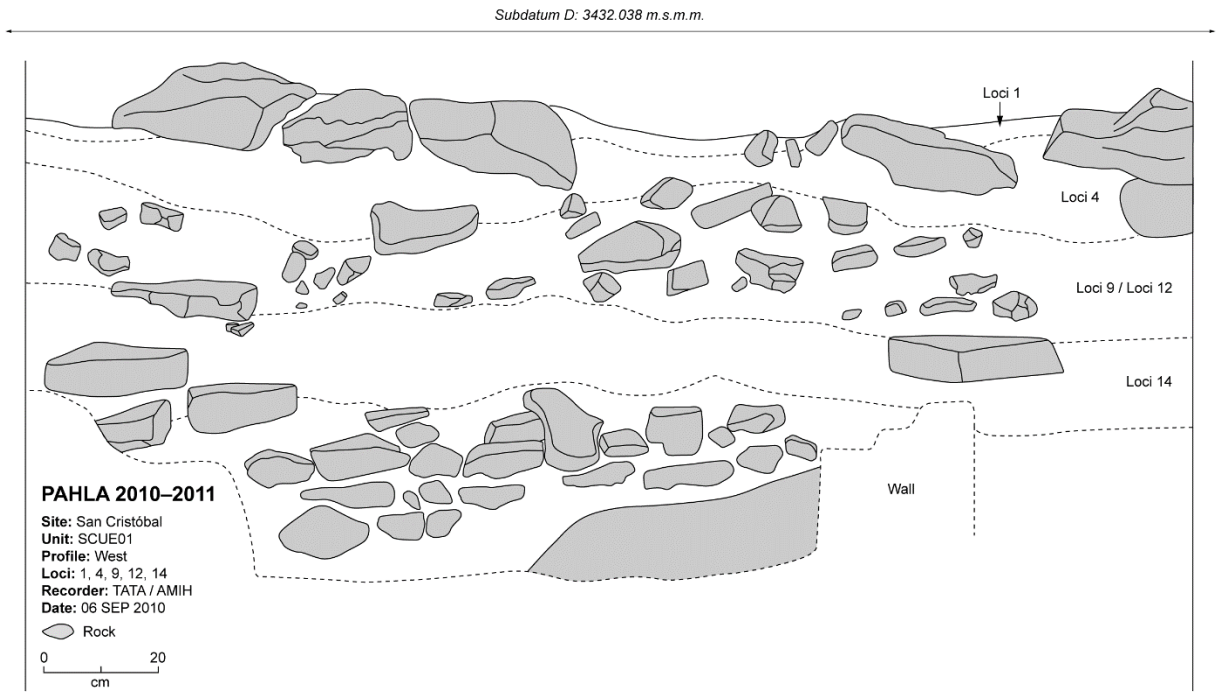


Figure B.5: SCUE01 West Profile. The copper hand and egg illa were deposited in Locus 4. (Drawing by PAHLA)

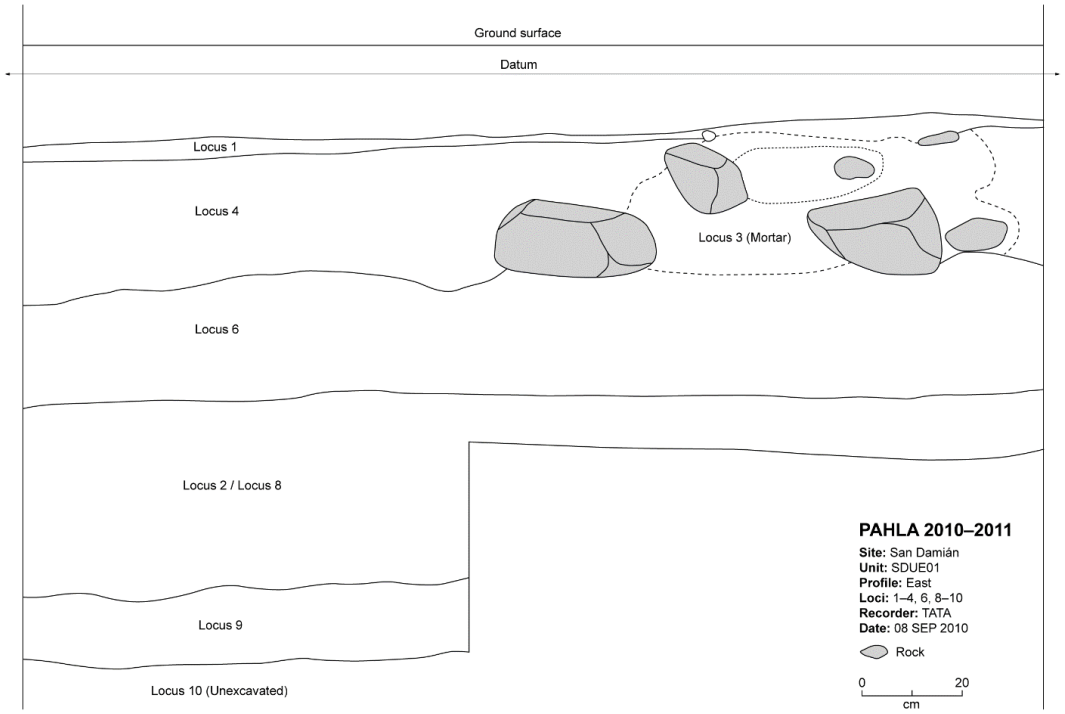


Figure B.6: SDUE01 East Profile. Note the undisturbed nature of the silt and sand Loci beneath the reducción wall, indicating the space was unoccupied prior to the establishment of the Toledan reducción in the 1570s-1580s. (Locus 2 should read Locus 7) (Sketch by PAHLA).

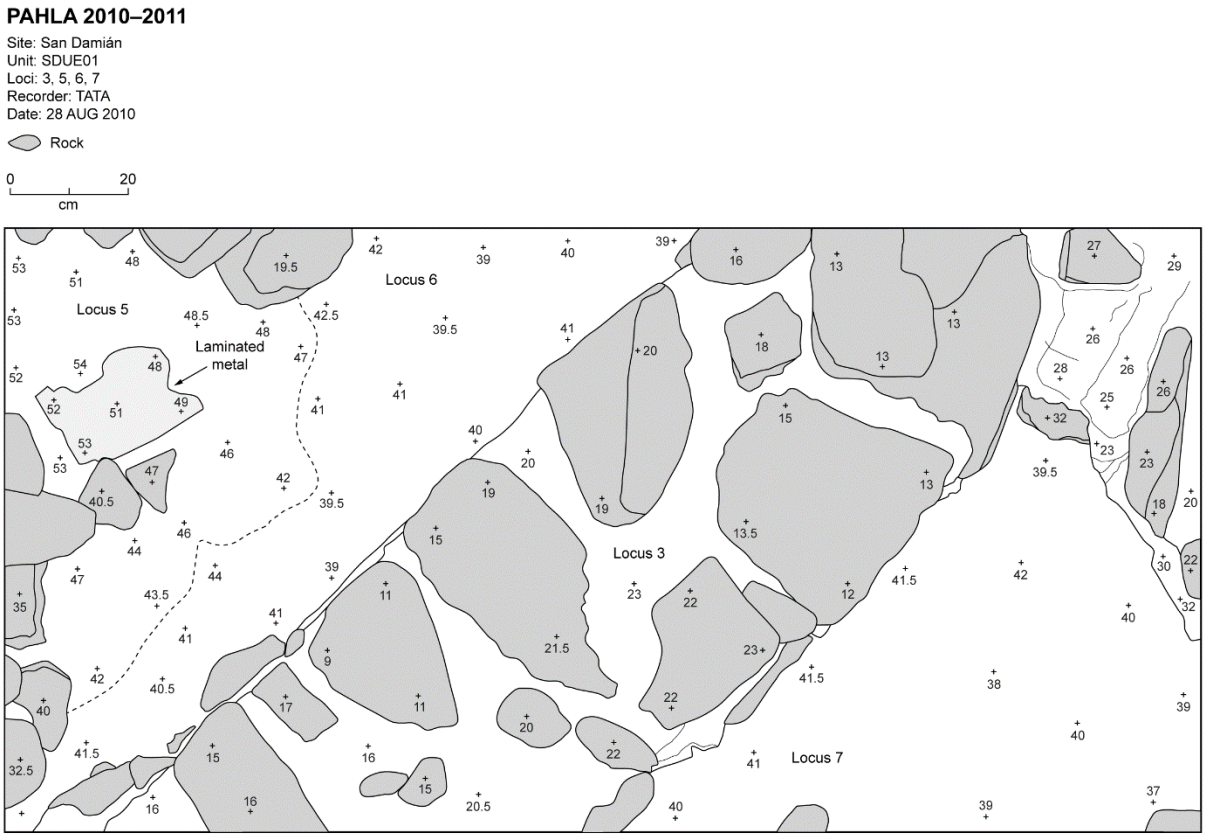


Figure B.7: Original reducción block marker (SDUE01 L.3), San Damián de Checas.

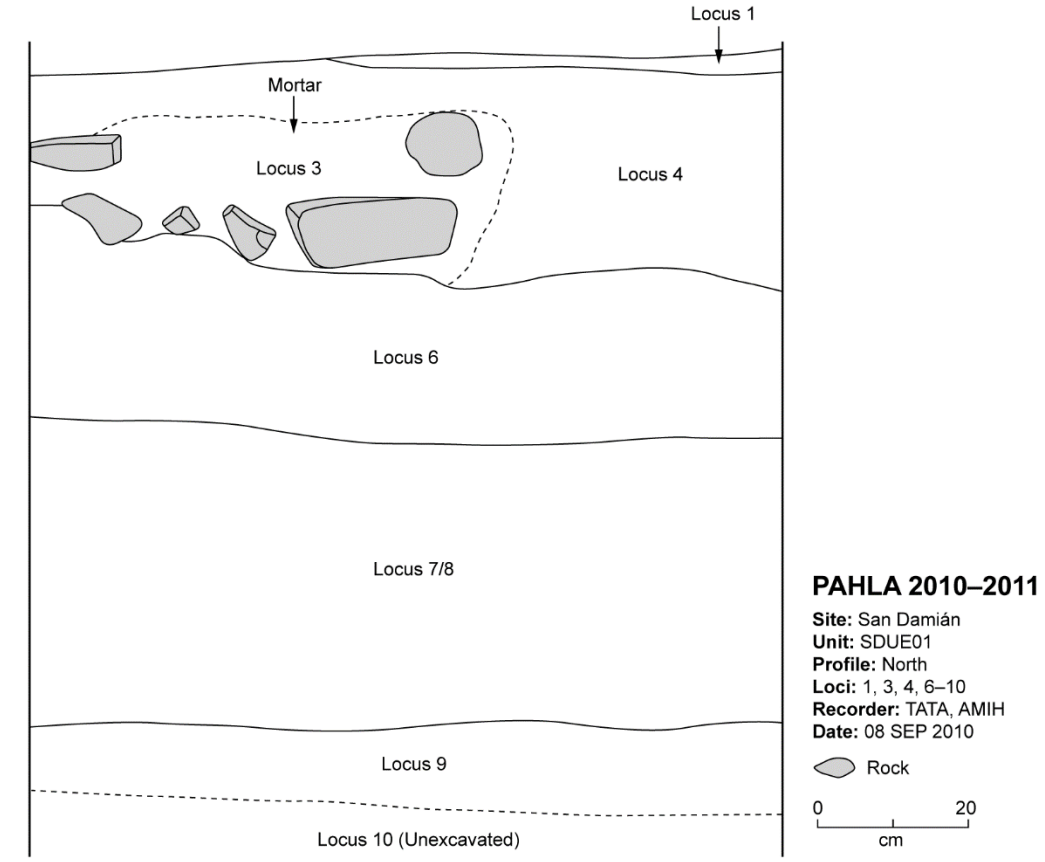


Figure B.8: SDUE01 north profile. Note the undisturbed nature of the silt and sand Loci beneath the reducción wall (L.3), indicating the space was unoccupied prior to the establishment of the Toledan reducción in the 1570s-1580s. (Sketch by PAHLA)

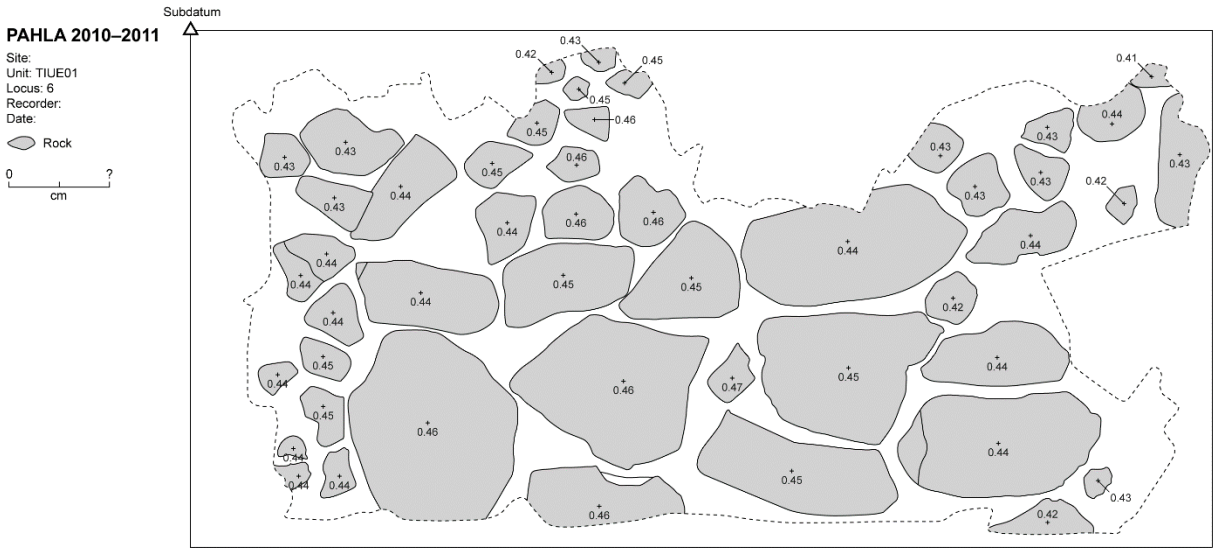


Figure B.9: Stone floor of Inka colca (TIUE01 L.6). The carbon sample from this unit was taken from the dirt mortar between the paving stones. (Sketch by PAHLA)

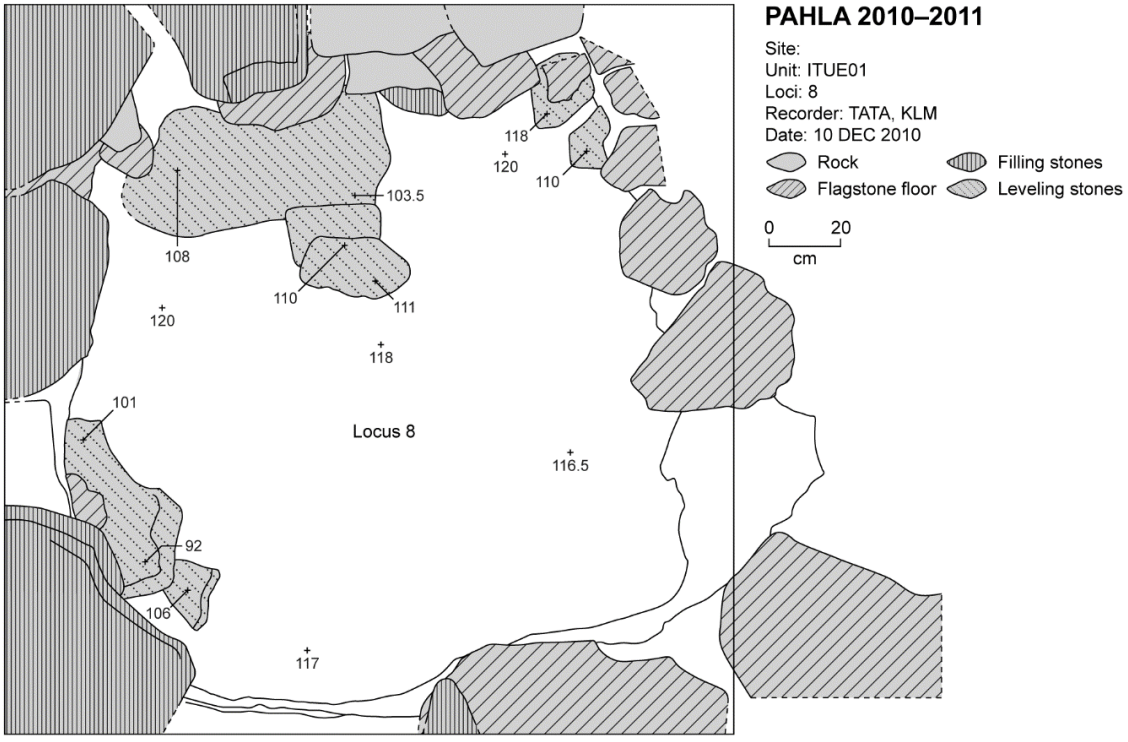


Figure B.10: TIUE01 L.8. Excavation of this unit continued only in the southern half beneath the stone floor. See Figure B.11 for the construction fill layers used to level the slope of hill upon which the colcas were built. (Sketch by PAHLA)

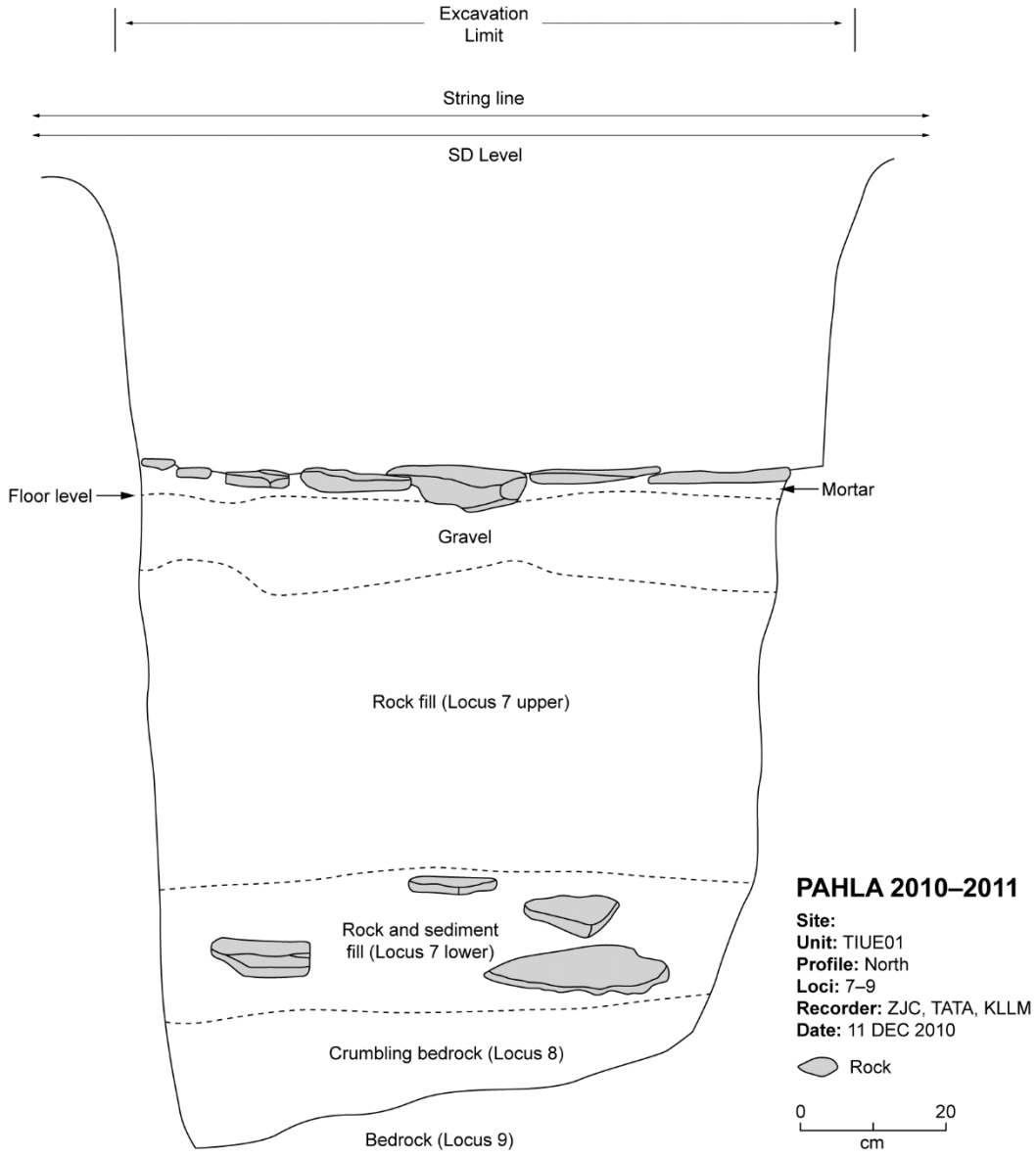


Figure B.11: TIUE01 L.7-9. These Loci (beneath the colca's stone floor) were made up of medium-size cobbles and loose soil (L.7 upper) and smaller, flatter stone and sediment gravel (L.7 lower), and comprised the construction fill foundation for the colcas. (Sketch by PAHLA)

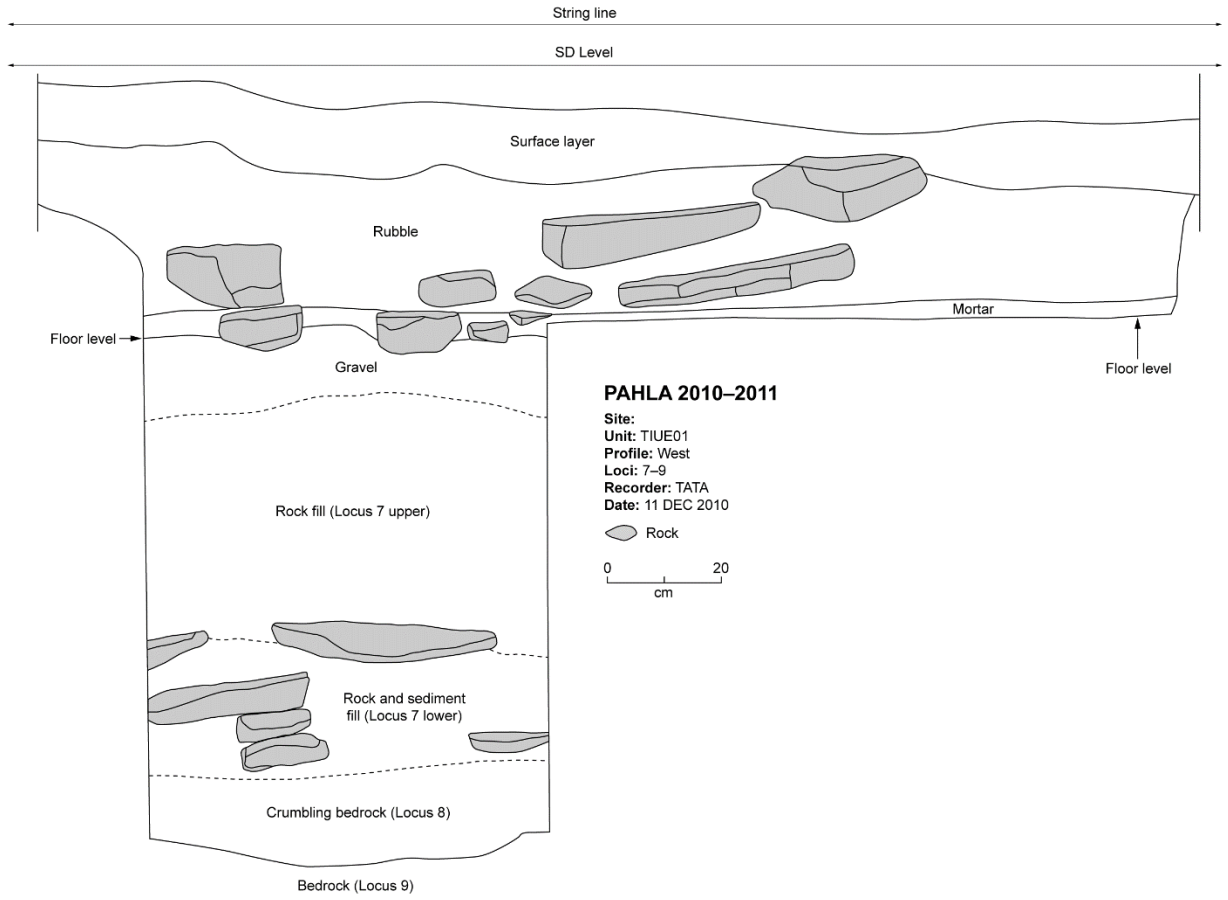


Figure B.12: TIUE01 west profile.

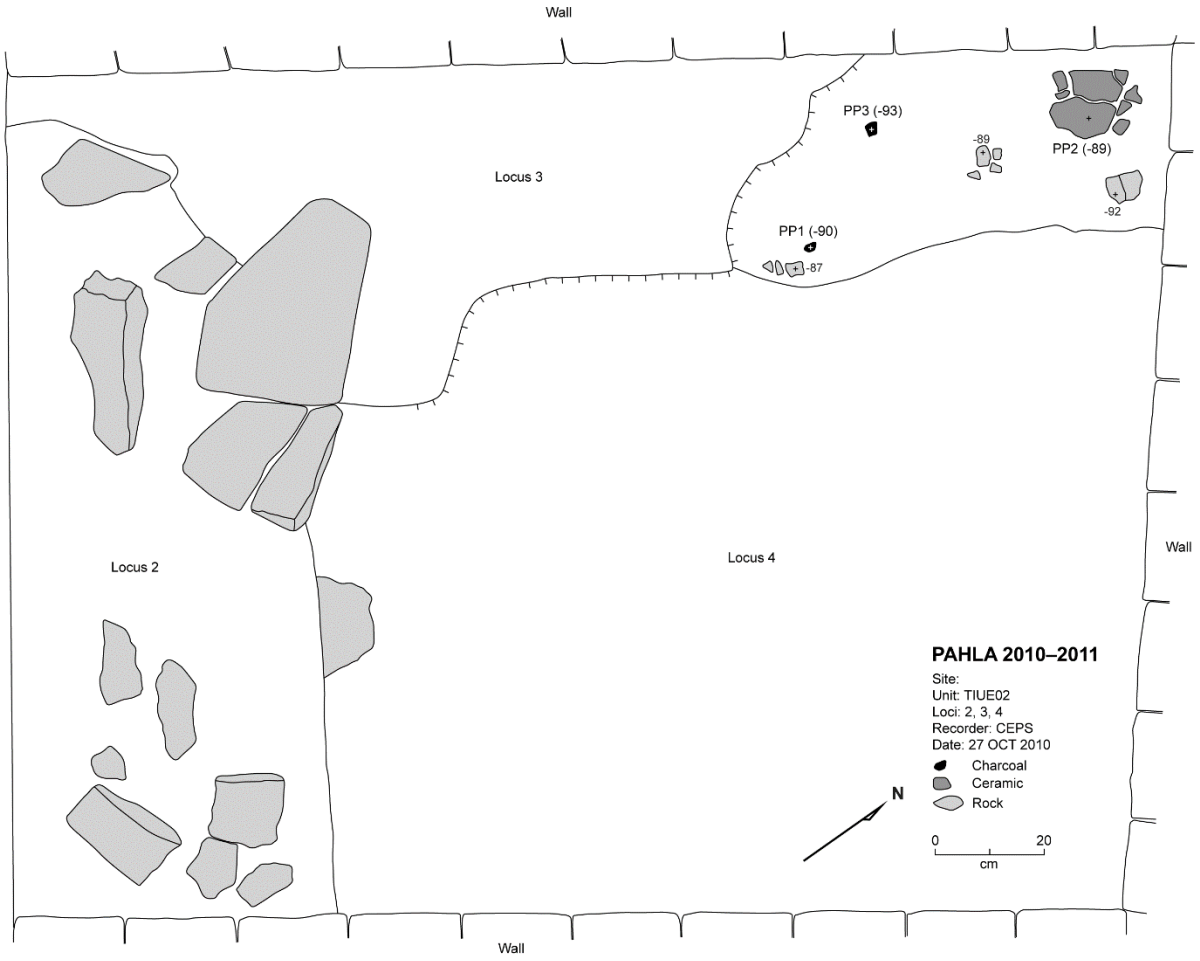


Figure B.13: TIUE02 L.2, 3, 4. This is the second of the two excavation units in the Inka colcas, and the broken pottery pieces uncovered just above sterile soil (upper right corner of the sketch) were the only non-architectural artifacts recovered from the colcas (excluding some inconclusive macrobotanical remains.) (Sketch by PAHLA)

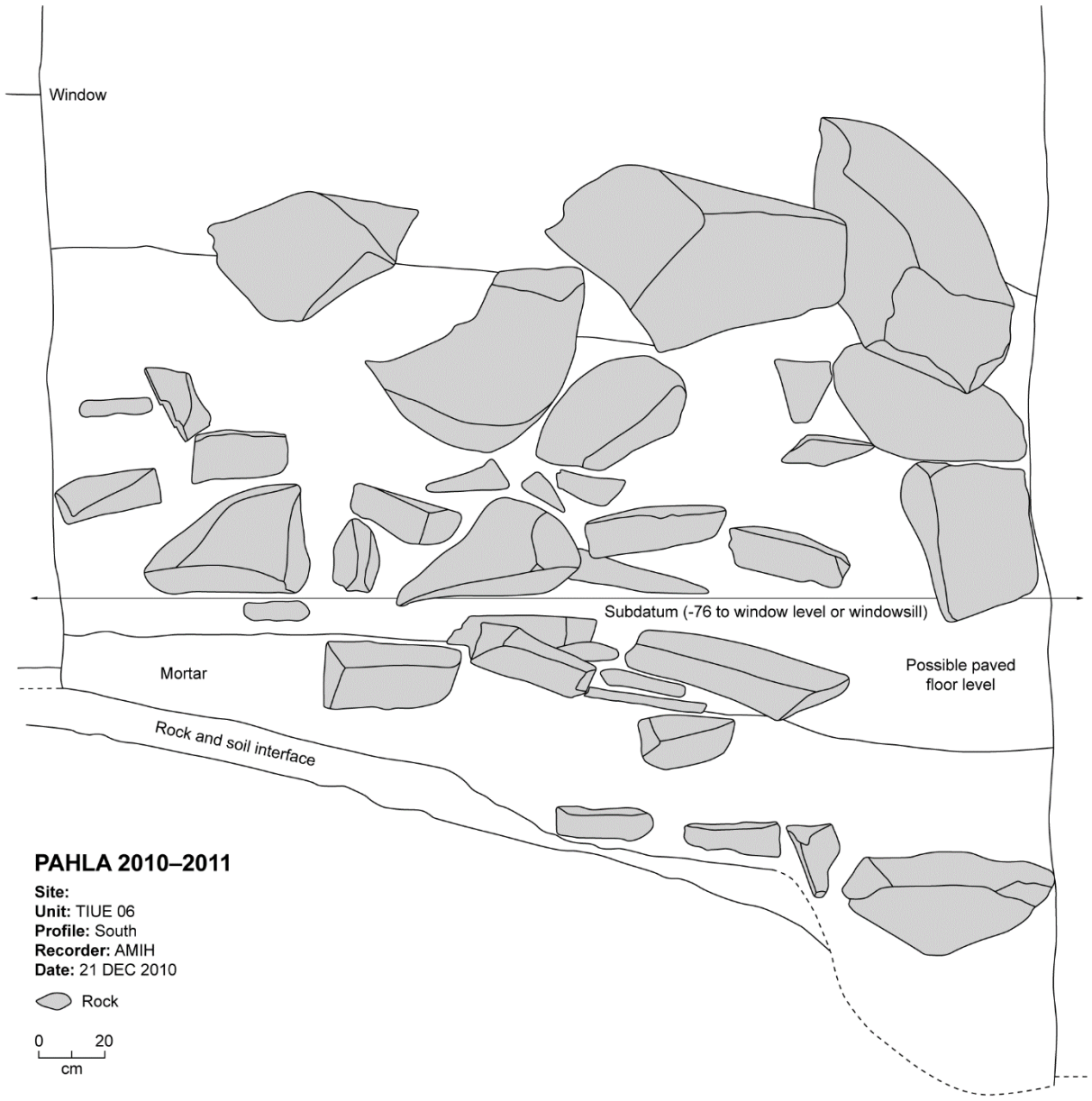


Figure B.14: TIUE02 south profile. (Sketch by PAHLA)

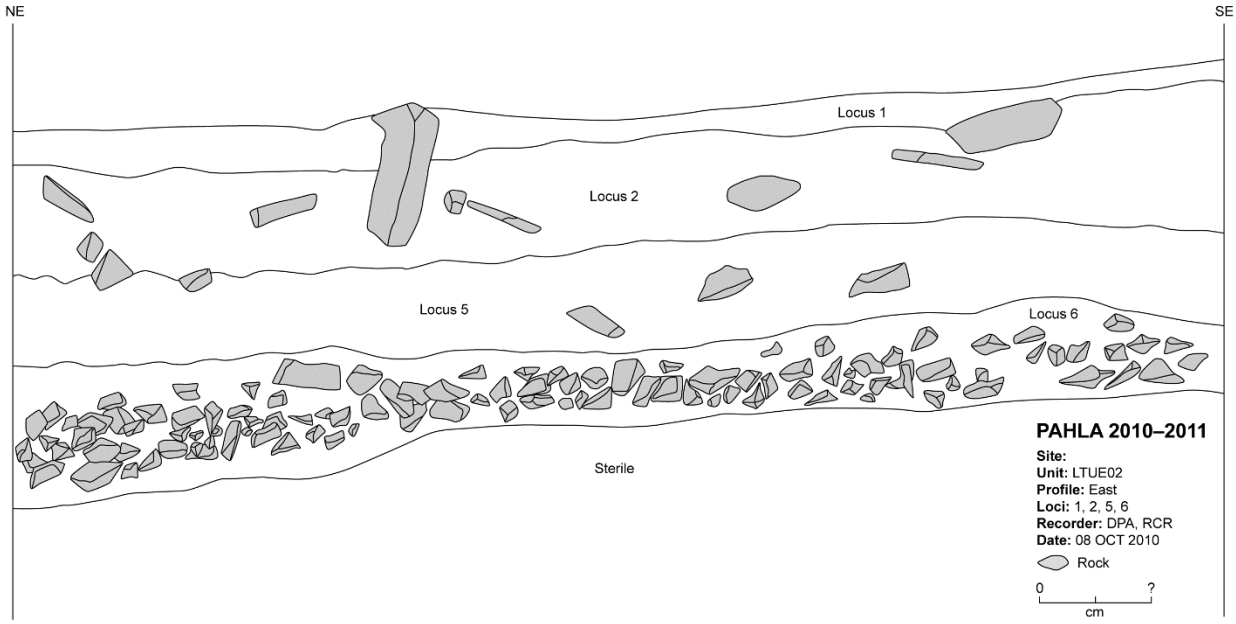


Figure B.15: LTUE02 east profile. This well-built orthogonal structure in the Inka sector yielded virtually no evidence of occupation or use. (Sketch by PAHLA)

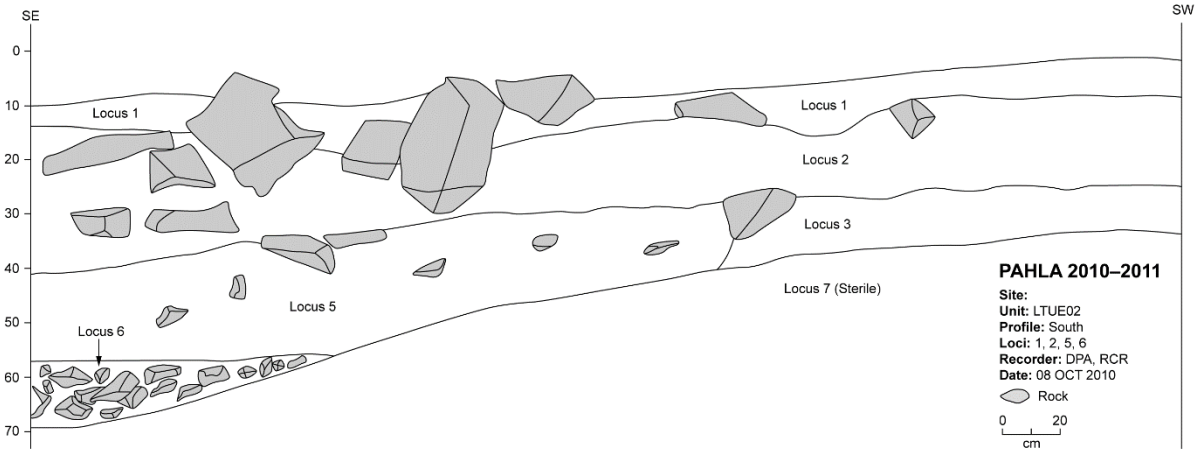


Figure B.16: LTUE02 south profile. Loci 3, 5, and 6 were levelling construction fill. (Sketch by PAHLA)

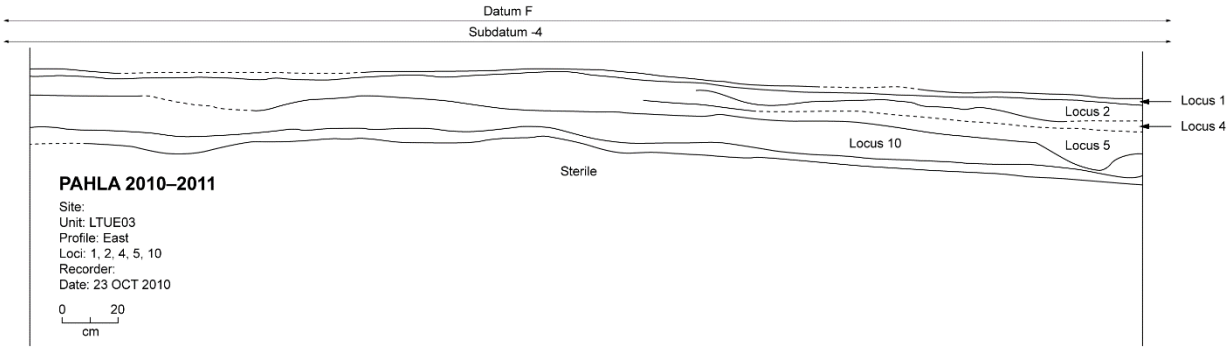


Figure B.17: LTUE03 east profile. This test unit was placed on the east edge of Llacsatambo's apical plaza, which was eroded to the point of sitting virtually directly atop bedrock. (Sketch by PAHLA)

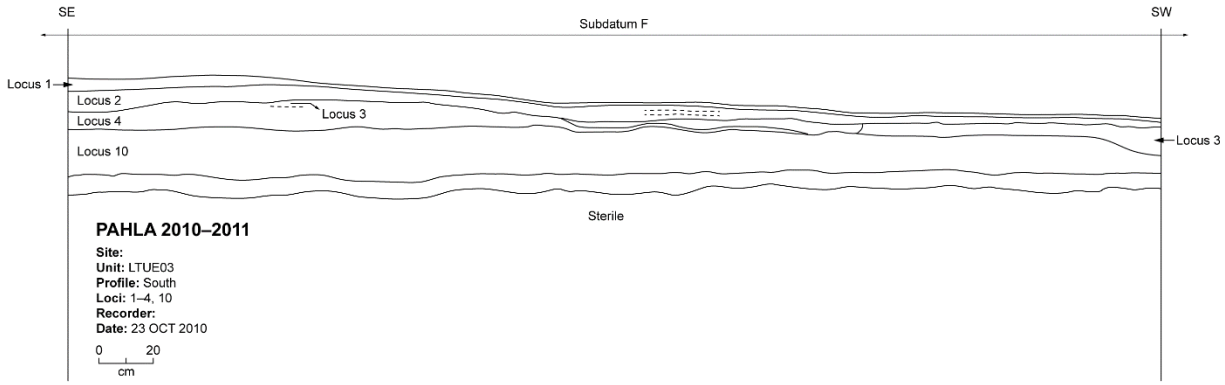


Figure B.18: LTUE03 south profile. (Sketch by PAHLA)

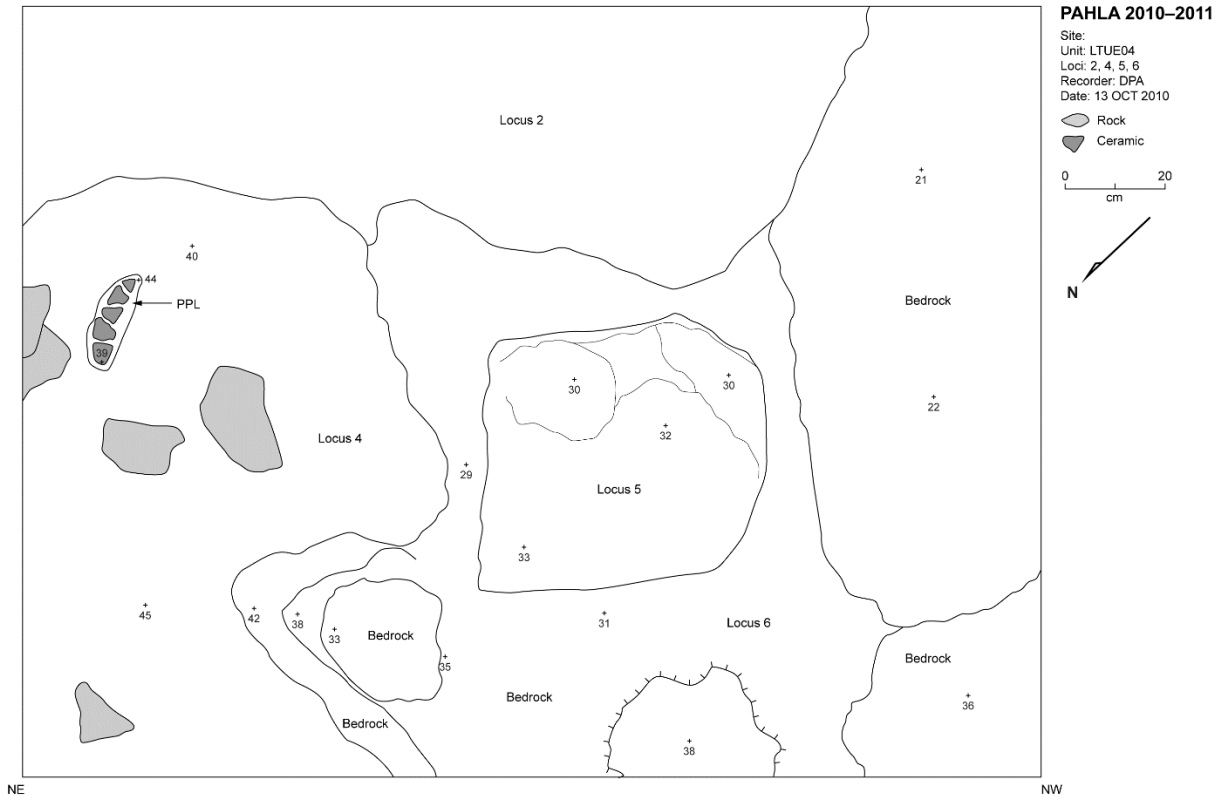


Figure B.19: LTUE04 plan of L.2, 4, 5, 6. As may be seen in the southeast profile of this same unit (Figure B.20), Llacsatambo's apical tombs were constructed directly atop the hill's uneven bedrock (shown here). (Sketch by PAHLA)

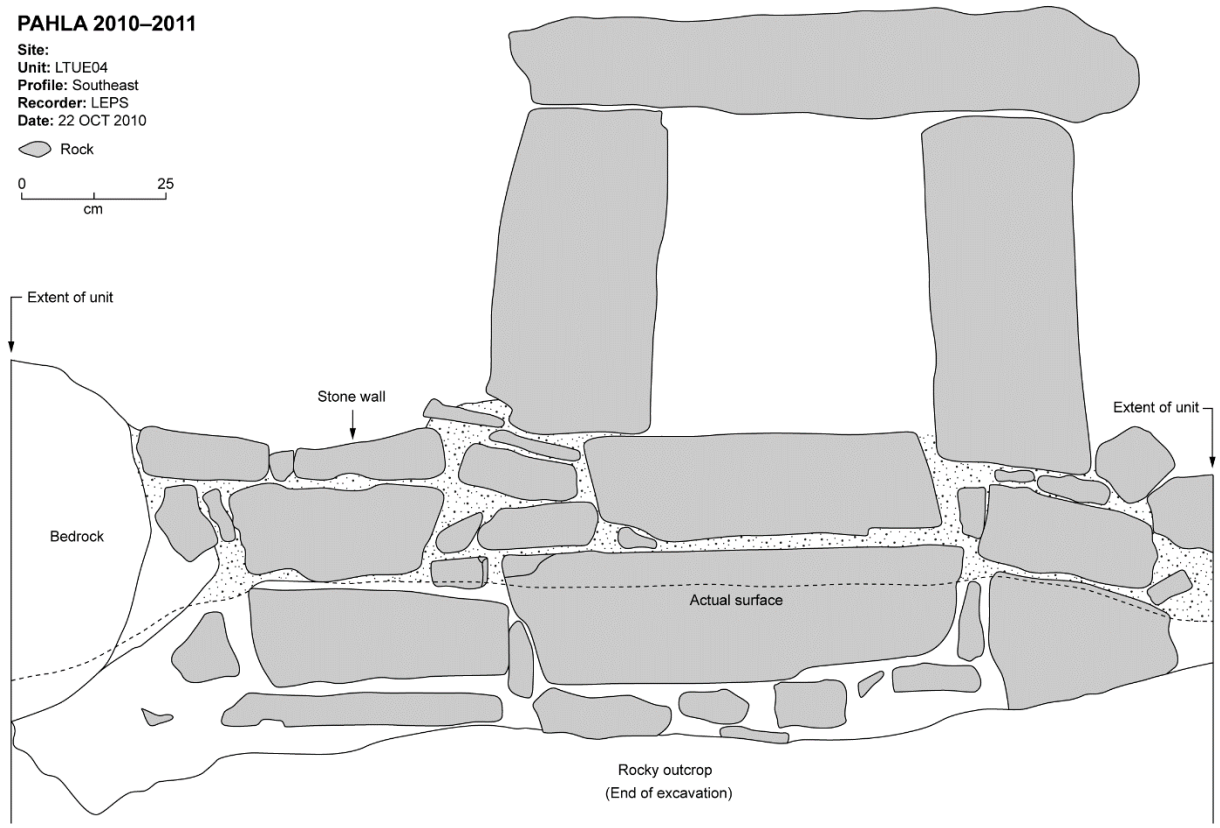


Figure B.20: LTUE04 south profile. (Sketch by PAHLA)

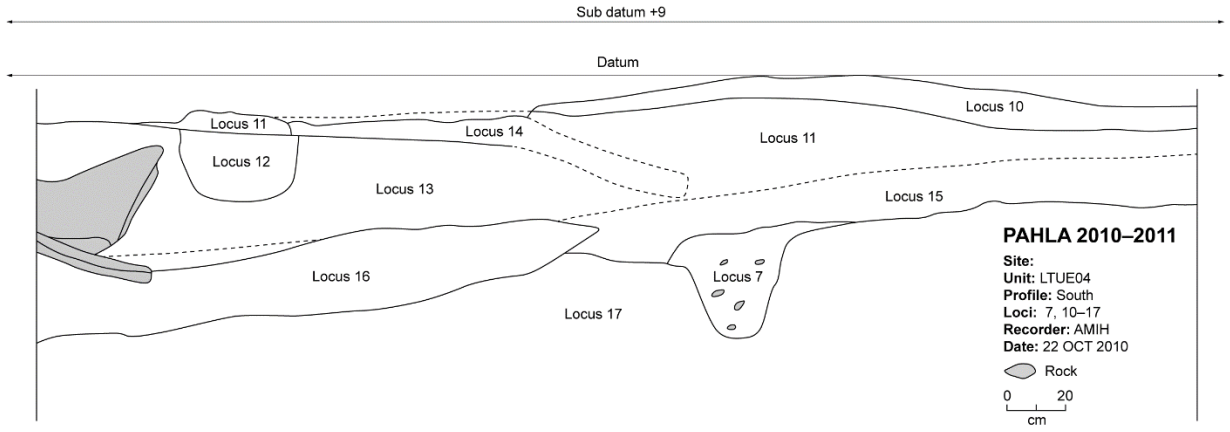


Figure B.21: LTUE04 south profile, 80 centimeters from the excavation unit's north edge, prior to excavation of the 20 centimeter section closest to the face of the tomb structure. L.12 was a cut containing a guinea pig skeleton, likely a modern deposit. (Sketch by PAHLA)

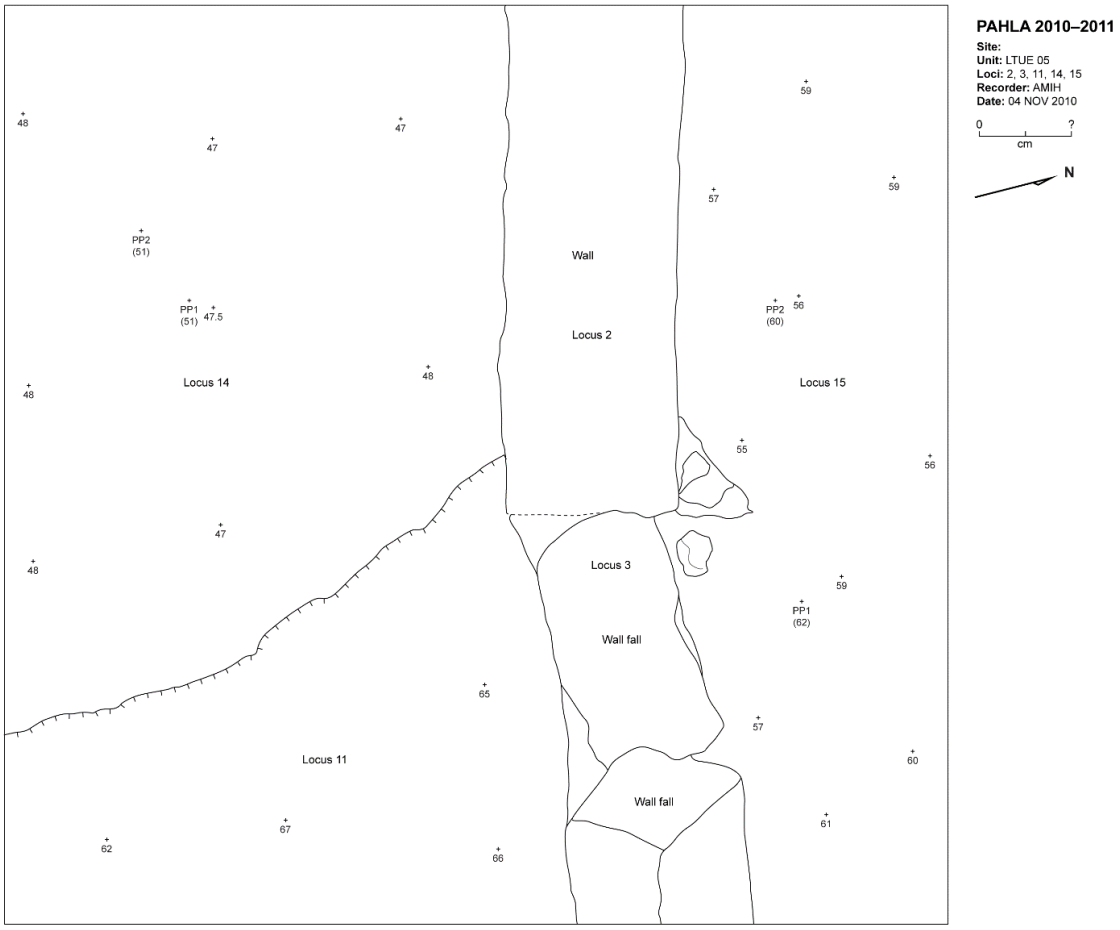


Figure B.22: LTUE05 plan of L.2, 3, 11, 14, 15. This unit was placed inside a structure in Llacsatambo's "work sector" and yielded spindles and Inka decorated ceramics. The unit's 14C date (uncalibrated: AD 1411) came from a sample of carbonized wood from L.14. The locus consisted of fragmented bedrock, fine sand, clay, gravel, and ash, the bulk of which seems to have been a type of pasty concoction used to fill and level the bedrock's contours, though the compact nature of the uppermost layer of the locus and the density of cultural materials indicate that it comprised the structure's occupational floor. The carbon sample was taken from the middle of the locus matrix (i.e., depth-wise, at 51cmbd), which means that it could have been a remnant of activities on the structure's floor, but was more likely part of the leveling filler paste. Whether the radiocarbon date corresponds to occupational activity or to the collection of leveling material and construction of the structure, it provides a terminus post quem closer to the era of Inka expansion than the late Middle Horizon/early Late Intermediate Period. (Sketch by PAHLA)

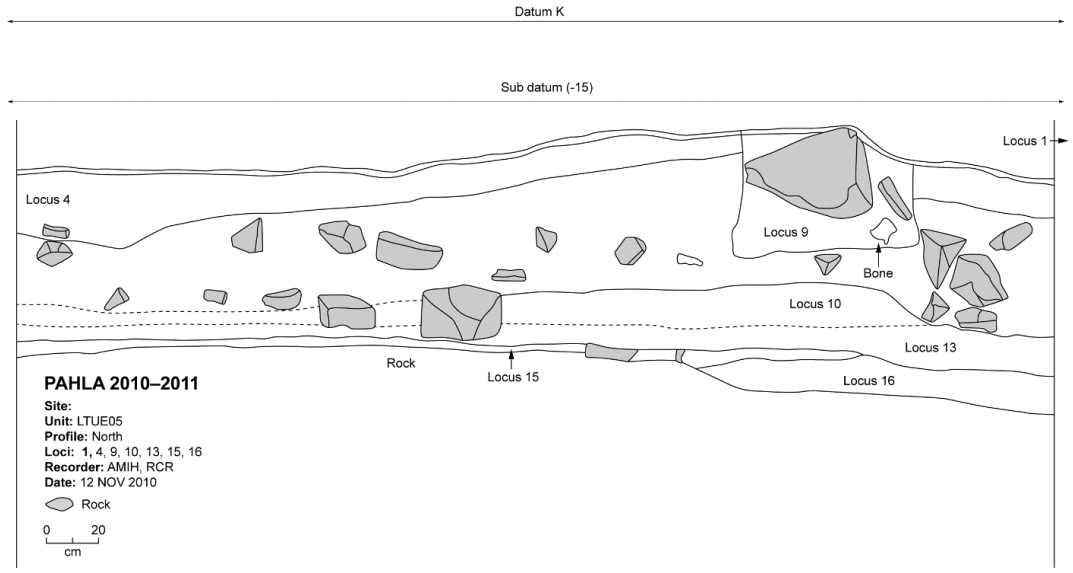


Figure B.23: LTUE05 north profile. Profile of the portion of the structure behind the interior wall stub (L.2). (Sketch by PAHLA)

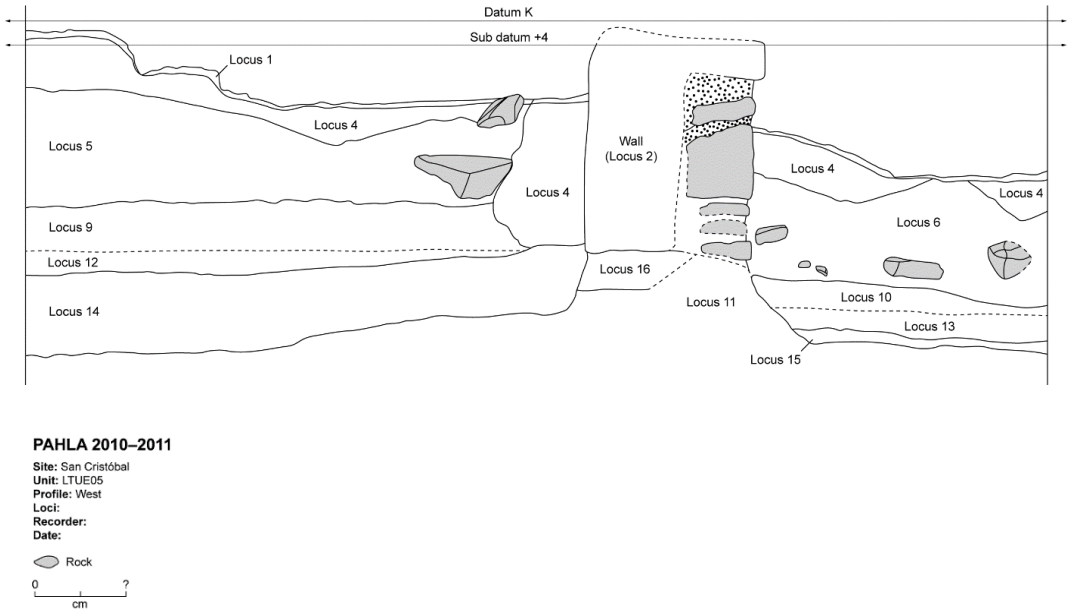


Figure B.24: LTUE05 west profile. L.14 was dense with fauna (n=45, w=65.40g) and ceramics (n=153, w=408g), including one decorated in Inka-style black lines and rhombuses (see figure 4.20), the even distribution of the ash and carbon throughout the locus does not point to a hearth or even a general cooking area within the structure. The paste matrix (sand, clay, gravel, and ash) directly atop bedrock is a pattern observed in at least one other unit excavated within a structure (LTUE07) and the unit adjacent to an open tomb (LTUE04). Ceramic: n=153, w=408g; 12 diagnostic ceramics (2 decorated, one with black horizontal lines and black rhombuses #299). Bone: n=45, w=65.40g; all fauna from this locus was identified as llama or unspecified artiodactyla. No macrobotanical material of note was recovered.

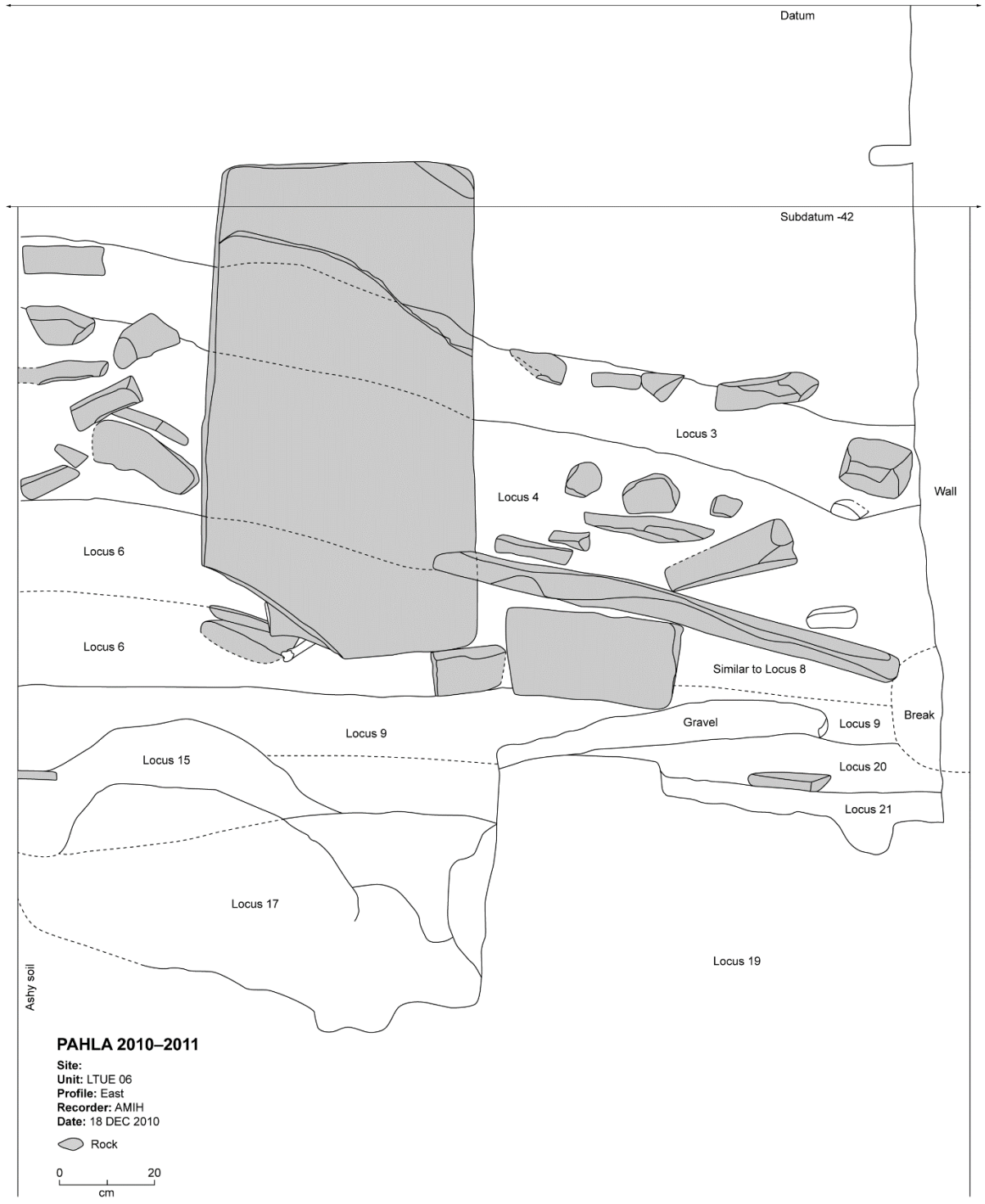


Figure B.25: LTUE06 east profile. The flat stones above L.9 are from wall fall following the structure's abandonment. (Sketch by PAHLA)

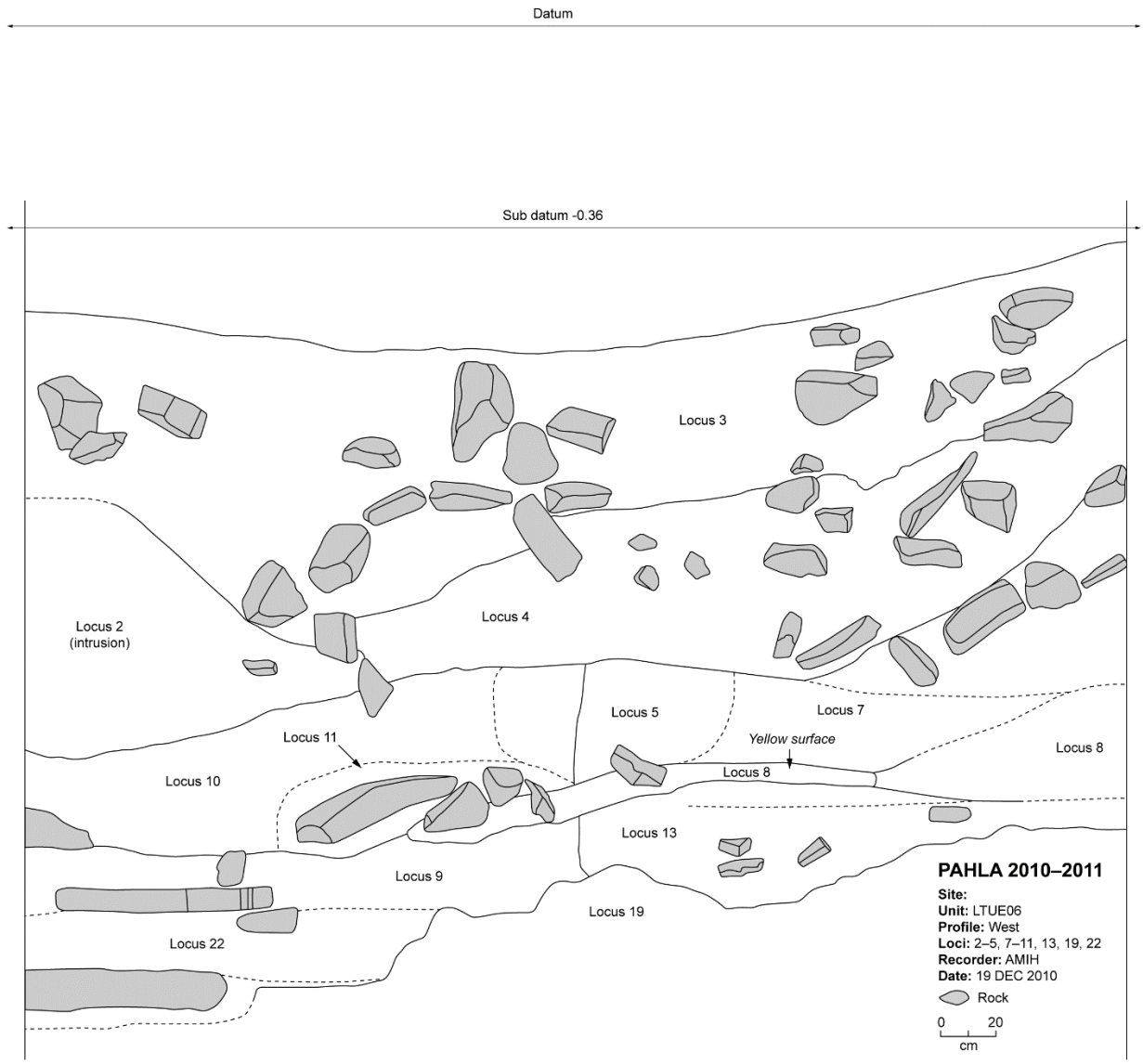


Figure B.26: LTUE06 west profile. Upper intrusions (e.g., L.2) may represent modern-day pachamanca-type cooking events, possibly carried out during one of San Damián's schools' annual field trips to the ruins. In 2011 PAHLA was able to intervene and the pachamanca was restricted to the pampa. (Sketch by PAHLA)

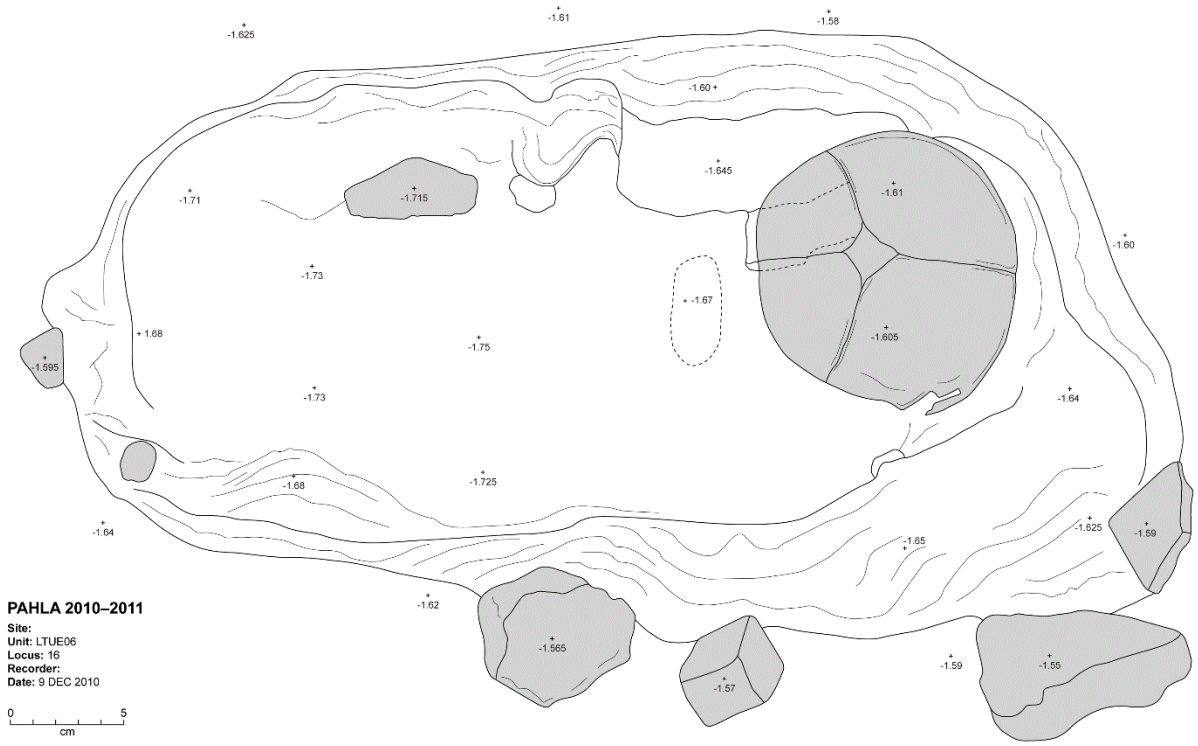


Figure B.27: LTUE06 L.16, infant burial located beneath the structure's occupation floor, adjacent to the foundation of the structure's southern wall. The presence of burned material among Loci 17, 18, 20, and 21 makes them comparable to LTUE07 L.11, i.e., levelling construction fill with ash and charcoal material blended in. (Sketch by PAHLA).

Figure B.28: LTUE06 plan of L.18, 19, 21-23. The 14C date (uncalibrated date: AD1344) from this unit comes from a sample of carbonized wood charcoal recovered from L.18 at the interface of soil and bedrock of the deepest point of the unit, (2.28mbsd). The feature was first identified as a hearth, though its location adjacent to the front entrance makes this highly unlikely. Loci 14, 15, 17, 18 were dense with faunal remains (n=174, w=1137.58g) and ceramics (n=598, w=5300g), with fragments of greater than average size in both categories. Faunal consisted entirely of deer, llama, and unidentified artiodactyla. They represent the remains of burn events piled in a depression in the bedrock, which levelled the structure's foundation in the north. The infant burial against the structure's north wall was a counterpart to these deposits in the construction of this structure's foundation. (Sketch by PAHLA)

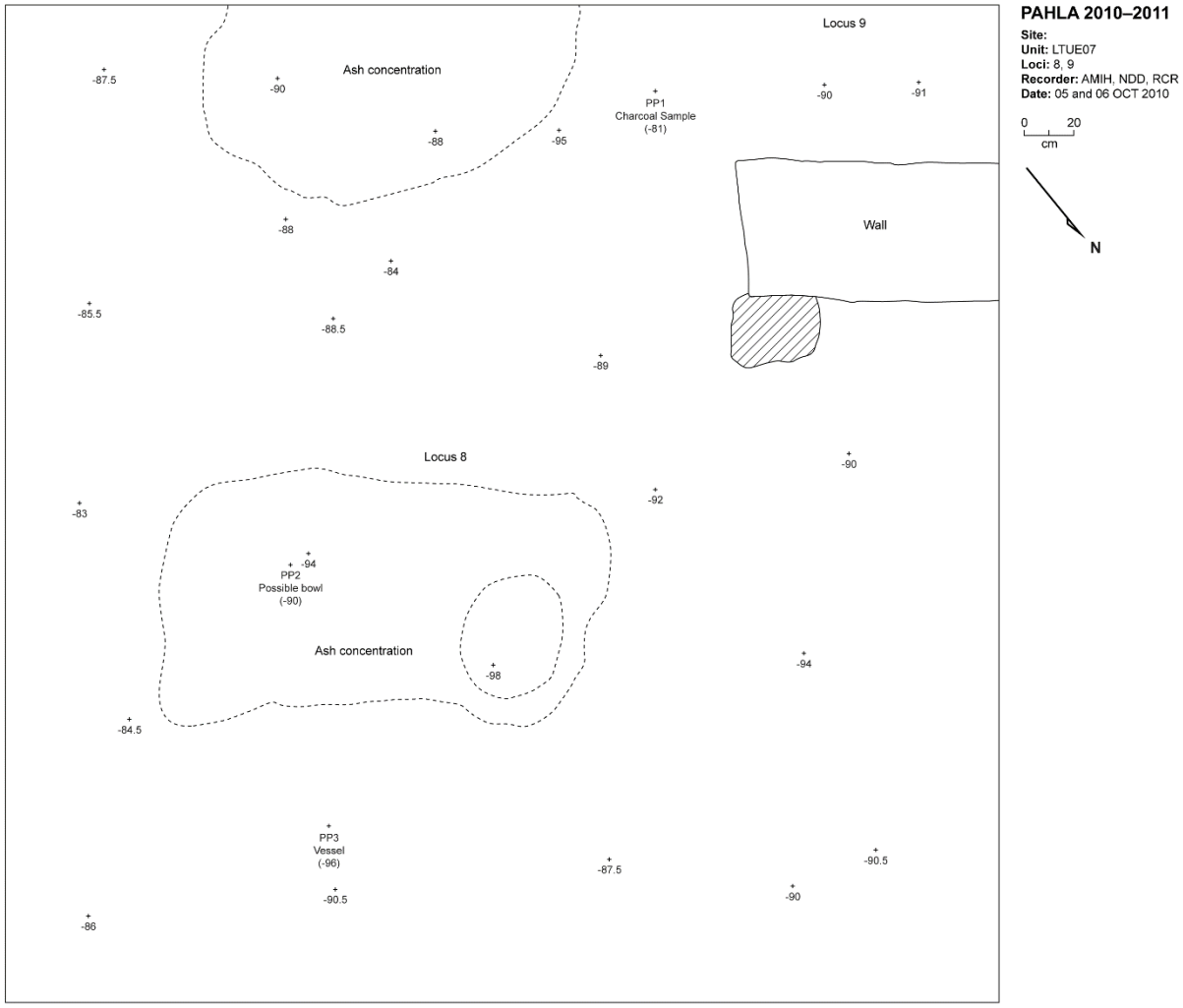


Figure B.29. LTUE07 L.8, 9. One of the carbon samples from LTUE07 was excavated from L.8, beneath the foundation of the internal stub wall. The matrix was a loam of clay, gravel, and sand. Like the bottommost Loci in other units (LTUE06, LTUE04), burned material was thoroughly mixed in to the matrices of these Loci. (Sketch by PAHLA)

Figure B.30: LTUE07 L.10, 11. The second carbon sample from LTUE07 was excavated from L.10, directly atop sterile bedrock. Like the Loci above it. (Sketch by PAHLA)

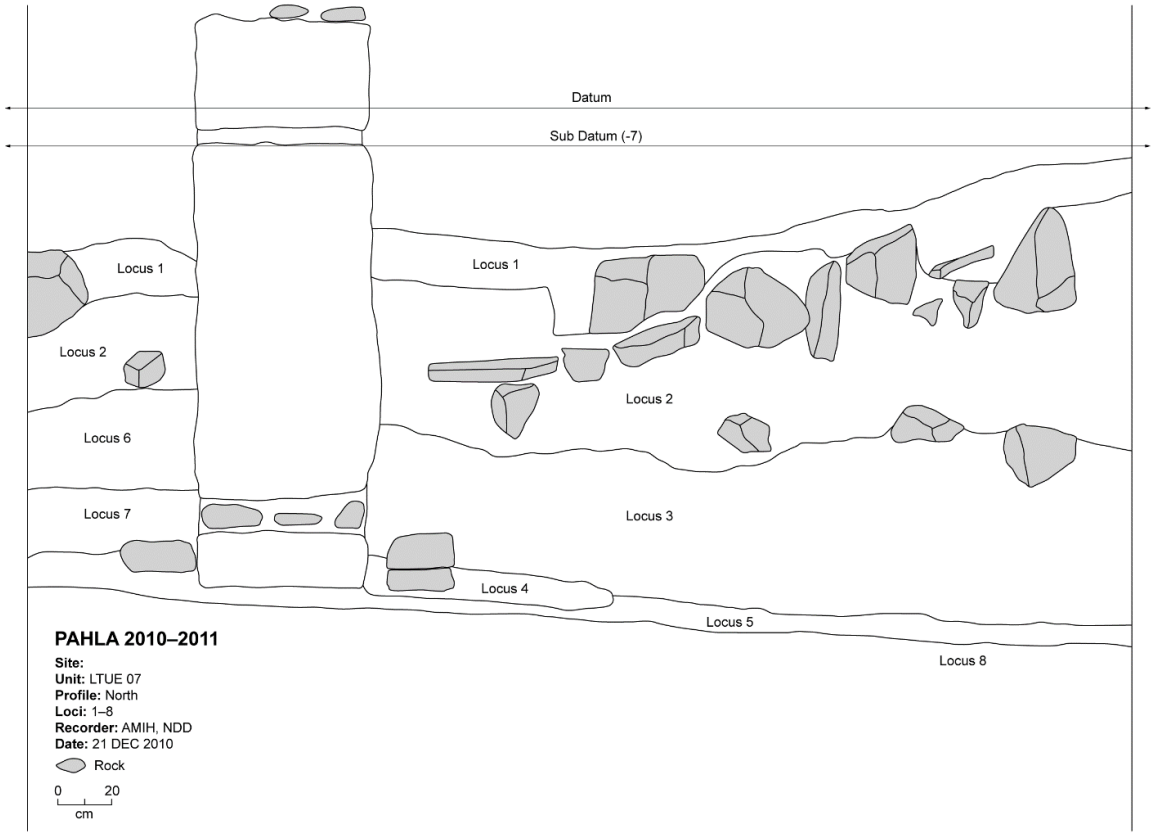


Figure B.31: LTUE07 north profile. (Sketch by PAHLA)

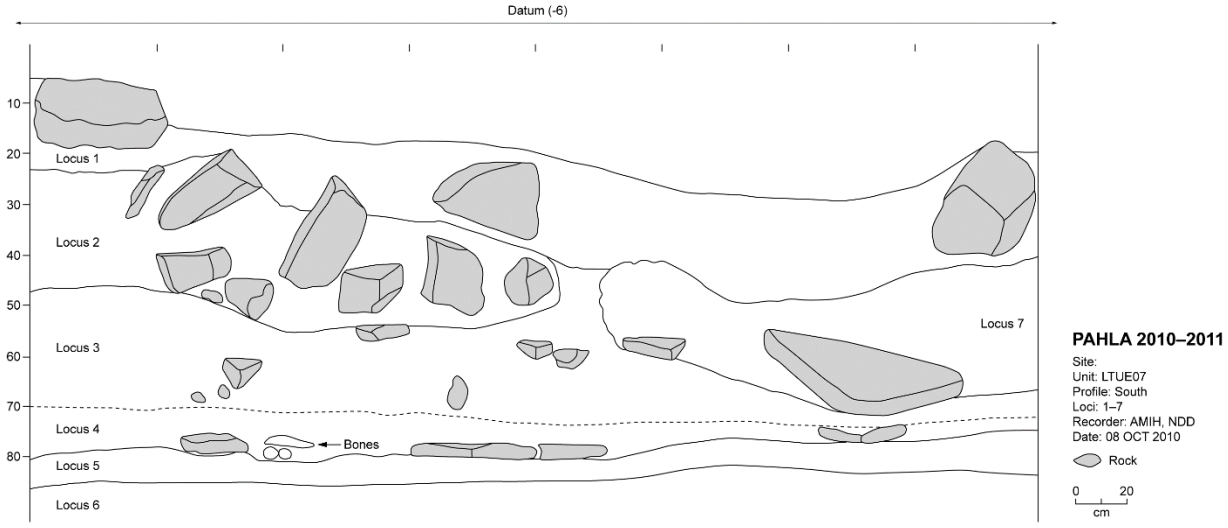


Figure B.32: LTUE07 south profile. (Sketch by PAHLA)

Table B.2: PAHLA Radiocarbon dates and sample information

Lab sample #	Laboratory	Sample ID	d13Cvalue	14C age BP	d14C age	Calib1s	Calib2s	Other
X27457	UArizona-AMS	**SCUE01 L.30**	-23.4	2062	31	59 BC-AD 20	104 BC-AD 52	AA103905 See Figure B.3
D-AMS 007823	Direct AMS	**SCUE01 L24**	-29.9	1378	30	AD 653-683*	AD 648-693*	See Figure B.2
D-AMS 007824	Direct AMS	**SDUE01 L8**	-24.0	1378	23	AD 655-681*	AD 648-691*	See Figures B.6, B.8
D-AMS 007825	Direct AMS	**TIUE01 L6**	-23.9	399	25	AD 1462-1506*	AD 1455-1518*	See Figures B.9, B.11, B.12
D-AMS 007826	Direct AMS	**LTUE04 L5**	-21.5	1468	28	AD 626-649*	AD 584-659*	See Figure B.19
D-AMS 007827	Direct AMS	**LTUE05 L15**	-23.2	704	22	AD 1357-1380*	AD 1346-1388*	See Figures B.23, B.24
X27458	UArizona-AMS	**LTUE05 L.14**	-24.5	539	29	AD 1414-1439	AD 1403-1448	AA103906 See Figure B.24
X27459	UArizona-AMS	**LTUE06 L18**	-24.8	606	29	AD 1326-1414	AD 1318-1428	AA103907 See Figure B.28
X27460	UArizona-AMS	**LTUE07 L8**	-21.9	419	29	AD 1455-1612	AD 1448-1623	AA103908 See Figure B.30
D-AMS 007829	Direct AMS	**LTUE07 L10**	-24.2	351	22	AD 1509-1580*	AD 1498-1599*	See Figure B.29

* For relative area under probability distribution see Table B.3.

Table B.3: Dates and relative distributions for samples run by D-AMS

```
RADIOCARBON CALIBRATION PROGRAM*
                              CALIB REV7.0.1
                 Copyright 1986-2014 M Stuiver and PJ Reimer
         *To be used in conjunction with:
         Stuiver, M., and Reimer, P.J., 1993, Radiocarbon, 35, 215-230.
                   Annotated results (text) - -
                   Export file - c14res.csv

SCUE01L.24
Lab Code
D-AMS 007823
Radiocarbon Age BP   1378 +/-   30
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                   probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 653- 683                      0.687
                            742- 760                      0.313
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 648- 693                      0.566
                            698- 765                      0.434

SDUE01L.8
Lab Code
D-AMS 007824
Radiocarbon Age BP   1378 +/-   23
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                   probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 655- 681                      0.772
                            746- 756                      0.228
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 648- 691                      0.645
                            702- 721                      0.044
                            731- 765                      0.311

TIUE01L.6
Lab Code
D-AMS 007825
Radiocarbon Age BP    399 +/-   25
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                   probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 1462- 1506                    0.584
                            1587- 1618                    0.416
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 1455- 1518                    0.485
                            1538- 1626                    0.515

LTUE04L.5
Lab Code
D-AMS 007826
Radiocarbon Age BP   1468 +/-   28
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                   probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 602- 619                      0.361
                            626- 649                      0.639
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 584- 659                      1.000
```

Table B.3 (continued): Dates and relative distributions for samples run by D-AMS

```
LTUE05L.15
Lab Code
D-AMS 007827
Radiocarbon Age BP    704 +/-   22
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                  probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 1295- 1315                    0.456
                            1357- 1380                    0.544
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 1285- 1323                    0.459
                            1346- 1388                    0.541

LTUE07L.10
Lab Code
D-AMS 007829
Radiocarbon Age BP    351 +/-   22
Calibration data set: shcal13.14c                # Hogg et al. 2013
  % area enclosed       cal AD age ranges            relative area under
                                                  probability distribution
  68.3 (1 sigma)     cal AD 1509- 1580                    0.898
                            1620- 1629                    0.102
  95.4 (2 sigma)     cal AD 1498- 1599                    0.800
                            1608- 1642                    0.200

 References for calibration datasets:
Alan G Hogg, Quan Hua, Paul G Blackwell, Caitlin E Buck, Thomas P Guilderson
Timothy J  Heaton, Mu Niu, Jonathan G Palmer, Paula J Reimer, Ron W Reimer,
Christian S M Turney, Susan R H Zimmerman
Radiocarbon 55(4). DOI: 10.2458/azu_js_rc.55.16783



Comments:
* This standard deviation (error) includes a lab error multiplier.
** 1 sigma = square root of (sample std. dev.^2 + curve std. dev.^2)
** 2 sigma = 2 x square root of (sample std. dev.^2 + curve std. dev.^2)
where ^2 = quantity squared.
[ ] = calibrated range impinges on end of calibration data set
0* = cannot calibrate due to nuclear testing C-14.
1955* or 1960* denote influence of nuclear testing C-14

NOTE:  Cal ages and ranges are rounded to the nearest year which
       may be too precise in many instances.  Users are advised to
       round results to the nearest 10 yr for samples with standard
       deviation in the radiocarbon age greater than 50 yr.
```

DirectAMS | Radiocarbon Dating Services

Dr. Ugo Zoppi
Director, Accelerator Mass Spectrometry Lab

06 November 2014

Zachary Chase
The University of Chicago
1126 E. 59th St
Chicago, IL 60637

Dear Zachary,

Your samples submitted for radiocarbon dating have been processed and measured by AMS. Following results were obtained:

DirectAMS code	Submitter ID	$\delta(^{13}C)$	Fraction of modern		Radiocarbon age	
		per mil	pMC	1σ error	BP	1σ error
D-AMS 007823	SCUE01/L.24	-29.9	84.24	0.31	1378	30
D-AMS 007824	SDUE01/L.8	-24.0	84.24	0.24	1378	23
D-AMS 007825	TIUEO1/L.6	-23.9	95.15	0.30	399	25
D-AMS 007826	LTUE04/L.5	-21.5	83.30	0.29	1468	28
D-AMS 007827	LTUE05/L.15	-23.2	91.61	0.25	704	22
D-AMS 007828	LTUE06/L.21					
D-AMS 007829	LTUE07/L.10	-24.2	95.72	0.26	351	22

All results have been corrected for isotopic fractionation with $\delta^{13}C$ values measured on the prepared graphite using the AMS spectrometer. These $\delta^{13}C$ values provide the most accurate radiocarbon ages but cannot be used to investigate environmental conditions.

Best regards,

Ugo Zoppi

Figure B.33: Letter from DirectAMS with radiocarbon dates

NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory

NSF-Arizona AMS Laboratory
(520) 621-6810 (phone)

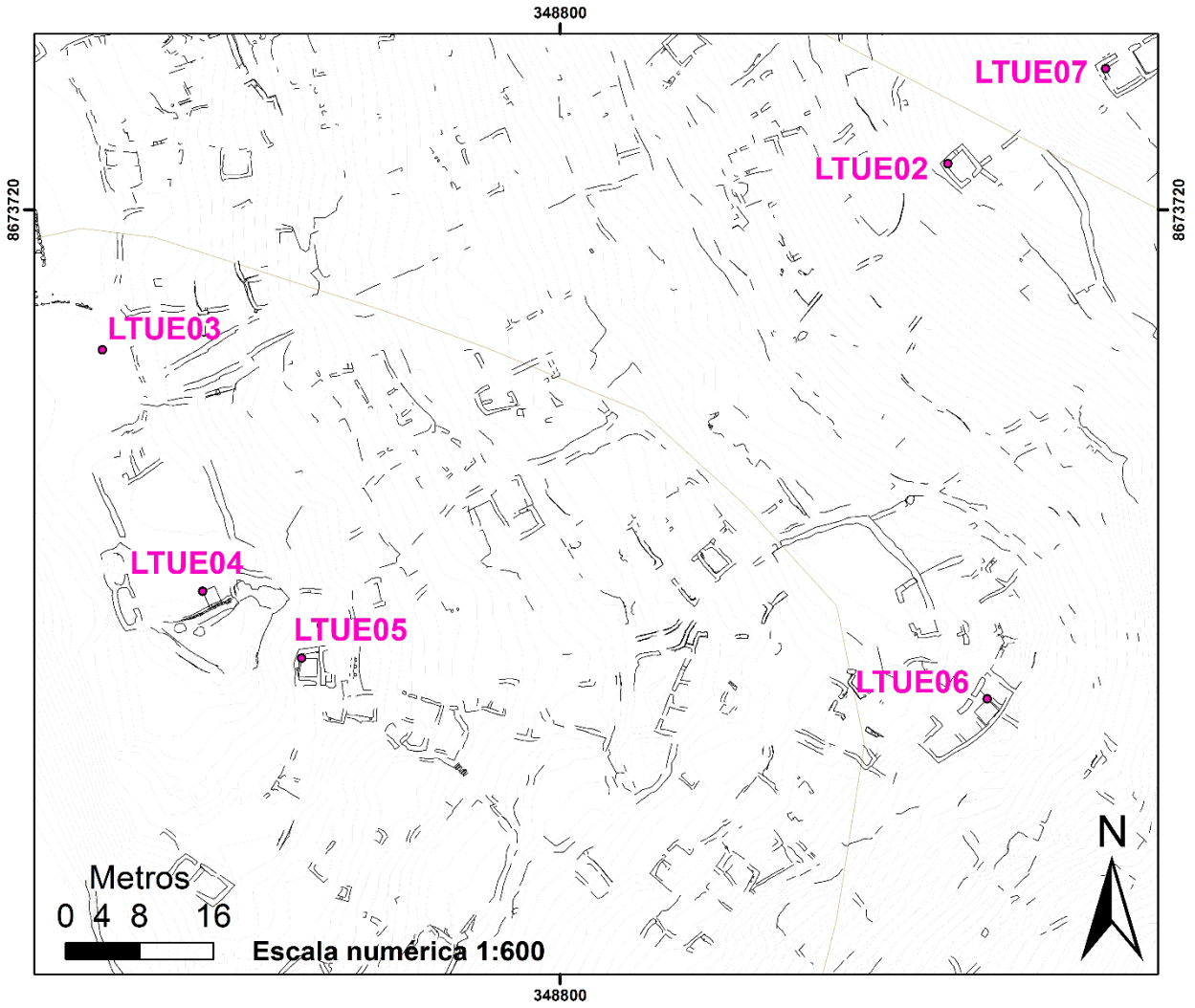
Physics Building
(520) 621-9619 (fax)
1118 East Fourth St.
AMS@physics.arizona.edu
PO Box 210081
University of Arizona
Tucson, AZ 85721-

DATA REPORT

"calibrated (calendar) age"

AA	lab #	Contact 1	sample ID	d13C value	14C age BP	d14C age	calib 1s	calib 2s
AA103905	X27457	Chase, Z.	2.SCUE01_L30	-23.4	2,062	31	59BC - 20AD	104BC - 52AD
AA103906	X27458	Chase, Z.	5.LTUE05_L14	-24.5	539	29	1414AD - 1439AD	1403AD - 1448AD
AA103907	X27459	Chase, Z.	10.LTUE06_L18	-24.8	606	29	1326AD - 1414AD	1318AD - 1428AD
AA103908	X27460	Chase, Z.	12.LTUE07_L8	-21.9	419	29	1455AD - 1612AD	1448AD - 1623AD

Figure B.34: Letter from University of Arizona AMS Laboratory with radiocarbon dates.



Unidad	Esquina NO (UTM E; N)
LTUE02	348842.078; 8673724.996
LTUE03	348750.337; 8673704.772
LTUE04	348761.224; 8673678.555
LTUE05	348771.959; 8673671.312
LTUE06	348846.338; 8673666.877
LTUE07	348859.192; 8673735.311

Proyección UTM 18S
Datum WGS1984
Fuente: Carta Nacional
IGM Perú Hoja 24k

ZJC
PAHLA 2010-11

Figure B.35: Location and distribution of test excavations at Llacsatambo (by units' northwest corners). (Map by author)

APPENDIX C

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto Faunal Report

ANALISIS DE LOS RESTOS DE FAUNA DEL PROYECTO ARQUEOLOGICO HUAROCHIRI-LURIN ALTO
(Prepared for PAHLA)

Por

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Trujillo, Agosto 2013

1. METODOS DE

ANÁLISIS Vertebrados:

Peces

En relación a los restos de peces, se encuentran representados por una sola vértebra. Para su identificación taxonómica, se precisó la ubicación de la vértebra en el esqueleto axial del pez y luego la identificación taxonómica se realizó principalmente utilizando la colección comparativa de esqueletos de peces nor-costeros del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas-"ARQUEOBIOS". También se ha consultado bibliografía especializada como: Allen y Ross (1994), Barreda (1978), Casteel (1976), Collete y Chao (1975), Espino *et al,* (1986), Falabella *et al,* (1995, 1994), Greenwood (1976), Chirichigno (1974), Medina Chauca (1982), Morales y Rosenlund (1979), Pannoux (1991), Rosello (1986), Rojo (1990), Lepiksaar (1979), Sasaki (1989), Vegas (1987), Yee (1987), y la bioinformática, como es el caso de páginas web especializadas en peces (i.e. www.fishdatabase.org).

Aves y Mamíferos

Los restos de aves corresponden únicamente a un coracoides el cual una vez ubicado anatómicamente y lateralmente, se procedió a su identificación taxonómica, midiendo el hueso y comparando esta medida con la base de datos de Gilbert *et al.* (1981). También se emplearon colecciones óseas comparativas de aves modernas del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas "ARQUEOBIOS" y la revisión de bibliografía especializada como: Gilbert *et al.* (1981), Driesch (1976), Koepcke (1970), Olsen (1979).

Los restos correspondientes a mamíferos (que en algunos sectores estuvieron muy fragmentados), fueron sometidos a una identificación de los restos, tomando como patrón anatómico esqueletos de un roedor (*Cavia porcellus*), carnívoro (*Felis catus*) y herbívoro típico (*Lama glama*). La identificación taxonómica se realizó por el método comparativo con muestras del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas "ARQUEOBIOS".

También se utilizaron trabajos especializados como: Altamirano (1983), Ziswiler (1980), Olsen (1968, 1982), Driesch (1976), Chaplin (1971), Hershkovitz (1959), Pacheco *et al.* (1979), Boessneck (1982), Brazier (1929), Emmons (1990), Flower (1876), Gardner y Romo (1993), Greenwood (1976), Gilbert (1990), Glass (1965), Hesse y Wapnish (1985), Hillson (1992), Kasper (1980),

Lawlor (1979), Mori (1958), Myers *et al.* (1990), Pasquini y Spurgeon (1989), Rosi (1988), Sisson y Grossman (1990), Schmid (1972). Silver (1982), Davis (1989) y herramientas bioinformáticas (uso de base de datos de colecciones de fauna neotropical prehispánica e hispánica).

Proceso de cuantificación de los restos de vertebrados

Se ha calculado para los diversos grupos zoológicos la abundancia taxonómica usando el método más común como es el NISP (Número de Especímenes Identificados) y el peso (gramos) para los vertebrados.

Los restos de pez y ave, aunque en mínima cantidad también fueron cuantificados por NISP y peso. Debido a que sus restos están en menor proporción dentro de la muestra analizada, no se realizó otro tipo de cuantificación específica, solo detallándose porcentualmente su presencia dentro de los cuadros de abundancia taxonómica y diagramas porcentuales.

Con los restos óseos de mamíferos la cuantificación también se realizó por NISP y peso (gramos), para los taxa identificados. La predominancia de huesos fragmentados de *Camelidae, Odocoileus virginianus*, *Bos taurus, Ovicaprinos, Sus scrofa domestica,* hizo complicado el cálculo del NMI por lo cual este no se realizó y como los demás grupos fueron cuantificados por NISP, este mismo estimador de abundancia taxonómica se aplico para todos los grupos zoológicos, incluyendo también el peso.

Por otro lado, debido a que la colección de vertebrados estaba muy fragmentada, se realizó una estrategia para poder añadir en una categoría taxonómica aceptable a los restos muy fragmentados. Esta consistió en identificar en el nivel mas adecuado posible los restos de vertebrados fragmentados, para lo cual se recurrió a reparar (unir) fragmentos que se correspondían a una unidad anatómica mas diagnóstica para la identificación taxonómica.

Una vez identificados los taxa de una muestra fragmentada (por ejemplo un loci), aquellos fragmentos pequeños fueron asignados a la categoría taxonómica más superior de los taxa identificada, es decir, si se había identificado *Lama sp., Odocoileus* y/o algún vertebrado hispánico como *Capra,* se le asignaba a estos fragmentos como *Artiodactyla*, siendo que este orden agrupa a los camélidos, cervidos, bovidos y suidos, los cuales podrían estar representados entre los fragmentos, discriminándoles bien de los restos humanos o de mamíferos carnívoros, que tienen otras características óseas.

Para diferenciar estos fragmentos, se les asigno tres categorías:

fragmentos de diáfisis de huesos largos, fragmentos de epífisis de huesos largos y fragmentos de huesos planos. Cuando no se pudo reconocer algún fragmento a la categoría de *Artiodactyla*, esta fue asignada como mamífero no identificado.

Osteometria de Camélidos

La identificación de los restos de camélidos al nivel específico se efectuó utilizando un método cuantitativo basado en la osteometría según las variables sugeridas por Kent (1982), luego se procedió con un análisis discriminante (Kent 1982).

Con respecto a la osteometría utilizada para *Camelidae*, se estudiaron primeras falanges, astrágalos y un calcáneo. Está técnica se basa en la utilización de medidas univariadas para cada elemento óseo y la asociación de técnicas estadísticas, como las variables discriminantes y coeficientes de clasificación.

Las medidas se efectuaron con un vernier de ±0,05 mm de precisión, realizando tres veces las medidas para las variables que se iban a medir (ver anexos) y sacando un promedio aproximado para cada una de ellas para luego identificar a que resto de camélidos pertenece. Las fórmulas del análisis discriminante fueron puestas en una hoja de cálculo Excel y los datos osteométricos fueron ingresados a ella

Estructuras de Edad

Las estructuras de edad están básicamente relacionadas al estudio del desgaste dentario de los maxilares superiores e inferiores y algunos dientes sueltos, en el caso de los camélidos y otros artiodáctilos (Wheeler 1982). Para el caso de los incisivos de camélidos se procedió a estimar la edad según el trabajo de Puig y Monge (1983). La aplicación de estos dos métodos sin embargo puede tener un efecto diferencial por estar realizados el primero sobre mandíbulas (Wheeler 1982) y sobre incisivos de camélidos chilenos en el otro caso (Puig y Monge 1983).

Con los datos de edad obtenidos se hizo cuadros descriptivos con los intervalos de edad encontrados en el estudio (6 meses, 9 meses, 1-2 años, 2-3 años, 3-4 años y >6 años).

El mismo procedimiento se realizó para el caso de *Capra hircus* y *Sus scrofa domestica*, estudiándose los estadios de erupción y desgaste dentario según Payne (1973) para *Capra,* y Bull & Payne (1982) para *Sus scrofa*

domestica.

Partes Anatómicas

A partir de los elementos óseos identificados para las especies más representativas de cada sector, se realizó una cuantificación según regiones anatómicas. En este caso se considero las siguientes: cráneo (huesos craneales y maxilares), tórax (columna vertebral, costillas y esternebras), extremidades anteriores (omóplato, húmero, radio-ulna, metacarpiano y carpianos) y extremidades posteriores (pelvis, fémur, tibia, metatarsiano y tarsianos). Se hizo la cuantificación porcentual para cada una de estas y así tratar de encontrar algún patrón de preferencia por alguna región en especial, y también para averiguar si los animales fueron criados en el sitio o traídos en piezas de otro lugar.

Los datos se presentan en tablas y diagramas de frecuencias porcentuales para el caso de *Lama sp.* en los sitios de Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal, los cuales tienen muestras representativas y equiparables para una comparación. También se presentan tablas de distribución de elementos anatómicos para *Bos taurus, Capra hircus, Sus scrofa* y *Odocoileus virginianus,* pero estas no son representativas por estar con menor cantidad de elementos óseos.

Tafonomía

Como parte de los aspectos tafonómicos de la muestra ósea estudiada, hemos enfatizado nuestro estudio sobre algunos utensilios óseos recuperados de las excavaciones. Al carecer de una base de datos de esta especialidad se ha procedido a realizar un estudio preliminar dividiéndolo en categorías y realizando una clasificación de éstas.

Para la clasificación se ha tenido en cuenta la morfología de estas evidencias incidiendo en la observación de la parte activa, notándose las siguientes clases: a) instrumentos con la parte activa puntiaguda, b) instrumentos con la parte activa roma, c) instrumentos con la parte activa plana,
d) instrumentos macizos, e) instrumentos huecos, f) objetos escultóricos, g) piezas seccionadas, y h) piezas indefinidas.

Luego se trató de identificar taxonómicamente a nivel de familia, género o especie, para lo cual se utilizo material óseo comparativo sin alteraciones antrópicas, de la colección del Centro de Investigaciones Arqueobiológicas y Paleoecológicas Andinas "ARQUEOBIOS". La información se presenta en cuadros de distribución según contextos. También se ha cuantificado aquellos elementos óseos con huellas de cortes y quemados, para conocer aspectos de la carnicería y algo sobre la forma del consumo de las piezas cárnicas.

2. RESULTADOS

A continuación se presenta la sistemática y taxonomía de los restos de fauna identificados en los sectores excavados en el PAHLA, la cuantificación efectuada según sectores, y una distribución porcentual de los grupos zoológicos representativos en los sitios excavados.

2.1 Sistemática y taxonomía de los Restos de Fauna

Phyllum Mollusca

Clase: Bivalvia Familia:
Mytilidae *Aulacomya ater*
Familia: Spondylidae "choro común"
Spondylus princeps
"mullu"

Phyllum Chordata

Clase Pisces
Sub-Clase Chondrichthyes
Familia Triakidae *Mustelus sp.*
"tollo"

Clase Aves
Orden Passeriformes

Clase Mammalia
Orden: Rodentia "roedores" **Familia:**
Muridae "ratones de campo" **Familia:**
Caviidae
Cavia porcellus "cuy"

Orden: Carnivora
Familia: Canidae
Dusicyon culpaeus "zorro andino"
Familia: Felidae
Felis sp. "gato silvestre"

Orden: Artiodactyla Familia:
Cervidae *Odocoileus*
virginianus **Familia:** "venado cola blanca"
Camelidae

Lama sp. **Familia:**
Bovidae
Bos taurus "vaca"
Capra hircus "cabra"
Ovis aries "oveja"
Familia: Suidae
Sus scrofa domestica "cerdo"

1.2. Cuantificación y Distribución de los Restos de Fauna

Los restos de fauna identificados taxonómicamente fueron cuantificados según contextos y sitios, para posteriormente expresar esta abundancia taxonómica según cada sitio. A continuación la información que se ha obtenido después de su análisis.

Table C.1. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados de San Damián

PAHLA: SAN DAMIÁN: UNIDAD 1: SECTOR SE								
Taxa	Locus 1		Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 4	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae								
Mustelus sp.								
Paseriformes								
Muridae								
Cavia porcellus								
Dusicyon culpaeus								
Felis sp.								
Carnívora								
Odocoileus virginianus								
Lama sp.								
Bos taurus	4	93,00	1	1,00				
Capra hircus								
Sus scrofa	6	42,00					2	5,88
Artiodactyla	8	19,00	5	6,00			3	3,30
Mamífero n/i					1	0,16		
Total	18	154,00	6	7,00	1	0,16	5	9,18

Table C.2. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del sector Inka-Unidad 2, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR INKA: UNIDAD 2										
Taxa	Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 4		Locus 5		Locus 6	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae										
Mustelus sp.										
Paseriformes										
Muridae										
Cavia porcellus										
Dusicyon culpaeus	1	5,66								
Felis sp.									1	0,78
Carnívora										
Odocoileus virginianus										
Lama sp.							8	136,53	2	15,14
Bos taurus										
Capra hircus										
Sus scrofa					2	6,93	14	71,96		
Artiodactyla			1	2,62	1	0,96	10	24,00	2	2,53
Mamífero n/i	1	0,65								
Total	2	6,31	1	2,62	3	7,89	32	232,49	5	18,45

Table C.3. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados de las Plazas, Llacsatambo.

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: PLAZAS										
Taxa	UNIDAD 3		UNIDAD 4							
	Locus 1		Locus 2		Locus 9		Locus 11		Locus 12	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae										
Mustelus sp.										
Paseriformes										
Muridae										
Cavia porcellus			2	1,00					52*	15,48
Dusicyon culpaeus	1	9,48								
Felis sp.										
Carnívora										
Odocoileus virginianus										
Lama sp.										
Bos taurus										
Capra hircus										
Sus scrofa			1	1,85						
Artiodactyla	1	1,65	1	1,46						
Mamífero n/i			1	0,41			3	1,39		
Total	2	11,13	5	4,72			3	1,39	52	15,48

Table C.4. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del sector Sur, Unidad 5, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR SUR: UNIDAD 5																														
Taxa	Locus 1		Locus 5		Locus 6		Locus 7		Locus 8		Locus 9		Locus 10		Locus 12		Locus 13		Locus 14		Locus 15		Locus 16		Locus 17		Locus 19		Limpieza	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae																														
Mustelus sp.																														
Paseriformes																														
Muridae																														
Cavia porcellus																	1	0,49												
Dusicyon culpaeus																														
Felis sp.																														
Carnívora																														
Odocoileus virginianus																														
Lama sp.	3	5,32	4	12,52	8	66,87	2	2,98	5	17,78	2	6,76	2	25,67	2	9,96	8	20,17	18	51,34	4	11,85			1	0,57	1	2,13		
Bos taurus																														
Capra hircus																														
Sus scrofa																														
Artiodactyla	10	11,49	3	4,93	4	5,03			3	6,84	3	4,08	4	5,33	1	1,66	7	8,02	8	10,98	3	1,35	1	1,20	2	1,17	3	3,43	3	4,39
Mamífero n/i																														
Total	13	16,81	7	17,45	12	71,90	2	2,98	8	24,62	5	10,84	6	31,00	3	11,62	16	28,68	26	62,32	7	13,20	1	1,20	3	1,74	4	5,56	3	4,39

Table C.5. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados de la Entrada SE Unidad 6, Llacsatambo.

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: ENTRADA SE UNIDAD 6																																				
Taxa	Locus 1		Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 5		Locus 6		Locus 7		Locus 8		Locus 9		Locus 10		Locus 11		Locus 13/19		Locus 14		Locus 15		Locus 17		Locus 18		Locus 20		Locus 21		Locus 22	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae													1	0,10							1	0,56														
Mustelus sp.																			1	0,04																
Paseriformes																																				
Muridae																																				
Cavia porcellus									1	0,24	1	0,15																								
Dusicyon culpaeus																																				
Felis sp.																																				
Carnívora											1	3,11																								
Odocoileus virginianus					1	11,28							11	41,00					1	8,15			31	118,29	5	18,37										
Lama sp.			16	190,00	11	37,60			4	19,88	16	47,19	6	83,05			6	19,16	27	814,68			32	429,00	5	19,10	23	208,82	2	5,59	3	7,68	7	15,33		
Bos taurus																																				
Capra hircus													2	7,73																						
Sus scrofa																																				
Artiodactyla	1	0,61	21	29,00	13	23,69	1	0,68	9	10,97	23	32,55	19	27,92	2	0,66	6	7,07	10	20,93			28	57,85	19	27,06	20	21,00	2	1,16	6	6,58	5	5,65	3	2,14
Mamífero n/i																																				
Total	1	0,61	37	219,00	25	72,57	1	0,68	14	31,09	41	83,00	39	159,80	2	0,66	12	26,23	39	843,80	1	0,56	91	605,14	29	64,53	43	229,82	4	6,75	9	14,26	12	20,98	3	2,14

Table C.6. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del Sector Norte Unidad 7, Llacsatambo.

PAHL: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR NORTE: UNIDAD 7																						
Taxa	Locus 1		Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 4		Locus 5		Locus 6		Locus 7		Locus 8		Locus 8/10		Locus 11		Perfiles	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae																						
Mustelus sp.																						
Paseriformes															1	0,21						
Muridae																						
Cavia porcellus	1	0,48									1	0,25										
Dusicyon culpaeus																						
Felis sp.																						
Carnívora																						
Odocoileus virginianus					19	98,58			3	87,29									1	32,63		
Lama sp.					7	33,97	1	1,91	2	30,10	15	100,52					1	15,72			2	160,00
Bos taurus			3	31,88																		
Capra hircus			1	20,63																		
Sus scrofa																						
Artiodactyla			16	24,58	49	74,65	8	16,13	4	1,25	13	25,12			5	7,44	1	0,29	4	6,98	5	12,34
Mamífero n/i	1	0,47											1	0,12								
Total	2	0,95	20	77,09	75	207,20	9	18,04	9	118,64	29	125,89	1	0,12	6	7,65	2	16,01	5	39,61	7	172,34

Table C.7. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del Tambo 3 Unidad 1, Tambo Inka

PAHLA: TAMBO INKA: TAMBO 3: UNIDAD 1						
Taxa	Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 4	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae						
Mustelus sp.						
Paseriformes						
Muridae						
Cavia porcellus			1	0,69		
Dusicyon culpaeus						
Felis sp.						
Carnívora						
Odocoileus virginianus						
Lama sp.						
Bos taurus						
Capra hircus	3	125,43			1	39,90
Sus scrofa	15	128,51	2	4,64	10	210,36
Artiodactyla						
Mamífero n/i						
Total	18	253,94	3	5,33	11	250,26

Tablee C.8. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del Sector Este Unidad 1, San Cristóbal

PAHLA: SAN CRISTÓBAL: SECTOR ESTE: UNIDAD 1																						
Taxa	Locus 1		Locus 2		Locus 3		Locus 4		Locus 6		Locus 8		Locus 9		Locus 10		Locus 11		Locus 12		Locus 13	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae																						
Mustelus sp.																						
Paseriformes																						
Muridae							2	0,37														
Cavia porcellus							1	0,22	1	0,26			1	0,23					1	0,60		
Dusicyon culpaeus																						
Felis sp.																						
Carnívora																						
Odocoileus virginianus													7	47,57								
Lama sp.	8	24,01			1	9,14	20	92,00	4	10,82	24	39,45	57	449,07	12	54,00	7	28,27	41	279,00	12	28,25
Bos taurus																						
Capra hircus									3	4,32												
Sus scrofa																						
Artiodactyla	12	18,43	1	0,96	6	13,56	28	83,60	8	29,42	31	49,45	85	155,89	40	82,00	34	48,01	85	111,00	50	59,00
Mamífero n/i					1	1,01													1	0,88		
Total	20	42,44	1	0,96	8	23,71	51	176,19	16	44,82	55	88,90	150	652,76	52	136,00	41	76,28	128	391,48	62	87,25

Table C.9. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados del Sector Este Unidad 1, San Cristóbal

PAHLA: SAN CRISTÓBAL: SECTOR ESTE: UNIDAD 1																								
Taxa	Locus 14		Locus 15		Locus 16		Locus 17		Locus 19		Locus 19/23		Locus 22		Locus 24		Locus 26		Locus 27		Locus 29		Locus 30	
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Mytilidae																								
Mustelus sp.																								
Paseriformes																								
Muridae											2	0,34												
Cavia porcellus	1	0,40																	2	1,99				
Dusicyon culpaeus																								
Felis sp.																								
Carnívora																								
Odocoileus virginianus	1	37,60																						
Lama sp.	25	110,90	5	14,00	1	2,99			14	80,07	3	12,37	7	14,45	11	45,91	4	10,16	1	4,45	1	2,80	1	8,42
Bos taurus																								
Capra hircus																								
Sus scrofa																								
Artiodactyla	37	64,00	8	7,98	12	13,48	5	4,32	39	60,00	30	36,19	18	19,48	34	43,18	19	12,87	2	2,43			8	18,47
Mamífero n/i																								
Total	64	212,90	13	21,98	13	16,47	5	4,32	53	140,07	35	48,90	25	33,93	45	89,09	23	23,03	5	8,87	1	2,80	9	26,89

Table C.10. Abundancia taxonómica según NISP, peso y contextos de los restos de vertebrados de la Prospección

PAHLA: PROSPECCIÓN																						
	SAN CRISTÓBAL										SAN DAMIÁN				LLACSATAMBO						0067/PAHLA0020	
	TRANSECTO								SECTOR		TRANSECTO				SECTOR						GPS1	
	SCT7.3		SCT7.7		SCT8.4		SCT10		C 1		L/T		S/J		20		Entrada SE-Alta		LEA			
	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso	NISP	Peso
Aulacomya ater																					2	2,92
Spondylus princeps											1	1,70										
Mamífero n/i	1	1,79	1	2,98	1	0,30	3	6,98	1	4,22					1	2,17	1	1,42	2	6,17		
Metal													1	17,08								

Table C.11. Abundancia taxonómica y frecuencias según NISP, peso y sitios de los restos de vertebrados de PAHLA

Taxa	San Damian				Llacsatambo				Tambo Inka				San Cristobal			
	NISP	%	Peso	%	NISP	%	Peso	%	NISP	%	Peso	%	NISP	%	Peso	%
Mytilidae					2	0,3	0,66	0,02								
Mustelus sp.					1	0,1	0,04	0,00								
Paseriformes					1	0,1	0,21	0,01								
Muridae													4	0,5	0,71	0,03
Cavia porcellus					59	7,5	18,09	0,48	1	3,1	0,69	0,14	7	0,8	3,70	0,16
Dusicyon culpaeus					2	0,3	15,14	0,40								
Felis sp.					1	0,1	0,78	0,02								
Carnívora					1	0,1	3,11	0,08								
Odocoileus virginianus					72	9,1	415,59	11,02					8	0,9	85,17	3,62
Lama sp.					256	32,4	2624,89	69,63					259	29,6	1320,53	56,19
Bos taurus	5	16,7	94,0	55,20	3	0,4	31,88	0,85								
Capra hircus					3	0,4	28,36	0,75	4	12,5	165,33	32,45	3	0,3	4,32	0,18
Sus scrofa	8	26,7	47,9	28,12	17	2,2	80,74	2,14	27	84,4	343,51	67,42				
Artiodactyla	16	53,3	28,3	16,62	364	46,1	547,42	14,52					592	67,7	933,72	39,73
Mamífero n/i	1	3,3	0,16	0,09	7	0,9	3,04	0,08					2	0,2	1,89	0,08
Total	30		170,3		789		3769,95		32		509,53		875		2350,04	

Figure C.1. Distribución porcentual de los principales grupos zoológicos identificados por sitios para PAHLA

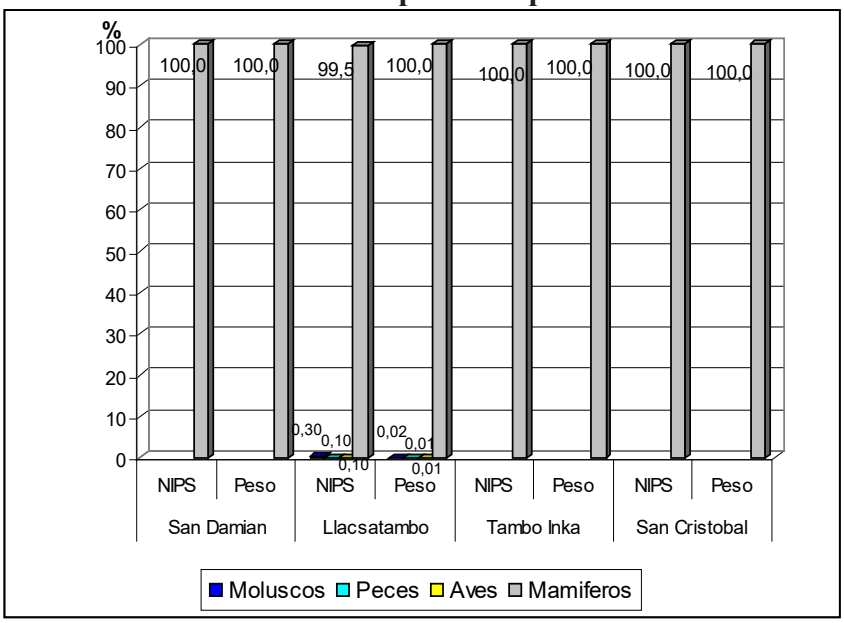


Figure C.2. Distribución porcentual de las principales especies identificadas según NISP y sitios en PAHLA.

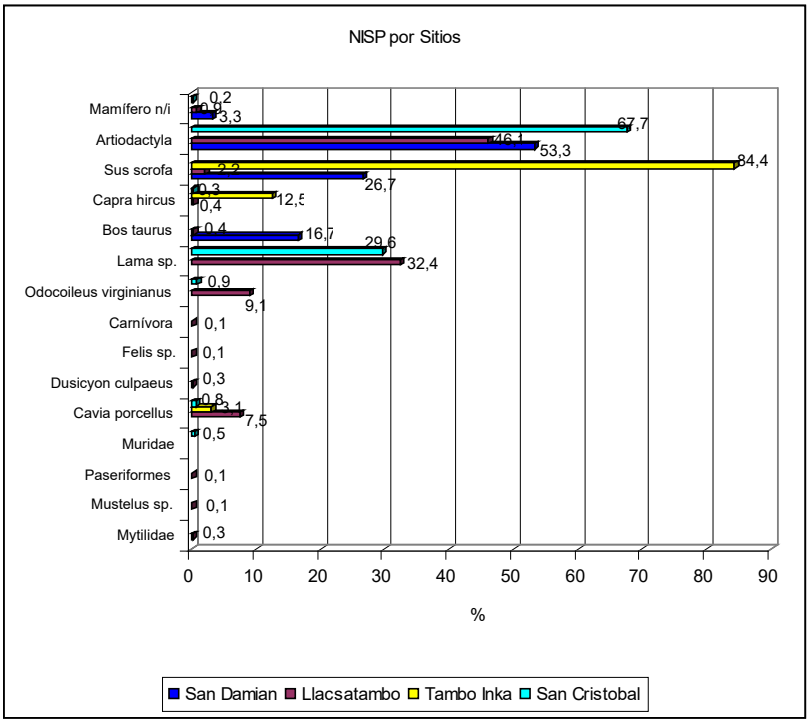
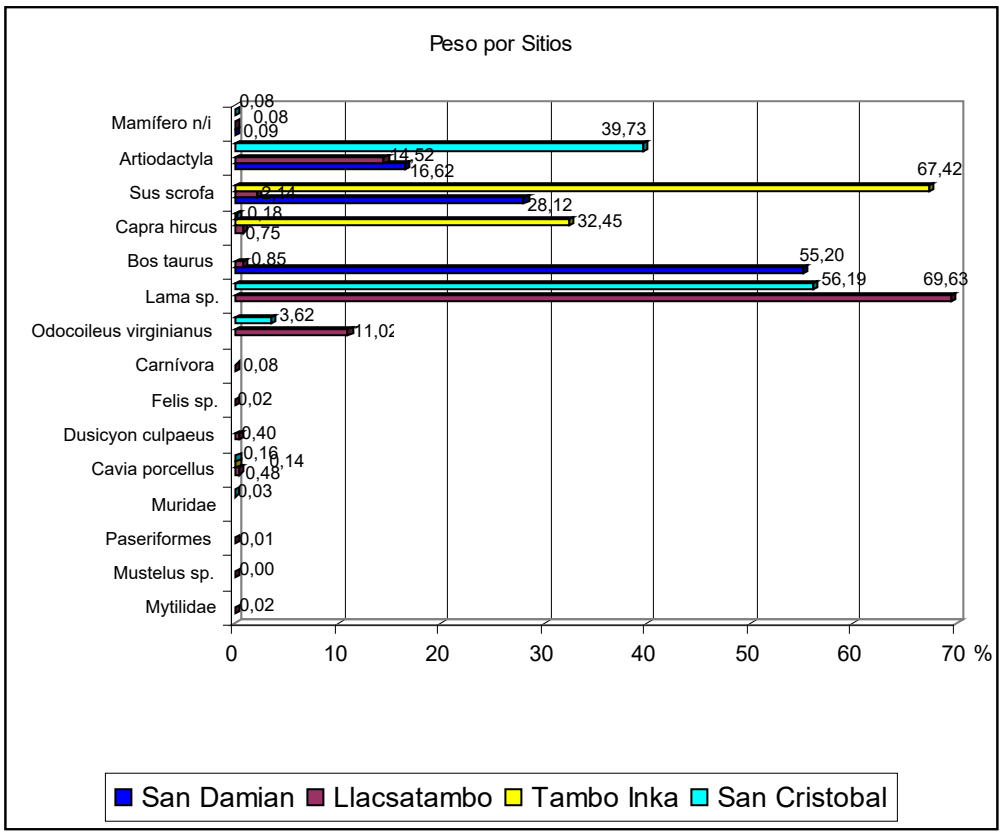


Figure C.3. Distribución porcentual de las principales especies identificadas según Peso (gramos) en lAos sitios de PAHLA.



2.3 Osteometría de Camélidos

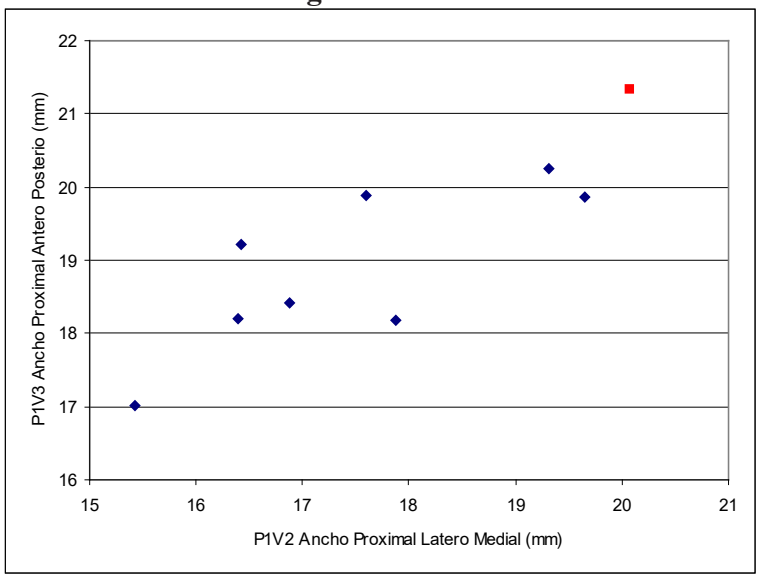
Se presentan datos osteométricos de ocho primeras falanges de camélido que provienen de Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal de PAHLA.

Table C.12. Datos osteométricos de ocho primeras falanges de camélido de PAHLA

PAHLA: Osteometría en Primeras falanges delanteras de *Lama sp.*										
Procedencia	P1V1	P1V2	P1V3	P1V4	P1V5	CCG	CCL	CCA	CCV	Taxa
Llacsatambo, Sector S, U5, L5		19,87	19,65			201,527	204,592	230,176	134,754	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Sector S, U5, L6		18,21	16,40			99,0171	113,055	147,606	65,421	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Sector S, U5, L14	58,55	19,21	16,42	15,15	14,30	311,028	319,947	320,185	311,968	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Entrada SE, U6, L8	55,80	17,01	15,42	14,00	13,66	251,065	265,482	274,501	269,812	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Entrada SE, U6, L14	61,95	19,89	17,59	15,66	14,74	364,458	367,409	362,265	353,582	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Sector N, U7, L6		20,25	19,31			192,992	196,645	222,308	127,093	Alpaca
Llacsatambo, Sector N, U7, L6		18,18	17,87			142,296	152,16	183,866	97,3554	Alpaca
San Cristóbal Este, U1, L4	55,23	18,42	16,88	15,19	14,45	299,224	312,038	314,806	302,44	Alpaca

CCG= coeficiente clasificación Guanaco; CCL= coeficiente clasificación Llama; CCA: coeficiente clasificación Alpaca CCV= coeficiente clasificación Vicuña

Figure C.4. Diagrama bivariado de una muestra de ocho falanges de camélidos de PAHLA

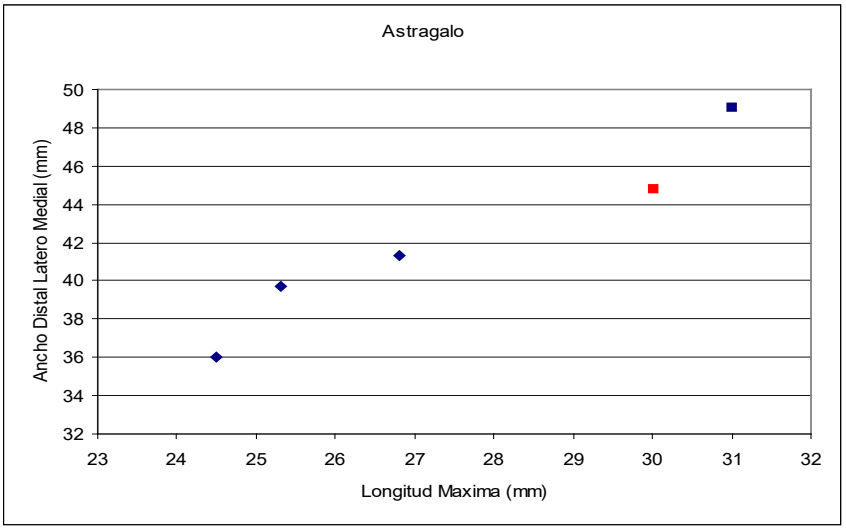


Lama glama (square) *Vicugna pacos* (diamond)

Table C.13. Datos osteométricos de cuatro astragalos de camélido de Llacsatambo

PAHLA: Osteometría en Astragalo derecho de *Lama sp.*						
	Norma dorsalis					Norma lateralis
Procedencia	181	185	186	188	190	187
Llacsatambo, Sector Inka, U2, L5	41,59	44,78	27,58	30,01	26,72	25,65
Llacsatambo, Entrada SE, U6, L2	36,74	39,72	26,97	25,30	25,49	21,65
Llacsatambo, Entrada SE, U6, L11	37,99	41,29	29,86	26,80	26,09	21,66
PAHLA: Osteometría en Astragalo izquierdo de *Lama sp.*						
	Norma dorsalis					Norma lateralis
Procedencia	181	185	186	188	190	187
Llacsatambo, Sector S, U5, L13	33,53	36,05	22,27	24,49	21,55	20,3

Figure C.5. Diagrama bivariado de una muestra de cuatro astragalos de camélidos de PAHLA y un astragalo moderno de *Lama glama* "llama" (cuadrado azul)



Lama glama (square) *Vicugna pacos* (diamond)

Table C.14. Datos osteométricos de un (01) calcáneo de camélido de Llacsatambo

Osteometría Calcáneo derecho identificado como			***Lama glama.***
Procedencia	Norma plantar		Norma lateral
	182	183	184
Llacsatambo, Entrada SE, U6, L11	92,00	30,76	39,74

1.4 Partes Anatómicas

Table C.15. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Bos taurus* en sector SE, San Damián

PAHLA: SAN DAMIÁN: UNIDAD 1: SECTOR SE: Partes anatómicas de *Bos taurus*						
Elementos óseos	Locus 1 NISP	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo						
Hioides						
Maxilar superior						
Mandibula						
Dientes	1	1			2	40,0
V. Cervicales						
V. Toraxica						
V. Lumbares						
V. Coxígeas						
Sacro						
Costillas						
Esternebras						
Pelvis						
Omóplato						
Húmero						
Radiocúbito						
Metacarpiano						
Carpiano						
Fémur						
Tibia						
Rótula						
Metatarsiano	1				1	20,0
Metapodio						
Tarsianos	1				1	20,0
Calcáneo						
Astragalo						
1º Falange						
2º Falange	1				1	20,0
3º Falange						
Total	4	1			5	100,0

Table C.16. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Sus scrofa domestica* en sector SE, San Damián

PAHLA: SAN DAMIÁN: UNIDAD 1: SECTOR SE: Partes anatómicas de *Sus scrofa*						
Elementos óseos	Locus 1 NISP	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo						
Hioides						
Maxilar superior						
Mandibula						
Dientes						
V. Cervicales	1				1	12,5
V. Toraxica						
V. Lumbares						
V. Coxígeas						
Sacro						
Costillas	2				2	25,0
Esternebras						
Pelvis						
Omóplato						
Húmero	1				1	12,5
Radiocúbito	2				2	25,0
Metacarpiano						
Carpiano						
Fémur						
Tibia						
Rótula						
Metatarsiano				1	1	12,5
Metapodio						
Tarsianos						
Calcáneo						
Astragalo						
1º Falange						
2º Falange				1	1	12,5
3º Falange						
Total	6			2	8	100,0

Table C.17. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Sus scrofa domestica* en Sector Inka, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR INKA: UNIDAD 2: Partes anatómicas de *Sus scrofa*							
Elementos óseos	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Locus 5 NISP	Locus 6 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo							
Hioides							
Maxilar superior							
Mandibula				3		3	18,8
Dientes							
V. Cervicales			2	1		3	18,8
V. Toraxica							
V. Lumbares							
V. Coxígeas							
Sacro							
Costillas							
Esternebras							
Pelvis							
Omóplato							
Húmero				1		1	6,3
Radiocúbito				2		2	12,5
Metacarpiano				2		2	12,5
Carpiano							
Fémur				3		3	18,8
Tibia							
Rótula							
Metatarsiano							
Metapodio							
Tarsianos							
Calcáneo				1		1	6,3
Astragalo							
1º Falange							
2º Falange				1		1	6,3
3º Falange							
Total			2	14		16	100,0

Table C.18. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Sus scrofa domestica* en Sector Tambo Inka

PAHLA: TAMBO INKA: TAMBO 3: UNIDAD 1: Partes anatómicas de *Sus scrofa*					
Elementos óseos	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo	1		1	2	7,4
Hioides					
Maxilar superior	1			1	3,7
Mandibula			1	1	3,7
Dientes	2			2	7,4
V. Cervicales		1	1	2	7,4
V. Toraxica	1			1	3,7
V. Lumbares					
V. Coxígeas					
Sacro					
Costillas	2		1	3	11,1
Esternebras					
Pelvis					
Omóplato					
Húmero	1	1	1	3	11,1
Radiocúbito			2	2	7,4
Metacarpiano					
Carpiano					
Fémur	1			1	3,7
Tibia			2	2	7,4
Rótula					
Metatarsiano	1			1	3,7
Metapodio					
Tarsianos	4			4	14,8
Calcáneo					
Astragalo	1			1	3,7
1º Falange					
2º Falange			1	1	3,7
3º Falange					
Total	15	2	10	27	100,0

Table C.19. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Odocoileus virginianus* en Sector Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: ENTRADA SE: UNIDAD 6: Partes anatómicas de *Odocoileus virginianus*																				
Elementos	Locus 1	Locus 2	Locus 3	Locus 5	Locus 6	Locus 7	Locus 8	Locus 9	Locus 10	Locus 11	Locus 14	Locus 15	Locus 17	Locus 18	Locus 20	Locus 21	Locus 22	Total	%
óseos	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP		
Cráneo																			
Hioides																			
Maxilar superior																			
Mandibula																			
Dientes																			
V. Cervicales																			
V. Toraxica																			
V. Lumbares																			
V. Coxígeas																			
Sacro																			
Costillas											3							3	6,1
Esternebras																			
Pelvis																			
Omóplato																			
Húmero			1															1	2,0
Radiocúbito																			
Metacarpiano																			
Carpiano																			
Fémur																			
Tibia																			
Rótula																			
Metatarsiano																			
Metapodio																			
Tarsianos																			
Calcáneo										1								1	2,0
Astragalo																			
1º Falange											5							5	10,2
2º Falange							3				15	2						20	40,8
3º Falange							8				8	3						19	38,8
Total			1				11			1	31	5						49	100,0

Table C.20. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Odocoileus virginianus* en Sector Llacsatambo

PAHL: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR NORTE: UNIDAD 7: Partes anatómicas de *Odocoileus virginianus*												
Elementos	Locus 1	Locus 2	Locus 3	Locus 4	Locus 5	Locus 6	Locus 7	Locus 8	Locus 8/10	Locus 11	Total	%
óseos	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP		
Cráneo												
Hioides												
Maxilar superior												
Mandibula					1						1	4,3
Dientes												
V. Cervicales			2								2	8,7
V. Toraxica												
V. Lumbares			1								1	4,3
V. Coxígeas												
Sacro												
Costillas			1								1	4,3
Esternebras												
Pelvis			3								3	13,0
Omóplato												
Húmero					1					1	2	8,7
Radiocúbito												
Metacarpiano					1						1	4,3
Carpiano												
Fémur			5								5	21,7
Tibia			2								2	8,7
Rótula			1								1	4,3
Metatarsiano												
Metapodio												
Tarsianos												
Calcáneo												
Astragalo			2								2	8,7
1º Falange												
2º Falange			1								1	4,3
3º Falange			1								1	4,3
Total			19		3					1	23	100,0

Table C.21. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Capra hircus* en Sector Tambo Inka

PAHLA: TAMBO INKA: TAMBO 3: UNIDAD 1: Partes anatómicas de *Capra hircus*					
Elementos óseos	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo	1			1	25,0
Hioides					
Maxilar superior	1			1	25,0
Mandibula	1		1	2	50,0
Dientes					
V. Cervicales					
V. Toraxica					
V. Lumbares					
V. Coxígeas					
Sacro					
Costillas					
Esternebras					
Pelvis					
Omóplato					
Húmero					
Radiocúbito					
Metacarpiano					
Carpiano					
Fémur					
Tibia					
Rótula					
Metatarsiano					
Metapodio					
Tarsianos					
Calcáneo					
Astragalo					
1º Falange					
2º Falange					
3º Falange					
Total	3		1	4	100,0

Table C.22. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Cavia porcellus* en Sector Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: PLAZAS: UNIDAD 4	
Partes anatómicas de *Cavia porcellus*	
Elementos óseos	Locus 12 NMI: 01 NISP
Cráneo	1
Hioides	
Maxilar superior	
Mandibula	2
Dientes	
V. Cervicales	4
V. Toraxica	4
V. Lumbares	
V. Coxígeas	
Sacro	
Costillas	20
Esternebras	1
Pelvis	
Omóplato	2
Húmero	2
Radio	2
Ulna	1
Metacarpiano	
Carpiano	
Fémur	
Tibia	1
Rótula	
Metatarsiano	4
Tarsianos	
Calcáneo	2
Astragalo	1
Falanges	5
Total	52

Table C.23. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Sector Inka, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR INKA: UNIDAD 2: Partes anatómicas de *Lama sp.*							
Elementos óseos	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Locus 5 NISP	Locus 6 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo				1		1	10,0
Hioides							
Maxilar superior							
Mandibula							
Dientes							
V. Cervicales				2		2	20,0
V. Toraxica							
V. Lumbares							
V. Coxígeas							
Sacro							
Costillas							
Esternebras							
Pelvis							
Omóplato							
Húmero							
Radiocúbito				1		1	10,0
Metacarpiano				1		1	10,0
Carpiano							
Fémur							
Tibia				1	2	3	30,0
Rótula				1		1	10,0
Metatarsiano							
Metapodio							
Tarsianos							
Calcáneo							
Astragalo				1		1	10,0
1º Falange							
2º Falange							
3º Falange							
Total				8	2	10	100,0

Table C.24. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Sector Sur, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR SUR: UNIDAD 5: Partes anatómicas de *Lama sp.*																	
Elementos	Locus 1	Locus 5	Locus 6	Locus 7	Locus 8	Locus 9	Locus 10	Locus 12	Locus 13	Locus 14	Locus 15	Locus 16	Locus 17	Locus 19	Total	%
óseos	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP		
Cráneo						1		1							2	3,3
Hioides																
Maxilar superior																
Mandibula										2					2	3,3
Dientes	2		3		1	1			2	3			1		13	21,7
V. Cervicales			1						1	1					3	5,0
V. Toraxica																
V. Lumbares																
V. Coxígeas																
Sacro																
Costillas		1							1	2	1				5	8,3
Esternebras																
Pelvis																
Omóplato										2					2	3,3
Húmero							1								1	1,7
Radiocúbito				1											1	1,7
Metacarpiano			1							1					2	3,3
Carpiano					1										1	1,7
Fémur									1	4	2				7	11,7
Tibia							1			1	1				3	5,0
Rótula																
Metatarsiano																
Metapodio	1	1	2		2			1	2					1	10	16,7
Tarsianos																
Calcáneo																
Astragalo									1						1	1,7
1º Falange		1	1		1					1					4	6,7
2º Falange		1		1						1					3	5,0
3º Falange																
Total	3	4	8	2	5	2	2	2	8	18	4		1	1	60	100,0

Table C.25. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Sector Entrada SE, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: ENTRADA SE: UNIDAD 6: Partes anatómicas de *Lama sp.*																				
Elementos óseos	Locus 1 NISP	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 5 NISP	Locus 6 NISP	Locus 7 NISP	Locus 8 NISP	Locus 9 NISP	Locus 10 NISP	Locus 11 NISP	Locus 14 NISP	Locus 15 NISP	Locus 17 NISP	Locus 18 NISP	Locus 20 NISP	Locus 21 NISP	Locus 22 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo		1									2							3	1,9
Hioides																			
Maxilar superior											1		1					2	1,3
Mandibula		1									1							2	1,3
Dientes											1	1	2					4	2,5
V. Cervicales			1			1			1		2		2					7	4,4
V. Toraxica						3				2	2		1					8	5,1
V. Lumbares		1			1						2		1					5	3,2
V. Coxígeas																			
Sacro																			
Costillas		5	2			1				2	5	1	2					18	11,4
Esternebras																			
Pelvis		1	2			2												5	3,2
Omóplato		1											1					2	1,3
Húmero		1	2				1				5		3			2		14	8,9
Radiocúbito		1				1	2			2			2			1		9	5,7
Metacarpiano		3			1							2		2				8	5,1
Carpiano			1							16	1							18	11,4
Fémur						2			1	1			3					7	4,4
Tibia			1		1		1			1	3		3					10	6,3
Rótula							1				1		1					3	1,9
Metatarsiano						4			3		1		1		2	2		13	8,2
Metapodio																			
Tarsianos															1			1	0,6
Calcáneo										1						2		3	1,9
Astragalo		1				1				2								4	2,5
1º Falange			2				1		1		4	1						9	5,7
2º Falange						1												1	0,6
3º Falange					1						1							2	1,3
Total		16	11		4	16	6		6	27	32	5	23	2	3	7		158	100,0

Table C.26. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Sector Norte, Llacsatambo

PAHL: LLACSATAMBO: SECTOR NORTE: UNIDAD 7: Partes anatómicas de *Lama sp.*												
Elementos óseos	Locus 1 NISP	Locus 2 NISP	Locus 3 NISP	Locus 4 NISP	Locus 5 NISP	Locus 6 NISP	Locus 7 NISP	Locus 8 NISP	Locus 8/10 NISP	Locus 11 NISP	Total	%
Cráneo												
Hioides												
Maxilar superior												
Mandibula					1						1	3,8
Dientes						1					1	3,8
V. Cervicales												
V. Toraxica												
V. Lumbares			1			3					4	15,4
V. Coxígeas												
Sacro												
Costillas						2					2	7,7
Esternebras												
Pelvis						1					1	3,8
Omóplato						1					1	3,8
Húmero			4								4	15,4
Radiocúbito												
Metacarpiano												
Carpiano			1	1		1					3	11,5
Fémur												
Tibia					1						1	3,8
Rótula												
Metatarsiano						1			1		2	7,7
Metapodio						1					1	3,8
Tarsianos						2					2	7,7
Calcáneo												
Astragalo												
1º Falange						2					2	7,7
2º Falange			1								1	3,8
3º Falange												
Total			7	1	2	15			1		26	100,0

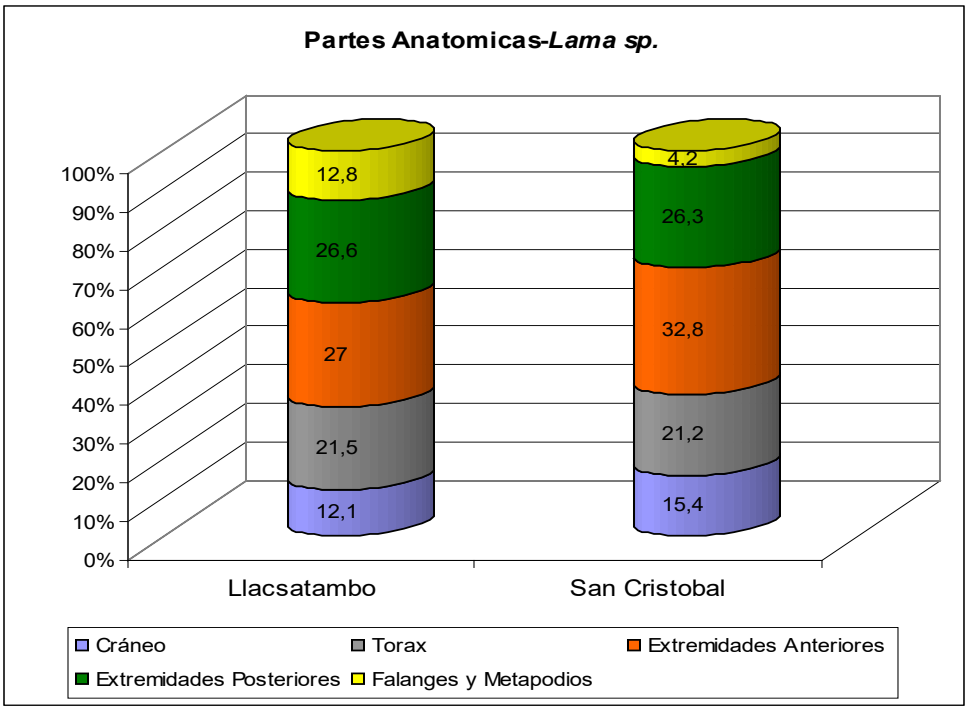
Table C.27. Distribución de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Sector Este, San Cristóbal

PAHLA: SAN CRISTÓBAL: SECTOR ESTE: UNIDAD 1: Partes anatómicas de *Lama sp.*																										
Elementos	Locus 1	Locus 2	Locus 3	Locus 4	Locus 6	Locus 8	Locus 9	Locus 10	Locus 11	Locus 12	Locus 13	Locus 14	Locus 15	Locus 16	Locus 17	Locus 19	Locus 19/23	Locus 22	Locus 24	Locus 26	Locus 27	Locus 29	Locus 30	Total	%
óseos	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP	NISP		
Cráneo						3	4			3	1	6												17	6,6
Hioides																									
Maxilar superior							2					2												4	1,5
Mandibula												1												1	0,4
Dientes						1				5	4	1					1	3	3					18	6,9
V. Cervicales	1			3			5	3	1	5		3				1			1					23	8,9
V. Toraxica	1						7					3	2			1		1						15	5,8
V. Lumbares					1					2	1												1	5	1,9
V. Coxígeas																									
Sacro																									
Costillas								2	1	2	2					1			1	1		1		11	4,2
Esternebras										1														1	0,4
Pelvis							6	1								1		1						9	3,5
Omóplato				2		4	3	1								1				1	1			13	5,0
Húmero				4		1	4	1		7	1								2	1				21	8,1
Radiocúbito				1			1					1	1			1			1					6	2,3
Metacarpiano	1		1	1			2	2	1	8		4	1			1			1					23	8,9
Carpiano	4			2		2	6	2		4	2													22	8,5
Fémur				**2**		2	7		1	4		1				1		1						19	7,3
Tibia						4	4		2			1				2			1					14	5,4
Rótula																			1					1	0,4
Metatarsiano	1			2	1	4										3	1			1				13	5,0
Metapodio																									
Tarsianos				1	1	1	1					1				1								6	2,3
Calcáneo						1					1			1			1							4	1,5
Astragalo							1					1												2	0,8
1º Falange				2		1	2											1						6	2,3
2º Falange							1		1				1											3	1,2
3º Falange					1		1																	2	0,8
Total	8		1	20	4	24	57	12	7	41	12	25	5	1		14	3	7	11	4	1	1	1	259	100,0

Table C.28. Distribución y frecuencias de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* en Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal

	Llacsatambo		San Cristobal	
Partes Anatomicas	NISP	%	NISP	%
Cráneo	6	2,3	17	6,6
Hioides				
Maxilar superior	2	0,8	4	1,5
Mandibula	5	2,0	1	0,4
Dientes	18	7,0	18	6,9
V. Cervicales	13	5,1	23	8,9
V. Toraxica	8	3,1	15	5,8
V. Lumbares	9	3,5	5	1,9
V. Coxígeas				
Sacro				
Costillas	25	9,8	11	4,2
Esternebras			1	0,4
Pelvis	6	2,3	9	3,5
Omóplato	5	2,0	13	5,0
Húmero	19	7,4	21	8,1
Radiocúbito	12	4,7	6	2,3
Metacarpiano	11	4,3	23	8,9
Carpiano	22	8,6	22	8,5
Fémur	14	5,5	19	7,3
Tibia	17	6,6	14	5,4
Rótula	4	1,6	1	0,4
Metatarsiano	15	5,9	13	5,0
Metapodio	11	4,3		
Tarsianos	3	1,2	6	2,3
Calcáneo	3	1,2	4	1,5
Astragalo	6	2,3	2	0,8
1° Falange	15	5,9	6	2,3
2° Falange	5	2,0	3	1,2
3° Falange	2	0,8	2	0,8
Total	256		259	

Figure C.6. Distribución porcentual según partes anatómicas de los restos de *Lama sp.* en Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal.



1.5 Estructuras de Edad

Los perfiles etarios obtenidos a partir de las estimaciones de edad en algunos elementos óseos de camélidos como maxilares, nos permite interpretar si las actividades de crianza están orientadas hacia el manejo sustentable de los rebaños de camélidos y opcionalmente saber cuales edades son las mas frecuentes en el sacrifico de los animales para la obtención de sus recursos (carne, fibra, huesos, tendones).

En el caso de otras especies menos frecuentes como cabra y cerdo, las estimaciones solo nos permiten conocer la edad de los individuos identificados, y que por su cantidad (muestra) no podemos hacer mayores interpretaciones.

Table C.29. Descripciones y estimaciones de edad de elementos óseos de camélidos del Sector Sur, Llacsatambo

PAHLA: Llacsatambo: Sector Sur: Estructuras de edad de *Lama sp.*			
Contexto Unidad 5	Descripción del elemento óseo	Edad estimada	Taxa identificado
Locus 1	Incisivo 3: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados.	9 meses	*Lama glama*
Locus 6	Incisivo 1: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados	6 años	*Lama glama*
Locus 14	Pd4: 01	3 años	*Lama sp.*

PAHLA: Llacsatambo: Entrada SE: Estructuras de edad de *Lama sp.*			
Contexto Unidad 6	Descripción del elemento óseo	Edad estimada	Taxa identificado
Locus 2	Mandíbula: 01 fragmento derecho con premolar y M1 roto.	Tierno	*Lama sp.*
Locus 14	Mandíbula: 01 izquierda, presenta: Pd3, Pd4 y M1 aún no erupciona.	3 meses	*Lama sp.*
Locus 17	Incisivo 1: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados.	21 meses	*Lama glama*
	Incisivo 2: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados.	21 meses	*Lama glama*

PAHLA: San Cristóbal: Sector Este: Estructuras de edad de *Lama sp.*			
Contexto Unidad 1	Descripción del elemento óseo	Edad estimada	Taxa identificado
Locus 9	Maxilar superior: 02 fragmentos izquierdos con Pd3, Pd4.	Tierno	*Lama sp.*
Locus 13	Incisivo 1: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados.	21 meses	*Lama glama*
Locus 14	Maxilar superior: 01 fragmento izquierdo, presenta M1.	Juvenil	*Lama sp.*
	Maxilar superior: 01 fragmento con Pd4.	Juvenil	*Lama sp.*
Locus 24	Incisivo 1: 01, presenta esmalte en ambos lados.	6 años	*Lama glama*

Table C.30. Descripciones y estimaciones de edad de elementos óseos de *Sus scrofa domestica* del Sector Tambo 3, Tambo Inka

PAHLA: TAMBO INKA: TAMBO 3: Estructuras de edad de *Sus scrofa*			
Contexto Unidad 1	Descripción del elemento óseo	Edad estimada	Taxa identificado
Locus 4	Mandíbula: 01 derecha e izquierda fusionadas, presenta: caninos, incisivos, premolares y molares rotos todos. El M3 aún no erupciona.	16-17 meses	*Sus scrofa*

Table C.31. Descripciones y estimaciones de edad de elementos óseos de *Capra hircus* del Sector Tambo 3, Tambo Inka

PAHLA: TAMBO INKA: TAMBO 3: Estructuras de edad de *Capra hircus*			
Contexto Unidad 1	Descripción del elemento óseo	Edad estimada	Taxa identificado
Locus 2	Mandíbula: 01 derecha, presenta: Pd3, Pd4, M1, M2 y M3. El M2 presenta desgaste.	18-30 meses	*Capra hircus*
Locus 4	Mandíbula: 01 izquierda, presenta: Pd3, Pd4, M1, M2 y M3. El M2 presenta desgaste.	18-30 meses	*Capra hircus*

1.6 Tafonomía

Se presenta la información obtenida en base al análisis de cada elemento óseo con huellas de quemados, cortados y también aquellos que tiene alteraciones antrópicas, conocidos como industria ósea, de lo cual se hace una descripción.

Table C.32. Elementos óseos de camélidos y cérvidos con huellas de cortes, según sitios en PAHLA

PAHLA: Tafonomía: huellas de cortes por actividad de carnicería																		
Taxa	San Damián		Llacsatambo												Tambo Inka		San Cristóbal	
	Sector SE		Sector Inka		Plazas				Sector S		Entrada SE		Sector N		Tambo 3		Sector E	
	Unidad 1		Unidad 2		Unidad 3		Unidad 4		Unidad 5		Unidad 6		Unidad 7		Unidad 1		Unidad 1	
	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes	NISP	Cortes
Mytilidae											2							
Mustelus sp.											1							
Paseriformes													1					
Muridae																	2	
Cavia porcellus							54		1		2		2		1		4	
Dusicyon culpaeus			1		1													
Felis sp.			1															
Carnívora											1							
Odocoileus virginianus											49	2	23	2			7	1
Lama sp.			10						60	1	158	8	28	2			259	8
Bos taurus	5												3					
Capra hircus											2		1		4		3	
Sus scrofa	8		16				1								27			
Artiodactyla	16		14		1		1		55		188		105				380	
Mamífero n/i	1		1				4						2				2	
Total	30		43		2		60		116	**1**	403	**10**	165	**4**	32		657	**9**

Table C.33. Elementos óseos de camélidos, cérvidos y artiodactyla con huellas de quemados, según sitios en PAHLA

PAHLA: Tafonomía: fauna con huellas de quemado																		
Taxa	San Damián		Llacsatambo												Tambo Inka		San Cristóbal	
	Sector SE		Sector Inka		Plazas				Sector S		Entrada SE		Sector N		Tambo 3		Sector E	
	Unidad 1		Unidad 2		Unidad 3		Unidad 4		Unidad 5		Unidad 6		Unidad 7		Unidad 1		Unidad 1	
	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q	NISP	Q
Mytilidae											2							
Mustelus sp.											1							
Paseriformes													1					
Muridae																	2	
Cavia porcellus							54		1		2		2	1	1		4	
Dusicyon culpaeus			1		1													
Felis sp.			1															
Carnívora											1							
Odocoileus virginianus											49	1	23	5			7	1
Lama sp.			10	1					60	8	158	20	28	8			259	17
Bos taurus	5												3					
Capra hircus											2		1		4		3	
Sus scrofa	8		16				1								27			
Artiodactyla	16	1	14		1		1		55	16	188	44	105	46			380	171
Mamífero n/i	1		1	1			4						2				2	2
Total	30	**1**	43	**2**	2		60		116	**24**	403	**65**	165	**60**	32		657	**191**

Table C.34. Cantidad de elementos óseos de *Lama sp.* con diversas huellas tafonómicas, según sitios en PAHLA

PAHLA: Restos de *Lama sp.*, con huellas tafonómicas										
Huellas tafonómicas	San Damián	Llacsatambo						Tambo Inka	San Cristóbal	Total
	Sector SE	Sector Inka	Plazas		Sector S	Entrada SE	Sector N	Tambo 3	Sector E	
	Unidad 1	Unidad 2	Unidad 3	Unidad 4	Unidad 5	Unidad 6	Unidad 7	Unidad 1	Unidad 1	
Cortes					1	8	2		8	19
Quemados		1			8	20	8		17	54
Roídos por carnívoros						1			1	2
Huesos trabajados						4			3	7
Total		1			9	33	10		29	82

Table C.35. Industria Ósea del sitio San Cristóbal

PAHLA: SAN CRISTÓBAL ESTE: HUESOS TRABAJADOS			
Contexto	Taxa identificado	Clasificación	Descripción
Unidad 1: Locus 9	Artiodactyla	Indeterminado	De un fragmento de hueso, indeterminado por su transformación, se ha elaborado un útil, del cual la evidencia muestra sólo un fragmento, por lo que se desconoce su funcionalidad, siendo posible que se trate de un fragmento ornamental por su delicado acabado tecnológico. La forma de esta pieza es irregular, se encuentra quemada parcialmente y con fracturas ubicadas en el extremo superior e inferior, estas son de característica antigua. Toda su superficie presenta pulimento. Medidas: L= 15.71 mm A= 7.23 mm G= 5.09 mm Peso: 0.63 g
	Lama sp.	Indeterminado	Teniendo como matriz un fragmento de omóplato izquierdo de *Lama sp.,* que corresponde al margen toraxico proximal, se ha elaborado un útil. Este se encuentra incompleto, quemado y con fractura de carácter antiguo ubicado en la parte superior e inferior. En la parte lateral que colinda con la lámina del omóplato se le ha dado un acabado presentándose un perfil dentado. Toda su superficie presenta pulimento, se desconoce su función por presentarse sólo un fragmento. Medidas: L= 32.08 mm A superior= 17.40 mm A inferior= 13.34 mm G = 7.78 mm Peso: 4.06 g
Unidad 1: Locus 11	*Lama sp.*	Espátula	A partir de un fragmento de diáfisis de fémur de *Lama sp.,* se ha elaborado un útil con la parte activa roma, identificándose como una espátula. La pieza se encuentra incompleta con fracturas en sus cuatro extremos las cuales son de característica antigua. Medidas: L= 40.99 mm A= 18.54 mm aprox. G= 5.57 mm Peso: 3.95 g
Unidad 1: locus 16	Artiodactyla	Indeterminado	Tenemos un fragmento de hueso quemado que muestra huellas de trabajo. La superficie de todo su cuerpo presenta pulimento con brillo y en uno de sus extremos presenta diseño dentado. Se desconoce su función por estar incompleto. Medidas: L= 11 mm A= 8 mm G= 5 mm Peso: 0.57 g

Table C.35 (continued). Industria Ósea del sitio San Cristóbal

PAHLA: SAN CRISTÓBAL ESTE: HUESOS TRABAJADOS			
Contexto	Taxa identificado	Clasificación	Descripción
Unidad 1: Locus 24	*Lama sp.*	Indeterminado	A partir de un fragmento de tibia proximal de *Lama sp.* (individuo adulto), correspondiente a la cara dorsal, cerca a la cresta tibial, se ha elaborado un útil el cual se encuentra incompleto. Las fracturas que presentan son de carácter antiguo y se ubican en el borde superior y parte del borde derecho. Su forma es triangular, toda la pieza presenta pulimento en su parte externa el cual está acompañado de brillo. El borde derecho presenta un perfil aserrado que se interrumpe por la fractura de la pieza. Hacia el cóndilo lateral (que está ausente) se presenta un orificio de forma circular. Este diseño posiblemente ha sido para hacer pasar un hilo o cordón para que la pieza sea suspendida. Se desconoce su función, sin embargo hay que mencionar que la observación del aserrado ha permitido registrar finas estrías asociadas que in. dicadoras de las huellas de uso de este útil. Medidas: L= 74.56 mm A superior= 37.06 mm A inferior= 17.27 mm G= 7.41 mm Peso: 14.58 g

Table C.36. Industria Ósea del sitio Llacsatambo

PAHLA: LLACSATAMBO: ENTRADA SE: HUESOS TRABAJADOS			
Contexto	Taxa identificado	Clasificación	Descripción
Unidad 6: Locus 3	*Lama sp.*	Pieza tecnológica	Esta pieza corresponde a un fragmento de metatarsiano proximal derecho de *Lama sp.* Esta parte del hueso ha quedado como evidencia del proceso tecnológico al seccionar la diáfisis del metatarsiano para su aprovechamiento. Sus bordes que colindan hacia la diáfisis presentan huellas del seccionamiento. Medidas: L= 23.75 mm A= 10.85 mm Peso: 1.71 g
Unidad 6: Locus 8	*Lama sp.*	Piruro	Se tiene una cabeza de fémur derecha fusionada, que se encuentra seccionada transversalmente, de tal manera que su forma se presenta como una semiesfera. El lado interno presenta pulimento mostrando una base plana. Cerca al fovea capital se ha realizado una perforación circular que atraviesa al otro extremo. Posiblemente esta pieza se trata de un piruro. Medidas: D= 24.74 mm G= 9.83 mm
		Pieza tecnológica	Tenemos un fragmento de diáfisis de metatarsiano derecho de *Lama sp.* (individuo adulto), se presenta cortado transversalmente hacia el lado distal notándose huellas de seccionamiento total en un extremo y en el otro extremo el seccionamiento se aprecia parcialmente ya que presenta fractura de carácter antiguo. Esta pieza se clasifica como una pieza tecnológica. Medidas: L= 75.06 mm A= 25.28 mm G= 18.96 mm Peso: 34.28 g
Unidad 6: Locus 14	*Lama sp.*	Indeterminado	Tenemos una pieza ósea trabajada, su cuerpo es plano y de forma trapezoidal. La matriz corresponde a un fragmento de cuerpo de omóplato de *Lama sp.,* se desconoce su función. En sus bordes se aprecia las huellas de seccionamiento de la matriz y un cierto acabado para el borde más angosto. Esta pieza llegó fragmentada en dos partes, por lo cual se procedió a unirla con pegamento. Medidas: L= 110.84 mm A máximo: 40.28 mm A mínimo: 29.44 mm G= 1.98 aprox Peso: 10.51 g

3. COMENTARIOS

Los resultados del análisis zooarqueológico arrojan la identificación de 14 taxones de fauna, de los cuales dos están a nivel de orden (Passeriformes y Carnívora), uno a nivel de familia (Muridae), hay dos moluscos bivalvos marinos (*Aulacomya ater* y *Spondylus princeps*), un pez (*Mustelus sp.*), un ave pequeña (*Passeriformes*), 10 taxones de mamíferos: *Muridae* (nivel de familia), *Cavia porcellus* "cuy", *Dusicyon culpaeus* "zorro andino", *Felis sp.* "gato silvestre", *Odocoileus virginianus* "venado cola blanca", *Lama sp.* (posiblemente dos camélidos domésticos), *Bos taurus* "vaca", *Capra hircus* "cabra", *Sus scrofa domestica* "cerdo" y *Artiodactyla.* Este último agrupa fragmentos muy pequeños de aquellos contextos donde se han identificado camélidos, bovidos, cérvidos y suidos, los cuales taxonomicamente están ubicados en el orden *Artiodactyla*.

También dentro de los restos identificados hay una categoría que corresponde a *Mamífero no identificado* (N/I), los cuales constituyen restos de mamíferos que no tienen características óseas que puedan ser asociadas al orden *Artiodactyla*, por no tener elementos diagnósticos y presentar mala conservación. Dentro de la colección ósea se ha identificado también restos humanos, los cuales solo están señalados en los datos originales del análisis y no se incluyen en este informe que es de zooarqueología.

Según los sitios en que están distribuidos los restos de fauna, hay una distribución heterogénea de la fauna en los cuatro sitios de donde provienen. Por un lado dos sitios tienen muestras pequeñas, como San Damián con 30 restos y Tambo Inka con 32 restos (tabla C.11), y los otros dos, tienen una muestra mayor y comparable, como es el caso de Llacsatambo con 789 restos y San Cristóbal con 875 restos (tabla C.11).

La cantidad de restos de fauna se ha reducido en comparación a la muestra inicial de cada sitio, en virtud de que habían restos humanos, líticos, cerámica y porque algunos elementos óseos se han reparado para obtener unidades anatómicas diagnósticas para la identificación. Por otro lado los fragmentos que han sido identificados dentro de la categoría de *Artiodactyla*, tenían fracturas producto del apisonamiento del terreno, que origina fragmentación, y hemos estandarizado su cantidad utilizando tres categorías que hemos detallado en la metodología.

Los estimadores de abundancia taxonómica tratan de establecer mediante su uso adecuado, las frecuencias de los restos de las especies identificadas en los depósitos arqueológicos, tratando de no sobreestimar y también infra estimar la presencia de los restos. En este caso el estimador NISP (Número de Especímenes Identificados) tiene un rol aditivo con la fragmentación, y por lo tanto tiende a

sobrestimar a algunas especies, y origina el efecto contrario a las otras especies identificadas en menor cantidad. La fragmentación de la colección, en este caso nos alerta para poder obtener una metodología donde podemos observar si las tendencias porcentuales no son muy alejadas en cantidad cuando excluimos una categoría donde hay una buena cantidad de restos fragmentados como es el caso de los *Artiodactyla*. Hemos realizado una prueba excluyendo los *Artiodactyla* de las frecuencias, y las tendencias de las especies identificadas a nivel de género y especie, mantienen la misma tendencia porcentual.

El otro estimador de abundancia taxonómica, como es el peso, nos permite comprobar las tendencias del NISP, como podemos observar en la tabla C.11. También en sitios arqueológicos andinos con presencia de fauna hispana, los camélidos y los cérvidos siempre mantienen las mismas proporciones observadas en sitios estrictamente andinos y prehispánicos, tal como lo indica Miller y Gill (1990).

Teniendo en cuenta la estrategia metodológica planteada para el estudio de esta colección zooarqueológica, hemos obtenido un total de 1726 restos (NISP) y un peso de 6799.82 gramos (6,8 kg aproximadamente). En relación al peso, posiblemente tampoco es el mismo a la colección antes de su estudio, porque cada bolsa fue tamizada para aislar la tierra, y la mayoría de huesos fueron limpiados con paños húmedos para retirar la tierra adherida y poder observar los detalles anatómicos y tafonómicos.

En San Damian hemos identificado a partir de 30 restos que pesan 170,3 gramos, tres taxones: *Bos taurus*, *Sus scrofa doméstica* y *Artiodactyla*. Posiblemente todos los restos de fauna de este sitio sean fauna hispánica. No sabremos exactamente si dentro de los *Artiodactyla* algunos de esos fragmentos corresponda a fauna prehispánica (solo con estudios de ADN antiguo), entonces lo mas probable que estos fragmentos de *Artiodactyla* correspondan a *Bos* y/
o *Sus* (tabla C.11).

La muestra del NISP= 30 para este sitio nos permite obtener frecuencias en base a estos tres taxones, donde los restos de *Artiodactyla* tienen 53,3% por NISP y un 16,6% por peso. Luego los restos de *Sus scrofa domestica* tienen 26,7% por NISP y 47,9% por peso, y aunque *Bos taurus* tiene 16,7% por NISP, el peso de sus restos dominan con 55,20% (tabla C.11, figura C.2).

Otro de los sitios con baja diversidad de fauna vertebrada, es Tambo Inka, sin embargo aquí se reportan restos de fauna prehispánica como es el caso de *Cavia porcellus* "cuy" y fauna hispánica, como *Capra hircus* "cabra" y *Sus scrofa domestica* "cerdo".

Este sitio tiene una muestra de NISP= 32, con frecuencias de 3,1% por NISP y 0,14% por peso para *Cavia porcellus,* 12,5% por NISP y 32,45% por peso de *Capra hircus* y 84,4% por NISP y 67,42% por peso de *Sus scrofa domestica* (tabla C.11). Los restos de *Cavia porcellus* son mínimos, solo un fragmento de pelvis izquierda. En el caso de *Capra hircus*, se reporta una porción de cráneo con astas y mandíbulas, no hay otros huesos post-craneales, lo que implican un solo individuo de esta especie para este sitio.

Los restos de *Sus scrofa domestica* son más heterogéneos, incluyen restos del cráneo, maxilares, dientes sueltos, vértebras y huesos post-craneales. En un caso proviene de animales juveniles de entre 25 a 29 meses, según se aprecia en el desgaste de los molares, especialmente de M3 y en los estados de fusión de las epífisis de los huesos largos (húmero), aunque también tenemos una mandíbula con la fusión de ambos lados, que por la ausencia de M3, se trata de un individuo de 16-17 meses (tabla C.30). En conclusión se están sacrificando individuos muy jóvenes de este artiodáctilo.

El sitio de Llacsatambo, es el que presenta mayor diversidad de especies, en total 13 taxones, desde restos de un bivalvo marino que por sus características esta asociado a la familia *Mytilidae*, donde encontramos los "choros", los cuales provienen del mesolitoral e infralitoral de las playas rocosas de la costa central del Perú posiblemente. Se trata de 2 fragmentos de su valva, los cuales implican intercambio de productos con los sitios asentados en la costa.

Otra evidencia de contacto con sitios costeros, es la identificación de una vértebra de *Mustelus sp.* "tollo", un pez cartilaginoso, bentónico que habita la playas arenosas y pedregosas del océano pacífico. Por la naturaleza de sus vértebras cartilaginosas, es posible que este pez haya llegado al sitio en estado seco-salado, lo cual permite conservar la carne y así la sal, añade un factor de conservación extra a las vértebras.

Un coracoides en regular estado de conservación, y que fue asignado al orden *Passeriformes*, es el único resto de ave que hemos identificado en este sitio. Este orden de aves, agrupa a las aves conocidas como pájaros, dentro de las cuales hay muchas especies canoras. No tenemos más datos sobre este taxón.

En relación a los vertebrados, tenemos restos de fauna prehispánica como *Cavia porcellus, Dusicyon culpaeus, Felis sp., Odocoileus virginianus* y *Lama sp.* de este último taxón hemos identificado por osteometría de las primeras falanges y astragalo, dos especies domésticas: *Lama glama* "llama" y *Vicugna pacos* "alpaca", lo cual discutiremos más adelante. También fauna hispánica como *Bos taurus, Capra hircus* y *Sus scrofa domestica* (tabla C.11).

El predominio porcentual de los restos por NISP y peso es para los camélidos (*Lama sp.*) con 32,4% por NISP y un importante 69,63% por peso, lo que indica su importancia en el aporte de carne para el sitio. Luego sigue *Odocoileus virginianus* con 9,1% por NISP y 11,02% por peso. *Cavia porcellus* con 7,5% por NISP y 0,48% por peso (tabla C.11) tiene menor repercusión.

La frecuencia de restos de la fauna hispánica es menor, *Sus scrofa domestica* alcanza 2,2% por NISP y 2,14% por peso, siguen los restos de *Bos taurus* y *Capra hircus*, los cuales están por debajo de 1% en NISP y peso, lo que indica que estos vertebrados hispánicos solo tuvieron un rol eventual en el aporte de proteína animal. El "cerdo" al parecer tiene un rol más importante en los tres sitios que hemos revisado anteriormente, aunque estaría ausente en San Cristóbal (tabla C.11).

Para el caso de *Artiodactyla* que tiene 46,1% por NISP y 14,52% por peso, es muy probable que los fragmentos de este taxón, provengan en la mayoría de los casos de la fragmentación de huesos de camélidos, cérvidos y en una menor proporción de bóvidos y suidos. Lo que implica que la fauna vertebrada prehispánica tendría el aporte mayoritario, tal como hemos desglosado de las frecuencias de estas especies.

El otro sitio estudiado es San Cristóbal, aquí hemos identificado solamente fauna vertebrada, de la cual hay fauna prehispánica (*Cavia porcellus, Odocoileus virginianus* y *Lama sp.*) y fauna hispánica (*Capra hircus*). Hay restos de ratones *Muridae* que no tienen importancia económica.

La fragmentación en este sitio es alta, razón por la cual los *Artiodactyla* tienen un 67,7% por NISP y 39,73 en peso. Siguen los restos de *Lama sp.* con 29,6% por NISP y un importante 56,19% en peso, esto en virtud que en este sitio encontramos elementos óseos de camélidos completos, tal como radio-cúbitos, húmeros y fémur (tabla C.8).

Los restos de *Odocoileus virginianus* están en 0,9% por NISP y 3,62% en peso, las demás especies están por debajo de 1% en NISP y peso, por lo tanto su aporte no es significativo, incluso para el caso de *Capra hircus* (tabla C.11). Por lo tanto nuevamente en este sitio tenemos ambos tipos de fauna, pero el aporte principal lo otorgan los camélidos y los cérvidos en segundo lugar.

La alta frecuencia de restos fragmentados asignados a *Artiodactyla* estarían en función a la historia tafonómica y actividades que se desarrollaron en el sitio (pisoteo por ejemplo), sin embargo estos fragmentos óseos, pueden provenir en su mayoría de camélidos y cérvidos, que son los predominantes en este sitio.

Camélidos: Osteometría, Estructuras de Edad, Partes Anatómicas

En relación a los camélidos se han identificado dos especies domésticas mediante osteometría: *Lama glama* "llama" mediante la osteometría de un astrágalo que proviene de Llacsatambo y *Vicugna pacos* "alpaca" mediante la osteometría de primeras falanges y astrágalos de Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal.

A partir de ocho primeras falanges delanteras, se pudo identificar que todas clasificaron para *Vicugna pacos* "alpaca", de las cuales siete provienen de Llacsatambo y una de San Cristóbal (tabla C.12, figura C.4).

El porcentaje de confiabilidad en los coeficientes de clasificación para este hueso es de 100% (Kent 1982), lo que implicaría a priori que los animales que mayormente se están sacrificando para ambos sitios son básicamente "alpacas", lo cual tiene sentido, si tenemos en cuenta las practicas pastoriles y de subsistencia de las sociedades prehispánicas, ya que se tiene carne, lana, tendones y huesos (para la industria ósea).

También la osteometría de los astrágalos de Llacsatambo, nos permiten obtener los mismos resultados en la identidad de los camélidos, así tenemos que hay tres astrágalos que clasifican para "alpaca" y uno para "llama" (tabla C.13, figura C.5). En el caso del único calcáneo, este clasifica para "llama" (tabla C.14).

Por lo tanto tenemos entre los restos de camélidos sacrificados en Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal, dos especies domésticas, posiblemente en el caso de la "llama" esta haya sido menos frecuente para las actividades de consumo de su carne, teniendo en cuenta que su función de carga es importante. También, si tenemos ambas especies en el sitio, hay una alta probabilidad que los pastores de ese tiempo hayan tenido rebaños híbridos, situación que se puede observar en dos primeras falanges que clasifican como "alpacas", pero que están cerca al área de dispersión de las "llamas", estas podrían ser derivadas de animales híbridos (figura C.4).

En relación a las estructuras de edad de los camélidos, encontramos edades desde los 3 meses, 9 meses, 3 años, 6 años, es decir tiernos, juveniles y adultos (tabla C.29). Este perfil implica un modelo *atricional*, donde están incluidas todas las edades, a diferencia del modelo *catastrófico*. Aunque la muestra es pequeña para construir un perfil etario, la presencia de individuos juveniles, indica actividades de manejo del rebaño, las cuales implica mantener el equilibrio entre machos y hembras, y eliminar individuos con caracteres indeseables, como color de ojos, ausencia de algún testículo o individuos con defectos osteológicos.

Por razones de tamaño de muestra, solo los sitios de Llacsatambo y San

Cristóbal, nos permiten realizar comparaciones referidas a partes anatómicas de los camélidos, así tenemos en la figura 6, que todas las partes anatómicas (óseas) de los camélidos están incluidas en la muestra, es decir cráneo, tórax (columna, esternebras y costillas), extremidades anteriores, extremidades posteriores, metapodios y falanges. La presencia de todos estas partes implica que los animales fueron sacrificados en el sitio, y por lo tanto también criados localmente (tal como indican los perfiles de edad).

Los elementos del cráneo mantienen una proporcionalidad porcentual muy cercana entre los dos sitios (12,1% Llacsatambo contra 15,4% San Cristóbal), en los elementos del tórax también hay proporcionalidad (21,5% Llacsatambo contra 21,2% San Cristóbal). Sin embargo en lo que se refiere a extremidades anteriores, hay una mayor representación porcentual en San Cristóbal con 32,8% contra 27% en Llacsatambo. Aunque en esta región no esta concentrada la mayor cantidad de carne, tal vez tendría otra explicación, y podrían ser piezas completas de estas extremidades delanteras, que estarían siendo procesadas asadas o como charqui, y producto de su consumo quedaron los elementos óseos completo, tal como el radio-cubito, húmero y algunos omóplatos parcialmente completos.

En las extremidades traseras (pelvis, fémur y tibia) son donde se acumula la mayor cantidad de carne, sin embargo las proporciones porcentuales son muy cercanas (26,6% para Llacsatambo contra 26,3% para San Cristóbal). Finalmente los metapodios y falanges, son mas comunes en Llacsatambo con 12,8% contra 4,2% de San Cristóbal (tabla C.28, figura C.6), posiblemente por actividades de procesamiento de las pieles y talleres de industria ósea.

Por lo tanto no hallamos diferencias significativas para preferencias de alguna parte anatómica en particular, solo posiblemente algún tipo de procesamiento como asado o charqui de extremidades anteriores en San Cristóbal, lo cual tiene que cruzarse con los datos arqueológicos del material asociado a estos camélidos, para obtener una mejor interpretación.

Para el caso de los otros mamíferos hispánicos como, bóvidos y cerdo, no hay una muestra suficiente para poder hacer comparaciones, salvo el caso del cerdo que tiene mayor diversidad de elementos óseos, la vaca y la cabra solo se presentan eventualmente y con elementos muy aislados (tablas C.15 y C.21).

En el caso de los cérvidos (*Odocoileus virginianus*) en el locus 14 de la entrada SE unidad 6 de Llacsatambo, identificamos una cantidad de 5 primeras falanges, 15 segundas falanges y 8 terceras falanges. Esta presencia, podría estar relacionada al procesamiento de la piel de los venados, y posiblemente a conservar estas partes donde va incluido los metacarpianos (si es delantera) o metatarsianos (si es trasera), lo cual es una costumbre andina relacionada con el

poder de locomoción que tienen estos cérvidos (ver tabla C.19). También en el locus 8 y locus 15 de este contexto pudimos detectar otras falanges.

Sin embargo en el sector norte unidad 7 de Llacsatambo, los restos de cérvidos presentan una mayor diversidad de huesos, desde vértebras, pelvis, fémur, tibia y tarsales, lo cual implica posiblemente actividades de consumo en estos contextos (tabla C.20).

Las evidencias de cortes, quemados y objetos en hueso trabajados, es evidente para los sitios de Llacsatambo y San Cristóbal. No hemos detectado huellas de cortes en los huesos de la fauna hispánica, tampoco los huesos identificados de esta fauna, no presenta huellas de quemado (tablas C.32, C.33 y C.34).

Los restos óseos de fauna prehispánica, en forma especial los de camélidos (*Lama sp.*) si tienen evidencias de cortes, quemados y también de haber sido trabajados para realizar herramientas y objetos ornamentales (tablas C.35, C.36 y C.37). El sitio que presenta la mayor evidencia en lo que se refiere a cortes, quemados e industria ósea, es Llacsatambo. También en San Cristóbal se ha observado una importante cantidad de restos óseos trabajados.

Tenemos en total hay 19 restos óseos con huellas de cortes (tabla C.34). Los cortes están realizados en las extremidades vertebrales de costillas, posiblemente para aislar la columna en forma de chuletas, porque hemos observado cortes en la parte ventral de algunas vertebras torácicas y lumbares. También hay cortes en las epífisis proximales de huesos largos como húmero, radiocúbito, fémur, que se realizan con la finalidad de descuartizamiento en piezas para el consumo o distribución de carne.

En relación a los restos quemados de *Lama sp.* estos hacen un total de 54, y tienen una gran variabilidad, destacándose costillas, vértebras y algunos fragmentos de huesos largos. La mayor presencia de huesos quemados de regiones de la columna y costillas, sugiere un consumo asado de estas piezas, posiblemente como grandes chuletas.

La industria ósea proviene de San Cristóbal y Llacsatambo. En san Cristóbal se ha identificado 5 artefactos óseos, de los cuales 3 podrían ser de *Lama sp.* y los otros de algún *Artiodactyla* consumida en el sitio. Dos objetos indeterminados podrían ser de tipo ornamental, pero como se trata de fragmentos, no se puede obtener mayores datos. Otra herramienta que fue fabricada a partir de la tibia proximal tiene buen acabado y presenta uno de sus bordes aserrados, se desconoce la función. Otro de los artefactos óseos, si tiene una clasificación adecuada, y se trata de una espátula (unidad 1 locus 11) (tabla C.35).

En Llacsatambo hay 4 artefactos óseos, de los cuales uno es una pieza tecnológica (fragmento de metatarsiano proximal), un piruro fabricado a partir de la cabeza del fémur de un camélido, otra pieza tecnológica de la diáfisis de metatarsiano y una pieza triangular fabricada a partir de un fragmento de omóplato de *Lama sp*. de función desconocida, posiblemente sea un alisador de pieles, por el borde rebajado que presenta (tabla C.37).

No hay objetos trabajados de otro tipo de fauna vertebrada, y ninguna evidencia de huesos trabajados de fauna hispánica, lo que implica que la tradición prehispánica es fuerte aún en estos sitios de Huarochiri.

Finalmente en relación a los restos de *Dusicyon culpaeus* "zorro andino", se han encontrado un calcáneo en el locus 2 de la unidad 2 del sector Inca de Llacsatambo, el cual tenía buena conservación. Otro resto óseo del mismo animal, en este caso una tibia proximal, que procede del locus 1, unidad 3, del sector Plazas de Llacsatambo, tiene un estadío 3 de meteorización, lo cual implica que estuvo mucho tiempo a la intemperie antes de ser enterrado. Desconocemos la función de estos huesos en el sitio.

Conclusiones

El análisis zooarqueológico de la colección ósea de fauna de los 4 sitios de PAHLA, arroja la identificación de fauna prehispánica e hispánica, conviviendo en los contextos de los sitios estudiados, a excepción de San Damián que solo tiene fauna hispánica.

Aún por tratarse de sitios históricos con presencia colonial, persiste una fuerte presencia de animales andinos como los camélidos y cérvidos, siendo los bóvidos (vaca y cabra) eventualmente presentes en el consumo de estos pobladores, sin embargo el "cerdo" tiene una mejor frecuencia de sus restos en los sitios de San Damián, Llacsatambo y Tambo Inca.

En relación al cerdo, desde que arribo en el segundo viaje de Cristóbal Colón a América (1493), su éxito en estas nuevas tierras ha sido bueno, porque se ha logrado extender en casi todo el territorio americano. Los cronistas indígenas y españoles, indican que el tipo de cerdo introducido en América proviene de aquellos conocidos en España como *pata negra*. Hay evidencias de sus restos conjuntamente con los restos de camélido en Llacsatambo.

La presencia de dos especies domésticas de camélido entre los restos indica la presencia de rebaños mixtos en estos sitios andinos, tal como ha sido la tradición de los pobladores prehispánicos de los andes. Con una especie para carga como la "llama" y eventualmente sacrificada para carne, y otra especie estrictamente

para carne y lana, como la "alpaca". Los huesos de camélidos tienen los mismos patrones de aparición, tafonomía y uso, que se observa en todas las colecciones de fauna de sitios arqueológicos andinos, lo que sugiere que esta fuerte tradición andina, perduro hasta la colonia. Estos animales fueron criados y sacrificados localmente, en virtud de sus características óseas y taxonómicas.

También y al igual que en otros sitios andinos, hay evidencias de fauna marina, lo que implica contactos con los sitios asentados en la costa, el conocido comercio vertical de las sociedades andinas.

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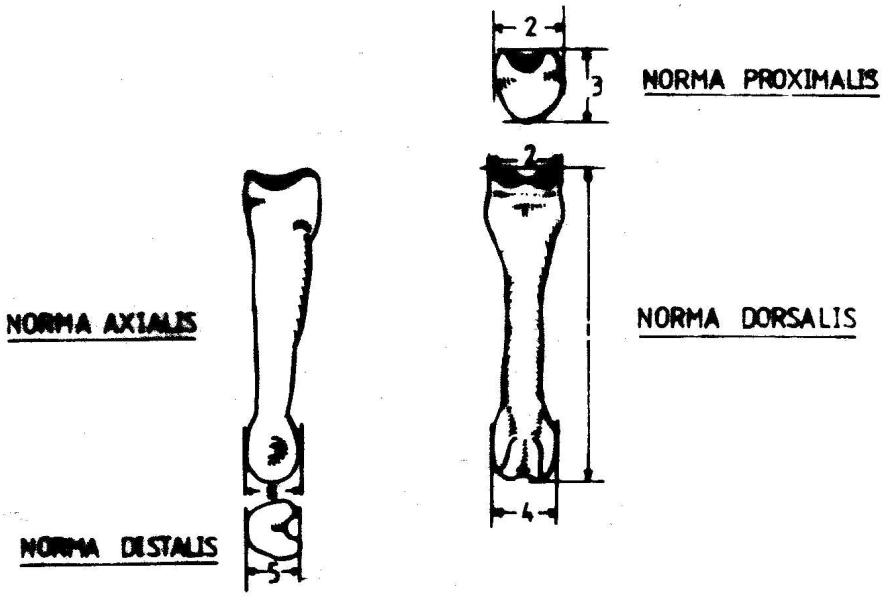
OSTEOMETRÍA DE CAMÉLIDOS

VARIABLES OSTEOMETRICAS PARA PRIMERAS FALANGES DE CAMÉLIDOS

Figure C.7

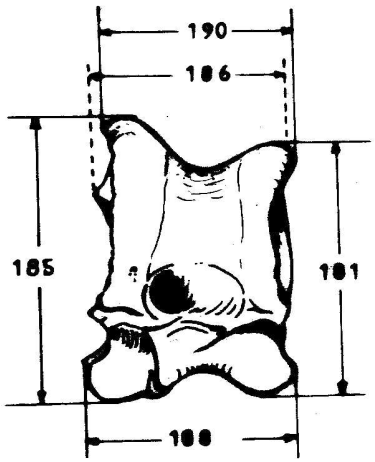


PRIMERA FALANGE

1= Longitud máxima
2= Ancho de la superficie articular proximal-mediolateral
3= Ancho de la superficie articular proximal-dorsoplantar
4= Ancho de la superficie distal articular-volar
5= Ancho de la superficie distal articular-perpendicular a 4 (dorso volar)

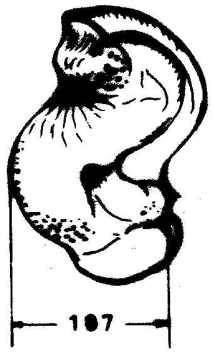
VARIABLES OSTEOMETRICAS PARA ASTRÁGALOS DE CAMÉLIDOS

Figure C.8



NORMA DORSALIS

NORMA LATERALIS

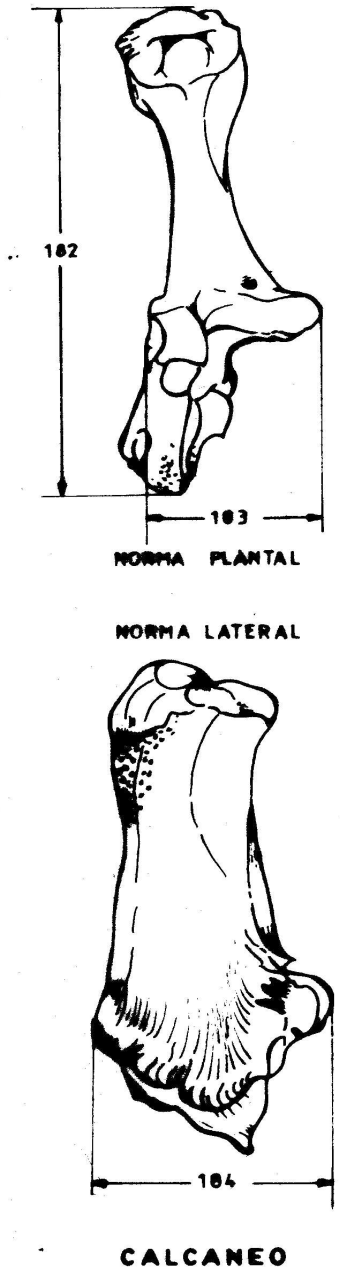


ASTRAGALO

185= Largo máximo (largo lateral máximo)
186= Ancho máximo (medio lateral)
187= Ancho máximo dorso plantar
188= Ancho Máximo medio lateral extremidad distal
189= Largo medial máximo próximo distal
190= Ancho máximo medio lateral de la extremidad proximal

VARIABLES OSTEOMETRICAS PARA CALCÁNEO DE CAMÉLIDOS

Figure C.9



182= Largo Máximo
183= Ancho máximo medio lateral
184= Ancho máximo dorso plantar

APPENDIX D

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto Macrobotanical Report (produced for PAHLA)

Por Lic. Gabriela C. Bertone, Laboratorio de Investigaciones Arqueobotánicas del Perú (LIAP), Departamento de Etnobotánica y Botánica Económica, Museo de Historia Natural, UNMSM

La investigación fue realizada con el material arqueobotánico proveniente de varios sitios provenientes de la zona de Huarochirí y Lurín, excavado por el investigador en el año 2010.

El material se recibió el día 5 de Julio de 2011, un total de 134 bolsas de sedimento.

El trabajo de investigación consistió en:

- Separación del material de origen orgánico del sedimento mediante el método de flotación.
- Conservación preventiva de las muestras (control de plagas, insectos y hongos) mediante inspección y congelado en seco, de todo el material que ingrese al laboratorio.
- Determinación taxonómica de restos botánicos mediante comparaciones anato-morfológicas.
- Análisis por niveles, constituido por siguientes datos:

  Datos LIAP
  N° de bolsa
  Responsable del análisis
  Fecha de análisis

  Datos del proyecto
  Código/ unidad/ sector/ nivel/capa/ contexto, etc.

  Datos arqueobotánicos
  Estructura anatómica (Parte de la planta)
  Taxón
  Nombre vulgar
  Cantidad: entero/fragmentado/total
  Características
  Observaciones
  ml

- A su vez se fotografió el material recuperado en una mesa de fotografía y con una cámara digital CANON A630 de 12Mp.

ANÁLISIS PRELIMINARES

TOMA DE MUESTRAS

Se analizaron en total 136 muestras de material botánico, cada muestra identificada con un número de sitio y locus.

Se realizó el proceso de flotación mediante una máquina de flotación mecánica, en donde se volcaron cada una de las bolsas. Luego fueron tamizadas las facciones livianas con cribas de 1mm y 2mm. Se separó a su vez el material inorgánico de relevancia como fragmentos de cerámica.

Conservación

Todo el material fue analizado en un primer momento respecto a su conservación. En general el material no presentaba problemas de ataques químicos (sales) o biológicos (microorganismos, insectos) o de humedad.

Ciertas bolsas contenían sedimento húmedo, pero no revistieron problemas entorno a la conservación de los restos que contenían.

En los casos en que se encontró material afectado por microorganismos, colonias de hongos, el material fue limpiado mecánicamente y con alcohol 96º, luego secado en estufa e ingresado al freezer durante 48hs.

El material se encontraba en su mayoría fragmentado 69% (n=3463), entero 31% (n=1559), representado por semilla. Respecto a su conservación, carbonizado 93.2%,(n=4404) considerado de origen arqueológico y el no carbonizado 6.7% (n=320), considerado de origen moderno.

Separación del material

Luego de ser examinada cada bolsa en cuanto a la conservación, se separaron de acuerdo a los componentes de cada locus por sus características morfológicas macroscópicas por taxón y tipo de estructura: tallo, fruto, semilla, etc. para el posterior conteo y registro en la ficha de análisis.

A su vez se retiraron otros elementos ajenos a la muestra vegetal como son restos de cerámica (en su mayoría fragmentos pequeños no diagnósticos), algunos fragmentos de moluscos, restos óseos de origen animal, coprolitos (en su mayoría de camélidos y posiblemente roedores), etc.

Los carbones de madera fueron separados y contabilizados, pero se analizó solamente aquellos mayores a 1cm3. El resto fue medido de acuerdo a ml, para comparar concentraciones.

Luego de ello se compararon las muestras con material de referencia y cada una de ellas fue ingresada a una tabla de datos Excel, con los siguientes parámetros:

Datos LIAP

- N° de bolsa
- Responsable del análisis
- Fecha de análisis

Datos del Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí-Lurin

- Consignados de acuerdo a la ficha de procedencia del material:
- Sitio
- Locus

Datos de análisis arqueobotánico

- Estructura anatómica (Parte de la planta: Raíz, Tallo, Hoja, Flor, Fruto)
- Taxón
- Nombre vulgar
- Cantidad/Peso
- Características (Inherentes a la muestra botánica)
- Observaciones (Inherentes a la modificación antrópica)

De acuerdo a la muestra analizada la caracterización de los parámetros de la ficha de análisis arqueobotánico fueron los siguientes:

- Estructura

El parámetro de ESTRUCTURA está determinado por la estructura anatómica vegetal

- RAÍZ.

Órgano de las plantas, generalmente subterráneo, que carece de hojas y cumple funciones de absorción, fijación y reserva.

  - Tubérculo. Tallo subterráneo que almacena reservas y que porta yemas y catáfilos.

- TALLO

Órgano vegetativo de las cormofitas encargado de sostener las hojas y frutos y llevar hasta ellos las sustancias alimenticias.

  - Pedúnculo. Es una porción del tallo más o menos desarrollado desprovisto de hojas que sostiene la flor (y por extensión el fruto) al talo.
  - Pedicelo. Dícese del cabillo de una flor en las inflorescencias. Cuando una flor nace solitaria el cabillo que las sostiene se denomina pedúnculo.

- Rizoma. Tallo subterráneo de forma más o menos alargada, rollizo o comprimido sin o con corta ramificación y que desarrolla paralelamente a la superficie del suelo.
- Corteza. Tejido primario que se encuentra entre los tejidos vasculares y la epidermis en tallos y raíces.
- Epiteto floral. Eje que sostiene la inflorescencia.
- Zarcillo: Adaptación del tallo para sostén, en plantas trepadoras.

- HOJA

Son protuberancias laterales exógenas

- Bráctea. Llamadas también Hipsofilos u hojas superiores, es toda hoja que acompaña a las flores o inflorescencias, aunque a veces son semejantes a las hojas normales, suelen diferenciarse de ellas por el color forma consistencia y tamaño, generalmente su función es proteger es proteger a las flores y en otros casos para atraer con sus colores a los insectos polinizantes.
- Vaina. Parte inferior de algunas hojas. Base de la hoja que abraza parcial o totalmente al tallo que se inserta.
- Escapo. Falso tallo herbáceo alargado y sin hojas en cuyo ápice lleva las flores. El escapo sale de un rizoma o un bulbo.

- FLOR

Vástago de crecimiento Inflorescencia limitado, cuyas hojas son de forma particular y que están relacionadas con la reproducción sexual.

- FRUTO

Es la estructura resultante de la modificación fisiológica anatómica del ovario de la flor una vez que este esta fecundado luego del proceso de la polinización. El fruto presenta 3 partes principales: Epicarpio, mesocarpio y endocarpio.

- Fruto Transformación del gineceo después de la fecundación (o partenogénesis) y que contiene las semillas. Por su naturaleza puede ser carnoso o seco, los frutos secos pueden ser dehiscentes o indehiscentes.
- Pericarpo.: parte del fruto que rodea a la semilla, corresponde a la hoja carpelar, generalmente formado por tres capas, epicarpo, mesocarpo y endocarpo.
- Epicarpio. Capa externa del pericarpo, sinónimo de exocarpo, suele corresponder a la epidermis del carpelo.
- Mesocarpio. Capa intermedia del pericarpo, entre el exocarpo y el endocarpo, correspondiente al mesófilo de la hoja carpelar.
- Endocarpio. Parte más interna del pericarpo.

        - Raquis. En las inflorescencias el eje principal, en las hojas el nervio medio.
        - Tusa. La parte interna de la mazorca del maíz, sobre la cual se disponen los cariopsis (fruto del maíz)
        - Fibra. Célula esclerenquimática alargada menudo de extremos adelgazados con pared secundaria lignificada o no; puede o no tener protoplasto vivo a la madurez.
        - Legumbre. Fruto seco dehiscente que proviene de un ovario 1 carpelar, 1 locular, multiovular y que se abre tanto por la sutura dorsal y ventral.
        - Cápsula. Son frutos secos dehiscentes que se abren por las valvas
    - SEMILLA

Cada uno de los cuerpos que forman parte del fruto que da origen a una nueva planta

- Taxón: Clasificación y determinación de las muestras

    - ESPECIES Determinadas

Chenopodium quinoa
Erytroxilum coca
Psidium guajava
Zea mays

    - GÉNEROS determinados

Alnus
Capsicum
Echinopsis
Neoraimondia
Salix
Solanum
Polylepis

    - FAMILIAS determinadas

AMARANTACEAE
MALVACEAE
CACTACEAE
SOLANACEAE
FABACEAE
POACEA
VERBENACEAE

    - CLASES determinadas

MAGNOLIÓPSIDA
LILIÓPSIDA

En caso que hubiera dudas respecto a la determinación realizada se agregó la sigla cf, que significa “confrontar”

- Nombre Vulgar.

Es el nombre con que un grupo determinado se refiere a veces a una especie, otras a un género o incluso a especies botánicas diferentes. En ocasiones el nombre conlleva en si un significado referido al uso o tradición asociada a la planta. Sin embargo el nombre vulgar, es solo un referente, ya son muy variables.

- Cantidad

Es el número resultante de material conservado según sea la especificación de si está fragmentado o entero.

- Características

Son aquellos aspectos inherentes a la planta, que se desprende de la descripción técnica del espécimen, referida mayormente a las medidas.

- Modificaciones

Son aquellas características resultantes de la intervención antrópica sobre la muestra.

Equipos utilizados

- Estereoscopio binocular NIKON SMZ – 2T de 20x de aumento
- Estereoscopio binocular Ernst Leitz GmbH Wetzlar de 15x de aumento
- Microscopio binocular Yashima Optical BYL2 de 100x de aumento
- Microscopio uniocular Paralux de 60x de aumento
- Microscopio binocular Zweiss de 100x de aumento
- Freezer en seco INLENSA 60 L^3
- Balanza digital CAMRY EK3052 de 1gr a 5Kg.

RESULTADOS FINALES

Luego de separar, determinar y contabilizar cada una de las muestras se volcaron los datos obtenidos en una tabla Excel, dividida de acuerdo a los sitios y las unidades estratigráficas. A su vez se dividieron por locus.

Se tomaron en cuenta aquellos materiales carbonizados como de origen arqueológico. Se contabilizaron a su vez muestras no botánicas como restos óseos, coprolitos y fragmentería cerámica.

Los coprolitos encontrados sugieren la presencia de camélidos y roedores, ambos se encontraban en su mayoría carbonizados. Los restos óseos probablemente pertenecían a mamíferos y pocos se encontraban carbonizados. La cerámica es en su mayoría no diagnóstica, excepto por un fragmento de borde.

A nivel general, la muestra presenta en todos los sitios, fragmentos muy diminutos de carbón de tallo, pertenecientes a plantas de la clase Magnoliópsida (dicotiledóneas), se pudieron determinar restos de carbón de los géneros Polylepis (Queñual), Alnus (Aliso) y posiblemente Salix (Sauce), las dos primeras especies se encuentran en zonas serranas hasta los 3500 a 4500msnm. El aliso es muy utilizado a su vez como cerco vivo en cultivos para protección del viento y la erosión. El sauce crece hasta los 2500msnm en zonas de monte ribereño y húmedas. No se puede determinar si los pequeños fragmentos (menores a 1cm3) encontrados recurrentemente en los sitios pertenecen a estas especies, debido a que metodológicamente no se pueden determinar por su tamaño, pero sabiendo de la existencia de estas especies carbonizadas, es posible que sean de estos géneros.

Comparando las diferentes unidades estratigráficas, se observa una homogeneidad en la presencia de semillas carbonizadas de Chenopodium quinoa (quinua) y tallos carbonizados de la clase Magnoliópsida. Cabe mencionar que la mayor concentración de estos especímenes los encontramos en el sitio Llacsatambo en la Unidad Estrátigráfica 06 (LTUE 06), (quinua n=750), (Tallos carbonizados n=762).

Las semillas del género Solanum, están presentes en todas las UE menos en la LTUE07. Este género es representado por especies como la papa. Se han encontrado semillas en su mayoría carbonizadas, aunque también sin carbonizar.

Las semillas de cactáceas también son recurrentes en la mayoría de las UE, salvo en la LTUE03 y la SDUE01.

Se determinó la presencia del género Erytroxilum sp. (coca) en las UE: LTUE02, locus 9 y 15; LTUE04, locus 13 y LTUE05, locus 15.

Se determinó la posible presencia de una semilla de Gossypium sp. (Algodón) carbonizada en LTUE02, locus 6.

En cuanto al género Amaranthus (Kiwicha), generalmente no se diferencia a nivel anatómico macorscópico del género Chenopodium (quinua), pero en este caso pudimos observar una gran diferencia de tamaño entre una muestra con las características de la quinua y la kiwicha, por tanto hemos decidido colocar la determinación taxonómica de cf Amaranthus, para aquellas semillas que tenían la mitad de tamaño (<1mm) que las determinadas para quinua. La mayoría de las semillas se encuentran concentradas en LTUE06.

Para la especie Zea mays (maíz) se encontraron algunos granos carbonizados en LTUE03, locus 3 (n=1) y LTUE06, locus 4 y 6 (n=1 respectivamente) y locus 22 y 8/9 se encontraron cúpulas (lugar del fruto donde se inserta en grano) también carbonizados (n=1 respectivamente). Los granos eran muy pequeños en tamaño.

Se realizaron a su vez gráficos comparativos entre las UE, respecto a los taxa determinados y su cantidad.

También se realizaron gráficos por cada una de las UE en cuanto a cantidad de restos determinados en total y por locus.

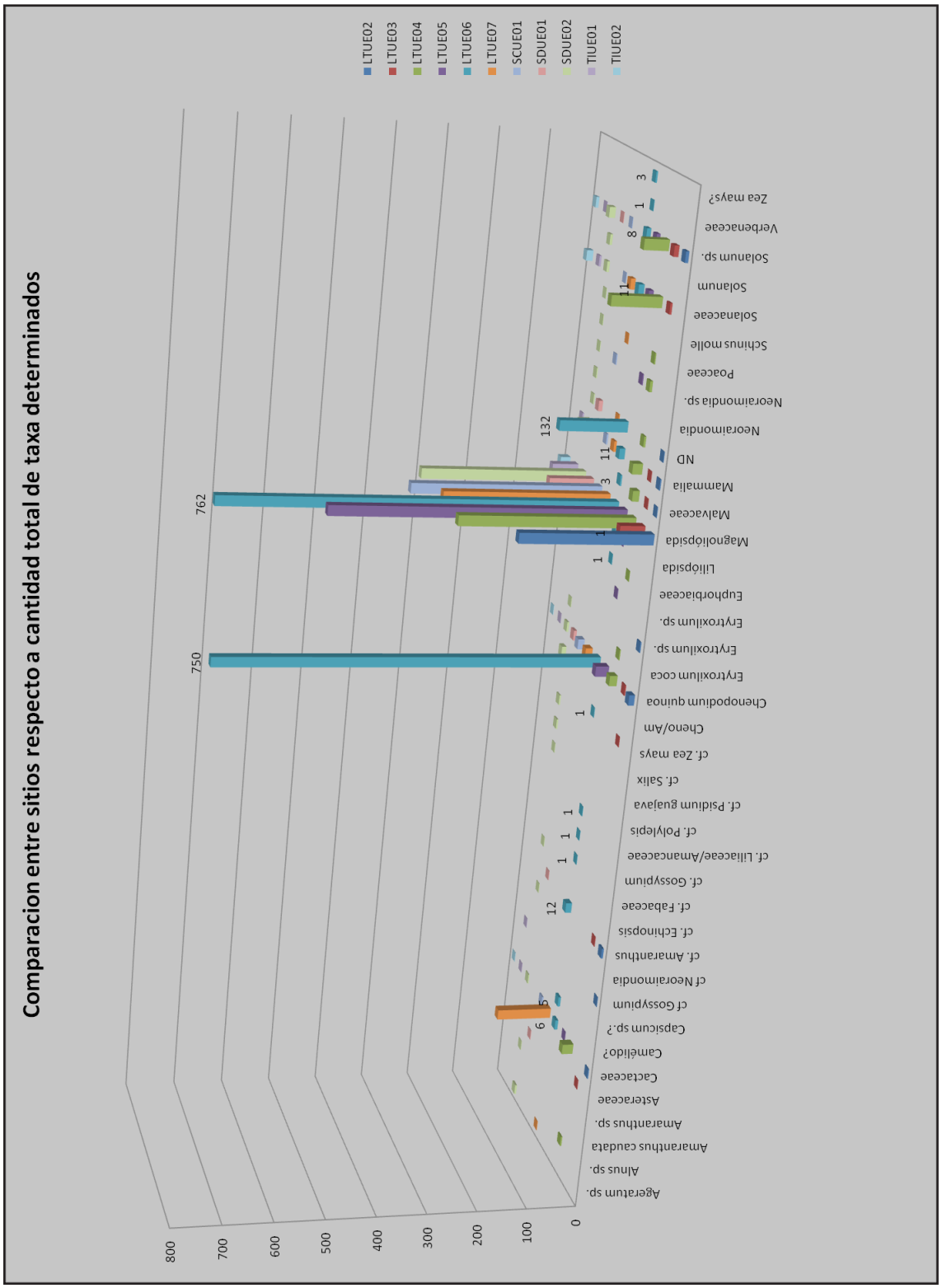

Comparacion entre sitios respecto a cantidad total de taxa determinados
LTUE02
LTUE03
LTUE04
LTUE05
LTUE06
LTUE07
SCUE01
SDUE01
SDUE02
TIUE01
TIUE02
0
100
200
300
400
500
600
700
800
Ageratum sp.
Alnus sp.
Amaranthus caudata
Amaranthus sp.
Asteraceae
Cactaceae
Camélido?
Capsicum sp.?
cf Gossypium
cf Neoraimondia
cf. Amaranthus
cf. Echinopsis
cf. Fabaceae
cf. Gossypium
cf. Liliaceae/Amancaceae
cf. Polylepis
cf. Psidium guajava
cf. Salix
cf. Zea mays
Chen/Am
Chenopodium quinoa
Erytroxilum coca
Erytroxilum sp.
Erytroxilum sp.
Euphorbiaceae
Liliopsida
Magnoliopsida
Malvaceae
Mammalia
ND
Neoraimondia
Neoraimondia sp.
Poaceae
Schinus molle
Solanaceae
Solanum
Solanum sp.
Verbenaceae
Zea mays?
762
750
132

Figure D.1

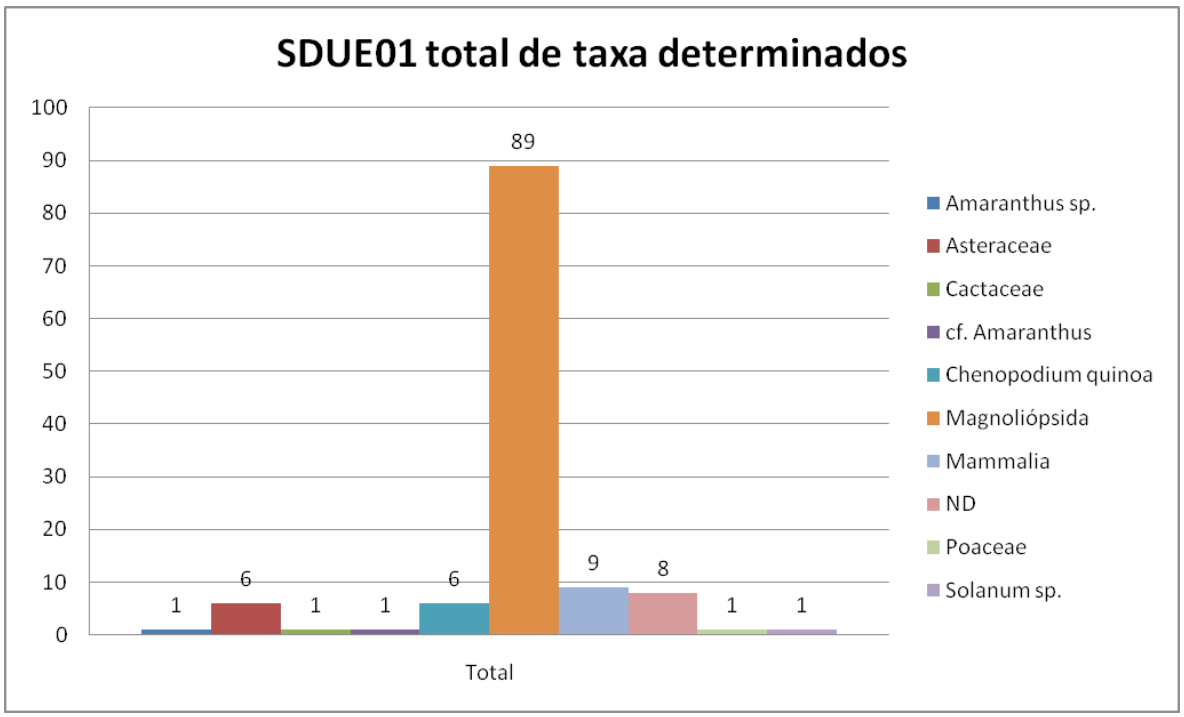


Figure D.2

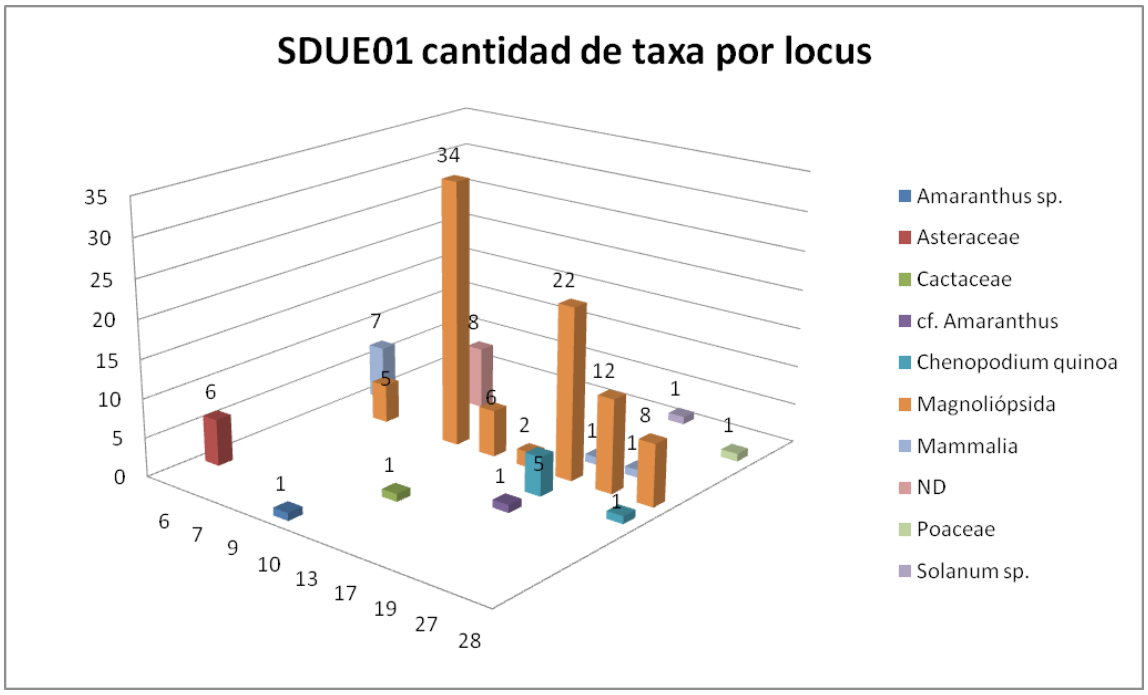


Figure D.3

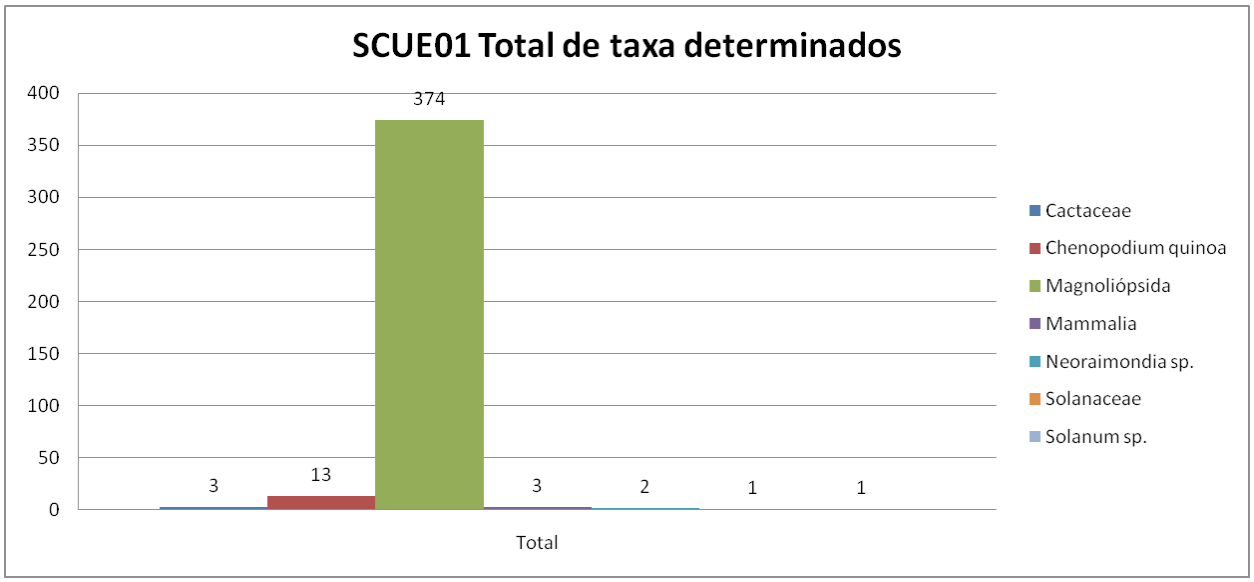


Figure D.4

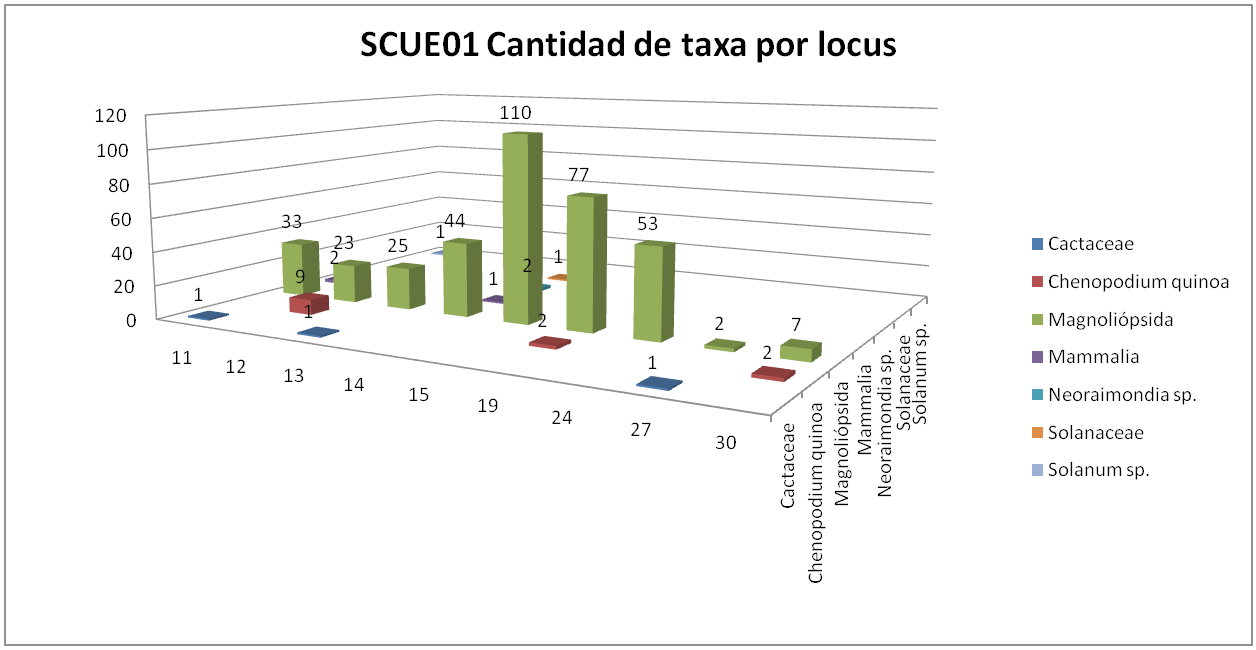


Figure D.5

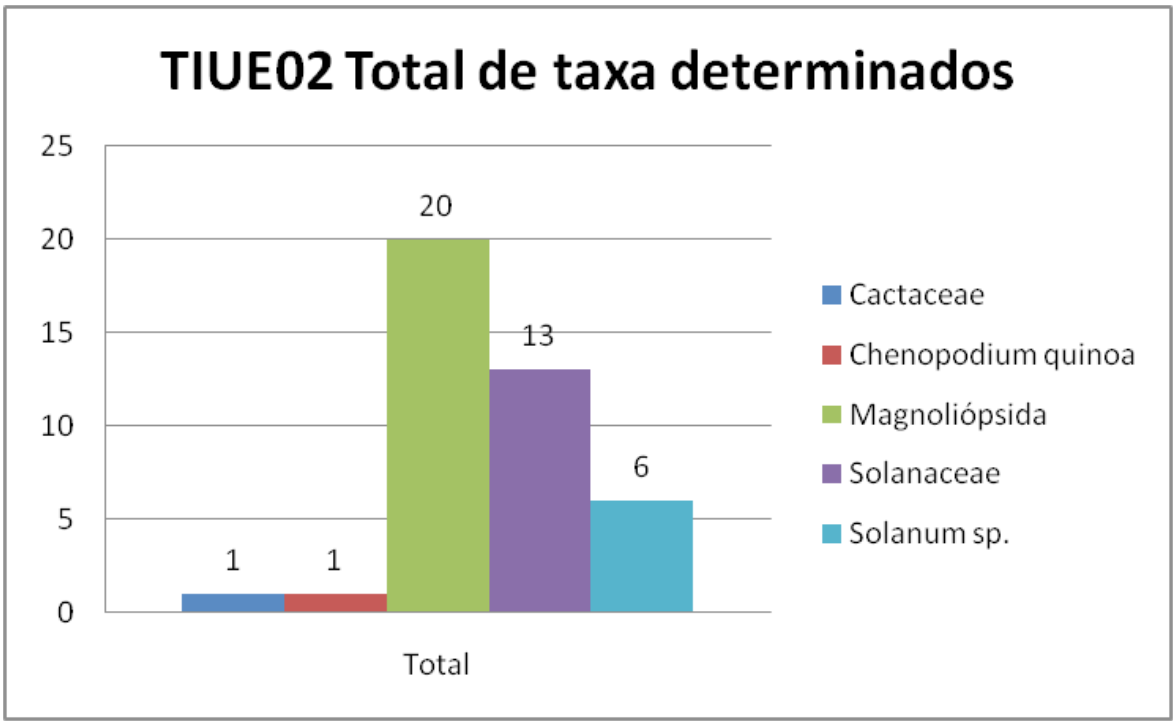

TIUE02 Total de taxa determinados
25
20
15
10
5
0
20
13
6
1
1
Total
Cactaceae
Chenopodium quinoa
Magnoliópsida
Solanaceae
Solanum sp.

Figure D.6

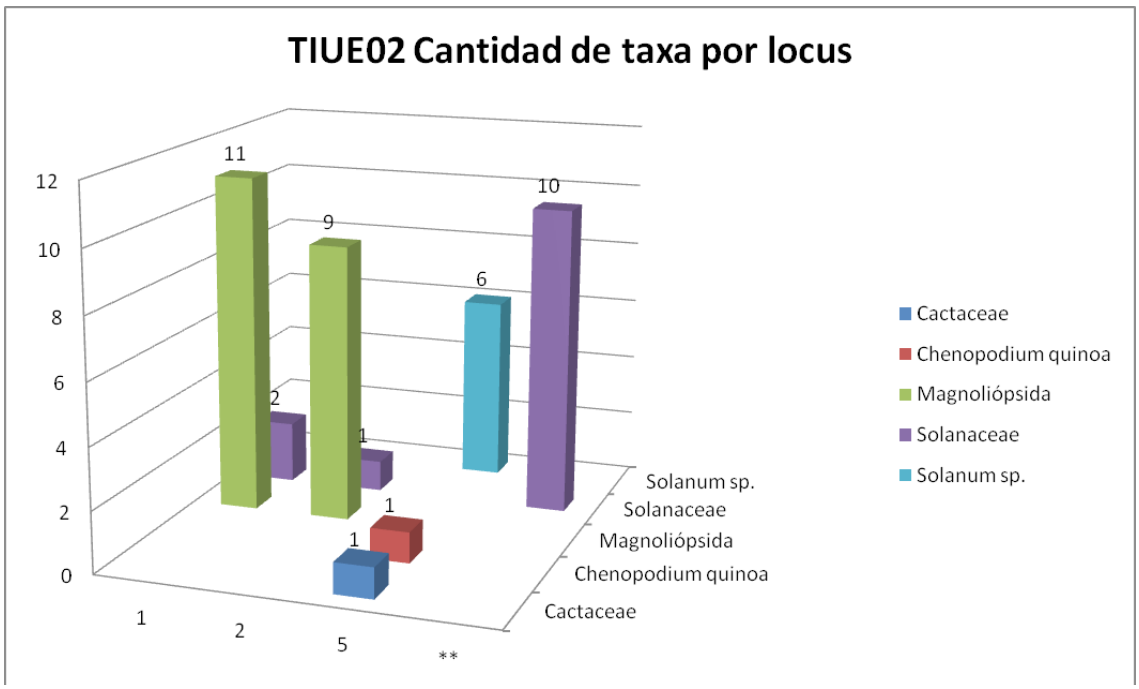


Figure D.7

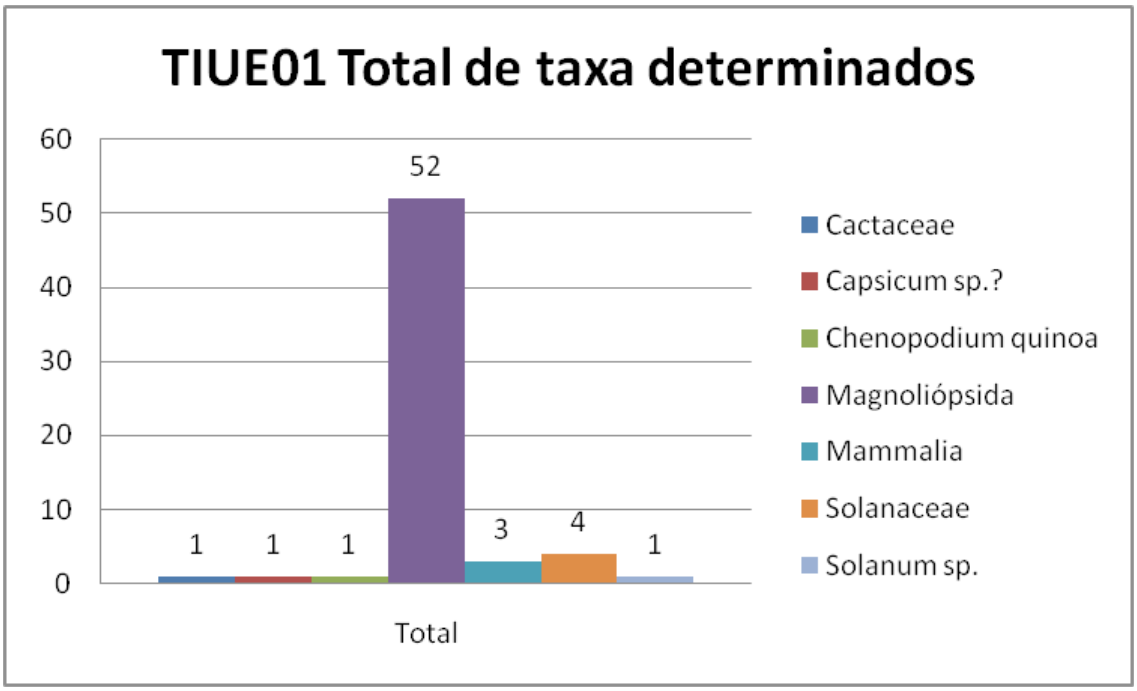


Figure D.8

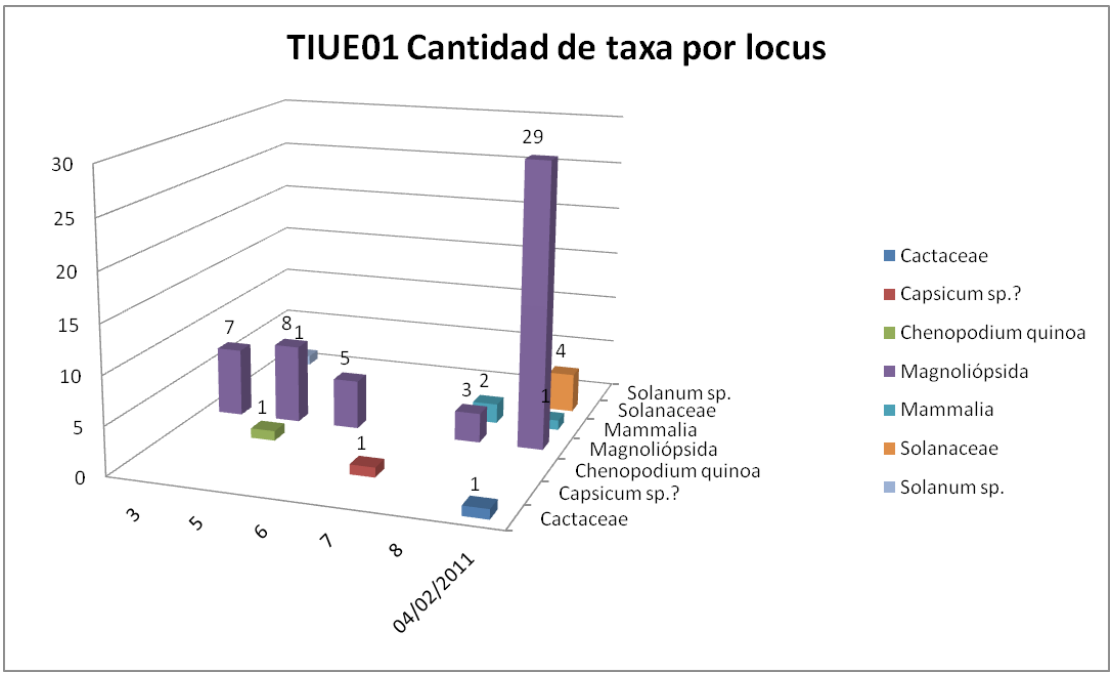


Figure D.9

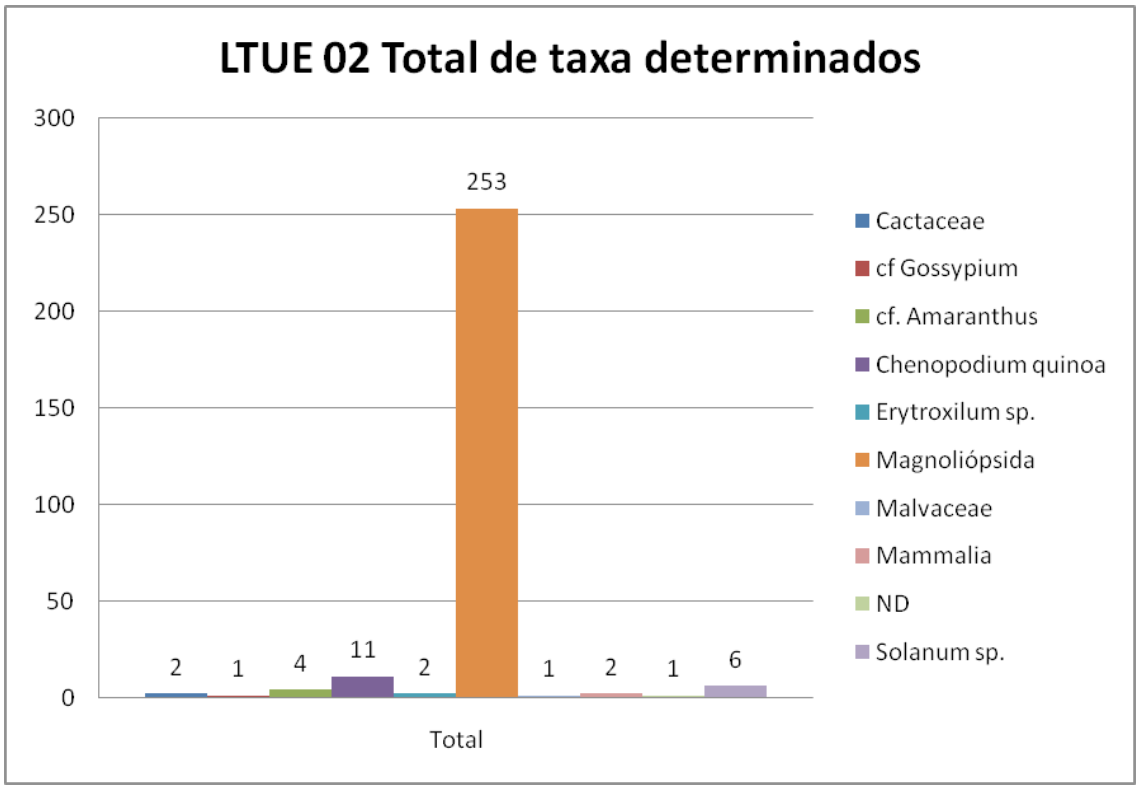


Figure D.10

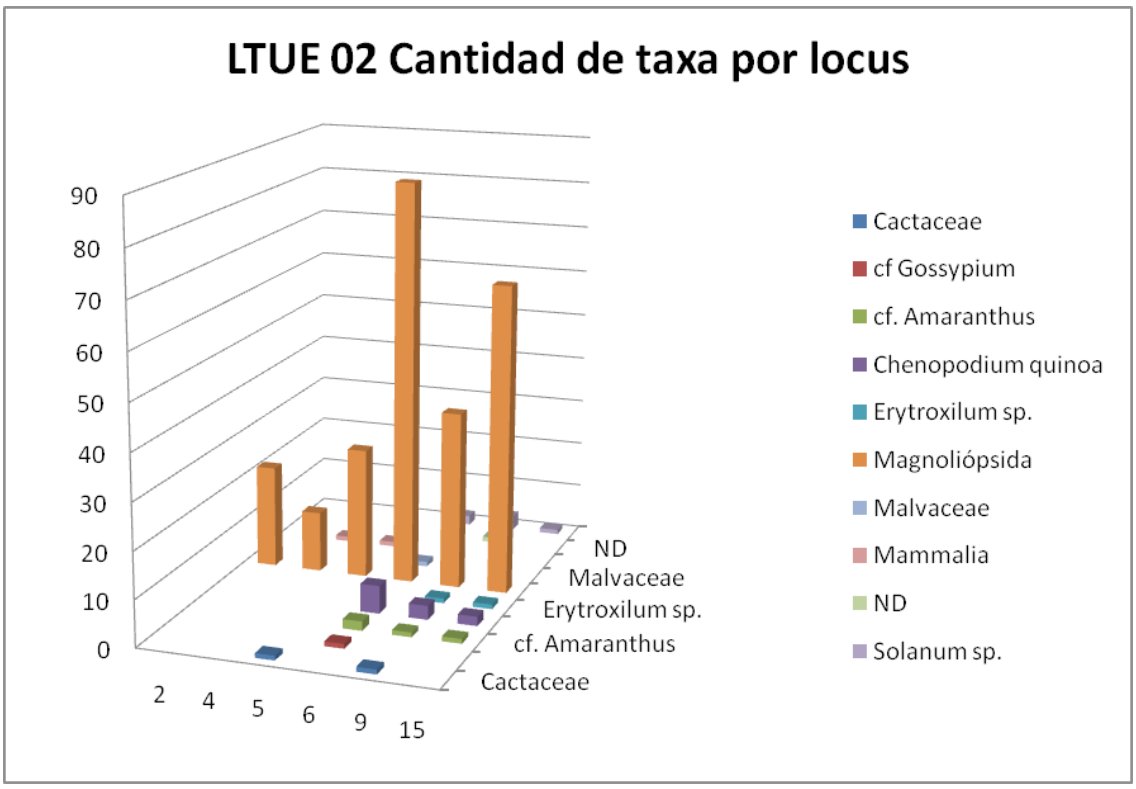


Figure D.11

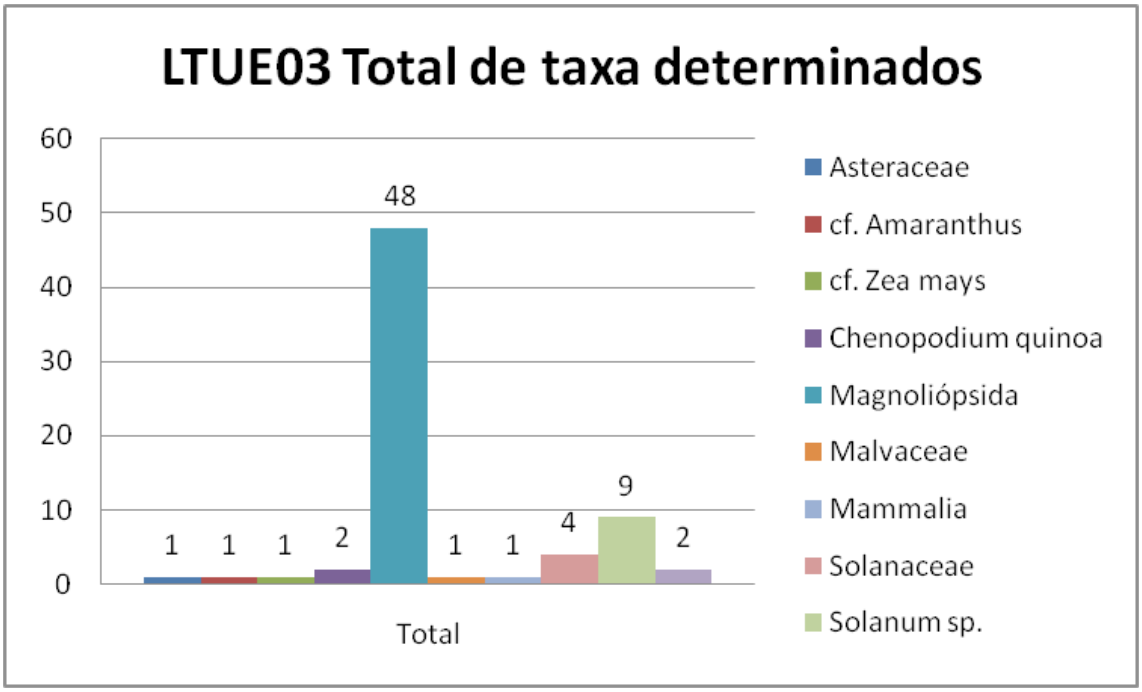


Figure D.12

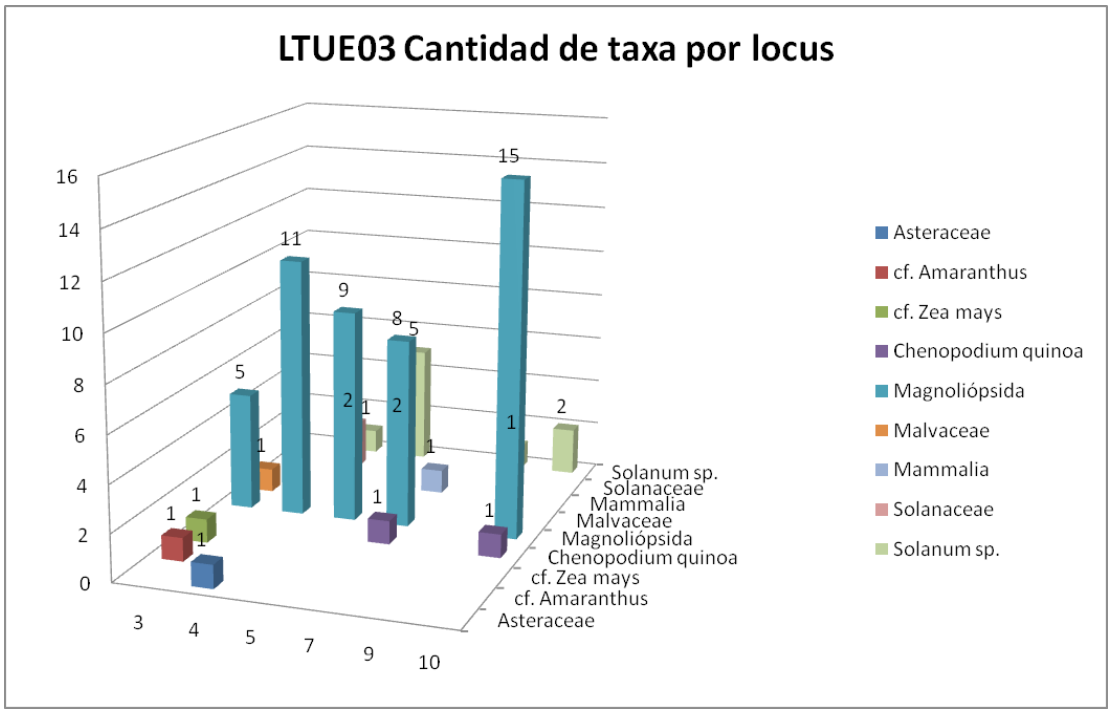


Figure D.13

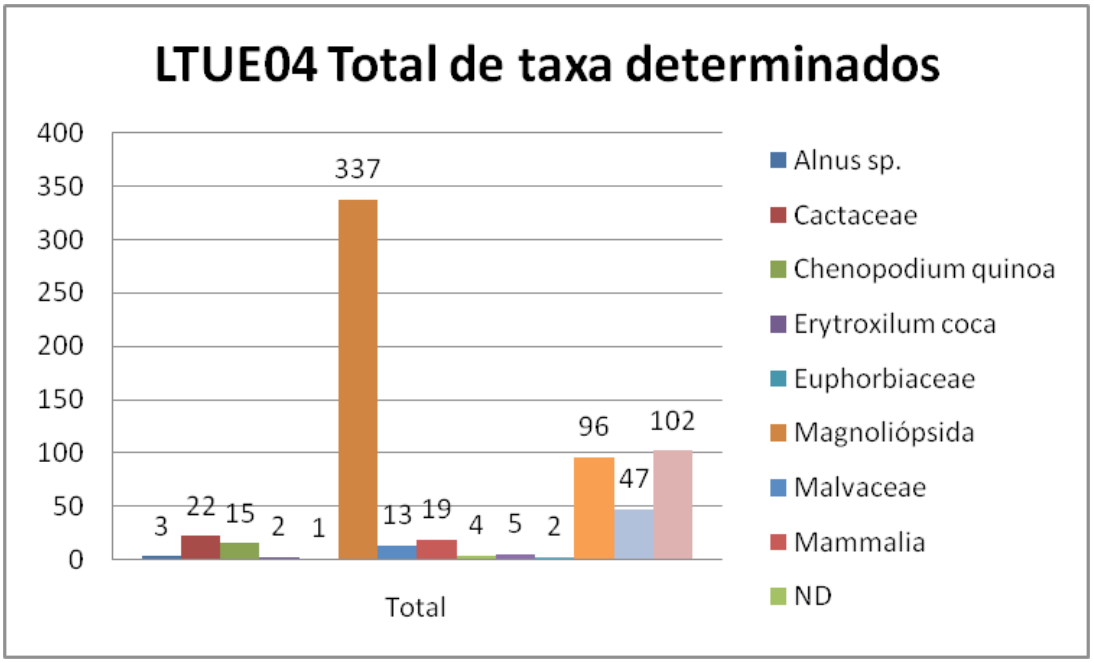


Figure D.14

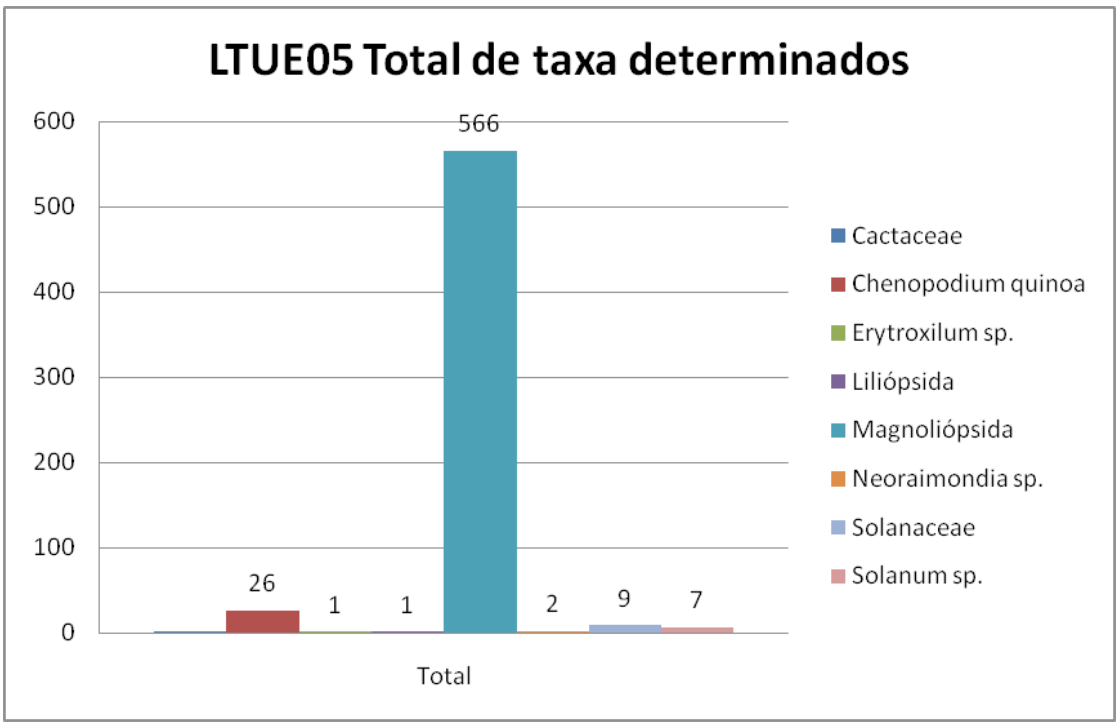

LTUE05 Total de taxa determinados
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
566
26
1
1
2
9
7
Total
Cactaceae
Chenopodium quinoa
Erytroxilum sp.
Liliópsida
Magnoliópsida
Neoraimondia sp.
Solanaceae
Solanum sp.

Figure D.17

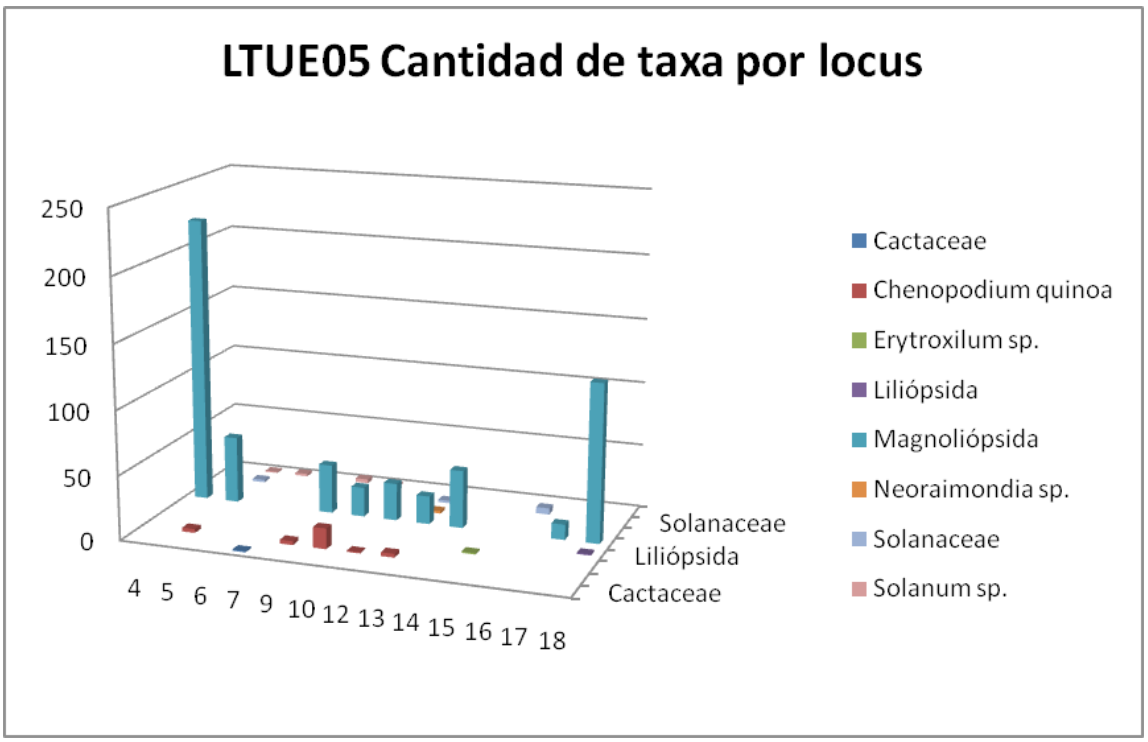


Figure D.16

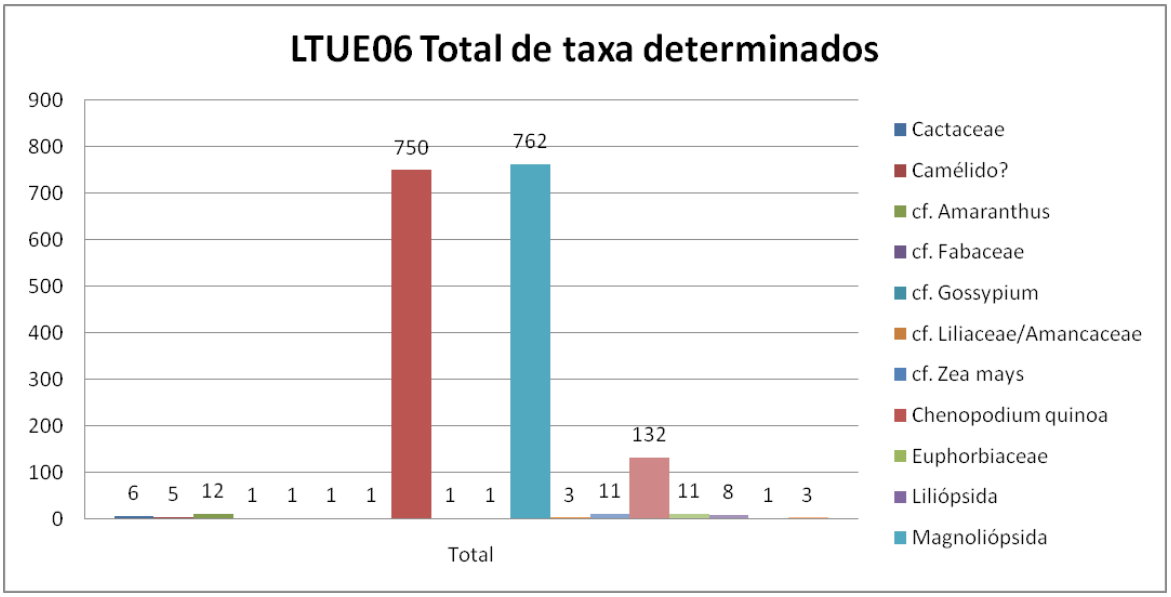


Figure D.17

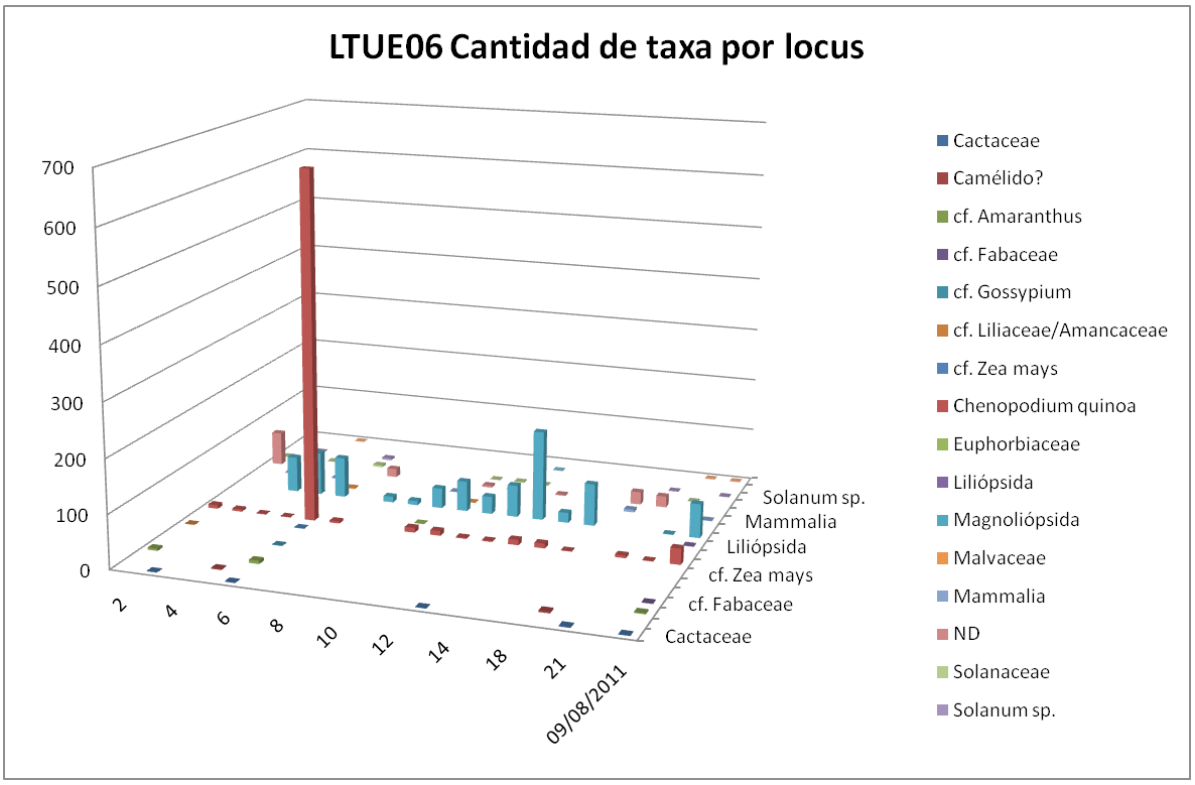


Figure D.18

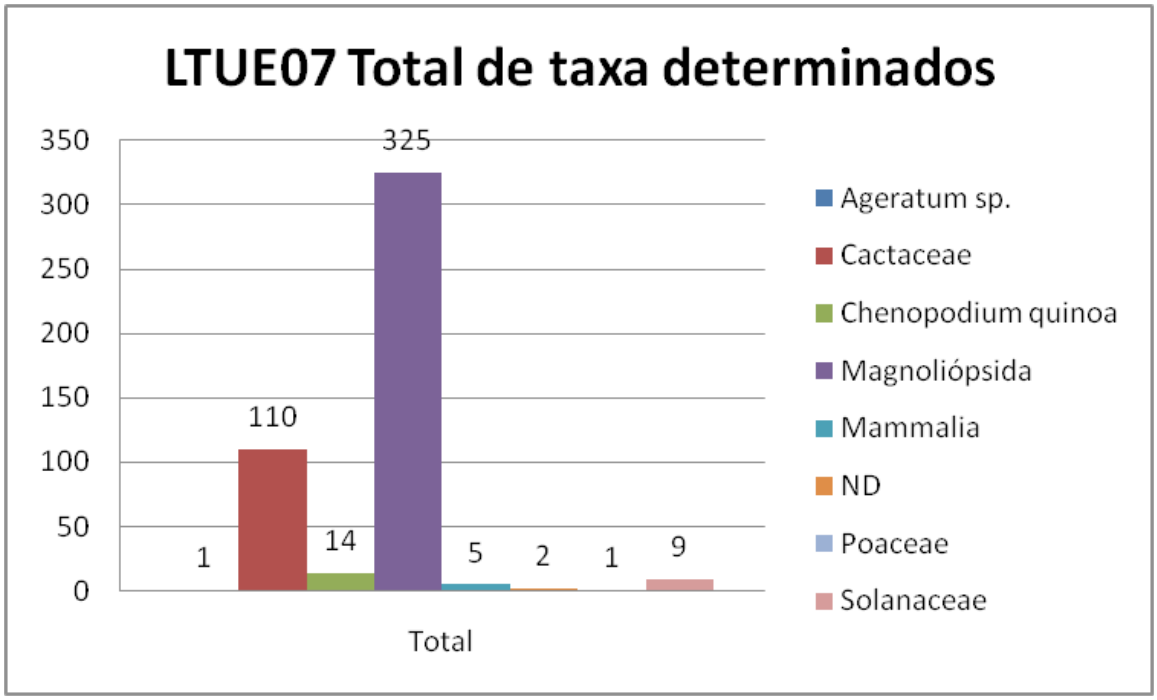


Figure D.19

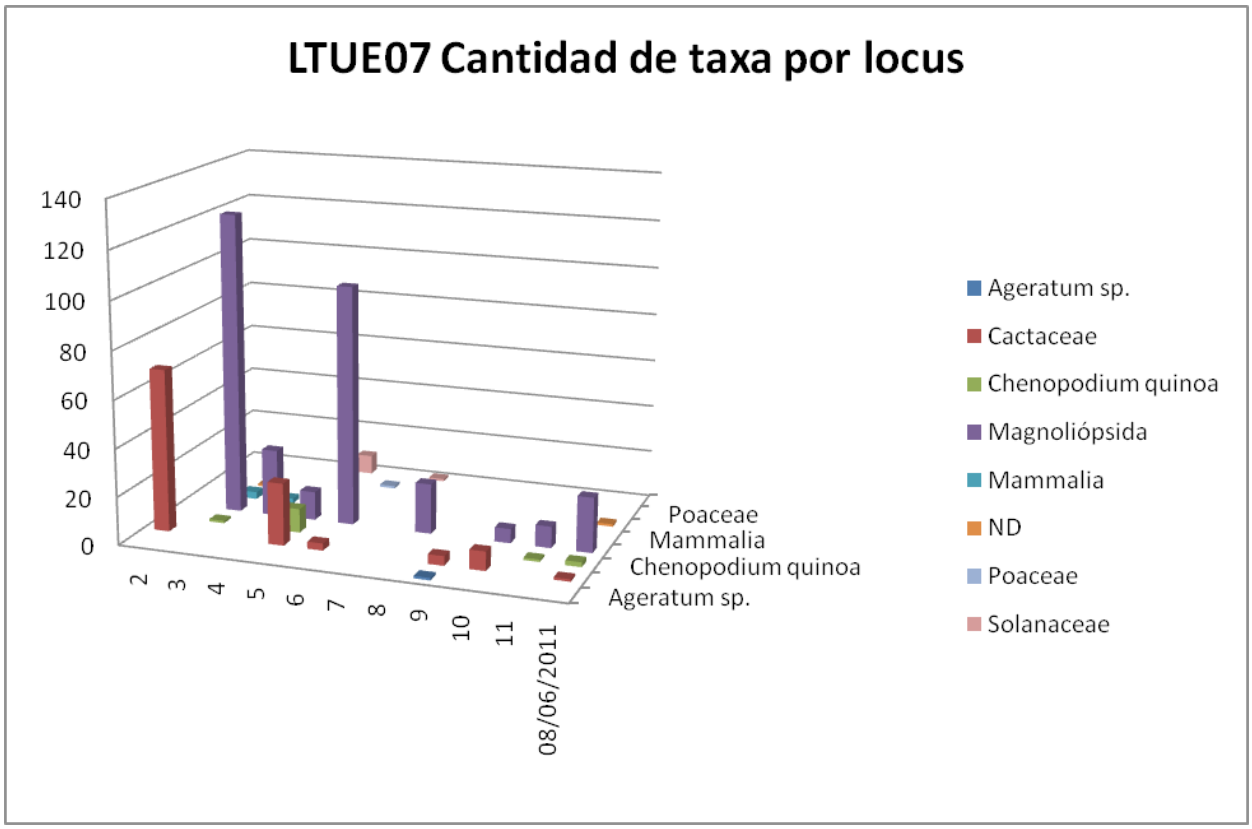

LTUE07 Cantidad de taxa por locus
140
120
100
80
60
40
20
0
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
08/06/2011
Poaceae
Mammalia
Chenopodium quinoa
Ageratum sp.
Ageratum sp.
Cactaceae
Chenopodium quinoa
Magnoliópsida
Mammalia
ND
Poaceae
Solanaceae

Figure D.20

Table D.1: Soil sample inventory

Unidad	Locus	Fecha
SDUE01	3	4/SET/2010
SDUE01	6	7/SET/2010
SDUE01	6	7/SET/2010
SDUE01	7	7/SET/2010
SDUE01	7	7/SET/2010
SDUE01	9	8/SET/2010
SDUE01	10	8/SET/2010
SCUE01	11	21/AGO/2010
SCUE01	12	21/AGO/2010
SCUE01	13	21/AGOS/2010
SCUE01	13	21/AGO/2010
SCUE01	13	23/AGO/2010
SCUE01	14	23/AGO/2010
SCUE01	17	23/AGO/2010
SCUE01	19	24/AGOS/2010
SCUE01	19/23	7/SET/2010
SCUE01	21	24/AGO/2010
SCUE01	24	29/AGO/2010
SCUE01	24	24/AGO/2010
SCUE01	26	17/SET/2010
SCUE01	27	10/SET/1020
SCUEO1	28	16/SET/2010
SCUE01	30	18/SET/2010
TIUE01	1	13/OCT/2010
TIUE01	2/4	22/OCT/2010
TIUE01	3	23/OCT/2010
TIUE01	3	4/NOV/2010
TIUE01	5	7/DIC/2010
TIUE01	6	8/DIC/2010
TIUE01	6/7	9/DIC/2010
TIUE01	7	18/DIC/2010
TIUE01	8	11/DIC/2010
TIUE02	1	23/OCT/2010
TIUE02	1	23/OCT/2010
TIUE02	2	26/OCT//2010
TIUE02	3	28/OCT/2010
TIUE02	4	17/DIC/2010
TIUE02	**	17/DIC/2010
TIUE02	5	18/DIC/2010

Table D.1 (continued): Soil sample inventory

Unidad	Locus	Fecha
LTUE02	1	21/SET/2010
LTUE02	2	21/SET/2010
LTUE02	4	5/OCT/2010
LTUE02	4	24/SET/2010
LTUE02	5	7/OCT/2010
LTUE02	5	6/OCT/2010
LTUE02	6	7/OCT/2010
LTUE03	2	9/OCT/2010
LTUE03	3	13/OCT/2010
LTUE03	4	14/OCT/2010
LTUE03	5	14/OCT/2010
LTUE03	7	22/OCT/2010
LTUE03	9	22/OCT/2010
LTUE03	10	22/OCT/2010
LTUE04	2	9/OCT/2010
LTUE04	3	13/OCT/2010
LTUE04	4	13/OCT/2010
LTUE04	5	14/OCT/2010
LTUE04	6	15/OCT/2010
LTUE04	7	14/OCT/2010
LTUE04	10	21/OCT/2010
LTUE04	11	21/OCT/2010
LTUE04	12	21/oct/2010
LTUE04	13	22/OCT/2010
LTUE04	14	22/OCT/2010
LTUE04	15	22/OCT/2010
LTUE04	16	22/OCT/2010
LTUE05	5	27/OCT/2010
LTUE05	6	27/OCT/2010
LTUE05	7	27/OCT/2010
LTUE05	8	27/OCT/2010
LTUE05	4	27/OCT/2010
LTUE05	9	28/OCT/2010
LTUE05	10	29/OCT/2010
LTUE05	15	4/NOV/2010
LTUE05	16	6/NOV/2010
LTUE05	18	6/NOV/2010
LTUE05	16	6/NOV/2010
LTUE05	14	5/NOV/2010

Table D.1 (continued): Soil sample inventory

Unidad	Locus	Fecha
LTUE05	13	4/NOV/2010
LTUE05	17	6/NOV/2010
LTUE05	12	4/NOV/2010
LTUE05	14	5/NOV/2010
LTUE06	2	1/DIC/2010
LTUE06	3	18/NOV/2010
LTUE06	4	20/NOV/2010
LTUE06	5	24/NOV/2010
LTUE06	5	24/NOV/2010
LTUE06	5	25/NOV/2010
LTUE06	6	20/NOV/2010
LTUE06	6	24/NOV/2010
LTUE06	7	24/NOV/2010
LTUE06	7	24/NOV/2010
LTUE06	7	25/NOV/2010
LTUE06	8	5/DIC/2010
LTUE06	8	8/DIC/2010
LTUE06	8/9	8/DIC/2010
LTUE06	9	9/DIC/2010
LTUE06	9	9/DIC/2010
LTUE06	9/11	6/DIC/2010
LTUE06	10	1/DIC/2010
LTUE06	11	2/DIC/2010
LTUE06	11	2/DIC/2010
LTUE06	11	2/DIC/2010
LTUE06	12	8/DIC/2010
LTUE06	13	11/DIC/2010
LTUE06	13	11/DIC/2010
LTUE06	14	11/DIC/2010
LTUE06	15	9/DIC/2010
LTUE06	16	13/DIC/2010
LTUE06	18	13/DIC/2010
LTUE06	20	13/DIC/2010
LTUE06	21	17/DIC/2010
LTUE06	22	18/DIC/2010
LTUE07	2	25/AGO/2010
LTUE07	3	28/AGO/2010
LTUE07	3	19/SET/2010
LTUE07	4	28/AGO/2010

Table D.1 (continued): Soil sample inventory

Unidad	Locus	Fecha
LTUE07	5	28/AGO/2010
LTUE07	6	14/SET/2010
LTUE07	6	23/SET/2010
LTUE07	6/8	8/OCT/2010
LTUE07	7	24/SET/2010
LTUE07	8	6/OCT/2010
LTUE07	8	6/OCT/2010
LTUE07	9	7/OCT/2010
LTUE07	10	7/OCT/2010
LTUE07	11	7/OCT/2010

Table D.2: SDUE01

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
SDUE01	28	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	8	8	Carbonizado
SDUE01	7	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	5	5	Carbonizado
SDUE01	9	Tallo	ND	—	—	8	8	Carbonizado
SDUE01	10	Semilla	Amaranthus sp.	Kiwicha	1	—	1	Carbonizado
SDUE01	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	5	5	Carbonizado
SDUE01	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	29	29	Carbonizado
SDUE01	13	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	6	6	Carbonizado
SDUE01	17	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	2	2	Carbonizado
SDUE01	19	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	5	—	5	Carbonizado
SDUE01	19	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	1	—	1	Carbonizado
SDUE01	19	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
SDUE01	19	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	22	22	Carbonizado
SDUE01	27	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	12	12	Carbonizado
SDUE01	28	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado

Table D.3: SCUE01.

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
SCUE01	11	Cerámica		—	—	3	3	—
SCUE01	11	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	2	2	—
SCUE01	11	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	33	33	Carbonizado
SCUE01	11	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
SCUE01	11	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
SCUE01	12	Cerámica		—	—	1	1	—
SCUE01	12	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	9		9	Carbonizado
SCUE01	12	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	23	23	Carbonizado
SCUE02	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCUE01	13	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
SCUE01	13	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	25	25	Carbonizado
SCUE01	13	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—

Table D.3 (continued): SCUE01

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
SCUE01	14	Cerámica	—	—	—	3	3	—
SCUE01	14	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
SCUE01	14	Semilla	Neoraimondia sp.	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
SCUE01	14	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	44	44	Carbonizado
SCUE01	14	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
SCUE01	15	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	110	110	Carbonizado
SCUE01	17	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCUE01	19	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
SCUE01	19	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	77	77	Carbonizado
SCUE01	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCUE01	24	Cerámica	—	—	—	4	4	—
SCUE01	24	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	30	30	Carbonizado
SCUE01	24	Coprolito	—	—	11	—	11	—
SCUE01	24	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	2	2	Carbonizado
SCUE01	24	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	21	21	Carbonizado
SCUE01	26	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCUE01	27	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	2	2	Carbonizado
SCUE01	27	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
SCUEO1	28	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
SCUE01	30	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
SCUE01	30	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	7	7	Carbonizado
SCUE01	19/23	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table D.4: TIUE01

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
TIUE01	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TIUE01	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TIUE01	3	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	7	7	Carbonizado
TIUE01	3	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE01	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TIUE01	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	1	—	1	Carbonizado
TIUE01	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	8	8	Carbonizado
TIUE01	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	5	5	Carbonizado
TIUE01	7	Fruto	Capsicum sp.?	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
TIUE01	7	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
TIUE01	8	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	2	2	—
TIUE01	8	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	3	3	Carbonizado
TIUE01	2/4	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
TIUE01	2/4	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
TIUE01	2/4	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	4	—	4	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE01	2/4	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE01	2/4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	29	29	Carbonizado
TIUE01	6/7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table D.5: TIUE02

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
TIUE02	1	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	11	11	Carbonizado
TIUE02	1	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE02	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TIUE02	2	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE02	2	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	9	9	Carbonizado
TIUE02	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table D.5 (continued): TIUE02

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
TIUE02	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
TIUE02	5	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	6	—	6	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE02	5	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
TIUE02	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
TIUE02	**	Semilla	Solanaceae		10	—	10	Carbonizado

Table D.6: LTUE02

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE02	1	Material moderno	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE02	2	Coprolito	—	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	2	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	22	22	Carbonizado
LTUE02	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE02	4	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	4	Coprolito	—	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	13	13	Carbonizado
LTUE02	5	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	5	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	5	Tallo	Cactaceae	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	5	Coprolito	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	28	28	Carbonizado
LTUE02	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE02	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	86	86	Carbonizado
LTUE02	6	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	6	—	6	Carbonizado
LTUE02	6	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE02	6	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE02	6	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	2	—	2	Carbonizado

Table D.6 (continued): LTUE02

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE02	6	Semilla	cf Gossypium	Algodón	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	3–5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE02	15	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	66	66	Carbonizado
LTUE02	15	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	15	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE02	15	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	15	Semilla	Erytroxilum sp.	Coca	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	15	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	9	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	9	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE02	9	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE02	9	Semilla	Erytroxilum sp.	Coca	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE02	9	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE02	9	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	38	38	Carbonizado
LTUE02	9	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	—	1	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE02	9	Fruto	ND	—	—	1	1	Posiblemente moderna

Table D.7: LTUE03

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE03	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE03	3	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE03	3	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	3	Fruto	cf. Zea mays	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	3	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	5	5	Carbonizado
LTUE03	4	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	4	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE03	4	Semilla	Asteraceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna

Table D.7 (continued): LTUE03

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE03	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	11	11	Carbonizado
LTUE03	5	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	5	—	5	Carbonizado
LTUE03	5	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE03	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	9	9	Carbonizado
LTUE03	7	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	7	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE03	7	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE03	7	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	8	8	Carbonizado
LTUE03	7	Coprolito	—	—	1	—	1	—
LTUE03	9	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	10	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE03	10	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE03	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	15	15	Carbonizado

Table D.8: LTUE04

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE04	2	Coprolito	—	—	12	3	15	Carbonizado
LTUE04	2	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	159	159	Carbonizado
LTUE04	3	Cerámica	—	—	—	4	4	—
LTUE04	3	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE04	3	Coprolito	—	—	8	2	10	—
LTUE04	3	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE04	3	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	13	—	13	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	3	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE04	3	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	8	—	8	Carbonizado
LTUE04	3	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE04	4	Cerámica	—	—	—	4	—	—

Table D.8 (continued): LTUE04

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE04	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	54	54	Carbonizado
LTUE04	4	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	15	—	15	Carbonizado
LTUE04	4	Óseo	—	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE04	5	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	8	—	8	Carbonizado
LTUE04	5	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	18	—	18	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	5	Semilla	ND	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	7	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	20	—	20	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	7	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	49	—	49	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	10	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	10	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	14	—	14	Carbonizado
LTUE04	10	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	7	—	7	Carbonizado
LTUE04	10	Semilla	Poaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	32	32	Carbonizado
LTUE04	10	Coprolito	—	—	28	—	28	—
LTUE04	10	Semilla	Euphorbiaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	11	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	4	—	4	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	11	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	14	—	14	Carbonizado
LTUE04	11	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	11	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	5	—	5	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	11	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	18	18	Carbonizado
LTUE04	11	Coprolito	—	—	6	—	6	—
LTUE04	12	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	17	17	—
LTUE04	12	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	12	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE04	12	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE04	12	Semilla	ND	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado

Table D.8 (continued): LTUE04

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE04	13	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	13	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	7	—	7	Carbonizado
LTUE04	13	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE04	13	Fruto	Erytroxilum coca	Coca	—	2	2	Carbonizado
LTUE04	13	Semilla	Neoraimondia sp.	—	5	—	5	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	13	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE04	13	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE04	14	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	6	—	6	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	14	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE04	14	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE04	14	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	5	—	5	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	14	Semilla	Poaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	14	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	7	7	Carbonizado
LTUE04	14	Coprolito	—	—	27	—	27	Algunos carbonizados
LTUE04	15	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	5	—	5	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	6	Concreción de tierra	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE04	16	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE04	16	Cerámica	—	—	—	3	3	—
LTUE04	16	Coprolito	—	—	5	2	7	—
LTUE04	16	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE04	16	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	8	—	8	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE04	16	Tallo	Alnus sp.	Aliso	—	3	3	Carbonizado
LTUE04	16	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	18	18	Carbonizado

Table D.9: LTUE05

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE05	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	222	222	Carbonizado
LTUE05	5	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE05	5	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	52	52	Carbonizado
LTUE05	6	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	7	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	8	-	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE05	9	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE05	9	Tallo	—	—	—	—		—
LTUE05	9	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	38	38	Carbonizado
LTUE05	9	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE05	9	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE05	10	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	16	—	16	Carbonizado
LTUE05	10	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE05	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	23	23	Carbonizado
LTUE05	12	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE05	12	Semilla	Magnoliópsida	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	12	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	27	27	Carbonizado
LTUE05	13	Semilla	Neoraimondia sp.	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	13	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE05	13	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	13	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	22	22	Carbonizado
LTUE05	14	Cerámica	—	—	—	2	2	—
LTUE05	14	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	45	45	Carbonizado
LTUE05	15	Fruto	Erytroxilum sp.	Coca	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE05	16	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	2	4	Posiblemente moderna

Table D.9 (continued): LTUE05

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE05	16	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE05	17	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	12	12	Carbonizado
LTUE05	18	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	123	123	Carbonizado
LTUE05	18	Tallo	Liliópsida	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado

Table D.10: LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	2	Tallo	ND	—	—	9	9	Carbonizado
LTUE06	2	Tallo	ND	—	—	55	55	Carbonizado
LTUE06	2	Coprolito	—	—	8	—	8	—
LTUE06	2	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	2	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	2	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	7	—	7	Carbonizado
LTUE06	2	Fruto	cf. Liliaceae/Amancaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	3	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	2	2	—
LTUE06	3	Cerámica	—	—	—	2	2	—
LTUE06	3	Coprolito	—	—	3	—	3	—
LTUE06	3	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	3	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	3	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	66	66	Carbonizado
LTUE06	4	Coprolito	—	—	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	4	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	4	Fruto	Zea mays?	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	4	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	4	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado

Table D.10 (continued): LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	4	Fruto	Magnoliópsida	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	43	43	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	Coprolito	—	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	Coprolito	Camélido?	—	2	—	2	—
LTUE06	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	16	16	Carbonizado
LTUE06	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	22	22	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	447	—	447	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	48	48	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	199	—	199	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Fruto	cf. Zea mays	Maíz	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	9	—	9	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	3	—	3	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE06	6	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE06	6	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Semilla	cf. Gossypium	Algodón	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	28	28	Carbonizado
LTUE06	7	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	7	Semilla	ND		1		1	Posiblemente moderna

Table D.10 (continued): LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	7	Tallo	ND	—	—	3	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	7	Tallo	ND	—	—	12	12	Carbonizado
LTUE06	7	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	8	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	11	11	Carbonizado
LTUE06	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	9	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	8	8	Carbonizado
LTUE06	10	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	9	—	9	Carbonizado
LTUE06	10	Semilla	Euphorbiaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE06	10	Coprolito	—	—	9	—	9	—
LTUE06	10	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	10	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	38	38	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	4	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Coprolito	—	—	10	—	10	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Semilla	ND	—	3	—	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Semilla	ND	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Semilla	Malvaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	11	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	6	—	6	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	53	53	Carbonizado
LTUE06	11 int. vasija	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	11 int. vasija	Coprolito	—	—	21	—	21	—

Table D.10 (continued): LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	11 Muestra de tierra blanca	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	12	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	12	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	12	Semilla	ND	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	12	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	33	33	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Coprolito	—	—	1	—	1	—
LTUE06	13	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	32	32	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Semilla	Verbenaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	13	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	28	28	Carbonizado
LTUE06	14	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	10	—	10	Carbonizado
LTUE06	14	Semilla	ND	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	14	Semilla	ND	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	14	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	168	168	Carbonizado
LTUE06	15	Fruto	Magnoliópsida	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	15	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	—	8	1	9	Carbonizado
LTUE06	15	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	18	18	Carbonizado
LTUE06	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
LTUE06	18	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	18	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	79	79	Carbonizado
LTUE06	20	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	5	5	

Table D.10 (continued): LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	20	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	20	Coprolito	Camélido?	—	—	3	3	—
LTUE06	20	Tallo	ND	—	—	21	21	Carbonizado
LTUE06	20	Tallo	ND	—	—	3	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	21	Tallo	ND	—	—	3	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Tallo	ND	—	—	18	18	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	5	—	5	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	21	Coprolito	—	—	1	—	1	—
LTUE06	22	Cerámica	—	—	—	2	2	—
LTUE06	22	Tierra carbonizada	—	—	—	3	3	Carbonizado
LTUE06	22	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	22	Coprolito	—	—	3	—	3	—
LTUE06	22	Fruto	Zea mays?	Maíz	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	22	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	22	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Cerámica	—	—	—	2	2	—
LTUE06	8/9	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	cf. Amaranthus	Kiwicha	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Fruto	Zea mays?	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	cf. Fabaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE06	8/9	Diente	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	26	—	26	Carbonizado

Table D.10 (continued): LTUE06

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE06	8/9	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	64	64	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Coprolito	—	—	2	—	2	—
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinoa	4	—	4	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	Solanum sp.	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	8/9	Semilla	Liliópsida	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE06	9/11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

Table D.11: LTUE07

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
LTUE07	2	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	68	—	68	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	3	Cerámica	—	—	—	4	4	—
LTUE07	3	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	3	3	—
LTUE07	3	Tallo	ND	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE07	3	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	28	28	Carbonizado
LTUE07	3	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE07	3	Coprolito	—	—	8	3	11	Carbonizado
LTUE07	3	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	98	98	Carbonizado
LTUE07	4	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE07	4	Coprolito	—	—	4	—	4	—
LTUE07	4	Óseo	Mammalia	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE07	4	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	28	28	Carbonizado
LTUE07	5	Coprolito	—	—	2	—	2	—
LTUE07	5	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	12	12	Carbonizado
LTUE07	5	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	26	—	26	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	5	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	10	—	10	Carbonizado

Table D.11 (continued): LTUE07

Unidad	Locus	Estructura	Taxón	Nombre común	Entero	Fragmentado	Total	Observaciones
	5	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	8	—	8	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	6	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE07	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	68	68	Carbonizado
LTUE07	6	Coprolito	—	—	1	—	1	—
LTUE07	6	Semilla	Poaceae	—	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE07	6	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	3	—	3	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	6	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	32	32	Carbonizado
LTUE07	7	Semilla	Solanaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	8	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	12	12	Carbonizado
LTUE07	8	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	9	9	Carbonizado
LTUE07	9	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	4	—	4	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	9	Semilla	Ageratum sp.	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	10	Coprolito	—	—	2	—	2	Carbonizado
LTUE07	10	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	8	—	8	Carbonizado
LTUE07	10	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	6	6	Carbonizado
LTUE07	11	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	1	—	1	Carbonizado
LTUE07	11	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	9	9	Carbonizado
LTUE07	6/8	Cerámica	—	—	—	1	1	—
LTUE07	6/8	Tallo	ND	—	—	1	1	Carbonizado
LTUE07	6/8	Tallo	Magnoliópsida	—	—	23	23	Carbonizado
LTUE07	6/8	Semilla	Cactaceae	—	1	—	1	Posiblemente moderna
LTUE07	6/8	Semilla	Chenopodium quinoa	Quinua	2	—	2	Carbonizado

APPENDIX E

Proyecto Arqueológico Huarochirí–Lurín Alto, Materials Inventories

Table E.1: Surface collection materials, Llacsatambo

Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)
Llacsatambo	LT Sur	Pottery	812	5650
Llacsatambo	LT Norte	Pottery	856	5394
Llacsatambo	Entr SE Alta	Pottery	698	7986
Llacsatambo	Sectors (East)	Pottery	3714	26905
Llacsatambo	Ladera Esta Alta (LEA)	Pottery	1301	7080.14
Llacsatambo	Pampa	Pottery	638	4561
Llacsatambo	Plazas	Pottery	546	2115
Llacsatambo	Entrada SE	Pottery	236	1217.37
Llacsatambo	LT Sur	Lithic	8	73.6
Llacsatambo	Pampa	Lithic	1	900
Llacsatambo	Plazas	Lithic	4	13.84
Llacsatambo	Sectors (East)	Lithic	3	187.6
Llacsatambo	LT Sur	Metal	1	10.60

Table E.2: Surface collection materials, Cerro San Cristobal

Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)
SC	Hilltop	Pottery	1212	4126
SC	Path	Pottery	87	700
SC	Corral 1	Pottery	212	1500
SC	Corral 2	Pottery	130	800
SC	Corral 4	Pottery	138	700
SC	Corral 5	Pottery	23	300
SC	Corral 6	Pottery	52	400
SC	Corral 7	Pottery	73	400
SC	Corral 8	Pottery	37	300
SC	Corral 10	Pottery	15	142.82
SC	Corral 11	Pottery	20	195.68
SC	Corral 12	Pottery	85	400
SC	Corral 13	Pottery	16	84.02
SC	Corral 14	Pottery	53	300
SC	SC0002	Pottery	1	400
SC	SC0003	Pottery	140	700
SC	SC0004	Pottery	86	400
SC	Hilltop	Lithic	7	41.48
SC	Path	Lithic	1	3.1
SC	Corral 1	Lithic	8	400
SC	Corral 2	Lithic	1	12.24
SC	Corral 5	Lithic	2	194.54
SC	Corral 12	Lithic	1	17.72
SC	SC0003	Lithic	2	8.98
SC	SC0004	Lithic	3	200

Table E.2 (continued): Surface collection materials, Cerro San Cristobal

Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)
SC	Hilltop	Bone	1	1.8
SC	Hilltop	Bone	1	3.0
SC	Hilltop	Bone	1	0.3
SC	Path	Bone	3	6.98
SC	Corral 1	Bone	1	4.22
SC	Hilltop	Glass	1	4.8

Table E.3: Surface collection materials, San Damián

Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)	Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)
SD	A/CA	Pottery	2	10.26	SD	HN/HU2	Pottery	1	3.18
SD	A/CA	Pottery	14	64.7	SD	HN/HU3	Pottery	1	400
SD	A/CU	Pottery	12	58.92	SD	HN/I	Pottery	6	37.02
SD	A/HU	Pottery	10	52	SD	HN/L	Pottery	10	96.66
SD	A/I(1)	Pottery	5	139	SD	HN/MC	Pottery	9	40.26
SD	A/I(2)	Pottery	7	90	SD	HU/A	Pottery	9	40.96
SD	A/MD	Pottery	20	113	SD	HU/CU	Pottery	24	225.64
SD	CA/A	Pottery	4	18.72	SD	HU/LB	Pottery	4	18.1
SD	CA/HN	Pottery	12	37.66	SD	HU/SD	Pottery	4	14.54
SD	CA/J	Pottery	13	500	SD	HU/SD	Pottery	23	500
SD	CA/LB	Pottery	3	9.68	SD	HU/T	Pottery	21	50.2
SD	CA/SD	Pottery	2	14.2	SD	HU/U	Pottery	17	59.06
SD	CA/T	Pottery	7	25.62	SD	I/A	Pottery	24	66.58
SD	CA/U	Pottery	5	63.84	SD	I/HN	Pottery	8	28.6
SD	CA/Z	Pottery	2	4.5	SD	I/J	Pottery	3	20.64
SD	SDUE01	Pottery	1	1500	SD	I/SD	Pottery	9	28.54
SD	CI/T	Pottery	14	300	SD	I/T	Pottery	20	60.8
SD	CU/A	Pottery	22	132.48	SD	I/U	Pottery	1	18.9
SD	CU/HN	Pottery	7	400	SD	I/Z	Pottery	56	100
SD	CU/J	Pottery	42	300	SD	J/CA	Pottery	9	44.32
SD	CU/LB	Pottery	28	200	SD	J/CU	Pottery	28	103.14
SD	CU/SD	Pottery	1	10.32	SD	J/HU	Pottery	7	32.86
SD	CU/SD	Pottery	26	109.16	SD	J/I	Pottery	15	97.26
SD	CU/T	Pottery	18	63.42	SD	J/L	Pottery	3	11.28
SD	T/CU	Pottery	6	106.4	SD	J/MC	Pottery	15	31.58
SD	T/CU	Pottery	2	23.5	SD	J/MD	Pottery	13	153.58
SD	T/CU	Pottery	5	33.58	SD	L/HN	Pottery	6	31.44
SD	CU/U	Pottery	17	92.54	SD	L/J	Pottery	7	118.02
SD	HN/CA	Pottery	15	44.32	SD	L/LB	Pottery	4	21.46

Table E.3 (continued): Surface collection materials, San Damián

Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)	Site	Sector	Material	n=	w= (g)
SD	HN/CU	Pottery	7	56.98	SD	L/SD	Pottery	97	500
SD	HN/HU1	Pottery	24	<100	SD	L/T	Pottery	2	16.54
SD	L/U	Pottery	7	20.24	SD	SD/CA	Pottery	2	3.28
SD	L/Z	Pottery	8	20.7	SD	SD/CU	Pottery	15	50.84
SD	LB/CA	Pottery	1	0.62	SD	SD/HU	Pottery	10	104.3
SD	LB/CU	Pottery	2	8.5	SD	SD/I	Pottery	21	74.34
SD	LB/CU	Pottery	5	126.84	SD	SD/L	Pottery	8	17
SD	LB/HU	Pottery	10	41.38	SD	SD/MC	Pottery	2	9.9
SD	LB/L	Pottery	6	15.36	SD	T/CA	Pottery	3	7
SD	LB/MC	Pottery	4	19.02	SD	T/HU	Pottery	2	9
SD	MC	Pottery	8	29.98	SD	T/I	Pottery	13	145
SD	MC/HN	Pottery	17	123.82	SD	T/MC	Pottery	4	15
SD	MC/J	Pottery	2	21.84	SD	T/MD	Pottery	3	24
SD	MC/LB	Pottery	1	17	SD	TQ/CA	Pottery	6	28.3
SD	MC/LB	Pottery	6	19.8	SD	TQ/I	Pottery	2	29.06
SD	MC/SD	Pottery	1	11.16	SD	TQ/L	Pottery	1	12.92
SD	MC/T	Pottery	2	17.94	SD	TQ/MC	Pottery	3	21.56
SD	MC/U	Pottery	4	11.64	SD	U/CU	Pottery	1	8
SD	MD/A	Pottery	7	200	SD	U/HU	Pottery	1	6.98
SD	MD/HN	Pottery	83	700	SD	U/L	Pottery	7	84.28
SD	MD/J	Pottery	21	500	SD	U/MC	Pottery	2	12.14
SD	MD/J	Pottery	7	31.42	SD	Z/CA	Pottery	7	14.44
SD	MD/T	Pottery	8	41	SD	Z/CU	Pottery	16	80.08
SD	basural	Pottery	7	150.42	SD	Z/HU2	Pottery	5	60.14
SD	S/A	Pottery	64	600	SD	Z/I	Pottery	16	133.2
SD	S/HN	Pottery	19	91.52	SD	Z/L	Pottery	3	20.6
SD	S/J	Pottery	55	356.16	SD	Z/MC	Pottery	2	11.68
SD	S/J	Pottery	9	35.26	SD	MC/Z	Pottery	2	1.7
SD	S/J	Pottery	127	1300					

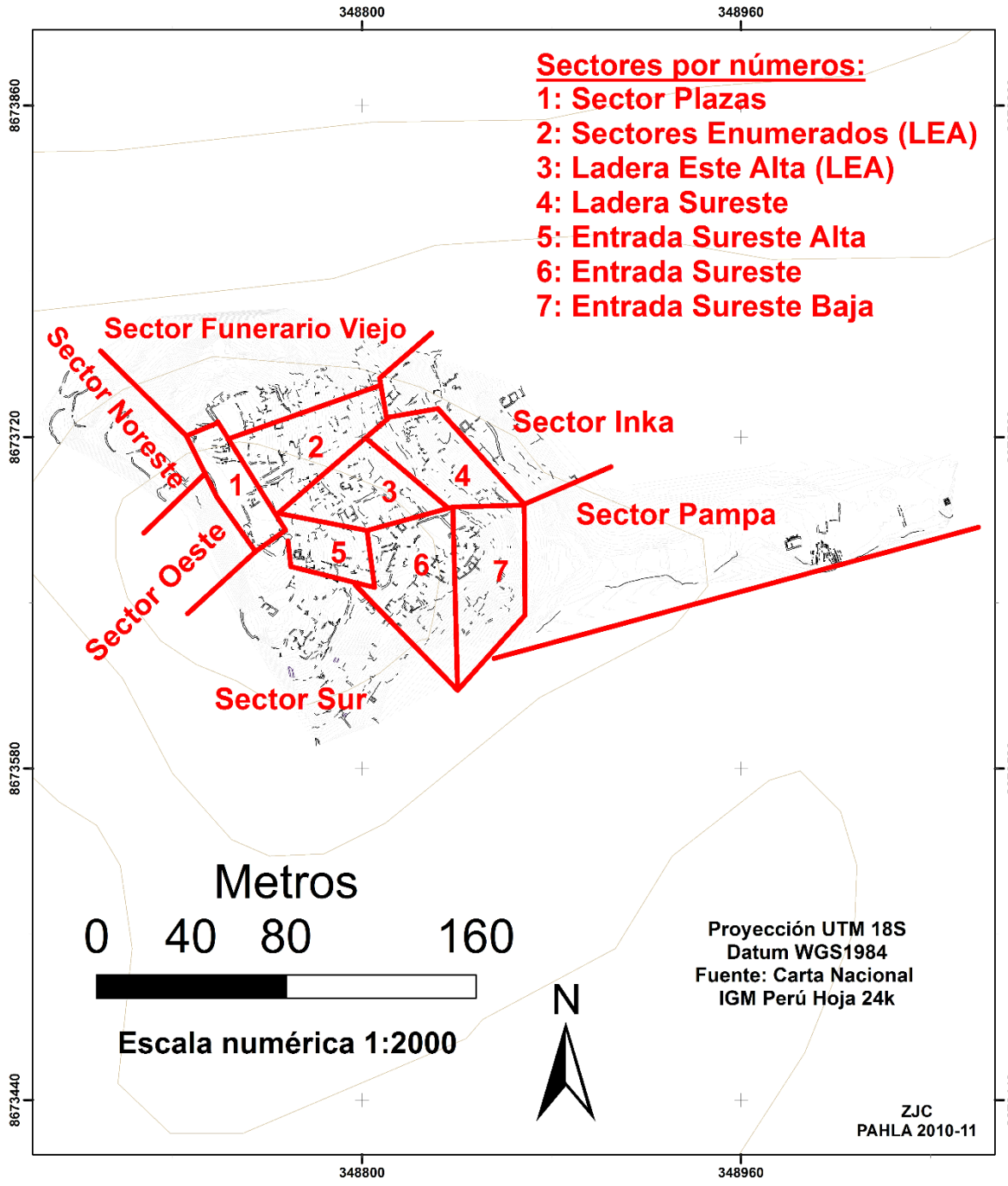


Figure E.1: Llacsatambo, surface collection sectors. (Map by author)

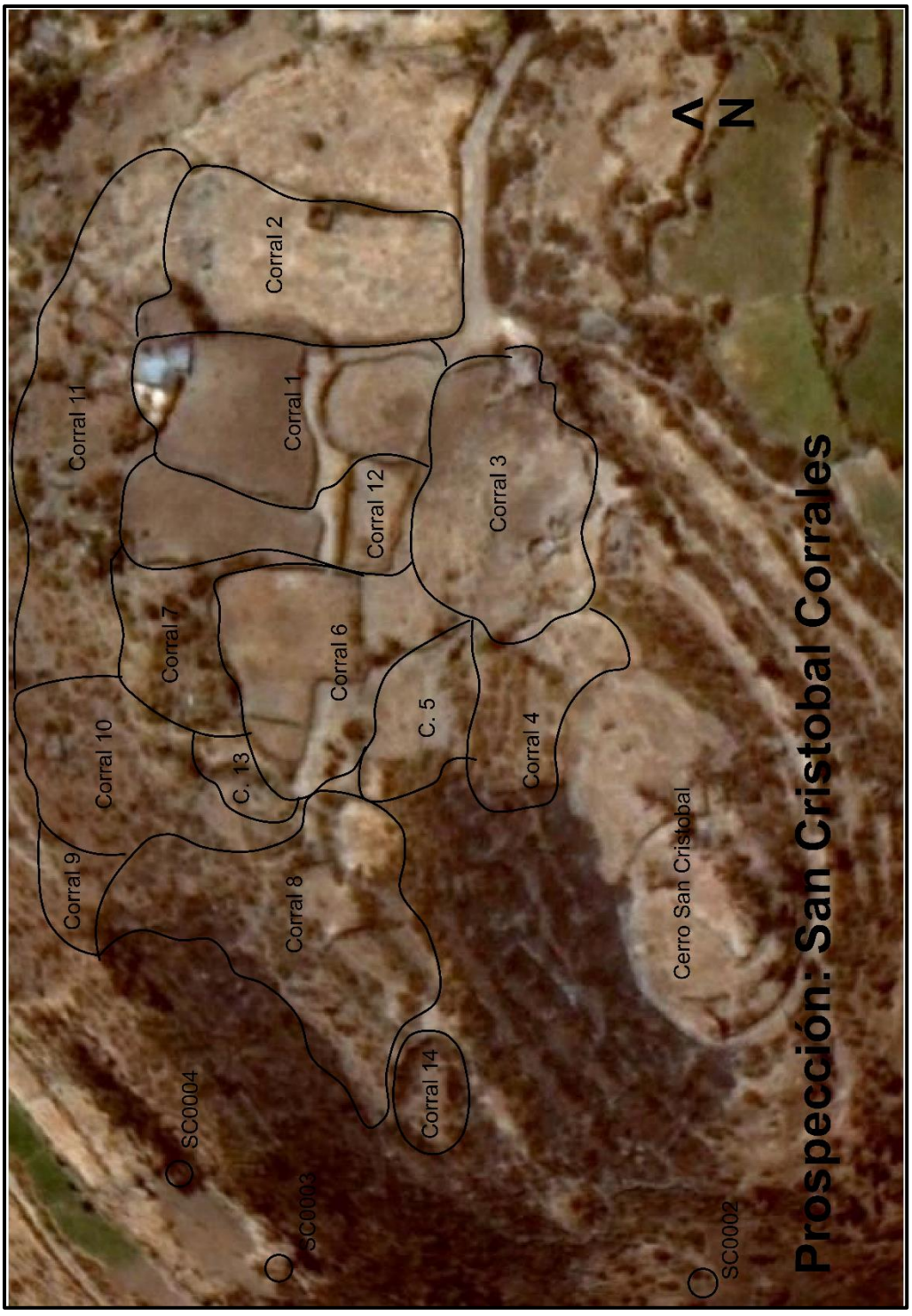


Figure E.2: Diagram of the locations of the San Cristobal Corrals. The surface collection area labelled "Hilltop" corresponds to the exposed section indicated on the figure as "Cerro San Cristobal." The "Path" collection area is the "J-shaped" exposure south and west of "Hilltop.) (Figure by author; image courtesy of GoogleEarth)

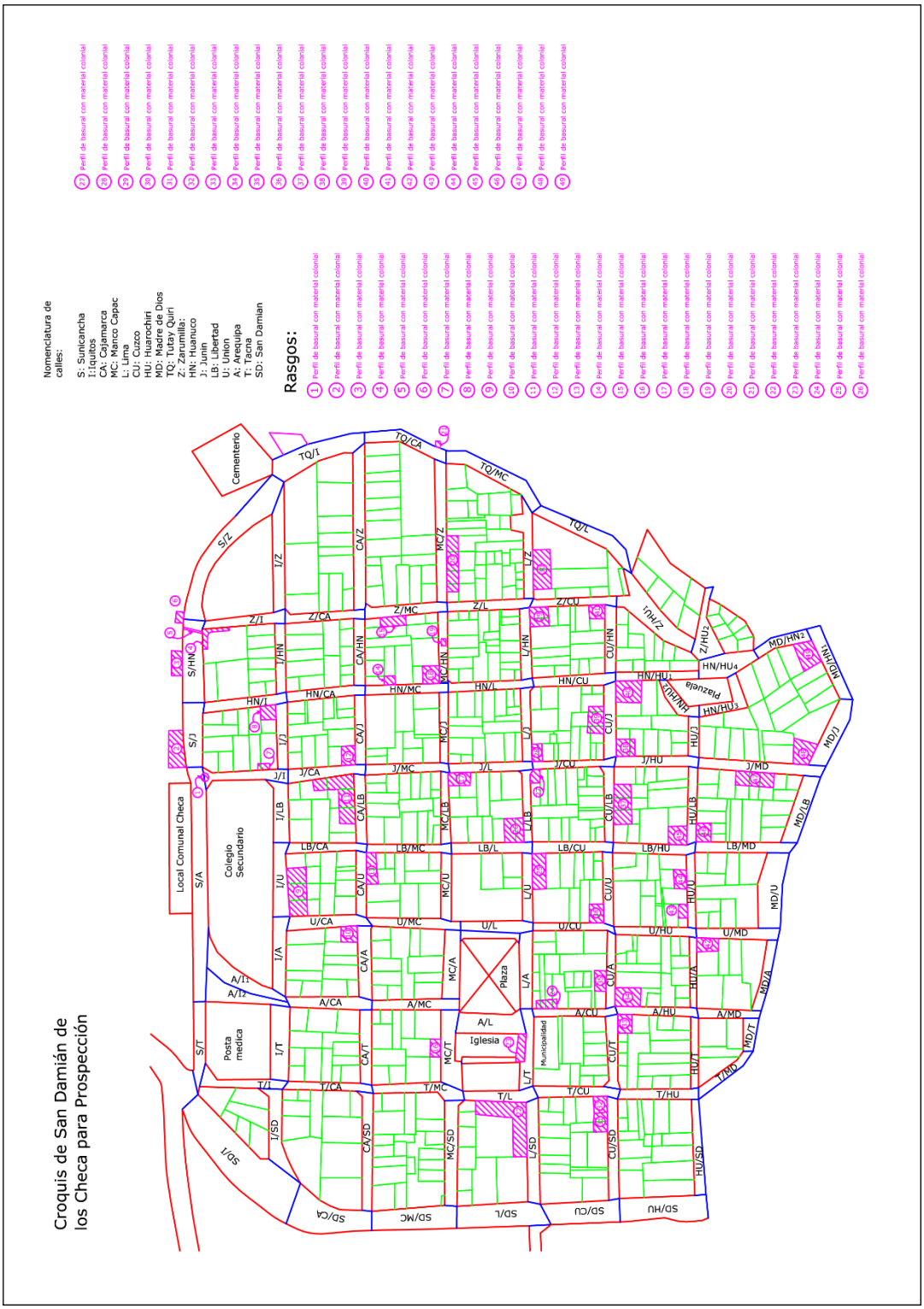


Figure E.3: Sketch of San Damián with surface collection sections (by cross street) indicated. (Sketch by Teddy Abel Traslaviña Arias for PAHLA)

Table E.4: Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0001
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0002
LT	Pampa	Asa	2	0003, 0004
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0005
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0006
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0007
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0008
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0009
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0010
LT	Pampa	Fragmento pintado	1	0011
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0012
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0013
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0014
LT	Pampa	Base	1	0015
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0016
LT	Pampa	Cerámica vidriada	1	0017
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0018
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0019
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0020
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0021
LT	Pampa	Loza decorada	1	0022
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0023
LT	Pampa	Fragmento pintado	1	0024
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0025
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0026
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0027
LT	Pampa	Fragmento pintado	1	0028
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0029
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0030
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0031
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0032
LT	Pampa	Bordes	1	0033
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0034
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0035
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0036
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0037
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0038
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0039

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	Pampa	Base	1	0040
LT	Pampa	Asa	2	0041, 0042
LT	Pampa	Bordes	1	0043
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0044
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0045
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0046
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0047
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0048
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0049
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0050
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0051
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0052
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0053
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0054
LT	Pampa	Asa	1	0055
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0056
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0057
LT	Pampa	Base	1	0058
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0059
LT	Pampa	Fragmento pintado	1	0060
LT	Pampa	Asa con borde	1	0061
LT	Pampa	Fragmento pintado	1	0062
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0063
LT	Pampa	Borde	1	0064
LT	Pampa	Fragmentos con engobe	2	0065, 0066
LT	Pampa	Fragmento con engobe	1	0067
LT	Pampa	Engobe	10	0068-0070
LT	Pampa	Decorados	3	0071-0073
LT	ESA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0074
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0075
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0076
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0077
LT	ESA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0078
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0079
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0080
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0081
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0082
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0083

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0084
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0085
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0086
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0087
LT	ESA	Borde pintado	1	0088
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0089
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0090
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0091
LT	ESA	Piruro	1	0092
LT	ESA	Fragmento pintado	1	0093
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0094
LT	ESA	Fragmento decorado	1	0095
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0096
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0097
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0098
LT	ESA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0099
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0100
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0101
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0102
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0103
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0104
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0105
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0106
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0107
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0108
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0109
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0110
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0111
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0112
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0113
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0114
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0115
LT	ESA	Fragmento de piruro	1	0116
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0117
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0118
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0119
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0120
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0121

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	ESA	Borde con engobe	1	0122
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0123
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0124
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0125
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0126
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0127
LT	ESA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0128
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0129
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0130
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0131
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0132
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0132 A
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0133
LT	ESA	Borde	1	0134
LT	ESA	Fragmentos con engobe	6	0135-0140
LT	ESA	Asas	2	0141-0142
LT	ESA	Asa	1	0143
LT	ESA	Fragmentos pintados	3	0144-0146
LT	ESA	Fragmentos con engobe	7	0147-0153
LT	ESA	Fragmentos pintados	3	0154
LT	ESA	Base	1	0155
LT	ESA	Engobe	4	0156-0159
LT	ESA	Agujero	1	0160
LT	ESA	Fragmentos diagnósticos	8	0161-0168
LT	ESA	Fragmentos diagnósticos	9	0169-0177
LT	ESA	Fragmentos diagnósticos	1	0178
LT	ESA	Fragmentos diagnósticos	1	0179
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0180
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0181
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0182
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0183
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0184
LT	ESE	Asa	1	0185
LT	ESE	Asa	1	0186
LT	ESE	Fragmento decorado	1	0187
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0188
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0189
LT	ESE	Asa	1	0190

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0191
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0192
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0193
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0194
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0195
LT	ESE	Fragmento decorado	1	0196
LT	ESE	Fragmento diagnóstico	1	0197
LT	ESE	Fragmento diagnóstico	6	0198-0203
LT	ESE	Bordes	9	0204-0215
LT	ESE	Asa	1	0215A
LT	ESE	Base	1	0215B
LT	ESE	Engobes	2	0215C
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0216
LT	ESE	Borde	1	0217
LT	ESE	Cuerpo decorado	3	0219-0221
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0222
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0223
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0224
LT	LEA	Fragmento pintado	1	0225
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0226
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0227
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0228
LT	LEA	Base	1	0229
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0230
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0231
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0232
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0233
LT	LEA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0234
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0235
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0236
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0237
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0238
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0239
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0240
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0241
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0242
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0243
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0244

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0245,0246
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0247
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0248
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0249
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0250
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0251
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0252
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0253
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0254
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0255
LT	LEA	Cuello con borde	1	0256
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0257, 0258
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0259
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0260
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0261
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0262
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0263
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0264
LT	LEA	Fragmento pintado	1	0265
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0266
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0267
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0268
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0269
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0270
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0271
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0272
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0273
LT	LEA	Fragmento pintado	1	0274
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0275
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0276
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0277
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0278
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0279
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0280
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0281
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0282-0283
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0284
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0285

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0286
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0287
LT	LEA	Agarradero	1	0288
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0289
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0290
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0291
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0292
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0293
LT	LEA	Fragmento de piruro	1	0294
LT	LEA	Bordes	4	0295-0298
LT	LEA	Fragmentos de piruro	2	0299
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0300
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0301
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0302-0303
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0304
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0305
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0306
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0307
LT	LEA	Bordes	4	0308-0310
LT	LEA	Base	1	0311
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0312
LT	LEA	Asas	2	0313-0314
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0315
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0316
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0317-0318
LT	LEA	Asas	2	0319-0320
LT	LEA	Fragmentos pintados	3	0321-0323
LT	LEA	Bordes	4	0324-0327
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0328
LT	LEA	Fragmento decorado	2	0329-0331
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0332
LT	LEA	Asas	2	0333-0334
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0335
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0336
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0337
LT	LEA	Asas	2	0338-0339
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0340
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0341

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	LEA	Bordes	2	0342-0343
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0344
LT	LEA	Fragmento inciso	1	0345
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0346
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0347
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0348
LT	LEA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0349
LT	LEA	Base	1	0350
LT	LEA	Fragmento inciso	1	0351
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0352
LT	LEA	Fragmentos diagnósticos	4	0353
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0354
LT	LEA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0355
LT	LEA	Asas	7	0356-0362
LT	LEA	Bases	2	0363-0364
LT	LEA	Bordes	8	0365-0372
LT	LEA	Fragmentos decorados	4	0373-0375
LT	LEA	Bordes decorados	4	0376-0379
LT	LEA	Fragmento de asa falsa	1	0380
LT	LEA	Bordes separados	2	0381-0382
LT	LEA	Base	1	0383
LT	LEA	Bases	3	0384-0386
LT	LEA	Fragmento con engobe	1	0387
LT	LEA	Fragmentos decorados	3	0388-0390
LT	LEA	Bordes	5	0391-0395
LT	LEA	Base	1	0396
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0397
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0398
LT	LEA	Engobe	4	0399-0402
LT	LEA	Engobe	5	0403-0405
LT	LEA	Base	1	0408
LT	LEA	Asa	1	0409
LT	LEA	Borde	1	0410
LT	LEA	Reutilizados	2	0411-0412
LT	LEA	Engobe	11	0413-0423
LT	LEA	Engobe	12	0424-0435
LT	LEA	Base	1	0436
LT	LEA	Engobe	3	0437-0439

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	LEA	Base	1	0440
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0441
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0442
LT	LSE	Bordes	2	0443-0444
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0445
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0446
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0447
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0448
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0449
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0450
LT	LSE	Bordes	2	0451, 0452
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0453
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0454
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0455
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0456
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0457
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0458
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0459
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0460
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0461
LT	LSE	Bordes	3	0462-0464
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0465
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0466
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0467
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0467a
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0468
LT	LSE	Asa	1	0469
LT	LSE	Engobe	2	0470-0471
LT	LSE	Borde	1	0472
LT	LSE	Bordes	2	0473-0479
LT	LSE	Engobe	2	0479A
LT	LSE	Asa	3	0479B
LT	LSE	Engobe	4	0480-0483
LT	LSE	Reutilizado	1	0484
LT	LSE	Asa	2	0485-0486
LT	LSE	Base	1	0487
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0488
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0489

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0490
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0491
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0492
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0493
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0494
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0495
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0496
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0497
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0498
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0499
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0500
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0501
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0502
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0503
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0504
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0505
LT	Plazas	Borde con cuello	1	0506
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0507
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0508
LT	Plazas	Borde	1	0509
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0510
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0511
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0512
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0513
LT	Plazas	Asa	1	0514
LT	Plazas	Base	1	0515
LT	Plazas	Piruro	2	0516, 0517
LT	Plazas	Engobe	3	0518-0520
LT	Plazas	Bordes	1	0521
LT	S1	Otro	2	0522-0523
LT	S1	Bases	3	0524
LT	S2	Fragmentos diangósticos	8	0525-0532
LT	S3	Fragmentos diangósticos	5	0533-0537
LT	S3	Aplicación	1	0538
LT	S3	1 Bordes, 1 Asa, 1 engobe	3	0539-0541
LT	S5	Bordes	2	0542-0551
LT	S6	Fragmentos diagnósticos	22	0552-0575
LT	S7	Fragmentos diagnósticos	28	0576-0605

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	S8	Fragmentos diagnósticos	18	0606-0625
LT	S9	Fragmentos diagnósticos	8	0626-0635
LT	S10	Borde	1	0636
LT	S10	Fragmento con engobe	1	0637
LT	S11	Engobe	2	0638-0639
LT	S11	Bordes	2	0640-0641
LT	S12	Asa	1	0642
LT	S12	Fragmento con engobe	1	0643
LT	S12	Fragmento decorado	1	0644
LT	S12	Bordes	3	0645-0647
LT	S13	Asa	1	0648
LT	S13	Borde	1	0649
LT	S14	Asa	1	0650
LT	S14	Bordes	2	0651, 0652
LT	S14	Fragmento con engobe	1	0653
LT	S15	Asa	1	0654
LT	S15	Bordes	4	0655-0658
LT	S16	Varios	15	0659-0675
LT	S17	Fragmentos diagnósticos	12	0676-0688
LT	S18	Fragmentos diagnósticos	33	0689-0733
LT	S19	Fragmentos diagnósticos	40	0734-0775
LT	S20	Fragmentos diagnósticos	7	0776-0784
LT	S21	Fragmentos decorados	90	0785-0876
LT	S21	Fragmentos diagnósticos	7	0877-0885
LT	S22	Fragmentos diagnósticos	48	0886-0935
LT	S22	Fragmentos diagnósticos	4	0936-0939
LT	S23	Fragmentos diagnósticos	33	0940-0974
LT	S24	Bases	2	0975-0976
LT	S25	2 engobe, 1 borde	3	0977-0979
LT	S25	Borde	1	0980
LT	Sector Inka	Engobe	2	0981-0982
LT	Sector Inka	Bordes	3	0983-0985
LT	Sector Inka	Asa	1	0986
LT	Sector Inka	Decorados	5	0987-0991
LT	Sector Inka	Bases	2	0992-0993
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento decorado	1	1750
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1751
LT	LTGeneral	Asa	1	1752

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1753
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1754
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1755
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1756
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento decorado	1	1757
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1758
LT	LTGeneral	Bordes	2	1759
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento inciso	1	1760
LT	LTGeneral	Bordes (labios)	2	1761
LT	LTGeneral	Bordes	2	1762
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1763
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento pintado	1	1764
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1765
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1766
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1767
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1768
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1769
LT	LTGeneral	Asa	1	1770
LT	LTGeneral	Asa	1	1771
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento pintado	1	1772
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento pintado	1	1773
LT	LTGeneral	Fragmento decorado	1	1774
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1775
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1776
LT	LTGeneral	Borde	1	1777
LT	LTGeneral	Aplicación	1	1778
LT	LTGeneral	Bordes, 1 pintado	2	1779,1780
LT	LTGeneral	Aplicación	1	1781
LT	LTGeneral	Cerámica incisa	1	218
SC	SCT 1.5	Engobes	3	0995-0997
SC	SCT 1.6	Borde	1	0998
SC	SCT 2.4	Fragmentos diagnósticos	2	0999-1000
SC	SCT 2.6	Fragmentos diagnósticos	5	1001-1002C
SC	SCT 2.7	Fragmentos diagnósticos	38	1003-1009
SC	SCT 3.1	Engobe	1	1010
SC	SCT 3.2	Fragmentos diagnósticos	43	1011-1017B
SC	SCT 3.3	Reutilizado, engobe	2	1018-1019

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SC	SCT 3.4	Engobe	2	1020-1021
SC	SCT 3.5	1asa, 2 bordes, 1 base, 2 engobe	6	1022-1027
SC	SCT 4.1	2 engobe, 1 engobe	3	1028-1030
SC	SCT 5.4	Bordes	2	1031-1032
SC	SCT 5.5	Engobe	2	1033-1034
SC	SCT 5.8	Engobe	1	1035
SC	SCT 6.4	2 asa, 1base, 4 engobe	7	1036-1042
SC	SCT 6.6	instrumento	1	1042A
SC	SCT 6.7	Borde	1	1043
SC	SCT 7.3	1base, 2engobe, 1 asa	4	1044-1047
SC	SCT 7.4	Borde	4	1048-1051
SC	SCT 7.5	1 asa, 1 engobe	2	1052-1053
SC	SCT 7.6	1 engobe, 1 borde	2	1001-1002
SC	SCT 7.7	1asa,1borde	29	1054-1055
SC	SCT 8.1	1borde,1asa	2	1056-1057
SC	SCT 8.2	4engobes,1borde	5	1058-1062
SC	SCT 8.3	1asa, 1decorado,4engobe	6	1063-1068
SC	SCT 8.4	1 asa,1engobe	2	1069-1070
SC	SCT 9	1reutilizado,11bordes,8asas,2 engobe	22	1071-1092
SC	SCT 10	1base,2bordes,2asa,6engobe	11	1093-1103
SC	Corral 1	18asa,1piruro,18bordes,1base, 1 reutilizado	39	1104-1142
SC	Corral 2	10bordes,2asa,2base	14	1143-1156
SC	Corral 4	2engobado,12borde,7asa	21	1157-1177
SC	Corral 5	1asa,2bordes,1piruro,1reutilizado	5	1178-1182
SC	Corral 6	1base,8bordes,2asas,6engobes,1reutilizado	18	1183-1200
SC	Corral 7	2bordes,1asa,1engobe, 1 aplicación	5	1201-1205
SC	Corral 8	asas	2	1206-1207
SC	Corral 10	Borde	1	1208
SC	Corral 11	2 asas,1 decorado	3	1209-1211
SC	Corral 12	2bordes,2bases,1asa	5	1212-1216
SC	Corral 13	2asas,2decorados	4	1217-1220
SC	Corral 14	3bordes	3	1221-1223
SC	SC0002	Cuerpo	2	1224
SC	SC0003	1reutilizados,4bordes,2asas,1decorado,2engobe	10	1225-1234
SC	SC0004	2bordes,2asas	4	1235-1238
SC	3348686; 8671660	Borde	1	1239
SC	348702; 8671685	Agarradera	1	1240
SC	348663; 8671663	Borde	1	1241

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SD	A/CA	Porcelana	1	1242
SD	A/CA	Bordes	2	1243,1244
SD	A/CU	Borde	1	1245
SD	A/HU	Asa	1	1246
SD	A/I(1)	1asa, 1decorado	2	1247,1248
SD	A/I(2)	1 asa,1decorado,2 fragmentos diagnóstico	16	1249-1252
SD	A/MD	2 bordes, 2decorados	4	1253-1256
SD	CA/A	Contiene "whiteware"	1	1257
SD	CA/HN	Fragmentos diagnósticos	2	1258, 1259
SD	CA/J	Fragmentos diagnósticos	5	1260-1264
SD	CA/LB	Fragmento diagnóstico	1	1265
SD	CA/Z	Contiene "whiteware"	1	1266
SD	SDUE01	Fragmento de botija	1	1267
SD	CI/T	Fragmentos diagnosticos	6	1268-1273
SD	CU/A	Fragmentos diagnosticos	2	1274,1275
SD	CU/HN	Fragmentos diagnosticos	2	1276,1277
SD	CU/J	2 Asas, 3 decorados,1base, 2bordes	7	1278-1285
SD	CU/LB	1 borde, 2 decorados	3	1286-1288
SD	CU/SD	Fragmento vidriado	1	1289
SD	CU/SD	3decorados,1borde	4	1290-1293
SD	CU/T	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1294
SD	T/CU	Fragmentos diagnosticos	3	1295-1297
SD	T/CU	Bordes	2	1298-1299
SD	T/CU	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1300
SD	CU/U	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1301
SD	HN/CU	Fragmentos diagnosticos	2	1302-1303
SD	HN/HU1	3decorados, 1 asa	4	1304-1307
SD	HN/HU3	Engobe	1	1308
SD	HN/I	Decorado	1	1309
SD	HN/L	2engobe,1borde	3	1310-1312
SD	HN/MC	1decorado	1	1313
SD	HU/CU	1Diagnóstico,1 borde	2	1314-1315
SD	HU/SD	1 base, 2 decorados, 1porcelana	4	1316-1319
SD	HU/SD	1borde,3engobe,1asa	5	1320-1324
SD	HU/T	Borde	1	1325
SD	HU/U	Decorado	1	1326
SD	I/A	5bordes, 5 decorados	10	1327-1336
SD	I/HN	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1337

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SD	I/T	1 Borde, 8 decorados	9	1338-1346
SD	I/Z	2 engobe,2porcelana,1 diagnóstico	5	1347-1351
SD	J/CA	1engobe, 1borde	2	1352-1353
SD	J/CU	Borde	2	1354-1355
SD	J/I	2bordes,1 decorado	3	1356-1358
SD	J/MC	Bordes	2	1359-1360
SD	J/MD	1borde, 1 diagnóstico	2	1361, 1362
SD	L/HN	Bordes	2	1363-1364
SD	L/J	Engobe	1	1365
SD	L/SD	4engobe,4bordes,1asa,14decorados,1entera	24	1366-1389
SD	L/U	1engobe,1decorado	2	1390-1391
SD	L/Z	Porcelana	1	1392
SD	LB/HU	Decorado	1	1393
SD	LB/MC	Borde	1	1394
SD	MC	1asa, 1 engobe	2	1395-1396
SD	MC/HN	1vidriado, 1 engobe, 1 borde	3	1397-1402
SD	MC/LB	Base	1	1403
SD	MD/A	Engobe	1	1404
SD	MD/HN	6 decorados, 1 asa, 1 engobe, 2bordes	8	1405-1414
SD	MD/J	1borde, 3 diagnóstico,	4	1415-1418
SD	Basural	3bordes, 2 bases, 2decorados	7	1419-1425
SD	S/A	5 decorados, 2bases, 2asa, 4 bordes	13	1426-1438
SD	S/HN	2bordes, 1 engobe, 3 decorados, 1borde	7	1439-1445
SD	S/J	3Bordes, 2decorados, 2 engobes, 3 asas	10	1446-1453
SD	S/J	6decorados, 2 bordes	8	1454-1461
SD	S/J	2bases, 4asas, 20decorados, 13bordes, 4engobe	43	1462-1504
SD	SD/CA	Decorado	1	1505
SD	SD/CU	Decorado	1	1506
SD	SD/HU	Decorado	1	1507
SD	SD/I	Fragmentos diagnosticos	6	1508-1513
SD	SD/L	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1514
SD	SD/MC	Decorado	1	1515
SD	T/CA	Bordes	2	1516-1517
SD	T/HU	Fragmentos diagnosticos	2	
SD	T/I	2engobe, 2decorados	4	1518-1521
SD	T/MD	Bordes	3	1522-1524
SD	TQ/CA	Fragmentos diagnosticos	1	1525
SD	TQ/L	Fragmento diagnostico	1	1526

Table E.5 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from survey/surface collections

Site	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SD	U/CU	Decorado	1	1527
SD	U/L	Borde	1	1528
SD	Z/CU	1 Engobe, 1decorado	2	1529-1530
SD	Z/I	2bordes, 1 engobe	3	1531-1533
SD	Z/L	Borde	1	1534
SD	MC/Z	Decorado	2	1535-1536

Table E.6: Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Locus	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	1	Cuerpo, Deco	1	01
SCUE01	1	Borde	1	02
SCUE01	1	Borde, Deco	1	03
SCUE01	1	Borde	1	04
SCUE01	1	Cuerpo, Deco	1	04A
SCUE01	1	Agarradera	1	04B
SCUE01	1	Cuerpo	1	04C
SCUE01	1	Cuerpo	1	04D
SCUE01	1	Cuerpo	1	04E
SCUE01	1	Deco	1	04F
SCUE01	1	Borde, Deco	1	04G
SCUE01	1	Cuello, Deco	1	04H
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	08
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	09
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	10
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10A
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10B
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10C
SCUE01	4	Agarradera	1	10D
SCUE01	4	Agarradera	1	10E
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	10F
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10G
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	10H
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10I
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10J
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	10K
SCUE01	4	Deco	1	10L
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	10M
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10N
SCUE01	4	Cuerpo	1	10O
SCUE01	4	Borde, Deco	1	11
SCUE01	4	Borde	1	12
SCUE01	4	Otro, Deco	1	12A
SCUE01	6	Borde	1	13
SCUE01	6	Borde	1	14
SCUE01	6	Deco	1	14A
SCUE01	6	Cuerpo	1	14B
SCUE01	6	Deco	1	14C

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	6	Borde, Deco	1	14D
SCUE01	8	Borde	1	15
SCUE01	8	Borde, Deco	1	16
SCUE01	8	Base	1	17
SCUE01	8	Deco	1	18
SCUE01	8	Cuerpo	1	19
SCUE01	8	Cuerpo	1	20
SCUE01	8	Deco	1	21
SCUE01	8	Agarradera	1	22
SCUE01	8	Cuerpo	1	23
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	24
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	25
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	26
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	27
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	28
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	29
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	30
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	31
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	32
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	33
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	34
SCUE01	9	Borde, Deco	1	35
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	36
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	37
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	38
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	39
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	40
SCUE01	9	Borde, Deco	1	41
SCUE01	9	Otro	1	42
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	43
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	44
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	45
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	45A
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	45B
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	45C
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	45D
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	45E
SCUE01	9	Cuerpo	1	45F

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	9	Base, Deco	1	46
SCUE01	9	Base	1	47
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	48
SCUE01	9	Agarradera	1	49
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	50
SCUE01	9	Borde	1	51
SCUE01	9	Cuello, Deco	1	52
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	53
SCUE01	9	Deco	1	54
SCUE01	9	Indeterminado	1	54A
SCUE01	10	Cuerpo	1	55
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	56
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	57
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	58
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	59
SCUE01	10	Cuerpo	1	60
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	61
SCUE01	10	Agarradera	1	62
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	62A
SCUE01	10	Cuello	1	62B
SCUE01	10	Cuerpo	1	62C
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	62D
SCUE01	10	Cuerpo	1	62E
SCUE01	10	Borde	1	62F
SCUE01	10	Agarradera	1	62G
SCUE01	13	Base	1	63
SCUE01	13	Base	1	64
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	65
SCUE01	13	Borde, Deco	1	66
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	67
SCUE01	13	Agarradera	1	68
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	69
SCUE01	13	Otro	1	70
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	70A
SCUE01	13	Agarradera, Deco	1	70B
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	70C
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	70D
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	70E

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	71
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	72
SCUE01	12	Base, Deco	1	73
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73A
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73B
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73C
SCUE01	12	Agarradera	1	73D
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	74
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	75
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	76
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	77
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	78
SCUE01	12	Agarradera	1	78A
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78B
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78C
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78D
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78E
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78F
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78G
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78H
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78I
SCUE01	13	Agarradera	1	79
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	80
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81A
SCUE01	13	Deco	1	81B
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81C
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81D
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	81E
SCUE01	13	Otro	1	81F
SCUE01	14	Borde, Deco	1	82
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	83
SCUE01	14	Borde, Deco	1	84
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	85
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	86
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86A
SCUE01	14	Cuello, Deco	1	86B
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86C

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	71
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	72
SCUE01	12	Base, Deco	1	73
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73A
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73B
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	73C
SCUE01	12	Agarradera	1	73D
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	74
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	75
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	76
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	77
SCUE01	12	Borde	1	78
SCUE01	12	Agarradera	1	78A
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78B
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78C
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78D
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78E
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78F
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78G
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78H
SCUE01	12	Cuerpo	1	78I
SCUE01	13	Agarradera	1	79
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	80
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81A
SCUE01	13	Deco	1	81B
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81C
SCUE01	13	Cuerpo	1	81D
SCUE01	13	Borde	1	81E
SCUE01	13	Otro	1	81F
SCUE01	14	Borde, Deco	1	82
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	83
SCUE01	14	Borde, Deco	1	84
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	85
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	86
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86A
SCUE01	14	Cuello, Deco	1	86B
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86C

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	14	Cuello, Deco	1	86D
SCUE01	14	Deco	1	86E
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86F
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	86G
SCUE01	14	Deco	1	86H
SCUE01	14	Borde, Deco	1	86I
SCUE01	14	Cuerpo	1	86J
SCUE01	14	Borde	1	86K
SCUE01	14	Deco	1	86L
SCUE01	14	Deco	1	86M
SCUE01	15	Deco	1	86N
SCUE01	15	Deco	1	86O
SCUE01	15	Deco	1	86P
SCUE01	16	Cuerpo	1	86Q
SCUE01	16	Deco	1	86R
SCUE01	16	Deco	1	86S
SCUE01	19	Borde, Deco	1	87
SCUE01	19	Borde, Deco	1	88
SCUE01	19	Cuello, Deco	1	89
SCUE01	19	Otro	1	90
SCUE01	19/23	Deco	1	90A
SCUE01	19/23	Borde	1	90B
SCUE01	19/23	Borde, Deco	1	90C
SCUE01	22	Otro	1	91
SCUE01	22	Borde, Deco	1	92
SCUE01	22	Cuerpo	1	92A
SCUE01	22	Cuerpo	1	92B
SCUE01	22	Cuerpo	1	92C
SCUE01	22	Deco	1	92D
SCUE01	24	Agarradera	1	93
SCUE01	24	Agarradera, Deco	1	94
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	94A
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	94B
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	94C
SCUE01	24	Borde	1	95
SCUE01	24	Agarradera	1	96/97
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97A
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97B

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97C
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97D
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97E
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97F
SCUE01	24	Deco	1	97G
SCUE01	24	Borde	1	97H
SCUE01	24	Cuello	1	97I
SCUE01	24	Deco	1	97J
SCUE01	24	Cuerpo	1	97K
SCUE01	26	Cuerpo	1	97L
SCUE01	26	Cuerpo	1	97M
SCUE01	26	Cuerpo	1	97N
SCUE01	26	Deco	1	97O
SCUE01	26	Indeterminado	1	97P
SCUE01	27	Deco	1	97Q
SCUE01	Perfil	Borde, Deco	1	98
SDUE01	03	Cuello, Deco	1	99
SDUE01	03	Borde, Deco	1	100
SDUE01	03	Cuello, Deco	1	101
SDUE01	03	Borde, Deco	1	102
SDUE01	03	Borde, Deco	1	103
SDUE01	01	Cuello	1	104
SDUE01	05	Agarradera	1	105
SDUE01	01	Cuerpo	1	106
SDUE01	08	Deco	1	106A
SDUE01	05	Borde	1	106B
SDUE01	01	Cuello	1	106C
SDUE01	01	Cuello	1	106D
SDUE01	01	Cuello	1	106E
SDUE01	01	Borde	1	107
SDUE01	01	Cuello, Deco	1	108
SDUE01	08	Deco	1	109
SDUE01	09	Deco	1	110
SDUE01	04	Base, Deco	1	111
SDUE01	08	Deco	1	111A
SDUE01	08	Indeterminado	1	111B
SDUE01	03	Cuello	1	111C

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
SDUE01	03	Cuello	1	111D
SDUE01	03	Cuello	1	111E
SDUE01	03	Cuello	1	111F
SDUE01	03	Cuello, Deco	1	111G
SDUE01	09	Inteterminado	1	112
SDUE01	03	Cuello, Deco	1	113
SDUE01	02	Borde, Deco	1	114
SDUE01	03	Cuello	1	114A
SDUE01	01	Borde	1	115
SDUE01	05	Borde	1	115A
SDUE01	05	Borde	1	116
SDUE01	07	Borde	1	117
SDUE01	07	Indeterminado	1	117A
SDUE01	07	Deco	1	117B
SDUE01	Perf	Deco	1	118
SDUE01	Perf	Deco	1	119
TIUE02	03	Borde	1	150
TIUE02	03	Borde	1	151
TIUE02	03	Agarradera	1	152
TIUE02	03	Indeterminado	1	153
TIUE02	03	Borde	1	154
TIUE02	03	Borde	1	154A
TIUE02	03	Borde	1	154B
LTUE02	01	Borde	1	155
LTUE02	01	Indeterminado	1	156
LTUE02	03	Indeterminado	1	157
LTUE02	03	Indeterminado	1	158
LTUE02	03	Indeterminado	1	159
LTUE02	04	Deco	1	160
LTUE02	04	Cuello	1	161
LTUE02	05	Cuello, Deco	1	162
LTUE02	05	Deco	1	163
LTUE02	05	Deco	1	164
LTUE02	05	Indeterminado	1	165
LTUE02	05	Cuello, Deco	1	166
LTUE02	05	Indeterminado	1	167

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE02	05	Deco	1	168
LTUE02	05	Indeterminado	1	169
LTUE02	05	Agarradera	1	170
LTUE02	05	Agarradera	1	171
LTUE02	05	Agarradera	1	172
LTUE02	05	Agarradera, Deco	1	173
LTUE02	05	Borde, Deco	1	174
LTUE02	05	Borde	1	175
LTUE02	05	Borde, Deco	1	176
LTUE02	05	Borde	1	177
LTUE02	05	Borde, Deco	1	178
LTUE02	05	Borde, Deco	1	179
LTUE02	05	Borde	1	180
LTUE02	06	Borde	1	181
LTUE02	06	Base	1	182
LTUE02	Perf	Indeterminado	1	183
LTUE02	Perf	Agarradera	1	184
LTUE03	01	Agarradera	1	185
LTUE03	03	Borde	1	186
LTUE03	03	Borde	1	187
LTUE04	1	Cuerpo	1	188
LTUE04	1/2	Agarradera	1	189
LTUE04	02	Cuerpo	1	190
LTUE04	02	Borde	1	191
LTUE04	02	Borde	1	192
LTUE04	02	Cuerpo	1	193
LTUE04	02	Agarradera	1	194
LTUE04	03	Cuerpo	1	195
LTUE04	04	Cuerpo	1	196
LTUE04	04	Deco	1	197
LTUE04	04	Deco	1	198
LTUE04	04	Borde	1	199
LTUE04	05	Borde	1	200
LTUE04	05	Cuerpo	1	201
LTUE04	10	Cuerpo	1	202
LTUE04	10	Cuerpo	1	203

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE04	10	Cuerpo	1	204
LTUE04	11	Borde	1	205
LTUE04	11	Cuerpo	1	206
LTUE04	11	Cuerpo	1	207
LTUE04	11	Cuerpo	1	208
LTUE04	16	Agarradera	1	209
LTUE04	16	Borde	1	210
LTUE04	16	Borde	1	211
LTUE04	16	Cuerpo	1	212
LTUE04	16	Cuerpo	1	213
LTUE04	04	Pieza reconstruida	1	213A
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	214
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	215
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	216
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	217
LTUE05	1	Cuerpo	1	218
LTUE05	1	Deco	1	219
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	220
LTUE05	1	Otro	1	221
LTUE05	1	Agarradera	1	222
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	223
LTUE05	1	Borde, Deco	1	224
LTUE05	1	Deco	1	225
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	226
LTUE05	1	Deco	1	227
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	228
LTUE05	1	Deco	1	229
LTUE05	1	Cuello, Deco	1	230
LTUE05	1	Base	1	231
LTUE05	1	Cuerpo	1	232
LTUE05	1	Cuerpo	1	233
LTUE05	1	Cuerpo	1	234
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	235
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	236
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	237
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	238
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	239

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	240
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	241
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	242
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	243
LTUE05	1	Borde, Deco	1	244
LTUE05	1	Otro	1	245
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	246
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	247
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	248
LTUE05	1	Borde	1	249
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	250
LTUE05	1	Indeterminado	1	251
LTUE05	1	Deco	1	252
LTUE05	1	Cuello, Deco	1	253
LTUE05	5	Borde	1	254
LTUE05	5	Borde	1	255
LTUE05	5	Borde, Deco	1	256
LTUE05	5	Deco	1	257
LTUE05	5	Cuerpo	1	258
LTUE05	5	Deco	1	259
LTUE05	5	Cuerpo	1	260
LTUE05	5	Agarradera, Deco	1	261
LTUE05	5	Deco	1	262
LTUE05	5	Borde	1	263
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	264
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	265
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	266
LTUE05	6	Cuerpo	1	267
LTUE05	6	Deco	1	268
LTUE05	6	Deco	1	269
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	270
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	271
LTUE05	6	Borde	1	272
LTUE05	6	Indeterminado	1	273
LTUE05	6	Deco	1	274
LTUE05	7	Otro	1	275
LTUE05	7	Agarradera, Deco	1	276
LTUE05	7	Borde	1	277

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE05	8	Borde	1	278
LTUE05	9	Borde, Deco	1	279
LTUE05	9	Cuerpo	1	280
LTUE05	9	Borde	1	281
LTUE05	9	Borde	1	282
LTUE05	10	Cuello, Deco	1	283
LTUE05	10	Cuello, Deco	1	284
LTUE05	10	Cuerpo	1	285
LTUE05	10	Borde	1	286
LTUE05	10	Deco	1	287
LTUE05	10	Deco	1	288
LTUE05	10	Agarradera	1	289
LTUE05	12	Agarradera	1	290
LTUE05	12	Agarradera	1	291
LTUE05	12	Cuerpo	1	292
LTUE05	12	Cuerpo	1	293
LTUE05	12	Cuerpo	1	294
LTUE05	13	Borde	1	295
LTUE05	13	Base	1	296
LTUE05	14	Cuerpo	1	297
LTUE05	14	Deco	1	298
LTUE05	14	Deco	1	299
LTUE05	14	Cuerpo	1	300
LTUE05	14	Cuerpo	1	301
LTUE05	14	Otro	1	302
LTUE05	14	Otro	1	303
LTUE05	14	Borde	1	304
LTUE05	14	Borde	1	305
LTUE05	14	Borde	1	306
LTUE05	14	Borde	1	307
LTUE05	14	Borde	1	308
LTUE05	15	Otro	1	309
LTUE05	15	Agarradera	1	310
LTUE05	15	Agarradera, Deco	1	311
LTUE05	15	Base	1	312
LTUE05	16	Borde	1	313
LTUE05	16	Borde	1	314
LTUE05	17	Agarradera	1	315

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE05	Limp	Cuerpo	1	316
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	317
LTUE05	Per. N	Base	1	318
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	319
LTUE05	Per. N	Agarradera	1	320
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	321
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	322
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	323
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	324
LTUE05	Per. N	Borde	1	325
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	326
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	327
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuello, Deco	1	328
LTUE05	Per. N	Deco	1	329
LTUE05	Per. N	Deco	1	330
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	331
LTUE05	Per. N	Deco	1	332
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	333
LTUE05	Per. N	Deco	1	334
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	335
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	336
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuerpo	1	337
LTUE05	Per. N	Cuello, Deco	1	338
LTUE05	Super.	Borde	1	339
LTUE05	Super.	Borde	1	340
LTUE05	1/4	Cuerpo	1	341
LTUE05	1/4	Agarradera	1	342
LTUE06	1	Borde	1	343
LTUE06	1	Base	1	344
LTUE06	1	Agarradera	1	345
LTUE06	1	Agarradera	1	346
LTUE06	1	Deco	1	347
LTUE06	1	Indeterminado	1	348
LTUE06	2	Agarradera	1	349
LTUE06	2	Agarradera, Deco	1	350
LTUE06	2	Agarradera	1	351
LTUE06	2	Base	1	352

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE06	2	Base	1	353
LTUE06	2	Deco	1	354
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	355
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	356
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	357
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	358
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	359
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	360
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	361
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	362
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	363
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	364
LTUE06	2	Borde	1	365
LTUE06	2	Cuello, Deco	1	366
LTUE06	2	Deco	1	367
LTUE06	2	Deco	1	368
LTUE06	2	Indeterminado	1	369
LTUE06	2	Deco	1	370
LTUE06	2	Indeterminado	1	371
LTUE06	2	Indeterminado	1	372
LTUE06	2	Indeterminado	1	373
LTUE06	2	Deco	1	374
LTUE06	2	Otro	1	375
LTUE06	2	Indeterminado	1	376
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	377
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	378
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	379
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	380
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	381
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	382
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	383
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	384
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	385
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	386
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	387
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	388
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	389
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	390

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE06	3	Borde, Deco	1	391
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	392
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	393
LTUE06	3	Deco	1	394
LTUE06	3	Deco	1	395
LTUE06	3	Indeterminado	1	396
LTUE06	3	Deco	1	397
LTUE06	3	Deco	1	398
LTUE06	3	Indeterminado	1	399
LTUE06	3	Otro	1	400
LTUE06	3	Base	1	401
LTUE06	3	Agarradera	1	401A
LTUE06	3	Agarradera	1	401B
LTUE06	3	Borde	1	401C
LTUE06	3	Agarradera	1	401D
LTUE06	3	Agarradera	1	401E
LTUE06	3	Agarradera	1	401F
LTUE06	4	Pieza casi completa	1	402
LTUE06	6	Agarradera	1	403
LTUE06	6	Indeterminado	1	404
LTUE06	6	Base	1	404A
LTUE06	6	Borde	1	405
LTUE06	7	Cuello, Deco	1	406
LTUE06	7	Borde	1	407
LTUE06	7	Cuello	1	408
LTUE06	7	Agarradera, Deco	1	409
LTUE06	7	Agarradera, Deco	1	410
LTUE06	7	Agarradera	1	411
LTUE06	7	Borde	1	412
LTUE06	7	Borde	1	413
LTUE06	7	Deco	1	418
LTUE06	7	Deco	1	419
LTUE06	7	Deco	1	420
LTUE06	7	Indeterminado	1	421
LTUE06	7	Agarradera	1	422
LTUE06	8	Borde	1	423
LTUE06	8	Borde	1	424
LTUE06	8	Borde	1	425

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE06	8	Borde	1	426
LTUE06	8	Agarradera	1	427
LTUE06	8	Deco	1	428
LTUE06	8	Borde, Deco	1	429
LTUE06	8	Agarradera	1	430
LTUE06	8	Indeterminado	1	431
LTUE06	8	Cuerpo	1	432
LTUE06	8	Cuello, Deco	1	433
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	434
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	435
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	436
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	437
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	438
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	439
LTUE06	9	Borde	1	440
LTUE06	9	Deco	1	441
LTUE06	9	Deco	1	442
LTUE06	9	Agarradera	1	443
LTUE06	9	Base, Deco	1	444
LTUE06	9	Cuerpo	1	445
LTUE06	9	Otro	1	446
LTUE06	9/19	Borde	1	447
LTUE06	10	Borde	1	448
LTUE06	10	Borde, Deco	1	449
LTUE06	10	Agarradera	1	450
LTUE06	10	Agarradera	1	451
LTUE06	10	Deco	1	452
LTUE06	11	Borde	1	452A
LTUE06	11	Agarradera	1	452B
LTUE06	11	Indeterminado	1	453
LTUE06	11	Borde	1	454
LTUE06	12	Agarradera	1	455
LTUE06	12	Borde	1	456
LTUE06	14	Base	1	457
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	458
LTUE06	14	Borde, Deco	1	459
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	460
LTUE06	14	Agarradera	1	460A

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE06	14	Agarradera	1	460B
LTUE06	14	Agarradera, Deco	1	460C
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	461
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	462
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	463
LTUE06	14	Borde, Deco	1	464
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	465
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	466
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	467
LTUE06	14	Borde	1	468
LTUE06	14	Borde, Deco	1	469
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	470
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	471
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	472
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	473
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	474
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	475
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	476
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	477
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	478
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	479
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	480
LTUE06	14	Deco	1	481
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	482
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	483
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	484
LTUE06	14	Indeterminado	1	485
LTUE06	14	Agarradera	1	486
LTUE06	15	Deco	1	487
LTUE06	15	Deco	1	488
LTUE06	15	Borde, Deco	1	489
LTUE06	17	Borde, Deco	1	490
LTUE06	17	Deco	1	491
LTUE06	17	Deco	1	492
LTUE06	17	Deco	1	493
LTUE06	17	Agarradera	1	494
LTUE06	17	Agarradera	1	495
LTUE06	17	Borde, Deco	1	496

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE06	17	Borde, Deco	1	497
LTUE06	17	Deco	1	498
LTUE06	17	Agarradera	1	499
LTUE06	18	Deco	1	500
LTUE06	18	Borde, Deco	1	501
LTUE06	20	Pieza casi completa	1	502
LTUE06	20	Deco	1	503
LTUE06	20	Pieza casi completa	1	504
LTUE06	22	Pieza casi completa	1	505
LTUE06	Perf. w	Borde	1	506
LTUE06	Perf. w	Borde	1	507
LTUE07	01	Base	1	508
LTUE07	02	Cuello	1	509
LTUE07	02	Borde, Deco	1	510
LTUE07	02	Indeterminado	1	511
LTUE07	02	Borde	1	512
LTUE07	02	Borde	1	513
LTUE07	02	Agarradera	1	514
LTUE07	02	Agarradera	1	515
LTUE07	03	Agarradera	1	516
LTUE07	03	Agarradera, Deco	1	517
LTUE07	03	Agarradera	1	518
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	519
LTUE07	03	Indeterminado	1	520
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	521
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	522
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	523
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	524
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	525
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	526
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	527
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	528
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	529
LTUE07	03	Borde, Deco	1	530
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	531
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	532
LTUE07	03	Borde	1	533

Table E.6 (continued): Diagnostic ceramics from excavations

Unit	Sector	Diagnostic type	n=	Accession #
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	534
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	535
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	536
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	537
LTUE07	03	Deco	1	538
LTUE07	03	Indeterminado	1	539
LTUE07	04	Cuello	1	541
LTUE07	04	Borde	1	542
LTUE07	04	Borde	1	543
LTUE07	06	Agarradera	1	544
LTUE07	06	Agarradera	1	545
LTUE07	06	Agarradera	1	546
LTUE07	06	Indeterminado	1	547
LTUE07	06	Agarradera	1	548
LTUE07	06	Borde	1	549
LTUE07	06	Cuello	1	550
LTUE07	06	Borde	1	551
LTUE07	06	Agarradera, Deco	1	552
LTUE07	06	Deco	1	553
LTUE07	06	Borde	1	554
LTUE07	08	Indeterminado	1	555
LTUE07	08	Agarradera	1	556
LTUE07	08	Agarradera	1	557
LTUE07	3/6	Agarradera	1	558
LTUE07	3/6	Indeterminado	1	559