

14.

Inca Ceremonial Sites in the Southwest Titicaca Basin

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TAWANTINSUYU, as the Incas called their empire, grew in perhaps a hundred years (ca. AD 1430–1532) to encompass a huge territory of numerous ecological zones and peoples with diverse customs, languages, economies, and political institutions. The Incas relied on religious ideology as one important element of imperial control over this vast and varied area. Ethnohistoric documents describe a concerted Inca policy of religious incorporation of the provinces (e.g., Cobo 1979:191 [1653: Bk. 12 Ch. 23], 1990 [1653]; MacCormack 1991:98–118; Rowe 1946:293–314, 1982; Valera 1950:145). The subject people's local divinities, or *huacas*, were assimilated into Inca state control, and subjects were gathered to engage in Inca rituals at pilgrimage centers or state festivals at Cuzco. Inca state ritual was also brought to the provinces and was performed in sun temples built at provincial centers, at local festivals, and at special state ceremonies (such as the *capacocha*, or sacrifice ceremony) that were performed away from the center. Nevertheless, the ethnohistoric record gives us an incomplete and Cuzco-centric view of the way religion worked on the ground in the empire. A close examination of the archaeological record can illuminate the ways in which religious ideology in Tawantinsuyu interacted with, rather than supplanted or ignored, the preexisting cosmologies, ritual practices, and shrines of its new provinces.

This chapter looks at the archaeological manifestations of religion, ideology, and ritual in an Inca province by compiling the results of surface survey and incorporating previous research on Inca period ceremonial sites in the southwestern Lake Titicaca Basin of Peru. This region

was important to the Incas, both politically as the home of the rich, populous, and powerful Lupaca and Colla ethnic groups, and religiously, because it was the doorway to the famous Inca pilgrimage center on the Islands of the Sun and Moon. Analysis of the style, size, and placement of ceremonial sites in the Lupaca region suggests that Inca administrators did not mandate ceremonial site construction merely as a wholesale imposition of Inca ideology, but took many other factors into account, including previous non-Inca traditions of worship. Furthermore, it is likely that some sites were constructed and modified at least partly by local workers without Inca supervision. This general picture of inclusion and accommodation contrasts with more rigid class exclusion at the sanctuary on the Island of the Sun itself. These little-known sites and their relation to the Island of the Sun sanctuary give us a window into the inner mechanisms of outwardly monolithic, legitimizing ideologies. In practice, in the Titicaca Basin, as perhaps everywhere, ideology was shaped and contested by countless agents of greater and lesser power.

RELIGION IN THE INCA EMPIRE

The question of the degree of Inca religious control may be viewed as a subset of a more general debate on the impact of Inca conquest on local populations. To some scholars, the Inca policies of indirect rule meant that little changed at the local level after the Inca conquest (Murra 1980 [1956]). Others have emphasized the intrusive policy of labor extraction used by the Incas (for example, Julien 1988; Stanish 1997). In fact, the

impact of Inca conquest in Tawantinsuyu ranged from complete reorganization of some subject provinces to the loosest control of others (Bauer 1992; D'Altroy 1992; Dillehay 1977; González 1983; LeVine 1985; Menzel 1959; Netherly 1978; Pease 1982; Salomon 1986a, 1986b; Stanish 2001b). The amount of control exerted in any one place was affected by the length of time the Incas controlled it, the desirability or use of the region in question, the sociopolitical complexity of polities already present in the region, the threat that these polities posed to Inca rule, and strategic considerations.

For religion, the question is whether Inca religious ideology was imposed wholesale in an attempt to communicate Inca dominance to conquered peoples or, rather, evolved to accommodate the practices and needs of new subject populations. Both possibilities are supported by different lines of evidence, and it is certainly possible that different religious policies were utilized in different regions or time periods by the state.

Most contact period documentary sources on Inca religion tend to portray a uniform imposition of official Inca religion everywhere in the empire, although some accounts of the extirpation of idolatry emphasize the importance of local nonelite shrines and portable huacas in the daily lives of ordinary folk (e.g., Arriaga 1968 [1621]). The Huarochiri manuscript documents a remarkably detailed and, from a Cuzco perspective, unorthodox provincial mythology that must have incorporated many pre-Inca elements (Avila 1991 [ca. 1598]). The Huarochiri manuscript also vividly attests to the expedient Inca policy of incorporating regionally important shrines into their origin mythology: "In the highlands, they say, the Incas worshiped the sun as the object of their adoration from Titi Caca, saying, 'It is he who made us Inca!' From the lowlands, they worshiped Pacha Camac, saying, 'It is he who made us Inca!'" (Avila 1991:111, sec. 276 [ca. 1598:Ch. 22]). According to the chroniclers, the major portable huacas of conquered *naciones* were brought to Cuzco and tended to by rotating colonists from the huacas' homelands, kept by the Incas both as hostages and as potentially powerful guests (Cobo 1979:191 [1653: Bk.

12 Ch. 23]; Valera 1950:145). The Incas also frequently enhanced aboriginal religious sites and consulted important local huacas (Rowe 1946: 302; MacCormack 1991:141–159).

Our archaeological knowledge of Late Horizon ceremonial sites outside the Inca heartland is incomplete (see, for instance, Van de Guchte 1990:406, illustration 2). Some provincial ceremonial sites, such as Sayhuite in Apurímac and Vilcashuamán in Ayacucho, are intrusive and pure Inca in style; others, like Pachacamac or Wari Wilka (Shea 1969), are Inca additions to important pre-Inca shrines, built with significant adaptations of local, non-Inca styles and materials. Rarely, there was actual destruction of indigenous huacas (Nielsen and Walker 1999). In addition, numerous modest, rural ceremonial sites exist—a few will be described below—but they are little known, giving the erroneous impression that where ceremonial sites were built in the provinces, they were major sanctuaries directly designed and controlled by the Inca elite.

It is debatable whether intrusive Inca ceremonial installations were placed strictly to influence the conquered masses. For instance, a proliferation of high-altitude mountain shrines in Argentina and Chile, a region where the Incas invested comparatively little in economic or political infrastructure, shows considerable effort and expense poured into ceremonial sites that were not very visible or accessible to local populations (Beorchia Nigris 1973, 1985; McEwan and Van de Guchte 1992; Reinhard 1992; Schobinger and Constanza Ceruti 2001). Class exclusivity is clearly apparent in Inca religious practices in general and at the Island of the Sun sanctuary in particular. Elaborate regulations controlling access to the island sanctuary reproduced and reflected social divisions. Overall, Inca religious sites did more, and sometimes less, than signal Inca dominance.

Factors affecting Inca ideological strategy may have included the political and economic investment in the region, local religious practice and the prestige of local religious sites, and, apparently, military considerations (Hyslop 1990:189). The ideological incorporation of the provinces was not an event, but an ongoing process, as Cobo noted:

...from the beginning of their empire the Incas were not always steadfast in their religion, nor did they maintain the same opinions and worship the same gods....They were prompted to make such changes because they realized that this way they improved their control over the kingdom and kept it more subservient [Cobo 1990:5 (1653:Bk. 13 Ch. 1)].

THE TITICACA BASIN UNDER INCA RULE

The traditional date for the expansion of the Incas into the Titicaca Basin is AD 1450 (Rowe 1944:65). The conquest of the Titicaca Basin was recounted by Cieza de León (1985:130–136 [1553: Bk. 2 Chs. 41–43]) and Cobo (1979:140 [1653:Bk. 12 Ch. 13]). While they differ in some details, both accounts state that the Lupacas and the Collas were engaged in a war at the time of Inca contact. The Collas were eventually vanquished, and the Lupacas welcomed the Incas as allies. The Collas later rebelled several times under the yoke of the Incas (Cobo 1979:143, 153 [1653:Bk. 12 Chs. 14, 16]).

The Inca incorporation of the Titicaca Basin caused dramatic changes on almost every level. The most obvious change that is visible archaeologically is the massive resettlement of the Titicaca Basin and the introduction of large numbers of *mitimas*, or colonists from other subject areas (Stanish 1997). The hilltop forts, or *pukaras*, were abandoned, along with those habitation areas situated to take advantage of non-residential *pukaras*. Most of the inhabitants of the region were resettled in intrusive, nucleated centers along two main Inca roads, one on each side of the lake (Hyslop 1984).

These new settlements served both as *cabeceras*, or administrative centers (Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]; Toledo 1975 [1575]), and as *tambos*, or way stations along the road. Among them, the most important were the new capitals of the Lupacas and Collas: Chucuito and Hatuncolla, respectively. The *cabeceras* were administered by local lords (*kurakas*) in a hierarchical system. It is likely, although not certain, that these *kurakas* were descended from the pre-Inca

chiefs of the region (Julien 1983:36–38). *Chulpa* burial towers continued to be built. Monumental examples with beautifully finished stone masonry in the Late Horizon may have signaled the strength and security of a hereditary elite newly confirmed in its position of power within the Inca hierarchy.

Along with the resettlement of native people, a distinct demographic spike is observable in the Late Horizon from Stanish et al.'s (1997) survey of the southwest basin, best explained as the movement of large numbers of *mitima* colonists into the Titicaca Basin. Ample textual evidence also exists for *mitimas* in the region, destined for service at the Island of the Sun or for specialized production workshops (Ramos Gavilán 1988:84 [1621:Bk. 1 Ch. 12]; Murra 1978: 418; Julien 1983:75; Espinoza Soriano 1987: 248, 253; Stanish 1997:204).

The most extraordinary act of Inca control in the Titicaca Basin was the establishment of an elaborate sanctuary complex and pilgrimage center on the Islands of the Sun and Moon (Titicaca and Coati Islands).¹ Here, according to Inca mythology, the sun first arose, and here the Incas were created by the god Viracocha. Titicaca Island appears to have been used as a religious center in the Tiwanaku period (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Seddon, Chapter 9, this volume), and Tiwanaku-style archaisms at the Inca sanctuary, in both ceramics and architecture, attest to an Inca attempt to link their control of the island to ancient tradition (Gasparini and Margolies 1980: 13, 262; Julien 1993). Inca emperors regularly visited the sanctuary, reaffirming its importance in imperial religious ideology (Cobo 1979:141, 144, 154 [1653:Bk. 12 Chs. 13, 14, 16]).

While hosting the highest echelons of Inca society, the island sanctuary was also a pilgrimage center, and sources state that pilgrims came to it from every corner of the empire (Cobo 1990:95–96 [1653:Bk. 13 Ch. 18]; Ramos Gavilán 1988:41, 164 [1621:Bk.1 Ch. 4, 26]). After passing through a number of checkpoints and purifications, pilgrims arrived at the Sacred Rock on the Island of the Sun, where they participated in seasonal festivals, obtained oracles, gave rich offerings of gold, silver, shells, feathers, and fine *cumbi* cloth, and observed sacrifices of children, llamas, and guinea pigs (Ramos Gavilán 1988

[1621]). Pilgrims then passed on to a temple on the Island of the Moon.

Regulations at the sanctuary compartmentalized people into distinct groups by geographical or ethnic origin and by social status (Ramos Gavilán 1988:153 [1621:Bk. 1 Ch. 24]). Access to the Sacred Rock itself was highly restricted. A wall and a series of three gates about 250 m away from the Sacred Rock marked the closest point to which non-Inca pilgrims could come. There, they were permitted to watch rituals at the Rock and left their offerings at the gate (Cobo 1990:96 [1653:Bk. 13 Ch.18]; Ramos Gavilán 1988:87, 94 [1621:Bk. 1 Chs. 12, 13]). Some local, nonelite groups were not permitted to visit the island at all (Lizarraga 1987:187 [1605:Ch. 86], Ramos Gavilán 1988:150, 176 [1621:Bk. 1 Chs. 24, 29]). In brief, the picture from the documents and from the archaeological evidence is one of a highly structured environment in which each pilgrim's position was precisely assigned based on geography and social status.

Brian Bauer and Charles Stanish's (2001) work on the Inca pilgrimage center at the Island of the Sun and Moon, as well as my reconnaissance project in 1998 on the southwest margins of the lake, attest to a spurt of activity in the construction of new ceremonial sites in the Inca period in the southern and western Titicaca Basin. This remodeling of the religious landscape of the region went hand in hand with the massive alteration of the demographic, political, and economic landscape.

Despite these Inca measures of control, or perhaps because of them, the inhabitants of Collasuyu developed a reputation for rebelliousness (Molina "el Almagrista" 1968 [1552]:75). The Collas rebelled at least once under the Inca yoke and were harshly punished for it (Cobo 1979:143,153 [1653:Bk. 12 Chs. 14, 16]). Catherine Julien notes that one of the insubordinate Colla lords named himself "Pachacuti Inca" (Julien 1983:258).

In contrast to the fractious Collas, the Lupacas followed a pattern of negotiation with Inca power. Although the kuraka of the Lupacas declared himself the son of the Sun and rebelled under Spanish rule in 1538 (Sitio del Cuzco 1934 [1539]:121), the Lupacas are not clearly reported

to have been as troublesome as the Collas under Inca rule (but see Cieza 1985:155 [1553:Bk 2 Ch. 53]). Stanish (2000) argues that in practice they held an apparently privileged position in the Titicaca Basin in the Late Horizon, perhaps deriving from their initial negotiation of the peace with the Inca emperor (Cieza de León 1985:135–136 [1553:Bk. 2 Ch. 43]). According to Cobo, the Lupacas were favored for their loyalty by Topa Inca and his son Guayna Capac (Cobo 1979:144, 154 [1653:Bk. 12 Chs. 14, 16]), and the Lupacas were considered "Incaized" relative to other subject peoples (Hyslop 1977a:160).

In fact, both the Collas and the Lupacas, as well as the other *naciones* of the Titicaca Basin, were remarkably "Incaized" in their material culture. Locally produced ceramics from the Late Horizon, including nonelite ware, drew heavily on Cuzco-Inca ceramic forms and designs, and the local ware was technologically and stylistically closer to Cuzco-Inca ware than it was to indigenous Late Intermediate period pottery (Stanish 1991; Julien 1983). Houses, generally circular in the Late Intermediate period, became rectangular in the Late Horizon, following Inca tradition. Inca-style cut-stone masonry was occasionally adopted for edifices that do not seem to have been executed under Inca supervision, and were therefore probably constructed under local initiative; examples include the Inca Uyu in Chucuito, capital of the Lupacas (treated below), and *chulpas* with a square footprint or faced in fine Cuzco-style masonry, which were probably constructed and used by the local *kurakas* rather than by Inca administrators residing in the Collao (Hyslop 1977b:160; Julien 1983:254). It seems that the local non-Inca elite, whether Colla or Lupaca, adopted an Inca architectural style for their most symbolic constructions, and even reworked the tombs of their ancestors to fit a new era in which Inca style was synonymous with prestige and dominance.

The interpretation of stylistic adoption is always problematic, and never more so than in the context of political domination. However, it is worth noting that stylistic emulation in material culture need not be seen as signifying political allegiance. Among the many Inca-style ceremonial sites discussed in this paper, at least three appear to be local emulations of Inca ceremonial

forms. It is difficult to conclude exactly how these sites functioned in the context of local adaptation to, co-option by, and resistance to Inca rule. However, we must remember that they may not have signified wholesale participation in the Inca cosmology or in Inca imperial ideology.

THE RESEARCH QUESTION

How are we to interpret subsidiary ceremonial sites in the southwest Titicaca Basin and their relationship to the Island of the Sun pilgrimage center? I argue that overall patterns in their style, placement, and accessibility should tell us something about the way religion, as expressed in religious sites, was used and negotiated between Incas and local inhabitants. The style of carving at a ceremonial site indicates whether it was built under Inca supervision and at the order of Inca administrators, or by workers (presumably local) with a hazy idea of Inca ceremonial style. Inca ceremonial sites are classically distinguished by carved rocks, in particular carved bedrock (as opposed to monoliths or portable stones), as well as by uncarved boulders enclosed by masonry walls or incorporated into larger sites (Bauer 1998; Hyslop 1990:Ch. 4; Van de Guchte 1990). They may also include fountains, nonutilitarian canals, and carved channels for the manipulation of liquid offerings, as well as structures with exceptionally fine stone masonry. Local religious forms and styles were different from those executed under Inca artistic canons. Tiwanaku and pre-Tiwanaku ceremonial constructions include sunken courts, monoliths, and artificial mounds. It is clear from the documents (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:79; Ramos Gavilán 1988:196–197 [1621: Bk. 1 Ch. 32]) that many Tiwanaku or Formative carved stelae were revered in the early Colonial period and probably the Late Horizon. They may also have been held sacred in the Late Intermediate period (LIP). In the LIP, huge chulpa cemeteries such as Sillustani probably constituted the major ceremonial centers (Hyslop 1977a:153). This stylistic distinction between Inca-built and locally built sites is also suggestive of who may have used the sites. Contact period textual references occasionally identify the groups who used a particular site.

The placement of sites is also telling. Sites near the Inca road² and near major towns and administrative centers could in theory have been accessible to all, including local residents (elite and nonelite), Inca administrators, and pilgrims traveling the Inca road from the Cuzco region to the Island of the Sun. Sites far away from the road and from major towns are less likely to have been visited by pilgrims and Incas. Sites near Copacabana, the stopping-point for pilgrims before embarking for the Island of the Sun and a major religious center in itself, were presumably tied to the island cult. Highly visible, large, and accessible sites could have served the additional purpose of signaling ideology or imperial control to a wide audience. Less visible, small, or out-of-the-way sites would not have been well suited to this propagandistic function.

Given that there were many new ceremonial sites built in the Late Horizon and that Inca administrators were clearly interested in the region's religious landscape, I propose to use the above criteria of style and placement to distinguish between two possible models of Inca religious policy. In the first model, the Incas used ceremonial sites to disseminate imperial ideology and mark the landscape as Inca territory. They attempted to incorporate the region's population into Inca state religion, but did not accommodate preexisting sacred sites or ceremonial styles and practices. For example, Bauer and Stanish (2001) interpret ideology and its manifestations in ceremonial construction at the Island of the Sun as a tool for supporting or legitimizing the rule of the Incas over subject peoples. Smaller Inca ceremonial sites could have functioned in the same way, indoctrinating local participants into an imposed religious ideology in which the dominance of the Incas was naturalized. Maarten Van de Guchte uses this interpretation in his analysis of Inca carved rock sites: "By carving rocks, the Incas effectively molded their world. The patterns on the rocks succinctly and directly helped to replicate icons of Inca ideology. As such the carved rocks served a purpose, similar to textiles in Andean society, as vehicles for the dissemination of an Andean catechism" (Van de Guchte 1990:50). Likewise, DeMarras et al. (1996:29) propose that Inca roads, tambos, fortresses, and storehouses were symbolic as well as functional,

constituting “a landscape and architecture of power.” Most of the small ceremonial sites in the southwest Titicaca Basin feature rocks carved in more-or-less typical Inca style. Such rocks would have indicated an Inca presence as clearly to the local inhabitants of the Titicaca Basin in the Late Horizon as they do to the modern observer. Thus, the subsidiary ceremonial sites in the Collao could have been designed primarily to mark the landscape with symbols of Inca rule.

Such a policy should have resulted in impressive, intrusive sites close to major towns and roads, for the best visibility and the widest audience. These sites would have been mandated and designed by Inca administrators and constructed under close Inca supervision, and thus the style of these sites should be similar to that of sites in the Cuzco area, following the Inca stylistic canons outlined above. The sites could have been visited by Inca, pilgrim, Aymara elite, and nonelite alike, but the Incas might have wished to retain some control over their use, in keeping with a religious policy of imposition, rather than accommodation. Therefore, finding evidence of associated elite habitation areas, and even of access restriction, similar to the pattern on the Island of the Sun, would not be surprising. However, these last indices should not be considered essential to the model, especially as access could have been restricted to sites while leaving no observable trace on the landscape.

In the second model, imperial ideology might have been promoted through ceremonial sites, but with significant accommodation to local traditions and participation by local actors. Ceremonial sites could have been part of an ongoing process of negotiation and accommodation between local and imperial actors, in which imperial ideology was expanded and altered to fit local needs. Here, more varied characteristics would be expected than in the other models. Some sites could have been built by local workers on Inca orders but without direct Inca supervision. Thus, some sites might be stylistically “Inca,” while others could be hybrid Inca-local creations. In the latter category, we might also see later additions by local workers to Inca ceremonial sites, and vice versa. Some sites might be situated at pre-Inca huacas. Not all sites would be located close to major towns and administra-

tive centers, especially those that took advantage of preexisting sacred places. Those sites, likewise, might not be particularly visible or accessible.

A subsidiary question is whether Inca-style sites in the region were intended or used as ritual stations on the pilgrimage route from Cuzco to the Island of the Sun. If they were, they should have been on the road or near *tambos* (way stations), and either Inca in style or related to the pilgrimage cult in other ways. In either scenario, huacas that were locally built and used could also have served the religious needs of the population.

LATE HORIZON CEREMONIAL SITES

In July and August of 1998, I completed a reconnaissance of the southwest lake region under the aegis of Programa Collasuyu, a multi-year collaborative research project in the Titicaca Basin directed by Charles Stanish (UCLA) and Edmundo de la Vega (Universidad Nacional Técnica del Altiplano, Puno). My goal was to document several inadequately published Inca period ceremonial sites in the southwest lake region and to find new ones. Because of the dispersed and highly visible nature of Inca ceremonial sites, and the enormous size of the potential study area, I chose a nonsystematic reconnaissance methodology. This permitted me to cover the largest possible geographical area, target the known sites, sample areas of high probability, and therefore optimize data recovery from a relatively short season. The area of study was the approach to the Island of the Sun on the southwest side of the lake, from Chucuito south, including the peninsula of Copacabana (Figure 14.1). No attempt at full coverage of this large area was made. Rather, the aim was to characterize the general nature of the Inca religious landscape in that area. Thus, the list of sites given here is in no way exhaustive.

The reconnaissance methodology was based on a combination of strategies: (1) the survey of selected places, such as large rock outcrops and hilltops, that were deemed likely candidates for Inca ceremonial sites, (2) the use of local informants, and (3) the investigation of places with toponyms in Quechua or names that indicated



FIGURE 14.1. The Lake Titicaca Basin, with Late Horizon towns, ceremonial sites, and the road

the presence of sites (e.g., “Inca Pukara”). The reconnaissance was not restricted to sites along the probable Inca road, but an inevitable bias toward that strip of land arose from the simple fact that the modern road lies close to the probable Inca road in most places (Hyslop 1984). In about two and one-half weeks of on-the-ground reconnaissance, three new ceremonial sites were found, and one large site—Kenko (Tres Ventanas), previously thought to be pre-Inca—was shown to be an important Inca ceremonial center. In addition, all previously known Late Horizon ceremonial sites in the region as well as several known chulpa sites were visited, and

many previously unrecorded features of these known sites were recorded. Chulpa sites that lacked other Late Horizon ceremonial features are excluded from the catalogue below.

Sites or site sectors were considered to be “ceremonial” based on the presence of carved rocks, ritual canals, or other clearly nonutilitarian constructions. Sites were considered Late Horizon if they showed stylistic similarities in carving or masonry to known Inca sites (preferably in the Inca heartland) or were associated with single-component habitation sites datable with Late Horizon pottery. The ceramic sequence used for the analysis was refined by



FIGURE 14.2. The Copacabana Peninsula, with Late Horizon ceremonial sites

Stanish et al. (1997:40–49) for the survey of the Juli-Pomata region. Late Horizon pottery in the study area includes bowl and aryballoid forms in Cuzco Inca, Local Inca, Chucuito, Sillustani, and Pacajes types (for Cuzco Inca, see Rowe 1944; for the region, see Julien 1993; for Local Inca, see Julien 1983; for Chucuito, see M. Tschopik 1946; for Sillustani, see M. Tschopik 1946, Revilla Becerra and Uriarte Paniagua 1985, and Stanish 1991; for Pacajes, see Rydén 1957, Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990, and Mathews 1992a).

The catalogue of sites lists all known Late Horizon ceremonial sites from the study area, excluding the Islands of the Sun and Moon. Detailed descriptions of the new sites from the reconnaissance are included, as are somewhat briefer treatments of previously published sites.

Two known sites outside of the reconnaissance area, Pucara and Amantani, are briefly mentioned in the catalogue because of their relevance to the topic. The sites are listed in order of their location, moving away from the Island of the Sun through the Copacabana Peninsula and northward along the west side of the lake, in reverse pilgrimage order (Figures 14.1 and 14.2).

Intinkala and Orcohawira

“Intinkala” (“stone of the sun”) lends its name to the collection of carved boulders in which it is found. These boulders are located about 300 m east of the modern town of Copacabana. The rocks are carved with flat altars, niches, and canals, with a quality of carving comparable to Cuzco work (Figure 14.3). The site and its most prominent rock, called the “Seat of the Inca” or



FIGURE 14.3. Intinkala

“Seat of the Sun,” have been noted by numerous travelers and archaeologists (for example, Banelier 1910; Hyslop 1990; Mantilla 1972; Rivera Sundt 1978a; Squier 1877a; Trimborn 1967; and Wiener 1880). Hermann Trimborn (1967:19–23) gives a precise map of the Seat of the Inca. Cleaning and excavation by INAR (Instituto Nacional de Arqueología) in 1975 uncovered walls built directly into the rocks, traces of a paved floor, and a system of drainage canals (Rivera Sundt 1978a:76). Orcohawira (also called Río Macho or Río Fuerte), first documented in 1968 (Mantilla 1972), consists of three stones finely carved with “seats” and lies 200 m to the east of Intinkala (Figure 14.4). These “seats” are oriented in the general direction of Intinkala and are of the same quality and style. INAR reported very fine, decorated Late Horizon ceramics on the surface at both Intinkala and Orcohawira (Rivera Sundt 1978:75–6). Indeed, the whole area between the sites and for about 100 m on all sides has a dense scatter of fine Inca ceramics. The Copacabana Peninsula was the stopping point for pilgrims just before they embarked for the Island of the Sun. This is the only ceremonial

sector in Late Horizon Copacabana that survives, and the rites related to the pilgrimage at Copacabana that are mentioned in the documents (e.g., Ramos Gavilán 1988:171 [1621:Ch. 28]) may well have taken place at Intinkala and Orcohawira.

Both carved-rock sites are so consistent with Inca stylistic canons that there can be no doubt they were executed on Inca orders and under Inca supervision. However, early Colonial documents suggest that an important local huaca, the idol of Copacabana, may have been found at Intinkala or Orcohawira (Sanz 1886). Ramos Gavilán gives a detailed account of where it was found:

Among the Idols that were found in this place, the principal and most famous among the Yunguyos was the Copacabana Idol. In the time of the priests of my order, certain Spaniards, looking for some treasure, had the place dug out where the Idol was reputed to be located, and found it, and nearby, also found two huge rocks. One had the name Ticonipa, and the other Guacocho. They were worshiped by the Yunguyos, who,



FIGURE 14.4. Orcohawira

being poor, had no riches in this, their principal sanctuary. Their continual offerings were of livestock, chicha, and other things, because the silver and gold which they managed to find, they offered to the principal temples of the Sun and the Moon. This Copacabana Idol was in the same town [of Copacabana], as you go to Tiquina. It was of fine blue stone, and it had nothing more than a human face, disembodied of feet or hands...this Idol faced towards the temple of the Sun, as if to signify that from there came its well-being...[Ramos Gavilán 1988:191 (1621:Ch 32), author's translation].

Ramos Gavilán's account places the idol on the route east out of Copacabana toward Tiquina, which corresponds well to the location of Intinkala and Orcohawira. The two great sacred rocks near the idol may well have been the rocks at Intinkala.³ The descriptions of the idol are far from detailed—according to Calancha (1972:1.139 [1639:Bk. 1 Ch. 3]), it had the head of a man and the body of a fish—but it was most likely a Formative or Tiwanaku monolith (see,

for example, K. Chávez 1988; S. Chávez and K. Chávez 1975). Stone sculptures of human figures are practically unknown from the Late Horizon, while the continued worship of Formative or Tiwanaku monoliths in the early Colonial era is well documented for the Lake Titicaca area (e.g., Arriaga 1968 [1621]:79).

Horca del Inca

On the hill of Kesanani just south of Copacabana is the misnamed "Horca del Inca," which, according to the findings of Rivera Sundt (1984), functioned as an astronomical device rather than a gallows. A stone cross-beam is set between two crags, and two small holes are drilled in outcrops nearby (Figure 14.5). On the June solstice the rising sun casts its light through the northern hole onto the cross-beam. On the September equinox, a crag casts a shadow on the cross-beam (Rivera Sundt 1984). The Island of the Sun can be seen from the Horca, and taking into account its proximity to Copacabana, it is likely that rituals in connection with the Island of the Sun pilgrimage cult were performed here. While Rivera Sundt (1984:98) offers the possibility that the Horca was a pre-Inca construction, the ob-



FIGURE 14.5. The Horca del Inca

servatory can be safely assigned to the Late Horizon based on its association with nearby Inca-style stairs and walls. One trace of a wall, with some blocks still in place, cuts across the space directly in front of the Horca (Figure 14.6). Although this wall could not have been very high or it would have blocked the trajectory of the sun's rays on the solstice, it probably served as a boundary separating sacred from profane space, and may have indicated a social division as well, such as that between officiators and the public (Rivera Sundt 1984:98).

The Baño del Inca

The "Baño del Inca" ("bath of the Inca") is located in the former hacienda Kusijata, 2 km northeast of Copacabana. Noted and drawn by Squier in 1877 (1877a:325), it is a large open cylinder (the cavity measures 1.2 x 0.6 m) carved out of a single piece of rock, highly polished on the surface, and sunk into a stone-paved platform. Two semicircular gaps in its edge served to fill it with water from canals extending out from the bath.



FIGURE 14.6. Traces of a wall at the Horca del Inka

Copacati

Copacati is a carved-rock site on top of a steep, rocky hill about 4 km south of Copacabana, first described by Maks Portugal Zamora (1977:299, see also Rivera Sundt 1978:81). The bedrock is finely carved in flat stepped shelves (“seats” and “altars”) at several points along the ridge-top in unmistakable Cuzco-Inca style (Figure 14.7). On the northwest flank of the ridge (a steep slope makes the main carvings almost inaccessible) are two additional worked areas first noted in this reconnaissance. One is a triangular “seat” carved in a rock far down on the side of the hill; the other consists of two rectangular “seats” in the steep rock higher up the hill (Figure 14.8). As will be shown, a pattern of carved rocks scattered away from the main ceremonial sector is rather common for the small Inca sites described here. No Late Horizon habitation site was found in the immediate area.

As at Intinkala, the Inca carvings at Copacati were apparently associated with a pre-Inca idol. According to Ramos Gavilán:

Besides this Copacabana Idol, the Yunguyos had another which they called Copacati. The hill where it was located took its name from this same Idol, which was on the way out of the town. It was made of stone, an evil figure completely curled round with snakes; the people would resort to it in times of drought, asking it for water for their crops. Padre Almeyda, who had charge of the curacy before the missionaries of my sacred order came into it, heard of this Idol and had it brought to the town, and when it was placed in the plaza in the presence of many people, a snake was seen to detach itself from the Idol and go around it. The priest seeing this gave them to understand that it was the devil, and that they should be ashamed to have held such a vile creature for a god....The master of the chapel, Don Gerónimo Carvacochachi, seventy-eight years of age, told us he had seen the snake uncoil itself from the discarded Idol, which was



FIGURE 14.7. Carved rocks at Copacati



FIGURE 14.8. Carved rocks on the northwest flank of Copacati

thrown in the lake, and the snake was beaten and stoned to death [1988:196–197 (1621:Bk. 1 Ch. 32), author's translation].

Portugal Zamora (1977:301) notes correctly that the description of the idol corresponds to Formative and Tiwanaku period stone monoliths. (A Formative date is most likely, considering the snake iconography.) At Copacati, as at Intinkala, an elaborate, Cuzco-style Inca cut-stone site, probably connected with the island cult in some way, seems to have featured an ancient stone monolith still revered by the local people of Yunguyu in the early Colonial period. The Incas may have placed their carvings at Copacati to take advantage of a preexisting huaca, or they may have moved the huaca here, which fits with the pattern of Inca reuse of pre-Inca sacred sites such as Pucara, Tiwanaku, and the sanctuary itself on the Island of the Sun. Alternatively, the idol's local worshippers may have moved it to this Inca cut-stone site. Either possibility suggests a striking degree of accommodation between the two religious traditions.

One interesting aspect of Ramos Gavilán's account is that in both cases, the monoliths, rather than the Inca carved rocks, were the main focus of worship by local inhabitants in the early Colonial period (and the focus of destruction by the Spanish clerics). Pre-Inca monoliths may have proved to have more enduring symbolic significance for the inhabitants of the southern basin, although Ramos Gavilán's account may simply reflect the Spanish concern over the worship of representative (especially anthropomorphic) idols, as opposed to the abstract, geometric carvings of the Incas. Another intriguing element of the account is that the idols were apparently worshipped by the nonelite. The Yunguyus held them sacred, and in the case of the Copacabana idol, these included Yunguyus too poor to make valuable offerings.⁴ This post-Conquest reality may not have reflected Inca period conditions, of course, but it raises the question of for whom these explicitly Inca-style stone carvings were intended. The scenario of local nonelite worshipping at Inca sites contrasts markedly with elite restriction at the Island of the Sun.

Copacati is close to the modern road from Yunguyu to Copacabana, and probably was near

the Inca road as well. The site could easily have been visited by pilgrims en route from Yunguyu to Copacabana, or alternatively it could have been visited as a short subsidiary pilgrimage from Copacabana (like the Horca del Inca). The walking time from Copacabana to the top of Copacati is about one hour using the modern road. Although it does not take long to reach Copacati, the trip does involve making a detour up a rather steep hill and knowing where the site is located—in other words, taking a miniature pilgrimage in itself. The Island of the Sun is not visible from Copacati. Clearly, placing the site on top of the hill, or near an already sacred site, was more important to the Incas than making it highly visible and accessible.

Carved Stone at Cerro Juana

On the mountain of Cerro Juana (Koana), located southeast of Copacabana and northeast from Copacati, is an unusual carved block, which was also described by Portugal Zamora (1977:307, 323, Fig. 16). The block is 4.3 x 3.3 m in size, and its top surface is covered with rectangular depressions and canals. While the block probably dates to the Late Horizon, it is stylistically much less "Inca" than the other ceremonial sites on the Copacabana Peninsula, and displays very atypical features, including several short canals arranged in a radiating pattern. In view of its relatively inaccessible location and style, it is unlikely that this site was an "official" ritual station. It may have been a local imitation of Inca ceremonial expression.

Playa Chatuma and Nearby Sites

Playa Chatuma is located on the flank of a low ridge at the lakeshore, about 10 km southeast of Pomata. It consists of carvings on a stretch of soft, sloping limestone exposed above the beach and is about 400 m wide and 100 m from top to bottom. The rock is carved extensively with thin vertical channels and other carvings (Figure 14.9). A network of more deeply carved channels is located on the western edge of the site, toward the top of the exposed bedrock. There is a short, shallowly carved "staircase" next to this network of channels. This staircase, which is similar to the Inca stairs at Kenko (Tres Ventanas) and at the



FIGURE 14.9. Playa Chatuma

“Inca’s Chair” at Bebedero, securely dates the site to the Late Horizon on stylistic grounds (Figure 14.10). The rock nearby displays sets of shallow transverse cuts, a repetition of the stair motif too tiny for any human climber. The western portion of the site also has eight vertical channels running straight down the rock face toward the shore, each one dotted with shallow hollows, some converging or diverging on their course. On the east side of the site, beyond a natural fault, plain channels without hollows predominate. The most recognizable elements of Inca ceremonial style—geometric planes and niches—are absent at Playa Chatuma.

On the beach below are two identical stone blocks, lying about 50 m apart, and finely carved with an unusual step-motif (Figure 14.11). An undecorated, but finely made block, about 1.0 x 0.5 m in dimension, is also found on the beach to the east. The exposed beach below the canals yielded a total of only four diagnostic sherds, all dating to the Late Horizon. However, abundant ground stones and grinding surfaces of hard sandstone and granite are present. These were polished to a surface suggestive of plant processing.

The site of Ckackachipata, recorded by Stanish et al. (1997:90), was probably the closest associated habitation area to the Playa Chatuma blocks. Ckackachipata is found on the peninsula just next to Playa Chatuma (Figure 14.12) and has a Late Horizon component with fairly modest local ceramics (Stanish et al. 1997). The Island of the Sun is visible from Ckackachipata, though not from Playa Chatuma itself.

Other nearby Inca features may be related to Playa Chatuma (Figure 14.12). In the bay to the east of the Ckackachipata Peninsula, a large, square block of stone with a straight groove carved into one side rests in the water just off the beach. This is almost certainly from the Late Horizon, but its relationship to Playa Chatuma cannot be determined. Pukara Chatuma is a hill with a Late Intermediate period and Late Horizon presence, as evidenced by pukara walls and an Inca-style square chulpa with fine Inca sherds, respectively (Stanish et al. 1997:95). On top of the hill, Stanish et al. noted several carved rocks (1997:95–96). These include an Inca-style carved rock with a rectangular depression, a large, finely shaped ashlar block near what may be a slab-cist tomb, a rock with a single straight groove about



FIGURE 14.10. Close-up of Playa Chatuma



FIGURE 14.11. Carved rock on the beach at Playa Chatuma

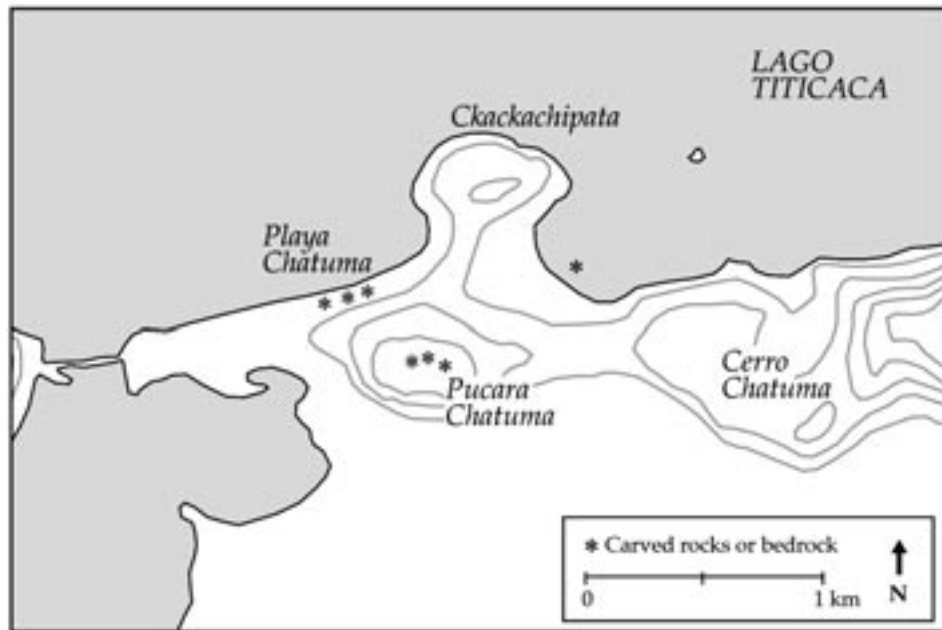


FIGURE 14.12. Playa Chatuma and surrounding area. After Stanish et al. 1997:86

10 cm long, and another rock carved with an unusual concentric circle design (Figure 14.13). This last motif is characteristic of neither Inca nor local carving, but the rock may be Late Horizon in view of its location near the other rocks at this site.⁵ These dispersed ceremonial features scattered across the landscape near Playa Chatuma, and the relatively disorganized, asymmetrical layout of the channels (compare, for instance, Samaipata in Bolivia, near the eastern edge of the Inca Empire), suggest that the site may not have been organized by a master plan.

Hyslop (1984) was unable to find the Inca road south of Pomata, but it is unlikely that it passed closer to Playa Chatuma than the modern road does because of the hilly topography of this area and the swamp land just to the west. The site is accessible by foot and requires only about a half-hour's walk to reach it from the modern road leading to Yunguyu. It probably required no more effort to reach it in the Inca period. The site could easily have been along a route from Pomata to Yunguyu and the Copacabana Peninsula beyond.

The canals at Playa Chatuma and Chinchin Jalave (described below) relate these sites to numerous others across Tawantinsuyu that used

water or liquid ritually. Canals and basins are features of most of the Inca ceremonial sites in the study area.⁶ The forking canals at Playa Chatuma (for instance, the network of canals at the "stair") are particularly interesting because, like other cases of Inca diverging channels, they may have been used for divination. Forking-channel *pacchas* are found at some of the most important Inca ceremonial carved-rock sites: Kenko (near Cuzco), Samaipata, Sayhuite, Ingapirca, Santa Apolonia (Cajamarca), and Vilcashuamán (Van de Guchte 1990:146). The forking channels at Playa Chatuma are far more crudely carved than those listed above, but may have fulfilled the same role.

Playa Chinchin Jalave

Playa Chinchin Jalave is located on the lakeshore north of San Bartolomé Hill, just west of the Choquesuyo Peninsula, about 5 km northeast of the Inca (and modern) town of Juli. Although the site is not on the Inca road surveyed by Hyslop (1984), it is close enough to Juli to have been easily reachable by residents. The site is on a thin strip of beach at the foot of a steep cliff, about 100 m from the lake edge. It consists of several boulders of chalky white limestone,



FIGURE 14.13. Carved rocks at Pukara Chatuma

carved with short canals and basins, which are now heavily eroded (Figures 14.14 and 14.15). One boulder displays seven channels, but most have two or three. As at Playa Chatuma, the geometric shapes most typical of the Inca carving style are absent. These boulders are close to the level of the lake and would have been inundated since they were carved, contributing to their surface degradation. Not surprisingly, no pottery is present in this area. The north end of the Island of the Sun is visible from the site.

On a point just west of the beach on the cliff above the lake is the small Late Horizon habitation site of Chinchin Jalave, noted by Stanish et al. (1997:63). Plainwares abound, and there are several collapsed circular structures that may be fallen chulpas. Those who lived at this site may have been able to control access to the boulders

on the beach, which can be reached by a ravine and a footpath, but is otherwise difficult to access.

Playa Chinchin Jalave displays obvious similarities with Playa Chatuma, including the lake-side location of both sites, the carved channels present at both sites, and the limestone used at both sites. Although the lack of ceramics and the atypical carving style would make this site difficult to date in isolation, it can be reasonably placed in the Late Horizon based on its parallels to Playa Chatuma, its association with the nearby Late Horizon site of Chinchin Jalave, and its connection to water ritual.

The carving here and at Playa Chatuma does not follow the typical Inca stylistic canon evoked at other sites in the region, despite the fact that both sites are relatively close to the Island of the Sun and conveniently located for the pilgrim.



FIGURE 14.14. Carved rocks at Playa Chinchin Jalave

Unlike Intinkala or Copacati, these sites do not have landscapes that have been stamped with clear statements of Inca power. They may have been fashioned without direct supervision from Cuzco, either as a secondhand directive or a locally motivated imitation.

CUT STONE NEAR SILLUMOCCO-HUAQUINA

This isolated stone is located on the northeast flank of Mt. Sapacollo near Juli, not far from the important Upper Formative and Tiwanaku period site of Sillumocco-Huaquina (de la Vega, Chapter 8, this volume). A branch of the Inca road surveyed by Hyslop (1984:123) runs near it. It is a large (1.5 m wide) boulder that has been smoothed and carved in an abstract, gently curved shape. It is perhaps significant that this rock is found on the east branch of the Inca road, on the lakeside branch, rather than on the more direct branch into Juli to the west side of Mt. Sapacollo.

CARVINGS AT BEBEDERO

Two examples of Inca ceremonial rock carving are found at the Bebedero sandstone outcrop, which is located about 8 km north of Juli and just west of the modern road. Here the modern road is probably very close to the Inca road and may overlie it (Hyslop 1984:123). “The Inca’s Chair,” first described by Squier in 1877 (1877a: 350), is a set of carvings in classic Cuzco-Inca style on a section of the outcrop near the road (Figure 14.16). The carvings consist of several shallow planes or “seats,” a stairway leading to the top of the rock, and the thin vertical channel after which the outcrop is named (*bebedero*, or drinking-trough). The rock has been capped with a tower in recent times.

The vertical channel on the front of the Inca’s Chair tie this site, along with others in the area, to a typical Inca pattern of libation. The quality of work at this site and the similarity of its carving to that in the Cuzco heartland make the site stand out among more modest ceremonial



FIGURE 14.15. Carved stone at Playa Chinchin Jalave



FIGURE 14.16. The “Inka’s Chair” at Bebedero



FIGURE 14.17. Altarani

installations in the area. The location of the site near the probable Inca road makes it highly likely that it was associated with a pilgrimage to the Island of the Sun⁷ In other words, it is exactly what we would expect to see in a pilgrimage station symbolizing Inca power on the provincial landscape.

The impressive carving of Altarani (Figure 14.17), about 2 km away, was first published by Alberto Cuentas (1928) and more fully described by Hyslop (1976:352) and Stanish et al. (1997:61). It consists of a rock outcrop into which a 7.0-m tall and 8.0-m wide vertical plane has been carved. This central section is outlined by two grooves on the sides and an unfinished “lintel” on top. In the middle of it is carved a blind doorway (1.9 x 1.1 m) in a rough T-shape. Two smaller planes flank this central section, bringing the total width of the carving to 14 m. The 1998 reconnaissance found one previously unpublished feature at Altarani: a low rock outcrop to the east (with a good view of the Altarani carving) displays two abstract designs of small holes, or cupules (Figure 14.18), similar to the cupules at Kenko (Tres Ventanas). As at Copacati and Playa Chatuma, Altarani shows a pattern of

impressive ceremonial carving with more modest elaboration nearby.

While the carving style of the “Inca’s Chair” is unmistakably Inca, the Altarani carving is more difficult to date. The terraces and plain at Bebedero yield artifacts and ceramics of all periods from Late Archaic to Inca (Stanish et al. 1997:61). Stanish and colleagues argue that the Altarani carving is Late Horizon, based on its association with the Inca’s Chair (1977:62). Hyslop (1976) attributed the site to the Altiplano (Late Intermediate) period, calling the T-shaped carving a “chulpa façade.” This hypothesis is difficult to support, given that no comparable examples of Altiplano rock carving are known to exist. Hyslop’s alternative suggestion that the carving is Tiwanaku, based on the niche’s T-shape (Hyslop 1977a:162), is possible. While T-shapes are not unknown in Inca carving and architecture, they are uncommon.⁸ The cupules nearby are analogous to scatters of cupules noted by Trimborn at known Inca carved rock sites such as Samaipata and Lacatambo, near Cochabamba in Bolivia (Trimborn 1967:26). In sum, a Late Horizon date is most likely.

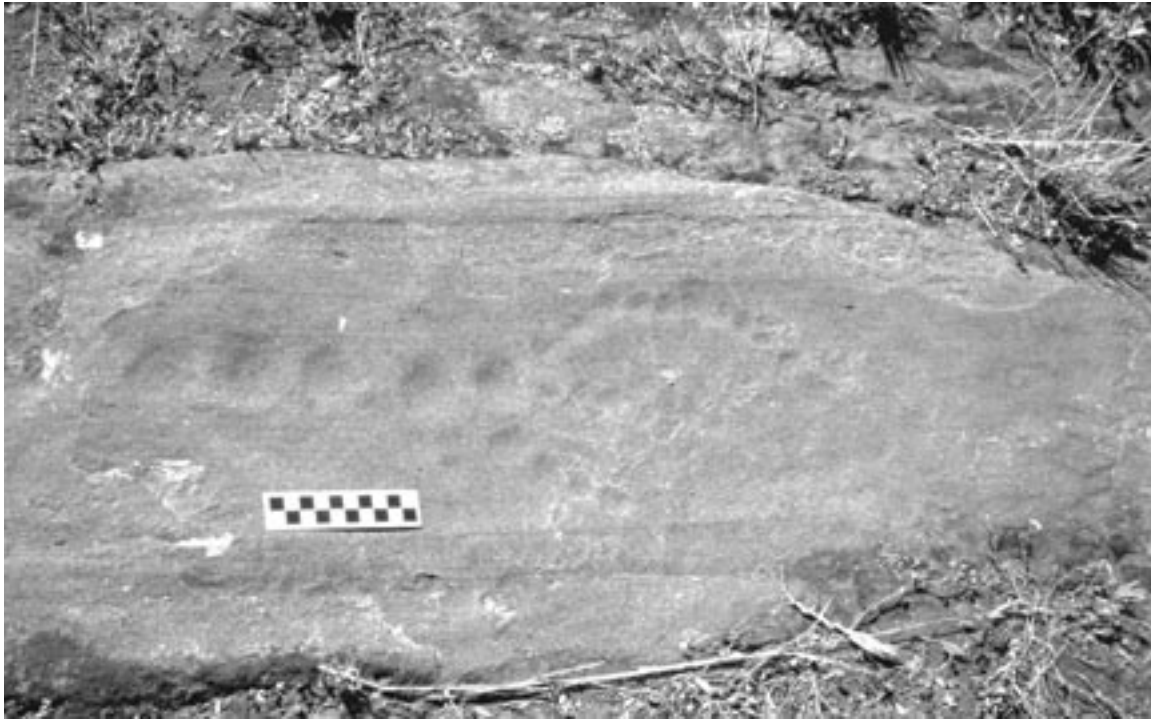


FIGURE 14.18. Cupules at Altarani

Kenko (Tres Ventanas)

Local residents call the site Kenko. Here I add the name “Tres Ventanas” to distinguish it from the site of Kenko near Cuzco.⁹ It was briefly described by M. Tschopik (1946:8) and Hyslop (1976:348). As one of the more impressive and unusual Inca ceremonial sites in the province, it deserves further attention. This large (4 to 6 ha) site is located about 1 km from the lakeshore, on the eastern edge of a range of hills east of the plains between Acora and Ilave. The site includes a ceremonial sector, consisting of thin walkways and niches constructed on a cliff face, and three distinct Inca period habitation sectors: one behind, a second in the fields in front, and a third near the entrance to the walkways (Figures 14.19, 14.20, and 14.21). The cliff is part of a geological formation consisting of a series of sheer sandstone ridges running northwest to southeast, enfolding thin strips of steep terraced land between them. The cliff face holding the walkways is the most northeastern of these ridges and has an unimpeded view of the lake.

The walkways (Figure 14.22) are formed and retained by walls of fine, Inca-style coursed masonry clinging to the cliff face, about 10 m above

the level of the plains. The masonry is extremely fine for the region and very regular. Individual blocks vary little in size, ranging from 35 to 45 cm across, and most are square or nearly square (Figure 14.21). The walkways are reached by passing through the fields behind the front ridge. Here, a series of four rectangular depressions are carved into the bedrock. About 11 m north of this carving, a set of Inca steps carved in the rock leads through a gap in the ridge to its northeast face, where the main walkway begins. Another flight of steps is carved on the face of the cliff at this point, but does not lead anywhere (Figure 14.23). These steps could have been intended to connect with a higher walkway, which stops some 45 m from this stair. The walkways are inaccessible except by this route.

There are four distinct walkways, the largest being about 150 m long and 7 m wide at its widest point. This main walkway has three raised sections or platforms, each progressively increasing in length. The last platform is reached by ascending a series of four small rises, each 0.5 to 1 m in height. Three large rectangular niches are carved into the rock face at various points along the walkways. One of



FIGURE 14.19. Kenko (Tres Ventanas)

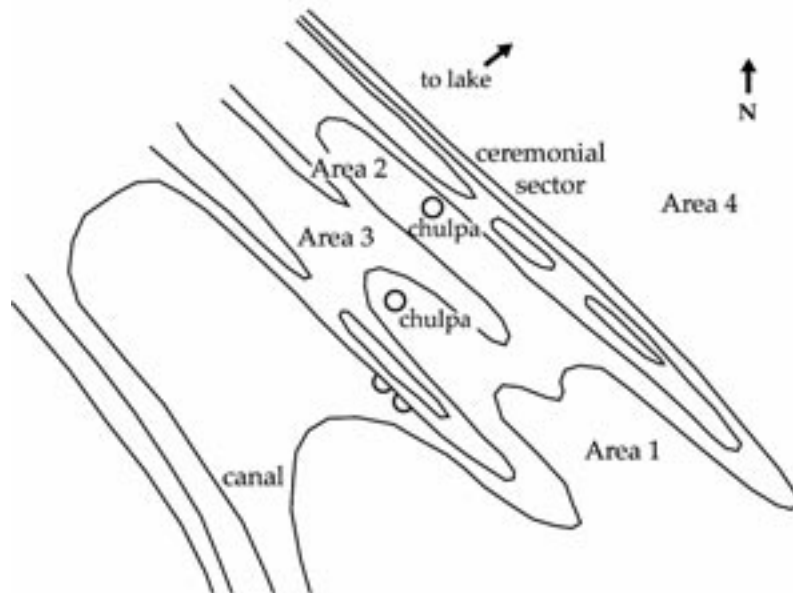


FIGURE 14.20. Sketch map of Kenko (Tres Ventanas) (Map and contour lines are not to scale.)



FIGURE 14.21. Kenko (Tres Ventanas) ceremonial sector

them is in an incomplete stage of carving, and in addition, two groups of hollows on the rock face indicate the beginning stage of two more unfinished niches (Figure 14.24). No ceramic or lithic artifacts were found on the walkways.

Locally produced ceramics from domestic occupations and stone agricultural tools are found on the surface of several sectors close to the niches and walkways (Figure 14.20). Area 1 consists of about 1.5 ha of fields behind the ridge and to the east of the ceremonial sector, just beyond the stair leading to the walkways. This area displays a dense scatter of fine Inca ceramics. Areas 2 and 3 consist of the thin terraced

strips of land lying between ridges to the south of the site. Areas 2 and 3 feature a slab-cist tomb and a modest chulpa, respectively. Areas 2 and 3 have a light scatter of mostly undecorated Late Horizon ceramics and possible Late Intermediate period ceramics. Area 4 is located in the fields that lie below the cliff face to the north, where a moderate scatter of Inca and early Colonial ceramics can be found in a 2- to 3-ha area (Chokasuyu types as defined in Stanish et al. 1997:49; Pakajes Tardío in Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990). All four areas have stone agricultural tools, and these tools are particularly common in Area 4.

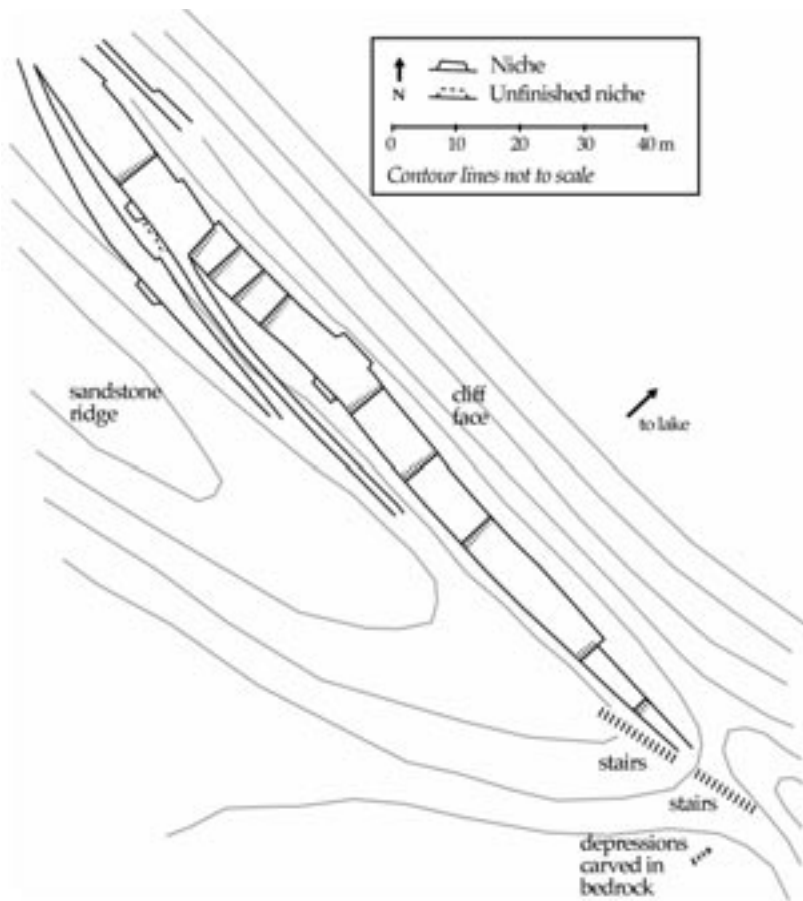


FIGURE 14.22. Masonry retaining the walkways at Kenko (Tres Ventanas)



FIGURE 14.23. Carved stairs on the cliff face at Kenko (Tres Ventanas)



FIGURE 14.24. Niches at Kenko (Tres Ventanas), in varying stages of completion

Although Kenko is far more impressive and more stylistically “Inca” than some of the other sites listed here, Kenko, like the other sites, has a pattern of modest subsidiary carvings dispersed around the site. A natural gap in the rock ridge behind Area 3 allows access to a much wider trough in the landscape. At this gap, on the south side of the ridge, are ten small depressions, or cupules, pecked in a pattern on the rock (Figure 14.25). On the opposite side of the trough, against the ridge that rises to the south, a thin, straight groove or canal carved into the rock is almost certainly Late Horizon in date. It might have carried water from a spring uphill to the east. Finally, a shallow semicircular “seat” has been carved in a boulder about 2 km northwest of Kenko, at the base of the cliffs facing the lake (Figure 14.26).

It may be significant that the main ceremonial sector has only one entrance: the stairway from Area 1. Decorated fineware is common in Area 1. It is possible that this was an elite area and that access to the site was restricted, or at least monitored, by the elite. Though it no longer

exists, a stone gateway is reported to have stood at the gap where the Inca stairs give access to the ceremonial sector.¹⁰ It may have marked a point at which access was restricted, as well as demarcating the border between sacred and profane space.

In the overall pattern of Inca ceremonial sites in the region, Kenko uniquely juxtaposes a significant labor investment and Inca stylistic canons with a very remote location. It currently requires a detour of about 15 km from the modern road running from Acora to Ilave, although the location of the corresponding section of the Inca road is difficult to ascertain.¹¹ Why was this location chosen? The rock ridges on which the site was constructed are spectacular and unusual, and geologically similar to the Bebedero outcrop, which constitutes another sacred site. This may explain why the area, if not the site itself, is still ritually important to local residents. Although the Island of the Sun is not visible from the cliff at Kenko, the site does have a magnificent view of the lake from a fairly easy-to-reach setting. Given that many of the ceremonial

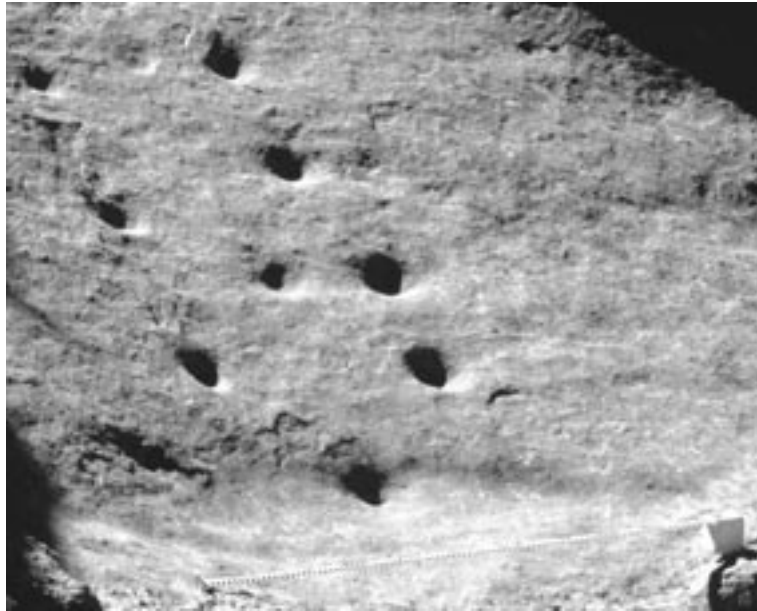


FIGURE 14.25. Cupules at Kenko (Tres Ventanas)



FIGURE 14.26. Carved stone to the west of Kenko

sites in the area are on the lakeside, this may have been a factor in the decision to build at Kenko. Perhaps more importantly, the cliff face and any activities that may have taken place on it are clearly visible from the fields below. Kenko is the perfect location for ritual performed publicly, but with restricted participation—a pattern identical to what the historical documents indicate occurred at the Island of the Sun.

The Inca Uyu at Chucuito

Late Horizon Chucuito is a very large, intrusive site under and to the east of the present-day town of Chucuito (Hyslop 1976:415; Stanish 2001b; M. Tschopik 1946). It is known from ethnohistoric accounts to have been the cabecera, or administrative center, of the Lupacas. It was also a tambo on the Inca road from Cuzco (Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]; Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]:437) and, at around 80 ha in size, was the largest known Inca settlement in the Titicaca Basin (Stanish 2003).

An intriguing structure in the plaza, known as the Inca Uyu, probably fulfilled a ceremonial function. The Inca Uyu is a walled enclosure measuring about 10 x 10 m and consisting of two courses of massive stonework (Figure 14.27). Although the masonry was clearly modeled on Cuzco-style polygonal stonework, curved rather than right-angle joinings betray it as a poor imitation.¹² The shape of other stones uncovered in the plaza indicate that either this or an associ-

ated structure had windows (Stanish 2001b). The structure was therefore not an *ushnu*, or ceremonial platform.

Marion Tschopik excavated the structure in the 1940s, finding Colonial era fieldstone walls, ceramics, and faunal remains, but no prehistoric stratigraphy (Hyslop 1984:129–130). Hyslop relates that she was told of another structure called the Kurinuyu to the east of the Inca Uyu, but she did not see it, and there is no observable trace of this structure today. The upper row of stones at the Inca Uyu were found and replaced by Orompelio Vidal in the 1960s, who continued excavations at the site.

Although Chucuito was probably a rest stop on the pilgrimage to the Island of the Sun from Cuzco, it would be premature to assume that the Inca Uyu's primary function was tied to the pilgrimage. Its location in the center of the Lupaca cabecera of Chucuito and its quasi-Inca stonework suggest that it is the construction of local lords unsupervised by architects from Cuzco. Its role in ritual may have had more to do with the expression of the authority of the Lupaca *kurakas* than with Inca-Lupaca relations.

SITES OUTSIDE THE SURVEY AREA

Hatuncolla

Hatuncolla was the provincial administrative center corresponding to the Colla ethnic group, just as Chucuito was the administrative center



FIGURE 14.27. The Inca Uyu at Chucuito



FIGURE 14.28. The Pachatata sunken court on Amantaní Island. The upper wall is a recent addition.

for the Lupacas. As at Chucuito, it is likely there was at one time an Inca religious or ceremonial center of some kind at Hatuncolla. Cieza de León (1984:361 [1553:Ch. 102]) mentions a sun temple at Hatuncolla, among other Inca edifices. No whole structure remains, but Julien (1983:90) suggests that the fine Cuzco masonry reused in more recent buildings—masonry including one whole doorway—may be from this temple.

Amantaní Island

Amantaní Island's two major ceremonial constructions, Pachamama and Pachatata, are problematic, but the site is too important to leave out of this discussion. Both constructions are sunken courts on low mountains. Pachatata (also called Aylicancha) is rectangular and Pachamama is circular, making it very unusual within the Titicaca Basin (Figure 14.28).¹³ Both have been restored and modified to an unknown extent in recent times, and continue to be used for rituals and offerings (Niles 1987b, 1988; Spahni 1971; see also Kidder 1943:116 Stanish 2003:188, and Vásquez 1940). The courts appear to have been in use in the early Colonial period, for Martín de Murúa reports a famous huaca at Amantaní (Murúa 1946:216–7 [1590:Bk. 3 Ch. 21]).

The date of the ceremonial constructions at Amantaní is difficult to determine. Although rectangular sunken courts are common to Formative and Tiwanaku period ceremonial sites, Pachatata's atypical fieldstone masonry, triple stair, and noncardinal orientation make assigning it to the Tiwanaku period with certainty difficult (Stanish 2003). The inclusion of two large (uncarved) boulders in the circular temple of Pachamama (see Spahni 1971:222, pl. 3) suggests an Inca period date. There is little to no surface Tiwanaku pottery on the island, although Niles (1987b, 1988) reports some pottery looted from a grave on the island, pottery that included a fragment of an incense-burner that is almost certainly Tiwanaku. Formative pottery, including Pucara polychrome incised, is apparent on the surface, though in small quantities (see also Kidder 1943:16; Spahni 1971:15). On the other hand, Inca ceramics litter the island, and the terraces near the ceremonial structures have dense scatters of fine Inca ware. The Pachatata sunken court may therefore be a Formative or Tiwanaku court restored and modified in Inca times. Although such a construction would be unusual, it would have fit with a program of Tiwanaku stylistic references apparent in the sanctuaries on

the Islands of the Sun and Moon. Jean-Christian Spahni (1971:219) also reports carved seats or shelves on the southwest shore of the island (facing the peninsula of Capachica) that may possibly be Inca period in date. If the ceremonial structures and carvings at Amantaní were in use in the Inca period, the inaccessibility of the island makes it very unlikely that they were directly related to the pilgrimage.

Pucara

While Pucara is far to the north of the study area, it deserves to be mentioned for its ceremonial role in the Late Horizon. An important Formative center, it was restored and modified in Inca times. A terrace wall was remodeled with trapezoidal niches, and a stairway with finely dressed corner stones was built into Pucara walls (Wheeler and Mujica 1981:58–9). Fine Inca pottery of both local and Cuzco manufacture can be found at the site (Wheeler and Mujica 1981:58–70), and Pucara is listed as a tambo in early Spanish colonial documents (Guaman Poma de Ayala 1980 [1613]:1006 [1091/1101]; Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]:437). Pucara appears in Inca mythology as a site at which Viracocha, in his voyage of creation, turned disobedient subjects to stone or called down a rain of fire upon them (Molina of Cuzco 1947 [1584]:26). The association of Pucara with Viracocha's journey outward from the sacred center of Titicaca makes the site a good candidate for a ceremonial station on the pilgrimage, which traced Viracocha's course in reverse back to the Islands of the Sun and Moon.

Other Shrines in the Northern Titicaca Basin

In a more recent survey of Colla fortified sites (pukaras) in the northwest basin, I found a number of modest Inca administrative or ceremonial structures located on hilltops that had formerly been used by the Collas as defended settlements. While these data will be described elsewhere, it is worth noting that at least one of these Inca complexes displayed unusually elaborate architecture, including double-jambed niches (which are very rare in the Titicaca Basin), and probably had ceremonial functions. This and similar Inca structures were located in relatively inaccessible places far from the Inca roads,

and rather than being placed for maximum visibility and use in the Late Horizon, their placement may have been intended as architectural statements of Inca control over formerly important political centers (Arkush 2001).

Vilcanota and Beyond

At the La Raya Pass, the entrance to the Titicaca Basin from the Cuzco region was marked by the Inca temple and tambo of Vilcanota (Reinhard 1995). Placed as it was directly on the road, this facility may well have been designed as a pilgrimage station for high-ranking travelers. To the north of the pass, another series of shrines both large and small traced the route from Cuzco. This series includes Raqchi, Urcos, Típon, and huacas along the *ceque* lines of Collasuyu, the southeast quarter of the empire (Bauer 1998).

CONCLUSIONS

The proliferation of small ceremonial sites along the southwest shores of Lake Titicaca—as well as the justly more famous Island of the Sun sanctuary—amounted to something of a religious florescence in the Late Horizon. While the region does not have nearly the density of ceremonial sites as the area near Cuzco, the region displays a surprising variety of small sites available for ritual. These are mostly carved rock sites, and they clearly refer to Inca, rather than indigenous, ceremonial styles, yet they are highly varied in location, size, level of labor investment, and technical skill.

The most obvious pattern that emerges from this group of subsidiary sites is the very lack of a pattern. Out of fifteen sites,¹⁴ six would have required a minor detour from the probable Inca road, and four sites (Cerro Juana, Kenko and the carved stone to the west of it, and Amantaní Island) would have required a major detour. Nine sites are on the lakeshore or within view of the lake, even though the Island of the Sun is not visible from most of them. However, the pattern may simply reflect the predominance of lakeside settlement in the Late Horizon. A cluster of Cuzco-style sites around Copacabana contrasts with sites outside the Copacabana Peninsula, which vary widely in style. Size and labor in-

vestment do not obviously correlate with Cuzco-style sites or decorated pottery. Several sites have a “dispersed” site plan including minor elaborations or additions, and two (Altarani and Kenko) show clearly unfinished carving. Two of the most stylistically “authentic” Inca religious sites, Intinkala-Orcohawira and Copacati, are associated with indigenous and possibly nonelite huacas. The Inca use of Amantaní and Pucara also took advantage of preexisting ceremonial structures that may well have held religious significance for local inhabitants in the LIP. Meanwhile, in the Late Horizon, the massive chulpa cemeteries probably provided the main ceremonial sites that were not associated with the Inca state in the minds of local residents.

While it is difficult to determine exactly what was going on in the region in the Late Horizon to produce this heterogeneous mix of sites, comparison with the expectations of the models of Inca policy outlined above can rule out some possibilities.

The first model, in which Inca administrators used Cuzco-style ceremonial sites to mark the region as Inca territory and impose imperial ideology on the Aymara-speaking peoples without accommodation, is untenable in the face of the data. The styles, locations, and overall pattern of the sites all argue against this scenario. Several sites feature a mix of styles. Playa Chatuma, for instance, has a Cuzco-Inca style “stair” carving, canals which refer to but do not reproduce Cuzco-Inca canons, and the nearby carved rocks on Pukara Chatuma, whose styles range from typical Inca to highly unusual and innovative. Kenko (Tres Ventanas) displays Cuzco-Inca style stairs, masonry, and niches, but an innovative site plan. Furthermore, the locations of the ceremonial sites are not what would be expected from a propagandistic building program. Several sites, such as Playa Chinchin Jalave and even Copacati, are not very visible or accessible. Many are not close to areas of dense population, and in consequence are ill-suited as vehicles for the dissemination of imperial ideology to local people. Kenko, in particular, has only a small associated habitation sector. Furthermore, there are no large towns nearby comparable to the cabeceras on the Urcosuyu road. In fact, the Late Horizon pattern of ceremonial sites in the study

area is perhaps notable for the lack of an overall “master plan.” Unfinished features and additions at some sites imply that there may have been an ongoing process of site construction and modification, rather than a single monumental building program. I suggest that these sites were not all conceived and constructed at one time by one group. They were not part of an imperial program designed to stamp the landscape with symbols of Inca power in the most visible and accessible way.

The second scenario, in which Inca religious policy allowed input from local traditions and participation by local actors, is best supported by the reconnaissance data. Most telling in this regard are those sites that appear to have been placed to take advantage of pre-Inca huacas, indicating a mutual accommodation between Inca and local religious traditions. These instances of reuse fit with the revival of a Tiwanaku sacred center on the Island of the Sun and the reuse of Tiwanaku itself as a sacred site (Vranich et al. 2002). They also fit with the Inca reuse of other sacred sites such as Pachacamac. However, reuse of sacred sites on the small scale represented here is surprising, and points to finer-grained religious policies that integrated smaller, less elite communities and their sites of worship into the Inca cosmology.

The location and style of these sites also indicate a surprising degree of local participation in their construction and use. Four sites (Cerro Juana, Playa Chatuma, Playa Chinchin Jalave, and the Inca Uyu) are so stylistically atypical that they appear to have been constructed as local imitations, or at least fashioned without Inca design or supervision. It is interesting that such modest, unsupervised sites had a place in the pattern of lakeside religious installations. Stylistic innovation and elaboration at certain Inca-style sites also point to a construction process that may have been open to local input. Clearly, there was considerable room for innovation and local participation in the fashioning and use of Inca-style ceremonial sites, suggesting a greater role for Aymara residents than was permitted, according to the ethnohistorical documents, at the island sanctuary. Although access may have been restricted without leaving visible traces on the ground, we may guess that small, remote

sites such as Cerro Juana and the carved rock west of Kenko were probably not visited primarily by the elite.

The sites described here constitute a marked contrast with the Island of the Sun. Tight controls on access to the island sanctuary served to institutionalize a highly stratified social hierarchy, one that placed Incas at the top. In the southwest basin outside of the island, there was apparently a far looser control over the sacred. Here, a range of larger and smaller sites, sites that appear more and less "Inca," and more and less controlled sites extended the cline of the sacred achieved by the island sanctuary, allowing the incorporation and participation of small local communities in the rituals and beliefs of the Late Horizon.

This picture of Inca religious policy exemplifies an interesting gradation of control over ideology and religious sites from the center to the periphery. The spectrum of ideological control bears similarities to the continuum from territorial (direct) to hegemonic (indirect) political and economic control argued for the Inca by D'Altroy (1992). Inca political control was, of course, centered at Cuzco, while major administrative centers in the provinces such as Huánuco Pampa served as nodes in the political hierarchy. Outside of these centers and away from the major roads and forts (especially on the coast), Inca political control was looser and more flexible, accommodating local hierarchies and sometimes leaving few traces on the landscape (D'Altroy 1992; Hyslop 1990; Morris and Thompson 1985). Inca ideological power may well have followed a similar pattern of a highly controlled center (Cuzco), subsidiary centers in the provinces (e.g., the Island of the Sun), and a hinterland in which significant compromises were made with local actors and local tradition. The result was a flexible approach to ideological governance, one that would have been more economical to the rulers while being more palatable to the ruled.

A balance between local and imperial needs in religious practice could only have been achieved if it provided acceptable benefits to both sides. Aymara people were given, or demanded, license to participate in a prestigious religion whose value was defined by the exclusive, ancient island sanctuary, all the while retaining their local huacas and a degree of

religious autonomy. Meanwhile, their participation in this religious framework helped to reinforce conceptions of social hierarchy in which the dominance of the Incas was naturalized. The cosmology of the Incas readily adopted local beliefs, embraced locally sacred places, and accommodated local innovation, while retaining its essential tenet, the divine solar origin of the conquering Incas. A recursive relationship for ideological influence resulted. Inca ideology, religious practices, and sacred sites were continually altered and reshaped by non-Incas and the nonelite, as well as by their rulers.

Inca religious accommodation contrasts sharply with the forcible and exclusive imposition of Spanish Catholicism that was to succeed it (MacCormack 1991). Was there a downside to an imperial policy of toleration of existing local or regional huacas? While Inca religious accommodation probably helped to reconcile subject populations to Inca rule, it may also have weakened the empire by allowing subjects to continue a strong tradition of identification with smaller ethnic or regional groups. By the LIP, Andean ethnic consciousness was anchored in huacas and *pacarinas* (mythologized ancestors and origin places fixed in the landscape), providing a concrete and inalienable sense of ethnicity or grouphood. There is evidence that the Inca rulers were attempting to weaken regional/ethnic identification with many of their other policies. These policies, enumerated by Rowe (1982), include the imposition of forcible resettlement or temporary labor service, the standardization of the arts and technologies, and the spread of Quechua and some elements of Inca religion. Yet the Incas themselves arose out of a traditional Andean conceptualization of self and grouphood and participated fully in it, as evidenced by their own landscape-based sense of ethnicity (involving descent from a handful of ancestors originating at Pacariqtambo; see Urton 1990). They could hardly have done otherwise; but this existing ideological base may have hindered rather than helped them in the task of consolidation and unification. The historical documents show that at the time of Spanish contact the empire was still thought of as a collection of ethnic units, anchored to place and genealogy by their respective *pacarinas* and local huacas. When these groups

splintered off, as they did in the Huascar-Atahualpa civil war and at the time of the Spanish conquest, they did so as whole units. The parts of which the body politic was composed, tenuously connected by a few empire-wide institutions, came apart easily as soon as the head fell.

NOTES

1. Bauer and Stanish (2001) and Stanish and Bauer (2004) provide a detailed treatment of the archaeology and history of the islands, and Adolph Bandelier (1910), the first archaeologist to systematically work on the islands, remains an excellent source. Also, Ephraim Squier (1877a) and other nineteenth-century naturalists wrote a number of useful descriptions of the remains on the Islands of the Sun and Moon.
2. The Inca road from Cuzco split into two at the northern end of Lake Titicaca at Ayaviri, with one road tracing each side of the lake. They rejoined to the south at Caracollo. Access to Copacabana and the Island of the Sun was from the western or Urcosuyu branch. As the Urcosuyu road continued south, a side road passed through Yunguyu and on to Copacabana (Hyslop 1984; see also Cieza de León 1984:361, 364–5 [1553:Bk. 1 Chs. 102, 104]; Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980 [1613]; Lizarraga 1987:185 [1605:Bk. 1 Ch. 85], and Vaca de Castro (1908 [1543]).
3. Such was the opinion of Fray Rafael Sanz (1886), compiler of an early edition of Ramos Gavilán, who associated the idol of Copacabana with the “restos de graderias” at Copacabana, as he did the idol of Copacati with the Inca site of the same name.
4. Ramos Gavilán recounts that the aboriginal inhabitants of Copacabana and the Island of the Sun were relocated to Yunguyo by the Incas, and replaced by mitima colonists who enjoyed a special prestige as attendants to the temples (1988:84 [1621:Bk. 1 Ch. 12]). He uses the term *Yunguyo* to refer to non-mitima inhabitants of the Copacabana Peninsula.
5. One possible analogy is found in the description of priest José Mario Blanco in 1834 of a rock he calls “Qqenco” or “Ccasana,” near Cuzco’s plaza (it is apparently not the Kenko now known to us): “una piedra que tiene labrados dos círculos concéntricos” (J. M. Blanco 1974 [1834]:181, cited in Van de Guchte 1990:150, note 14).
6. Liquid offerings of water, *chicha*, or blood, constituted an important feature of worship at the Island of the Sun, according to contact period texts (Cobo 1990:97 [1653:Bk. 13 Ch. 18]; Ramos Gavilán 1988:116, 149 [1621:Bk. 1 Chs. 17, 24]), and ritual canals on the islands attest to them (Bandelier 1910:198, 221; Bauer and Stanish 2001).
7. Squier (1877a:350) gives the “tradition” that the Inca’s Chair “was the ‘resting-place of the Inca,’ in his journeys or pilgrimages, where the people came to do him homage, bringing chicha for his delectation and that of his attendants.” Dubious as his ethnohistoric information may be, it is worth noting that the site was specifically connected with the pilgrimages of the Inca even at this late date. Alberto Cuentas (1928) noted that some informants believed this was where the Incas and Lupacas first celebrated their alliance by libating chicha. Thus, in its name and in legends surrounding it, Bebedero was strongly associated with Incas, libation, and chicha.
8. Examples are found on the southeast side of Suchuna (Rodadero) Hill by Sacsayhuaman and north of Suchuna near a large circular depression, at the carved-rock complex known as Kusilluchayoc or the “Templo de los Monos” near Kenko (Cuzco), and in Tiwanaku-style niches at the cave site of Choquequilla. It is worth noting also that the Incas deliberately used Tiwanaku stylistic canons in the architecture of the temple on the Island of the Moon nearby, as well as in ceramics used on the Island of the Sun (Julien 1993).
9. In both Quechua and Aymara, *kenko* means twisting, sinuous, or zigzag (Bertonio 1956 [1612]:295). At Kenko near Cuzco, the term refers to the zigzag paccha. Here, it may refer to the zigzag walkways on the cliffside.
10. A local informant gives this report, which matches M. Tschopik’s (1946:8) observation: “A well dressed stone wall and doorway have been erected across a break in the escarpment.”

11. Hyslop (1984) found no trace of the Inca road between Kacha Kacha B, a chulpa site 3 km southeast of Acora, and the town of Juli. The location of the Inca town of Ilave, listed as a tambo in early colonial records (Vaca de Castro 1908 [1543]), is similarly ambiguous (Hyslop 1984:123; Stanish 2003).
12. One unusual stylistic feature of the masonry at the Inca Uyu, a pattern of "tails" from the upper course that fit into the curved joint of blocks on the lower course, has an intriguing parallel at Ollantaytambo. Although much less accentuated, masonry on the Wall of the Unfinished Gate and on some terrace walls at Ollantaytambo has a similar tailed form, termed "scutiform" masonry by Harthe-Terré (1965: 158; see also Protzen 1993:82, Figure 3.13). There may be a possible connection between these two isolated instances, for according to Sarmiento de Gamboa, Colla captives were brought to build Ollantaytambo by Pachacuti (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1988:112 [1572:Ch. 40]). A Colla ayllu at Ollantaytambo is also attested in a land dispute document from 1560 (Protzen 1993:269, note 1).
13. One circular structure at Sillustani may be viewed as somewhat similar to the one at Pachamama.
14. The difficulty of determining what to call a distinct "site" is considerable, since so many of the sites described here show a pattern of small, widely dispersed ceremonial features. For the purposes of this tally, features within an arbitrary radius of 1 km are considered a single ritual area or "site." For instance, Intinkala and Orcohawira are grouped as one site, while the "Inca's Chair" and Altarani are considered separate. Sites on the Islands of the Sun and Moon are not included in the tally; neither is the Inca occupation at Tiwanaku. The statistical limitations of this sample of fifteen are obvious.

The fifteen sites considered here are Intinkala and Orcohawira; the Baño del Inca; the Horca del Inca; Copacati; the Cerro Juana stone; Playa Chatuma and associated features; Playa Chinchin Jalave; the Sillumocco stone; Altarani; the "Inca's Chair"; Kenko; the carved stone west of Kenko; the Inca Uyu at Chucuito; Amantaní Island's sunken courts; and Inca additions at Pucara.