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Alexander Gabriel Menaker

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The Dissertation Committee for Alexander Gabriel Menaker Certifies

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OF FIRE AND WATER: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE VALLEY OF VOLCANOES, SOUTHERN PERUVIAN ANDES

Committee:

R. Alan Covey, Supervisor

Maria Franklin

Enrique Rodríguez-Alegría

Steven Wernke

OF FIRE AND WATER: AN ARCHAEOLOGY OF SOCIAL LIFE IN THE VALLEY OF VOLCANOES, SOUTHERN PERUVIAN ANDES

by

Alexander Gabriel Menaker

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To my parents and family for fanning the flame. And, to my rock, Blaise.

Abstract

Of Fire and Water: An Archaeology of Social Life in the Valley of Volcanoes, Southern Peruvian Andes

Alexander Gabriel Menaker, Ph.D.

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Supervisor: R. Alan Covey

This research examines the archaeological formation of social life in the Andagua Valley in the southern Peruvian Andes over the *longue-durée* from the emergence of local sedentism to the ethnographic present. Composed of lava flows and an anthropogenic landscape (terraces and canals), the Andagua valley offers a unique setting for the comparative study of how states and empires are epistemic regimes that seek to create particular subjects through varying material and discursive techniques and strategies. This dissertation brings into relief the limits of state projects and universal history by articulating an archaeology of *llaqtas* (village sites), which approaches social life through a relational history of human activities across the landscape. Investigating how people form relationships with each other and the landscape during non-state and state contexts, this framework allows for understanding the emergence of regional identities through the production of places that give order to the world.

This dissertation is based on foundational research carried out by the *Proyecto Arqueológico del Valle de Andagua* (PAVA) that documented and analyzed all archaeological sites and artifacts in the Andagua Valley. This project marks the first systematic archaeological research

of the valley, involving full coverage pedestrian regional survey (area of 45km^2), 10 excavation test-pits (1x1m and 2x2m units) at six archaeological sites, aerial site mapping and comprehensive material analyses. In total the project recovered more than 17,000 artifacts across a range of occupational histories. Analyzing the contexts and distribution of ceramic artifacts, monoliths, stone discs and tablets as well as site organization, architecture and mortuary features provides insight into the production of meaning and authority across time and space. In addition to archaeological methods, this dissertation incorporates archival records chronicling the latest known case of ancestor veneration and mummy worshipping in the mid-18th century as well as oral histories, including an account involving a battle waged by regional volcanoes against an interloping Inka. Through a community engaged project, the dissertation elucidates the dynamic histories of human survival in Andagua and turns towards reckoning with forms of state coercion and violence that impose universal ideals at the expense of local difference.

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Chapter I

Introduction

¿Qué vas a hacer, contarnos nuestra historia?
What are you going to do, tell us our history?
Andagua resident's response to our archaeological research

Traveling to Andagua

The bus follows a road that enters the mountains close to where they rise from the Pacific coast. It plods and tumbles along on the dirt and gravel road carved into Andean mountainsides. Ascending beyond the Majes Valley, high into the Southern Peruvian Andes, the bus passes through small towns composed only of a few houses lining the road. At times, it steers through town plazas, markers of Spanish colonial pasts. Along the ride, people shuffle on and off the bus. On the bus, some are returning home after visiting friends and family around Arequipa, while perhaps others are commuting home after a long week of labor beyond their rural communities. Or they are traveling into the mountains from Arequipa as teachers and workers from non-governmental organizations (NGOs). As we climb, the valley floor recedes below the steep cliff walls and leaves behind a view of the switchbacks that carried us upwards and along the mountainside. The evening shadow rises from the bottom of the valley and soon in the dusk night, the lights of distant homes are visible higher in the mountains.

The bus makes this journey once a day leaving from the city of Arequipa for the nearby Andean highlands tracing a circuitous path filled with twists and turns, rising and falling, negotiating the peaks and valleys of the Andes. The modern city of Arequipa has a population just under a million people and traces its roots back to 1540, when Garcí Manuel de Carbajal founded it to be a Spanish colonial and Christian urban center (INEI 2011; Davies 1984). The historical trajectories of Andagua and Arequipa are distinct and related, woven together through the social

and environmental processes of those who inhabit and travel among these places and landscapes. Beyond Andagua, the bus continues to Orcopampa, the location of a large precious metals mine, before turning around and making the journey back to Arequipa.

Figure 1.1: Bus driver and stone sanctuary in candlelight on evening bus ride to Andagua

Reaching the edge of the Majes Valley, the bus turns off the Pan-American Highway to descend into a wide valley, briefly stopping in the town of Aplao for dinner. Continuing through the valley, the paved road soon gives way to a narrower gravel road after passing through Andamayo. At the beginning of barren cliff stretch leading towards the pass at Coropuna, a roadside shrine reflects rays of glimmering light from the offerings of candles. The bus pulls to a stop at the shrine and the bus driver and attendant (*cobrador*) get out and walk to the shrine with candles in hand. They stand and pause at the gated entryway of a flower-decked altar that stands in front of statues of the Virgin lit up by the candles of earlier pilgrims. They light their candles and offer prayers before resuming the tortuous climb into the mountains.

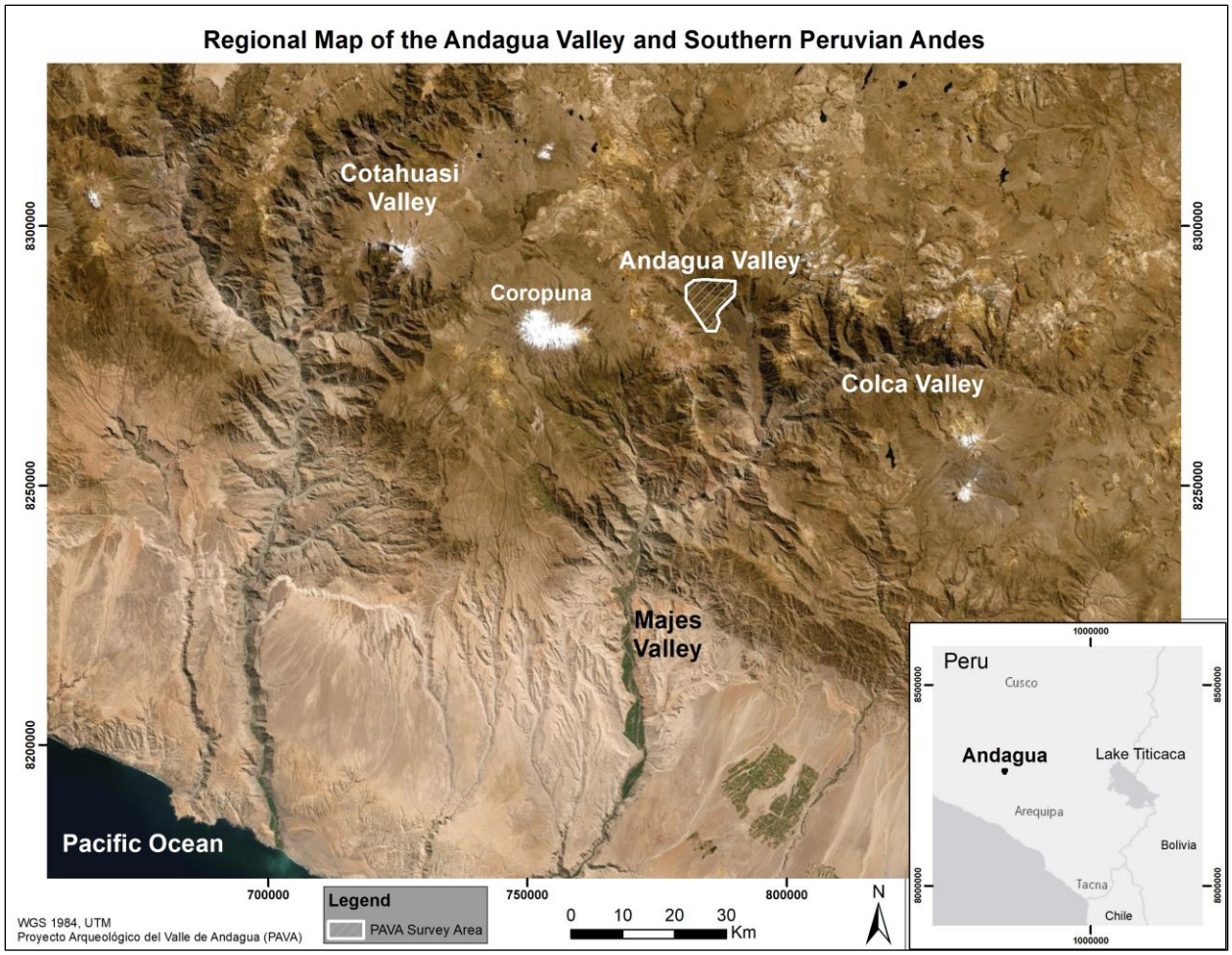


Figure 1.2: Regional Map of Arequipa and Andagua, Southern Peruvian Andes

I have seen this brief ceremony many times, usually from the cramped confines of the bus, craning my neck and body to view the ritual shrine and its active participants. On one evening commute to Andagua, I accompanied the bus driver and attendant as they lit and offered candles to the shrine. Nestled beneath the arches and among the flowers and paintings of the Virgin was a stone, about 25cm high adorned with blankets and ceremonial regalia. The bus driver and attendant stood at the gated entry and quietly spoke a prayer. At the mercy of the rhythms of the bus, I quickly returned to my seat unable to take a closer and longer look at the assemblage with the stone at its center. Nor was I able to ask the worshippers (patrons) – the driver and attendant –

what was that stone? Despite this brief interaction and without knowing their personal and fleeting thoughts in that moment and place, I was moved by the ritual activity and intrigued by this materialization of how humans grapple with greater forces that animate the world around us.

Leaving the shrine, six long hours remain in our journey to Andagua and an ascent of over 2,500 meters. The road to Andagua is treacherous and there are numerous occurrences that indicate the real risks to these highland roads. Landslides resulting from rains and earthquakes are always a looming threat. The earth convulses and liquefies when seasonal rains saturate the hillside or tectonic forces melt the earth and set it in motion. The narrow dirt roads are cut precariously into the sides of cliffs and mountains with barely enough space for two cars to pass. The line of life and death is omnipresent. While I have not carried out formal interviews with the bus drivers and attendants, I was able to ask one bus driver about the sanctuary and alluded to the stone. He responded nonchalantly, that it was a sanctuary, before jumping into the driver's seat to continue the journey over Coropuna and to Arequipa. Short on time and without wanting to probe, I left it at that. His comment, however, is both instructive and follows the classic anthropological explanation of "tradition," as the rhythms of life and death are often unspoken and take shape forming habits marked on bodies and landscapes (Bourdieu 1977; Descola 1996). The things themselves are not only what matter, but the relationships that make matter matter.

Embracing a multidisciplinary approach, I first went to Andagua to explore the archaeological landscape aware of a six-hundred page historical court case from the 18th century revolving around the latest known case of ancestor veneration and mummy worshipping in the Andes. Andagua was subject to the Spanish colonial program of the Extirpation of Idolatry dedicated to destroying local Andean cultural practices to craft imperial subjects. Recognizing the extensive material remains of life in the valley, this research expanded beyond the historical record

and carried out systematic archaeological research involving regional survey, excavations and aerial mapping as well as comprehensive artifact analysis. Engaging in ethnographic research, I collected oral histories and local perspectives and observed contemporary cultural practices. In this dissertation, I consider archaeology in the broad sense of studying humans' relations with the material world across time and space and not relegated to the past. I also embrace archaeology in a Foucauldian way of critically excavating knowledge production to make explicit the socio-historical formation of the discursive relations among words and things. Through an archaeological approach, this dissertation investigates local relations with and interpretations of the material landscape from early sedentism through the recent past during non-state and state contexts in the Southern Peruvian Andes. In a universe that exceeds us, empirical research in Andagua presences how humans make their place in the world.

This research examines the archaeological formation of social life in the Andagua Valley in the southern Peruvian Andes over the *longue-durée* from the emergence of local sedentism to the ethnographic present. Composed of lava flows and an anthropogenic landscape (terraces and canals), the Andagua valley offers a unique setting for the comparative study of how states and empires are epistemic regimes that seek to create particular subjects through varying material and discursive techniques and strategies. Traversing pre-Inka, Inka and Spanish colonial reigns through the Peruvian nation-state, this dissertation brings into relief the limits of state projects and universal history by articulating an archaeology of *llaqtas* (village sites), which approaches social life through a relational history of human activities across the landscape. An archaeology of *llaqtas* examines how socio-historical communities of practice formed through a bottom-up approach that does not assume constant social organization and cultural logics across time and space (Canuto and Yaeger 2000; Marcus 2000; Preucel and Bauer 2001). *Llaqtas* were formed through the

material emergence of *ayllus*; however, *ayllus* are not constant but dynamic, adaptive and resilient social formations made by communities of kinship forged through practice (e.g. Arkush 2014; Covey and Quave 2017; Isbell 1997; Kolata 2013; Salomon 1991; Spalding 1984; Wernke 2013).

Recognizing that the production of history is always in process and multivocal, an archaeology of *llaqtas* engages in a "politics of despair" (Chakrabarty 2000) because socio-historical processes cannot be summarily moved across contexts and explained with universal application. It reflects the tensions of both archaeologically and anthropologically reconstructing past socio-historical *llaqtas* and acknowledging the historical processes of Spanish colonialism, marked by the program of *reducciones* and Extirpation of Idolatry that made such an exercise possible. An archaeology of *llaqtas* is intimately tied to communities of practice that were marginalized in Andagua and the broader Andean region with enduring legacies reverberating today. By investigating how people form relationships with each other and the landscape during non-state and state contexts, this framework allows for understanding the emergence of communities of practice across time and space that shape regional identities through the production of places that give order to the world (Smith 2003, 2004, 2011). Through a community engaged project, the dissertation elucidates the dynamic histories of human survival in Andagua and turns towards reckoning with forms of state coercion and violence that impose universal ideals at the expense of local difference.

The bus continues lumbering up a zig-zagging road that climbs to the high pass on the shoulder of Coropuna (5,000 meters above sea level), a massive volcano surrounded by highland plains (*puna*) and wetlands (*bofedales*), that stands as an impressive barrier between Andagua and the Pacific coast. The highland valley towns of Machaguay, Viraco and Chuquibamba are visible below to the west at the upper folds of the Majes Valley. Reaching the pass, the thin atmosphere is acutely palpable. Three to four hours remain in the ride, and the bus cabin has drifted to sleep despite the uneven and rocky dirt road. People bundle in blankets and jackets and moisture condenses on the windows as the cabin warms contrasting to the cold mountain air.

Figure 1.3: Stone altar during daylight

At the height of the snow-covered mountain pass, a sea of stones lies scattered along the roadside in the direction towards the peaks of Coropuna. A large rock cairn near the road has a cross staked into it with glass bottles hanging like scales of justice. Additional glass bottles are strewn across the rocks as offerings. This is an *apacheta*, an Andean road marker that signals the transit across perilous routes and places. Traces of stone paths are visible along the road indicating the past networks of relationships across the Andes. It is difficult to ascertain the antiquity of the *apacheta* which grew over time as travelers added rocks to it as informal offerings to Coropuna. Cars and buses were only able to reach the Andagua Valley after the 1950s when local Andagua

community members built the stretch of road arriving to Andagua after crossing the pass of Coropuna.

In the dark, late night after crossing the mountain pass, the bus eventually arrives to the small town of Andagua. At 3am, the bus is eleven hours into its journey, and Andagua is one of its last stops. Bodies worn and tired descend from the bus, huddle in the cold air and slowly disappear from the central plaza down quiet streets and around sharp corners. I make my way off the bus, relieved to stand on solid ground. The corners of my dry mouth and beard caked with the remains of coca leaves that sustained me along the journey, easing the anxiety and pain due to a lack of oxygen and cramped confines. My body aches and throbs. The surrounding landscape is blanketed in darkness; it will unfurl itself in time.

Figure 1.4: *Apacheta* along the pass of Coropuna on the road to Andagua from the Majes Valley

Method is the Way

This opening vignette, recounting the challenging journey to Andagua from the city of Arequipa, exemplifies several themes and tensions that this dissertation explores and shapes the form of this work. The point of framing the dissertation as a journey is to reflect the situated nature of knowledge production and how research and our knowledge of the world is an uneven and nonlinear process that ultimately unfolds relationally through time and space (e.g. Abercrombie 1998; Haraway 1991; Jackson 2013). This dissertation also works as a journey composed of "purposeful wandering" (Tweed 2006) to get a sense of the places in Andagua and manifold relationships along the way. Moreover, the account highlights how humans actively make and live in a world that inherently exceeds ourselves as we navigate predictable and unpredictable futures and forces that traverse the human and non-human. These include both geological and social forces that occur over a range of temporal and spatial scales, such as expanding states and polities, natural forces and mutually constituting variables unfolding throughout time and space (e.g. Feinman and Marcus 1998; Robb and Pauketat 2013). Foregrounding approaches to produce more inclusive histories, this research demonstrates how archaeological, historical and ethnographic evidence yields compelling insight into local populations' relationships with the landscape among broader regional and global processes (Oland et al. 2012).

The dissertation uses multiple theoretical frameworks to explain and attend to these different scales and resolutions of social interaction, from institutional power, organization, and legitimacy and expressions of state power to intimate encounters and aching realities that can compel and distress (e.g. Bloch 1992; Braudel 1982; Covey 2003, 2006; Ginzburg 1980; Mann 2012; Stewart 2007). It does not claim to be a "total" history of the Andagua Valley, but recognizes how multiple scales – temporal and spatial – and distinct lines of evidence – archaeological, historical, and ethnographic – allow for different modes of knowing the world, thus yielding

multiple knowledges (e.g. Braudel 1982; Haraway 1991; Richard 2012; Wylie 1992). Certain aspects and nuances are lost to the past just as examining with a finer lens may obscure broader strokes of the present. My work advocates for the importance of interdisciplinary research, drawing from varied disciplines and methods. Emphasizing how we know what we know, I make these methods and accompanying assumptions explicit (Richard 2009; Santillana 2012).

This dissertation is an assemblage. Excavation units and regional landscapes are composed of human and nonhuman pasts and presents forming webs of relationships that archaeologists register (e.g. Joyce and Pollard 2010). Archaeological methods document the material conditions of life through an array of field and laboratory methods including, but not limited to, regional survey, excavations, mapping, and material analyses to study the formation of subjects and objects across time and space. Offering critical and empirical insight into fundamental aspects of the human condition throughout time and space, we approach the world and archaeological landscape as a palimpsest shaped by a heterogeneous and nonlinear past (Lucas 2001; Smith 2003). To effectively elucidate these theoretical and empirical contributions this study is written as a fragmented, yet cohesive narrative composed of multiple chapters with distinct data that also overlap and inform one another. Such an ecumenical perspective productively coincides with the research design of this dissertation, which attends to multiple lines of evidence that articulate many scales and resolutions.

As this research traverses geological and individual human scales it also strives to demonstrate the challenges of interpreting and accounting for such processes. Archival research, archaeological survey and excavations, and personal interviews (localized interaction and synchronic participant observation) involve different practices and engagements with the material world, using distinct material evidence that depends upon particular epistemological assumptions

and disciplinary ideologies (e.g. Fotiadis 2006; Kockelman 2012; Rodgriguez-Alegría 2016; Thomas 2004; Trigger 2006; Wylie 1992, 1984). Engaging with oral histories, ethnographic observations, historical documents and archaeological data, my research does not necessarily seek to combine these sources and interpretations to "find a fit" (Julien 1993), but explores their relationships through embracing an anthropological perspective that moves back and forth, dialectically "tacking," between these distinct archives (Hall 1999; Salomon 2002; Wernke 2013).

Research of Andagua recognizes the multivocal production of history that explores how to produce more inclusive accounts of the world to understand and explain places built independent of "Western worlds." To do this we must acknowledge and suspend epistemological prejudices to recognize that our criteria for categorizing and interpreting the world are not universal. If we no longer think of history structured by the dualisms of nature-culture and myth-history, how can we think of non-anthropocentric histories or – histories beyond the individual human that is exceptional to its surroundings? A comparative study of local populations' relations with the material landscape, in particular stone and water, during non-state and state contexts allows for the opportunity to consider local oral histories. These oral histories challenge "Western, Modern" assumptions, including human exceptionalism, that inform reductive dichotomies of nature and culture, myth and history, truth and demystification that were taken as universal at the expense of local endogamous knowledge. My dissertation offers a novel approach using an assemblage of methods to yield foundational data and insight into local populations' relations with the landscape and the production of knowledge and social memories in non-state and state contexts throughout time. A guiding conviction in this work is the possibility for radical empathy based upon rigorous methodological research and empirical evidence, broadening our horizons of what and how something is knowable.

Approaching the Assemblage

I first visited Andagua in 2013 while conducting preliminary research for my dissertation, aware of the compelling 18th century court case, chronicling the latest known case of ancestor and mummy worshipping in the Andes during Spanish colonialism (mentioned above and discussed in detail in chapter six). I visited Andagua to explore the archaeological possibilities of the research. While there had been preliminary research (Linares Málaga 1993; Neira Avendaño 1998; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000), there had been no systematic archaeological research in the valley. In 2014 I returned to Andagua to reaffirm my relationship with local community members. This work is a testament to how we can learn more about the world together through the incorporation of local perspectives and collaboration with local communities. Throughout the remainder of the dissertation I present data collected over months and years of work and collaboration, building upon those before us and marking paths for the future. Located at a nexus among the Colca, Cotahuasi and Majes Valleys, archaeological research in the Andagua Valley offers an important opportunity to fill gaps in our regional understanding of the pre-Hispanic past through the ethnographic present in the southern Peruvian Andes.

From August 2015 through March 2017, I directed the *Proyecto Arqueológico del Valle de Andagua* (PAVA) documenting and analyzing all archaeological sites and artifacts in the Andagua Valley in the Southern Peruvian Andes, extending from the earliest observable human presences through the 20th century (Menaker and Falcón Huayta 2016, 2017). This project marks the first systematic archaeological research of the valley, involving full coverage pedestrian regional survey (area of 45km^2), 10 excavation test-pits (1x1m and 2x2m units) at six archaeological sites, aerial site mapping and comprehensive material analyses. Systematic regional pedestrian survey began in late August 2015 and was completed at the end of November 2015. Research also

incorporated spontaneous conversations and formal interviews with residents. The survey area covered the major archaeological features in the valley and was circumscribed by the lava flows to the south and surrounding mountain chains, with the survey concentrating on the central valley of Andagua. The project formally registered 97 archaeological sites during survey, ranging from early pre-Hispanic artifact deposits and large pre-Hispanic occupations to post-contact field houses and material culture (see figure 1.6, see appendix for detailed inventory of sites). Beyond the survey, the dissertation is based on 18 months of multidisciplinary research in Andagua, and Arequipa where we based our lab analysis, involving ethnographic interviews, excavations and comprehensive artifact analysis.

In total the project recovered more than 17,000 artifacts across a range of occupational histories. The artifact collection included 14,485 ceramics (MNV) exhibiting a range of pottery styles corresponding to early sedentism through pre-Inka inhabitation and Inka expansion and continuing with an assemblage of post-contact ceramics, such as green glazed ware that is used in the ethnographic present. Completing an archaeology through to the recent past presented several methodological challenges, such as how to document a landscape that has been occupied, nearly continuously, for thousands of years. Along the way the project documented a range of features, artifacts, toponyms and oral histories providing insight into local inhabitants' dynamic relations with the landscape through time. Residents in Andagua (and throughout the Andes) have complex relations with the absent and present traces of the previous inhabitants of the valley, invoking fear and awe, sadness and humor (see also Salomon 1995, 2002).

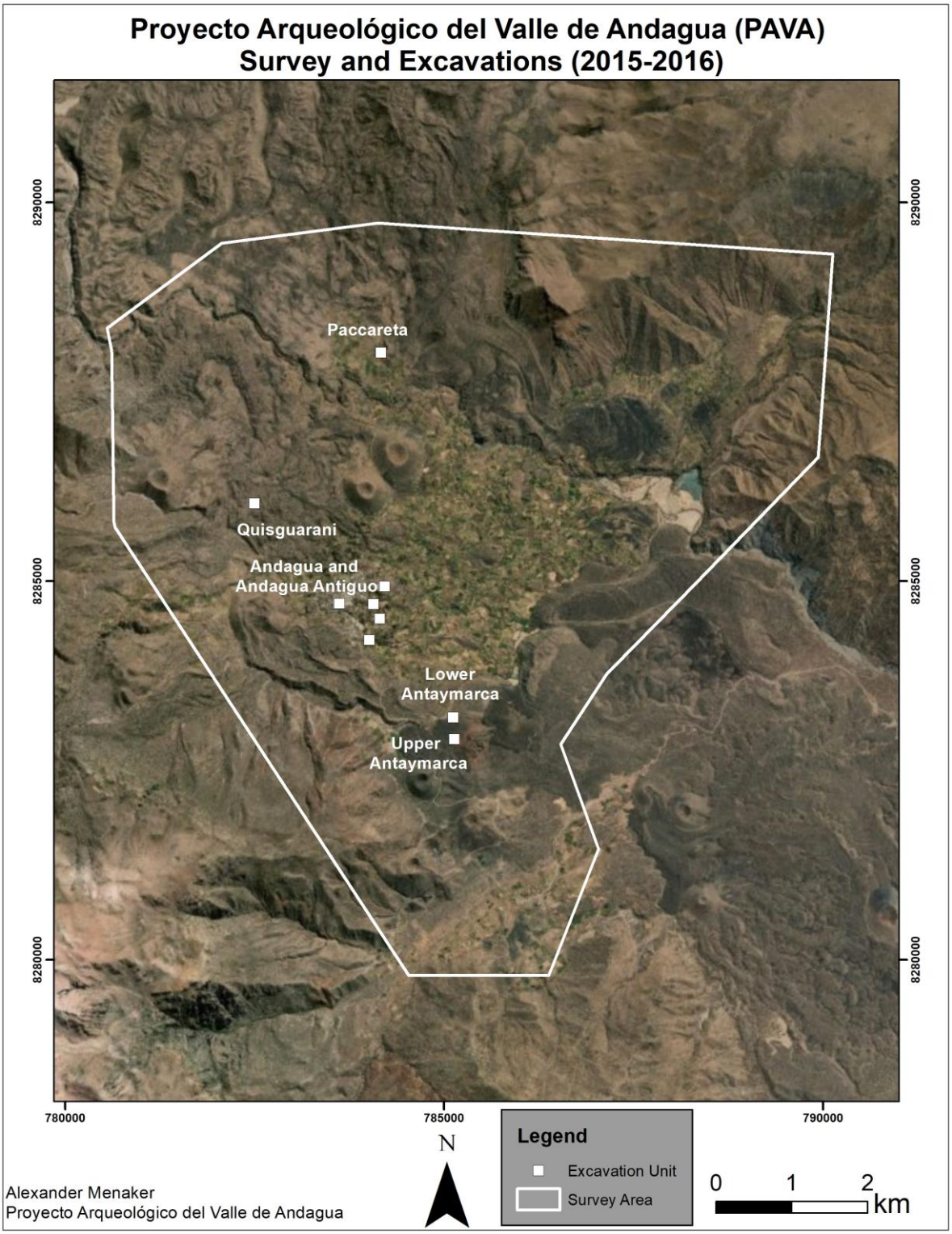


Figure 1.5: Map of Study area and excavation units

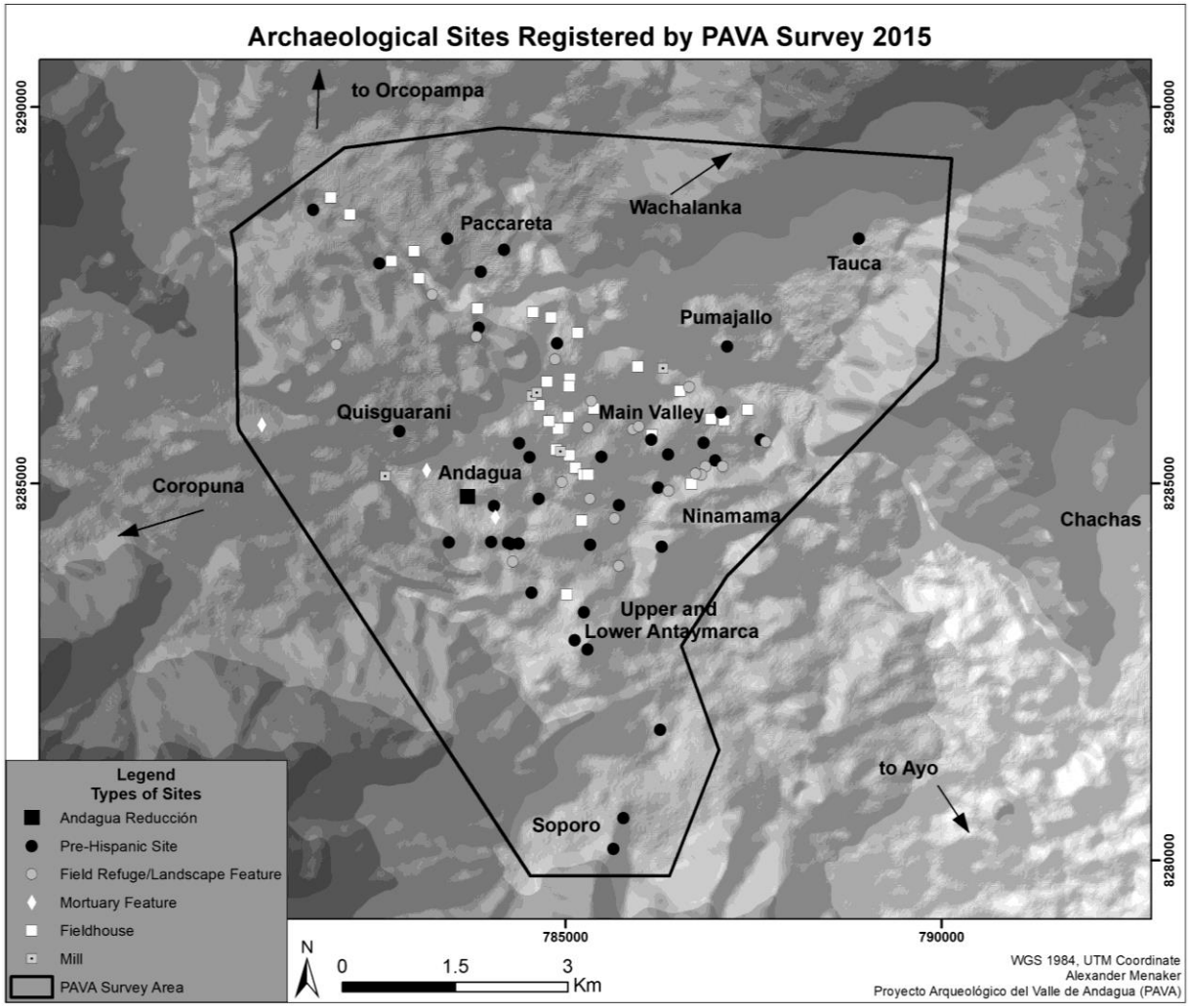


Figure 1.6: Map of archaeological sites registered during PAVA survey. For this map, the site types are broadly categorized as: "*reducción* of Andagua" marking the contemporary town; "pre-Hispanic sites," which encompasses pre-Inka *llaqta* and Inka sites, as well as, pre-Hispanic artifact scatters and features; "field refuges and landscape features" includes possibly re-purposed agro-mortuary features and caves; "mortuary features" are discrete pre-Hispanic tomb sites associated with human remains; "field houses" are stand-alone post-contact constructions; and "mills" are field houses dedicated to exploiting water resources (see appendix for detailed inventory of sites).

The research design used the contemporary town of Andagua as a place of residence without having to camp for extended time or rely on transportation to carry out fieldwork and survey. In the case of survey, often we were able to begin transects radiating out from the contemporary town, following UTM coordinates at intervals ranging from 25m – 50m across N–S and E–W axes. Walking from the contemporary town descending into the valley, we intersected

with the daily local rhythms of the spheres of practice of ritual and labor that shape residents' lived experiences. While following transects, we documented the numerous paths and features that articulate with the anthropogenic landscape. Many of these paths have been recently bulldozed to create larger roads for vehicles, such as tractors to till fields. Still many fields remain unreachable to machines and local farmers rely on plows led by large bulls and/or corporate (family) labor for foot plowing (usually with a shovel, not a traditional foot plow or *chakitaqlla*). During survey, project members kept their eyes directed at the ground while tracking the heights of the lava flows and hillsides for indications of past and present cultural activities. In the pursuit of full coverage, systematic pedestrian survey team members traversed stone walls, climbed steep terrace walls and evaded threatening bad-tempered bulls. I am grateful for the curiosity and respect team members carried with them towards the work, land and people of Andagua.

The project completed comprehensive analyses of artifacts, specifically ceramics and lithics, to produce foundational bottom-up data of portable material culture that provides insight into cultural practices in Andagua. While recognizing the limits of pottery styles as indices of cultural identity, this work examines communities of practice across time and space, manifest in the granular traces and molecular composition of material culture. Drawing from Wernke's comprehensive ceramic analysis approach (2003, 2013), the project documented an array of ware and design characteristics including paste, firing, vessel form, slip, decoration, surface finishes and additional characteristics.[1] In dialogue with a suite of archaeological evidence, the broad extent of the artifact collection allowed us to distinguish temporal markers, from early ceramic production of the Soporo pottery style through the development of pre-Inka inhabitation, presence of Inka expansion, and through post-contact with Spanish colonialism into the recent past. Through an

[1] Given the extensive collection size, work is in progress to offer a bottom-up review of ware patterns and detailed communities of practice, and with plans for future archaeometric research and clay sourcing.

emplaced perspective (Wernke 2013) and expanding beyond an artifact-based approach (Stanish 1992), this work attends to archaeological contexts and the material formation of places imbued with meaning and authority that constituted the landscape, such as *llaqta, wak'a* and *wank'a* (discussed below). This dissertation investigates how local identities and senses of regionality came to form through people's lived experiences in Andagua in the *longue-durée*.

We formally registered several archaeological features as sites that could have served as agro-mortuary features. Today many have been repurposed through the recent past as field refuges. The project documented limited human remains in the valley, associated with agro-mortuary features. As I discuss later in the chapter on Spanish colonialism, and elsewhere (Menaker 2019), these were subject to campaigns of state violence. During survey we would document a rib bone or fragments, a mandible, and in limited cases crania, but we did not document any human remains *in situ* nor collect any human remains through the course of the project. Archaeological occupations have a greater density of mortuary features, and while disturbed, in many cases we did document partially articulated bodies with spinal columns and visible soft tissue, but most cases were disarticulated remains. It is difficult to identify the specific activities and processes that explain present absences. Consequently, there is always the challenge of distinguishing an empty rock outcrop or landscape feature from a cultural monument if there is little social evidence. We encounter these places with little traces, trying to reconstruct a complex past and multiple explanations for how things came to be – known as the problem of equifinality in archaeology (Johnson 2010: 102). Further bound to the present is how my presence as an archaeologist to recover *a* past – was made possible through the processes of Spanish colonialism and a landscape of contemporary nation-states. Our projects then are always tangled with the tensions of history and more complicated than objectively reconstructing *the* past.

Figure 1.7: A cross faces east, overlooking the contemporary town of Andagua constructed as a *reducción* based on an urban grid form

Towards an Archaeology of Llaqtas

My approach to long-term residence in Andagua bears analytical consideration since it facilitated the development of a *llaqta*-centered approach to archaeological and anthropological research.[2] *Llaqta* is often glossed as "town" or "pueblo," with the earliest references in the Dominican priest Domingo de Santo Tomás' (2006 [1560]) and Jesuit priest González Holguín's

[2] Today *Maucallacta*/*Machullaqta* (glossed as "old town") is a common name for abandoned sites on the landscape. This name highlights the relational aspects of *llaqtas*. Though, it is worth noting that this can gloss over salient historical processes, from the effects of Spanish colonialism and the dynamic pre-Hispanic pasts beyond Inka state expansion. Archaeologically, many of these Machullaqta settlements, are relatively "young" or recent in terms of chronology, and are usually abandoned Inka and/or Spanish settlements, as in the case of the Inka administrative settlement of Machullaqta on the other side of Coropuna (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000) and Machullaqta in the Colca Valley. In the case of Andagua, we did not document any sites named Machullaqta, with the sites of Andagua ("Old Andagua"), Paccareta, Soporo and others older than many of the sites.

(1989 [1608]: 207) Spanish-Quechua dictionaries and lexicons. But such a description is insufficient in defining *llaqta*, since there are dozens of additional entries referring to *llaqta* involving issues of identity, socio-political authority and power, as well as, varying ontological categories and practices. In González Holguín's 1608 lexicon, these include, but are not limited to "*llactayoc*" (*llaqtayuq*) defined as a "natural, inhabitant or neighbor", as well as, "*llactayoc apo,*" which was translated to "lord of the town" (1989 [1608]: 207). Santo Tomás offered definitions to *llaqta* that include: a "citizen of some city" ("*ciudadano de alguna ciudad*"), "earth" ("*tierra*"), and "cast to its nature" ("*echado a su naturaleza*") (2006 [1560]: 275–276). "*Llacta llactacta puric,*" according to González Holguín, on the other hand, translates to "pilgrim," ("*peregrino*") and *puriy* means 'to walk,' affirming *llaqta's* role in belonging and place-making through inhabitation, regional movement and ceremonial practices (1989 [1608]: 207).

Llaqta is also found in reference to *purum llaqta*, which is listed as "ruined, abandoned town" (González Holguín 1989 [1608]: 297). *Purum* was a value laden term that would serve as a civilizing narrative for the Inka (Covey 2011), exemplified by the phrase "*purum runa poques*" which characterizes "savage barbarians without law or King" (González Holguín 1989 [1608]: 297). Accordingly, *llaqta* were central to social life and legitimacy in the pre-Hispanic Andes. In his introduction to the 1608 Quechua manuscript, which includes the origin histories of *llaqtas,* Frank Salomon writes about the "Llaqta: 'village' as cultic and territorial unit:"

> Even now llaqta is essentially the name of a relationship, not of a type of settlement. Like ayllu, the term implies no particular scale. In modern Quechua one calls any unit from one's hamlet to one's country 'my llaqta.' Since the word gives no suggestion of size, either demographic or spatial, the manuscript usually leaves us guessing as to whether a given llaqta is a hamlet, village, town, city, region, or country. The answer will come, if at all, from archaeological work as yet undone. Most of the actions in the myths seem from context to concern agricultural villages, and in most cases we have glosses llaqta as 'village'. But 'town,' 'city', 'region', and 'country' are hardly out of the question. When one visits the immense ruined city of Cajamarquilla, within the space of the manuscript but predating it, one wonders if

> the mythic scene could not have been far more urban than generally imagined. (Salomon 1991: 24)

We can thus understand a *llaqta* as not only a bounded occupational site or location, but embodying multi-scalar relationships forged through local populations' dynamic engagements and practices with the landscape and each other across time (Salomon 1991).

Although irrevocably transformed by Spanish colonialism, Andagua is one of several *llaqtas* that demonstrates human occupation since early sedentism (referred to as the Formative Period, approx. 1500 BC – 500 AD), and articulates with the broader landscape. Archaeology is well suited to study *llaqta*s considering that there was no form of writing in the Andes, where socio-historical relationships are marked on the landscape. Embodying the emergence of authority and meaning, *llaqtas* are composed of an assemblage of material remains produced through generations of human life. These include agricultural infrastructure (terraces and canals), architecture, mortuary features, plazas, monoliths (*wank'a*), and an array of portable material culture, including ceramics and lithics, in particular painted tablets and discs. Through the application of multiple archaeological methods across the landscape we traced the production, circulation and deposition of material life in the Andagua Valley made through millennia of human inhabitation, forming the foundations of an archaeology of *llaqta*s.

Llaqta emerged through communities of practice, *ayllu*, buoyed by forms of kinship to organize life, labor, ritual and death in the pre-Hispanic Andes, and continue in varying ways today. The post-contact and contemporary *ayllu*, for instance, may have been a colonial invention as indigenous people adapted to the trauma of life after the Spanish invasion. Moreover, *ayllu* has become so elastic that it often flattens historical difference, with research highlighting the limits of archaeologically identifying the *ayllu* in the pre-Hispanic past (Covey and Quave 2017; Kolata 2013). For Andagua, the term *ayllu* does not appear in the historical record, while the term *linaje*

(lineage) is used to describe familial relationships to deceased humans that were subject to the state violence of Spanish colonialism during the 18th century in one of the latest known cases of mummy worshipping and ancestor veneration in the Andes (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). While aware that the term and concept of *ayllu* is historically dynamic and regionally variable, *ayllu* as forms of reckoning kinship and social relations were integral to shaping the pre-Hispanic landscape in non-state contexts.

The *ayllu* has been defined as a social group organized through an idiom of kinship that shares a common ancestor (mythical or actual) that is subject to veneration, as well as, shared inhabitation and corporate resources such as land and water (Isbell 1997: 98-99; Salomon 1991). *Ayllu* members claimed descent from a hierarchy of sacred features (*wak'as*) grounded in the landscape (e.g. Goldstein 2015; Isbell 1997; Mantha 2009; Nielsen 2008; Wernke 2013). Through generations of life in a landscape over the long-term, local populations had on-going relations with the dead. Mortuary features served as markers of identity and helped to create a landscape that linked the ancestral to the geological. Kinship and identity were determined and expressed through reciprocity and obligation in the form of labor and food – which were also offered to the recently deceased that occupied the hierarchy of *wak'as* (Gose 1994, 2008; Isbell 1997; Salomon 1987; Spalding 1984). The *ayllu* cannot be simply characterized as a patriarchal lineage system. Bilateral lineages played key roles in socio-political authority throughout the pre-Hispanic Andes, including with the Inka *panaqa* (mentioned below). With an economy of exchange and gift-giving, bride-price was integral to *ayllu* practices, kinship ties and alliances, with women also gaining rights to land, labor and *ayllu* membership (The Inka would further incorporate the ayllu and bride-price and marriage alliances) (Silverblatt 1987: 222–223).

While *ayllu* has been extensively debated, there is a relatively smaller discussion of *llaqta*. This research then puts forth studying *llaqta* as an archaeological approach to understand regional processes of social relations, inhabitation and cultural practices in the Southern Peruvian Andes.[3] I argue that it is anthropologically salient to show how community life unfolded at village sites over time as subsistence practices developed and people domesticated the landscape surrounding the settlements. In Andagua there is no archaeological evidence of a pre-Inka state, with this work refining our knowledge of local socio-historical practices and relationships with the landscape in these contexts. An archaeology of *llaqtas* examines how subjects come to form by making a place and ordering the landscape, with research in Andagua investigating how autochthonous social groups inhabited the landscape through the pre-Inka past and under successive state regimes (Pauketat 2007; Smith 2003).

Assumptions Matter

Meaning-making, or semiosis, is not composed of abstract signs separate from the material world. With this research dedicated to understanding meaning-making and the authority to determine the meanings of people and things, it is important to be explicit about what set of assumptions I am using when I refer to meaning and signs. My approach to semiosis contrasts with Saussurean semiotics that assumes the separation between signifier and signified. The enduring

[3] Isbell (1997) is one of the few archaeologists to substantively address *llaqta* and *ayllu*, and it is perhaps worth noting that my approach to *llaqta* and *ayllu* differ from Isbell's in a few key ways. For instance, in contrast to Isbell's emphasis of *llaqta* as ceremonial sites of pilgrimage, archaeological evidence in Andagua suggests *llaqta* were primary sites of inhabitation over the long-term, while acknowledging there was considerable movement among the sites. *Llaqta* were not only occupied extensively, but composed of multiple forms of infrastructure, architecture and features, as well as, artifacts associated with a range of practices. Moreover, while open sepulchers may be one marker of *ayllu* (kinship-based) organization, as Isbell argues, mortuary features, such as these, are not the only archaeological indication of *ayllus*. Lastly, research in Andagua suggests non-state, decentralized authority throughout the pre-Inka past indicative of forms of *ayllu* social organization. The particular history and explanation of the *ayllus* of Andagua are apparently independent from and earlier than Isbell's claim of the *ayllu*'s diffusion from the northern Peruvian Andes to southern Peruvian Andes around the Late Intermediate Period.

dualisms of signifier and signified and subject and object informs representational theory and often results in an isomorphic (linear) interpretation between things and meaning (Keane 2003, 2005). Saussure's (and Levi-Strauss') legacy would reverberate in the Andes with the influence of structuralism. His legacy is manifest in *lo andino*, which presupposes a timeless Andean subject and an essentialization of cultural difference that can be documented through a suite of material practices (Jamieson 2005; Orta 2004; Van Buren 1996). Assuming an isomorphic relation between things and meanings, identity (of the Other) is thus transparent (e.g. Deloria 1968). In recent years, archaeology has embraced the distinct set of assumptions of Peircean semiotics that regard meaning-making as a fundamentally material process (e.g. Bauer 2002; Chase 2015; Crossland 2014; Preucel 2010; Preucel and Bauer 2002; Wernke 2011).[4]

Expanding beyond symbolic meaning and distinct from representational theory that is based upon a subject-object dualism, Peircean semiotics uses a triadic schema of *symbol* (rule), *icon* (resemblance) and *index* (actual connection) to explain cultural logics and practices (Keane 2003, 2005). This approach is effective for analyzing human accounts of, and social life in, the Andes (see also Coben 2006; Durston 2007; Salomon 2004).[5] This includes viewing signification as an open-ended, nonlinear process that recognizes the polysemic potency of things (bundling) and "entails sociability, struggle, historicity, and contingency" (Keane 2005: 186). Beyond signs, Peircean semiology gives space for the possibility of immanent futures and lingering pasts of life that encompasses a range of knowledge and affect indicative of a world that is not reducible to dead matter.

[4] Peircean semiotics is the foundation of pragmatism (pragmaticism, as Peirce called it). William James is often credited for the philosophy, though his explication differs from Peirce and without Peirce's approval (Preucel 2010).

[5] Moreover, there are limits to such Peircean reconstructions since (and alluded to earlier) some things are lost to the past as the "interpretants" (or subjects) of the archaeological past cannot inform us of the primary meaning of the sign. Thus we are left facing a polysemic, "bundle," of things with possible meanings.

This framework enables describing Andean categories that do not correspond to the signifier–signified and subject–object dualisms (Chase 2015). Such a distinction does not lie in the things themselves, but results from historical and cultural configurations that order people and things, subjects and objects. While not reducible to cultural schema, contemporary being in the world is framed by modern categorical dichotomies of myth and history, nature and culture, European and Indigenous, domination and resistance, and so on. Peircean semiotics, consequently, allows for eschewing the dead-end dualisms of modern thought (Keane 2003, 2007; Stewart 2007). Embracing an archaeological perspective, this approach attends to how assumptions come to matter and have material consequences; reality is fundamentally mediated and constituted by the material world.

History is not an abstract process detached from the present but intimately tied to power (e.g. Benjamin 1968; Gramsci 1971; Hanks 2008; Keane 2003, 2007; Trouillot 1995, 2003). In his eloquent history of the "unthinkable" Haitian rebellion in the late 18th century, Michel-Rolph Trouillot detailed how the "sociohistorical process is inherently material (historicity 1)," "and sets the stage for future historical narratives (historicity 2)" (1995: 29). We take for granted the material conditions of the first moment of history (Marx 1978 [1852]; Trouillot 1995). History starts with the biological tissue of our being and imbricated relations with the material world, at once singular and partible through time (Salomon 2015; Trouillot 1995). History is the struggle to determine the meaning of things – human bodies – over time (Benjamin 1968; Chakrabarty 2000).

To further account for the relations of words and things, I attend to power in the story to explain how semiotic ideologies – assumptions about the proper relations of words, things and practices – can become hegemonic and shape social worlds. In this vein, I provide an archaeology of Andagua in the sense of a Foucauldian genealogy to locate my own research in the tangled

legacies that traverse pre-Hispanic, colonial and contemporary nation-state (neo-colonial or postcolonial) contexts (Foucault 1971, 1972, 1976, 1977). Reality, however, is not only composed of discursive registers. Rather, our being in time is intrinsically tied to our material existence, which is the traditional domain of archaeology. Thus, beyond critically investigating the discursive formations of the modern world, archaeological research in the Andagua Valley investigates the earliest human occupations in the Andes and emergence of local cultural identities and relations with the landscape. Through recognizing the materiality of our existence, my work is inspired by research that is dedicated to critically examining issues of history, power, inequality, representation and social difference that view demystification as necessary for striving towards a more socially just and equitable world (e.g. Battle-Baptiste 2011; Franklin 2001; Oland et al. 2012). This approach informs my research of the local populations residing in the Andagua Valley, which have been subject to sustained efforts of coercion and state violence that resonates through the present and subsumes difference into universal narratives.

Forms of Power and Hegemony

From early inhabitation and subsequent socio-historical contexts, there existed varying forms of power and authority. This ranged from social power and knowledge capable of exploiting and domesticating a landscape to interpersonal coercion and violence under the guise of modern states. The Andagua Valley was characterized by decentralized political authority throughout the pre-Inka past, which would come to form a landscape marked by *llaqta*, *wak'a*, *paqarina* constituting a range of actors and sovereigns (discussed below). Approaching sovereignty in practice – rather than as a universal, abstract order – allows for understanding the institutional and dynamic production of authority beyond state forms, such as kinship, and considering human's

imbricated relations with non-human forces and the material landscape. Archaeological research has emphasized the importance of studying the historical practices and socio-cultural milieu that shape how subjection and authorization are produced. Subjects form communities of practice emerging through historical and material practices that make and assemble places, grounding human interactions in the landscape (e.g. Abrams 1977; Kosiba 2010, 2015; Kus and Raharijaona 1997; Smith 2003, 2004, 2011; Van Valkenburgh 2012).

The Andagua valley offers a unique setting for the long-term comparative study of how states and empires are epistemic regimes that claim absolute sovereignty and seek to create subjects through varying material and discursive techniques and strategies, including transforming local landscapes and cultural practices to legitimize their social orders. State and imperial projects, however, are incomplete and become entangled with local practices and the stubborn materiality of history (Alcock et al. 2001; Covey et al. 2013; D′Altroy 1992; Feinman and Marcus 1998; Mann 2012; Silliman 2005; Sinopoli 1994). Despite claims of independence (and equality for all), colonial legacies endured and new tensions would emerge with the contradictions of the post-colonial nation states. In Andagua, community members identify their greatest epoch of subjugation and struggle during the contemporary Peruvian state.

To analytically understand power, it is important to note that power is not a thing to be possessed, but a relationship that is motivated by emergent needs (Mann 2012). Recognizing the heterogeneous and institutional composition of societies, "power is not a singular phenomenon, but originates from multiple sources and distributed across multiple networks" (Covey et al. 2013: 538), thus allowing for multi-causal explanations. Power can both be instrumental and capillary, integral to the capacity to command others as well as establishing the conditions for the order of things and distribution of the sensible (e.g. Demarrais et al. 1997; Foucault 1977; Mann 2012;

Ranciere 2010). Power is not necessarily only a means of repression but a productive force for ordering the world (Brown 1995; Smith 2003). Power operates through the dialectic of coercion and persuasion. Authority requires both power and legitimacy, involving "the power to direct others, and the recognition of the legitimacy of these commands" (Smith 2003: 108). Ideological power (Mann 2012) is integral to hegemonic processes that involve the institutionalization and legitimization of political domination, "in which the interests pursued by a regime are perceived by subjects to coincide with their own interests" (Smith 2003: 109).

Ideological power, most evident in religious as well as secular movements, can be a compelling force to persuade and dominate as the knowledge and claims offered cannot be definitively tested by experience. Ideologies consist of the social organization of "categories of meaning," "norms" ("shared understandings of how people should act morally in their relations with each other"), and aesthetics and "ritual practices" (Mann 2012: 22). While ideologies and ideological power "always contain legitimations of private interests and material domination," powerful ideologies must conform to, and be plausible in, the conditions of the time (Mann 2012: 23). Consequently, ideological power is more dependent upon "diffused power," and involves an "understanding that the practices are natural or moral or result from self-evident common interests," and contrasts to the practices of command and obedience requisite of "authoritative power" (Mann 2012: 8). Such distinctions between diffused and authoritative power correspond to Nye's notion of "soft" and "hard power," and further emphasize the distinct empirical signatures of varying power relations (Nye 2004).

Kolata's (2013) analysis of the Inka offers a refined heuristic for identifying forms of hegemony – the process of establishing political domination – and which overlap with the above notions of power. While not ideal types, the three types of hegemonic processes include laminar

hegemony and two forms of viral hegemony, strategic and idiomatic. Laminar hegemony "reflects the militaristic logic and logistics of empire" (Kolata 2013: 17) similar to Mann's military power and authoritative power as well as Nye's hard power. Aware of the threats of the state, such as in the form of the institutional deployment of police, "the performative behavior of subjects is strategically mimetic" under laminar hegemony (ibid: 18). Pottery and portable material culture may have limited presence with laminar hegemony involving the construction of new settlements, often laid out in grids to enhance the state's exploitation and subjugation of local landscapes and populations (ibid: 17). In the case of Andagua, grid plans under the auspices of the Inka and Spanish colonial state mark the landscape, such as the site of Quisguarani and the *reducción* of Andagua (discussed in chapters five and six, respectively). Laminar hegemony may result in being naturalized and a transforming into forms of viral hegemony (ibid: 17-18).

Strategic viral hegemony refers to the occurrence of an explicit political project that manifests itself in the dialectic of force and persuasion. Examples of strategic viral hegemony include the formation of "new communities of worship and social belonging as vehicles for the transformation of historical consciousness" (Kolata 2013: 21). "Idiomatic viral hegemony involves the naturalized or unquestioned acceptance of certain ways of being" (Kolata 2013: 21) and overlaps with Mann's ideological power and diffuse power. Like Mann's sociospatial analysis, empirical signatures of idiomatic viral hegemony include settlement patterns articulated around local authoritative places in a region, such as *llaqta*, with each authoritative place sharing certain key attributes. Empirical signatures of idiomatic viral hegemony are evident in the forms of pre-Inka *llaqta* – composed of "well-defined and delimited economic resources (e.g. irrigated agricultural terraces, exclusive pasturelands)" (Kolata 2013: 22), and in association with archaeological and architectural features (*wank'a* and mortuary complexes), site organization, as

well as, portable material culture and contexts, such as painted tablets and discs and pottery. To understand the nature, processes and effects of organizational sources of power and imperial statecraft depends upon the conditions of possibility based on historical, material, and local specificities; therefore, analyses must recognize and account for pre-existing structures of power, authority and rule and consider how state efforts articulated (or disarticulated) with local and subjugated populations.

From early human inhabitation of the valley, and the development of agro-pastoral intensification, people organized and identified through kinship and reciprocity. This is not necessarily to say that early inhabitation in Andagua was defined by egalitarian relationships, since age hierarchies and familial relationships still had forms of authority and power, such as a mother's relation to a child. *Ayni* and *minka* are two forms of social relations of production that exemplify different power relations during the pre-Inka past. *Ayni* is characterized as symmetrical reciprocity with little social or economic inequity while *minka* involves asymmetrical reciprocity (Isbell 1997: 118 – 120).[6] Scholars argue that *kurakas* (*curaca*) transformed *ayni* into *minka* in order to "construct institutionalized privilege and chiefly authority" during the late pre-Hispanic Andes. While archaeological research in Andagua cannot necessarily identify these historical moments of social relations, the pre-Inka *llaqta* landscape embodies non-state socio-political relations organized through forms of lineage and corporate identity. With Andagua as historically (and

[6] Some people today still organize fieldwork activities, such as planting and harvesting, through *ayni*. People call upon kin members, including distant cousins from neighboring towns of Chachas, providing food in exchange for labor assistance and the promise (or debt) of returning the gift of labor in the future. However, as demographic shifts continue with young and old alike moving from the rural highlands to urban areas, such as Arequipa and Lima, more people are having to rely on paid wage labor for assistance in fields from unrelated people in the valley. Or, people and family members who traditionally labored through *ayni* and reciprocity now prefer to be compensated in cash, as the national cash and market economy have strengthened their reach in Andagua while also residents are bound to broader political-economic landscapes.

contemporary) Quechua speaking area, we can continue to look to Spanish colonial Quechua terms that offer varying entries regarding forms of power, authority and placemaking.

In addition to *llaqtayuq apu*, *llaqtakamayuq* is another term joining *llaqta*, connoting authority and creation. *Llaqtakamayuq* was defined as "principle lieutenant of the *curaca* (lord), commander, or executor of what is commanded ["*Curaca teniente del principal, mandon, o executor de lo quel manda*"] (Gonzalez Holguín 1989 [1608]: 208). It is possible that a *llaqta* had more than one *kuraka* with a hierarchy (or heterarchy) of roles (with the *llaqta* inhabited by dual moieties, but further archaeological research is necessary to further explore the internal dynamics of *llaqta*). The term *kamayuq*, as defined by Gonzalez Holguín, refers to the "official, or administrator, who is in charge of estates, or some field" ("*Oficial, o mayordomo, el que tiene a su cargo haziendas, o alguna chacara*") (1989 [1608]: 48). The root *kamay* is also a multivalent term that provides insight into Quechua power and being, with G. Taylor defining *kamay* as "to animate, to impart specific form and force," (in Salomon 1998). Across the pre-Hispanic Andes, people did not distinguish between the immaterial and material, subject and object, body and soul, or at least in ways conforming to Western categories. *Kamayuq* brings into relief these differences, with *kamayuq* identified as people and administrators who worked with material things, such as *khipu kamayuq* (knotted-cord masters) (D'Altroy 2015: 7). In this way, *kamayuq* translated to master and implied a social dynamic, as relation of power and the capacity to craft objects and coax them into being (D'Altroy 2015: 418). It is also important to note that as we parse through these terms, we are reading across multiple historical filters, with these lexicons and dictionaries produced during Spanish colonialism (see also Durston 2007; Estenssoro 2003). These lexicons further reflect the effects of the Inka state, for instance, the *khipu kamayuq* were key administrators for the Inka state.

Distinct cultural logics informed the Inka and Spanish imperial programs exemplifying the drive of expansionary states to subjugate and exploit surrounding populations with ideologies legitimizing their rule. States and empires are internally specialized and hierarchically ordered, they administer and exploit diversity and claim absolute sovereignty over surrounding populations. However, centralization and institutionalization are processes that never fully realize absolute state sovereignty. Through recognizing the tensions and heterogeneity of states and empires it is important to study the processes and practices of empire-building and state relations (Alcock et al. 2001; Covey et al. 2013; D'Altroy 1992; Feinman and Marcus 1998; Mann 2012: 2; Sinopoli 1994). The tensions of local relations with expanding states manifest in an array of material culture embodied in the landscape as well as visible in the historical record and linguistic registers. This is seen in the dynamic landscape of the Andagua Valley composed of lava flows, volcanoes and anthropogenic features (e.g. terraces and canals), and named with toponyms, oral histories and Quechua vocabulary at the time of Spanish invasion.

The tensions of Inka imperial statecraft and forms of power are evident in the Quechua lexicon with how *kamayuq* was also incorporated by the Inka "to distinguish a wide range of specialists across agriculture, craft production and ritual performance" (Covey 2018: 57). *Kamachiy* further joined the administrative lexicon of the Inka, "which links government with creation (*cama*-), specifically the ability to make someone (or something) else create" (Covey 2018: 57). While the term, *atiy*, refers to the capacity to do something once, and *atipay* expands to invoke the "capacity to achieve a desired effect repeatedly or permanently" (*atipay*) (Covey 2018:57). These administrative terms highlight the decentralized nature of the power to create under the Inka state.

Yet the tensions of empire are brought into relief in contrast with the Inka distinguished as a sacred being, an absolute sovereign with universal authority. As Qhapaq Inka, he was a *wak'a* and son of the sun (Julien 2000; Ramirez 2005). *Qhapaq* was "more than king," following Julien (2000) and her reading of Betanzos (the term Sapa Inka means one and only, and overlaps with *qhapac*) (Julien 2000). Sources record how Pachacutec then claimed for *qhapaq* to be used on in reference to the Inka (see chapter five) (Ramirez 2005). The titular of Qhapaq extended to one of the founding Inka ancestor Manqo Qhapaq to *ayllus* of privilege at the time of Spanish invasion, Qhapaq Ayllus (Alconini and Covey 2018; D′ Altroy 2015). *Qhapaq* was also then a form of status and position of power, including a dynastic line of descent that referred to class of people not a single individual (Julien 2000: 27). *Panaqa*, royal kin groups, were central to socio-political power relations of the empire, forging marriage alliances and developing regional infrastructure in concert with expansion of the state (Alconini and Covey 2018). Subject to Inka and Spanish reigns, research in Andagua looks at shifting forms of local and state power that produced overlapping histories of the valley that are not reducible to anthropocentric, modern and written registers. This dissertation investigates the reaches of states at their limits and relationships with local populations.

The contemporary town of Andagua was constructed as a Spanish colonial *reducción* through the forced resettlement of indigenous people. The forced relocation of Andean people into *reducciones* (nucleated settlements based on an urban grid), set in motion under Viceroy Francisco de Toledo in the 1570s, along with extensive campaigns to destroy Andean religion (extirpation of idolatry) were overlapping strategies of Spanish colonialism and evangelization to transform indigenous lives (Mills 1997). The program of *reducciones* was a "technique of amnesia," attempting to reconfigure Andean space (and time) involving the struggle over the place of the

human in the universe (Abercrombie 1998; Gose 2008). Rather than place the recently deceased in the hierarchy of Andean *wak'a* that dotted the landscape, under Spanish colonial rule bodies were to be located in the church placing the power of the cosmos in the central plaza.

In addition to the Spanish colonial construction, our archaeological research distinguished multiple, overlapping occupations in the town of Andagua consisting of local pre-Inka and non-Inka to Inka contexts. Throughout the Southern Peruvian Andes, the Spanish were only the latest to claim universal sovereignty. In Andagua, Inka imperial statecraft is manifest in how the Inka worked to re-orient local populations' relations with the landscape. Under the Inka socio-political authority was shifted from local *wak'a* and ritual locations in the southern edge of the contemporary town of Andagua, to the volcanic flows of *Ninamama* and the broader valley with the placement of an *ushnu* (ceremonial platform), and which now has a chapel for the *Virgen de Asunción* set atop. These places of historical importance endure through the present, but often with distinct significances.

As a nexus of social power and production, ritual and labor are subject to local, state and imperial efforts to incorporate and transform in order to legitimize particular social orders. Ritual and labor are archaeologically salient and socially transformative dimensions of human existence (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Brumfiel 2001; Fowles 2013; Gose 1994; Insoll 2004). The regional pre-Hispanic pasts exemplifies the imperative of archaeological histories to expand beyond the written record and eschew privileging modern ruptures. This research investigates how humans understand and make their place(s), imbued with meaning and authority, in the Andagua Valley through time. Though based upon different cultural logics, recognizing and harnessing the power of the material world is central to all human existence. This dissertation offers a robust multidisciplinary study of how histories come to matter.

Knowing and Belonging in the Universe: Mapping Histories of Sameness and Difference[7]

Recognizing how knowing and belonging are socio-historically situated and circumscribed, this work does not subjugate historical and contemporary difference into theoretical unification. This work critically examines universal claims at the expense of local knowledges informed by Western modern subjects and forms of place-making and social memory. While culture-history models serve as useful heuristic tools for archaeologists, they assume abstract universal time populated by essential subjects that are composed of epochs that follow sequentially leaving the past behind like chapters in a book (Boyarin 1994; Chakrabarty 2000; Dawdy 2010; Haraway 1991; Lamana 2008; Lucas 2005; Pauketat 2007; Smith 2003, 2004, 2011). However, there is no timeless, universal subject – armed with the same desires and motivations – independent of socio-historical contexts. Considering the limits of universal claims, this work partakes in what Dipesh Chakrabarty terms a "politics of despair" to offer:

> a history that deliberately makes visible, within the very structure of its narrative forms, its own repressive strategies and practices, the part it plays in collusion with the narratives of citizenships in assimilating to the projects of the modern state all other possibilities of human solidarity (Chakrabarty 2000: 45).

This involves writing from a place that constantly challenges universal epistemological assumptions and prejudices. In the case of the modern world – the current predicament we find ourselves in – requires questioning the radical separation and abstraction of subjects and objects that enable the disenchantment of the universe, with Man as its Master (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002). Violence, and the threat thereof, plays a "decisive role in the establishment of meaning, in the creation of truth regimes, in deciding as it were, whose and which 'universal' wins" (Chakrabarty 2000: 43).

[7] The term "map of history" is drawn from Orta's (2004: 30) ethnography of the Bolivian Andes in his brief archaeological and historical review of the Andes to explain how the commonalities and differences across the Andes are made through time and embodied in the landscape.

Writing in the shadow of the Holocaust, Horkheimer and Adorno's integral work *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* builds upon scholars critical of the Enlightenment and Modern projects. They challenge the exceptionalism and myths of the Enlightenment that claim to be dedicated to "liberating human beings from fear and installing them as masters" of the world (Horkheimer and Adorno 2002: 1). The modern project of disenchantment espoused "to dispel myths, to overthrow fantasy with knowledge" and involved the "extirpation of animism" (multiple gods) to replace it with an all-knowing and abstract Man made in the image a singular god (ibid: 2). Despite such declarations of emancipation, they note how the "the wholly enlightened earth is radiant with triumphant calamity" (ibid: 1).[8] On the way, disenchantment insisted on its exculpation of meaning, reducing the world to dead matter of cause and effect, something which social scientists have long found problematic (e.g. Horkeimer and Adorno 2002; Mauss 1990 [1950]). Critical of the false promises of the enchantments of modernity and capitalism, scholars, artists and activists turn to Walter Benjamin's writings that critically traced and documented the "aura" of human life and death that could not be reduced to a disenchanted world of inert things (Buck-Morss 1989). Moreover, critical of linear, abstract historiography, Benjamin's "dialectical image" involving the juxtaposition of historical contexts has served as a productive framework to bring into question claims of the inevitability of contemporary social orders.

In this dissertation I show how this was not an abstract process, but a fundamentally historical and material (archaeological) trajectory made possible through the coercive and violent projects of Spanish colonialism and Christian evangelization that reverberates through the present constellation of nation-states. I wield a bevy of foundational empirical research, grounded in archaeological, ethnohistoric and ethnographic methods and data to demonstrate the socio-

[8] With the advent of the internet and the possibility to bear witness from across the world, in addition to the novelty of now, it seems like we wake up to horrifying tragedies daily.

historical possibilities of human life beyond our modern projects. As the site of early modern colonial projects and the formation of the Renaissance, the Andes offers an important space to explore the historical emergence and limits of our modern world, examining the production of subjects and objects and the struggles to define the place and determine the meanings of humans (e.g. Mignolo 1995; Pagden 1982; White 1978). Intended to eschew subsuming historical difference, an archaeology of *llaqta* investigates the historical formation of pre-Hispanic landscape, while further investigating the historical processes of Spanish colonialism and enduring legacies in the present that make possible our contemporary socio-political relations of knowing and belonging.

Frank Salomon's (1982) characterization of Spanish colonial Andean narratives as "chronicles of the impossible," such as Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, captures a genre's capacity to show the limits, arbitrariness and socio-historical formations of our cultural categories and modes of explaining the world. This work brings into relief the socio-historical limits of state taxonomies and the "oppositional politics of state recognition" (a project de la Cadena characterizes as a proposal to inspire "utopian postplural politics") (2015: 34). Attending to the plurality of our being in time, I offer a "map of history" of the Andagua Valley to recognize a landscape of difference marked by *wak'a* and *llaqta* (and a range of forces) that allows for a dynamic form of historiography. Rather than assume the abstract separation of subjects and objects, this research seeks to understand the formation of places and landscapes brought to presence through material practices "because 'disenchantment' is not the only principle by which people world the earth" (Chakrabarty 2000: 111). This includes juxtaposing two narratives of deep time based on distinct cultural logics that seek to explain the world of Andagua. These accounts also exemplify the tensions of universal sovereignty (of states

and empires) and that of local authority and difference (chapter two). These include modern anthropocentric accounts of the Andagua Valley, demonstrated by early 20th century explorers ("men of science") (Denevan 1993) and another involving a struggle between a suprahuman Inka and local regional features who served the volcanic peak of Coropuna.

Knowing and belonging in the universe is a question of identity. While acknowledging the limits of identity, scholars have refined our understanding, emphasizing the process of identity formation and the embodied self. Accordingly, identity is produced through a web of meaning and authority, with the body as a nexus of categorization and self-understanding; it is thus performative, aesthetic and deeply affective (e.g. Cooper and Brubaker 2005; Fisher and O'Hara 2009; Orta 2004; Smith 2003, 2004, 2011; Voss 2008a, 2008b). Identity is multi-scalar as the embodied self is neither singular nor static, entangled in broader cultural, historical and fundamentally material processes. Identity is formed through practice informed by pragmatic and multi-scalar consideration of the universe and mark places that give order to the landscape and shape senses of regionality (e.g. Lock and Farquhar eds. 2007; Orta 2004; Richard 2012; Salomon 2015; Stewart 2007, 2013). Through a bottom-up archaeological study in dialogue with historical and ethnographic evidence, research in Andagua demonstrates how local communities of practice organized through kinship across multiple scales of space and time giving form to *llaqtas*.

This research examines the archaeological formation of social life in the Andagua Valley over the *longue-durée*, from the emergence of local settlements to the articulation of regional identities and social hierarchies. Throughout the pre-Hispanic past, identity and political authority in Andagua were defined by kinship and though local and historically emergent, it was not necessarily bound territorially (Goldstein 2015; Masuda et al. 1985). Recognizing the plurality of human life, local populations reckoned multiple origins for humanity (Durston 2007; Mannheim

1991). As such, identity was not locally ethnocentric. Scholars of the late pre-Hispanic Andes argue how cosmologies were based upon segmentary forms of power, radiating from cosmic domains across a hierarchy of *wak'as* that made up the landscape. *Wak'a* were loci of power and wealth, life and death, with social groups claiming emergence from local and regional features that were origin places (*paqarinas*), such as caves, springs and rock outcrops to the large volcanic peaks of Coropuna and mountains of Wachalanka surrounding Andagua.

These social forms and cultural practices are manifest in the archaeological, historical and anthropological records, along with traces of state strategies and effects from Inka expansion to subsequent regimes. In addition to the anthropogenic and archaeological landscape, this is exemplified by the non-anthropocentric account of Inka expansion into the valley, with Coropuna and Wachalanka as protagonists, where volcanoes wage wars and the Inka's urination impregnates Wachalanka. This contrasts to (European) universalizing Christian cosmologies and language ideologies, and is evident in the differences between the Inka and Spanish imperial projects (Durston 2007; Mannheim 1991). Research in Andagua demonstrates that forms of historical registers shaped by kinship and the social-historical emergence of *llaqta* are not reducible to modern homogeneous periodization of continuous time that was made possible through the coercion and violence of European imperialism and Christian evangelization (Benjamin 1968; Smith 2011).

Recognizing the limits of translating difference and universal claims, I do not seek to cross-categorize and analyze *wak'a* or *primacia*, such as *Ninamama*, as having agency in a contemporary sense. To do so would eschew the "dilemma of terminology" (Mills 1997) with translation flattening the socio-historic difference of terms (Mannheim and Salas 2015). Consequently, in exploring humans' relations with the landscape and forces beyond the individual, I am not claiming

the same form of social agency where a non-human feature intentionally sought particular outcomes among human and social concerns. This is not to say stone and water are static, but that they do not strive to determine meaning-worlds in the same way that social agency conveys. Indeed, to claim that mountains are agents in the world, in the same way as (modern) individuals, is ultimately dismissive of Andean people's struggle over and capacity to make meaning in the world (Mannheim and Salas 2015). In contrast, through an archaeological perspective this work examines the formation of collective identities and social reproduction that are not reducible to modern categories informed by individual human exceptionalism. In the Andagua Valley where volcanoes once waged wars, according to local oral histories, I ask, how does matter come to matter?

The dilemma of sameness and difference, universal and particular, dialectically animate social life. These tensions of the human condition recursively shape the relations of discursive registers (words/language) and material life (things) to make the world cohere. Informed by broader postcolonial (and decolonizing) efforts, I write from a position of the "politics of despair," highlighting the limits of demystification and the socio-historical emergence of universal epistemological claims. I employ a genealogical and dialectical method to excavate the assumptions that manifest contested and emergent pasts, presents and futures and make present the plurality of being in time (e.g. Benjamin 1968; Chakrabarty 2000). A map of history exhibits how subjects come to form across time and space through the production of places imbued with meaning and authority that give order to the world.

Organization of the Dissertation

In this first chapter, drawing from a range of influences I recognized the socio-historical conditions of knowledge production and dilemmas of human experiences characterizing this work as a journey. This research approaches semiosis (meaning-making) as fundamentally material processes, which is useful for studying the struggle to determine meaning and authority over things across time and space. Rather than subjugate (cultural and historical) difference to universal narratives in the Andagua Valley I embrace a "politics of despair" to offer the groundwork for a map of history. Producing a map of history, this work presences how particular subjects and identities come to form through the production of places assembling landscapes that give order to the world. I described disciplinary and analytical assumptions to write nuanced and inclusive histories exploring the tensions of anthropology, archaeology and history. Through multidisciplinary research and an archaeological perspective, my dissertation offers a novel approach using an assemblage of methods to yield foundational data and insight into local populations' relations with the landscape and the production of knowledge and social memories in non-state and state contexts throughout time. Exploring how matter comes to matter, the remainder of the dissertation traces the formations, circulations and relationships of subjects and objects and words and things from early sedentism through the recent past in the Andagua Valley.

In chapter two, *Making the World and Finding the Human*, I offer an archaeology of mythohistories, juxtaposing a local, non-anthropocentric, oral history chronicling a battle among regional *wak'as* and the interloping Inka, with Modern Western scientific accounts of the Andagua Valley. Rather than locate local oral histories outside of time, re-inscribing some universal abstract temporal order I present local Andean registers to work towards understanding a world made through relationships with *wak'a* and *llaqta*. The chapter further traces novel and enduring colonial

narratives espoused by 19th and 20th century explorers visiting the Andagua Valley that take their cultural particulars as universal at the expense of local knowledges. The chapter then presents geological and environmental research on the valley, demonstrating how this growing knowledge overlaps with local Andean socio-historical forms of knowledge. This work affirms how we can learn more about the world together.

Chapter three, *Becoming Local*, examines early human settlement in the Valley with the site of Soporo and the eponymous ceramic style characterized as the earliest ceramic production in the region and an index of Formative ceramic sequences (Neira Avendaño 1998; Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas 2000). Through systematic archaeological research in the Andagua Valley, this chapter discusses new evidence of the "Soporo" style distributed across the valley and associated with several significant archaeological occupations (*llaqtas*). Beyond documenting the regional presence of the Soporo pottery I review the formation of a complex material assemblage demonstrative of local cultural practices of early sedentism. The archaeological evidence includes agricultural infrastructure, architectural features and mortuary practices, stone monoliths (*wank'a*) and material culture such as painted stone and ceramic discs and tablets. Re-evaluating approaches towards conceptualizing identity and artifact interpretation in the Southern Peruvian Andes, this chapter archaeologically traces the relational emergence of meaning and authority. From early sedentism through the pre-Inka past, local inhabitants in the Andagua Valley organized through kinship independent of a state, making an assemblage of places imbued with meaning and authority that order the landscape.

Chapter four, *Towards an Archaeology of Llaqtas,* continues building a map of history with a detailed presentation of the archaeological research of the regional pre-Inka archaeological landscape of the Andagua Valley. With no evidence of the regional pre-Inka states of Tiwanaku

and Wari, local social organization was characterized by the decentralized non-state authority of kinship before Inka expansion. Expanding beyond early sedentism, this research further examines pre-Inka archaeological occupations to understand the relational formation of *llaqtas* across time and space in the valley. Archaeological evidence was produced through multiple methods, from regional full coverage pedestrian survey, excavations, and aerial mapping to produce the foundations of a comprehensive study of the pre-Inka landscape of Andagua. Archaeological research examines regional cultural practices manifest in a suite of evidence, such as agricultural infrastructure, architecture agricultural intensification and non-Inka ceramics painted discs and tablets as well as monoliths (*wank'as*).

Chapter five, *Interloping Inka*, presents evidence of the Inka imperial footprint and presence in the valley, expanding pre-Inka settlements and constructing new sites and features. Evidence ranges from isolated diagnostic imperial Inka ceramics evidence scattered throughout the valley and identified at pre-Inka occupation sites in the valley. Recognizing the multiple and overlapping occupations in the valley, our archaeological research distinguished local pre-Inka and non-Inka practices throughout the area from Inka contexts. In Andagua, Inka imperial statecraft is manifest in how the Inka worked to re-orient local populations' relations with the landscape, shifting from local *wak'as* and ritual locations in the southern edge of the contemporary town of Andagua, to emphasizing the volcanic flows of *Ninamama* and the broader valley with the placement of an *ushnu* (ceremonial platform), and which now has a chapel for the Virgen set atop. Beyond the ritual landscape the project identified state projects evident in formal grid plans and exemplified by the massive, abandoned site of Quisgurani north of the town of Andagua.

Chapter six chronicles how local Andean residents became "rebels and idolaters" during Spanish colonialism examining the dynamic relations local populations had with the landscape in

post-contact contexts. This chapter traces the uneven reach of Spanish colonial projects composed of ambivalence, negotiation and contestation through studying Spanish colonial institutions, strategies and techniques to craft imperial subjects transforming their relations with local settlement patterns (*llaqta*s) and cultural practices. Andagua is the site of the location of the latest known case of mummy worshipping and ancestor veneration in the Andes during the 18th century. Relying on the transcription I offer an archaeological perspective on this historical evidence and bring it into focus with other socio-historical trends and empirical evidence documented through archaeological survey, ethnographic research and collaboration with the community.

Chapter seven brings us into the recent past to confront the contradictions of the contemporary nation-state born from colonial state processes of coercion and violence. Attending to the blurred relations of pasts, presents and futures I offer an archaeological history (and incorporating oral histories) of the Peruvian state and contradictions of postcolonial nation-making, documenting material culture and land management in the 19th – 20th centuries. This chapter further studies the long-term effects of Spanish colonialism and traces the archaeological consequences, in particular with the formation of the *gamonal* system. Despite claims of a free market and equality under the law, local residents in Andagua identify their greatest epoch of suffering during the Peruvian state, at the hands of the *gamonal*. The *gamonal* was a local landowner who used violence to appropriate local properties and exploited the absence of the Peruvian state operating at the intersections "Indian" and "Peruvian" identities. However, the recent past is not only a story of subjugation. Aware of the limits of the state, local community members not only struggled for self-determination through appeals to the state, but also actively maintained and rehabilitated the local landscape through corporate labor organized by kinship, exemplified in the pre-Hispanic site of Paccareta.

To conclude, this work offers a brief portrait of Andagua today and the enduring consequence and limits of state projects. In recent years, the community recovered human remains from an area featured in local oral histories that evaded the flames of Spanish colonial officials. Acutely aware of modern projects of heritage but not reducible to these programs, the local community is actively working to build a museum to store these remains and are stewards of the material legacies and cultural heritages of the ancestors of the valley who made the world. Challenging the treatment of these human remains as objects of science, the dissertation closes with affirming the dynamic histories of human survival in Andagua and the future of reckoning with the state violence that imposes universal ideals at the expense of local difference that is always limited in remaking the world.

Chapter II
Making Worlds and Finding the Human

Figure 2.1: Looking south(east) from the Twin Volcanoes, with the main agricultural valley (kichwa) marked by volcanic lava flows towards Ayo (Lake Andagua is to the left)

Bienvenidos a la tierra quemada

"Welcome to the burnt earth of Andagua," the elder señora Taco said to us. She was sitting on the cement canal, pausing for a moment to catch her breath. Together we admired the view of the valley of Andagua, with the landscape composed of terraces, lava flows and volcanoes. We were walking along the path that wound between the volcanoes known as "The Twins" (*Los Mellizos*) on our return from Paccareta, an area of rehabilitated agricultural terraces surrounding a large pre-Hispanic site north of Andagua. *Los Mellizos* serve as two of the many markers and forces that shape the landscape of the Valley of Andagua, also known as the Valley of Volcanoes. Across the mosaic of terraces, windswept black volcanic sand covers large swaths of the

undulating valley floor creating large dunes reclaiming agricultural terraces in disuse. The valley is a natural landscape shaped by fire and water and modified in recent millennia by human activities.

Continuing from the northern valley of Orcopampa (more than 4,000masl), the winding Andagua River cuts sharply through the valley floor forming a deep narrow canyon. Near the twin volcanoes, the river burrows into the valley floor and emerges as waterfalls from fissures in the cliff face, known locally as *Guanacaure*, the name of the sacred mountain watching over Cusco, the Inka capital (Betanzos 1996 [1557]). The surging current of the Andagua River pools to form a lake of the same name, disappearing into the 100-meter high lava flows of *Ninamama* ("Mother-Fire" in Quechua), which obstruct the river's course. Several kilometers south, the water reappears as an uneven and weak stream until it joins with spring waters cascading from the eastern range of the Chilas Mountains at the community of Chachas. Together they form the seasonal lake of Chachas during the rainy season before descending the valley thousands of meters and reappearing in Lake Mamacocha near the town of Ayo (approx. 2,000 masl). Here marks the southern extent and termination of the Orcopampa-Andagua-Ayo Valley, a stretch of approximately 50 kilometers that runs north south between the major valleys of Cotahuasi and the Colca. The valley intersects with the Colca and water descends into the valley below adding to the Colca River before it flows as the Majes River into the Pacific.

The section of the canal near Los Mellizos is called the *canal Inka* and often spoken of in reverence and pride by local residents, including for its precision of engineering. The canal stretches for several kilometers, channeling water from the northern portions of the Andagua River where the bed is wider and the canal runs parallel to the river as it twists and turns, carving its way down the valley. There the canal is wider than three meters and known as the *canal madre*. The

Mother Canal provides the majority of the main valley below with irrigation water as offspring canals weave through the tapestry of terraces that make up the valley floor.

Figure 2.2: Mother Canal, *faena* canal cleaning

Most canals in the valley are made of earth and stone, but in recent years the main networks of canals are being converted into cement. Residents dedicated to agricultural economies often comment on how due to the porosity of the volcanic sand and pumice stones, water is continuously lost along the way to their fields. Plastic and metal are often placed on the canal floor in an effort to reduce any water loss. People remark how the community is never with a shortage of water from the Andagua River.[1] At the same time, residents lament how they are "losing traditions" as it takes less time and work to clean the cement canal than earthen canals, reducing the elaborate multi-day fieldwork parties (*faenas*) to less than a day. They also rely on other water sources, including precipitation and regional springs. Local residents collectively appreciate the fecundity of nature and the human engineering of the agricultural and canal infrastructure. Through the material conditions of life, the local community has actively built their worlds in the Valley of Volcanoes.

Exemplifying the local community's on-going active engagement with the landscape and harnessing its power since the 1990s, water from the Andagua River has provided electricity (power) for the town through a local hydroelectric plant. The water partitions into multiple canals cascading down the volcanic slope passing through the hydro-electric plant and along an abandoned mill built by the Taco family in 1947. Recently constructed large lines of high voltage power traverse the valley transporting electricity from Apurimac to Chile, where it is sold, according to residents. The town holds an ambivalent posture towards this modern, man-made feature as the Valley of Volcanoes is valued for its geologic history, with the valley recently

[1] People commented on this during fieldwork from 2013 through 2017. However, returning in 2019 I heard a different view on the availability of water to the community and valley. This is demonstrated by how the river has been getting steadily lower each year by the end of the dry season (winter), and with the rains arriving later each year and lasting much more briefly, for as little as late January/early February through April/May. This past year residents said the waterbed practically dried up by the time the rains came, leading to tension among the people and community of farmers who organize the irrigation and rely on this water source. We learned this in collaboration with Murphy's on-going dissertation research (through the Department of Geography and the Environment at UT-Austin), along with a range of other processes that the local farmers and pastoralists have observed related to climate change and the ways they are actively responding to and anticipating these changes.

recognized as a GeoPark by UNESCO, articulating modern notions of the separation of nature and culture (Paolo et al. 2014).

Figure 2.3: Andagua River as it bends around the Twin Volcanoes. The Inka canal is also visible at the base of the volcano.

The fields throughout the valley are mottled shades of green and yellow where the community cultivates a range of crops, from quinoa, potatoes, wheat, fava beans, green and yellow corn (*maíz choclo* and *maíz amarillo*) and made possible through the varied topographical and environmental landscape of the valley. The primary agricultural area of the valley can be considered *kichwa*, and was the primary focus of regional survey. Like other regions of the Andes, local farmers manage risk through planting multiple crops in a field as well as cultivating varied plots located across the valley (Covey 2006). Residents also raise a variety of animals, from Old and New Worlds, manifest in a geography of life including camelids in the upper folds of the valley

and cows, horses, sheep, pigs and guinea pigs in the lower folds of the main valley. The highland *puna* below Coropuna, where glacial melt descends into the Andagua Valley, is primarily composed of *yareta* (highland moss) and *ichu* grass and has a greater occurrence of frost. The *puna* is where pastoralists raise llamas and alpacas, along with the cows that wander their way to the edges of these heights. The semi-arid valley is filled with a variety of cacti species, ranging from small growths to large cacti and a range of shrubs and plants. Farther down the valley terraced fields give way to recent lava flows that cover much of the valley as it descends to the south towards Ayo (Delacour et al. 2007).

This is not a pristine land but wrought by human and non-human forces (e.g. Butzer 1992; Denevan 1992). To local Andean residents of Andagua, the landscape is alive (and requires constant care and attention). This is a place where volcanoes wage war, a supra-human, interloping Inka built canals and where water and fire are forces of life and death. Histories (and potential futures) make up the landscape; however, what we recognize and understand depends upon how we orient ourselves in this dynamic landscape and the assumptions we have in approaching not only the landscape but the people who made, and continue to make, this place a world.

For centuries "locals" and "foreigners" have revered and feared the landscape and the surrounding Andean chain of volcanoes, with the peaks of Coropuna and Solimana among others, described as regional deities (*wak'as*) by Spanish colonial chroniclers and officials and colonial Andean subjects in the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, Cristóbal de Albornoz, and Pedro Cieza de León (Albornoz 1989 [1582]; Cieza de León 1553; Guaman Poma 2008 [1615]). Just as the Inka set offerings and sacrifices at the heights of the impressive and distinct peaks, the Spanish listed these places as imbued with dangerous intentions and bearers of subversive practices (e.g. Bray et al. 2003; Mills 1997). Since the early 20th century, the region

has captured the attention of explorers and scientists for its distinct geological make-up of volcanic landscapes and high mountain peaks (Bingham 1912; Delacour et al. 2007; Hoempler 1962; Shippee 1932, 1934). This chapter illustrates how an anthropological, archaeological and multidisciplinary perspective yields insight not only into how humans interact with non-human forces (environmental or natural) in the local landscape, but also how that landscape is constituted and interpreted based upon particular cultural and historical assumptions.

Registers and Mythohistories Explaining the Universe

In this chapter, I juxtapose two apparently mutually exclusive socio-historical registers of deep human and non-human history – local and pan-Andean oral histories and "modern" natural histories (Julluyje 2004; Pauketat 2007). These accounts manifest the struggles, challenges, opportunities and politics of explaining the universe and humans' relationships with non-humans (nature) in the *longue-durée* (Foucault 1971, 1972; Robb and Pauketat 2013). I use the term mythohistory to characterize the blend of empirical and precise observations as well as fantastical renderings that ultimately serve to legitimate the order of the world (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011). In the case of Andagua, this involves an account of a hierarchy of regional authorities usurped by the Inka and another where Western, Modern accounts of nature and culture and myth and history are taken as universal assumptions at the expense of local endogamous forms of knowledge. Moreover, the sets of Western categories, such as nature and culture, are undergirded by the separation of subject and object manifest in an abstract Man as master over nature. This results in a spectrum of analytical slippages and prejudices by non-locals that demonstrate how local Andean populations are viewed without history, conflated with nature and marginalized as indices of a backward place on a teleological timeline. Rather than treating the local oral histories

as ahistorical myth (outside of time), this juxtaposition of the geological, anthropological and archaeological evidence produces an inclusive account of the past.

In juxtaposing "natural histories" and local (and pan-andean) mythohistories, this work brings into relief several fundamental and overlapping modern (Western) assumptions, and historically informed (and continue to shape) claims of demystification, as discussed in chapter one. These assumptions include human exceptionalism that facilitates a drive of progress with man's (gender intended) control and dominance over nature, as well as, linear teleological human progress characterized by distinct stages of complexity (savage, barbarian and civilization). In addition, research in the Andes brings into question the superiority of literate people and the scientific drive that "assumes that reality is 'there' and that power operates through the visible" (Lamana 2008: 73), with representational theory encouraging isomorphic interpretations of humans, material culture, identity and landscapes. At the same time, local and pan-Andean registers do not serve as replacements, alternatives and more truthful renderings of the historical and contemporary landscape (Keane 2007). I review Quechua terms and registers for explaining the world and modes of place-making in the Andes and the range of forces that make the world. This chapter offers multiple perspectives that seek to explain the entangled relations of humans and non-human forces in the Andagua Valley throughout the past.

Histories Beyond the Human in the Andes

Andean scholars have long debated whether there were Inka or Andean histories; whether we could glean any chronological understanding of the Andean oral histories or if they expressed deep cultural logics (Covey 2006; Julien 2000). In the Andes where there was no writing, local Andean populations kept records, socially organized and reckoned social memories through a

range of cultural practices, registers, place-making and material culture, including monoliths (*wank'a*), the knotted cord *khipus*, oral histories and human bodies. Rather than get lost in the "antique hall of mirrors" (Urton 1990), anthropological, historical and archaeological research in the Andes has challenged and moved beyond the reductive dichotomies of myth and history (e.g. Covey 2006, 2018; Dean 2010; Hyslop 1991; Quilter and Urton 2002).

Without viewing myths as ahistorical, we can understand Andean myths as more than allegory to account for an inclusive and performative enactment of history. Critical of claims of the superiority of the written word, a range of disciplines and scholars have attended to fragments of the past to explore the materiality of social memories (e.g. Abercrombie 1998; Mills and Walker 2008; Rappaport and Cummins 2011; Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011; Swenson and Roddick 2018). How histories come to matter is informed by "the cultural variability of historical consciousness and of ways of conceiving, codifying, and communicating the past" (Chase 2018a: 146) and its consequences and relationship with the present and possible futures (e.g. Salomon 2004; Urton 1990). The Andes are a "memoryscape," "scattered with lithic evidence of past acts" and futures (Dean 2010: 39). Humans were not considered exceptional to their surrounding environment and forged complex relations with the landscape, especially stone and water.

For instance, there are different categorizations of water that distinguish the "substance water" (*unu*) and "flowing water of irrigation" (*yaku*) (Mannheim and Salas 2015: 48). Irrigation water is considered to move under its own volition; canals do not "carry" water (ibid: 48). *Wak'a* and forms of agency in the Andes were based upon conceptual similarities and "contiguities of practice" and are often paired, in the case of water, *unu* and *yaku*. This is also the case for stone, with *rumi* as "rock" (the substance") and *qaqa* for "stone" ("individual rocks") (ibid: 53). "For Quechua speakers," Mannheim and Salas state, "rock flows like water; stones maintain that

motion, though it might be individual and segmented" (ibid: 52–53). In this way, the Mother Canal – the birth-giver of channeled water that straddles a world independent of humans – can be considered in the same conceptual category as Ninamama (Mother-Fire). Ninamama is a flow of liquid fire that became stone, pregnant with the past and latent with future possibilities. As Mannheim and Salas conclude, "*wak'a* is as *wak'a does*" (ibid: 66). *Wak'a* were made possible through co-habitation and forms of reciprocity and interaction (ibid 2015). Through recognizing the relational, material and processual aspects of Quechua language (and cosmology) we can further consider the broader socio-historical category of *wak'a*.

Wak'a were protagonists and antagonists in Andean accounts of the world. They had futures and pasts and were capable of acts both cruel and generous (e.g. Julluyje 2004; Salomon and Urioste 1991). *Wak'a* would gain the attention and considerable ire of Spanish colonial officials, evident in the campaigns of the extirpation of idolatry and production of texts outlining a variety of practices and beliefs, and the corresponding efforts to destroy them (Chase 2015, 2018b; Doyle 1989; Duviols 1986, 2003). This is exemplified in Cristóbal de Albornoz's *Instruccion para descubrir todas las guacas del piru y sus camayos y haziendas* (1989 [1582]), where he identifies and produces a taxonomy of *wak'as*, including several in the surrounding region of Condesuyos. Albornoz (1989 [1582]) describes a variety of *wak'as* – *apachitas, pacariscas (paqarina), uznos*, *primacias* and *mamas* – that served as multiple sovereigns and actors that constituted the landscape (discussed below; see chapter five for discussion of *uzno* or *ushnu*). However colonial translation to text denied the performative expressions of *wak'a* that were grounded in dynamic histories and practices (Mills 1997: 48). Subsequently, the investigation of *wak'as* has been an enduring interest and challenge for contemporary Andean scholars, with research in Andagua exploring the temporal and social emergences of *wak'as* (Bray 2015; Chase

2015; Mannheim and Salas 2015; Salomon and Urioste 1991). The temporality of *wak'as* involves their "origins and 'pastness', historicity, tradition, time reckoning (e.g. calendrics), and genealogy" (Chase 2015: 76; Menaker 2019).

People, springs, rock outcrops could be *wak'a,* (Salomon 1991). Coropuna and other regional volcanoes were considered *apus* (lords) and *wak'a*, chronicled by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (2008 [1615]) and Cristóbal Albornoz (1989 [1582]). Following Salomon, late pre-Hispanic Andean cosmologies were based upon segmentary forms of deities and power, "ramifying downward and across cosmic domains to regional and local beings and deities" that articulated through a hierarchy of *wak'a* (1987: 158). The origins places (*paqarinas*) of social groups descending from a mythical ancestor (*wak'a*) were mapped onto and composed the landscape (Albornoz 1989 [1582]; Urton 1990). Hidden springs and caves were fonts of life and wealth. The pre-Hispanic recently deceased and ancestors would occupy these sites and would be the loci of offerings and venerations (Mannheim and Salas 2015). The dead were not considered socially nonexistent but took on new categories of being in a hierarchy of authorities making up the historical landscape (Chase 2018a). Ancestors and mortuary structures defined territories, marked histories and authorities with local populations subject to a capricious, heterogeneous and gendered landscape (D'Altroy 2015; Dillehay 1995; Mantha 2009; Nielsen 2008; Salomon 1991, 1995). *Wak'a* could embody aggregate and corporate labor, exemplified in *llaqta* (Chase 2015; Salomon 1991). As discussed, *llaqtas* were not necessarily a "town" or "village" – but marked socio-historical relationships formed by "the union of a localized *wak'a* (often an ancestor-deity), with its territory and with the group of people whom the *wak'a* favored" (Salomon 1991: 23). Pre-Hispanic settlements in Andagua Valley are *llaqtas* like other pan-Andean occupations yet are locally and historically grounded.

Another type of *wak'a* are *wank'a*, which as Carolyn Dean describes in *Culture of Stone*, "were rocks that were understood to be the petrified owners of places, such as fields, valleys, and villages" (Dean 2010: 44). Stones identified as "*wank'a* were both materialized memory and traces of historic events" (Dean 2010: 39). *Wank'a*s were historically emergent and would anchor place, imbued with meaning and marking authority (Chase 2015; Dean 2015). *Wank'a* (monoliths) are located at sites of pre-Inka and non-Inka occupations (but may have Inka presence), as well as, agricultural fields and often articulate with broader local and regional features, such as Wachalanka. These stones are most likely indicative of local and regional Andean socio-political organization and cultural practices – independent of Inka and state programs. Local *wank'a* were traces of ancestors and loci for organizing practices that anchored local populations and were emergent through the production of material assemblages. These local forms of authority generated through regional socio-historical relations are evident in material culture and ritual practices such as the painted stone (and ceramic) discs and tablets placed throughout the surrounding landscape, often associated with *wank'as*.

In Andagua I learned from indigenous farmers about the verb and practice of *wank'ay*, where stones would sing to one another in the fields (*wank'ear*, the Hispanicized verb form of the Quechua root *wank'a*). At the same time, using the term *wank'amos* people describe how past fieldwork parties, and to lesser extent today, involved singing from field to field, invoking a call and response performance. In these ethnographic accounts, stones and people become nearly interchangeable; marking places, forming authority and articulating spheres of practice. Socio-political relations and labor has historically been organized by kinship, with these relationships shaping cultural practices and social memories.

Stone and mountain peaks are not inert objects on the landscape. The process of lithomorphosis (petrification) is a widely shared view and multivalent process in the Andes (Dean 2010; Mills 1997; Salomon and Urioste 1991). Becoming stone is a temporal process evident in lava flows such as *Ninamama*. Albornoz identified a particular *wak'a* as *primacias* or *mamas* (1989 [1582]). It is important to emphasize the generative nature of not only *Ninamama* but the reference of "*mama"* throughout the Andes to refer to a variety of materials and contexts, most centrally pivoting around fertility. These included an ear of corn (*saramama*) or the first stones of metal recovered from mines. Today *Pachamama* is glossed as Mother Earth and encompasses space and time (Allen 2002). In a way, "Mother Earth" still limits the relational and dynamic aspects to Andean cultural registers, so we can look to colonial renderings of *pacha*. Domingo de Santo Tomás' Quechua dictionary from 1560 translates *pacha* to "ground, time [and] earth" ("*suelo, tiempo, tierra*") (2006 [1560]: 380). In his 1608 Quechua dictionary, González Holguín translates *pacha* to "time ground place" ("*tiempo suelo lugar*") (1989 [1608]: 268). These are not abstract or timeless cultural ideals, but socio-historical categories for explaining the world across time and space.

The stone landscape embodies pasts and is pregnant with future possibilities; *Ninamama* is Mother-Fire. Lava flows mark historical events but also hint to impending futures. Becoming stone is not an end (Mills 1997). Memoryscapes structure future actions (Dean 2010). Andagua is located along several faults with a chamber of magma resting beneath the valley floor. Who knows when or where the earth will tremble and fire will surge forth? In the case of the oral history discussed below, lithomorphosis marks the end of fertility (Dean 2010; Mills 1997; Salomon and Urioste 1991). Attending to such accounts, and considering these protagonists and forms of

histories, challenges Western and modern assumptions of universal history and individual human exceptionalism.

In the case of the Andagua Valley, archaeology in dialogue with oral histories and the historical record is well-suited to investigate how local populations' histories are inscribed in and circulate throughout the landscape. Distinguishing Inka state practices and local Andean practices is a perennial challenge. The Valley of Volcanoes presented a novel landscape to the Inka. The only other volcanic activity the Inka encountered is Raqchi outside Cusco. Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1557]) provides an account of the history of Raqchi in how the Inkas and Andean communities interpreted the landscape and used it to legitimize their own hierarchical structures (discussed in chapter five). But it was an empire built upon Andean cultural logics, where volcanoes could fight, local communities revered local and regional volcanoes with whom the recently deceased dwelled and the Inka emerged from Lake Titicaca and was possibly the son of the sun.

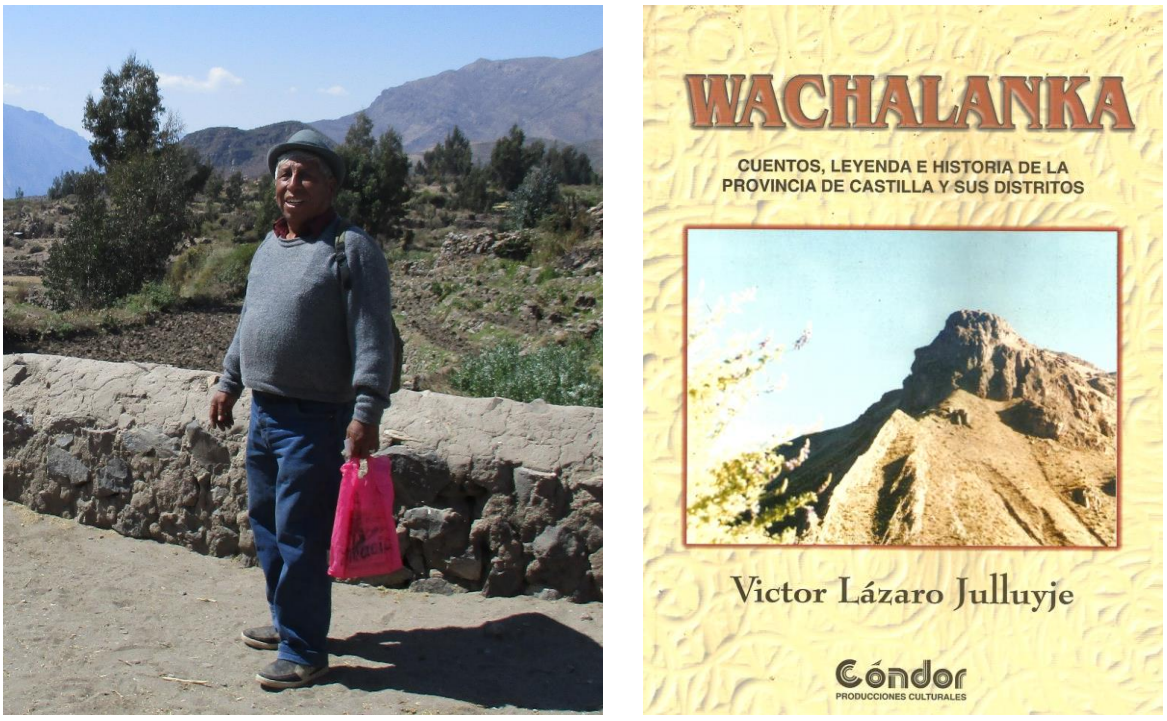


Figure 2.4: Author Victor Lázaro Julluyje posing for a photo with Andagua Antiguo in the backdrop and *Wachalanka, Cuentos, Leyenda e Historia de la Provincia de Castilla y sus Distritos*

Wachalanka: Life, Fire, Water and Stone in Andagua Mythohistories

Rather than dismissing the local oral history as a mythical narrative outside of time, I challenge our epistemological prejudices and look to understand local registers of history that do not easily conform to nature and culture, myth and history and universal history. Here I present a local non-anthropocentric oral history, chronicling a battle between Coropuna, served by local volcanoes and features, against the interloping Inka. In the case of Andagua, this mythohistory is an expression of Inka narratives to legitimize and "naturalize" their rule in the region that also confronted a distinct socio-historical landscape, with the locally observable landscape and its history made to serve an Inka empire.

In Andagua, local community members recount a history that involved a battle between the Inka and the local volcanoes (scoria cones), who served the larger regional volcano of Coropuna. I was fortunate to meet Victor Lázaro Julluyje from Andagua, whom throughout the years collected these stories from elders and transcribed and self-published a collection of oral histories of Andagua. While there are variations of this account, I defer to his transcription here (Julluyje 2004). It begins with the Inka, an outsider (*forastero*), who arrived to the Andagua Valley, the foot of the palace of Coropuna, where he sought to build a great empire. The Inka, a non-local figure, was working to build a canal in the valley using his supra-human strength and he refused to acknowledge the regional authority of Coropuna.

The main protagonists of the story are all recognizable regional features. About 90 km to the northwest across the Cotahuasi valley from Coropuna is the peak of Sara-Sara, who is identified as the mother of *Wachalanka*, the princess daughter of Coropuna (*Sara-sara* also means maize in Quechua). Today Wachalanka is identified by the contemporary population as a triangular peak in the Cordillera Chila and eastern edge of the valley and is a principal local *wak'a* for contemporary

populations. At the same time, in the story Wachalanka also became a rocky stone outcrop below the larger triangular peak (see figure 2.6, 2.7). *Misahuana*, a servant for Wachalanka and Coropuna, is a spring on the other side of the valley below Coropuna. It serves now as the community's drinking water and once irrigated much of the western valley. Several of the regional volcanic features in the Andagua Valley are also listed as vassals of Coropuna such as Pucamauras (*Puca* means "red" in Quechua), the twin volcanoes, and Volcano *Jenchaña*. Another servant of Coropuna was Anojara and is identified as the valley folds below Coropuna.

Figure 2.5: Coropuna viewed from the highland pass (4900masl) (top); Coropuna viewed from the Majes valley

Figure 2.6: Wachalanka, the triangular peak and the large rock outcrop on the foreground as the resting place

Figure 2.7: Volcano Pucamauras (left) and Wachalanka (right)

Figure 2.8: Volcano Jenchaña

Figure 2.9: Los Mellizos (Twin Volcanoes)

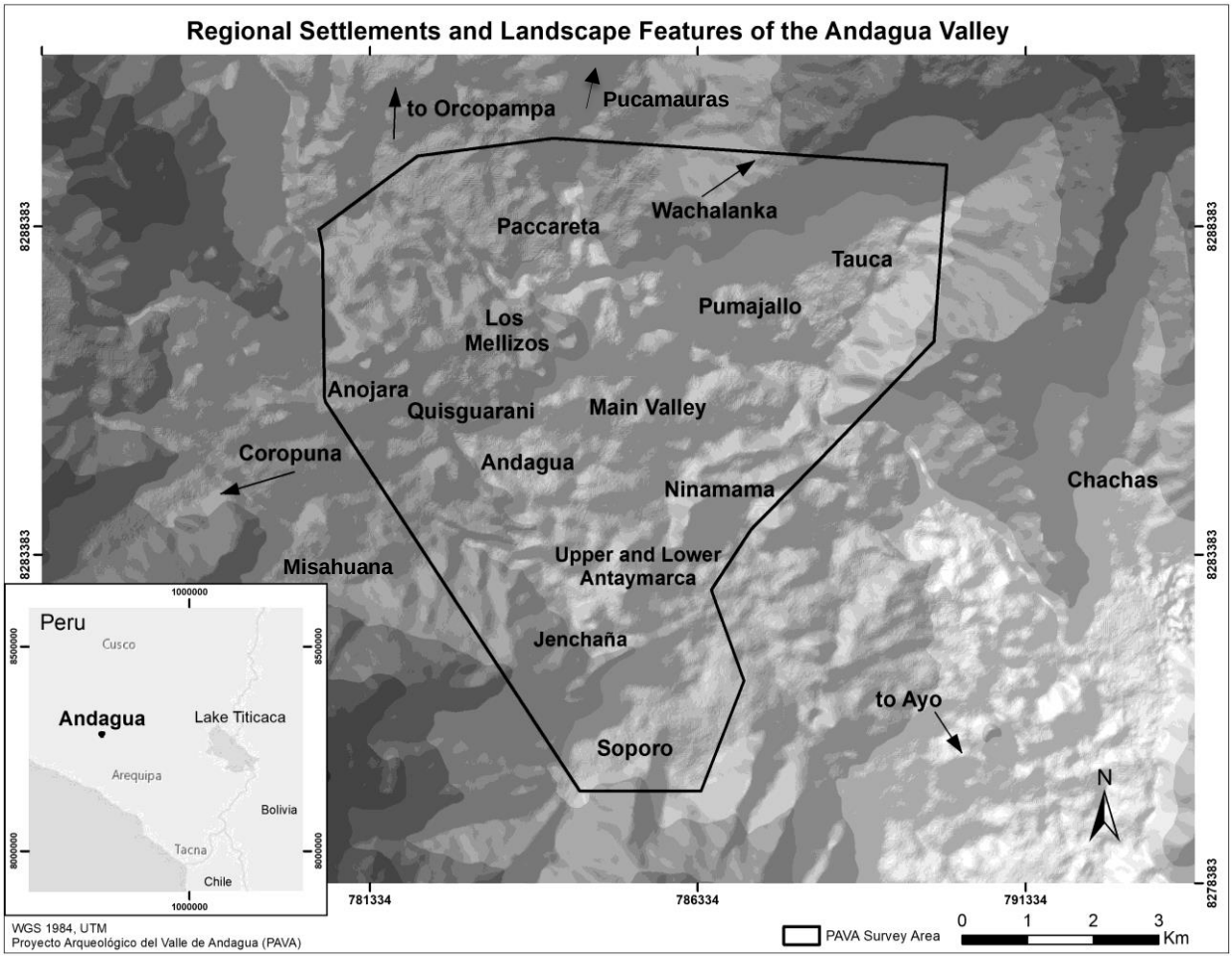


Figure 2.10: Map of regional toponyms and features, and mentioned in the local mythohistory

The Inka carried with him a staff (*varilla*) that reflected the rays of the sun. The Inka wished to build a canal in the valley, diverting the Andagua River to create the settlement of Andagua. From a distance, the daughter of Coropuna, princess Wachalanka, saw the Inka building the canal with incredible supra-human strength, tossing boulders with a snap of his wrist. She became enamored with him, calling her servant, Misahuana, to direct him to the palace of Coropuna where she could meet him. The Inka paid Misahuana no heed, nor to the second messenger Wachalanka sent his way. Dismissing Wachalanka and her messengers, he continued with his work.

Wachalanka then took things upon herself. She approached the Inka only to be further ignored. She sat upon a rock and from a distance offered up a song of longing, while the Inka

rested weary from work. Not acknowledging Wachalanka the Inka walked away, but not before urinating in the nearby ground. Wachalanka followed him and arriving to where he urinated, she sat and also urinated. Soon after she became pregnant.

She returned to her father's palace, where Coropuna was fuming worried. Wachalanka told Coropuna about her unrequited love. Coropuna summoned counsel from Jenchaña. Meanwhile, Mama Sara-Sara came over to console Wachalanka, as they discussed the presence of the Inka, with it soon being revealed that Wachalanka was pregnant. Coropuna sent a servant to invite the Inka to the palace. Again, the Inka rejected Coropuna's invitation. He expressed how he does not serve and will not respond to Coropuna. Coropuna called over counsel from several other advisors, Anojara and "Captain" Pucamauras and Los Mellizos. Coropuna looked to Misahuna to prepare a gift for the Inka to convince him to come to the palace. Coropuna exclaimed, "now is the time to act without compassion, there is enough reason to visit the Inka with swift action." Coropuna summoned his vassals and sent them with a gift for the Inka as a final offer of respect and invitation.

The Inka received the gift, consisting of an *olla* (large cooking pot) of gold adorned with diamonds of all colors. But, when the Inka opened it, a massive fire exploded turning all the surrounding mountains red. This was supposedly the signal for Coropuna's fleet to attack the Inka with the hopes of carrying him to the palace. But the Inka quickly escaped the trap. He let out a yell producing a powerful storm with lightning, thunder and a torrential rain greater than ever before. Pucamauras let out an order to attack with slings, the Twin Volcanoes (Los Mellizos) among others followed suit, and Jenchaña chased after the Inka.

Meanwhile, Princess Wachalanka had a foreboding dread as the sun became eclipsed and the worst storm she had ever seen unfolded in front of her. She went hurrying east across the valley

towards the river to where they were fighting. Mama Sara-Sara, on the other hand, went running to the north.

The projectiles Coropuna's army unleashed did no damage to the Inka, only exploding into a white powder. The wind caught the white dust, converting it into snow and carrying it to the palace of Coropuna where it settled as a white blanket enclosing all inside, unable to escape. It remains there today. In a final command, Coropuna ordered his vassals to turn into fire to attack the Inka, but again the Inka escaped into the lake of Pumajallo, where the Andagua River winds to form a lake at edge of the lava flows of Ninamama. Once escaping, the Inka continued to travel throughout the valley, creating a path north to south where he appeared in the Lake of Mamacocha.

In the end, Wachalanka petrified into stone as she gave birth to the Inka son, and is identified as the stone cliff face, across the valley from the town of Andagua.

Accounts written by visitors to Andagua, however, have not recorded or mentioned this oral history. Rather, local perspectives have historically been marginalized, delegitimized and altogether silenced through the processes of Spanish colonialism and enduring colonial legacies. Here I review these historical accounts of Andagua before discussing the growing geological knowledge in the valley, I then return to address how we can use multiple registers to explain "universal history" through an archaeology of *llaqtas*.

Writing the Natural Histories of the New World

This chapter turns to travel accounts that range from late Spanish colonialism through to 20th century articles published in National Geographic. As Cañizares-Esguerra argues in *How to Write the History of the New World*, "travel accounts are a genre as old as the Renaissance. [They] called attention to curiosities and extraordinary phenomena, which in turn led to new knowledge

that showed the vacuity of the learning of the ancients..." (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001: 23). Travel accounts were essential to the production of a "new category of 'matter of facts,'" which Cañizares-Esguerra identifies as "namely, uncontested evidence whose function in Baconian natural histories was to falsify hypotheses and show the folly of all system builders" (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001: 23). Moreover, in the case of the Andagua Valley, visitors assumed the landscape as timeless, naturalizing historical landscapes of colonial processes, and espousing biased claims about the material landscape and human residents. At the end of the 18th century, this is exemplified in the writing of Antonio Alvarez y Ximenez, who visited Andagua and "described it as a poor and uncomfortable place" (Salomon 1987: 150):

> ". . . This doctrina [native parish] is situated on a short plain, having around it some arid hills, full of thorns, and in inspecting the settlement one sees it to be of ridiculous construction, of uncut stones set over mud foundations, the roofs being of wood with flimsy straw on top, called *puna* grass; its streets are not badly laid out, but narrow . . . although it has few arable lands they are not of much use . . . because they are very stony and full of gravel . . . the climate is extremely cold and dry, and much more so in winter, with winds so piercing as to be intolerable (Barriaga 1946: 63)" (cited in Salomon 1987: 150).

While Spanish colonialism formally fell to sweeping National and Republican independences throughout the Americas many colonial assumptions and institutions endured, informing post-colonial narratives and policies regarding indigenous and non-European populations. For instance, the assumption of social complexity as reflected in material culture coursed through the 19th and 20th centuries and remains present today.

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Andagua Valley was subject to and an object of the "scientific" gaze, with the valley regarded for its natural history by international explorers and scientists ("men of science," *West Coast Leader*, January 20, 1931 in Denevan 1993). These men spent a short amount of time in the area, carrying the certainties of scientific positivism and enduring colonial ideologies. These studies attend to the geological formations and "prehistoric

ruins," and often relegated the contemporary residents to the fossilized remains of "Ancient Andean tribes," who dwell in the "forgotten valleys of Peru," as Robert Shippee wrote (Shippee 1932, 1934; Denevan 1993). Though, as this work demonstrates, these places have never been outside of time nor forgotten.

Hiram Bingham was initially drawn to the peaks of Coropuna as the primary force for his expedition in 1911 to South America, based upon the mistaken identification by Adolph Bandelier of Coropuna as the highest peak in the Western hemisphere (Bingham 1912).[2] In addition to receiving credit for bringing the ruins of Machu Picchu to worldwide attention, he claimed to be part of the first team to ascend the peak. Though he was left consternated when he arrived to Coropuna only after the intrepid mountaineer, Anne Peck had already summited the peak a few weeks before him. On the summit she planted a flag for universal woman's suffrage (Kimberley 2017).

It is unclear if Bingham descended into the Andagua Valley; his writings tell of his travels from Chuquibamba, Pampacolca and north around Coropuna and into the Cotahuasi valley. In his article on Machu Picchu pottery types, adopting the term *aríbalo* from the Mediterranean to describe conical vessels, Bingham also noted the production of local ceramics in the highland basin below the glaciers of Coropuna (Bingham 1915). The project documented several types of 19th-20th century (Republican era) ceramic vessels that were locally produced in the valley near Coropuna, in the annexes of Chilcaymarca and Chapacoco. These ceramics are found among all households in Andagua and recovered across the valley in agricultural fields and field houses from the recent past (discussed in chapters six and seven) (Menaker 2019). In addition, the local museum of the University of San Agustin in Arequipa has a provincial imperial Inka *aríbalo*, similar in

[2] Today at least Coropuna is recognized by volcanologists as the highest and largest volcanic edifice in Peru (6377masl) (de Silva and Francis 1990).

design to pottery documented in the region. I was told that it was from the Bingham expedition and recovered in that area. The first significant academic publications of the Andagua Valley would not appear for nearly 20 more years with the pioneering aerial expedition of Robert Shippee and George Johnson (Shippee 1932, 1934).

A little less than a hundred years ago, as part of a pioneering aerial expedition, Robert Shippee made the following remarks about the local landscape and residents' knowledge of it,

> "We were greatly surprised to find that even the natives did not realize that the valley contained so many volcanoes. Most of them recognized only two as such – the twin volcanoes near the town of Andagua. The explanation is, however, obvious. With no particular reason for climbing to the top of any of the mounds where a glimpse of their craters would have made their true character immediately apparent, they thought them all mere hills" it is strange however that so interesting a phenomenon has apparently never caught the eye of a geologist or any other person capable of recognizing them for what they are" (Shippee 1932: 581).

Though Shippee, along with George Johnson, were responsible for pioneering aerial expeditions throughout Peru, including over the Andagua Valley, this quote is a brief example of enduring epistemological prejudices towards local knowledges and modes of understanding the world. Moreover, Shippee and Johnson's aerial research and sojourns into the highland valleys, discussed in subsequent publications, serves as a significant benchmark emblematic of modern thought that assumes "reality is there" and "power operates through the visible" (Lamana 2008: 73). While modern technology – from the airplane to today's drones – offers unparalleled data (and knowledge), a "birds-eye view" only tells part of the story.

Shippee and Johnson visited the highland valley scouting for possible landing strips, remarking how they set up tents in a volcano and used the tent as their darkroom to develop photos (Shippee 1932, 1934). Reconstructing their journey through photos available at the American Museum of Natural History, we were able to identify that they camped in the volcano, locally known as Jenchaña – though perhaps ignorant of its name, it goes unmentioned. Jenchaña is the

local *wak'a* that served Coropuna in the battle against the interloping Inka. Informed by ethnocentrism and an arrogance of ignorance, these "men of science" did not think they could learn from local indigenous populations (Lamana 2008). While Shippee and Johnson offered foundational work that continues to yield new knowledge, and I do appreciate their contributions, such work often reflects more about their assumptions that silences and further marginalizes local and indigenous knowledges and communities of practice.

Juxtaposing the expedition's airplane to the difficult mountain trails, Shippee exemplifies a dominant modern mode of thought reinforced by material culture as he describes an "outpost of civilization" in the nearby Colca Valley consisting of "tin roofing, a miniature gasoline-electric plant, an ancient photograph, a typewriter, and bottled beer—all brought from Arequipa on muleback" (Shippee 1932:111). Here one's belonging to the modern contemporary world is inherently tied to and representative (isomorphic) of material culture occupying a linear teleology (echoing racist phases of savagery, barbarism and civilized). Like the conquistadores before them, Shippee and Johnson assumed a privileged relation to the real, allowing them to "believe that their cultural particulars were universal and self-evident" (Lamana 2008).

Visiting the Andagua Valley, Shippee speculated that the "Valley of Volcanoes" and abandoned occupation (most likely Quisguarani) was once a "metropolis of some 10,000 people, [but] now dwindled to an Indian village of not more than 1,200" (Shippee 1932: 112). He did so without using any systematic methods, and based upon broad impressionistic glances. Such ethnocentric views espoused by Bingham and Shippee have long retreated from the main halls of academe. While Shippee and Johnson assumed they were the only ones doing the observing and knowing, that has never been the case (Jackson 2013; Lamana 2008).

For instance, another day walking to Paccareta I came across Sra. Taco's son, Alberto Quispe Taco, returning from his family's lands and riding on horseback. I have nearly unfailingly encountered him in good humor with a grin and mischievous look in his eye, always thoughtful, curious and serving in leadership roles for the community (as *presidente de la comunidad de campesinos*). We exchanged pleasantries and he asked about how our work was going. After listening and nodding, with a smile he pointed to the twin volcanoes and jovially referred to them as Shippee and Johnson after the aerial pioneers and explorers. I thanked him for sharing this "local knowledge," as we enjoyed a laugh together and admired the surrounding landscape before parting ways as he continued his journey back to town. Since these early 20th century explorers, the Andagua Valley with its spectacular volcanic landscape in the shadow of Coropuna, continued as an important subject of geological research (Delacour et al. 2007; Galas et al. 2012; Hoempler 1962; Venturelli et al. 1978).

Growing Geological Knowledge of Andagua

The geologist Armin Hoempler marks a noticeable turn in approaches from the early 20th century explorers, when he visited Andagua in the 1940s conducted a formal geological investigation, publishing the results about 20 years later (Hoempler 1962). Hoempler recounted that a road only led up the Majes river valley to Viraco, and the subsequent journey to Andagua required horseback to cross the mountain pass next to Coropuna to arrive at the "Valley of Volcanoes." Hoempler identified 36 volcanic scoria cones in the valley (offering the first detailed list including the names of the major volcanic scoria cones in the valley) and provides brief morphological descriptions of the geological and volcanic landscape. Scoria cones are produced from the accumulation of lava that explodes and seeps through sub-surface fissures; in the valley

they can range from 500-600 meters across and rise 150 meters from the valley floor. Though Hoempler does not describe the Eastern portion of the valley, composed of Tauca and Pumajallo, acknowledging that the notes were lost in an accident in the intervening years (Hoempler 1962).

Echoing Shippee's impressionistic observations, Hoempler remarks that several "primitive Inka occupations" were "flattened" "after the conquest" by volcanic flows in the valley next to a small volcano, known as Antaymarca (Hoempler 1962: 65). The most pronounced site principally identified as Antaymarca (Upper Antaymarca, AND-95) is in fact built into and on top of a recent lava flow made with the same volcanic pumice stones. It is one of the few sites in the region that has been recognized by the Ministry of Culture in Arequipa, only superficially studied and is described as a "ceremonial site" of pre-Hispanic occupation (Linares Málaga 1990; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000).

While discussed in more detail in chapter four, it is worth briefly mentioning how new evidence from systematic regional pedestrian survey by PAVA clarifies the relationships among the archaeological histories of the Antaymarca area, distinguishing two late pre-Hispanic but related archaeological occupations with a path connecting them (Upper Antaymarca AND-95 and Lower Antaymarca, AND-29). On the one hand, research of Antaymarca is an instructive example of the contributions of archaeology, and on the other, further demonstrates the challenges of interpreting the present with the deep human (non-Western) past viewed as correlative to, or conflated with, geological processes and thus naturalized and devoid of social agency. History is made through the recursive relations of non-human and human forces that can never quite be disentangled and yet neither are they reducible to one another.

After Hoempler (1962), international and national geologists have carried out additional research, looking upon the landscape through a distinct optic. Recent research has focused

attention on the geological histories of the valley, providing a range of data on the chemical, physical and morphological characteristics of the volcanic and geological landscape. This geological information is critical to understanding the environmental, non-human contexts and histories of the valley (Delacour et al. 2007; Galas 2014; Sorenson and Holm 2008; Venturelli et al. 1978).

The Andagua Valley is situated precariously among multiple faults, sitting nearly on a chamber of magma, exposing lava when the earth buckled and shifted. While the Andes mountain formation stretches back millions of years and such deep histories are present in the Southern Peruvian Andes, the defining characteristics of the regional valley have occurred in the recent geological past. In addition to Quaternery volcanic material, the flows overlay Pleistocene alluvial deposits and Jurassic sandstones (Sørensen and Holm 2008). While no activity is known from these local volcanoes since Spanish invasion, there exist several lava flows with morphology and preservation indicating that they are relatively young, occupying glacial valleys overlying 10,000yr BP moraines. Based upon morphological features (erosion and weathering), this recent geological research estimates the lava flows of the Andagua Valley are varying in age, including some pre-Holocene (before 10,000BP), though many possibly being quite young, even occurring within the past several hundred years and composed of a range of basaltic andesites and andesites (de Silva and Francis 1990: 148-149). Based upon morphological and radiocarbon dating, geologists have interpreted that the Andagua volcanic activity occurred during four main periods: Late Pleistocene, early to middle Holocene, Late Holocene, and what they identify as the "Historic" (Delacour et al. 2007). Though, it is important to note how the lava flows occurred prior to Spanish colonial invasion to the Andagua Valley. The infamous encounter between the Spanish and Inka Atahualpa in the Northern Andes did not occur until 1532.

The latest volcanic activity in the Valley of Volcanoes dates to 1451-1523, coinciding with Inka expansion and probable occupation in the valley (Delacour et al. 2007). While it is unclear if the Inka were there to witness the volcanic activity, it is probable that it remained fresh in local memories and the landscape. Archaeological research illuminates how the Inka attempted to incorporate local worlds into their own universal empire. Spanish colonialism subsequently also struggled to comprehend and impose their imperial statecraft, encountering dynamic landscapes that endure and captivate humans. Traversing human and geological scales, anthropological archaeology is uniquely poised to examine the relationships of human and nonhuman pasts of the Andagua Valley.

Figure 2.11: Ninamama and the meandering stream end forming Lake Andagua

Pacha and a Shared Universe Made Through Time and Space

The process of soil formation is relevant to understanding the archaeological and anthropological histories of the valley and the assemblages of *llaqtas* that make up the landscape. Soil formation is shaped by several factors that articulate multiple temporal and spatial scales and forms of inorganic and organic matter. Specifically, soil formation is locally grounded in places made from geologic parent materials, which can be bedrock and include volcanic materials, and is

also influenced by local topography and relief. Moreover, soil formation is not an independent, inorganic process but impacted by organic material of the biosphere including inputs from humans, fauna, and native plants. Local places are further affected by broader climate processes such as precipitation, temperature and microclimates. In addition to the interdependence of these factors, soil scientists stress how the passage of time is a central variable in the formation of soils (Gerrard 2000; Ritter et al. 2006). The factors that explain soil formation insightfully overlap with understandings of *pacha* (time, ground and place) that recognizes a dynamic earth beyond individual humans.

While there are no known academic environmental studies of climate reconstruction in the immediate Andagua Valley, research has been carried out in the glaciers of Coropuna and we can look to those for insight into past climate. Pollen taken from peat bogs near the Coropuna Volcano (32 km from Andagua) revealed climate shifts during the Holocene in the region. During the mid-Holocene (9700 to 5200 BP) the climate was cool and moist until turning significantly drier during the late Holocene (5200-3000 BP). After about 3000 BP, vegetation began to look more like the vegetation in the area today. Around 900 BP, the climate again turned cooler and drier. Glaciers in the Andes reached a maximum extent during the middle of the Little Ice Age (~ 300 BP) and have maintained a general pattern of retreat since then (Kuentz et al. 2007; Kuentz et al. 2012).

The project benefits from collaboration with geographer, Blaise Murphy, who analyzed and collected soil samples from terraces and agricultural fields throughout the valley yielding new insight into long-term land management practices and soil properties (see chapter seven) (Murphy 2017). My dissertation offers a regional perspective and benefits from research in the surrounding valleys. The Colca Valley has been subject to years of archaeological and environmental studies providing substantive data on land-use, agriculture, terracing and human-environment relations

through time (e.g. Doutriaux 2004; Sandor and Eash 1995; Sandor and Furbee 1996; Treacy 1989; Wernke 2003, 2013). For instance, Sandor and Furbee (1996) carried out a detailed cultural linguistic study of Quechua registers that distinguished types of soil categories identified by local farmers. While research in Andagua is at foundational stages compared to surrounding valleys, this multidisciplinary research contributes to a multi-scalar view of the southern Peruvian Andes, examining how people made places and ordered the landscape through time in non-state and state contexts (Menaker 2019; Murphy 2017; Murphy, Menaker and Daniels in prep.).

Aware of the processes that are imbricated with and beyond the human, we can see how Quechua registers also explain such non-human processes and I argue that we do not have to subsume one register into another. *Pacha* is not outside time, but constitutive of the world across multiple scales, from grounds of soil to the ether of the atmosphere. The colonial definitions productively share scientific understandings of soil formation. As discussed above, there was an elaborate nomenclature to describe and identify the complex historical processes of the universe, with different types of *mama* that were responsible for bringing about events beyond the individual human. In the case of Andagua, Ninamama, or Mother-Fire is an instructive example. Ninamama is not an abstract concept but a local and historical process that alludes to impending futures. We do not know when *pacha* might open and volcanic fire may surge forth. Archaeologically and anthropologically we can attend to how humans order and survive in a world that exceeds them.

Archaeologies of Wak'as and Llaqtas

In this chapter, I reviewed concepts of Andean registers of history, authority, social organization and belonging (identity). In doing so, I illustrated how they have been marginalized at the expense of universal narratives, associated with imperial expansion during pre-Hispanic and

post-contact histories. In this final section we can return to the oral history to glean further insight into local Andean forms of history and how we can understand those not as outside time but bound up with the archaeological and material histories that constitute the Valley of Volcanoes.

We can ask, then, what are we to make of this story if we reject the dichotomization of myth and history, nature and culture, and interpret it not as allegory or history with anthropocentric chronological events? To start, this story exemplifies the tensions among multiple regional sovereignties and universal imperial authority of the Inka. This corresponds with anthropological and archaeological evidence that suggests an extensive history of autochthonous and decentralized authorities with late pre-Hispanic societies possibly organizing by segmentary kinship at the time of Inka expansion (e.g. Arkush 2014; Salomon 1987). We can further ask, how are we to understand Wachalanka's pregnancy and reproduction? What type of "son" could she have brought into this world? Bearing these questions in mind, we can briefly explore the fertility and fecundity of water.

It is instructive to reflect on how urination makes Wachalanka pregnant. In the Andes, parallels were made "between human blood circulation and the movement of water" and "an explicit analogical relationship existed between human semen and the mountain runoff water that fertilized the crops that arose from Mother Earth, with Frank Salomon calling the process 'hydraulic sex'" (D'Altroy 2015: 126; Salomon 1991: 15). Again, rather than approaching this narrative incredulously, blinded by modern, Western assumptions, we can understand *wak'a* and *llaqta* as populating the landscape and products of social practices and relationships embodied in the landscape. *Wak'a* and *llaqta*, among a range of other *wak'a*, expressed corporate forms of identity that were integral to past and future-making. We can thus archaeologically identify the formation of *wak'a* and *llaqta* – composed of settlement patterns, agricultural infrastructure, stone

monolith (*wank'a*), and material culture and other features in the landscape. Archaeology is well poised to identify the production, distribution and control of water, life and a universe of beings and things.

While we must retain a critical eye of this account of the Inka encounter with local features in the Andagua Valley, it offers an important anthropological perspective of the history of the valley. For instance, we can be skeptical of the claim that the Inka was responsible for the complete production of settlements and infrastructure in the valley, as local populations have inhabited the region for millennia prior to Inka expansion. At the same time, the oral history and archaeological research support the Inka Empire expansion and intensification of local settlements and infrastructure, including building new settlements, and reorienting the ritual landscape away from regional *wak'as*. Through an anthropological perspective we can understand how *wak'a* were not abstract entities outside of time, but foundational to local realities and inhabitation in the valley. The offspring of Wachalanka and the Inka were historical and material forms of social reproduction with the Inka laying claim to the power of social reproduction and life, forging bonds with local *llaqta* and *wak'a* in order to transform and legitimize the social order of the world.

We can further map the oral history by tracing local populations' relations with water, stone and landscape features (volcanoes) in the valley. This is evident in, but not limited to, the Inka canal that winds its way around the Twin Volcanoes (*Los Mellizos*), the extensive terraces that line the hillsides below the peak of Wachalanka in the eastern extent of the valley, and an array of archaeological evidence and material culture across the valley and the *llaqta* that constitute the Valley of Volcanoes. There is a long, rectilinear and steadily sloped abandoned canal that is fed from the Andagua River, more than a km away, that runs below Wachalanka. It is of pre-Hispanic origin, most likely Inka, and was responsible for irrigating the intensified agricultural landscape

along with a small spring and seasonal drainage that flow from Wachalanka and the adjacent mountainside.

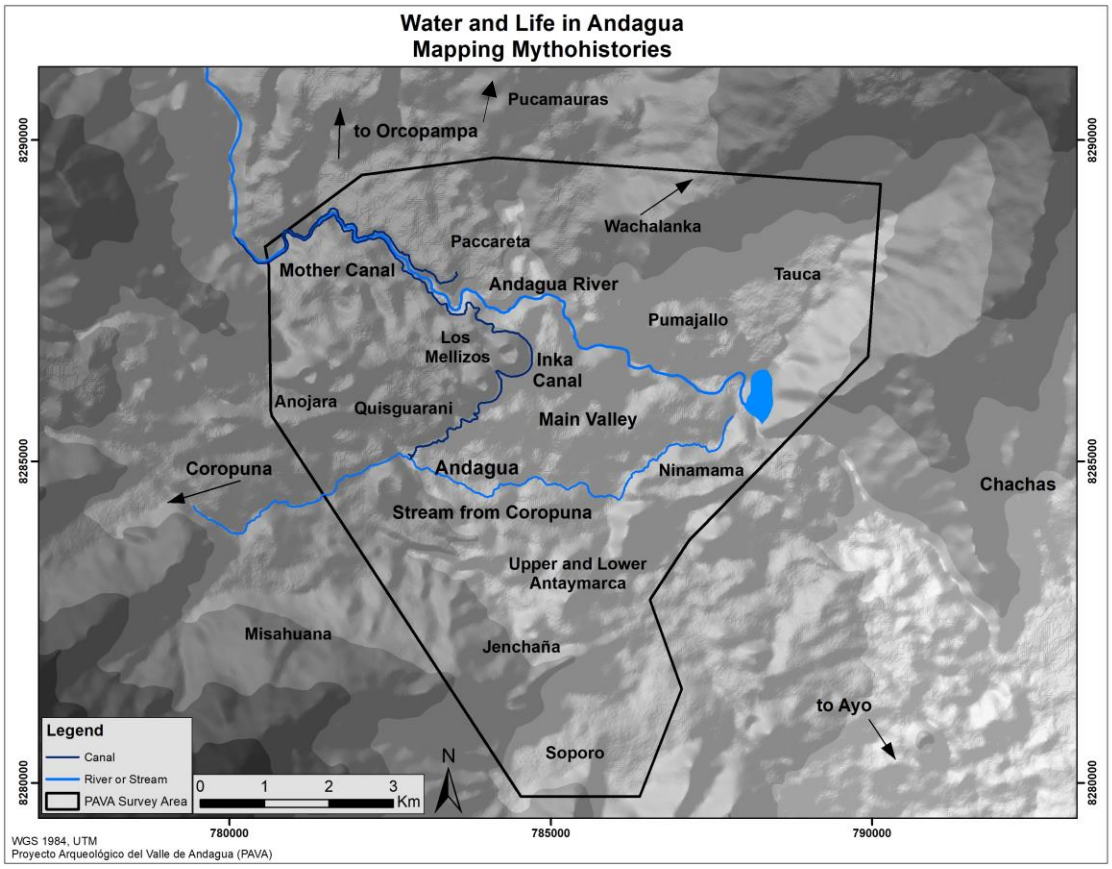


Figure 2.12: Map of Mother Canal, Stream from Coropuna, Andagua River, parallel canal to Paccareta, along with main features and sites in the valley

The currents and flows of water (and canals) also include the stream of glacial melt that descends from Coropuna and winds through the ravines that make up Andagua and Andagua Antiguo. The spring water of Misahuana, another protagonist in the mythohistory that served Coropuna, flows down from mountains near Coropuna and irrigates fields to the south and east of the town of Andagua, where the Inka canal does not necessarily reach. While the Mother Canal turns into the Inka canal as it bends around the twin volcanoes, which Hoempler had recorded as "Huanacahuare" (1962). The Inka canal continues in many directions spawning several canals throughout the valley. The cement (Inka) canal continues along the twin volcanoes and lines the

terraced southern edge of the large archaeological site of Quisguarani (AND-2) before it eventually runs into the stream from Coropuna and irrigates the surrounding agricultural fields. The union of water flows is of important cultural significance in the Andes, known as a *tinkupa* (Salomon 1982). The oral histories in dialogue with archaeological survey demonstrate how water and stone are loci of meaning and power with this dissertation illuminating the struggle over the power to control, name and determine the meanings of things and life. Recognizing a world marked by temporally and socially emergent forces that anchor belonging and make the world, we can strive to understand the registers and archaeological conditions of possibility for social histories that give form to the encounter of Wachalanka and the Inka.

Recognizing the socio-historical production of landscapes, the subsequent chapters archaeologically trace the material formation of *llaqta* and *wak'a* in the Valley of Volcanoes throughout the pre-Inka past and continuing to the present. This work examines the emergence of sedentism, pottery, painted tablets and discs and agricultural infrastructure through Inka imperialism and volcanic activity of *Ninamama*. The dissertation continues beyond Inka expansion to show how under Spanish colonial reign, local populations were forcibly resettled to newly constructed *reducciones* in order to convert indigenous inhabitants and make them imperial subjects. While considering the incompleteness of state projects, the dissertation moves through the recent past and espouses a "politics of despair" to emphasize the historicity of local Andean *wak'a* and *llaqta*, since these historical occupations and regional features are no longer occupied and venerated in the same way as the past. Traversing geological and human scales, an anthropological archaeology provides crucial insight into clarifying these historical processes. An archaeology of *llaqtas* in the Andagua Valley offers a map of history, with the next chapter

exploring how humans became local through examining the presence of early sedentism and ceramic production along with a suite of archaeological evidence in the region.

Figure 2.13: Map of Mother Canal, Stream from Coropuna, Andagua River, parallel canal to Paccareta, along with main features and sites in the valley (using ESRI basemap, satellite imagery)

Chapter III

Becoming Local

A Map of History

Where should "Andean culture" be found? How should we know it when see it? Should we even presume it is there? Andeanist scholars wrestle with these and other questions as we work in an area classically defined by key historical moments and canonically disciplinary questions deriving largely from the heyday of 'area studies' in the middle decades of the twentieth century. Such wrestling becomes especially contentious given the critical questioning, ongoing for more than a generation in anthropology, of the presumptions of bounded and stable culture areas implicit in much of the classical ethnographic canon. The challenge for students of the Andes is to finesse the claim that a regional cultural "there" there exists without falling into the trap of positing a homogeneous or enduring Andeanism.

It is useful to begin with the observations that the Andes are not something found but rather something made. The commonalities and differences across the region - and indeed, even the geographic self-evidence of "the Andes" – compose a map of history.

Andrew Orta *Catechizing Culture*, 2004: 30

Defining the Region

Beginning in 2013, I took the opportunity to carry out two visits to Andagua to conduct preliminary informal survey and establish relationships with the local community in anticipation of a long-term field project. At the time, archaeologists had only registered five of the most well-known and preserved sites in the valley but had not conducted systematic work to put them in context. This included identifying the ceramic style of “Soporo”, which shares its name with the archaeological site and local annex for where it was first recovered. The Soporo style has since been characterized as diagnostic evidence of early human settlements in the region (broadly identified as part of the Formative Period, approximately 1500BC – 500AD). Soporo is one of five formally, and previously, recognized sites in the valley, which are the largest and most discrete settlements (*llaqta*) in the valley, including Paccareta, Pumajallo, (Upper) Antaymarca and Tauca. The production of ceramic is often identified as an archaeological index of the transition from

hunter and gatherer lifeways, referred as the Archaic Period (approx. 12,000–3,500BP) to sedentary occupations characterized by agro-pastoral intensification marking the Formative Period. The collection of "Soporo" type ceramics is limited to a handful of artifacts and the extent of occupational history of the site of Soporo remains uncertain, with evidence suggesting late pre-Hispanic residence (Linares Málaga 1993; Neira Avendaño 1998; Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas 2000; Sobzcyk 2005; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000).

While identifying ceramic styles is a critical task, pottery styles have been burdened with a great deal of explanatory power (Stanish 1992). Although, ceramic types remain an invaluable marker of archaeological (prehistoric) sequences, their identifications in the Southern Peruvian Andes continues to be refined and can be further understood in light of broader archaeological contexts and lines of evidence through systematic research in the Andagua Valley. This research yields insight into regional and non-state developments of early human settlements and the formation of regional identities in the Andagua Valley through the pre-Inka Andes. Examining ceramic styles in addition to a suite of archaeological evidence, highlights useful approaches towards understanding regional histories and interpreting archaeological evidence, with this chapter attending to the socio-historical emergence of the occupation and ceramic style of Soporo as the foundations for an archaeology of *llaqtas*.

Preparing for systematic field research in 2015, I walked with Blaise Murphy to the area of Soporo to preliminarily review the archaeological occupation. We trekked the five kilometers following the gravel road that traverses and descends through the valley, continuing across the valley to Chachas and further down valley to Ayo. We walked by lava flows and the sites of Antaymarca, winding through the valley further revealing multiple paths and trails that date back to before the advent of the automobile. The road bends as it arrives at Soporo, with the annex and

area within a minor drainage basin descending from the highland mountains west of Andagua. Lava flows surround the annex and archaeological (past) activities and constructions scatter the site, from abandoned and repurposed fields, cemeteries, aggregate structures and more.

There is a sign at the side of the road referring to the "Chullpas of Soporo," but there is no clear road to the site. We speculated the site was up on the hillside, but it was unclear. We walked along an intersecting road that leads farther into the valley inlet and soon came across a group of people working in a field and preparing for lunch. We stopped there to speak with them and learn about the area, including confirming the location of the site. I asked about the location of Soporo. The older woman preparing the food was a jovial yet shrewd woman. She responded that I was already in Soporo, all of this was Soporo. But yes, there is a site where the ancestors and grandparents lived. With a grin she said she would tell us where they lived for a few US dollars. I sheepishly smiled at her canny confidence that exploited my foreignness while recognizing the financial benefits of knowledge and proximity to the remains of Soporo. They were just about to sit down for some food and generously and steadfastly encouraged us to join.

We joined them and ate delicious fresh chicken soup and recently harvested potatoes and drank *chicha*, a rich corn fermented beverage. In my poor Quechua I introduced myself and explained our plans to study the archaeological history of the valley; as I would often say, "your history." After eating and talking, we graciously thanked them as they returned to working the fields. With our stomachs full and my pockets no lighter (I did not have any US dollars, nor was she actually interested in receiving financial compensation), we continued walking towards where she had pointed to the ruins of Soporo. This was one of numerous encounters we had walking throughout the valley. Local residents' hard work maintaining the landscape as well as their

generosity and pride were constantly present in the gifts they shared with us while we carried out our own fieldwork.

That afternoon we informally surveyed Soporo in anticipation of carrying out the first systematic archaeological research in the valley (involving 45km^2 regional pedestrian full-coverage survey and test-pit excavations) beginning in 2015 under the auspices of *Proyecto Arqueológico del Valle de Andagua* (PAVA) (Menaker and Falcón Huayta 2016, 2017). I would return multiple times with other project members to formally survey Soporo and the surrounding area through systematic pedestrian survey at the southern extent of the survey area. Through multiple days of survey and aerial mapping our project documented foundational knowledge on the occupation of Soporo. This chapter presents the previous research of Soporo and expands beyond ceramic evidence and unsystematic research to provide the foundations of an archaeology of *llaqtas* in the Valley of Volcanoes. In doing so, archaeological research illuminates the emergence of local and regional identities through the processual formation of places that were anchored with meaning and authority, forming the landscape and ordering the world.

Identifying and Explaining Soporo and the Formative Period

The archaeological occupation of Soporo is located at the foot of the valley wall and halfway up the mountainside above and next to the contemporary annex with the same name. In an article dedicated to reviewing the pioneering archaeology of Arequipa, Maximo Neira Avendaño offered one of the first discussions and identifications of the Soporo style of the Andagua Valley. In 1998, Neira Avendaño recounted how an anthropologist visiting the community noticed a ceramic scatter where they had recently carried out construction on a local school below the larger occupation. Collecting samples, he passed the ceramics to Neira

Avendaño, who observed how this pottery was different from Inka, with its thick rims and beveled lip in the interior and goes onto identify two distinct types of ceramic – Hachas and Soporo (Neira Avendaño 1998).

The style of Soporo is similar in form to other closed pots (*ollas*) with a "comma-like" profile that has been broadly identified as corresponding to the Formative era. Neira Avendaño describes "the Soporo style as fragments of a maroon red with profound and wide horizontal and oblique incisions that evoke earlier Andean traditions. The ornamentation is complemented with thick points by a stubby tool, and there are stamped circles with a point in the middle" (Neira Avendaño 1998: 28, my own translation). On the other hand, the style of Hachas "is characterized fundamentally by the appliqué decoration with vertical incisions," and is most likely named due to its similarity to the broader style of Hachas, a Formative style identified towards the coast in the Acari Valley (Neira Avendaño 1998: 24). Based upon these observations, and remarking how the occurrence of Formative period ceramics had long been in question, with archaeologists viewing the Southern Andes as a marginal backwater ("*atrasado*" citing Vecelius 1960), Neira Avendaño makes the foundational interpretation of Soporo as indicative of Formative occupations (1998: 23).

Writing with Augusto Cardona Rosas, Neira Avendaño would expand upon similar observations about the material in a subsequent chapter published as part of the broader *Proyecto Condesuyos*, directed by archaeologists Mariusz Ziółkowski and Augusto Belan Franco (2000). *Proyecto Condesuyos* research was primarily dedicated to studying late pre-Hispanic and Inka settlements in the broader Arequipa region, once referred to as *Condesuyos*, one of the four principal regions of the Inka Empire, *Tawantinsuyu*. In the publications, Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas identify and review other Formative ceramic styles and sites including Ayawala style in Chuquibamba and Punta Islay, Socabaya, Tasata, Poru Poru in the surrounding Arequipa

region, as well as, drawing comparisons to Pukara Formative styles near Lake Titicaca (Neira Avendaño 1998). This collection of ceramics serves as foundational comparative evidence for archaeological knowledge of the region influencing archaeological interpretations throughout the Southern Peruvian Andes (Jennings 2002; Wernke 2003). Archaeological contexts stretch the length of the identified Formative with dates as early as 1,400–800BC (2,970BP) from Hachas and Ayawala, continuing through 800BC and as late as 550AD (Neira Avendaño 1998; Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas 2000).

The authors propose breaking up the long Formative into three phases; however, the determining factors in distinguishing these phases are not necessarily clear, other than stylistic comparisons and their presence at varying regional sites. In doing so, the authors identify several ceramic styles and associate them with temporal periods. In a first phase, Neira Avendaño and Agusto Cardona Rosas identify the Early Formative dating to 1400BC to 800BC, with the authors grouping the Soporo ceramic style with both Ayawala and Hachas. While Hachas and Ayawala have contexts dated to this early time, Soporo does not have any radiocarbon dates associated with it. Soporo was classified based upon stylistic similarities of the incisions and applications, while its regional presence challenges such neat temporal divisions. The authors identify a "second phase" based upon evidence from the site of Ayawala dating to a context of 800/700–300BC. They include Soporo and Huamantambo in this period, observing that "there appear similarities sharing the same decoration characteristic of stamped concentric circles with points in the middle" (Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas 2000: 44). A "third stage" developed from 300BC to AD 300 included Punta Islay, as well as, other ceramic styles such as Poru Poru, Sonqanata and Socabaya citing similarities with Pukara (ibid: 44). Beyond the Soporo pottery style, the identification and

interpretation of the occupation of Soporo are further complicated with additional archaeological evidence.

In the same published volume where Neira Avendaño and Cardona Rosas describe the Soporo ceramic and Formative sites in the Arequipa region, *Proyecto Condesuyos* lists the site of Soporo as a Late Intermediate Period (approximately 1000–1400AD) occupation that possibly continued into the Late Horizon (Inka) (1400-1532AD). Subsequent publications by the *Proyecto Condesuyos* show late pre-Hispanic occupations at the site of Soporo. This evidence includes a large Inka *aríbalo*, documented by Linares Málaga, and a two-level tomb as part of a comparative study of funerary structures throughout the region (discussed below) (Sobczyk 2005). Despite these contributions, the site of Soporo and the region have not received systematic archaeological attention, thus limiting our knowledge of the archaeological history of the site and its relations with the surrounding valley.

Research at Soporo and understanding early human inhabitation in the southern Peruvian Andes reflect the enduring challenges of identifying patterns and explaining cultural change and continuity that are central concerns of anthropology and archaeology (e.g. Steward 1955 [1972]; Stocking 1974; Trigger 2006). Julian Steward's (1972 [1955]) attempt at a cross-cultural analysis of long-term human historical processes, in which he defined the criteria of the Formative, continues to inform our socio-historical typologies. For Steward, drawing from a bevy of archaeological research across the world, the Formative is characterized by permanent villages (sedentism), farming, pottery, basket-weaving and metal production, as well as, the formation of hierarchical class difference informed by a "theocratic control of society" (ibid: 186-196). The Formative followed what Steward identified as the development of "incipient agriculture," with the intensification of agriculture and irrigation and while locally managed, local populations were

brought together through a ruling priest class at ceremonial centers and mounds. While Steward critiques organic, closed views of societies and emphasizes the dynamic, limited conflict and interregional relations, he relies on the assumption of distinct cultural groups that had come to form as dispersed communities (echoing the tension mentioned above with the "area studies" of archaeology and anthropology) (ibid: 186-196).

It is important to note that Steward's (1972 [1955]) analysis for Peru is based upon research in the Northern Peru, with attention to the florescence of Chavin de Huantar. Moreover, the Formative, according to Steward, inherently, and teleologically contained the seeds of state formation. Since the Southern Peruvian Andes also had pre-Inka polities such as the Wari and Tiwanaku, then the preceding socio-historical contexts fell under the criteria of the Formative. Following Steward's analysis, Andean scholars have refined the classification of socio-historical processes in the Southern Peruvian Andes, yet the category of the Formative continues as both integral, but worth further clarification. Specifically, archaeologists have worked to define a long Formative in the Southern Peruvian Andes places where the Wari and Tiwanaku polities had little reach (e.g. Jennings 2002; Tripcevich 2007). Addressing the socio-historical processes that fall under the Formative, we can recognize that not only was the socio-historical contexts distinct from the North, it is most likely that as people inhabited and domesticated the landscape through the formation of village settlements they continued an array of practices previously characterized as belonging to the Archaic Period, such as hunting and gathering along with forays into the highlands developing agro-pastoral economies.

Beyond Steward's identification of the Formative, Andean periodization has been forged through the distinction of "Horizons," eras of broad state polities and "Intermediate Periods" characterized by decentralized authorities (e.g. Rowe 1962). Historical moments and eras may be

marked by material culture, such as ceramics, but cultural histories and lived experiences cannot be reduced to an artifact style (e.g. Stanish 1992). Stanish's work has embraced these challenges to do more than identify the presence and identification of ceramic types, striving to explain both the social and historical processes that account for the distribution and production of these cultural materials and associated contexts (Stanish 1992, 2001). In this pursuit, the tensions involving the production of general explanations while attending to particular cultural histories supported by local and regional empirical evidence remain as central issues in analyzing and understanding the range of human experiences in the Andes and throughout world history (Aldenderfer 1989; Arkush 2014; Covey 2008; Orta 2004; Stanish 1992, 2001). In addition to presenting new evidence on the site of Soporo and the eponymous pottery style, this chapter examines how humans settled in the valley through the growth of local village life and creation of places that gave form to the landscape and legitimized the social order of the world.

Becoming Andean

Where (and when) does "Andean society" begin (and end)? How is it that we can group disparate populations under a broader banner as "Andean"? Approaching the Andes and the people who have inhabited them in order to identify cultural and historical processes (and patterns) across broad and deep temporal and spatial frames is a significant challenge (e.g. Murra 1956, 1972, 1985a, 1985b; Rowe 1945, 1962, 1966). Murra's (1956, 1972, 1985a, 1985b) bottom-up historical approach to studying the Andes yielded the important "vertical archipelago" framework. The vertical archipelago, or zonal complementarity, explained the complex and innovative networks of social relations and political-economies traversing the Andes through the control of diverse resources across different ecological zones (Masuda et al. 1985). In addition to zonal

complementarity ("vertical archipelago"), scholars of the late pre-Hispanic and early Spanish colonial Andes have interpreted how communities organized through segmentary kinship. As discussed above, these social hierarchies were composed of dual moiety organization and bilateral inheritance, with lineages (*ayllu*) descending from regional features and mountain peaks (*apus*, *wak'as* and *paqarinas*) (see also Masuda et al. 1985).

However, in its most dogmatic application, *lo andino*, the "vertical archipelago" and a suite of cultural characteristics results in an essentialization of cultural identities, an ideal type to be discovered generally across regions, removing agency and history from local populations. Ethnographers to archaeologists have offered renewed critical studies refining our understandings of the processes and historical dynamics that have shaped human societies in the Southern Peruvian Andes (Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2003, 2006; Jamieson 2005; Orta 2004; Van Buren 1996; 2010). Understanding the specific dynamics of "multifarious complementarity" (Salomon 1985) that organized Andean societies, scholars have investigated processes of colonization, sedentism, continuing pastoral practices, as well as, exchange that contributed to the development of agricultural production systems and regional resource exploitation and relationships (Stanish 1992).

This research embraces a regional perspective of the Southern Peruvian Andes, stretching from Lake Titicaca to the Pacific coast and farther North to the Cusco region, to identify the processes, patterns and differences across the human past (Covey 2008; Stanish 2001). Studies of early human colonization of the Andes and the formation of village societies have productively emphasized the long-term histories of regional interactions, attending to multiple lines of evidence, including artifacts and settlement patterns to explain the complex socio-political developments and range of human experiences in the pre-Hispanic landscape (Aldenderfer 1989, 1993; Bandy 2001,

2004; Bauer 1999; Masuda et al. 1985; Rademaker 2012; Stanish 1992; Tripcevich 2007). Considering broader, macro-regional data, this chapter examines the earliest human settlements in the regions surrounding the Valley of Andagua, including the Colca, Cotahuasi and Majes Valleys, and encompassed in what is today known as the Department of Arequipa (encompassing the Provinces of Condesuyos and Castilla). Reviewing these archaeological histories and subsequently turning to detailed discussion of the presence and distribution of the Soporo ceramic style in the Andagua Valley, enables an understanding of how regional and local identities came to form – where shared conditions of life make matter come to matter.

The presence of Soporo ceramics indicate early human settlements in the Andagua Valley and surrounding valleys. Expanding beyond the site of Soporo, research by PAVA illuminates the regional distribution of the Soporo ceramic style – found at multiple archaeological sites – indicating deep occupational histories. It is a challenge, however, to temporally identify the sequence of sites based upon surface collections. In the case of the Andagua Valley, it is nearly impossible – based on the ceramic evidence available – to identify which sites with Soporo ceramics present were occupied first – among Paccareta, Andagua Antiguo and others. As such, naming the pottery style Soporo reflects more the present circumstances of its collection and in a way could be a misnomer since it may not accurately indicate which site was occupied earliest in the valley. From an emic perspective, local community members often refer to the site of Paccareta as one of the earliest occupations, with the root pre-fix of paq- indicative of *paqarina* and other sites identified for their originary properties.

In the Southern Andes, regional socio-political developments facilitated the growth of both centralized and expansive regional polities, in particular the Middle Horizon Wari and Tiwanaku states. The Andagua Valley is a substantial distance from both the major administrative center of

the Wari near the contemporary city Ayacucho and the site of Tiwanaku development in the Lake Titicaca basin. No major formative polity has been identified in this valley area, and there is no evidence of Tiwanaku or Wari direct state control. This suggests a long-held local tradition of non-state societies with decentralized authorities, possibly forged through kinship, which continued through pre-Inka times. This research sheds light on the limits of early pre-Inka states (Wari and Tiwanaku), while at the same time yielding insight into (non-state) local and regional relationships and processes that constitute pre-Inka cultural histories in the valley. In the case of the Arequipa region and the Andagua Valley, this is evident in archaeological features and artifacts, including monoliths (*wank'a*) and the regional painted tablet and disc tradition found throughout the area. This section presents a regional archaeological overview of early human occupations in the Southern Andes, providing deep historical and broad regional background to understand and contextualize the histories of the Andagua Valley and Soporo.

Regional Views of Early Occupational Histories

Recent research places some of the earliest human occupations of the nearby Southern Peruvian Andes in the highlands below the glacial peaks of Coropuna and Solimana. This early human colonization of the region, known as the Paleoindian period, dates to 12,800 – 11,700 and 12,380 – 11,400BP based upon artefactual and absolute dating (Rademaker 2012). These early human inhabitants were primarily hunters and gatherers dedicated to seasonal foraging, often building small shelters in the high grasslands (*puna*) as they exploited highland resources, such as camelids and obsidian. This research suggests widespread early human colonization during the late Pleistocene, giving way to more localized subsistence strategies as environmental conditions approached those of the Holocene (Kuentz et al. 2007; Kuentz et al. 2012).

The Archaic period (8500–1500 BC) continues from early occupations through the development of incipient horticulture, pastoralism and specialized exploitation of marine and littoral terrestrial species (Aldenderfer 1989: 142). These early inhabitants further accessed naturally occurring lithic outcrops, especially obsidian, to craft tools for a range of cultural practices and subsistence strategies. There exists obsidian sources throughout the southern Peruvian Andes, such as the highland *puna* below Coropuna near Andagua, as well as, in the Cotahuasi and Colca Valleys (Jennings and Glascock 2002; Rademaker 2012; Tripcevich 2007). These sources of obsidian are important sites for human exploitation and relations, developing of trade and serving as useful lines of evidence of human activity throughout the past. By 5500-4500 BC, human populations were producing permanent domestic structures and developing more intensified relations with the landscape (Aldenderfer 1993). Similar to broader human trends, inhabitation in the Andes saw further intensifications of the surrounding landscape and production of ceramics, marking the generally identified transition from the Archaic to Formative.

Agriculture and ceramic production have been characterized as two defining features of the Formative period, a time of early regional development of agriculture, most likely through rain-fed terraces. These terraces were most likely, sloping field, bench or cross-channel terraces. Humans' use and dependence on agriculture fundamentally changed, shaping how people interacted with and interpreted the landscape. Such intensification of land and production of ceramic further corresponds to broader patterns of sedentism and social hierarchies. Consequently, the archaeological record becomes more visibly extensive and documented, thus it useful to turn to research in the valleys surrounding Andagua for a comparative and regional perspective (Bandy 2004; Brooks 1998; Murphy 2017; Treacy 1989).

The most significant Formative settlement documented in the Colca Valley is the site of Chiquero, which was registered by Wernke where he recovered a large presence of spheroid, neckless ollas, characterizing them as "a hallmark vessel of the Formative region" (Wernke 2003: 135). Wernke observes that the Chiquero ceramics "are unslipped, with distinctively striated surfaces (interior and exterior) resulting from a coarse vegetable fiber brushing technique" (Wernke 2003: 135). Wernke also points to a diagnostic Pukara fragment as evidence that the site was occupied between 200BC and 400AD (ibid: 135). As in the Andagua Valley, the terraced extent of the main valley of the Colca, made it difficult to identify Formative sites. The terraces and anthropogenic landscapes are composed of deep and multiple occupations producing disturbed contexts that present challenges in accurately identifying temporal contexts (this is evident in Brooks work, with excavations of terraces yielding unlikely radiocarbon dates to 4000BP) (Brooks 1998; Wernke 2003). This results in an underrepresentation of early human settlements and activities despite the extent of previous projects in the valley.

Excavations above the lower Colca valley around Sibayo have recovered Chiquero style ceramics in Middle Horizon contexts, revealing the long continued production and use of early ceramic styles (Tripcevich 2007: 577-578). Tripcevich argues that while the Archaic (preceramic) occupations can be distinguished from Formative sites by the introduction of pottery, it is more difficult to distinguish the Formative, characterized by early agropastoralists in the Upper Colca, from the broader Middle Horizon period because the difference in scale and intensity of inhabitation and development compared to the Titicaca Basin and Tiwanaku (Tripcevich 2007: 577-578). Although 90% of the obsidian recovered in Lake Titicaca Formative sites was originally from the Chivay source, suggesting the deep relations among the regions (Tripcevivh 2007), Wernke did not encounter any Tiwanaku presence in the valley and identified limited Wari

influence in material culture but no direct administrative presence (Wernke 2013). There was agro-pastoral intensification in the Colca Valley during the Middle Horizon and late pre-Hispanic associated with a fluorescence of material culture, such as the painted tablets and discs and a variety of ceramic styles, overlapping with artifacts collected in Andagua (discussed in chapter four) (e.g. Doutriaux 2004; Wernke 2003, 2013).

To the west (and north) of the Andagua Valley, Jennings compared local pottery recovered in the Cotahuasi Valley to the Soporo style. Jennings identified an "Aicano" style that encompassed Soporo and the Hachas styles, claiming there possibly existed a "broad regional tradition" using these as local examples. The collection consisted of 85 ceramics recovered throughout the course of the project including a variety of other ceramics beyond the neckless pots and such as bowls and necked jars (Jennings 2002: 265 – 270).[1] Jennings observes that "the clay that characterizes the style appears to be local, the paste is both different than those used in Hachas and Soporo vessels and is similar to pastes used in local Cotahuasi styles from later periods, and the sherds are neither as thin-walled nor as hard as Hachas ceramic fragments" (Jennings 2002: 265). Jennings recovered Soporo pottery from excavations at the site of Alca, which exhibits multiple occupations continuing from the Early Intermediate Period (200BC–AD 600) through early Spanish colonialism (Jennings 2003: 443). The date of the Aicano style remains to be determined by radiocarbon dating; though, without any absolute dating techniques – based on the dating of the Hachas style in the Acari Valley – Jennings speculates that "it appears likely that it dates to around 900BC" (Jennings 2002: 270).

Bauer documented similar circular incisions in the Chanapata, Qotakalli and Muyu Urqu ceramic styles in the Cuzco region to those that Neira Avendaño observed, identifying these as

[1] Jennings uses the term "inchoate period" in referring to the Formative, with the "introduction" of these ceramics marking the transition (Jennings 2002: 270).

indicative of the Early Intermediate Period (400BC–550AD) (Bauer 1999; Rowe 1944, 1956). While acknowledging the limits of the contexts, Bauer also references the contemporaneity of the Pukara settlement in the Lake Titicaca Basin based upon evidence in the surrounding region (1999: 97). Cuzco's proximity to Andagua makes it a useful comparative region. Bauer's southernmost extent of survey is 150km away (1999), nearly half the distance from Lake Titicaca and Tiwanaku. While the collection analyzed by Bauer is different from the collection recovered by PAVA, archaeological (and linguistic) evidence supports the emergence of regional relationships across the southern Peruvian Andes (e.g. Bauer 1999; Bauer and Stanish 2001; Mannheim 1991; Masuda et al. 1985). Recognizing these regional developments and reference to Pukara, it is important to examine the Lake Titicaca region considering its significance in archaeological explanations and similarities of ceramic types, constituting an extent of the region of the southern Peruvian-Bolivian Andes.

In the Lake Titicaca basin extensive research by scholars has been able to identify deep histories and the emergence of a long Formative, with early human settlement in the region around 9,000 BC and agricultural and sedentary inhabitation emerging around 2000 – 1500 BC (Aldenderfer 2006: 362; Bandy 2004; La Favre 2016; Stanish 2001). Lake Titicaca polities further demonstrate the tensions of decentralized and centralized authorities, with the region ranging from the setting the consolidation of powers to non-state societies organized by segmentary kinship (Arkush 2014; Klarich 2005; La Favre 2016). Bandy analyzes "early village societies" through a more explicitly theoretical lens (social evolution) looking at how 'fissioning' and scalar stress are pervasive and recurrent issues in "early permanent populations as these concentrations tend to be unstable" (Bandy 2004: 322). While it is a problematic analysis that assumes a closed system (as mentioned above with reference to Steward's analysis), this approach serves as a useful referent

for thinking about how a valley like Andagua might be settled over time, with slow growth and villages branching off to exploit nearby land and water resources. Bandy identifies a Long Formative from 1500BCE, with the onset of sedentary agricultural village life followed by "a long sequence of demographic expansion and sociopolitical evolution" (fission-fusion) that decreased with the development of a "regional religious tradition," known as Yaya Mama, prior to the formation of the Tiwanaku state between 300AD and 500AD (2004: 325).

There are several lines of evidence that Bandy claims that can archaeologically identify a village fissioning event, including, "(1) the abandonment or reduction in size of a previously inhabited village, (2) the simultaneous founding of one or more smaller (daughter) villages, and (3) evidence that the inhabitants of the daughter villages were residents of the original village before it was abandoned or reduced in size" (2004: 324). Bandy lists several "factors that discourage fissioning including warfare (external conflict), high levels of investment in landscape (nonportable) capital [e.g. agricultural infrastructure], and social circumscription" (2004: 324). Although, Bandy mentions the challenges in identifying fissioning events, including the abandonment and reduction of a site coinciding with the founding of another, survey is limited in identifying such diachronic processes. This is because ceramic styles (and artifact types) may continue despite the formation of new, or abandonment of old, settlements, thus highlighting the limits of temporal resolution based on artifact styles from surface collections (Bandy 2004). While it is possible to relatively date sites based upon the presence or absence of artifacts and ceramic styles through survey, the documentation of artifacts exposed on the surface primarily provides a regional, horizontal (synchronic) view of archaeological histories. Recognizing the contributions and limitations of archaeological methods and data is necessary for refining the scope of interpretations and arguments and instructive for future research.

Andagua is an important comparative regional example that demonstrates the emergence of local autochthonous cultural occupations and the formation of social hierarchies. While research is growing in Andagua, archaeological evidence does not support clear demarcations of epochal shifts from early human sedentism through the pre-Inka past. At the foundational stages of research, we do not have the evidence and resolution like in the Titicaca Basin and other regions, and without extensive radiocarbon dating detailed chronological sequences are elusive. In addition to documenting the Soporo style at the site of Soporo, the majority of Soporo pottery was recovered elsewhere in the valley. In particular, we collected Soporo pottery at four major archaeological settlements, or *llaqta*; Andagua (and Andagua Antiguo), Paccareta, Pumajallo and Tauca, as well as, throughout the main valley (figure 3.11). Expanding beyond ceramic styles we can develop a relational form of occupational histories in order to consider an assemblage of materials that constitute a *llaqta*,

The Emergence of Social Life in the Valley of Volcanoes

The project did not register clear diagnostic evidence of Archaic Period contexts due to several challenges in identifying early human activities. Such factors include the general ephemerality and small scale of sites, difficulty in modelling forager behavior for predictive analysis, and post-occupation effects from multiple occupations, such as the construction and maintenance of agricultural terraces and standing architecture (Rademaker 2012). Another significant variable to understanding human occupation in the Andagua Valley is its stark geological history. The Valley of Andagua, or Valley of Volcanoes, is composed of Quaternary volcanic flows, scoria cones and anthropogenic features, though the project did not identify any obsidian sources in the survey area. Previous geological research in the valley has identified

volcanic activity throughout the Holocene and continuing to the 15th century (Delacour et al. 2007; Hoempler 1962; see previous chapter). It is unclear how volatile the region was – whether it was entirely unhospitable to reside in the valley or if it allowed for varied early human settlements. Massive lava flows and a noticeable lack of human presence make up the valley floor surrounding the site (east) of Soporo. The geological and volcanic activity were formidable variables and constraints to basic human existence and survival in the valley. The volcanic activity and landscape would take on considerable social significance throughout the pre-Hispanic landscape.

The project conducted systematic intensive survey at Soporo, recovering artifacts at the site and the surrounding area. The project documented diagnostic architectural features and additional observations to yield important insight into its occupational history. In 2016, PAVA also mapped the site of Soporo with a drone producing aerial imagery that has been analyzed and processed to produce a plan map (see figure 3.1). Archaeological research of the site and pottery style of Soporo, including its regional distribution and its association with local settlements and features, in the valley, provide insight into understanding long-term processes in the Andes, with the site of Soporo as an example of a pre-Inka (and Inka) *llaqta*.

Soporo

The small annex community that shares its name with the archaeological site and style is composed of barely a dozen homes and buildings straddling the dirt road where it bends before descending down the valley, weaving through the lava flows. The annex is south of the town of Andagua and across the valley from the town of Chachas. Today the primary source of water for the community and its fields comes from Andagua, although local people say that there are springs in the mountains above Soporo. Highlighting the regional patchwork of land management, many

people own land around Soporo in addition to other places in the valley. People claim descent from multiple locations, such as Soporo, Andagua and other regional places.

The Soporo archaeological site is located on the slopes of the valley as it steepens to a cliff above. The surrounding valley area is composed of gently sloping land divided into fields and plots, though some are abandoned. To the east of the site there is a steep drop delineating the occupational aspect of the site and terraces below. The terraces stretch high along the ascending valley wall all around the site, with the extent of terracing suggestive of multiple occupations. Though, today the terraces immediately surrounding the site are primarily fallow and in disuse. At the crest of the hillside above the site, there is a rectilinear grid marked by stone walls. This formal grid plan is similar to other sites found throughout the valley, possibly corresponding to Inka state expansion. Archaeological evidence, including the Soporo style ceramic, painted stone discs and Inka pottery, indicate early human inhabitation continuing through the late pre-Hispanic. Beyond the array of portable material culture, other diagnostic features that suggest multiple occupations include site organization and architecture.

Surveying and Mapping Soporo

This section presents an archaeological site map of Soporo and offers a detailed discussion of the methods and results in documenting and studying the site. The site of Soporo marks the southern edge of PAVA's full coverage regional survey. It was incorporated into the study to build upon its previous documentation through systematic research of the site and region. The project carried out systematic survey of the region, walking at 50m intervals collecting diagnostic artifacts, in addition to aerial photography and post-processing mapping in ArcGIS. The map was completed through the use of an aerial drone to photograph the site. Even with accomplishing systematic full

coverage survey and completing aerial photography with an aerial drone (with one attempt), a comprehensive (architectural analysis) picture of the site was limited due to the extensive vegetation overgrowth, substantial deterioration, and post-occupational effects. The map of the site of Soporo serves as a foundational contribution of mapping, reconstructing and understanding human occupations in the region. The primary occupational concentration and additional diagnostic features cover approximately 11 hectares not including surrounding terraces. Demonstrating the significances of a systematic and comprehensive study, this section reviews a range of artifacts and features present at Soporo to effectively understand the composition and formation of local *llaqta*.

The project recovered four ceramics indicative of the Soporo ceramic style at the main occupation of the site, including two recovered on the hillside near a canal below the main occupation. Another two fragments were collected just north associated with the mound, Awayanki (discussed below). Beyond these ceramics, the archaeological remains at Soporo are indicative of multiple occupations with a variety of architectural features, material culture and agricultural infrastructure. The site is composed of a level open space (plaza) with a platform along the hillside while much of the architecture and standing features are located on the surrounding slopes, except for the area to the northwest of the plaza where there is a break in the steep hillside.

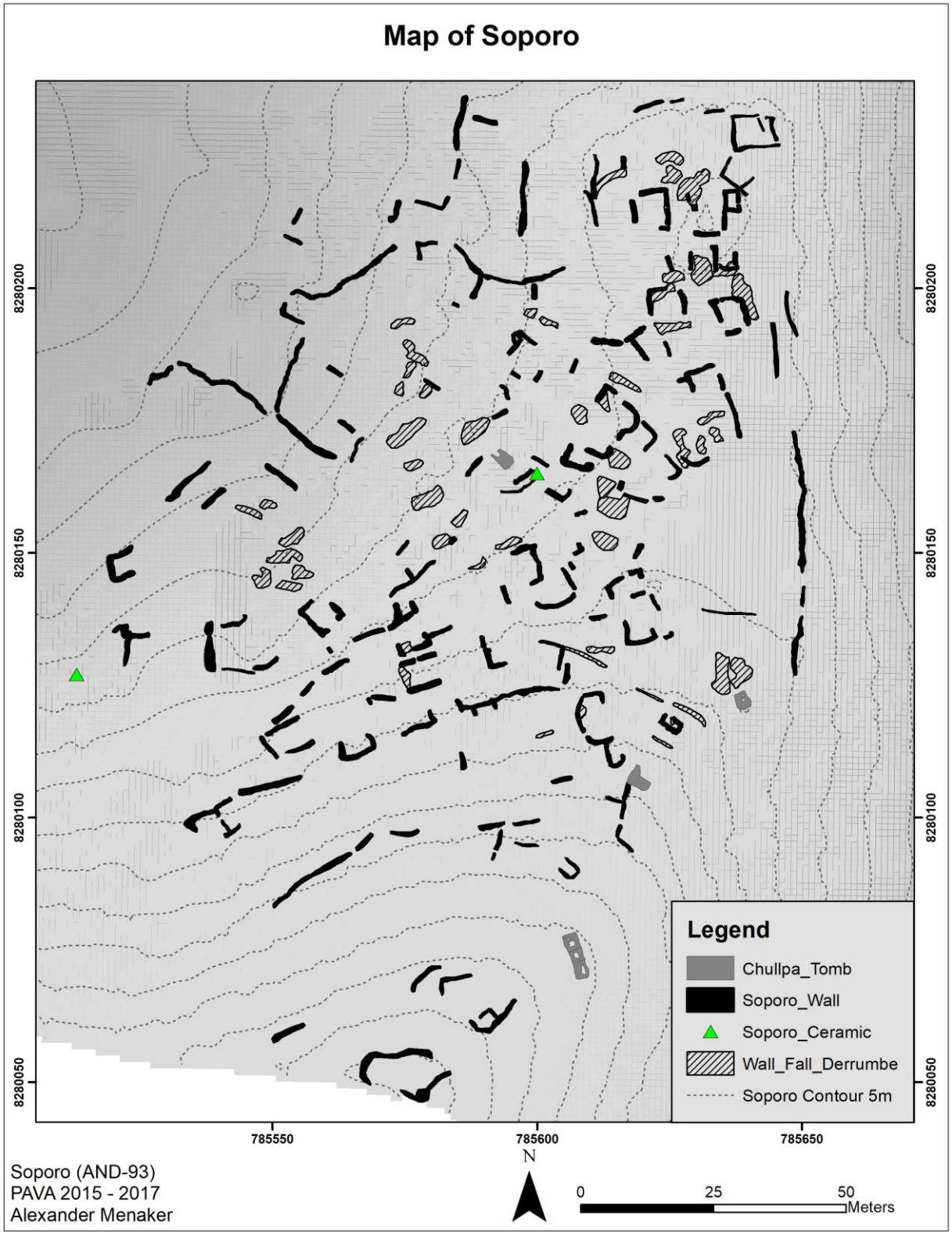


Figure 3.1: Plan map of Soporo

There is evidence of ceremonial and domestic architecture, however due to vegetation and limited research we still need to refine our understandings of the specific intra-site organization. Nonetheless, certain features are clear, such as mortuary features and the probable ceremonial features involving a U-shaped feature and platform at the northern extent of the plateau portion of the site – directed towards Wachalanka. Similar U-shaped features were documented in Andagua, and are most likely indicative of pre-Inka, local autochthonous cultural practices. Anchored by life and death, architectural features, mortuary structures, and other lines of evidence serve as markers of identity and territory (Isbell 1997; Mannheim 1991; Mantha 2009; Salomon 1995).

Figure 3.2: Open plaza area and structures with extensive overgrowth, looking north with Pucamauras and Wachalanka in the distance

The project formally identified six mortuary features at the site. The variations of tombs could indicate multiple occupations and transforming identities. This includes a two-level rectilinear tomb distinct for its vertical linear stone feature that runs down the top of the roof and is similar in form to other tombs that are nearly visible eight and half kilometers across the valley at the sites of Tauca and Pumajallo. The tomb measures four meters in length, opening to the west (and northwest), two meters in width, 55cm wall thickness, and the two floors separated by stone

slabs, and the floors 90cm to 1m in height. Maciej Sobczyk, working under the auspices of *Proyecto Condesuyos,* also noted this diagnostic tomb and its occurrence across the valley as he documented funerary tomb types throughout the region. Based upon unsystematic research, Sobczyk observed that the site was arranged in a "chaotic construction" (as well as in Tauca) (2005: 138) Sobczyk's comments highlight the challenges outsiders face in understanding the cultural logic that organized these communities in the past. In addition to the previously identified two-story tombs, the project documented five other mortuary features. One of these is a stone slab tomb, with slabs removed exposing the interior, that is located at the southern edge of the open plaza where the valley hillside continues its steep rise. This stone slab tomb was rectilinear in form, measuring two meters (E-W orientation), 2.8 meters (N-S orientation) with 1.3m height and wall thickness of 55cm. To the southwest and farther up the hillside, there exists another sequence of tombs that are slab tombs. The project documented tombs to the southwest along the sloping hillside among another concentration of structures.

We recovered late pre-Hispanic and Inka artifacts associated with the occupation of Soporo, affirming previous work, which also documented an Inka presence (Linares Málaga 1993; Sobzcyk 2005; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). We recovered what Ziółkowski has characterized as an Imperial Inka ceramic style (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). The extent of Inka presence and effects on the site of Soporo are not clear, with the artifacts and evidence (presented in chapter five). Future research and questions for consideration include more detailed histories and relationships of the occupation and archaeological features, such as mortuary features and the two-level tombs. Through the pre-Hispanic past, regional relationships and line of sight shaped the organization and construction of human settlement in the valley.

Figure 3.3: Two-story mortuary feature at Soporo

Figure 3.4: Slab tomb located on the southern edge of the open plaza below valley slope

There is another feature the project documented, referred to as Awayanki, an earthen mound below the major occupation of Soporo. The mound is surrounded by retaining walls with a large prominent stone or rock outcrop (*wank'a*) located on the top and surrounded by more than 400 scattered discs (painted and unpainted) along with a range of pre-Hispanic pottery. The large rock solitarily stands at the top of the mound indicative of a *wank'a*. The stone could have been moved and placed here, but excavations and further research are necessary to identify its provenience. The large stone is also marked with red paint similar to the red that appears on the discs and tablets, as well as, the red paint featured on other monoliths and architectural features documented across the valley. The *wank'a* and discs in addition to the Soporo ceramic style affirm the deep pre-Inka occupational pasts and the formation of a local *llaqta*.

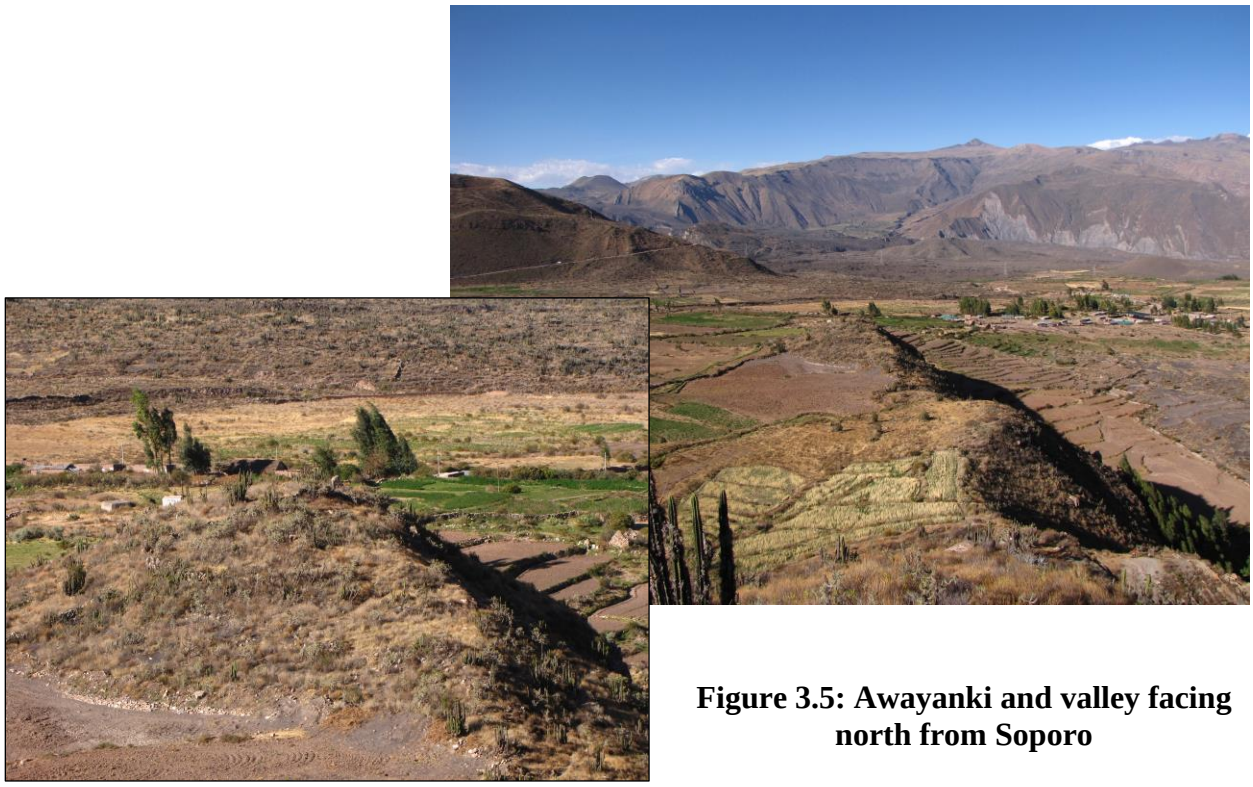


Figure 3.5: Awayanki and valley facing north from Soporo

Figure 3.6: *Wank'a* at Awayanki

Figure 3.7: Señora walking on dirt path. She kindly informed us of the feature's name, Awayanki.

Discs are further located in the area below and surrounding the mound. These discs were located in several places, including exposed and disturbed in fields after recently being plowed. Another large quantity of 70 discs was identified 500 meters to the northwest of Awayanki, also in an area which was recently disturbed by heavy machinery. Artifacts besides the discs associated with the disturbed context were two large fragments of a cumbrous ceramic bowl corresponding to Late Intermediate Period (LIP) styles of Collagua and Chuquibamba (AD1000 – 1400) (figure 3.8). This cumbrous ceramic bowl is painted with a red slip and three black concentric lines on the exterior of the vessel and below the rim. In addition to stone discs, varying ceramic artifacts were recovered surrounding the occupation of Soporo along with the site of Awayanki, including pottery indicative of late pre-Hispanic regional styles.

These artifacts and features are diagnostic of broader local and regional cultural practices. From the Soporo pottery, painted stone discs, *wank'a*, extensive agricultural infrastructure and

structures constitute a *llaqta*. In the next chapter, I expand beyond Soporo to review broader occupational histories and cultural practices in the valley with an archaeology of *llaqtas*, including the painted tablets and discs. Overlapping with the presence of Soporo style pottery, the painted tablets and discs, among other features, manifest socio-political relations that mark significant places, territory and forge identity in the landscape. In the subsequent section, I provide a detailed discussion of the Soporo style pottery recovered throughout the valley, as it was recovered across several *llaqta*. The evidence supports Soporo pottery as indicative of some of the earliest ceramic production and sedentism in the valley.

Figure 3.8: Exposed stone discs surrounding Soporo and Awayanki (top); Stone disc painted red with anthropomorphic design among broader collection (bottom left); stone discs associated with probable late pre-Hispanic black on red pottery (bottom right)

Soporo Ceramic Style in the Andagua Valley

Prior to this research, knowledge of the Soporo ceramic style was only based upon a small, informal collection recovered from disturbed contexts, resulting in a few photos and drawings. Dedicated to a systematic investigation and building upon these foundational observations, we intensively surveyed the site of Soporo and the surrounding valley, yielding a collection consisting of more than 14,500 ceramic fragments and 503 pottery sherds (MNV) around the site of Soporo. In particular, the project recovered 73 fragments (71 MNV) clearly evincing the characteristic Soporo features Neira Avendano first described, throughout the Andagua Valley. Of the collection, only four fragments were actually recovered at the site of Soporo, and two fragments were documented near Awayanki, with the remainder of the collection from elsewhere in the valley. Here I discuss the diagnostic characteristics present in the Soporo ceramic collection recovered by PAVA (see also Appendix for ceramic analysis).[2] Following this I review the locations of Soporo style pottery throughout the valley and the implications for interpreting the archaeological history of the Andagua Valley.

Soporo ceramic style, as mentioned, is characterized by a closed, neckless *olla*, ceramic style. Closed neckless ollas are a common ceramic style across time and space, I am limiting the identification and discussion of the ceramic type to diagnostic incisions characteristic of what has been previously identified. We collected 165 closed neckless pots (*ollas*) not including Soporo style pottery and 229 including them. These artifacts both reflect deep occupational histories as well as their continued and broad use in the Andagua Valley throughout time. Understanding

[2] Our project comprehensively analyzed all artifacts recovered by the project, with a detailed ceramic analysis drawing from Wernke's analysis (Wernke 2003). We identified diagnostic characteristics including vessel form, paste composition, firing qualities, surface and slip or glaze color and presence, design features (painting, incisions), and basic measurements of rim thickness, body thickness, and circumference if possible. Our ceramic analysis attends to the variety of aesthetic dimensions of ceramic characteristics, such as material used as temper in different paste recipes.

regional patterns of communities of practice manufacturing and circulation of early pottery that share style and form requires a fine grained ware comparative analysis. For this chapter I limit the current discussion to the fragments that have diagnostic Soporo characteristics.

Figure 3.9: Soporo style pottery recovered by PAVA during survey

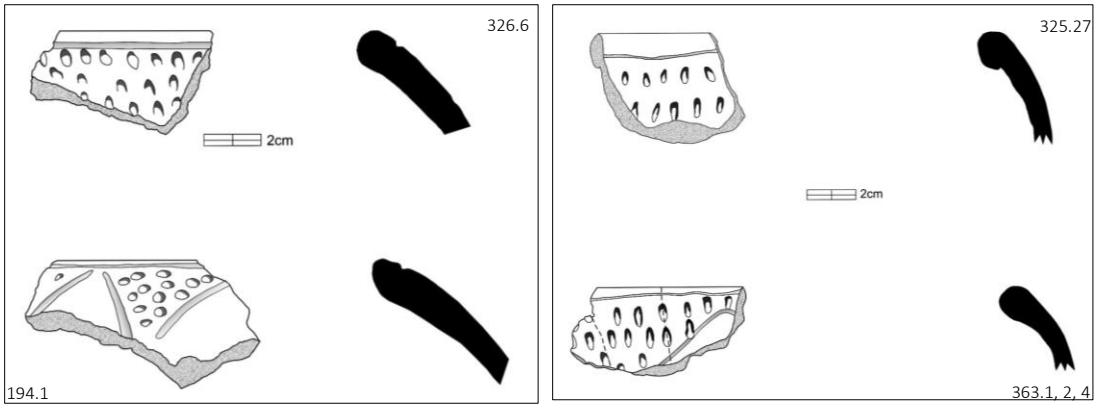


Figure 3.10: Soporo style pottery recovered by PAVA during survey

The defining features of the Soporo style in addition to its comma-like rim include linear incisions with a line below and parallel to the rim, and angular lines hanging below forming triangles on the exterior of the vessel (samples vary with lines that intersect and others that do not touch). Within this incised triangular motif there is a set of stippled (punctate) incisions. Nearly all of the samples recovered are small fragments and almost all of Soporo artifacts recovered are rim fragments (n=66/73, 90.4%). This most likely also reflects how there was less decoration on the body of these vessels making those sherds less diagnostically identifiable. The average weight of each fragment was 24.36g, and with a range from 3.7–109.6g. In the cases where more than 5% of the vessel was observed (n=43), vessel diameters ranged from 9cm to 23cm; though on average only approximately 8% of the rim diameter was visible and estimable. While the Soporo style is primarily identified with the comma-like rim and diagnostic punctate and incisions, there do occur notable variations. The rim thickness ranged from 8.23 to 15.01mm. In particular, thirty-one samples demonstrate the comma-like rim, defined by a thick, reinforced rim with a rounded lip and edge. In some cases, the rim lacked the characteristic round thick lip, with thirteen samples where the lip was planar.

The remaining twenty-two rim fragments are too small to identify the rim diameter and percentage, in addition to seven body fragments lacking any rim remains. We may speculate that the small fragmentary remains of Soporo reflect its antiquity of deep historical use, strewn across the landscape, exposed to the elements and continued disturbances during subsequent centuries. Despite the fragmentary nature of the collection we are still able to analyze particular characteristics and identify patterns among the Soporo ceramic collection yielding critical insight into the archaeological history of the valley. Soporo pottery is composed of fine and compact clay

pastes with black volcanic, quartz and feldspar inclusions along with red inclusions, broken down grains of volcanic rock, and most likely products of local manufacturing.

The decoration of Soporo style varied, including the amount of incision points and distribution, but the observations are strongly influenced due to the small fragmentary qualities of the ceramic samples. This ranged from only two points visible to more than twenty. Twenty-four samples displayed the presence of both the punctate and two oblique lines composing the incised triangular line features (of one triangle) (two samples had only oblique line markings and no evidence of punctate), while nine samples demonstrated the presence of more than one triangle, suggestive of at least two consecutive triangles, characteristic of Soporo. The stippled incisions also varied, with the greatest quantity occurring with small incised points of shallow depth and in oblong/ovoid form angled pointed impression with tool apparently impressed at an approx. 45 degree angle, the orientation of the impression varies as well (4-5mm lengthwise), another punctate variation includes a shallow and even circular perpendicular impressions aligned horizontally with a conical bottom (4-6mm in width and 1-2.5mm deep). In total 10 samples had only evidence of the point incisions and no evidence of incised lines, most of these were indeed rim fragments (thus had no horizontal line below the rim either). Other variations included one sample with the punctate at exterior edge of the rim above an incised line and then with additional punctate below it. In two cases the incised line was also located below the punctate motif, while other small samples exemplify only an incised line below the rim with the punctate motif below. Other motif combinations include a fragment of intersecting lines.

A majority of samples (n=61, 83.56%) have a painted slip and the remaining twelve samples without any slip. Forty-five of the slipped fragments were painted red, seven fragments have an orange slip, six samples had a brown slip (2.5YR 4/6) and one with a designated grey slip

(10YR 4/1). The majority had slip on the exterior but none on the interior (n=44). The combination of slip presence includes 11 samples with the exterior slipped but only a band below the rim on the interior (also present on late pre-Hispanic ceramics). Only one sample had a slip covering the visible exterior and interior. The other variation of slip coverage included two samples with a band of red slip below the rim as well as covering the entire interior, another with no slip on the exterior though present below the rim interior, and lastly one with slip visible on part of exterior and no interior slip. Beyond these diagnostic characteristics and composition of the collection it is critical to examine the contexts and distribution of the artifacts across the valley.

Regional Distribution of Soporo-Style Pottery

Soporo style pottery was recovered at prominent pre-Inka llaqta (and some with Inka presence), such as Andagua Antiguo, Paccareta, Pumajallo and Tauca, as well as, isolated finds throughout the main valley in addition to the area of Soporo. The extensive presence of the Soporo style at documented sites of multiple occupations throughout the valley affirms the dynamic regional relationships. These sites overlap in ecological setting but do exemplify differences in micro-environments. The current evidence of Soporo pottery suggests that sites could have been occupied simultaneously and not necessarily mutually exclusively, and which can imply a linear occupational history. While the project carried out both survey and excavations, we did not recover any diagnostic Soporo artifact *in situ* during excavations, and rather only recovered the artifacts exposed on the surface. One Soporo style sherd was recovered during excavations, but it was from a disturbed context at the eastern edge of the town of Andagua. Diagnostic Soporo style artifacts have yet to be recovered in contexts and sequenced with absolute dating.

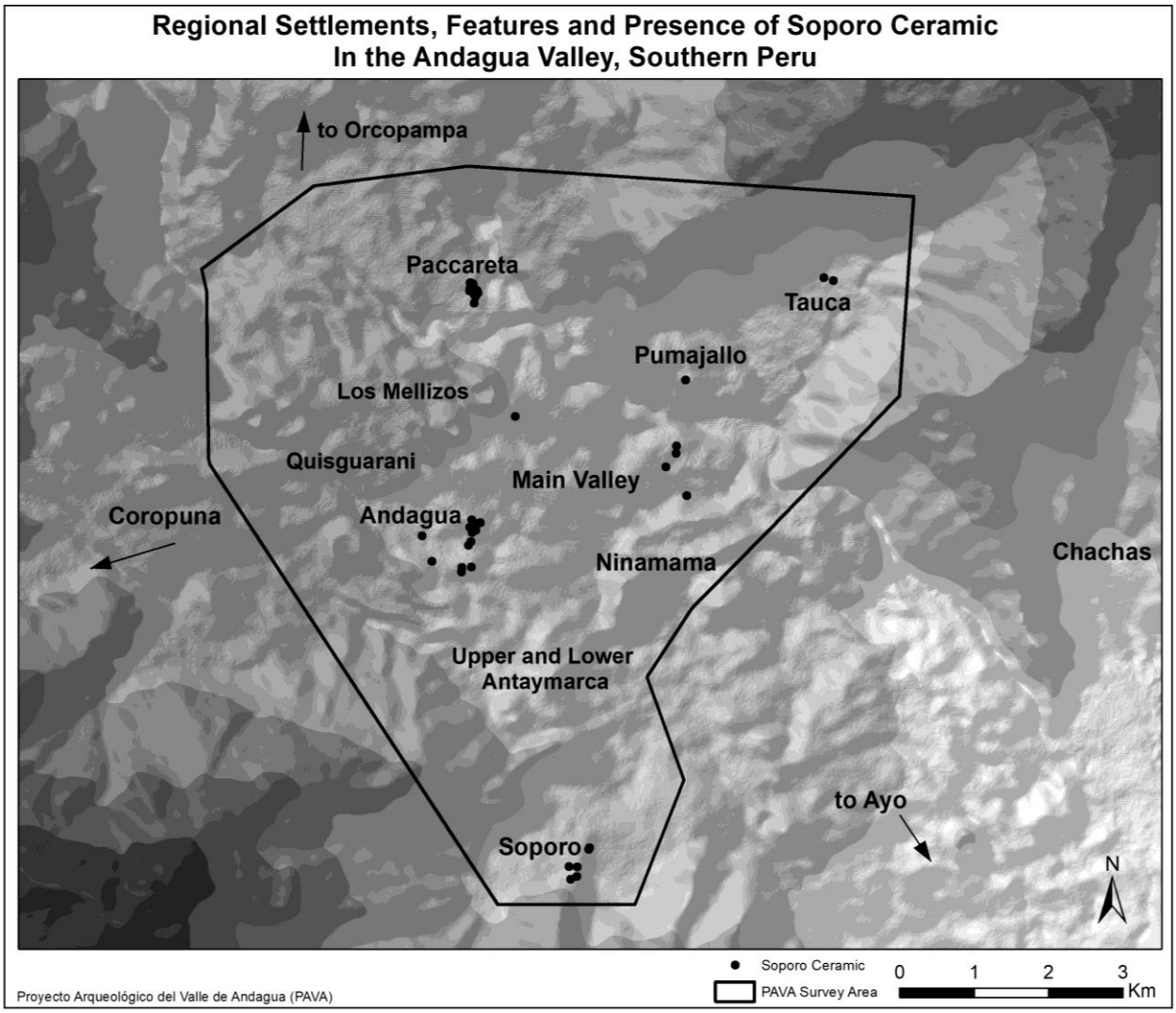


Figure 3.11: Map of presence of Soporo style ceramic in the Andagua Valley

One of the largest collection of Soporo style artifacts (n=31, 42%) was recovered around the contemporary town of Andagua. The majority of these were recovered in the east and southeast section of the town, in an area composed of ravines and distinct from the gridded landscape, known as Andagua Antiguo. Andagua and Andagua Antiguo are composed of multiple occupations, further reflecting the deep and varied histories, with the project distinguishing among local pre-

Inka and non-Inka artifacts, features and cultural practices, includes painted stones and discs (discussed in the next chapter).

The project further recovered 21 Soporo style sherds at the site of Paccareta (29% of the collection). This complex site covers more than 30 hectares in area and the site of test excavations. The name, Paccareta, shares roots of paq- as in *paqarina*, which can mean both "origin" and/or "tomorrow" in Quechua, and reflective of the tangled relationships among pasts and futures. The site appears to have major occupations through the pre-Inka. During regional survey, the project identified extensive abandoned agricultural infrastructure (canals and terraces), mortuary features (*chullpas*), diagnostic polychrome and black on red pottery indicative of local and regional styles as well as the painted tablets and discs that are ubiquitous around the region (discussed in next chapter).

We found Soporo pottery scattered throughout the main valley below and to the east of the town of Andagua. The valley is composed of a mosaic of terraces and while there are many sites throughout this area, their conservation is limited due to the millennia of occupations and agricultural maintenance. Several fragments were recovered near the base of the valley floor and river, and around this area the project also documented late pre-Hispanic and Inka artifacts and features (and continuing through the present). A single Soporo ceramic fragment was also recovered in the eastern part of the valley at the large archaeological site of Pumajallo, and two fragments were found around the nearby site of Tauca. The specific occupational history of Pumajallo and Tauca remains unclear, though it looks to be a result of local and regional pre-Inka developments with a subsequent Inka presence. The subsequent chapter offers foundational archaeological research on the surrounding valley and sites, such as Paccareta, Andagua Antiguo, across the main valley and Pumajallo where the Soporo ceramic was recovered. The chapter

presents the results from regional and intensive pedestrian survey, aerial mapping and excavations providing additional evidence to expand our contextual understanding of the archaeological history of the Andagua Valley.

Conclusion

Research in the Andagua Valley recovered the Soporo ceramic styles, which has been identified as characteristically representative of Formative occupations and used as critical referents for other research projects and ceramic sequences throughout the Southern Peruvian Andes. This ceramic style was first identified at the occupation of the same name where our project along with multiple other projects documented evidence indicative of late pre-Hispanic features and artifacts. Through systematic research, the Soporo style was found throughout the valley and at sites of multiple occupations such as Andagua Antiguo, Paccareta, Pumajallo and throughout the main valley.

Based upon our research, evidence supports the possibility that Soporo ceramic style could definitely be indicative of early settlement occupations contemporary with the broadly defined Formative Period. The presence of Soporo pottery style throughout the valley at significant early village settlements and associated material culture suggests the formation of a constellation of local settlements rather than assuming singular origins at the site of Soporo. These sites are composed of multiple occupations – and not necessarily continuous. Soporo is a regional, local style that spans a broad extent of time. The regional dispersion and presence of the ceramic throughout the valley suggests the plausibility of both possibilities – early and extensive use.

This research has identified early settlements and their continued occupations throughout the pre-Hispanic past highlighting the formation of autochthonous local populations organized

through kinship. However, specific chronological knowledge of the earliest sedentary through absolute dating is still limited and to be determined. Based upon present evidence, further expanded from the Soporo ceramic style, several issues remain as well as new questions. While this does not deny the importance of chronological sequence, it challenges assuming the primacy of an originary site with evidence suggesting how Soporo emerged relationally through time with other places in the landscape.

In the Colca Valley excavations revealed the continued use of Formative Chiquero ceramics amidst Middle Horizon contexts (Tripcevich 2007). This suggests that early settlement populations did not significantly change in ways characteristic of the Middle Horizon defined by the emergent states of Tiwanaku and Wari. Early highland states were territorially discontinuous with some possible influence in the Upper Colca Valley and bottom-up Wari colonization in the Majes as well as Wari presence evident in mortuary features in Cotahuasi (Jennings 2002; Tung 2007; Wernke 2003). In our survey area of Andagua there is no evidence of Tiwanaku or Wari. Although we recovered one Q'osqopa fragment at the site of Pumajallo, where we also recovered a Soporo sherd and Inka artifacts. This Q'osqopa artifact does not indicate a Wari presence, rather it highlights the broader regional traditions that were characteristic of the emerging regional relations that are most clear in the painted tablet and disc tradition, and pre-Inka ceramic styles (Jennings 2002). Research in the Andagua Valley is working to refine regional pre-Inka ceramic sequences. Lacking a pre-Inka state footprint, the valley is characterized by regional decentralized political authority and a world inhabited by *wak'as* and *llaqtas*.

Chapter IV
Towards an Archaeology of Llaqtas

Fountains of History

There is an empty fountain at the center of the plaza of the contemporary town of Andagua. Atop it stands a muleteer (*arriero*), iconic of the region known for its regional trades and caravans (as well as *llameros*, or llama herders). The fountain stand and surrounding pool are made with a base of cement and volcanic rocks of red and black carved from the surrounding lava flows that make-up the valley floor. Stone discs painted red geometric and anthropomorphic designs adorn the top of the fountain pool edges.

Figure 4.1: Fountain in Andagua plaza with the Cordillera Chila in the background

The stone discs are placed throughout the contemporary town of Andagua, arranged as sidewalk tile in front of the local municipal building and nearly 2,000 stone discs line the entryway of the church on the plaza (seats of state power). The discs appear in designs and patterns in the

road leading from the plaza to the community primary school, depicting a range of contemporary motifs (animals, corn, books, geometric designs, etc.). The municipality, fully aware of the surrounding local heritage, has collected and displayed these remains. Stone discs are found throughout the valley, often exposed in agricultural terraces and due to contemporary road and building construction. Local community members speculate that they were the "money" of the ancestors. The project has also documented stone discs placed with contemporary crosses. Along with stone discs, painted tablets are ubiquitous throughout the region, documented by several other archaeological projects in the Arequipa region.

In this chapter, I present evidence of painted stone tablets and discs, ceramics and archaeological features, such as agricultural infrastructure, *wank'a* (monoliths), as well as, aerial site maps. I offer new research on the painted stone disc and tablet practices, along with broader archaeological evidence to provide insight into the socio-political organization of local populations in the Andagua Valley following early sedentism and continuing through non-state pre-Inka occupations, and where there was no direct Wari or Tiwanaku state presence. In doing so, I critically analyze discourses of the sacred that have often been used to explain the painted tablets and discs tradition, which have been identified as a regional traditional practice stemming from deep antiquity (e.g. Doutriaux 2004; Jennings 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Kauffman-Doig 1991; Linares Málaga 1970, 1978, 1988; Ravines 1970). I further explore the relations of politics and religion and turn to labor and ritual to examine the performative dimensions of power and sovereignty. Archaeological features, including painted tablets and discs, marked the landscape to invoke ancestral relations with the geological landscape and legitimize the social order of the world.

Considering the broader contexts of stone discs and tablets, I review the archaeological composition of pre-Inka occupations, or *llaqtas*, and the broader landscape. An archaeology of

llaqtas involves attending to the material formation of subjects made through the production of places imbued with meaning and authority that give order to the landscape and the world. This chapter discusses research on the emergence of local pre-Inka settlements and cultural practices through reviewing dense occupational sites of *llaqta* along with archaeological evidence across the valley. These *llaqtas* include Paccareta, Andagua Antiguo, Upper and Lower Antaymarcas, and Pumajallo. Evidence in the main valley also suggests a long-term inhabitation (*llaqta*) currently covered by vegetation overgrowth amidst the disused terraced fields (see "into the main valley" below). Cultural histories identify large epochal shifts – broadly, Formative (1500 BC – AD 500), Middle Horizon (AD 600–1000), Late Intermediate Period (AD 1000–1400), Late Horizon/Inka (AD 1400–1532). While these are useful heuristics for much of the Southern Peruvian Andes, the pre-Inka past of Andagua was defined by decentralized socio-political authority, where local and regional populations were at the limits of broader socio-political projects, such as the Wari and Tiwanaku. Starting during early sedentism, local populations formed communities of practice that became manifest through material media and the surrounding landscape, with spheres of practice linking the everyday, ancestral and geological in the landscape. This work investigates multiple scales of practice from events possibly made by a single person and intimate performances of ritual, such as, the deposit of stone discs buried in a dug-out pit, to the labor of large infrastructure and complex architectural and engineering features.

It is worth noting that the municipality has legal jurisdiction over the town of Andagua, while the local community of *campesinos* has jurisdiction over the surrounding valley. The local community of farmers (*campesinos*) is a historical product, formalized in the later-20th century during the agrarian reforms. Beyond that formal recognition it encompasses local community residents, primarily farmers and pastoralists, who own plots of land throughout the valley. The

agrarian land reform was an attempt to redistribute resources from large landowners such as *gamonales* and *haciendas* (Mayer 2009). The land reform had uneven effects and unintended consequences, and in the case of Andagua, it had limited impact on local land management at the time (discussed in chapter seven).

Dedicated to building long-term relationships with local stakeholders, this project engaged with local and descendant communities through day-to-day outreach to inform and learn from the multiple institutions and residents in Andagua. Consistent with archaeological practice in the region – from survey through excavations – we made sure to present the project and formally receive approval from the community of farmers' President in addition to gaining approval from the Peruvian state to carry out archaeological research. While the Peruvian state's authority is recognized it was important for us to meet formally with Andagua's President and representative of the community of farmers. Rather than treat community dynamics as peripheral to the archaeological work, archaeologists are increasingly aware of their ethical obligation to a public that includes local and descendant communities (Colwell-Chanthaphonh and Ferguson 2007). Moreover, it should be noted that pedestrian survey collections were treated very differently from excavations. We made efforts to speak with landowners and community members passing by excavations to dispel any misconceptions. The community views excavations suspiciously; a reasonable response to the reverberations of colonial processes over generations, which have brought looting and failed to show reverence to the landscape and the people who came before and helped make the world.

When breaking the surface of the earth (*pachamama*) in the Andes it is necessary to make things right by providing an offering (e.g. Allen 2002; Gose 1994; Silverblatt 1987). Before beginning our excavations, we carried out a *pago* (offering) with the president of the community,

don Celso Maquito Lázaro. Late one afternoon we met with don Celso to walk to the site of Quisguarani where our first excavations were going to be carried out. There don Celso prepared a small fire from dried twigs and cacti, and we waited until only smoldering lumps of cactus and ash remained. He set out a blanket of materials, coca leaves, corn, llama fat and a variety of herbs for offerings. We had been instructed to provide a bottle of wine for the occasion. What followed was an elaborate practice assembling and coordinating actions and things. We passed the wine around and drank it from a fragment of bull's horn. After this, don Celso placed the ritual materials on a flat stone, and we softly breathed on them as we passed them from person to person and held them in the direction of Wachalanka and the cordillera Chila. Then don Celso tossed green maize (*choclo*) into the fire as we gave the names of the areas we would excavate. He would comment on "this place" and "that place" listening to the frequencies and strength of the corn popping as indications of the yields of our excavations and archaeological study.

Excavations overlapped with the beginning of August, with August 1st a regionally shared day for ritual offerings for seasonal health and fecundity in the Southern Andes (Mannheim and Salas 2015). In the evening we joined the cousin of don Celso Maquito Lázaro, don Alí Lázaro as he prepared an offering for the year on our behalf as well as for the constructions of his house and hostal. We purchased the necessary supplies to make a general *pago* offering at the market in Arequipa, a collection that included a camelid fetus. After a long day of work, Sr. Lázaro meticulously prepared the offering for more than an hour, including working camelid fat into arrangements of three. We chatted and I asked him questions, from potato varieties in the valley to why he made the offering into three parts; he gave the classic response that it was tradition. He asked about our *pago* with his cousin, Don Celso. He agreed with his interpretation that there was a great deal of history in Andagua Antiguo.

After preparing the *pago* we went to an open lot at the edge of the Lazaro property; there Don Alí Lázaro had dug a small pit. Chunks of *yareta*, a bushy highland plant that lives for centuries, burned in the corner with the fragrant smoke wafting through the cold air. We stood in the frigid dark night basking in the glimmer of candlelight. As in the previous *pago* with don Celso, all of us passed around part of the offering, including the llama fat placed in a ceramic bowl, and we softly breathed over it. We then watched don Alí deposit the offerings into the ground and quickly cover the hole. We said good night, thanking don Alí for including us and wishing him and his family a healthy and prosperous year.[1]

Making Places with Stone and Water

Archaeological research in Andagua has yielded a detailed and extensive collection of lithic and ceramic discs and tablets that are distinct and similar to other collections recovered across the Southern Peruvian Andes. Evidence in Andagua affirms the practice of the painted tablet and disc practice during the pre-Inka past. They were present in non-Inka and pre-Inka contexts, such as the sites of Soporo, Upper and Lower Antaymarca, Paccareta, Andagua, Andagua Antiguo, Pumajallo, Tauca and other diagnostic contexts (see figure 4.2). Tablets and discs were located in densely occupied pre-Hispanic sites as well as recovered among the terraced hills, often emerging from the walls and exposed landscape. The painted tablets and discs were found in a variety of

[1] These sets of accounts of *pagos* (offerings) highlight the variation of ritual practices associated with each activity and how they are associated with power and life, leaving particular traces in the landscape. Another example where similar offerings and practices are carried out is at canal cleaning *faenas* (labor parties). We attended a *faena* for the Mother Canal at the beginning of September, which includes the entire community. The northern extent of canal cleaning starts approximately 7km north of Andagua at a recently constructed dam. Effusing local pride, I was told that it was built by an engineer from the local community of Andagua. Here the river bends and is at its widest before narrowing and carving its way through the valley. Before starting the canal cleaning, without any pomp or circumstance, families segregated into different groups. Once together, they arranged and prepared particular offerings and circulated the offerings and drinks. In dark green-glazed bowls, demonstrative of regional post-contact ceramics, each family deposits the bowl, filled with varying materials, is placed and tucked away into the earth. From there we drink and dance some, and then begin the journey, cleaning the canal.

ritual contexts associated with natural and cultural features, such as, in terrace walls, placed with *wank'as* (monoliths), settlements, and other geological features (rock outcrops, caves, cliffs). They were placed in varying quantities from isolated finds to more than a hundred in several circumstances. While we do not (yet) have radiocarbon dates to chronologically identify the earliest uses of the practice, it is clearly pre-Inka and both locally and regionally extensive; however, these were not under the auspices of Wari or Tiwanaku.

Throughout the course of our investigations we documented more than a thousand painted tablets and discs in the Andagua Valley made of stone and ceramic. We collected 610 stone discs and tablets as well as 118 ceramic discs during survey and excavations (in addition to documenting the thousands that adorn contemporary municipal features, such as the sidewalks and central fountain).[2] Specifically, excavations recovered 169 painted tablets and discs from *in situ* excavation contexts, and another 24 tablets and discs through limited surface collections, during PAVA 2016 field season, at Upper and Lower Antaymarca, Paccareta and throughout Andagua and Andagua Antiguo. Systematic regional survey encountered an overwhelming ubiquity of the artifacts producing challenges for carrying and recovering them. The project opted to comprehensively document each context and not recover all the discs, only taking representative samples, collecting 352 lithic discs and 65 lithic tablets (see tables 4.1 and 4.2).

[2] It is also worth noting that we documented the practice of the painted tablets and discs down to the community of Ayo, which lies outside the defined research area, and has not been previously reported. During the course of the project we rented a truck, and drove to Ayo (after we drone photographed Soporo) where upon visiting local businesses we saw the stones adorning their interiors and were told that are found throughout the valley.

Stone Discs Recovered During PAVA Survey 2015							
Sites and Contexts	Design						**Total**
	Anthropomorphic	Geometric and Anthropomorphic	Geometric	Zoomorphic	Undefined	Without Painting	
AND-1 (Andagua)	1	1	15		2	4	**23**
AND-10	2		203			48	**253**
AND-31			1		1		**2**
AND-34	1						**1**
AND-40	2		4		1		**7**
AND-59-60 (Andagua Antiguo)			2				**2**
AND-63			1				**1**
AND-68			1				**1**
AND-75					2	2	**4**
AND-84 (Paccareta)			7		2		**9**
AND-96 (Tauca)	1						**1**
AND-97 (Pumajallo)			1				**1**
Isolated Find	9		29	1	7	1	**47**
Total	**16**	**1**	**264**	**1**	**15**	**55**	**352**

Table 4.1: Summary of stone disc collection recovered during PAVA Survey 2015

Stone Tablets Recovered During PAVA Survey 2015						
Sites and Contexts	Design					**Total**
	Anthropomorphic	Geometric	Zoomorphic	Undefined	Without painting	
AND-1 (Andagua)		7		3		**10**
AND-10		1	1			**2**
AND-31		1				**1**
AND-40				1	1	**2**
AND-46		1				**1**
AND-47		1				**1**
AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo)		5		1		**6**
AND-68		3				**3**
AND-70		1				**1**
AND-84 (Paccareta)	1	16		1		**18**
Isolated Find	4	14		2		**20**
Total	**5**	**50**	**1**	**8**	**1**	**65**

Table 4.2: Summary of stone tablet collection recovered during PAVA Survey 2015

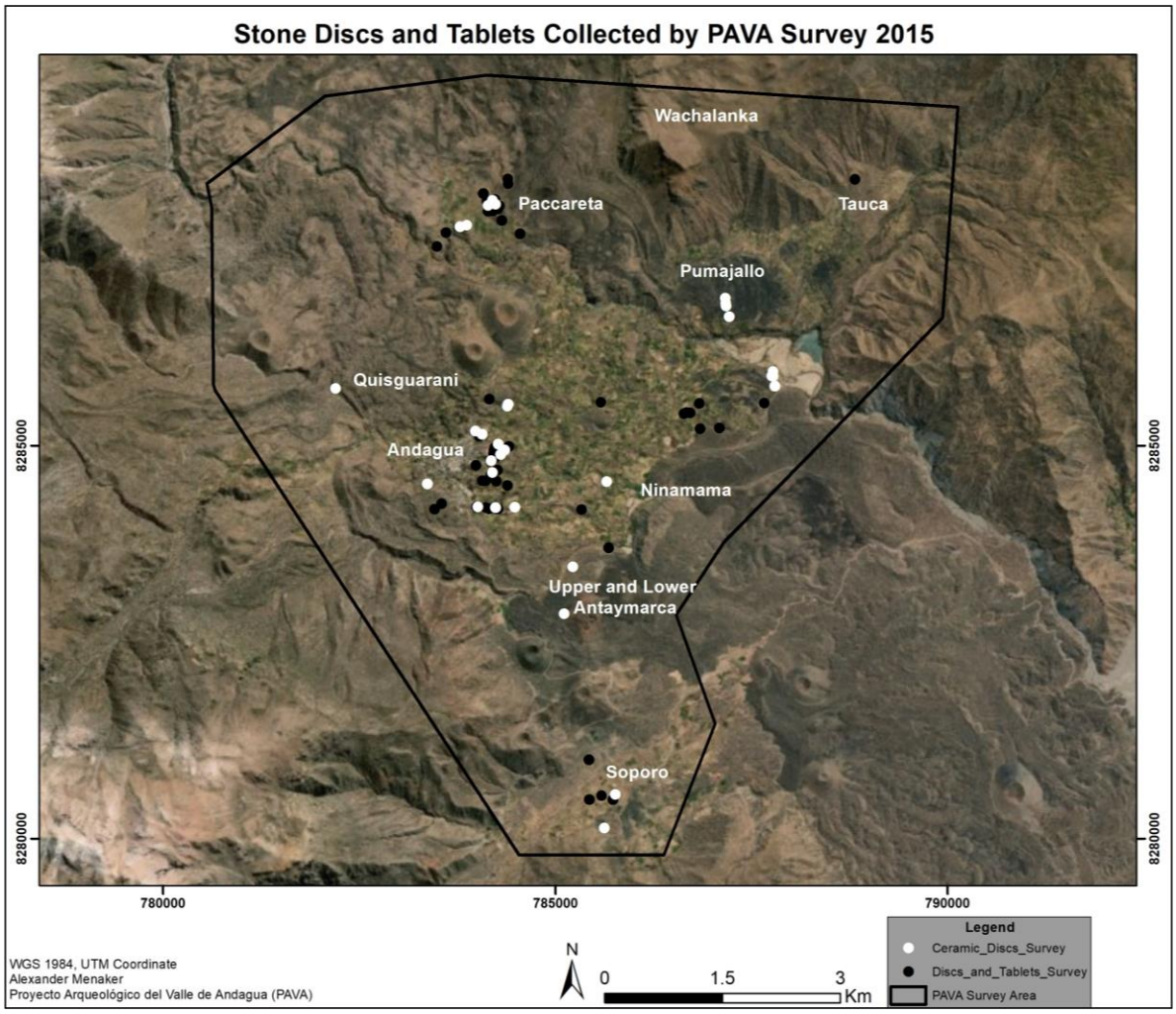


Figure 4.2: Distribution of stone and ceramic discs and tablets collected by PAVA Survey (this is an underrepresentation of the total of discs and tablets documented during research, since we did not collect entire assemblages, at times composed of ceramic and stone artifacts).

In one case, at the beginning of survey, we documented an extensive collection of discs exposed from recent roadwork near the site of Paccareta (registered as site AND-10). We collected 253 of the discs, but with a 4km return walk we were unable to carry all the collection back to the project's headquarters in town. We left the collection at a nearby field home and retrieved the remaining discs with the benefit of a ride in the municipal truck. Throughout survey we continued to encounter assemblages of discs and tablets, from fields of Soporo and *wank'a* of Awayanki to the cliffs near Ninamama and terraces of the main valley. Discs were recovered from several

locations, including caves and rock outcrops along the volcanic moraine near Antaymarca and Ninamama. The latest volcanic activity of the moraine is dated to within the past 400 to 500 years (Delacour et al. 2007).

Faced with overwhelming material remains – as well as dedicated to archaeological conservation – we photographed and documented the assemblages, taking a limited amount of diagnostic samples. In a few cases we were made aware of the discs through local contacts. In these cases, discs were often exposed from recent human disturbance including urban and road construction as well as the collapse and rehabilitation of agricultural terraces. For example, one morning the project was alerted to a disturbance and exposure of hundreds of discs located at the northeastern edge of the town of Andagua, in a neighborhood called, Barrio Churquipata. We were shown the area that was disturbed by recent construction that exposed the subsoil of the hillside. The discs are further evidence of Andagua's extensive pre-Hispanic occupational histories.

The discs and tablets are not only limited to stone, but are often made from ceramics, with the project collecting 118 ceramic discs and documenting hundreds more throughout the valley (for discussion on painted ceramics see also Kauffman-Doig 1991). The ceramic discs allowed for more detailed analyses; examining pastes, finishes, forms and other characteristics to glean additional socio-historical insight.[3] The concave form and size of the discs indicates they were cut from the bodies of large vessels such as a *cántaro*, with 11 samples exhibiting broken handle joins. While the form could also be indicative of Inka *aríbalos*, as well as, non-Inka *cántaros* and vessels, the ceramic pastes with widespread mica, pyrite and volcanic red inclusions appears distinct from Inka ceramic pastes (with little to no traces of mica inclusions) (see next chapter on Inka ceramics

[3] In a few cases where large assemblages were composed of stone and ceramic discs, we collected the ceramic discs to carry out ceramic analysis. Thus, in the map of the survey the collection might mark the presence of ceramic discs but no stone discs, such as along the cliff edge (see figure 4.41 for photo of the assemblage).

and appendix). The discs are painted with identifiable geometric motifs (n=40), but in the majority of cases the painting is fugitive or not observable. The painting is usually on the unslipped interior. The sherds exhibit a range of slips including red, orange, brown on the exteriors, as well as, unslipped and burnished interior surfaces of red, orange, brown and beige.

In our collection, stone discs and tablets occur both with painting (n=501) and without painting (n=112), but our assemblage is possibly biased towards painted, diagnostic artifacts based on our diagnostic sampling strategy. The painted designs include geometric (n=469), anthropomorphic (n=26), and zoomorphic (n=9) motifs (a few are geometric and anthropomorphic) (see figures 4.3 – 4.6). There were a range of colors similar to those recovered throughout the region, including red, blue, yellow, green, white and black. While many of the exposed assemblages were mainly circular discs, the project documented and recovered several small to medium sized painted tablets (figures 4.4, 4.6). The discs are made of slate, granodiorite and sandstone, and exhibit a variety of colors. The disc form, ranging from 57.4mm – 172mm in diameter, is not naturally occurring but culturally modified.

Beyond a general review of the collection of painted tablets and discs recovered and documented by PAVA, it is important to identify their particular contexts. In this way, we can understand how meaning and authority came to form across time and space in the Andagua Valley. Examining the locations and contexts of the painted discs and tablets in the Andagua valley provides critical and substantive knowledge on fundamental aspects of the human and social condition. Local populations identified multiple origin points for humanity animating social practices that marked (non-state) decentralized forms of authority. Painted discs and tablets, monoliths (*wank'a*), agricultural infrastructure and agro-mortuary features were foundational to the formation of local subjects that made and ordered a landscape composed of *llaqtas*, *primacias*,

paqarinas, *wak'as* – ancestors and authorities that embodied individual and corporate labor and rituals. The subsequent section offers a review of the archaeological research and interpretations of the painted tablet and disc tradition in the surrounding region.

Figure 4.3: Painted discs with anthropomorphic motif (from left to right: AND-1347.1, Andagua Antiguo; AND-121.5, isolated find, near sites AND-92, Awayanki and Soporo, AND-93; AND-66.2, isolated find; AND-44.3, site AND-40, Main Valley).

Figure 4.4: Painted discs with geometric and anthropomorphic motifs

Figure 4.5: Painted stone (slate) discs with geometric motif (from left to right: AND-88.1, AND-59, Andagua Antiguo; AND-124.7, near AND-92, Awayanki and Soporo, AND-93; AND-121.4, painted stone (possible sandstone) disc with red line, near AND-92, Awayanki and Soporo, AND-93

Figure 4.6: Samples of painted stone discs and tablets exposed by recent road construction by the municipality, at the southern edge of Andagua, near unit 001-003 (and site AND-62/AND-60). The entire disturbed collection of hundreds of discs and tablets was subsequently claimed by the Ministry of Culture.

Figure 4.7: Painted ceramic discs (recovered from Andagua, site AND-62)

Sacred Traditions and Interpreting Painted Discs and Tablets

Stone art and rock painting have extensive histories across the Andes, with the painted tablet and disc practice highlighting the deep human pasts and regional relationships. The presence of painted tablets and discs is a broadly identified practice across the Southern Peruvian-Bolivian Andes, from the Cotahuasi Valley throughout the Majes drainage (including the highland valleys and communities of Chuquibamba, Pampacolca, Antipampa Machaguay and Viraco) across to the Colca Valley and beyond the Lake Titicaca Basin (Cabrera 2014; Faron-Bartels 2011; Jennings

2002, 2003a, 2003b; Kauffman-Doig 1991; Linares Málaga 1970, 1978, 1988; Ravines 1970; Strecker 2016). The painted discs and tablets are considered "mobile art" in contrast to petroglyphs and stationary rock art, exemplified by the large area of petroglyphs at Toro Muerto in the lower Majes drainage (Linares Málaga 1993). The painted tablet and discs are recovered in a variety of contexts including rock outcrops, caves, and anthropogenic features such as terraces and mortuary contexts. The practice is generally considered limited to pre-Hispanic times, stretching from early human presences to the late pre-Hispanic. The continued use and practice during the Late Horizon and Inka rule is debated (Jennings 2003a, 2003b). This section provides a review of previous archaeological research and publications on the regional extent of painted tablets and discs.

Archaeologists registered collections of painted tablets and discs in the valleys surrounding Andagua. These collections result from a range of opportunistic, unsystematic and systematic investigations (Cabrera 2014; Doutriaux 2004; Faron-Bartels 2011; Jennings 2002, 2003a, 2003b; Kaufmann-Doig 1991; Linares Málaga 1970, 1988, 1993, 2004; Ravines 1970; Wernke 2003). Similar to those found in Andagua, the tablets and discs are painted geometric and representational motifs, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic images, in blue, white, yellow, red, green and black. The painting materials are composed of kaolinite, hematite and limonite (Kauffman-Doig 1991: 21-22). Motifs and iconography can move across material media and gain meaning and power amidst distinct assemblages and socio-historical contexts (Cummins 2007). Anthropocentric motifs in Andagua, for instance, are documented on architecture and *wank'a* across the valley in addition to discs and tablets.

Archaeologists documented the early presence of painted tablets and petroglyphs in the Southern Peruvian Andes in the coastal river valleys of Camaná and the heights of the Andes around Caylloma in the upper reaches of the Colca Valley (Linares Málaga 1970, 1978, 2004).

Rogger Ravines recovered the earliest presence of the painted tablet and stone tradition at the site of Toquepala. There he found eight stone tablets painted with zoomorphic and geometric designs from *in situ* contexts, which he speculated dates to several thousand years ago ("three to seven thousand years ago") (1970:316). At the site of Cabezas Achatadas, dating approximately to AD 100, Linares Málaga recovered two slabs with geometric and anthropomorphic designs in a tomb (Linares Málaga 1978: 384–385). Based upon personal correspondence, Jennings notes that Aldenderfer recovered painted tablets *in situ* with similar iconography to late pre-Hispanic styles from Late Archaic contexts at the site of Quelcatani (Jennings 2002: 371).

It is unclear about the continuities of the painted tablet tradition but archaeologists have identified their extensive presence in subsequent Middle Horizon (MH) and Late Intermediate Period (LIP) contexts. Defining the specific chronology and continuity (and discontinuity) remain difficult for several reasons, including their appearance in undated disturbed contexts or exposed surface collections in addition to the interpretative limits based upon ceramic styles and social change. To explain the regional and chronological distribution of the painted discs and tablets, researchers have relied on claims of diffusion that explain pre-Inka occupational histories, which involves the bounded notion of culture that echoes ceramic typologies and cultural histories (Linares Málaga 1970). In Linares Málaga's extensive discussion of painted tablets and petroglyphs, he speculates that the "painted" tradition is associated with the "late stage" Chuquibamba and Collagua ceramic styles of black on red, as well as "Juli style" (2004: 62). While not corresponding to contemporary understandings of the archaeological history of the region, Linares Málaga attributed this archaeological evidence to a Lupaca expansion from Puno or coastal sierra diffusion arriving before the Inka (2004: 62). On the other hand, Jennings argues that after

the Formative the practice reaches its height with regional agricultural intensification and "inter-regional interaction" associated with MH and LIP contexts (Jennings 2002).

Painted tablets and rock art have been documented throughout the Colca Valley, explained as part of regional pre-Inka traditions coupled with agro-pastoral livelihoods (Doutriaux 2004; Wernke 2003). Doutriaux claims that "the distribution of rock paintings is almost exactly complementary to that of *maquetas*" (Doutriaux 2004: 170). *Maquetas* are representations of the agricultural landscape carved into stone and interpreted as corresponding with agricultural intensification and resource management (Doutriaux 2004: 170; Wernke 2003). According to Doutriaux (2004), the *maquetas* and rock art painting are interpreted to be associated with "cataclysmic changes of the Middle Horizon" (Doutraiux 2004, citing Treacy 1994). In contrast, for Andagua, there is no evidence of such dramatic socio-historical shifts correlated with any pre-Inka states. Additionally, the project did not document any *maquetas* like those of the Colca Valley.[4] In some parts of the Colca Valley, the painted tablets and discs appear in less ubiquity with Wernke documenting (n=80) painted tablets during his regional survey covering 90km^2. Wernke primarily recovered them from a single site and in association with disturbed agro-mortuary features along with what he characterized as the "largest sample of Middle Horizon ceramics from the site" (Wernke 2003: 152). The discs and tablets of the Colca Valley are painted with red pigment invoking geometric designs (straight lines, small circles) as well as representative motifs of animals and humans (Doutriaux 2004: 169 – 174; Wernke 2003).

[4] Though we documented extensive markings – linear engravings – on rock outcrops, often associated with archaeological occupations and agricultural landscapes. In many cases, it is difficult to identify a distinct pattern that is similar to other documented forms, with the linear engravings intersecting. Some of the few exceptions that are recognizable to other forms are found in Paccareta, includes markings perhaps indicative of knotted cords or irrigation features. We have asked community members while in the fields about these and there are a variety of explanations, including speculation that they do not "mean anything," and are scrawlings resulting from boredom in the field.

Painted tablets and discs proliferated throughout the Majes Valley in the highland valley communities of Chuquibamba, Pampacolca and Viraco (Faron-Bartels 2011; Kaufmann-Doig 1991). Kauffman-Doig documented ceramic discs and tablets at the site of Chucu in Chuquibamba, contending that the discs were "magical practices" related to concerns for water. Identifying the offerings as *t'inka* or *pagos*, Kauffman-Doig (1991) primarily focused on the iconographic and hermeneutic analysis of the painted discs and tablets, mentioning the "Juli and Chuquibamba" style ceramics as sources for chronological indices. Painted tablets and discs were also recovered at the Middle Horizon site of Beringa in the lower Majes valley, a site with Wari cultural affiliation (Tung et al. 2014).

Painted tablets and discs were identified by investigations in the Cotahuasi Valley amidst a range of contexts offering additional insight into local relations with the landscape (Jennings 2002, 2003a, 2003b).[5] Jennings' excavations and research at Ancient Alca documented the painted tablets associated with camelid offerings at two stone outcrops that orient towards the surrounding landscape and mountain features (Jennings 2003a, 2003b).At the same time, Jennings argues that the offerings were not directed to any locality and entity but *wak'as* ("sacred places"), with the discs central to circulating *sami* and ensuring life. While Jennings acknowledges that there is no divide between sacred and profane in the Andes, he argues "nonetheless, certain places within a region *were more sacred than others*, and these locations were important nodes of ritual activity" (Jennings 2003: 439 – 440, *emphasis added*). Referring to these sacred places, Jennings uses *lo andino* to explain how "structure of meanings" facilitated the practices involving the painted tablets and discs (Jennings 2003a, 2003b).

[5] Jennings uses the term "Cotahuasinos" to describe the local populations in contrast to "the [Inka] state" (Jennings 2003a: 451)

Jennings' archaeological research offers important evidence highlighting the practices of place-making among local populations that form meaningful relations with the landscape. Engaging Jennings' argument as a productive foil, it is useful to briefly interrogate claims of "sacred places" in order to analyze how politics, power and religion intersect and contribute to our understanding of the socio-political composition of regional populations (Jennings 2002: 370; Jennings 2003b: 114). Jennings asserts that "spread across a large area, the tablet tradition appears to have remained largely untethered to regional political hierarchies" (Jennings 2002: 371). Though under the Inka, the painted tablet tradition was reformed and all but neglected because, as Jennings argues, the Inka did not consume the painted discs and thus did not approve and accept the discs as offerings (Jennings 2003a, b). Using ethnographic analogy, Jennings notes modern offerings of alcohol and pottery "as offerings to the gods" to bolster support for how the tablet tradition served similar purposes as "offerings to the gods" (Jennings 2003b: 113). Understanding stone and ceramic discs and tablets as "offerings," Jennings argument begs a few questions, starting with, whom do they serve? Which gods? Consequently, why, according to Jennings, did the Inka reject and not consume the stone discs; why were they unacceptable as offerings? As such, Jennings work provokes us to ask: what are the relationships between religion and politics, sacred and sovereignty, since they do appear entangled with the practice of painted discs and tablets?

Lastly, there has been little documentation of or investigation into the painted disc and tablet practice among Inka or Spanish colonial contexts. Strecker identified evidence suggestive of the continued practice of painted stone art during Spanish colonialism in the Lake Titicaca Basin (Strecker 2016). Historical evidence discussed in chapter six, refines our knowledge of the practice and affirms its regional significance and antiquity, demonstrates their continued use through the 18th century of Spanish colonialism. This traces the shifting contexts and meanings of material

culture, as well as, shows the consequences and limits of Inka and (Spanish) imperial effects. A comparative examination of colonial and state interpretations and responses to local and regional practices of painted discs and tablets also provides important insight into the intersections of religion and politics, power and identity, and the contested significances of ritual activities across socio-historical contexts. Research in Andagua allows for investigating how the painted discs and tablets were involved in the ritual performance of sovereignty to mark the landscape and legitimize the social order.

Practices of Ritual Power, Making Assemblages of Discs and Tablets

The tendency to separate politics and religion limits explanations on the role of power and history in shaping cultural practices and social organization. In a similar vein to earlier discussions critical of unifying theoretical frameworks, Asad (1993) argues against a universal theory of ritual that encodes some "sacred meaning outside of time." Instead, he emphasizes how the cultural practices and techniques that dictate and assemble forms of human life are historically produced. In the case of interpreting the painted discs and tablets, analyses that hinge on the "sacred" separated from politics does not sufficiently explain the forms of pre-Inka socio-political organization and why (and how) the Inka rejected or marginalized the painted tablet and disc practice. Through recognizing the performance of sovereignty and power (Smith 2003), we can consider how "sacred offerings" further entail socio-historical struggles to determine meaning and authority in the world. Rituals were central to the ordering of the power over things and life. Discs and tablets were not outside time, but the manifestation of socio-historical order embodied in the landscape. Investigating how discs and tablets mark places on the landscape through the rhythms

of ritual and labor, life and death, we can glean insight into local populations' social organization, formation of subjects, and production of meaning and authority in the pre-Hispanic past.

Approaching the activities, contexts and significances of the painted discs and tablets as a historical practice emphasizes the active and processual dimensions of their relationships in the landscape (Bourdieu 1977). Doing so corresponds to sustained critiques of "tradition" that assume a timeless culture. Rather traditions (and culture) are not static but active practices that need to be explained (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Ortner 1984). Archaeological research of the practices of painted tablets and discs in Andagua demonstrates how social relationships and hierarchies were marked in the landscape and corresponded to the cyclical nature of human life and village growth of agro-pastoral livelihoods in the valley. Labor and ritual are intimately tied to spatially and temporally emergent hierarchies that articulate decentralized non-state social organization and authority. These spheres of practice embody corporate identity that is anchored in the landscape beyond the individual human.

We can thus understand the painted tablet and disc tradition as multivalent, including serving as offerings to the numerous *wak'a* and forces that animated the pre-Hispanic world, exemplified by Pachamama. Pachamama is both universal and local, manifest in local agricultural terraces and responsible for the fecundity of the world including the availability of water. Pachamama, and other local *wak'a* and *llaqta* were not abstract processes (or generalizable "gods") but locally emergent through their shared material realities and cohabitation with humans in the Andagua Valley. Discs and tablets were found in places that can be considered important for the relationships among humans and the landscape. This ranged from mountain peaks such as Wachalanka to dense nodes of human occupations (*llaqta*) with Paccareta, which were integral forces and regional features that constituted the world and could shape human life. Beyond serving

as offerings, the discs and tablets served to mark places of authority and meaning forging local identities. The ubiquity and extensive distribution of these artifacts, along with their contexts, exemplify how inhabitation in the Andagua Valley during the pre-Inka past was determined by decentralized, non-state authority and social organization (see figure 4.2).

These historical practices forged relationships with the landscape, and rather than "sacred" places outside of time, we can understand them as embodying local Andean forms and registers of history that make places and mark pasts and possible futures. In a similar way to Ancient Alca, stone discs are found associated with *wank'a* as well as articulating with local *wak'a*, such as Wachalanka. *Wank'a* mark a place, imbued with meaning, authority and articulate the "distribution of the sensible" (Ranciere 2010) that give order to the world (Chase 2015; Dean 2010). Looking at the ritual landscape, such as the relationships among painted discs and tablets to stone monoliths (*wank'as*) and other contexts, can illuminate how painted tablets and discs were integral to forming assemblages and making places that give order to the landscape. Discs and tablets are found at contemporaneous sites throughout the valley and are one type of archaeological evidence that constitutes assemblages on the landscape. Pottery, *wank'a* (monolith), agricultural infrastructure, mortuary features and additional archaeological evidence were central to the formation of pre-Inka llaqta. Expanding beyond painted tablets and discs, the remainder of the chapter examines the material assemblages of *llaqta* as we archaeologically map out the emergence of meaningful relationships and forms of authority across time and space in the Andagua Valley.

The Formation of Llaqtas

Moving beyond the southern edge of the survey and the frontiers of the "Formative", there are many possible sequences the subsequent narration can take without reducing the narrative form

to an exposition of abandoned archaeological sites with each site following another like points on a linear timeline. One option is to first move geographically north along each major occupation (*llaqta*) where Soporo style ceramic was recovered indicating early sedentism (see chapter three). Soporo style pottery was collected from several archaeological occupations throughout the valley, including at Paccareta. Citing the etymology and significance of Paccareta – with the root of paq- meaning "beginning" and "tomorrow" – several residents of Andagua interpret Paccareta as one of the first occupations in the valley. Many local residents trace an indigenous heritage in the valley, but there is no consensus on where people say they are from, although "Antaymarca" and Andagua Antiguo are often speculated as previous inhabitations. The project has also been asked on several occasions, what we can tell them about the people who lived at these varying places, such as Tauca, Pumajallo and Antaymarca. The community is not monolithic, nor do residents hold singular views on heritage, archaeology and my presence and research. These issues emerge from the tensions of colonialism and the chasms of time, with contemporary town of Andagua itself a product of Spanish colonialism.

The program of *reducciones* was a coercive state project intended to convert or "reduce" indigenous populations through forced resettlement away from *llaqtas* and *wak'a*, loci of power and meaning, attempting to enfold them into Christian universal order. As we approach a landscape inhabited by *llaqtas* and *wak'as*, we cannot assume straight lines of occupational histories that neatly conform to great man narratives nor empty periodization. Investigating the growth of early village life in Andagua during non-state contexts of the pre-Inka past allows us to map the distribution of life and things that give form to social orders across the regional landscape, making places in the world.

Paccareta (AND-084)[6]

Across the Andagua River in the northeast extent of the survey, the archaeological occupation of Paccareta (3,635m) is composed of a set of hills and ridges that rise from the surrounding pampa near the base of the undulating lava flows from the volcano of Pucamauras. The site is one of the few that had been previously documented before, but without any systematic attention (Linares Málaga 1993; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). Paccareta is a large site approximately 35 hectares in area (not including rehabilitated areas) that indicates a long-term pre-Inka occupation forged by non-state decentralized authority. Besides conducting intensive surface collection, the project carried out aerial mapping and test-pit excavations of the occupation, documenting a range of archaeological evidence, including agricultural infrastructure, mortuary features, painted stone discs and tablets and pottery along with additional archaeological features.

Agricultural infrastructure at Paccareta included abandoned canals and a variety of terrace types indicative of early sedentism and long-term inhabitation, such as cross-channel terraces (probably rain-fed) (Brooks 1998; Murphy 2017). Abandoned terraces and paths make up the eastern edge of the site, descending into a small basin covered with Aeolian black volcanic sand. Traces of rectilinear stonewalls are visible through the black sand and mark a formalized grid plan. The formal grid is similar to other constructions documented at sites of pre-Inka inhabitation, such as Pumajallo and Soporo, along with probable Inka occupations, including Quisguarani and AND-

[6] The enumeration for archaeological site registration corresponds to when the site was formally documented and surveyed during the course of PAVA 2015, and does not convey any chronological order. I staggered survey throughout the valley, with survey (and excavations) conducted in a dynamic way, constantly learning and prioritizing accordingly (a hermeneutic/dialectical relationship). Paccareta's listing as AND-84 reflects how we formally surveyed the site several weeks into the project. This is exemplified in the project's shift to Andagua Antiguo and the identification of Andagua Antiguo composed of AND-59, AND-60, as well as, the registrations of other archaeological features in the area of the contemporary town of Andagua, such as AND-62, AND-31, AND-94. This reflects the heterogeneous dimensions of the contemporary town of Andagua (and Andagua Antiguo). Moreover, while I instructed the project members to document any cultural feature through the recent past – relevant anthropologically and archaeologically – not every field house or field refuge/cave was formally registered as an archaeological site.

36 throughout the valley (further discussed below and in the next chapter). The formal plan is distinct from the agglomerated non-state constructions and is a probable effect from Inka state strategies and presence. A separate partitioned canal runs parallel to the *canal madre*, on the other side of the river, turns off to serve the area of Paccareta. Paccareta thus has access to the Andagua River water source independent of the other regional valley occupations. Much of the hills that surround the main occupational area of the site are constituted by large rock outcrops. The site of Paccareta became traversable and inhabitable through soil formation and human modifications, evident in large retaining walls and structures that incorporate the stone outcrops.

The main occupational area of the site lies within this section of hills and is indicative of non-state organization constituted by non-specialized labor and bottom-up planning. While much of the site is extensively disturbed and covered by vegetation overgrowth, we can identify representative architectural features that define the site and are evident in the site map (figure 4.8). Within the folds of the hill there are domestic structures associated with open patio spaces containing circular mortuary features in the corners of the rectilinear walled enclosures. The circular and semi-interred mortuary features documented in these patio areas are diagnostic of the site and are different from mortuary features documented along the perimeter of the hills to the east (discussed below). The domestic structures, which number more than a dozen in the main occupational area, appear to open into the interior of the hill basin. One of the best preserved examples, albeit with the entryway partially affected by wall fall, had standing walls remaining at 1.85m in height, dimensions of the structure measuring 6m (E-W orientation) by 5.5m (N-S orientation), and 0.5-0.55m wall thickness. Also, in this structure there appeared to be depression that could have either served as a cist tomb or a storage feature. As was the case with many features documented on survey, due to extensive disturbances and in the case of lacking human remains

we are unable to conclusively determine their uses. Beyond these rectangular, and probable domestic structures, the site is heavily defined by retaining walls and large stone walls (1.5m wall thickness) that define the northern extent of the site.

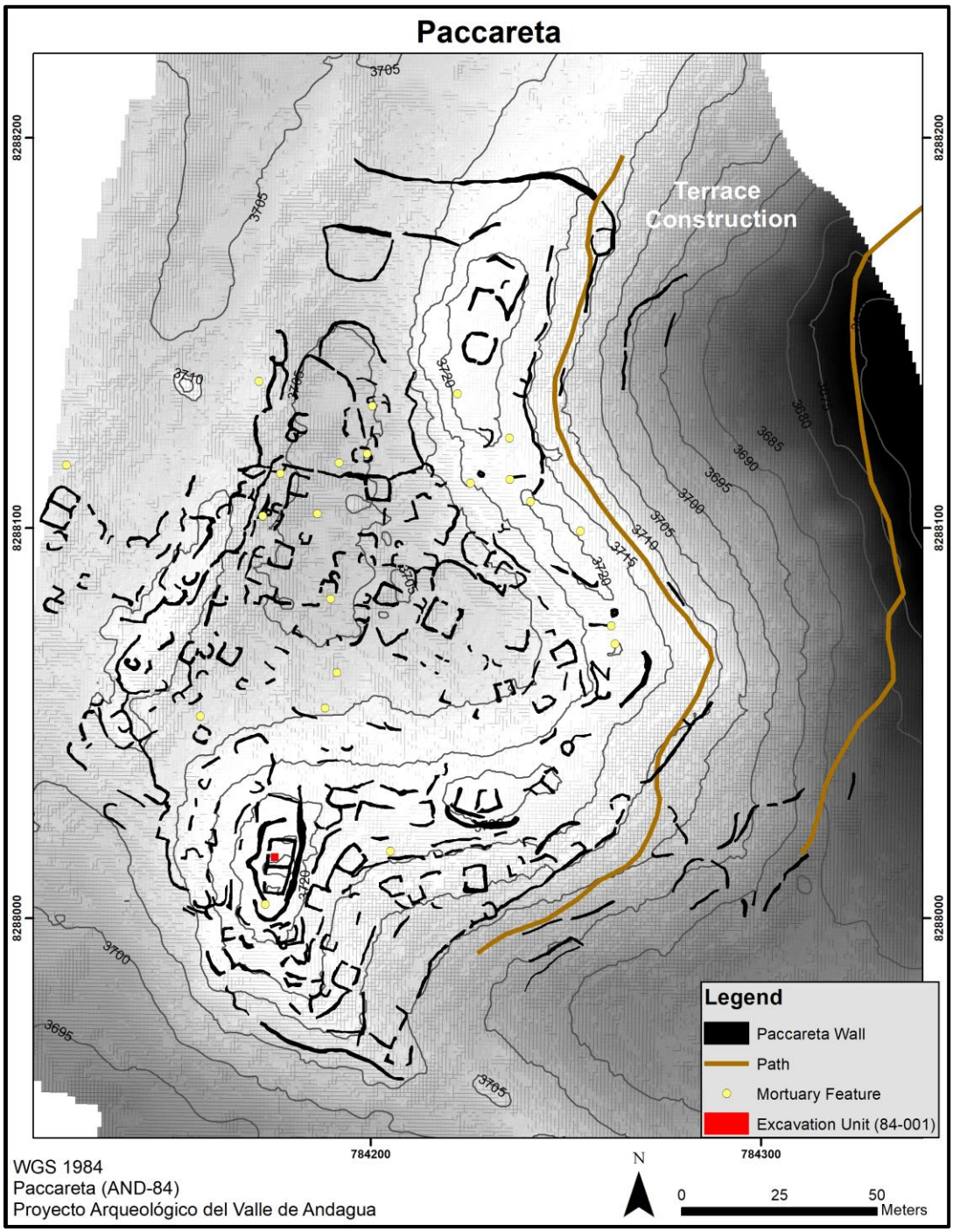


Figure 4.8: Map of Paccareta

The project documented 25 mortuary features throughout the hills of Paccareta consisting of a variety of constructions styles that were similar to tombs identified in the Colca Valley (Doutriaux 2004: 175–184; Wernke 2003, 2013). Mortuary practices involved collective burial enshrinements, which refers to how humans were not buried separately in isolated tombs but interred among other bodies (Doutriaux 2004: 184). Mortuary features are located on the hillsides, often articulating with rock features and composing caves and shelters that blur distinctions of nature and culture. The greatest concentrations of mortuary structures and archaeological remains are located in this northern hillside folds (see map, figure 4.8). During our survey work, we documented human remains but did not collect any.

The majority of mortuary features were (partially) subterranean cylindrical stone structures covered by stone (including large slabs) and earth and often visible from a distance (figures 4.10-4.11). These cylindrical mortuary features were identified primarily in the main occupation area and along the hills to the south that mark the limits of the site of Paccareta. The dimensions of these features ranged in height from 0.6m (affected by soil fill and vegetation growth) to 1.25m, interior widths of 1m – 1.5m and 0.4m – 0.6m wall thickness. The subterranean characteristics make them indicative of "cist tombs" while the free-standing dimensions overlap with broadly termed "*chullpa*" constructions (e.g. Doutriaux 2004; Wernke 2003). Local *chullpa* type mortuary features documented (n=4) at the site were rectilinear, with small rectangular entryways, free-standing and abutted along the hillslopes (figure 4.9). We documented the mortuary features in a range of preservation statuses; the majority severely looted and destroyed with only small fragments of bones scattered around, three cases with multiple crania remaining but bodies disarticulated and sun-bleached bones, and in one case possibly still undisturbed.

Figure 4.9: Disturbed mortuary feature (*chullpa*), free-standing and abutting the eastern hillside at Paccareta

Figure 4.10: Disturbed mortuary feature (*chullpa*), free-standing and circular, on the ridgeline of Paccareta

Figure 4.11: Disturbed mortuary feature, a complex of multiple semi-subterranean tombs at the northern region of Paccareta

Figure 4.12: Wall with painted red geometric motif, original photo (left) and photo-processed by D-Stretch (right).[7] On top of hill is excavation unit structure.

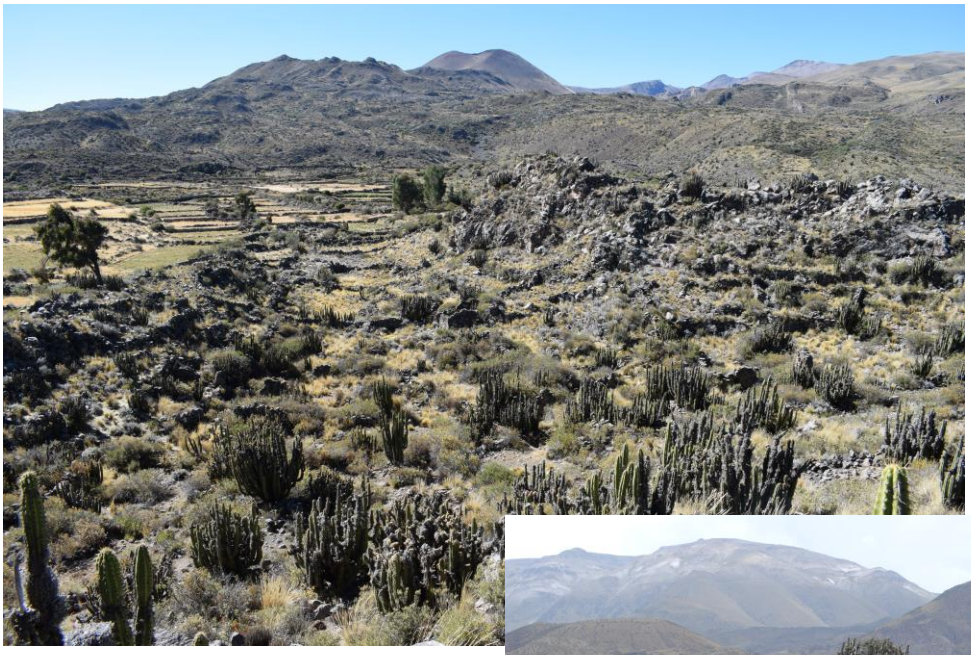


Figure 4.13: View of the main occupation area of Paccareta, looking north from excavation structure, with volcano Pucamauras on the horizon. Right: excavation structure and built up hillside

[7] I used the program D-Stretch to highlight and view the artifacts and features with faint remains of paint. In many cases the paint was well preserved on the artifacts and applying D-Stretch was unnecessary.

Figure 4.14: Wall with painted red anthropomorphic and linear designs (northern exterior wall of excavation unit). Original photo (top) and D-Stretch processed photo with designs (and scale) visible on the right half of the wall.

Paccareta presents one of the few contexts with architectural features painted with similar motifs and designs that appear on the discs, tablets and *wank'a*. Bright red linear geometric motifs remain visible on large stones in the base of a wall on a hillside slope (figure 4.12). Another structure, surrounded by mortuary features (subterranean cist tombs) located at the top of the main hillside mound, has an anthropomorphic figure painted on an exterior stone wall and similar geometric motifs located on nearby stone features (figure 4.14). The project collected small painted tablets in the form of rectangles and squares throughout Paccareta during regional survey, along with small stone tablets (n=17) and discs (n=9). Discs were also recovered and identified at the southern limit of the site of Paccareta, atop the southern mound, near the canyon and river edge and around several circular probable mortuary features (*chullpas*).

The project collected 1,022 ceramics sherds (MNV) through systematic survey, with transect intervals of 25m, of the site of Paccareta and another 1,783 sherds (MNV) from excavations of a 2x2m test-pit at the site (2,805 total sherds and 19.3% of the entire collection). Ceramic evidence supports its long-term occupational history, with pottery from the Soporo style and continuing through Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon types that have been identified elsewhere in the Andagua Valley and throughout the Arequipa region. The ceramic styles included a range of polychrome cumbrous and collared bowls, which have been broadly identified as corresponding with the Middle Horizon, but are not Wari (see figures 4.15, 4.16 and see appendix), iconic ceramics with black and red motifs indicative of Late Intermediate Period styles, and limited evidence of Late Horizon styles (Brooks 1998; Jennings 2002; Wernke 2003). However, since there is no Wari or Tiwanaku state presence in the valley, I primarily identify the pottery as pre-Inka rather than distinguishing Middle Horizon or Late Intermediate Period (see appendix). From survey to excavations, archaeological evidence demonstrates how

Paccareta was formed through non-state socio-political organization and occupied from early sedentism through pre-Inka contexts.

Figure 4.15: Pre-Inka polychrome cumbrous and collared bowls recovered from Paccareta

Figure 4.16: Varying pre-Inka bichrome bowls from Paccareta

Excavations were carried out in a structure built on top of one the main mounds central to the site of Paccareta (see figures 4.8, 4.13). The hill itself appears to be significantly culturally modified with massive stone walls lining (4m high) the hillside and supporting cist tombs, now looted, built into the top of the hill. The location on top of the exposed hill, lashed by winds, with limited access suggests the hilltop structures were not domestic residences, but places formed through ritual activity that served as markers of authority and identity on the landscape. The structure in which we excavated, as discussed above, had red anthropomorphic and geometric

motifs painted on the exterior northern stone wall (see figure 4.14). While dedicated to excavating a diagnostic context, consideration for the placement of the excavation unit prioritized avoiding human mortuary remains, primary architecture and walls for safety concerns.[8] We placed the excavation unit towards the center (southern half) and near the entrance of the structure. While excavations offer new insight into the occupational histories of Paccareta, there are methodological and sampling limits. Thus, the test-unit's location most likely precludes broader, dynamic characteristics of the site, such as possible domestic spaces. The project excavated one 2x2m test unit (loci 1221 – 1230), with team members walking the four kilometers each way to excavate (a couple days we arranged for transportation with one of the only cars owned by residents who cultivate fields in Paccareta).[9]

The first layers of the excavation unit were composed of topsoil and strewn stones and wall melt (mortar) as a result of wall fall (affecting loci 1221 to 1225 and 1226). The wall fall disturbed the preservation of thin layers of packed earth indicating occupational floors, with the impact reaching a half meter in depth. At similar levels to the few areas of the unit revealing possible earthen floor contexts, excavations documented polished flat stones that appeared worn from wear and perhaps foot traffic. Across these contexts, there was limited evidence of dense residential occupation. Loci 1221 through 1223 contained less than 50 pottery sherds and the pottery collection from loci 1225 and 1226 was 324 pottery sherds total from pitchers and bowls, with these loci (1221 – 1226) yielding 20% of the total pottery collection from the excavation unit. The pottery excavated was indicative of pre-Inka pottery types, with diagnostic pottery including black

[8] In the case, the project did reveal human remains we would stop excavations, but the project never excavated any human remains. Our excavations were effective and minimally invasive.

[9] There is a recently constructed concrete bridge that crosses the canyon of the Andagua River to Paccareta, and nearby is a stone arched bridge that is called the Puente Antiguo ("Old Bridge"), that is a post-contact construction, but could be from Spanish colonial era.

on red or orange slip the most ubiquitous painted pottery type, face-neck pitchers and other pre-Inka local styles as well as non-diagnostic pottery (see appendix).

Wall fall gave way to a thick layer of black ash, loci 1227–1228, with a depth ranging from 20 – 35cm (see appendix, figures A.108- A.111). The burn layer context filled the entire unit and possibly extended throughout the structure, and was densely filled with artifacts, from pottery to camelid remains along with stone tablets painted with a camelid motif (figure 4.17). Other artifacts included obsidian, a mother of pearl pendant from the Pacific coast and a small metal (copper) piece. Locus 1228 yielded a collection of 1,098 ceramic artifacts across multiple (5) levels, broken down for analytical control, making up more than 61% of the pottery collection recovered from the unit. Extensive faunal remains were recovered in the burn layer, including camelid remains. Three obsidian fragments were recovered from loci 1228, 1229 and 1231. Located under the layers of occupation and above foundation fill, the burn layer possibly marked the end of construction of the structure, and the beginning of its designated use. The scope of the burn layer, context and associated artifacts make it unlikely it was a residential hearth, or after the inhabitation of structure. We recovered several carbon remains that we properly stored in aluminum with the expectation of dating them and using them as C-14 samples. However, currently no radiocarbon dates have been tested and provided. Cultural contexts continue below the burnt layers highlighting the social processes of construction.

Beneath the burnt layers appeared a moderately compact to loose fill, identified as locus 1229, excavations continued to recover a significant quantity of artifacts, with locus 1229 yielding 219 total ceramic fragments and 27 stone tablets painted with anthropomorphic and geometric figures. In locus 1230 we recovered multiple painted and unpainted stone tablets (n=87 total), with several ambiguous anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs (n=5) and geometric motifs (n=65)

(figures 4.17–4.19). As we continued to expose a large rock outcrop, we excavated a deposit of small stone tablets painted with three linear alternating black and red lines (n=37) (figure 4.19). Contrasting to the previous contexts, 41 pottery sherds were recovered from locus 1230. Four of the ceramics had diagnostic black paint on red/orange earthenware while the remaining 37 fragments are non-diagnostic body artifacts from large storage and serving vessels. The project excavated to a depth of 85cm across the unit, and with test windows to a depth of 1.35m, exposing natural rock outcrops as well as revealing the possibility of continued fill, though no apparent continuing presence of cultural artifacts.

Figures 4.17: Small stone tablet painted red with zoomorphic motif (camelid) excavated from locus 1230

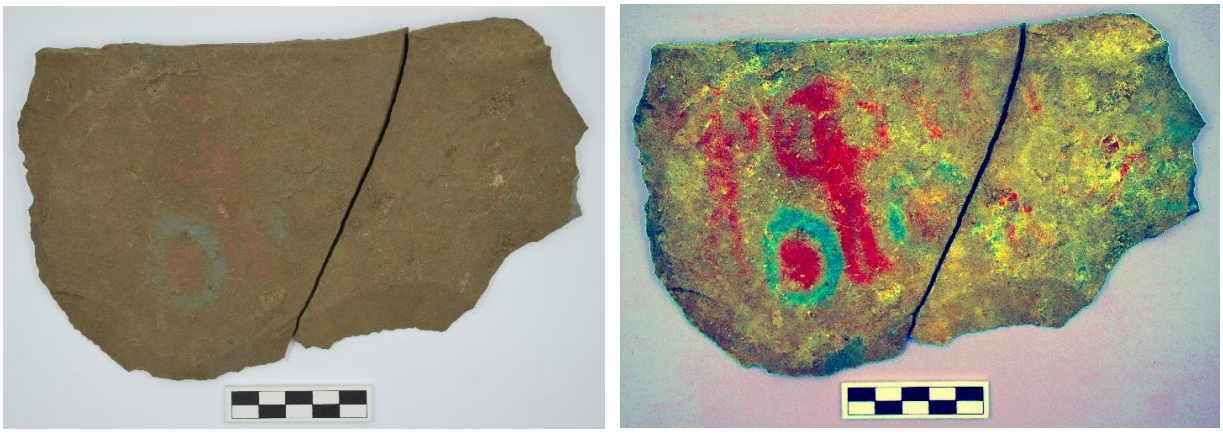


Figure 4.18: Painted stone tablet recovered below ash layer in fill in locus 1230. Painted red and blue with representative and geometric motifs, including anthropomorphic designs

Figure 4.19 Small painted stone tablets excavated in locus 1230, below ash layer, with red and black geometric motif (left); (right) stone spindle whorl recovered during survey of Paccareta

Archaeological research offers evidence of the formation of the pre-Inka *llaqta* of Paccareta where socio-historical practices emerged dynamically through regional relationships with the landscape and broader communities (*llaqtas*) across the Andagua Valley and southern Peruvian Andes. The archaeology of pre-Inka *llaqta* of Paccareta includes remains of Soporo style "Formative" pottery, agricultural infrastructure, mortuary features, and a range of material culture, such as lithics, additional ceramic varieties and iconography. Moving across the valley to possible contemporaneous occupations that exhibit a range of archaeological evidence of pre-Inka inhabitation we can review Andagua Antiguo and Andagua.

Andagua and Andagua Antiguo

The contemporary town of Andagua, constructed as a colonial *reducción*, is composed of multiple occupations. Research by PAVA was able to distinguish pre-Inka (non-Inka) and Inka features. The southeastern area of Andagua is referred to as Andagua Antiguo and is composed of winding ravines with terraced hillsides, distinctive from the urban grid pattern characteristic of the *reducción*. While we recovered evidence of the Soporo ceramic style throughout Andagua indicating a deep occupational history, the multiple occupations make it difficult to determine the extent of the pre-Hispanic occupation over time. The project recovered more than two-thirds (35%) of the entire pottery collection of PAVA across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, from survey through excavations (n=5,111 total, MNV, from surface collections and excavations), with this section emphasizing the pre-Inka material culture. This section further reviews a suite of archaeological evidence exemplified by *wank'as* (monoliths) and painted tablets and discs documented through survey and excavations that affirms the pre-Inka antiquity of Andagua and its relationships with the surrounding landscape.

In addition to identifying the contemporary town of Andagua as an archaeological site, our knowledge unfolded through the course of survey and excavations resulting in the project registering multiple features as archaeological sites in the immediacy of Andagua and Andagua Antiguo (AND-60) for the purpose of analytical control. This ranges from a series of subterranean cist tombs (n=15) located at the northern extent of Andagua (registered as AND-94) to the southern limits with stone wall foundations associated with stone and ceramic discs and diagnostic pottery (registered as AND-62) and nearby another monolith (AND-31) overlooks the terraced valley. On the hills to the west of town near the contemporary cemetery, the project documented a pre-Inka site (AND-75) of stone retaining walls and poorly preserved structures (10ha in area) with limited

pre-Hispanic artifacts exposed on the surface (including stone discs). A cement canal cuts through the edges of the site.

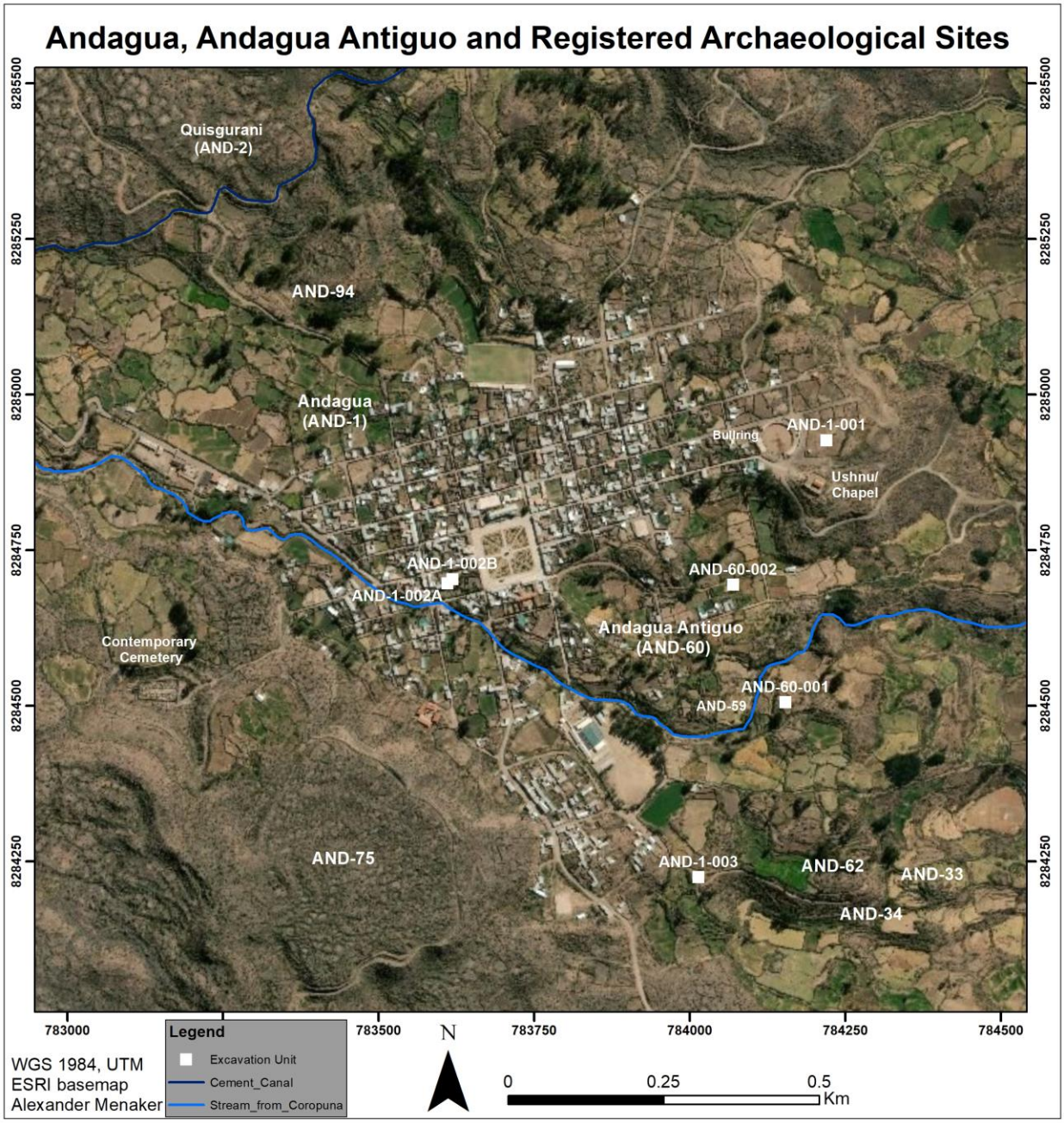


Figure 4.20: Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, registered archaeological sites and excavation units

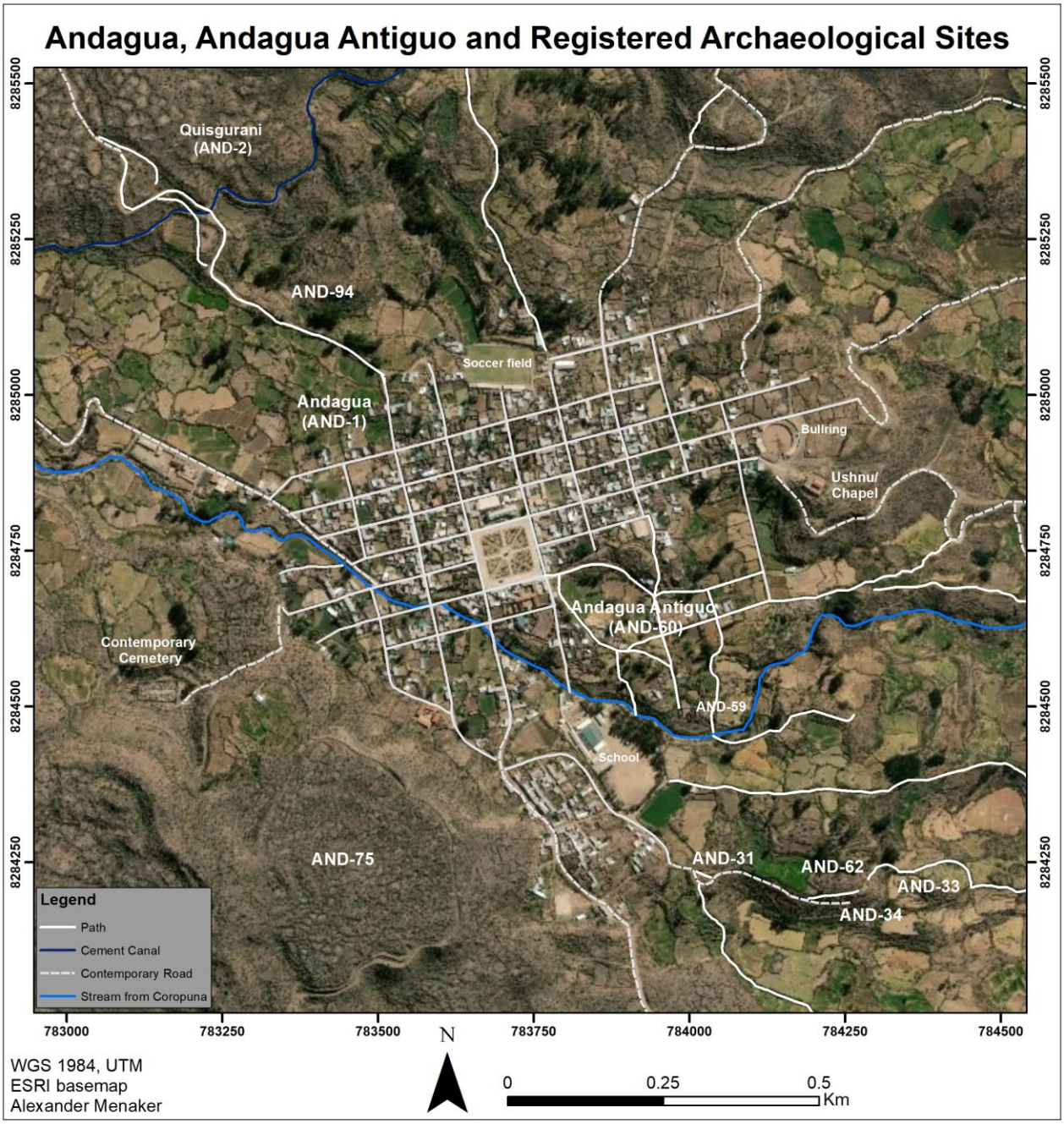


Figure 4.21: Paths and roads in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo and registered archaeological sites

Figure 4.22: Pre-Inka pottery recovered in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo during survey

Linares Málaga is one of the only archaeologists to have visited Andagua and identified the *ushnu*/chapel platform, calling it "*Capillayuq*" (a Quechuaization of the feature, the suffix -*yuq* usually connotes "with," and a relation of immediacy). Acknowledging the heterogeneous landscape, he drafted a sketch of the platform, bullring and identified possible mortuary features along the terraced hillside at the Southeastern edges of Andagua (in the hillside above excavation unit 060-003) (1993: 228). While Andagua Antiguo is known locally for its antiquity, PAVA's research in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo refines our knowledge of the past and the multiple occupations of the area and relationships with the broader valley as well as comparative evidence to study the uneven effects of Inka and Spanish state presences (discussed in chapters five and six).

Figure 4.23: Viewing the w*ank'a* (monolith) with Cerro Mirador south down valley before excavations (AND-1-003)

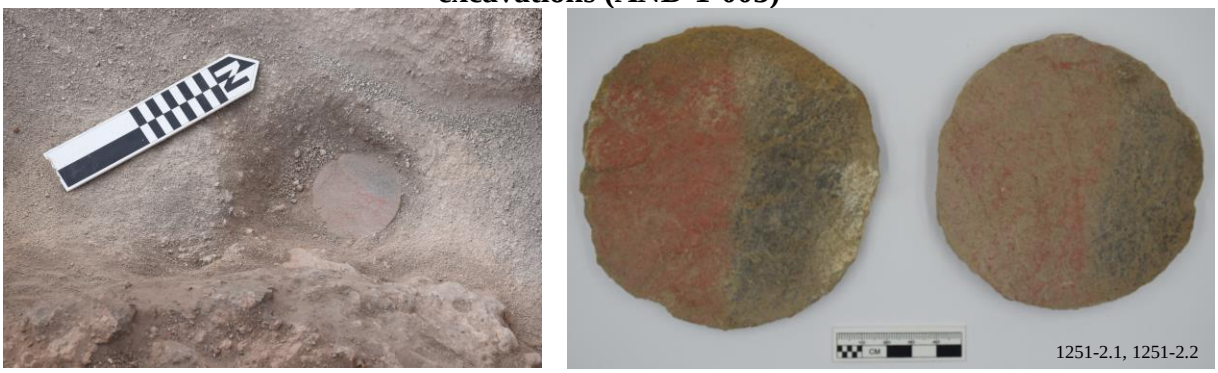


Figure 4.24: Stone disc *in situ* in excavation unit, AND-1-003; Black and red painted stone discs recovered during excavations of AND-001-003

At the southern edge of Andagua there is a *wank'a* that mirrors the contours of the volcanic hill of Cerro Mirador farther south in the direction of Upper Antaymarca (documented as AND-31 during survey) (figure 4.23). The distinct mimetic characteristic of the stone *wank'a* and the hillside form a relationship and mark a place embodying labor and ritual activities (Dean 2010). The stone itself also has lines engraved in the northerly exposed surface. At the time of the survey recent construction had exposed a range of artifacts nearby, and with the possibility of further

construction and disturbance, I prioritized carrying out an excavation test-unit.[10] The stone is located along a walking path and the recent municipal road leading down into the valley fields, which winds around the rock outcrop (and exposed human remains and painted tablets from the hillside through the construction process. Excavations exposed a gravelly and coarse surface contrasting with the eroded and worked qualities of the stone *wank'a*. The excavation revealed a very shallow cultural context but one that was rich with material culture and activities.

Excavations recovered a range of high-quality crafted artifacts, including an obsidian projectile point and obsidian core and flakes and painted stone discs (n=6) and tablets (n=5). Excavations revealed one painted tablet with little paint visible at first then when flipped exposed a red painted surface with traces of red paint remaining on the soil. At the base of the cultural contexts we recovered two painted stone discs in close association. One disc was buried into a dug-out hole in the geological strata (figure 4.24). The discs were painted one half red and the other black (figure 4.24). Excavations resulted in a collection of 122 unpainted ceramics (1,072g total weight, 8.79g average sherd weight). Beyond a few diagnostic rims, the remaining collection is a large majority non-diagnostic body fragments from ambiguous storage or serving vessels. The most diagnostic features are the stone artifacts and contexts that indelibly make a place in the volcanic landscape.

[10] During the course of excavations construction by the municipality to build the road farther down the hillside eventually damaged old stone wall (terrace) construction and exposed an array of cultural artifacts and limited human remains. When we heard about the construction later, we walked down the road to document the remains, a human cranium was propped up on the recently exposed hillside cut to make a road. Above the cut we documented several painted tablets. However, these painted tablets and discs were not analyzed by the project and do not ultimately belong to the collection of artifacts under the project's auspices. This is because, later when the Ministry of Culture came to inspect the closure of our excavation phase, our co-director told the representative of the ministry about the exposed artifacts and collection. The representative of the ministry asked for the remains and claimed authority of them since this was an issue of affecting the national patrimony. (I was able to take photos of several samples before they were retained by the Ministry of Culture, with photos above. The ministry has extended the invitation for the project to carry out any future analyses of the collection under the auspices of the ministry).

The project documented traces of portable material culture such as painted tablets and discs, ceramics and other archaeological features (*wank'as*) indicating the multiple occupations of Andagua (Antiguo). Paths, terraced fields, vegetation and stone structures compose the undulating ravines that make up Andagua Antiguo. Amidst this overgrown and recycled landscape, it is difficult to identify particular relationships (across time and space). Yet through sustained systematic research, we gained detailed insight into the occupational histories and particular features of Andagua Antiguo. The project placed one 2x2m and one 1x1m excavation test-unit in Andagua Antiguo (broadly characterized as AND-60) to investigate the archaeological histories of the area.[11]

The excavation test-unit (AND-060-001) was situated on a hilltop ridge above the ravines of Andagua Antiguo, where there were clear remains of a large rectilinear stone wall and structure, and with the area demonstrating little overall disturbance (occasional use as a corral, but primarily unused open space). As we spent more time there walking around the landscape preparing the location of the unit and throughout the duration of the project, we documented a stairwell that leads up the northern terraced hillside entering the expanse, and the large walled path that borders the southern edge of the hilltop area (figure 4.25). Stone discs and tablets painted with geometric and anthropomorphic features were recovered on the hill. Large stone monoliths dot the area, often surrounded by cacti and vegetation. On one of the large monoliths we identified a small and fainted anthropomorphic motif (figure 4.26). In the shadow of the monolith and cacti, there is a U-shaped stone feature, analogous to Soporo, set in the landscape (figure 4.25). At the eastern edge of the area there is a stone platform with openings that are indicative of mortuary features, with the project documenting the remains of a human mandible. Archaeological evidence from survey and

[11] The other excavation unit (AND-060-002) is discussed in the next chapter, where we recovered Late Horizon and Inka evidence.

excavations, suggests this space as a place of ritual performance that ordered the local pre-Inka landscape, similar to other *llaqtas* and indicative of decentralized, non-state local populations.

Figure 4.25: Stone staircase leading to the hilltop complex in Andagua Antiguo (left); U-shaped stone formation on hilltop (right)

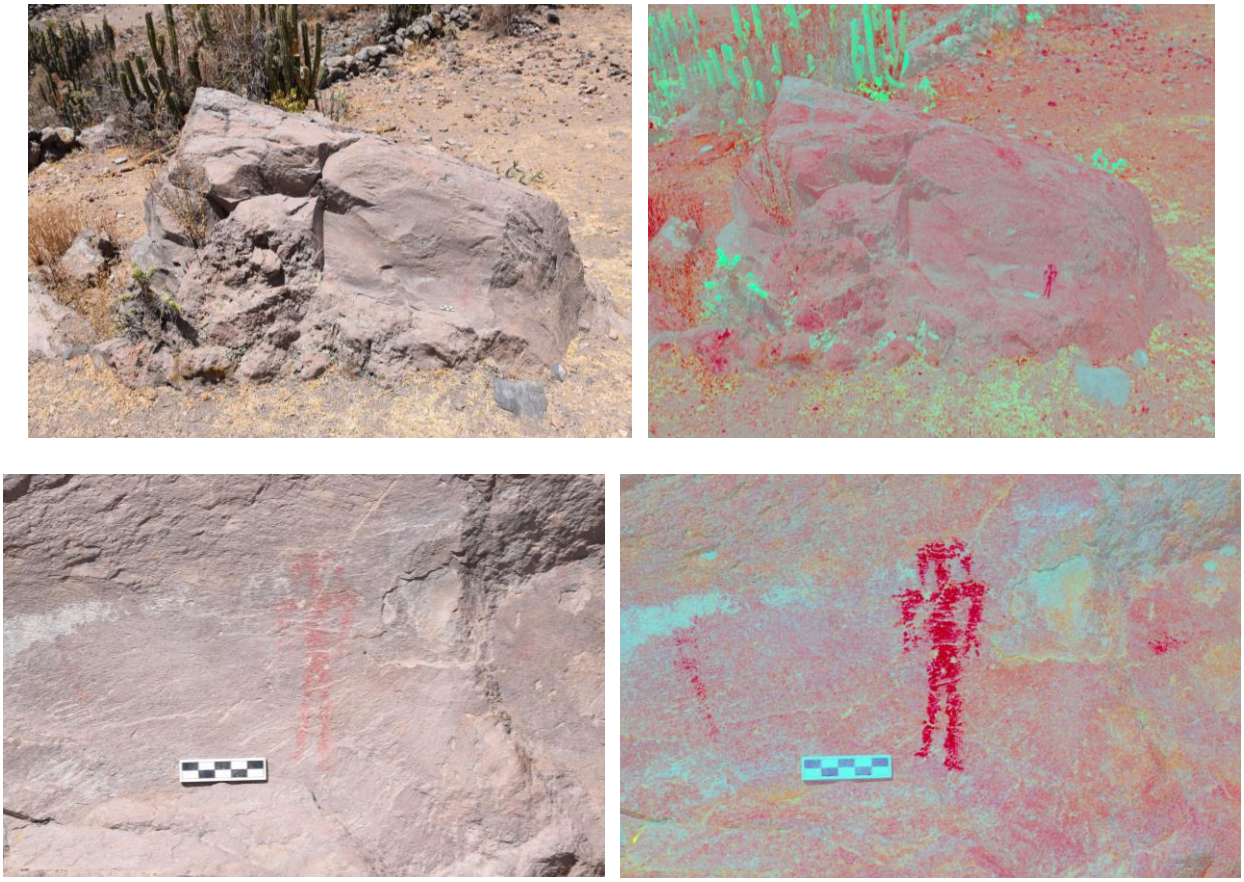


Figure 4.26: Monolith with red anthropomorphic painting on hilltop in Andagua Antiguo. Original photos (left), post-processed with painting emphasized (right).

We excavated a 2x2m test-unit (and extension) exposing the wall and the foundations on both sides (with the wall depth approximately 70cm; 70–90cm wide) (figure 4.27, see appendix). Excavations revealed the possibility that part of the wall was covered with white and red plaster. The excavations continued to sterile contexts, exposing red and white volcanic layers composed of ash (63µm – 2mm), lapilli (small ejected materials 2-64mm) and other pyroclastic materials (Schaetzl and Anderson 2005). The excavation contexts revealed no Inka ceramics and extended research in this area highlights the pre-Inka practices (or non-Inka, in the case of concurrent occupation), material culture and relationships with the landscape (figure 4.28). We recovered six fine obsidian points, ranging in size from 43mm x 22mm to 17.7mm x 14mm and thicknesses from 1.98mm to 7.3mm (figure 4.28). Excavations yielded a total of 326 (MNV) ceramic artifacts with 7,207g as the total weight. Overall this area and associated artifacts support evidence of the pre-Inka (non-Inka) social practices.

Figure 4.27: Excavation unit (AND-60-001) of stone wall with associated monolith feature

Figure 4.28: Artifacts recovered during excavations in Andagua Antiguo (AND-60-001) Pre-Inka pottery and obsidian point

The project documented stone and ceramic discs and tablets on the steep hillside that descends from the edge of town into the valley, and near the bull ring and the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*, which was also most likely an *ushnu*, an Inka ceremonial platform. This includes a broken ceramic fragment, remaining in a rhombus form with alternating lines of red, white and green painted on the interior greyware. The project further recovered several ceramic discs exposed in a pig corral just to the east of the chapel at the edge of town. One of these ceramic discs included the handle join of a broken handle. From the contexts of painted discs and tablets it is probable that they served as offerings to Pachamama and marked boundaries defining territories. It is probable that this eastern area of Andagua was important during pre-Inka times, and then built up by the Inka to emphasize the recent volcanic activities of Ninamama across the valley.

Additional questions concern Inka state oversight and the possible continuation of the use of painted tablets and discs during Inka imperial reign (further discussed in next chapter). The discs could be from pre-Inka contexts while also enduring as a local cultural practice where they gained novel significances, and in perhaps similar yet different ways under the Spanish colonial state. Archaeological research of Andagua and Andagua Antiguo offers insight into the formation of places that give order to the landscape exemplifying decentralized social organization. The *llaqta* of Andagua emerged from early sedentism through pre-Inka and subsequent Inka occupation. Today, as a result of the *reducción* program, Andagua Antiguo and the surrounding archaeological landscape remain as traces of the past that continued to anchor (and destabilize) historical processes through to the present.

Pumajallo

Located in the lava flows of Pucamauras, the site of Pumajallo is another substantial pre-Inka *llaqta* possibly stretching back to early sedentism. Soporo style pottery is present around the eastern edge of the valley below Wachalanka. The main occupational area has a range of architectural features, including dense agglomerated structures, mortuary features, and large retaining walls, more than 150m in length, encompassing approximately 10 hectares. The surrounding area is composed of agricultural infrastructure and paths stretching more than 50 hectares and continuing throughout the valley to Tauca, a site most likely intensified under Inka reign. We camped in fields at Tauca and Pumajallo, benefitting from rides with the local Gloria Milk truck, while we carried out two days of survey walking 25m intervals. Once when we rented a truck, we revisited the site to map it with a drone, with the aerial site map in process.

Figure 4.29: Large retaining walls that perimeter the main occupation of Pumajallo. (Archaeologist Miguel Vizcarra Zanabria in bottom right for scale).

Survey produced 357 pottery sherds (MNV), with 216 unpainted sherds and 117 pottery sherds with black paint on a range of red and orange slipped vessels, and numerous polychrome pottery of black and brown, black and purple, black and white among others. The collection is further composed of 195 sherds classified as serving, 139 for storage or serving, 13 for cooking or storage, several discs, burnishing tool, and spindle whorl. The collection consists of pottery that corresponds to Middle Horizon styles, such as Qosq'opa, and other late pre-Inka (LIP) styles with black on red slip and geometric motifs on a range of bowls and other vessels (see appendix, figures A.40–A.42). Beyond pitchers and a range of plates, pots and bowls, the collection included 60 (17%) cumbrous and collared bowl vessels, largely indicated of Middle Horizon and pre-Inka styles. Inka and Late Horizon pottery was also recovered, discussed in the subsequent chapter. There was no evidence of pre-Inka states, such as the Tiwanaku or Wari.

Survey yielded limited lithic artifacts with the project collecting one slate stone disc with traces of red paint, along with another with anthropomorphic design from Tauca, and one worked flake of obsidian recovered from Tauca. Pumajallo thus serves as another pre-Hispanic archaeological occupation that we can consider a *llaqta*. Pumajallo and the region were affected during Inka reign, through the construction of agricultural infrastructure and other administrative and settlement features, with the sites and surrounding area occupied through today.

Upper and Lower Antaymarca(s)

The two sites of Antaymarca are *llaqta* that demonstrate decentralized forms of social organization during the late pre-Hispanic (Late Intermediate Period, AD 1000 – 1400). The sites are located at the edge of and built on top of layers of lava flows. Visitors to the area of Antaymarca have previously identified it as a singular site, but PAVA analytically distinguished two distinct sites, Upper (AND-095) and Lower (AND-029) Antaymarca, albeit related and with a path connecting them through the lava (see maps, figures 4.32, 4.33) (Hoempler 1962). Upper Antaymarca has been previously interpreted as a necropolis, while research by PAVA indicates the site exemplified little domestic occupation due to its brief inhabitation (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). Our research suggests that there is little evidence of long-term occupations at the sites with no evidence of Soporo ceramic style, limited cultural deposition and pottery representative of late pre-Inka ceramic styles of black on red corresponding to the broader Late Intermediate Period (LIP).

Explaining how the present came to be is a challenging task, and the interpretations of the sites of Antaymarca exemplify how the nature–culture dichotomy results in conflating human historical practices to geological activities, with the occupations and abandonments of the sites of Antaymarca interpreted to coincide uniformly with the volcanic processes. Lacking systematic survey, an array of conflicting interpretations circulate regarding the histories of Upper and Lower Antaymarca with little analytical distinction, including the assumption that the sites of Antaymarca were destroyed by volcanic lava flows, or perhaps built after lava flows, yet the historical processes and specific relationships of the sites with one another and the broader valley remain vague (Hoempler 1962; Linares Málaga 1993; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). Research by PAVA, including systematic survey, excavations and aerial mapping, presents an archaeological picture

of the sites to refine our understandings of their site organization, occupational histories and highlight the dynamic relationships local populations had with the landscape.

Upper Antaymarca is approximately 2.5 hectares in area and built on the raw volcanic lava flows that form the south(western) edge of the main terraced Andagua Valley, abutting the hill of Cerro Mirador and lava flows of Ninamama. On the other side of Cerro Mirador, to the south, are other recent volcanoes and lava flows that blanket the valley, marked by an absence of life between Soporo and Chachas. Lower Antaymarca is constructed on older lava flows based upon morphological indices and taphonomic processes exemplified by the weathering of volcanic rock to produce soil (Delacour et al. 2007). In the case of Lower Antaymarca the landscape is composed of soil that resulted from environmental processes breaking down the porous andesitic and basaltic lava flows. The site is surrounded and shaped by the tongues of lava flows evident in the eastern section of the site. Covering a total area of 15 hectares, the site is an undulating landscape with the central area of Lower Antaymarca a flatter area with a large, walled and irregular circular open space, measuring approximately 50m x 55m. A range of features, including rectangular and circular structures as well as mortuary features, radiate around the clearing with greater density across the lava flow. These structures form complexes on top of and are incorporated within the landscape. The sloping lava flows that surround the settlement are marked by long stretches of retaining walls, measuring up to 140m (see map, figure 4.32).

In addition to survey and excavations, PAVA research carried out aerial photography and subsequent digital post-processing (through Agisoft Photoscan and ArcGIS) to produce comprehensive aerial imagery and detailed site maps of both sites, Upper and Lower Antaymarca (figures 4.32, 4.33). As exemplified throughout the dissertation, the project used these innovative methodologies and programs to produce foundational mapping data. Covered by cacti and

vegetation and set in expansive lava fields, it is already difficult to move throughout the site, and thus using a Total Station and traditional mapping tools to map these sites would have been extremely challenging and time-consuming. Through the course of the project, we aerially photographed several archaeological occupations and features, and I was able to use the drone to take aerial photographs of excavation units (in addition to using a monopod to provide plan photos). The development of technological mapping and remote sensing provide unparalleled opportunities for archaeological research and mapping. Despite the efficiency of aerial mapping, it still took significant time and work to accurately trace each architectural feature. Aerial mapping has further been complemented by architectural analysis of representative structures and features, with future work dedicated to more comprehensive reviews.

Figure 4.30: Antaymarca lava flow (left, Upper Antaymarca not visible) and Lower Antaymarca (right) facing north towards the main valley, looking out from Cerro Mirador

Figure 4.31: Late pre-Inka bichrome pottery, black paint on red slip, recovered from Lower Antaymarca during survey and excavations

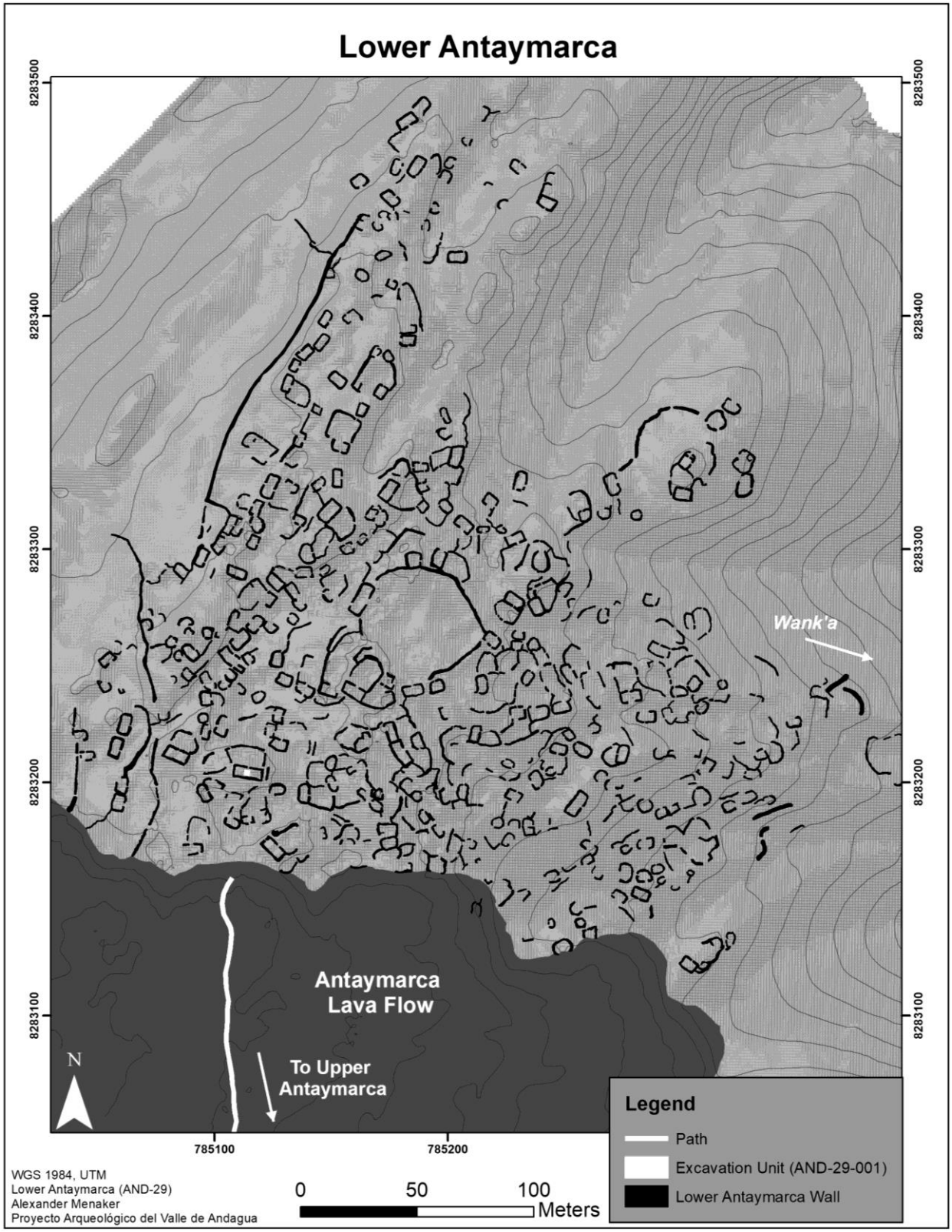


Figure 4.32: Map of Lower Antaymarca (AND-29)

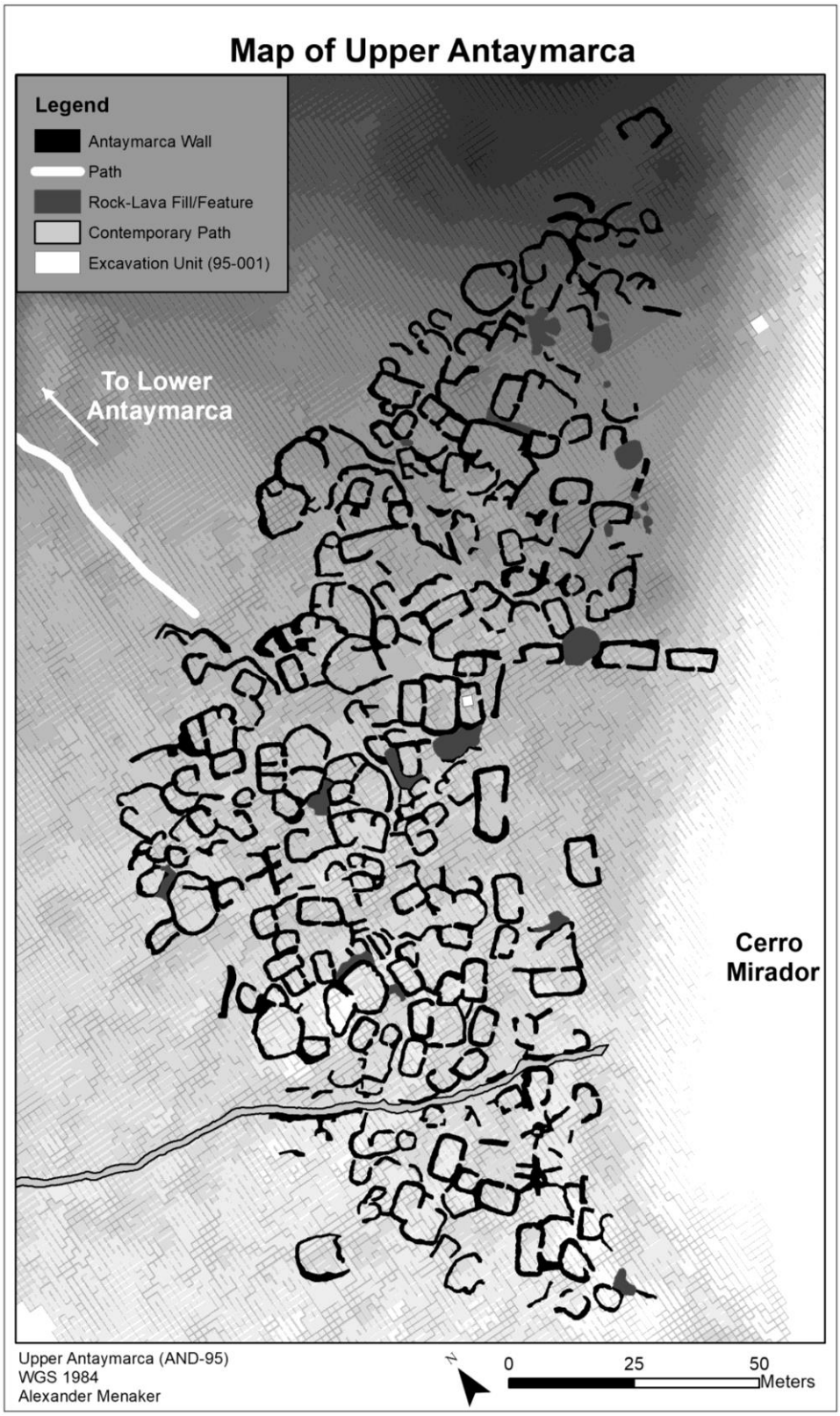


Figure 4.33: Site map of Upper Antaymarca (AND-95)

While both sites illustrate non-state social organizations in their site plans, Lower Antaymarca is marked by similarities and differences compared to the smaller consolidated Upper Antaymarca. This ranges from the sheer size of the sites to their architectural composition. Lower Antaymarca has more than 155 structures, rectangular and circular, ranging in size from 13m x 5m ($65m^2$) to diameters of 3.5m ($9.6m^2$), respectively. In many cases they share walls, as agglutinated structures and features that exist as complexes, often involving an adjacent patio defined by retaining walls. There is greater space among each complex in Lower Antaymarca compared to Upper Antaymarca. In contrast, at Upper Antaymarca the structures are more closely constructed, with only narrow corridors between them that serve as walking paths to navigate the site. In Upper Antaymarca the only clear open space is a large rectangular area with stone retaining walls for a platform at the base of Cerro Mirador (now filled with cacti). Across from the platform, the space is surrounded by prominent rectangular structures with niches and distinguished by their stone masonry and access to the space.

At the southeast edge of Lower Antaymarca and adjacent to recent layers of lava flows, we documented a stone monolith, a *wank'a* directed towards Wachalanka (see figure). The stone *wank'a* resembles the other *wank'a* that have been documented at pre-Inka *llaqta* in the valley, such as Soporo and Andagua. The collection of artifacts, site organization and the presence of a *wank'a* points to the possibility that the pre-Hispanic inhabitants of Lower Antaymarca espoused segmentary kinship arrangements forging specific places in the landscape. At Lower Antaymarca, surface collections recovered a limited number of painted tablets and discs; specifically, eight stone disc and tablet fragments, including two with traces of red paint and the remaining samples unpainted. Survey also collected one small obsidian fragment. The project collected approximately 145 ceramics during survey of the site of Lower Antaymarca, with 35 diagnostic painted samples

with paint, which were primarily the iconic black on red (or orange) ceramics (n=29) – indicative of the late pre-Hispanic (LIP) styles in the valley and surrounding region.

Figure 4.34: *Wank'a* at the edge of Lower Antaymarca in line with Wachalanka and Ninamama

Excavations of a 2x2m test in Lower Antaymarca were placed in a rectangular structure that opened to the northeast, which most likely served as a domestic residence, and is associated with an open patio space supported by retaining walls. The structure measures 11.5m interior (E x W orientation) by 4m interior (N-S orientation), and 65cm wall thickness, and 2.25m standing wall height. With the top layers primarily comprising wall fall, the excavation unit revealed a variably shallow context, ranging from 7 – 57cm in depth. The excavation encompassed loci 1216 through 1220, with this final locus as a sterile unexcavated stratum. Excavations recovered 295 total ceramics (MNV) (1,931.2g total weight) with 15 exhibiting diagnostic painting. The design motifs and paint schema were indicative of late pre-Hispanic styles with 14 black on red and 1 black and white on red (see figures). Sherd types included 24 rim fragments with the remaining collection, nearly 90% (n=269), consisting of body fragments primarily from miscellaneous storage vessels most likely utilitarian vessels. Excavations yielded few additional lithic artifacts, such as a fragment of a stone disc and two small lithic tablets, one with traces of red paint.

The site of Upper Antaymarca (AND-95) is the most well-known site and has a contemporary tourist path cut through it to what is now called Cerro Mirador ("Lookout Hill"). We registered Cerro Mirador as site AND-3 where we collected several varieties of diagnostic local pre-Inka ceramics along the disturbed hilltop and hillside. The hill is now used as a lookout with a large viewing area constructed on top that affected any previous remains. The tourist path cut into the hillside exposes red volcanic rock. On his regional tour of the valley, in his extensive *Pre-Historia de Arequipa*, Eloy Linares Málaga, sketched an incomplete schematic map of Upper Antaymarca. Visiting the site, he commented on the presence of "Collagua" ceramics and documented stone tablets and discs painted red, black and white (Linares Málaga 1993: 224–225). He assumed that the construction of Antaymarca was "probably towards the year 1300 AD"

(Linares Málaga 1993: 224 – 225). *Proyecto Condesuyos* focused on Upper Antaymarca as well, interpreting it as a "ceremonial site" and probable "necropolis" (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). While supporting previous identifications of the pre-Inka occupational history, research provides foundational evidence to expand beyond the site's characterization as a "Collagua" necropolis to refining our understanding of local socio-historical relations in the valley.

Figure 4.35: Upper Antaymarca (facing east, taken from drone)

Figure 4.36: Upper Antaymarca and lava flow facing West(north), viewed from walking up Cerro Mirador.

We carried out systematic survey across the site, though it was difficult to navigate the volcanic landscape. We limited survey to the passable cultural landscape without systematically surveying the volcanic flows that presented no visible cultural modifications. Surface artifacts included painted discs and tablets, yet the majority of ceramic artifacts recovered have limited diagnostic and painted characteristics. While this unique volcanic stone architecture stands nearly as a force independent of time, except for the massive green growth of vegetation, the other parts of Upper Antaymarca have been subjected to significant foot traffic. It has drawn attention over the centuries in the form of extended disturbance and looting resulting in a cultural landscape affected by the disturbances of the past and enduring consequences of colonialism. No apparent human bodies or mortuary structures remain intact. There are distinct mortuary features constructed at the lower slopes of Cerro Mirador looking over the site. They have been extensively disturbed, and in one case, bleached bones were posed as though on display. We documented another disturbed rectilinear possible two-story mortuary feature (*chullpa*), with broken walls and fragments of human remains, that was built against the hillside (3.5m length, 2m height).

Away from the main tourist foot path, we excavated a 2x2m test-unit at Upper Antaymarca, located in a structure near the open expanse at the southeastern edge of the site (below the hillside of Cerro Mirador). There is a small cavern that is associated with extensive walls at the western edge of the structure where we excavated. We documented fragments of human remains, including part of probable juvenile cranium, which we photographed but did not collect. Empty Cuzqueña beer bottles and broken plain earthenware were scattered on the edge of the volcanic rock outcrop. Excavations located in the center of the structure yielded a shallow deposition, less than 25 centimeters across the unit with the stratigraphy indicating a short occupational history or limited occupational residence through time. The topsoil and thin layer of soil deposition quickly gave

way to voids in the volcanic substratum as soil would fall away exposing an unforgiving craggy volcanic surface. As we excavated, we could feel faint traces of wind circulate through the dark volcanic openings and fissures. The lack of deposition and cultural material present contrasts with the mass residues of life documented at Andagua (Antiguo) and Paccareta; settlements with evidence of multiple, long-term occupations. Across Upper Antaymarca, we documented two unpainted stone discs during survey and through excavations we collected 12 painted tablets including with red and yellow geometric bands and one (unpainted) disc. In total, the test unit yielded 54 ceramic sherds (407.2g total weight), with three ceramics (5.5%) exhibiting diagnostic black on red painting motifs also indicative of late pre-Hispanic styles.

Based upon the available evidence it is probable that Lower Antaymarca was occupied at the time of the adjacent lava flow. It is possible that the lava flow destroyed parts of the site (and its inhabitants?) and then local inhabitants subsequently constructed the site of Upper Antaymarca on the lava flow. The soil deposition that constitutes the site of Lower Antaymarca further suggests its construction prior to the lava flow that houses Upper Antaymarca. Yet, our research does not foreclose that Lower Antaymarca was occupied simultaneous with Upper Antaymarca with occupants remaining despite the nearby volcanic activity. This is demonstrated by the shared material culture and site features and underlined by the path between the two sites that suggests continued relations among the sites. More research is necessary to clarify the chronological and intra-site processes that shaped the sites and their socio-historical relations. This ranges from testing radiocarbon samples acquired during excavations of Lower Antaymarca and more extensive excavations among the sites.

At the Limits of Ninamama and into the Main Valley[12]

The project surveyed the limits of the main terraced valley and its intersections with the lava flows. The Soporo ceramic style is strewn across the terraced valley potentially evincing early inhabitation and settlement. Agricultural and settlement intensification occurred throughout the pre-Inka past and expanded under the Inka (discussed in chapter five). The late pre-Hispanic past, on the eve of Spanish invasion, possibly highlights a peak in demographic and resource management in the valley (Jennings 2002; Wernke 2013). Today after demographic decline due to several factors, ranging from disease and forced resettlements (and subject to centuries of violent state projects), the population of the valley is likely less than the late pre-Hispanic past (Wernke 2010).

We can identify a range of archaeological features (and it is possible to craft tentative typologies) distinguished by different forms of practices and relationships among local populations and the landscape across time. The project identified agro-mortuary features, field houses and a range of additional cultural constructions, usually related to agro-pastoral livelihoods (for map, see figure 1.6) (Wernke 2003, 2013). Agro-mortuary features are woven into the landscape, often associated with canals and terraces. Though many of these have been disturbed by the ruins of history, during Spanish colonialism (see chapter six, see also Menaker 2019). Many of them are now currently used as contemporary field refuges. Recognizing the limits of identifying agro-mortuary features through associated material culture or human remains, we can use multiple lines

[12]"Main Valley" is more indicative of contemporary Andagua's presence as a central settlement, and perhaps, emphasized under the Inka. Before the Inka expansion, the valley was not conceived as a singular entity, and was a heterogeneous landscape; however, the extent of pre-Inka occupation is limited due to millennia of activity. For instance, the project documented site AND-45 in the valley, a large space of undulating hills and wall foundations covered with black sand. It stands out for its barrenness in the valley of life. It can also be noted that probably only since the introduction of cattle and livestock has the community used stone walls to separate fields.

of evidence that suggest its historicity and uses, such as architectural features and contexts, as well as, possible oral histories and local knowledges.

The terraced landscape and surrounding valley are given names to mark places. Descending from the lava flows and occupations of Antaymarca, Ajopampa, an open expanse of fine white sand that is marked by vegetation, an arroyo and traces of demarcations of fields starkly contrasts to the adjacent lava flows on Ninamama. Nearby is Huayrapata ("flat place of wind"), another open expanse, as the valley steeply declines it reaches an open level expanse with large broad fields making up the area before giving way to the looming lava flows. Water, continuing from Coropuna and the ravines of Andagua Antiguo, carves a path and has been worked into a canal that parallels the bends of the lava flow.

In the slopes of the lava flows of Ninamama, there is a cave dozens of meters high (registered as AND-68) that look over the base of the terraced valley (see figures 4.37, 4.38). Stone steps constructed on the talus mark a path up to a small exposed platform with a wall that opens into a cave with larger stone benches in the back of the cave. Glass and contemporary material culture are scattered on the ground on the entryway, indicating contemporary activities. Along the steps in the craggy lava face we recovered several diagnostic artifacts, most likely indicative of pre-Inka socio-historical practices and relationships, such as black on red ceramics and painted tablets. Black aeolian sand cover the ground below the craggy and imposing lava flow, green glazed ceramic fragments were recovered strewn and exposed amidst the sand and brush. The cavern overlooked site AND-67, which was composed of several rectangular structures on the terraced hillside, indicative of an occupational settlement, or pre-Inka *llaqta*, with extensive pre-Hispanic material culture recovered throughout the area, including the Soporo pottery style.

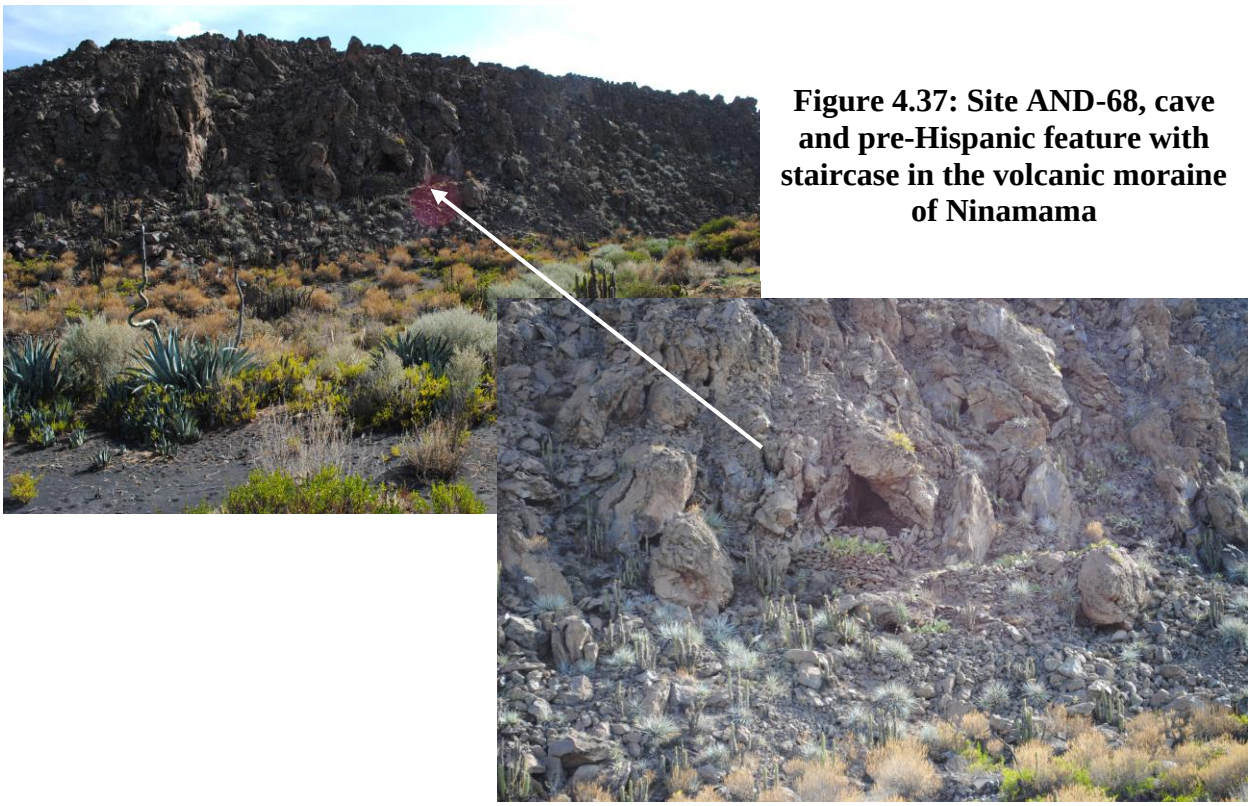


Figure 4.37: Site AND-68, cave and pre-Hispanic feature with staircase in the volcanic moraine of Ninamama

Figure 4.38: View of the lower main valley from AND-68, with Wachalanka and Tauca in the background

Openings in the volcanic flows serve as refuges as well as mortuary features at the edge of the lava flows, and are associated with material culture from the pre-Hispanic to post-contact pasts. For instance, we documented temporally ambiguous artifacts with a gourd bowl, remains of a corn cob, and fine grinding stones set amidst rock outcrops and caves at the base of the lava flows

(AND-66). Multiple constructions were further registered (as sites) that articulated with the lava flow and exhibit material culture indicative of continued practices and relations through the recent past (AND–51 and AND-65). It is unclear if they are pre-Hispanic or post-contact constructions – field houses no longer dedicated to home the dead as agro-mortuary structures. While these field houses constructed in the lava flows exemplify the dynamic relations local populations have with the landscape, post-contact field houses are distinct from agromortuary features, as they are usually free-standing structures located in fields (Menaker 2019). There is further indication that there were pre-Hispanic, possibly Late Horizon (Inka) field houses constructed in the valley, with trapezoidal niches identified in the remains of structures (discussed in the next chapter).

Figure 4.39: Possible agro-mortuary features repurposed as contemporary field refuges (AND-55 on the left, AND-64, on the right)

We formally registered several archaeological features as sites that could have served as agro-mortuary features and have often been repurposed and used through the recent past as field refuges (AND-53, AND-55, AND-64, AND-72, AND-76, AND-81, AND-83). A possible agro-mortuary feature that could have been repurposed as a contemporary field refuge (AND-64), associated with green glazed *vasijas* and contemporary *cántaros* and plastic materials, offers a contrast to post-contact constructions. It is composed of a terrace wall feature and patio (with an

informally thatched roof) with a cave framed by fine stone masonry adjacent to a water fall and canal that runs parallel to the water flow. Even as post-contact material culture is present, agro-mortuary features are characterized by their stone masonry and integrated relation into the landscape that constantly challenges the universal assumption of our categories of nature-culture (such as AND-55, a similar terrace agro-mortuary feature) (see figure 4.39). Another contemporary field house that could have been associated with pre-Hispanic features, registered as AND-53, is distinct from the independent gabled structures and is a squat stone structure built into the landscape with a thin aluminum door (and wood door head). A stone staircase leads up to the structure from the fields (and contemporary road below), adjacent to patios articulating with the landscape and filled with stone tools and sweatpants strewn on the ground. Walking past the structure, water glimmers in an earthen canal winding along the valley slopes (figure 4.40).

Figure 4.40: Contemporary field house and canal in the main valley (AND-53)

Figure 4.41: Views of the main terraced valley. Top left shows the edge of the terraced valley and lava flows of Ninamama. Top right: an earth and stone canal runs down valley. Bottom: cows dot the terraced valley.

The project documented several natural features, such as rock outcrops and caves associated with archaeological features that could have served as mortuary features (site AND-7, AND-12, AND-14), but little evidence remains to indicate the pre-Hispanic activities. As mentioned, in many cases, the features have been re-purposed and are associated with post-contact

artifacts, such as green-glazed ceramics, glass, and contemporary material culture. The project was able to document ambiguous, tucked away crevices in the terraced hillsides that were possibly agro-mortuary features that have been re-purposed as contemporary field refuges through learning from local residents, known as *Paraje Ajopullo* (AND-23 and AND-24). While we carried out systematic survey, our research is bolstered by attending to multiple lines of evidence and listening to community members.

At the valley's edge, hundreds of discs were documented, with representative samples collected, among several locations placed along the cliff at Lake Andagua (registered as site AND-70), where the terraced valley sharply falls away to the old course of the river that is now blocked by a volcanic flow (figure 4.41). Here at the base of the valley before it descends to the sandy shores of the lake, black sand and aeolian forces cover abandoned terraces that line the undulating hills and valley folds. Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon ceramics were found among the abandoned fields and rocky landscape that leads down to the valley cliff.

Another notable context of discs is an area between the town and the twin volcanoes in the main valley. The discs stand in juxtaposition to scattered fragments of Inka ceramics recovered nearby. The site was documented along another area with beaten earth and stone paths named *chakiñan* (footpath, in Quechua). There is a distinct absence of discs and tablets at the massive site of Quisguarani, most likely constructed under the auspices of the Inka state, perhaps suggesting the practice was marginalized during Inka imperial reign.

Figure 4.42: Collection of discs at the cliff near the Andagua River forms a lake and across from Wachalanka

Note on Violence and Conflict

As we reconstruct the complex social relationships of the pre-Inka past in Andagua that claimed authority over local resources and forged meaningful places in the landscape, this does not imply there was no conflict or violence present. From Cusco to the Lake Titicaca Basin, stretching from non-state contexts prior to state expansion of the Wari and Tiwanaku polities and in the wake of their dissolution (Late Intermediate Period), archaeological research has documented regional balkanization entailing conflict among local settlements, turning kin against kin (Arkush 2014; Arkush and Tung 2013; Covey 2008). While conflict is difficult to archaeologically identify, and even though we did not study human remains, there are several material indices that can indicate the possibility of violence in the past. In particular the strategic

placement of defensive (hilltop) forts (*pukaras*) located between settlements as well as fortified settlements can be indices of the potential of conflict in the past (Arkush 2014; Wernke 2013).

In Andagua, the project identified one possible *pukara* (AND-11) located intermediately between Paccareta and Andagua, just north of the Twin Volcanoes and southwest of the bend of the Andagua River. The site is composed of isolated circular stone structures and extensive stonewalls, but has been disturbed from continued activities and traffic across the landscape through the recent past with the project documenting green-glazed and post-contact ceramics. Its location could suggest regional tensions, but otherwise there is limited evidence to interpret conflicts of violence. Other evidence that could be interpreted as indications of violence, or the possibility thereof, include the fortification walls at Pumajallo. These retention walls tower in size contrasting with small walls for agricultural terraces and supporting walls of other local sites, such as Paccareta, but such archaeological evidence remains ambiguous. Additional ambiguous archaeological evidence includes stone clubs, which were recovered at Paccareta and the eastern edge of Andagua near the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*. It is unclear if they were actually used in practice or were associated with symbolic forms, or both, with the Andes region ethnographically and historically known for ritual battles.

A World Inhabited by Llaqtas and Wak'as

In this chapter, I examined the material production of meaningful places that were anchored and articulated by practices across time and space. I reviewed the painted tablets and discs of Andagua and the broader region to consider a new interpretation of ritual place-making over the long-term. The discs and tablets are associated with local autochthonous cultural practices and settlements that were not related to pre-Inka state efforts. Tracing the distribution of pre-Inka

material assemblages of life from agricultural infrastructure, mortuary features, iconography and portable material culture, this chapter offered a foundation for an archaeology of *llaqtas* and *wak'as*. In this chapter, I have reviewed archaeological research at the sites of Paccareta, Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, Pumajallo, Upper and Lower Antaymarca, and the main valley descending from Andagua to Lake Pumajallo. Through multiple lines of evidence we documented local forms of place-making and socio-historical relationships that exemplified local (emic) forms and registers of making meaning and order in the world. This emerged diachronically through time and space, and Andagua is an intriguing case study to document decentralized socio-political forms of organization over the *longue-durée*, with no clear pre-Inka state. Discs and tablets were ubiquitous among pre-Inka contexts, but were noticeably less frequent among Inka contexts, with the next chapter reviewing Inka state effects on a landscape of *llaqta* in the Valley of Volcanoes.

Chapter V

An Interloping Inka in the Valley of Volcanoes

Pachacuti Inka Yupanque assembled his subjects; in this assembly he ordered that they all prepare themselves with their weapons for a certain day because he wanted to go in search of lands and peoples to conquer and subjugate under the dominions and servitude of the city of Cuzco... Thus he made up his mind and given the order to go out from that city two months hence in an effort to subjugate those towns and provinces to the city of Cuzco and remove the title of *capac* [*qhapaq*] that was held by every one of those little lords of those towns and provinces. There should be only one *capac* and he was that one. And if it happened that during that campaign he should meet some lord with whom he did battle and lost, he would be happy to serve him. But he did not fear this would happen because, as they could see, the sun was with him...

Pachacuti Inka Yupanque left the city of Cuzco accompanied by one hundred thousand warriors, who always repaired the roads as they went along. Up and down the slopes he had them make stone stairs so that the travelers could walk up and down more easily...

When they went there, the Indians of those regions, the Quichuas, Umasayos, Aymaraes, Yanaguaras, Chumbibilcas, and Chancas, came out to offer them peace, obedience, and vassalage. The Inka did them many great favors and thus won them over with his powerful forces... Between the Soras and the Lucanas, along with other Chancas who were also from a neighboring region, they had a large assembly of soldiers... stocking up on weapons...

When Pachacuti arrived with his powerful forces, he divided his squadrons and made war from all sides, in such a way that very quickly he defeated them, subjugated them, and captured the lords of those towns and provinces. After this was done, the Inka had his men divide into three groups. He put two of the groups under certain captains of his who were lords of Cuzco. He ordered them to leave there and for one group to go in one direction, not going off very far from the city of Cuzco, to conquer and subjugate the people of the province called Condesuyo [Kuntisuyu] today.
Juan de Betanzos *Narrative of the Inkas* 1996 [1557]: 81-86.[1]

[1] R. Hamilton and D. Buchanan translation, University of Texas Press: Austin.

Making and Ordering the Universe of Tawantisuyu and Kuntisuyu (Condesuyo)

The Inka Empire was a multiethnic and complex administrative state with varying forms of expressing power and authority to craft imperial subjects (Alconini and Covey 2018; D'Altroy 2015; Kolata 2013). The Inka claimed universal legitimacy through an idiom of kinship to incorporate and subjugate local populations. Sprawling the length of the Andes, the Inka Empire, known as *Tawantinsuyu*, "the four parts together" was the largest polity in the Americas during its expansion. The four parts constituting Tawantinsuyu were Antisuyu, Chinchasuyu, Collasuyu and Kuntisuyu (Alconini and Covey 2018; Burger et al. 2007; D'Altroy 2015; Shimada 2015). The last of these was the smallest of the main provinces, a region of mountain valleys that encompasses Andagua and surrounding valleys. Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1557]), a Quechua-speaking Spaniard who wrote an early chronicle, detailed how the Inka depended upon ideological, political, economic and military power, cultivating manifold forms of hegemonic strategies and practices.[2] As the Inka themselves had no written record we are faced with contradictory and malleable accounts over central aspects of their statecraft, often burdened by Eurocentric and political biases about Inka political authority and the historicity of Inka expansion (Covey 2006; Ramirez 2005). While still considering the ethnohistoric record as an important line of evidence, archaeological research in Andagua and the broader Andes offers an invaluable empirical record of Inka state practices and effects on local populations' relations with the landscape.

Confronted by the material scope of the archaeological footprint of the Inka, there was little denial the Inka were an expansive polity. Debates exemplifying the historical struggle over the narratives of the Inka would form regarding what type of state it was. The fact that the Inka had no writing and did not expand through a market economy challenged scholars' assumptions of

[2] Betanzos' *Narrative of the Inkas* [1996 (1557)] is an important document that "describes Inka history in a form that comes as close as any known source to a version told by a single royal family" (D'Altroy 2015: 19).

what a state or empire could (or should) be. "Inka" would be a moveable discourse, from apologists claiming an Inka (socialist) utopia to the Inka as the basest of tyrants (thus legitimizing Spanish colonialism) (e.g. Covey 2015, 2018; Flores Galindo 2010; Rowe 1945, 1946). Rowe (1945, 1946), for instance, cites Philip Means' characterization of "two schools" of Spanish chroniclers, the Toledan and Garcilasan, based upon their critical or sympathetic attitudes of the Inkas, respectively. Though the historical interpretations of the Inka extended beyond this dichotomy and ranged from Inka apologists of different varieties (pro-native Lascasians and anti-Catholic) to those critical of the Inka and in favor of European imperialism.

Exploring the tensions of the historical record, oral histories, and archaeological evidence, scholarship by leading Andean scholars has offered a range of approaches to reconstruct the past. Through the 20th century, foundational research that studied Inka cultural practices and historical expansion was animated by the dichotomy of the myth and history and further informed by the tensions of structuralism and historicism (Covey 2006, 2018; Julien 2000; Zuidema 1964). In recent years, Inka scholarship has expanded beyond such dichotomies to make these disparate registers and data "fit" (Julien 1993), with scholars tracing a "sociology of knowledge" (Salomon 2015) to explore the social relationships and formation of historical accounts of the Inka state (Covey 2003, 2006, 2018; Julien 1993; Rostworoski 2006 [1988]; Rowe 1946; Urton 1990; Zuidema 1964). Most importantly, a growing body of archaeological research in the Cusco region and surrounding Andes is able to question great man narratives of the Inka Empire that are skewed by Eurocentric lens and the ambivalent contexts following the Spanish invasion. Archaeological evidence refines and affirms our understanding of the processual formation and expansion of the Inka state, challenging a disjunctive emergence of the Inka state (Alconini and Covey 2018; Bauer 1991, 1999, 2004; Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2003, 2006, 2018).

Archaeological research has ruled out claims of the Inka emergence from the Lake Titicaca Basin and descent from Tiwanaku (Bauer and Smit 2015; Covey 2003, 2006, 2015, 2018; Kosiba 2010; Rowe 1945). This brings into question the continuity of pre-Inka state forms and their influence upon the Inka state. At the time of Inka emergence and expansion the Southern Peruvian Andes was characterized by regional decentralization, such as in the Andagua Valley (chapters three and four). Exemplifying the importance of full coverage systematic pedestrian survey, archaeological research has clarified our understanding of the spread of Inka power. This is evident from the distribution of Killke ceramic styles in the Cusco basin that Inka society grew into the region's dominant polity during the Late Intermediate Period (AD1000 – 1400). Inka strategies changed through the years as they expanded their political authority and incorporated surrounding groups, from raiding activities to developing a complex multiethnic state dedicated to the administration of difference to exploit subject populations (Alconini and Covey 2018; Bauer 1991, 1999, 2004; Bauer and Stanish 1999, 2001; Covey 2003, 2015, 2018; Kosiba 2010).

Consequently, the Inka state, an incomplete universal project, was composed of a range of specialists and privileged statuses, including but not limited to, *yanakuna*, *mitmakuna* (resettled colonists), *khipu kamayuq* (*khipu* specialists) (D'Altroy 2015). In provincial regions, the Inka employed a decimal administration system recorded by knotted cords (*khipus*) that kept track of populations, tribute and an array of details. Painstaking research by scholars in recent years has yielded profound insight into Inka history and governing strategies (e.g. Salomon 2004; Quilter and Urton 2002; Urton 2017). Attending to the dynamics of power that challenge Eurocentric notions of state sovereignty, scholars examine kinship, sexuality, gender relations, and ancestor worship to understand the relational aspects of Inka political authority and legitimacy (Covey 2006; D'Altroy 2015; Silverblatt 1987). Inka imperial ideology overlapped with broader pan-

Andean cultural logics, but it is important to distinguish Inka state processes and local cultural practices as well as to identify possible similarities among Inka and local registers of power, history, and identity.

The Inka claimed universal sovereignty through an idiom of kinship descending from the singular sun and required tribute in goods and forced labor and resettlement. Inka state power declared control over significant regional places, resources, humans, and the spectrum of life and death (Besom 2010; Gose 1993; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010). Parsing beyond Eurocentric notions of state sovereignty and great man histories, scholars highlight the complementarity of power exemplified in royal Inka households and descent groups (*panaqas*) (e.g. Bauer 2004; Conrad and Demarest 1984; Covey 2006; D'Altroy 2015; Gose 1993, 1996; Silverblatt 1987). The Inka sought to legitimize their social order through a set of narratives and practices to transform the landscape and craft imperial subjects (Alconini and Covey 2018; Bauer 1991, 1996, 1998; Urton 1990). The Inka built and expanded an extensive material footprint, transforming landscapes and constructing administrative settlements, agricultural infrastructure, a wide network of roads (*Qhapaq Ñan*), administrative structures (*kallanka* and *tampus*) and ritual features of state power (*ushnu*) (D'Altroy 2015; Hyslop 1990).

The *ushnu* is a compelling diagnostic feature that was integral to Inka expressions of power, with a probable *ushnu* present in Andagua. *Ushnus* mark a place of authority laden with meaning to craft imperial subjects. The most diagnostic *ushnus* are large, rectangular, stone-faced platforms, places that Hyslop defined as "the center," often articulating with a plaza (Hyslop 1990). In his mid-16th century Quechua-Spanish lexicon, Domingo de Santo Tomás states how the *usnu* was an altar for sacrificing (Santo Tomás 2006 [1560]: 598). While González Holguín's 1608 Quechua-Spanish dictionary offers three entries defining *ushnu* ("*vzno*"): "tribunal of judge of a hammered

stone" ("*piedra hinkada*"); "marker (*mojon*) when it is a large hammered stone;" (and the first person verb of "*vsnuni*" is defined as "to make the tribunals or *mojones*) (González Holguín 1989 [1608]: 358, translation my own).[3] *Ushnus* are identified throughout the Andes at Vilcas Huaman, Huánaco Pampa, Maucallacta (on the other side of Coropuna near Andagua) and other major Inka administrative settlements (Hyslop 1990; Ziółkowski 2014; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). Beyond these large stone platforms, the identification of *ushnus* has proliferated to a range of stone features that articulate with prominent places in the landscape (Meddens et al. 2014). *Ushnus*, nodes of ritual state power, were then appropriated by Spanish colonial efforts with the construction of a chapel built on top exemplified at Vilcas Huaman, and practically identical to Andagua. In Andagua, there is a large platform at the eastern edge of town with traces of stonewalls and a large stone staircase leading to the chapel of the *Virgen de la Asunción* (discussed below).

In Cusco and radiating outward, the *ceque* system, was an immense and complex web of shrines, inscribing meaning and authority through the organization of water, stone and places giving order to the landscape. Cusco was a large cosmogram that organized Andean worlds with research yielding important insight into Inka and Andean calendrics, astronomy and a range of knowledge (Bauer 1998; Zuidema 1964). Building administrative and ceremonial features as well as incorporating pre-Inka and non-Inka aesthetics and mythical origins, the Inka claimed descent from or having authority over a range significant places, exemplified by Tiwanaku and Lake Titicaca Basin (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Seddon 1998). Recognizing the limits of historical accounts, archaeological research of the Inka in the provinces beyond Cusco offer integral evidence of state strategies and practices, as well as, the limits and effects of Inka rule (Burger et al. 2007; D'Altroy 1992).

[3] "*Vsnu. Tribunal de juez de vna piedra hInkada. Vsnu. Mojon quando es de piedra grande hInkada. Vsnuni. Hazer los tribunales, o mojones*" (González Holguín 1989 [1608]: 358).

The Inka sought to produce "New Cuscos," to replicate the conceptual order of the capital, "with streets and districts named after the capital" (Coben 2006, 2018; D'Altroy 2015: 101, 365). These "New Cuscos" include Huánuco Pampa, Quito, Tumipampa, Hatunqolla, Charkas, and Inkawasi (D'Altroy 2015: 365). The power to name is a fundamental claim and strategy to assert authority over places, things and humans in order to craft subjects and legitimize particular social orders (e.g. Abu El-Haj 2001; Agamben 2004). In Andagua there are toponyms invoking Cusco, such as Guanacaure and Sacsayhuaman. Guanacaure was a powerful mountain overlooking Cusco where an Inka ancestor went to speak with the sun, transforming to stone on the spot (Betanzos 1996 [1557]). Sacsayhuaman was a large stone fortress built on the hills above Cusco. At the same time, the Inka interacted with local *wak'a* that anchored meaning and authority in the landscape, and in the case of Andagua this is exemplified by local relationships with Ninamama and the broader regional landscape.

Caves called Guanacuare by the local community near the waterfalls of the Andagua River that lead into the lake. Hoempler also lists the Twin Volcanoes as Guanacaure ("Huanacahuare, Cruz Andahua") (1962: 69). A part of the contemporary town of Andagua remains known as Sacsayhuaman, and where we recovered a fragment of a provincial Inka plate with a complex flower motif on the interior (see figure A.55). The project documented toponyms throughout the valley with the place names of the contemporary landscape nearly all Quechua. An extensive historical linguistics of the valley has not been carried out and there are several challenges in reconstructing ancient language practices and distribution in the region – let alone from toponyms. Key Spanish colonial documents reference the multi-lingual landscape from the 18th century and early 19th century, claiming the presence of Aymara and Pukara in the region, however these are unreliable sources (discussed in chapter six). Although toponyms can be an integral line of

evidence, explanations and causalities for their historical changes, or stubbornness are often poorly conceptualized. While some toponyms can be considered historically durable, such as names marking land boundaries, we cannot assume an isomorphic relationship to social histories as they do not neatly reflect historical processes. Toponyms may continue to the present, but land and property have changed hands in varied ways (see next chapters). Attending to toponyms in dialogue with archaeological evidence offers a productive addition for understanding Andagua's histories as well as relations with the landscape in state and non-state contexts, offering critical insight into local social memories and strategies of state power.

Similar to the pre-Inka populations in Andagua, water, stone and fire were critical elements to place-making and ordering humans' relations with the landscape for the Inka. This is evident in mimetic rock outcrops across Cusco, Machu Picchu and the surrounding Andes (Dean 2010; Hyslop 1990). The Inka assembled vast work groups of tributary laborers, and their noblemen acted as engineers and architects to carry out the ruler's designs to transform the wild landscapes (Covey 2011; D'Altroy 2015). Narratives of conquest and the fertility of water for social reproduction occur throughout the Inka and broader Andean landscape, and further echo the local mythohistory of Andagua (Covey 2006; D'Altroy 2015; Julluyje 2004; see chapter two). The process of becoming stone is widely featured in oral histories and historical accounts, such as the Huarochirí Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991), although the volcanic landscapes of the Southern Peruvian Andes offered a distinct landscape from that of the Inka imperial heartland.

One of the only volcanic landscapes the Inka encountered on their route expanding beyond Cusco, and before reaching the Andagua Valley, is the area of Raqchi (Cacha) south of Cusco (Betanzos 1996 [1557]; Sillar and Dean 2002). The volcanic landscape still held powerful significance thousands of years after the last eruption of the Quimsachata volcano. At Raqchi there

is archaeological evidence of an extensive Inka state footprint, exemplified by how the Inka built a large temple dedicated to Viraqocha at the site (Sillar and Dean 2002). The area exhibits diagnostic Inka state features including large rectangular structures (*kallanka*) with walls several meters high as well as an array of smaller circular structures that have been interpreted as possible storage units (*qollqa*) (Gasparini and Margolies 1980). Betanzos' mythohistorical account of Raqchi (Cacha) is instructive for understanding Inka imperial and incorporative ideology (and cosmologies) relating to non-Inka landscapes, offering an interesting parallel to the Andagua Valley. The account evokes similar descriptions to the mythohistory in Andagua from questions of political authority tied to formation of the volcanic landscape and even the mention of Contiti Viraqocha carrying a staff like the Inka. The narrative of Viracocha's journey claims responsibility for the creation of the world, including Kuntisuyu, and the humans who inhabit it to explain and subjugate local difference.

Betanzos writes about the creator god Contiti Viraqocha, who emerged from Lake Titicaca and created the world along with the first humans from stone at the site of Tiwanaku (Betanzos 1996 [1557]: 7). These humans included "a chieftain to govern and rule over them, and many women, some pregnant and others delivered" (ibid: 7). Contiti Viracocha then sent out helpers (other *viraqochas*) across the landscape to summon forth local instances of ancestral emergence. The "proper people" – that corresponded to the stone figures made by Contiti Viraqocha in Tiwanaku – then emerged from "caves, rivers and springs and high sierras" to populate the formerly uninhabited lands (ibid: 9-11). Meanwhile in Tiwanaku, Contiti Viraqocha ordered the two remaining servants to travel to the provinces of Kuntisuyu and Andesuyu to further call out humans to inhabit the regions. Following this work, Contiti Viraqocha headed towards Cusco

traveling along the royal road that ran through the sierra northwards to Cajamarca. Along the way, he continued to bring forth people to inhabit the Andes (ibid: 9-11).

However, when Viraqocha reached the province of Cacha inhabited by the "Canas Indians," located "eighteen leagues from the city of Cusco," the local people failed to give him reverence and did not recognize him. Instead they approached him armed and set upon killing him. Understanding their intent, Viraqocha rained fire down "from heaven, burning a range of mountains" near them. Fearing being burnt by the fire, the Canas natives laid down their arms and threw themselves to the ground before Contiti Viraqocha. Appreciating their supplications, he went to the raging fire and put it out with his staff, whereupon he told the people that "he was their maker" (ibid: 10). Subsequently, at this place "the Canas Indians built a sumptuous *guaca* [*wak'a*]," which Betanzos defines as a "shrine or idol" (ibid: 10). The people carved a large stone statue in memory of Viraqocha and this event where they, and their descendants continued to, offer a great deal of gold and silver to the *wak'a*. Betanzos closes the account affirming the *wak'a's* continued significance and his own firsthand verification of the burned mountains and stones, as well as, obtaining this story from the Canas Indians. In doing so, he presents the full name of Viraqocha (and his own translation) as referred to by the people; "Contiti Viracocha Pacha-yachachic, which means 'God, maker of the world' in their language" (ibid: 10). Lastly, Betanzos acknowledges how he could have written much more, but was averse to do so regarding the "great idolatries and beastliness" of the people and their ways (ibid: 11).

Later in his narrative, Betanzos recounts how Wayna Qhapaq, on his tour of the empire, came across the shrines and landscape of Raqchi. There Wayna Qhapaq learned of the "miracle that Viraqocha had performed there and of the fire that fell from the sky and burned the hill" and ordered the construction of a large building to be dedicated to ensure an even greater remembrance

of the event (Betanzos 1996 [1557]: 175). While affirming the Inka presence in the area, archaeological research productively challenges these great man narratives with evidence supporting the production of these edifices long before the reign of Wayna Qhapaq (Sillar and Dean 2002). Although the archaeological histories are distinct among Andagua, Raqchi and other regions, this account is an instructive comparative example of Inka historical registers (Betanzos 1996 [1557]).

Aware of a range of other narratives recounting Inka conquest, archaeological research has brought into question certain claims that forged historical markers to legitimize particular Inka rulers' histories and claims to the Inka Empire (e.g. Alconini and Covey 2018; Bauer et al. 2010). While Inka imperial expansion often brought coercive threats and military violence, we should hold a critical lens to these accounts, yet not reduce them to Western historiographical forms. As discussed, modern, Western historiography traditionally hinges upon a disenchanted world with the assumed divide of subjects and objects, manifest in great man narratives separated from nature that reinforces a range of dichotomies, such as history and myth and nature and culture. Archaeological research in the provinces of the Inka Empire helps to illuminate the reach and techniques of the Inka state to legitimize its social order and subjugate local populations and their relations with the surrounding landscape.

Kuntisuyu

The effects of the Inka state have been examined throughout the southern Peruvian Andes, but our knowledge is limited compared to many other Andean regions (D'Altroy 2015). Even though we refer to Tawantinsuyu and Kuntisuyu as apparently bounded territories, the contours and composition of Tawantinsuyu, and Kuntisuyu remain unclear with the concurrent possibility

of discontiguous socio-political organization based upon segmentary kinship (D'Altroy 1992, 2015; Gose 1993, 1996; Julien 1991). Andagua was part of the area of Kuntisuyu in the shadows of distinct volcanoes and mountain peaks, such as Coropuna and Solimana, which were characterized as nodes of power for the region, incorporated by the Inka (Albornoz 1989 [1582]; Cieza de León 1967 [1553]; Guaman Poma 2008 [1615]). Inka state effects are varied in the region and multiple archaeological and historical projects have investigated the Inka in the southern Peruvian Andes (e.g. Bray et al. 2005; Doutriaux 2004; Malpass 1993; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010; Wernke 2003, 2006, 2007, 2013; Ziółkowski 2008, 2014; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000).

While we reference the Spanish colonial documents to describe the Inka state, we must retain a critical skepticism of the historical records. As such, we will also turn to archaeological (and ethnographic) evidence to juxtapose and refine our understandings of local populations' relations with the landscape during the time of Inka state expansion. As discussed below, Andagua is not mentioned in any of these colonial chroniclers and does not appear in reference to Inka expansion. This highlights the importance of archaeology in reconstructing the Inka presence in Andagua. We can examine a few prominent sources that offer historical narratives regarding Inka imperial expansion in the region. These documents exemplify the partial and biased historical record while also offering invaluable insight into aspects of the Inka Empire as an expanding state forged through Andean cultural logics and relationships with local populations and landscapes.

Spanish colonial documents provide a range of insight into the Inka state effects in the southern Peruvian Andes, from the indigenous account of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, to those of Spanish chroniclers and colonial administrators. Spanish colonial and Andean historical accounts describe how the Inka expanded upon local settlements and constructed new sites in the region, resettling populations to labor in administrative and ceremonial sites dedicated to regional

volcanoes and mountains, such as nearby Coropuna and Solimana (Albornoz 1989 [1582]; Cieza de León 1967 [1553]; Guaman Poma 2008 [1615]). The large regional volcanoes are mentioned by the Spanish colonial extirpator, Cristóbal de Albornoz, from "Hambato [sic] of the Collaguas and the cordillera of the Condesuyus" with the peak of "Sulimana" "rebuilt by the Inka" with "their own authority over *mitimais* and livestock" (1989 [1582]: 170). Albornoz further writes how Coropuna "looks out over the sea" and has its "own order of *mitimas* and livestock" (1989 [1582]: 170).[4] The Inka Empire shared and appropriated several pan-Andean ideologies and practices with the Inka incorporating, by usurping, local and regional *wak'as* and *apus* (places and authorities of social life).

Writing at the turn of the 16th century, in his colonial protest letter, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (2008 [1615]), describes Coropuna as a major *wak'a* and *paqarina*. It was one of the many mountains and volcanic peaks that were places of "sorcery" ("*hechiceros*"), where there were "sacrifices with much gold and silver" (2008 [1613]: 204–209).[5] These offerings were known as *capacocha* and composed of human sacrifices and precious objects. Such offerings were designed to articulate the provinces with the Inka ruler in Cusco and have been recovered from the peaks of Ampato, and other regional volcanoes and mountain peaks, confirming their significance to the Inka and pre-Hispanic past (Bray et al. 2005; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010). Despite modern

[4] "Ay en la dicha cordillera en Condesuyo otra que se llama Sulimana reedificada de los propios ingas con la propios ingas con la propia autoridad de servicio mitimais y ganado. --
Ay otra en el proprio Condesuyo que mira al mar que se llama Coropona con el propio orden de mitimas y ganado. --
Ay otra sobre los Collaguas que se llama Hambato que mira al mar, del propio orden de servicio.
Ay otra sobre Arequipa ques el bolcám de la ciudad que se llama Putina que puso el ynga muchos mitimas para su servicio como fueron los pueblos de La Chimba de Gómez Hernández y el pueblos de Chiguata y el de Chacato y otros" (Albornoz 1989 [1582]: 170).

[5] These peaks are characterized as "fathers" or "progenitors" of other prominent peaks like Pariacaca in Huarochirí (Salomon and Urioste 1991).

mountaineering expeditions to the peaks of Coropuna and Solimana, they have never been subject to archaeological research (Bingham 1912; Kimberley 2017; Scialdone-Kimberley 2012).

Beyond discussing the sacred mountain peaks, Guaman Poma lists a range of accomplished Inka "captains" including people not born in Cusco, who were incorporated into the folds of the empire to serve the Inka and conquer surrounding territories. Recounting a series of significant historical figures who claimed descent from the Kuntisuyu region, Guaman Poma writes, there were "brave and famous captains that went on conquest, some dying, others returning to their homes and pueblos, of which their sons are *caciques principales*, while others stayed poor" (Guaman Poma 2008 [1613]: 133, translation my own). These "captains" came from varying lineages of authority, with some rising through the ranks of the empire gaining wealth and power, while others gave everything for the state.

Expanding on the historical records, with Coropuna and Solimana as "oracles" and *paqarinas* (places of origin), *Proyecto Condesuyos* has investigated the Inka archaeological footprint surrounding these peaks. These projects documented evidence of Inka state presence on the Western side of Coropuna, identifying a "network" of archaeological occupations associated with Inka evidence. The site of Maucullacta is a probable administrative settlement with a fine stone crafted *ushnu* platform oriented towards Coropuna (Ziółkowski 2008, 2014; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). We also documented ceramics similar to those identified by Ziółkowski on the other side of Coropuna (discussed below) (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000: 177).

In the neighboring Colca Valley, archaeological research has been carried out documenting how the Inka applied multiple strategies to assert their rule in the valley. This is evident in local ceramics, architecture and the production of settlements, such as the shift to Yanque as a dominant settlement along with constructions on local pre-Hispanic settlements such as Uyu Uyu (Doutriaux

2004; Malpass 1993; Wernke 2003, 2013). Extensive colonial administrative documents in the region, and especially in the Colca Valley, permit detailed reconstructions of the local impact of the Inka state on local population patterns and land tenure (Wernke 2003, 2006, 2007, 2013, 2018). The local mediation of Inka state practices resulted in the incorporation of autochthonous lineages into the dual moiety structure of Hanansaya and Urinsaya. The interactions of the Inka state with local populations manifested in a suite of novel local and non-local ceramic styles during Inka expansion (Late Horizon, LH, AD 1400 – 1532). Further archaeological and spatial studies by Wernke have offered insight into the negotiated settlements across Inka and Spanish imperial reigns. This research has shown how the placement and social organization in the *reducción* of Corporaque articulated with local landholding patterns and proximity to agricultural fields based upon the ranking dual moiety structure (Wernke 2003, 2006, 2007, 2018: 712).

On the northern side of the Andagua Valley, regional survey and excavations in the Cotahuasi Valley have further documented Inka presence (Jennings 2002, 2003a, 2003b). Jennings (2003a, 2003b) argues that the Inka state marginalized the cultural practice of the painted tablets and discs. The Inka had an extensive impact in the surrounding region, with research in Andagua offering foundational evidence into Inka state strategies and effects in the valley. Archaeological research in dialogue with oral histories and local knowledge is particularly important since there is no known mention of Andagua in these prominent colonial texts. Our knowledge of Andagua during early Spanish colonialism is limited by the apparent paucity of the early colonial historical record, and limited historical attention it has received, in contrast to the wealth of colonial documents and research of other regions. The Valley of Volcanoes presented a novel landscape to the Inka with the volcanic landscape of the southern Peruvian Andes distinct from that of Cusco

region, with the tensions of empire and colonial encounters manifest in social memories, toponyms and the material landscape.

Previous Documentation of Inka Presence in the Andagua Valley

Inka evidence has been previously documented in the Andagua Valley through opportunistic reconnaissance work. As mentioned, *Proyecto Condesuyos* has carried out limited, unsystematic survey, with particular attention to late pre-Hispanic Inka contexts and diagnostic evidence of the Inka, identifying Inka presence at the sites of Tauca and Soporo (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). Years earlier, Linares Málaga documented the presence of an intact Inka *aríbalo* recovered at Soporo (Linares Málaga 1991). As mentioned, Hiram Bingham also collected a diagnostic *aríbalo* indicative of what I characterize as provincial Inka (discussed below) and is on display in the UNSA archaeology museum in Arequipa (see appendix, figure A.61). Clearly there was an Inka presence in the Andagua Valley, but there could be little said beyond the presence of varied diagnostic Inka ceramics. This project built upon previous research through a systematic archaeological investigation to more fully identify the relationships of the Inka state with the local populations and landscapes in the Andagua Valley.

Inka State Presence Throughout the Valley of Volcanoes

Archaeological and anthropological evidence in the Andagua Valley points to varying strategies and effects of Inka statecraft to transform the landscape and peoples' relationships with it and each other. This is evident in architectural forms, infrastructure and site planning, toponyms and portable material culture such as pottery. The absence of material culture associated with local pre-Inka practices such as the stone and ceramic discs and tablets is further indication of Inka state

expansion. Inka state presence is evident in the large formal grid plan of the site of Quisguarani, and in the area of more than 100 hectares there were three discs recovered at the site edges. Formal grid plans contrast with the agglutinated settlement formations characterizing pre-Inka non-state organization based upon kinship relations, at sites such as Paccareta, Soporo and Pumajallo. Standalone field houses further exemplify Inka diagnostic features and are distinct from local architecture and post-contact field houses (sites AND-13, AND-73 and AND-77). These were distinguished for their stone masonry, architectural features, including the presence of trapezoidal niches, as well as, placement in the valley. Material culture and archaeological features, for instance in the case of the presence of Inka style pottery, does not necessarily reflect a timeless Inka person or identity but indicate socio-historical relationships among communities of practice in the context of Inka state expansion. Rather, there are numerous ways that people could have obtained the artifacts and participated in state projects, exemplifying multiple forms of power, from soft power and viral hegemony to laminar hegemony and hard power occurring through the dialectic of force and persuasion (Covey et al. 2013; Kolata 2013).

Figure 5.1: Trapezoidal Inka architectural feature (left: site AND-77; right: site AND-13)

Local Inka, Provincial and Imperial Inka Pottery

The project documented Inka pottery at 12 distinct archaeological sites through regional survey and excavations, including prominent *llaqtas*, in addition to across the valley through isolated finds. From regional survey and excavations, the project collected 122 diagnostic Inka pottery fragments. The current ceramic totals are likely an underestimate of the entire Inka pottery making up the PAVA collection and present in the valley. This is due to multiple factors, including non-diagnostic and unpainted body sherds from possible *aríbalos* and other characteristic Inka vessels cannot be confidently identified as Inka considering their limited sample size. On the other hand, many diagnostic Inka samples have been taken (looted) by non-locals without local permission, such as the remains acquired by Bingham. In contrast, artifacts have also been recovered or affected by the local community through the process of urban constructions and fieldwork, with the landscape composed of active practices and not a timeless backdrop. A marker of the past is exemplified by a whole *aríbalo* vessel sitting in the patio of a household in Andagua Antiguo. On numerous occasions, the project was informed of diagnostic Inka pottery and in several cases, residents submitted the artifacts to the project; these samples were all from the area surrounding the chapel/*ushnu* feature. Despite these limitations, the presence and distribution of Inka pottery documented by the project serves as a useful line of evidence to gauge the strategies and effects of the Inka state in the valley (see also appendix for Inka pottery).

Within this general characterization of diagnostic Inka pottery, three broad categories can be distinguished: local Inka, non-local provincial Inka and Imperial Inka pottery styles. We can parse through a variety of Inka ceramic styles according to their fidelity to Imperial Inka canon and comparison with collections from the region. The Inka pottery collected in Andagua overlap with styles documented throughout the surrounding valleys and from the Lake Titicaca Basin and

across the imperial heartland and beyond (e.g. Doutriaux 2004; Julien 1983; Malpass 1993; Rowe 1944; Tschopik 1946; Wernke 2003, 2013). The ceramic collection is similar to regional archaeological research that has interpreted a standardization of ceramic production under the Inka evident in styles and ware, such as paste made of fine tempered sand and black inclusions, yet there was still local variability in manufacturing and aesthetics (Wernke 2003, 2013).

The pottery demonstrates a variety of communities of practice and on-going relations with the landscape exemplified in the distribution of pottery styles, vessel forms and ware (Wernke 2003: 501–531). The Inka pottery collection further reflect a balanced range of firing qualities, with samples from all three Inka ceramic types displaying reduced oxidization (n=55) to complete cores and the majority of the sample oxidized (n=58). Within this spectrum, 41 pottery artifacts are completely oxidized while 37 samples exemplify reduced firing. In contrast, and not included in the above counts, eight samples exhibit a mix of oxidized and reduced firing with an incomplete and reduced core but oxidized interior and exterior.

The largest quantity (n=75, 61.5%) of paste types consisted of very fine black volcanic inclusions and sparse inclusions of feldspar and quartz. A limited amount (n=7, 5.7%) had black inclusions along with abundant (white) feldspar and quartz inclusions. Fine black inclusions were a staple across Inka and non-Inka pottery styles, along with a varied presence of feldspar and quartz. The remaining collection exhibits compositions of pastes that overlap with non-Inka and pre-Inka paste types; 20 artifacts (16.4%) evince red volcanic inclusions indicative of local geological features, 15 samples (12.3%) have pyrite inclusions and lastly five samples (4.1%) contain mica inclusions.

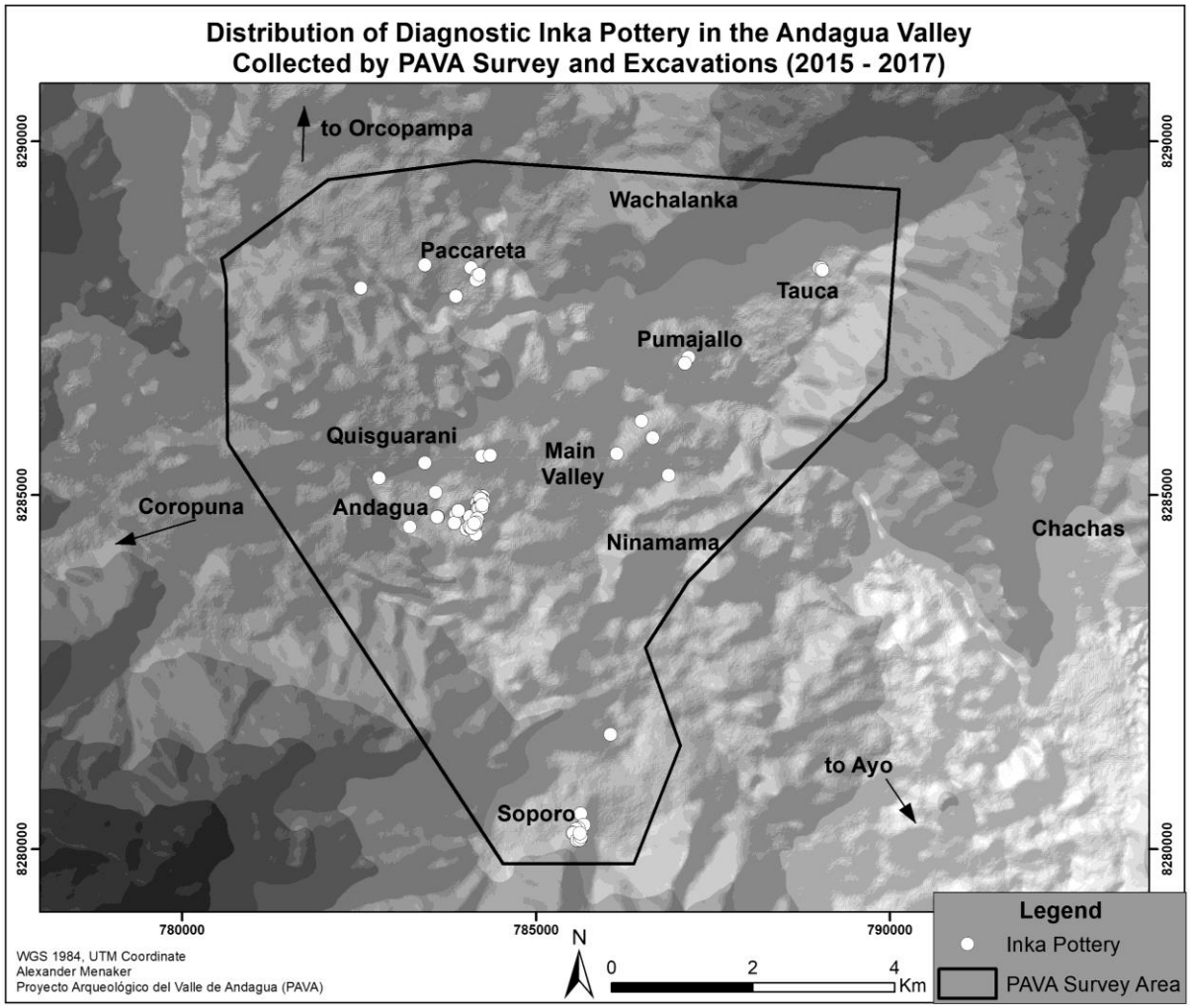


Figure 5.2: Distribution of Inka pottery

The largest concentration of Inka artifacts (n=50, 41.0%) were recovered around the contemporary town of Andagua (AND-1) during survey along with five pottery sherds recovered during excavations (n=1 from excavation unit 001-001 and n=4 from 001-002A). In addition to the contemporary town of Andagua, the project distinguished pottery recovered from Andagua Antiguo (AND-59, AND-60), with 19 sherds (MNV) (15.6%) collected through survey and excavations. Inka pottery was documented associated with disturbed mortuary features (AND-59) and recovered during excavations in late pre-Hispanic structure in Andagua Antiguo (060-002). In total, across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, the collection of 74 pottery sherds make up nearly a

third (60.7%) of the entire collection of Inka pottery collected by the project. Regional survey further documented Inka pottery, imperial and local styles, at multiple pre-Inka *llaqta*, with the largest collection recovered at Soporo (AND-93) (n=16, 13.1%), followed by Paccareta (AND-84) (n=6, 4.9%), Tauca (AND-96) (n=3), and Pumajallo (AND-97) (n=2). Diagnostic Inka artifacts were collected as isolated finds and associated with archaeological features and abandoned occupations across the terraced valley and pampa. These contexts include disturbed corrals, artifact scatters, repurposed or abandoned field houses (AND-26), one with an Inka trapezoidal niche (AND-77), and a site composed of formal stonewall grid pattern (AND-36). Imperial Inka fragments of an *aríbalo* were recovered along a path (called *chakiñan*) nearby an assemblage of discs (AND-40).

Inka style ceramics can be identified according to a variety of vessel forms and paint designs, such as the long-necked vessel, aryballoids, often referred to as *aríbalo*. The project documented whole *aríbalos* still present in the valley as well broken fragments of *aríbalos*. Imperial Inka includes Cusco polychrome and diagnostic vessel forms, including plates, small shallow bowls, large serving and storage vessels exemplified by *aríbalo* and zoomorphic handles, including those of ducks and felines. Inka imperial ceramic types are further exemplified in a range of motifs from geometric designs, such as diamond and rhombus and complex geometric forms as well as overlapping with representative and zoomorphic motifs, including camelids and fern designs ("*helecho*" in Spanish or "*raki-raki"* in Quechua).

The project documented a diagnostic provincial Inka style throughout the valley, from the site of Soporo (AND-93) north across the valley to the edge of the Andagua River, at site AND-36. As mentioned, this site (AND-36) is composed of traces of wall foundations exemplifying a formal grid plan, like the nearby site of Quisguarani and elsewhere throughout the valley indicative

of state planning. Adjacent to site AND-36, the project documented a field house, in an area called Pituna (AND-8) and where the community meets and ends its canal cleaning and *faena* of the Mother Canal and Inka canal. It is worth noting how, starting at opposite ends of the canal, the community divides the labor according to identification with Hanansaya and Hurinsaya lineage groups, which were two moieties of the Inka Empire.[6] *Proyecto Condesuyos* documented the style at Maucallacta, characterizing it as Inka Cusco polychrome (Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000: 177). The *aríbalo* taken by Hiram Bingham, when he visited the region, is an impressive example of this provincial style with the complete vessel on display at the Archaeology museum of UNSA.

Local Inka ceramics overlap with imperial designs but are distinguished from canonical Inka by paste types, paint motifs and finishing qualities. The project collected pottery similar to those identified in the Colca Valley, characterized as Collagua-Inka, of black on red ceramics with multiple concentric lines below the rims of plates (see appendix, figures A.63–A.65). The project further documented local Inka styles unique to the region with local designs incorporated into the regional Inka canon. This is exemplified by a motif of dots that have been documented on cumbrous bowls recovered in pre-Inka and non-Inka contexts, and then appears on the interior of plates indicative of local Inka canons (see appendix, figure A.66).

Inka style pottery exemplifies both standardization and variability of the Inka canon in Andagua. At the same time, archaeological evidence also suggests a limited presence of Inka pottery styles at archaeological sites that remained occupied contemporaneous to Inka state expansion, thus highlighting the limits of pottery as an index of Inka state influence in the region.

[6] Historical research so far has yielded little insight into Inka socio-political organization in contrast to the Colca Valley. Also, we were informed that the divisions of Hurinsaya and Hanansaya are manifest in burial patterns in the contemporary cemetery of Andagua, which dates back to the late 19th century. Members of Hurinsaya are interred in the northern half of the cemetery, while Hanansaya are buried in the southern half. It was also emphasized that they are further distinguished by their wealth.

Inka artifacts were associated with a range of features and contexts that reflect a dynamic historical landscape with movement across the landscape and varied practices that formed meaningful places in the landscape over time.

Andagua, Andagua Antiguo, and Making an Ushnu

In the Andagua Valley, Inka state presence was varied, involving the incorporation, intensification and expansion of local agro-pastoral infrastructure and occupational features. In addition to the local mythohistory recounting Inka expansion in Andagua, we can consider a suite of archaeological evidence, including ceramics, infrastructure (paths, agricultural features), architectural features (e.g. *ushnu*, stone masonry and trapezoidal niches) to work to identify and understand Inka state presence in the Andagua Valley. Archaeological research has revealed how the town of Andagua consists of multiple, overlapping occupations, distinguishing local pre-Inka and non-Inka practices from Inka contexts. We recovered local Inka, imperial Inka, and non-Inka pottery across Andagua during excavations and surface collection in properties off the plaza of *reducción* and to Andagua Antiguo.

The Inka worked to re-orient local populations' relations with the landscape and emphasized Andagua as central loci of ritual activity. This is exemplified by shifting from local *wak'a* and *wank'a* (ritual locations) that marked the pre-Inka *llaqta* of Andagua and regional features to emphasizing the volcanic flows of *Ninamama* with the placement of an *ushnu*. Geologists have dated the latest volcanic activity in the valley, occurring with *Ninamama,* to AD1451-1523, coinciding with Inka expansion and possible occupation in the valley (Delacour et al. 2007). Whether or not the Inka were there to witness the volcanic activity is unclear, though its occurrence most likely resonated in social memories. As such, the Inka state stressed Ninamama's

significance to legitimize their imperial reign, folding the local landscape into its own universal order. This local and emergent volcanic landscape was an important interface of meaning and authority. The chapel platform was one of the only evidence of pre-Hispanic activities documented by previous archaeological research with Linares-Malaga (1993) calling it *capillayuq* ("place with a chapel") and observing possible mortuary features. The platform is currently walled surrounding the chapel and measures 35m x 30m along a NW-SE orientation. The project also noted possible mortuary remains (of small fragments of bones, possibly human ribs) along with extensive holes suggesting previous looting attempts.

The artifact assemblage surrounding the *ushnu* was extensive and varied, although the contexts are disturbed and fragmented. Archaeological preservation was affected due to the heavy use and traffic in the area with its proximity to the bullring and continued importance of the chapel for the Virgen de Asunción as well as serving as a corral, field and parking lot. Intensive survey in the area surrounding the *ushnu* recovered diagnostic artifacts indicative of a range of local non-Inka ceramics as well as local Inka and Imperial Inka ceramics, including a probable spotted feline handle.[7] There is a high concentration of Inka and regional fineware associated with the area, in particular storage and serving vessels. These include probable *aríbalos,* diagnostic Inka plates, and local fineware. The aesthetic and performative dimensions of these artifacts along with the associated context of the *ushnu* platform and open area suggests that this location was the site of elaborate and extensive ceremonial feasts and gatherings. People would bring an arrangement of vessels to store items for consumption (*chicha*), such as elaborate *aríbalo*s (Jennings et al. 2005).

The project placed a 2x2m excavation unit test-pit in a corral and field near the chapel at the eastern edge of town. While excavations revealed a disturbed archaeological context with

[7] We were also informed of and shown several Inka (and pre-Hispanic) ceramic artifacts recovered and identified by residents surrounding the area and throughout town.

fragmented artifacts along with the large majority being unpainted ceramics (n=765, 97%), the project recovered non-Inka and local Inka such as Late Horizon styles, such as black on red open plates with four concentric lines below the interior rim. It is unclear of the antiquity of the significance of this place and its relations to Ninamama with the excavations recovering a Soporo ceramic from the topsoil levels of the unit, one of many collected across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo. A high density of obsidian was also recovered from the excavation unit, although all were small obsidian flakes, most likely affected by transit through the years (n=64, composing 91% of lithics collected from the unit). In addition, surface collections surrounding the unit recovered five diagnostic obsidian points. Excavations recovered two small stone tablets painted red, and painted stone tablets and ceramic discs were collected in the area during intensive surface survey.

Figure 5.3: *Ushnu/Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*. Community members replace the roof of the chapel.

The *ushnu*/chapel platform overlooks the southeastern section of the town, just off the main plaza and an area known as Andagua Antiguo ("Old Andagua"), which is defined by a series of steep ravines and terraced hillsides carved by the stream descending from Coropuna glacial melt and nearby springs. Paths lead down into the winding ravines composed of fields, corrals and homes and structures, abandoned and occupied, scattered in the area and in sharp contrast to the grid pattern of the Spanish colonial *reducción*. In addition to its clear reference as "Old Andagua," some of the greatest concentrations of pre-Hispanic artifacts were recovered there, as well as, abandoned Late Horizon structures, displaying a range of local Inka and non-Inka artifacts.

While we had heard of the Southeastern section of Andagua referred to as Andagua Antiguo, the project did not formally document and register archaeological evidence until after one month of survey, when our survey transects crossed the area at the end of our transects, at the end of the day, and we were able to begin formally documenting it. Knowledge and understanding of the area unfolded through time, from the first days of documenting the site during survey to the final days of excavation (and on-going). I mention this unfolding process of survey and fieldwork because it marks an eventual change in the project design, shifting focus from proposed intensive excavations of the site of Quisguarani to identifying the significant Inka presence around Andagua. A little over a month into our survey, which radiated out from Andagua, project co-director Victor Falcón Huayta was returning through Andagua Antiguo towards the end of survey transect, where he documented a terrace with a stone staircase in the wall leading to another terrace next to a large rock outcrop. Following the staircase, Victor registered – what would be site AND-059 – an agro-mortuary feature, with probable human remains, and late pre-Hispanic (Late Horizon, LH), local and Imperial Inka ceramic fragments (figure 5.4). Subsequently the project registered Andagua Antiguo as a distinct archaeological site (AND-60) that encompassed AND-59. The surrounding

steep ravine hillsides have been sculpted into defined, narrow terraces, today occurring in varied patterns of use and disuse. Mortuary features are visible along craggy rock faces and outcrops in the hillsides. Some are looted with bones scattered, exposed and sun-bleached with other probable mortuary features remaining as wall constructions integrated into the landscape.

Figure 5.4: Site AND-59, agro-mortuary complex with staircase and associated with Inka and Late Horizon pottery in Andagua Antiguo

Figure 5.5: A broken *aríbalo* with zoomorphic lug documented in the patio of a home in the ravine entering Andagua Antiguo, descending from the plaza of the *reducción*.

Today Andagua Antiguo is composed of properties and structures of varying occupation and abandonment, some that are indicative of late pre-Hispanic and Inka construction and occupations continuing through Spanish colonialism and to the recent past, abandoned in the past generation. Many people have moved from Andagua Antiguo either to another section of town in Andagua or have altogether left Andagua. Besides the remaining residences, properties are used as fields and corrals, cultivating corn, fava beans, quinoa and alfalfa, and foraging for cattle and sheep. The project placed a 1x1m excavation unit in a structure that indicated late pre-Hispanic construction and architecture with stone lintel, narrow doorway and stone masonry type distinct from pre-Inka structures. The structure is currently used for growing alfalfa for livestock to graze, with the narrow doorway now sealed and collapsed walls. This structure is in the ravine below the chapel and *ushnu* platform off a path that descends from the plaza and continues down into the valley. The interior of the structure measures 9m (E-W orientation), 4.5m (N-S orientation) and 0.85m wall thickness, and the narrow doorway is wider at its base evoking a trapezoidal form (measuring 76cm at its base, 58cm at the top and 1.9m in height) (figures 5.7, 5.8). The excavations revealed a disturbed context and recovered Late Horizon (LH) and Inka pottery with one vessel, a ceramic plate, similar to LH styles documented in the Colca Valley (figure 5.6) (Wernke 2013).

Figure 5.6: Late Horizon and local Inka pottery recovered from excavations, 060-002, in Andagua Antiguo

Figure 5.7: Late pre-Hispanic (Late Horizon) structure, location of excavation unit (AND-60-002), with stone lintel in Andagua Antiguo

Figure 5.8: Late pre-Hispanic (Late Horizon) structure, location of excavation unit (AND-60-002), with filled entryway in Andagua Antiguo

Ninamama, Fire-Mother/Mother-Fire

Though Ninamama does not play a role in the local Inka mythohistory, there are several accounts and narratives that circulate about Ninamama. I came across these accounts while walking in the fields during survey as well as in town. People describe a hole in Ninamama where children were sacrificed, and eggs were produced and offered there.[8] It was both a powerful and dangerous place as well as a place of life and death. There were such varying accounts, I was not sure what to expect when we went to survey Ninamama and all the more intrigued to see.

Two months into regional survey, Victor and I walked down the valley following the main road then turning onto a smaller road to Antaymarca, which was constructed for the larger transvalley power lines. Reaching the end of the road, we trekked across the lava fields along a limited path, made of broken volcanic rock, to the hillside of Ninamama, where we further climbed the steep hillside. Ninamama is sloped on the southern edge towards lava flows while is a sharp steep hillside facing the terraced valley. The soil covered hillside with traces of stonewalls and cacti across Ninamama gives way to the south to a jagged volcanic landscape of lava flows and scoria cones that makes up the valley floor between Soporo and Chachas. Observing the area of Ninamama it was clear that the area was culturally modified but not for occupation, and the traces of the stone walls offer little insight into distinguishing their pre-Hispanic antiquity. Approaching the crest of the formation we continued to observe retaining walls and stretches of Ninamama had platforms built with clear cultural deposits, filled with fragments of earthenware ceramics.[9]

Standing on the top of Ninamama, looking northerly across the valley offers a stunning view of the anthropogenic landscape. While up there we observed a large architectural feature of

[8] It is unclear of the historical significance of eggs identified with Ninamama and their similarity to the reference of Pariacaca in the Huarochirí Manuscript (Salomon and Urioste 1991).
[9] The project registered Ninamama as site AND-88, from the culturally modified hilltop to the terraced crater.

terraced walls in what looked like a crater in the side of the hill below. The crater is not easily visible from the valley floor below. We descended the eastern slope of Ninamama, where we eventually crossed upon a well-established stone path that wound its way through the lava folds. The stone path, I have been told, continues along to Chachas, one of several paths that wind their way through the valley. We followed this path around the lava flows north to return to Andagua and re-entered the bottom of the terraced valley covered by fields of sand.

Figure 5.9: View of the terraced valley, facing northwest from Ninamama, with Twin Volcanoes on the horizon

Figure 5.10: Stone path through the lava flows, continuing south towards Chachas (and Soporo) (co-director Victor Falcón Huayta pictured above).

Figure 5.11: Stone path through the lava flows, looking to the main valley of Andagua

Returning to the terraced valley we encountered a field filled with bulls that were very clear in their refusal of our passage, so we hugged the craggy hillside to avoid the bulls. After climbing over and under large rock outcrops and across scree, a stone path became visible along the stony hillside, but it is intermittent, destroyed from landslides. We walked down in the sandy field along Ninamama, with our plan to identify the crater and terraced wall construction we saw from above and survey its interior. While walking in the field we crossed a local resident who had fields in this area. He told us of the "hole" we were looking for, and how it had been partially filled by a landslide from an earthquake in the 2000s. We were also told of flooding in this part of the valley, which was responsible for its sandy ground and fields resembling a beach.

We walked up the hillside where we found the stone path once again. Following the path, we arrived at the large crater ("*hueco*") and ventured inside. There we documented the presence of large retaining walls that line the sloping interior and stand greater than two meters in height. These terraces exemplify little evidence of agricultural intensification or use, in contrast to other agricultural terraces that are built into circular depressions throughout the valley and are similar to those of Moray (D'Altroy 2015). As foretold, our view of the crater and features was limited since a large section of the crater had been filled with a landslide and obscured the extent of cultural features visible. The large crater appears in satellite imagery. Despite the effects of the landslide, the walled interior and infrastructure confirm the cultural significance of this area and Ninamama.

Figure 5.12: The crater (“hueco”) at Ninamama, terraced walls and rock landslide, with co-director Victor Falcón Huayta for scale.

Figure 5.13: The crater (“hueco”) at Ninamama, terraced walls and rock landslide, with co-director Victor Falcón Huayta for scale.

Ninamama was and remains a looming presence. The lava flow makes up a significant portion of the valley floor, with some of the latest volcanic activity associated with it (Delacour et al. 2007). The Inka would build an *ushnu* reorienting ritual practices towards the formation (and coinciding with the length of the valley). Though it is unclear if the lava flow was venerated prior to Inka arrival. Ninamama (and the possible area of fill) is also in line with one of the *wank'as* associated with Lower Antaymarca oriented towards Wachalanka (figure 4.34).

The stories that circulate surrounding Ninamama cannot be dismissed as myth, or some excessive superstition of local Andean residents. To dismiss them as excessive or superstitious is to fall into the trap of temporal chauvinism, the disenchantment of modernity and homogeneous empty time. The myths do not reflect an erring in knowing the world, or even some primordial truth. The stories convey traces of distant pasts that were marginalized and subject to criminalization by the colonial state. The negative connotation of Ninamama is most likely reflective of centuries of coercive and violent colonial and evangelical efforts of the Spanish Empire with enduring legacies through the Peruvian state. We see these ambivalent reverberations the multivalence of Ninamama. It both produces life and takes it away. It is dangerous and beyond human reason.

It is not a question of identifying Ninamama's primary meaning, but tracing the circulations of meaning concerning a world that exceeds us. Ninamama is Mother-Fire, there is no semiotic distinction between its being and potentiality to convulse liquid stone of fire (lava) that petrifies into magma. Ninamama was a *wak'a*, indicative of what Albornoz identified as a *primacia* or *mama* (Albornoz 1989 [1582]: 165). Ninamama was not outside of time, but a generator of time and space (*pacha* invokes time and space) (Allen 2002; D'Altroy 2015). Ninamama, like an array of *mamas* and *primacias* (*mamasara*, *mamapapa* and *pachamama*), made the world (and

everything in it) independent of humans and remains as a potent force in the world (a Peircean First); humans were just one actor in it. Society was not segregated from the nonhuman world, but inherently bound up in it.

Reproducing Social Life at Local Llaqta in the Shadows of Coropuna and Wachalanka

Moving across the valley, we can consider how the Inka appropriated local difference, intensifying and expanding infrastructure across the valley and local *llaqtas* beyond Andagua such as Paccareta, Soporo and Pumajallo as well as in the main valley. Inka evidence was recovered and documented throughout the valley, including the presence of Inka artifacts associated with contemporaneous non-Inka materials suggesting continued occupation of pre-Inka sites, and the production of new Inka sites (and toponyms) as well as departing from local ritual practices to the prioritization of state and imperial institutions. The Inka expanded already existing *llaqta* such as Paccareta, Soporo and Pumajallo as well as occupations in the main valley.

In the eastern section of the valley, below the peak of Wachalanka, at the sites of Pumajallo and Tauca, the project documented Inka state presence in varying forms (in addition to the pre-Inka evidence discussed in the previous chapter). While there is portable pre-Inka material culture, such as painted discs and tablets and evidence of Soporo pottery style documented in the surrounding area of Tauca, the majority of structures and features of Tauca are most likely Late Horizon and Inka constructions. We can further consider this part of the valley, and its archaeological history, reminded of the mythohistory when Wachalanka gives birth to a son after being impregnated by standing over the urine of the Inka. That the natural fluids of the Inka were considered fruitful generators of life echoes similar Andean (and Inka) parallels across human forms to nonhuman forces, such as water flows (D'Altroy 2015). As I have suggested (in chapter

two), expanding beyond anthropocentric histories and understanding the inclusive, performative dimensions of the production of history, we can view this as claims of social reproduction. I argue that these could be historically understood as the *wak'a* offspring of Wachalanka and the interloping Inka, a socio-political manifestation of alliance building (Menaker 2019). Archaeological evidence then offers integral evidence to investigate how we can consider the oral histories of the valley as not myth outside time recounting a primordial truth (nor a symptom of post-contact legacies) but Andean registers of history. This surrounding area of the eastern valley, from Pumajallo to above the site of Tauca, exhibit significant agricultural intensification evident in a variety of fields, terraces and canals.

Figure 5.14: Agricultural infrastructure below Wachalanka in the eastern valley

In this section of the valley, there is expansive agricultural infrastructure with terraces rising up the valley slopes, and which are also notable for its extensive abandonment. While

recognizing the extensive pre-Inka past, archaeological evidence suggests that the agricultural infrastructure was intensified and structures were built under Inka auspices, distinguishing from local architecture at the sites of Tauca and Pumajallo. Agriculture fundamentally involves the management of water, with evidence of a canal just below the peaks of Wachalanka (see figure 5.14). The canal comes from the Andagua River and I have been told how the canal runs through cliff sides to reach this section of the valley. There is also a large ravine that cuts through the valley slopes descending into the lake below, with survey documenting traces of large retaining walls lining the ravine hillside, including a wall with stone blocks protruding indicative of Inka stairs. These stairs are different from those identified in the main valley, exemplified by those leading to the mortuary feature identified in Andagua Antiguo (AND-59, discussed and pictured above).

Figure 5.15: Two-story mortuary feature documented at the site of Tauca

Figure 5.16: Two-story mortuary feature at the site of Tauca

Figure 5.17: Two-story mortuary feature at the site of Tauca

Figure 5.18: Probable Late Horizon structure at Tauca

Tauca lacks evidence of the agglomerated construction that defines other pre-Inka sites in the valley. The site is composed of multiple rectangular structures with adjacent agricultural infrastructure (terraces and canals), mortuary structures similar to structures at Soporo and a range of material culture, exemplifying local pottery styles, stone and ceramic discs as well as the presence of Inka artifacts (see figures 5.15–5.19) (Sobzcyk 2005; Ziółkowski and Belan Franco 2000). The mortuary features are extensively disturbed with dozens of crania lined on stone slabs. While it is difficult to confirm the antiquity of these mortuary features, their association with Inka contexts as well as distinct from other local mortuary features offers important contextual evidence for their late pre-Hispanic construction under the auspices of the Inka. Several unresolved questions remain with more research necessary (such as aDNA testing or oxygen isotopes), including who built these and who was laid to rest there – whether local populations or non-local colonists of the Inka. Similar to studies of the Colca Valley, archaeological evidence in Andagua suggests that agricultural production and population demographics were most likely at their apogee on the eve of Spanish colonialism (Wernke 2010).

Figure 5.19: Inka style artifact recovered at Pumajallo (left); Tauca and across the valley (AND-177.34 associated with site AND-40)

Through pedestrian survey of Soporo and the surrounding area, the project identified diagnostic local, provincial and imperial Inka pottery (n=16, 13.1%) as well as possible site expansion and agro-pastoral intensification. The agro-pastoral intensification is evident in the terraces that make up the adjacent hillsides, and above the site is an apparent formal grid like Quisguarani and other sites indicative of state planning. Due to the poor preservation of the site and the foundational nature of our research, the effects of the Inka state on the immediate occupation are still unclear, such as architectural construction. It is possible that the site was expanded to along the western and southwest edge below the main plaza; there we recovered Inka pottery and identified the one distinct two-story mortuary feature at the site, and which resembles the mortuary features documented at Tauca and Pumajallo and could be of Late Horizon construction. Archaeological evidence at Soporo illustrates Inka efforts to incorporate local *llaqta* with the site occupied during Inka expansion and through to the eve of the Spanish invasion. Across the valley to the north we can return to the pre-Inka *llaqta* of Paccareta.

Figure 5.20: Inka and Late Horizon (local Inka) artifacts recovered at Soporo

Paccareta has limited evidence of Inka material culture, with no diagnostic Inka imperial pottery collected and few possible ceramics characteristic of local Inka/Late Horizon recovered at the site compared to Andagua. The lack of Inka or local Inka (Late Horizon) material culture does not necessarily indicate the site was abandoned at the time of Inka state expansion, or that the local population was forcibly relocated. Moreover, as our excavations demonstrated (and discussed above), there is little evidence of sharp epochal shifts demonstrated in pottery styles at the llaqta of Paccareta. We see iconic black on red pottery styles traverse Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period contexts, with these ceramic types in continued usage for the limited time the Inka occupied the valley. Beyond portable material culture, such as pottery, architecture features and site organization support on-going activities contemporaneous to the Inka state in Andagua. For instance, two rectilinear structures stand apart to the West from the main occupation, and were possibly Inka/Late Horizon constructions, serving as either domestic or administrative purposes for the Inka state, such as a *kallanka*.

The presence of a formal stone grid plan located in the basin to the east of the main occupational area suggests state sponsored planning. The formal grid expansion is like other sites, such as Soporo and Pumajallo not to mention Quisguarani, and is distinct from the rest of the organization of the site and terraced hillside. Today only traces of the stone walls are visible buried beneath black aeolian sand and with the grid pronounced through vegetation patterns that correspond to the plan. It is most likely that the rectilinear features were used for agricultural field purposes to intensify cultivating the landscape, expanding upon the already existing agricultural infrastructure composed the surrounding area of the site, such as the terraced hillside. Ultimately, archaeological evidence at the *llaqta* of Paccareta demonstrates the varied state strategies of Inka statecraft in the valley, with certain infrastructure at Paccareta expanded, yet at the same time the

site was not a significant place for Inka state sponsored activities as was the case with Andagua and Andagua Antiguo.

Quisguarani[10]

A massive abandoned site composed of large stonewalls sits in the sloping and undulating valley north of the contemporary town of Andagua. The large grid and apparent formalized plan further sets it apart from the regional settlement patterns characteristic of the valley, and supports its organized construction through state efforts. The site is more than 100 hectares in area and is primarily composed of large rectangular spaces with stonewalls, multiple meters thick (see figures 5.21, 5.22). In addition to large rectangular spaces, the site is made of terraces varying from narrow, steep bench terraces to large sloping field terraces that are nearly indistinguishable from the large walled spaces with many of the terraced spaces marked by large walls separating them (with wall thickness measuring from 1m to as wide as 3m). The rectangular spaces ranged in size and shape from a nearly uniform grid pattern with several spaces nearly square (approx. 25m x 25m) to rectangular forms (20m x 40m). The project carried out systematic pedestrian survey at 50m intervals followed by placing an excavation test unit in a representative context of the site, as well as, producing a detailed plan map of the site based upon satellite and drone imagery (see figure 5.21). Through survey the project documented limited surface artifacts, with excavations confirming the limited occupational history of the site that continued through post-contact contexts.

[10] In the cases of people aware of the site, I have heard it called Quisguarani and Quita-Quisguarani. It is referenced as Quisguarani in the court case, with the dissertation using the shorter name.

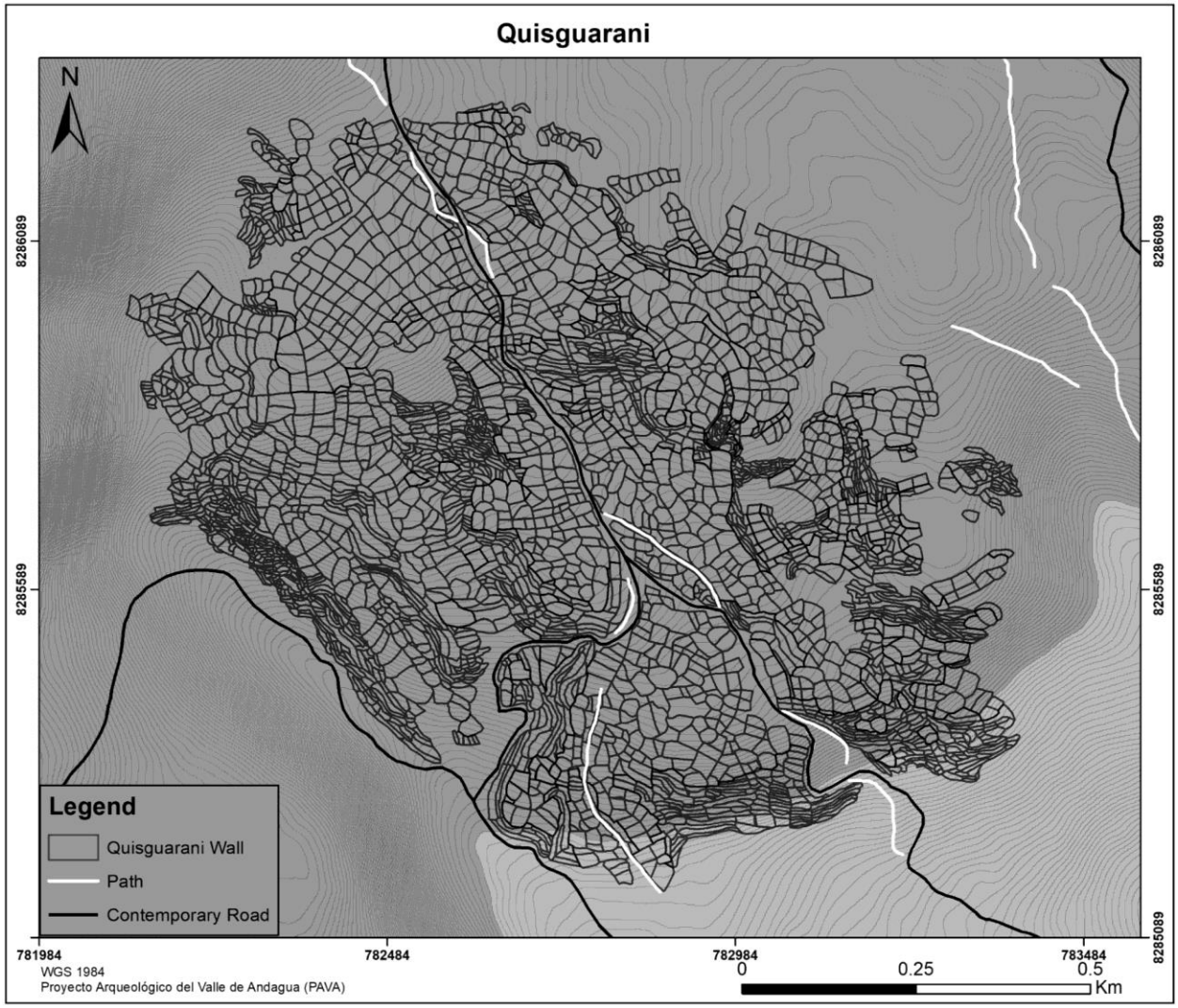


Figure 5.21: Site map of Quisguarani

The site had never been formally registered prior to PAVA, though Shippee commented on it along with the broader valley, speculating that it was a metropolis at once home to thousands of previous inhabitants (Shippee 1934). It is possible that the sheer scope and size of the site – wide open spaces and vegetation covered stone walls – led to it being overlooked on the ground. Moreover, the site of Quisguarani is rarely emphasized or even remarked upon in local social memories. Our systematic survey and research design using historical, ethnographic and spatial data we identified the place as Quisguarani, in contrast to earlier limited archaeological

investigations. This emphasizes the importance of using systematic survey in addition to multiple lines of evidence – local perspectives, satellite imagery and historical evidence – to offer more robust reconstructions of the archaeological landscape.

Investigations of the site are further compounded due to several post-occupational effects. This includes extensive vegetation overgrowth of cacti and shrubs and grasses covering walls and the site as well as repurposing the stone features to build corrals and informal stonewalls (*pirqa*). Today, a network of paths traverses the site, and while it is a challenge to discern the specific antiquity of each path, most paths that cut across fallen walls and correspond to post-contact pastoral practices are more likely post-occupational effects that have modified the site. In contrast to these worn dirt paths, there are stone paths that run through the site. Fragments of a stone, cut by recent road constructions, runs from Andagua through Quisguarani leading beyond the valley (see figure 5.24). The routes and places of significance would endure through the Spanish colonialism, shaping regional economies and ritual practices (see next chapter).

Despite the expanse of the construction, there are few ceramic and artifacts present on the surface further suggesting limited occupational history. There was little evidence of pre-Inka and non-Inka artifacts and cultural practices. The site conspicuously lacks painted discs and tablets, with only a few (n=3) discs documented at the outskirts of the site. While the composition and scale of the site is consistent with monumental state projects, the material culture present at the site suggest a limited presence of the Inka. The project documented a few, isolated small rectangular structures were constructed abutting the large stonewalls, often with a niche in the wall, were identified during survey (through architectural analysis alone, it is difficult to confirm if they were built with the original construction or later). Survey recovered 352 ceramic artifacts across Quisguarani (5,199.6g total weight), with 307 unpainted artifacts (87%), and 45 painted

artifacts (13%). Only 12 pottery sherds (3.4% of the entire collection) were diagnostic of pre-Hispanic ceramic types (primarily black on red or orange earthenware), while 8.5% (n=33) of the collection are artifacts indicative of post-contact production with purple-red paint on orange earthenware. While not characterized as painted, 61 pottery sherds exhibited green glazed ware, which is indicative of post-contact manufacturing. Consequently, the artifact collection – recovered through survey and subsequently supported by excavations – and formal site plan demonstrates how Quisguarani was constructed under the auspices of the Inka state yet it has been the site of informal, non-state post-contact activities for a much longer extent.

Interested in substantiating the extent of the occupational history that may not be visibly exposed on the surface, the project placed an excavation test-pit unit in one of the large patios, where a small structure or enclosure was constructed adjacent to and abutting one of the large N-S stonewalls (see figure 5.23). While the stone feature could be associated with the original construction of Quisguarani, excavations revealed no clear pre-Hispanic material culture with evidence confirming a limited occupational history and contexts indicative of a post-contact field refuge, with evidence of a hearth and non-intensive occupation. Excavations yielded a total of 108 pottery sherds (MNV), with the collection consisting of regional earthenware (utilitarian) and remains painted with purple-red motifs indicative of post-contact artifacts (n=23). Archaeological research reveals how the site has existed longer beyond the intentions of the Inka state, accruing an assemblage of post-contact material culture.

Figure 5.22: Formal grid pattern evident in northern section of Quisguarani

Figure 5.23: Structure and location of test-pit excavation unit in Quisguarani.

Figure 5.24: Pre-Hispanic stone path through Quisguarani

Conclusion

Archaeological, historical and ethnographic research provides insight into how the Inka sought to incorporate the local landscape in order to legitimize their social order. Claiming universal authority, the Inka state confronted a landscape historically organized by non-state decentralized authorities. In addition to the mythohistory and historical records, an array of evidence illustrates forms of power and hegemony from Inka pottery and architecture associated with pre-Inka *llaqta* to the construction of new sites, and relations with non-human landscape, such as Ninamama. This research, along with growing evidence, shows how the Inka Empire was still in motion, even expanding at the time of Spanish colonialism, with material remains strewn across the Andes exemplifying incomplete or unused imperial projects. Spanish colonialism not only articulated with the pre-Hispanic landscape, but it caused a reeling and convulsing of Inka imperial

institutions, this is evident in the abandoned site of Quisguarani. With its limited occupational history, the site has barely registered in local social memories. The pre-Hispanic past is embodied in the landscape, manifest in not only local settlements and agricultural terraces but also toponyms and paths that articulate the landscape along with a range of cultural practices, and would endure as both perennially useful and problematic for Spanish colonial authorities (and modern nation-state).

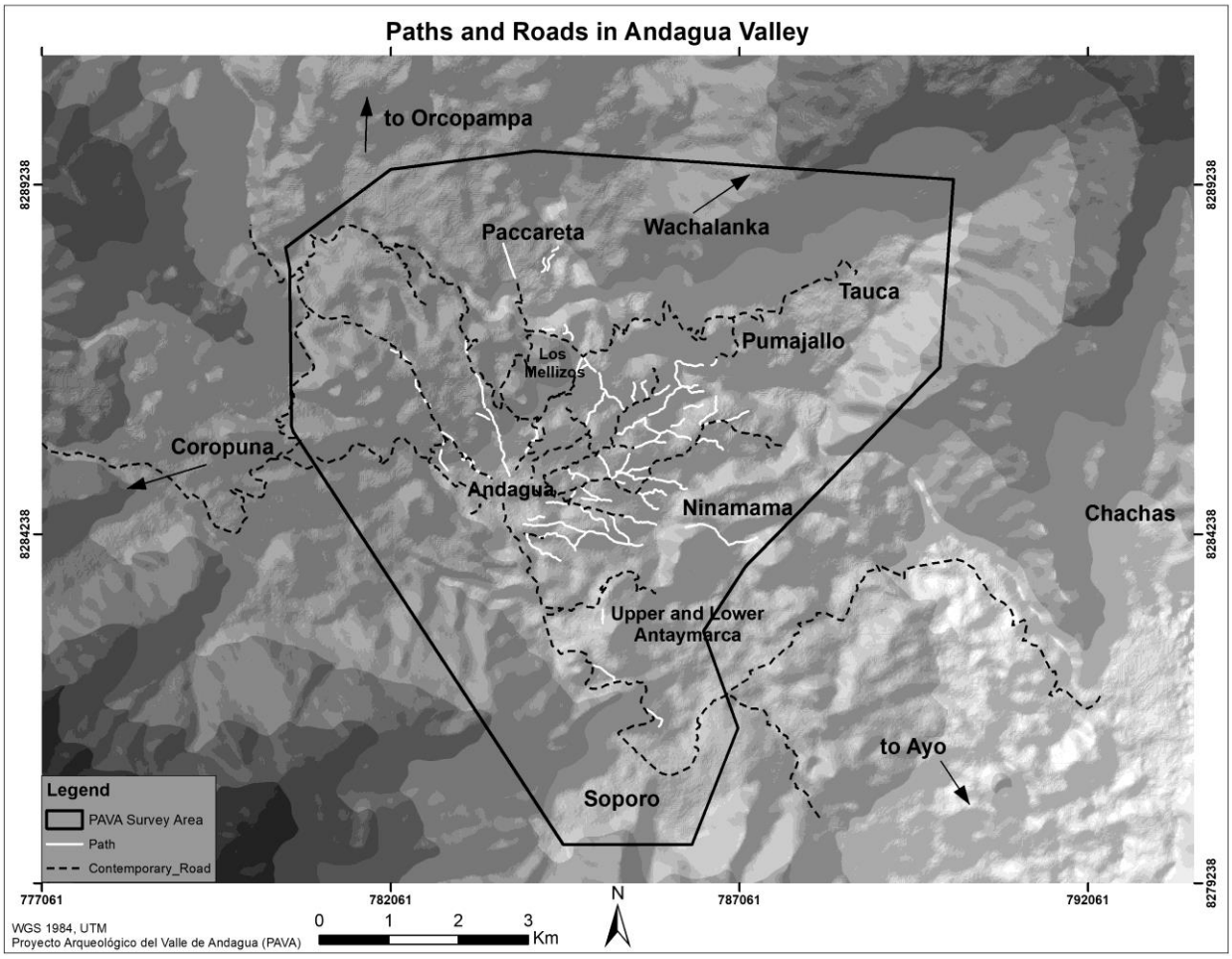


Figure 5.25: Map of pre-Hispanic stone paths and contemporary roads (which overlap with and cut through the pre-Hispanic paths)

Chapter VI

Becoming "Rebels" and "Idolaters" in the Valley of Volcanoes[1]

Society Against the State

What conditions must obtain in order to conceive of the One as the good?

Pierre Clastres *Society Against the State*, 2007 [1974]: 217

It has been nearly five-hundred years since Francisco Pizarro and a band of Spanish conquistadores encountered and executed Atawallpa in Cajamarca, one of many Inka imperial administrative centers across the Andes. The Spanish fortuitously arrived at the end of a bitter civil war between the half-brothers Atawallpa and Washkar, who battled over succession to the largest empire in the Americas at the time, *Tawantinsuyu*. This followed the death of Wayna Qhapaq succumbing to European disease before the Spaniards arrived to the highlands (Hemming 2004; Lamana 2008). Explaining and narrating those moments that indelibly marked the Spanish invasion (and European imperialism) and the subsequent post-contact historical landscape, filled with violence, negotiation and confusion, is a fraught and challenging endeavor. Today there is a growing understanding of how the Inka Empire dissolved with research attending to how Spanish colonialism built upon and articulated with local and imperial structures, exemplifying much more "ambivalent and enduring conquests" (e.g. Clendinnen 1987; Lamana 2008; Liebmann and Murphy 2011; Silliman 2005; Stern 1987). Thus recognizing the uneven and heterogeneous effects of Spanish colonialism geographically and temporally, through a long-term, diachronic and regional perspective, research in the Andagua Valley contributes to our deepening knowledge of colonial encounters and local relations with states in the emerging modern world.

[1] Adapted from "Becoming Rebels and Idolaters in the Valley of Volcanoes" (Menaker 2019).

The preceding chapters were dedicated to documenting the pre-Hispanic archaeological histories of constellations of meaning and authority, how matter came to matter in the Valley of Volcanoes. This chapter focuses on the overlapping techniques and strategies of Spanish colonialism and evangelization to transform indigenous lives, exemplified by the program of *reducciones* and "extirpation of idolatry." These were state projects that attempted to destroy Andean forms and loci of socio-political authority and meaning (Abercrombie 1998; Gose 2008; MacCormack 1991; Mills 1997; Salomon 1987, 1995). This research builds upon studies of early and mid-Spanish colonialism through the 17th century and attends to their long-term effects and historical developments to further shed light on the contradictions of post-colonial Peru and the making of the Peruvian nation-state. This study reconstructs local engagements with states in the *longue-durée*, tracing the complex trajectories along a continuum of interactions, thus productively challenging static categorizations, such as domination/resistance, European/Indigenous, and prehistoric/historic (e.g. Oland et al. 2012). This study attends to the materiality of ritual and labor as they constitute central aspects of human social experiences through time and space. Archaeological and anthropological research conducted in the Andagua valley reveal the tensions of states and empires evident in local settlement patterns, cultural practices and material culture, such as, stone offerings, monoliths, and ceramic styles among other artifacts.

In the mid-18th century in the Andagua Valley, a six-hundred page historical court case describes how Spanish officials burned ancestral mummies, calling them "infidels," in attempts to eradicate Andean religious beliefs and practices. Setting the bodies aflame, the Spanish Corregidor General Joseph de Arana used the term "extirpation of idolatries" – a phrase that had fallen out of use in the Andes in the previous century. The court case further revolved around contestations of tribute payments spurred by recent Bourbon reforms with Andean residents of Andagua asserting

that such increased taxes impinged upon their rights as Spanish subjects, nearly inciting a rebellion (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). What was at stake crosscut religious and economic concerns, as ancestor veneration was an integral component of traditional socio-political authority in the Andes; thus, such beliefs and practices were profound arenas of contention for Spanish colonial officials (Gose 2008; Salomon 1995). Ancestor veneration and mummy worshipping were critical features to Inka imperial expansion with shared pan-Andean cosmologies facilitating local populations' incorporation under Inka auspices (D'Altroy 2015). Chronicling the struggle over forms of authority and legitimacy, the historical record in Andagua brings into relief the (socio-historical) limits of the universal subject (Smith 2004).

While occurring during a century of rebellions, the events in Andagua can be distinguished from the range of social movements that traversed the Andes (O'Phelan Godoy 2012; Serulnikov 2003, 2013; Stern 1987; Walker 2014). Rather, the events in Andagua are what anthropologist Frank Salomon has characterized as an example of an endogenous form of rebellion; as resistance to the state did not center on abstract categories of individual human rights or a call for a neo-Inka (or indigenous) state, but was anchored around ancestor cults (Salomon 1987). Local Andean residents in Andagua continued to reckon multiple points of origin for human descent, with the possibility of segmentary kinship as an animating principle for social organization, cosmological order and authority. Beyond the destruction of the bodies of deceased inhabitants, the court case provides details and insight into a range of material culture and practices involving struggles over the production of places imbued with authority and meaning that exceeded particular colonial expectations. Yet at the same time, while providing seductive historical details, the account is riddled with epistemological prejudices and its composition belies its disruptive and violent procedure (Abercrombie 1998; Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). Thus, with this striking historical

record of the eighteenth century as a point of departure, this chapter illuminates the archaeological conditions of possibility for the late Spanish colonial Andes, exploring how local indigenous residents of Andagua became "rebels and idolaters."

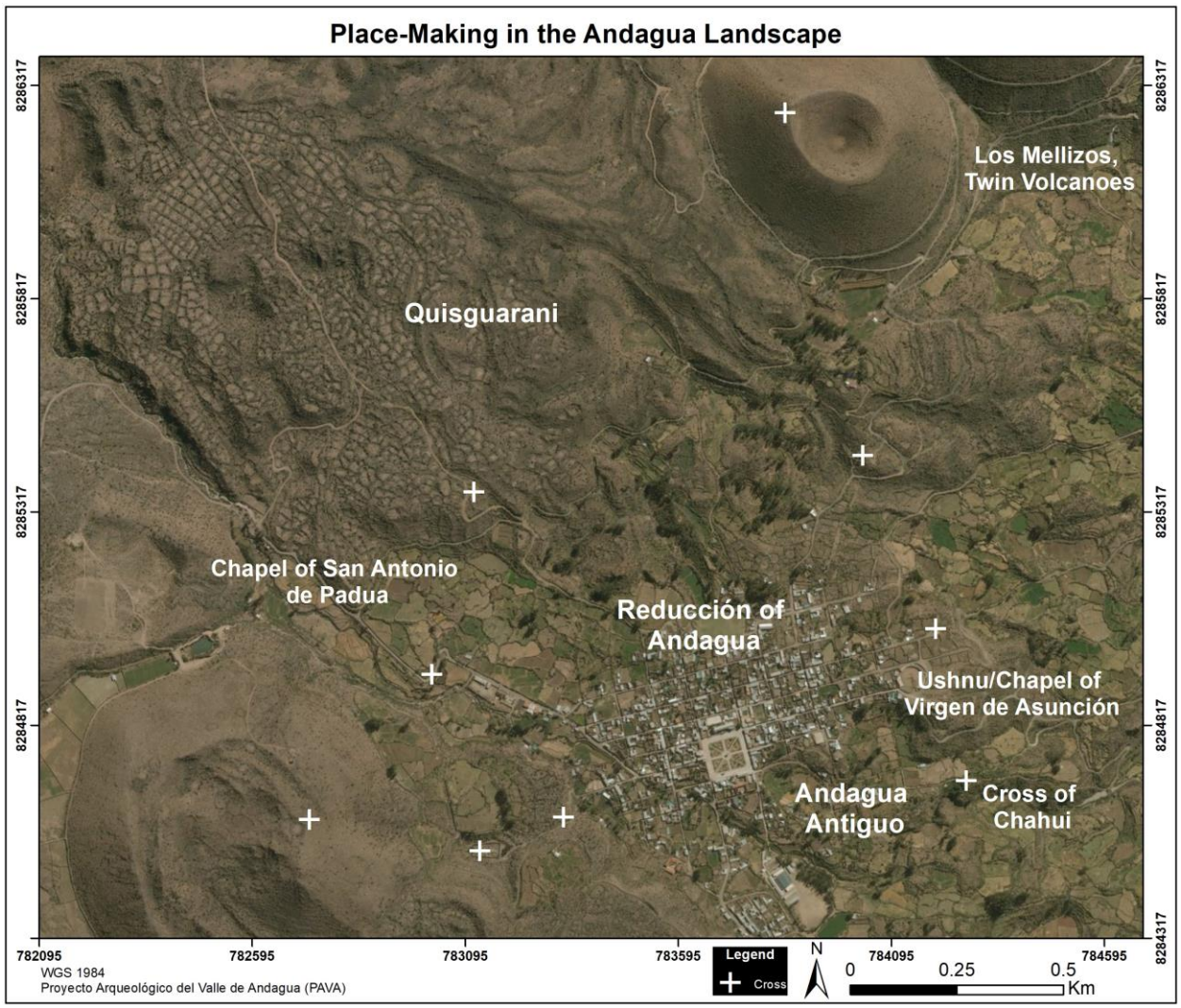


Figure 6.1: *Reducción* of Andagua, Andagua Antiguo and Quisguarani, with local features and crosses

Ritual Convergences and Post-Contact Landscapes

Colonial projects and how people experience history are limited and uneven processes (e.g. Liebmann and Murphy 2011; Silliman 2005; Trouillot 1995, 2003). In the Andes, the colonial project was far from certain in the time immediately following the Spanish invasion, as the

Spaniards and their Andean allies battled to determine authority and meaning (Lamana 2008). Inka rule should not be conflated with local Andean identities and political groups as Spanish conquistadores encountered a heterogeneous landscape of cultural identities and political alliances. In these historically unprecedented moments, new forms of alliances emerged (Charles 2010; Lamana 2008). Estenssoro (2003) termed early Spanish colonialism (approximately 1532-1570), the "*primera evangelización*" characterized by improvisation and experimentation (Estenssoro 2003). However, by the mid-16th century with the Council of Trent and the First Lima Council (1551–1552) and Second Lima Council (1567–1568), Spanish colonial officials were already transitioning from early accommodationist theology to imposing orthodox practices. Such concerns for orthodoxy are further manifest in Cristóbal de Albornoz's extirpation documents (Albornoz 1987 [1582]; Durston 2007). Grounded in the ideology of the Reconquista, Spanish colonialism was premised upon a moral superiority legitimizing colonial authority and exploitation of labor and resources, with the expressed purpose to convert indigenous subjects into proper material subjects (Gose 2008; Boyarin 2009).

The *encomienda* system was an early Spanish colonial institution designed to apportion the "spoils of conquest", as Spanish colonialism claimed jurisdiction over indigenous labor, lands, and goods, supposedly in return for religious instruction (Spalding 1984: 124). Central to the maintenance of this early "plunder economy," Spanish colonialism would alter local and Inka imperial institutions, in particular the *mit'a* system. As a result, indigenous low-wage labor was required for specific projects, often occurring in the forms of mining and other craft production (and which affected the community of Andagua). Archival research documented the continued presence and use of the *mit'a* institution in Andagua through the 18th century – with forced labor tribute dedicated to the mines in the surrounding mountains of Caylloma (Arequipa Archbishop

Archive: Legajo1, 1746: f.5r). Adjudication of Spanish colonial authority through indirect rule mediated by local authority figures (*kurakas*) to more direct efforts and centralized authority of the state were a contradictory matrix that oscillated through time (Garret 2005; Julien 1991; Mumford 2012; Spalding 1984). During the early years of Spanish colonialism, the extent of local authority was still uncertain, and is exemplified by the bidding war among *kurakas* and *encomenderos*. This involved the struggle over the perpetuity of the encomienda system versus the spread of royal authority overseeing indigenous local self-administration (Mumford 2012). Despite entertaining such possibilities, a range of competing and often contradictory narratives emerged through Spanish colonialism, which are exemplified in the debate between Bartolomé de las Casas and Juan Ginés de Sepúlveda (Mignolo 1995; Pagden 1982, 1995; White 1978). Yet, even as las Casas defended indigenous populations he never believed local Andean populations could govern themselves (Lamana 2008).

While the historical record is sparse for Andagua during early Spanish colonialism compared to the neighboring Colca Valley, there is documentation that the "*doctrina* of Andagua" was granted as an encomienda to Nicolas de Almazan y Leon for two lifetimes and was succeeded by his son Fabian in the sixteenth century (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]: 234; Málaga Núñez Zeballos 1994: 154). Despite documentation of this *encomienda*, *encomenderos* often had little to no involvement on the ground. For example, the Spanish identified the abundance and infrastructure in the Colca Valley with Yanquecollaguas demarcated as the encomienda of Gonzalo Pizarro, although, it is doubtful that Pizarro even visited the Colca Valley (Wernke 2010). Rather it was religious officials who had principle relations with the local communities and which could vary regionally, with officials only visiting every few months, leaving residents "to make the found world their own" (Waude Kracke in Mills 1997: 253).

Spanish colonial doctrinal settlements exemplified early Spanish colonial strategies to transform local populations and landscapes. These sites involved the construction of chapels near pre-Hispanic occupations and mapped onto the landscape creating "negotiated settlements" (Wernke 2013). At the “transconquest” site of Malata, which spans Inka and early Spanish colonial doctrinal effects through the mid-sixteenth century, archaeological research has revealed heterogeneous material assemblages. This is evident in the presence of European Nueva Cádiz glass beads associated with multiple contexts, including a possible local *kuraka* residence and burial disinterment (Menaker 2016; Wernke 2011, 2013). Straddling policies and strategies of accommodation and erasure to craft imperial subjects in Andagua, we can see the fundamental tensions of colonial projects of conversion that confronted the immutability and variability of local practices and the material landscape (Durston 2007; Wernke 2007a, 2007b). While there are no abandoned sites that are diagnostic of early Spanish colonialism in Andagua, there are several chapels that articulate with the pre-Hispanic and regional landscape that suggest early Spanish colonial projects. Local residents continued to inhabit pre-Hispanic settlements throughout the valley, with Andagua Antiguo as a significant late pre-Hispanic occupation at the time of the Spanish invasion that would become a locus of Spanish colonial authorities.

At the southwestern edge of the large site of Quisguarani and just north of the contemporary town of Andagua, there is a chapel dedicated to *San Antonio de Padua*, the patron saint of llama herders (*llameros*) and muleteers (*arrieros*), which the community identifies as being of deep colonial antiquity. A stone staircase leads to an open-air plaza with a small chapel, similar to other early Spanish colonial designs (Graham 2011). The present absence of the site of Quisguarani, as discussed, brings into sharp relief the unfolding historical process of local relations with expanding states and the transformation of imperial institutions that are mediated locally. The stone paths and

stonewall patio enclosures would continue to serve for regional trade routes and pastoral practices. While archaeological evidence supports the construction of Quisguarani during Inka state expansion, it has been a fixture of the landscape longer than Inka rule. Anthropological, historical and archaeological evidence yield foundational insight into the shifting imperial institutions and enduring and emerging regional networks and cultural practices, manifest in familiar and unfamiliar material culture, livestock and commercial lifeways, that would create new loci of tensions under Spanish colonialism (Kennedy and VanValkenburgh 2015).

Figure 6.2: Stone steps and *Capilla de San Antonio de Padua*

To the southeast, at the eastern edge of the contemporary town of Andagua another feature marks the tangled legacies of Inka and Spanish colonialism in the local landscape. A chapel for the *Virgen de Asunción* is located on top of a large platform structure (probable *ushnu*) that overlooks Andagua Antiguo and is oriented towards the large lava flows of Ninamama across the valley. Dedicated to the Virgin Mary, this is a principal chapel, central to contemporary religious festivals and rituals and also features prominently in local social memories. In Victor Lázaro Julluyje's folk account of the valley, he describes with great pride how Charles V himself anointed this chapel for construction, marking the founding of the contemporary town of Andagua. Today

the chapel sits across from the bullring which has become a defining feature of recent and contemporary ritual festivals (and identity) (see also Poole 1987).

After more than a decade of Spanish civil wars and varying uncertainty extending through the Andes, and while not unprecedented, the Toledan reforms of the 1570's mark a crystallization in the Spanish colonial project (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]; Mumford 2012; VanValkenburgh 2012). Toledo's tenure was marked by more formalized colonial efforts, institutions and policies, exemplified by the *tasa general* (colonial census and tribute levy), the *corregidor de indios*, and the program of *reducciones*, involving the forced resettlement of indigenous people into urbanized grid settlements (Mumford 2012: 64). The *corregidor de indios* was a new colonial position whose jurisdiction and direct authority was far more expansive than other colonial administrators, often including several *repartimientos*. In the case of the Andagua, this included nearly all of the territory of Kuntisuyu with the region's *corregidor* based in Arequipa, a multiple-day hike over the mountains, a distance of authority that created opportunities and tensions in Andagua throughout Spanish colonialism (Julien 1991; Mumford 2012: 64; Salomon 1987).

The program of *reducciones* was explicitly tied to evangelization, as the urban grid settlements were considered the most appropriate means to convert indigenous subjects and to move them away from their local shrines and "idolatrous" practices, including ancestor veneration (Abercrombie 1998; Gose 2008; MacCormack 1991; Mumford 2012). The contemporary town of Andagua has a pronounced grid plan and was constructed as a Spanish colonial *reducción*, with the forced resettlement of local people into nucleated settlements, centered around a plaza, church and municipal building. The program of *reducciones* was an attempt to reconfigure Andean space and time (serving as a "technique of amnesia"), and was a struggle over burials and subjectivities (Abercrombie 1998; Gose 2008; VanValkenburgh 2012, 2015). Rather than have the recently

deceased placed in the hierarchy of Andean *wak'as* that dotted the landscape, under Spanish colonial rule bodies were to be located in the church with the power of the cosmos located in the central plaza (Gose 2008; Ramos 2010).

The program of *reducciones* had varying consequences with many *reducciones* still occupied today, yet other *reducciones* were abandoned, often because they were unsustainable due to factors such as environmental conditions (Gade and Escobar 1982; Rice 2012; Van Buren 1993; VanValkenburgh 2012; Wernke 2017). The historical record reveals a discordant cacophony of voices, allowing for malleable and contradictory interpretations. On one hand, sources claimed the efficacy and success of Spanish colonial authority in the Andes, while others testified to the persistence and continued discoveries of "religious errors" and "idolatry" among Andean communities. Nearly everyone lamented the limits of Spanish colonial rule as Andean people avoided the colonial towns and remained in pre-Hispanic settlements, eluding tribute collectors and fleeing the gaze of colonial officials (e.g. Doyle 1989; Duviols 1986, 2003; Málaga 1989). At the time of Toledo's late sixteenth–century census, the *visita* documented "2,082 residents; 547 native tributaries (*indios tributaries*), 120 elderly or exempt tributaries (*viejos e impedidos de tributo*), 537 boys under seventeen (*muchachos de diecisiete años abajo*), 1,078 women of all ages and states (*mujeres de todos edades y estados*)" (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]: 234). However, the documents do not mention where people lived or provide any further details of life in the valley, listing the *visita* as "Andagua y Chachas" to indicate the *repartimiento* that joined the separate region of Chachas with Andagua (Cook et al. 1975 [1582]: 234). Expanding beyond the historical record, archaeological research in the Andagua Valley presents foundational insight into local populations' social practices during Spanish colonialism manifest in a range of features and material culture that marked and circulated the emergent historical landscape.

Though it is not known precisely when the *reducción* of Andagua was established, its continuous occupation and historical relationships with the surrounding landscape exemplifies the uneven Spanish colonial project as it was mediated by local relationships of power and practice (Wernke 2013). The *reducción* of Andagua was not built upon a *tabula rasa* and was constructed to the northwest of Andagua Antiguo and in between the space of the site of Quisguarani and chapel of San Antonio de Padua. The extent to which the *reducción* affected any previous pre-Hispanic structures is unclear, although residents mention how in building foundations for their properties throughout town they often recover pre-Hispanic and Inka artifacts. The plaza of the *reducción* practically articulates with Andagua Antiguo as the southeast edge of the plaza leads into the winding ravines and terraced fields of what would become Old Andagua. Local residents would continue to inhabit the pre-Hispanic occupation of Andagua Antiguo, while also occupying the Spanish colonial *reducción*.

The grid pattern of the *reducción* belies its heterogeneous landscape composed of residential structures and properties of varying ages, sizes and occupation statuses (abandoned, occupied and re-purposed) and multiple uses as corrals and agricultural fields. Through intensive survey and test-pit excavations, the project recovered a range of artifacts from pre-Hispanic and Inka artifacts to non-local post-contact ceramics of tin-enamel glazed *majolica*, wheel thrown storage vessels *botijas* and nineteenth-century transfer-print whiteware (see e.g. Goggin 1960; Jamieson 2001; Weaver 2015). The project further documented and recovered an extensive collection of regional green-glazed ceramics, decorated and undecorated earthenware that occur in a range of forms and styles (see figure 6.3 and appendix). Green-glazed wares – covering a range of yellow, green to nearly black glazes on regional earthenware – are one of the most ubiquitous artifacts recovered, and occur in a variety of forms, which include pitchers (*vasijas*),

bowls (*cuencas*), cups (*tazas*), sizes, and styles (appliques). While they have been documented from early Spanish colonialism, the earliest dates of local production of green-glazed wares is unclear for the region (VanValkenburgh 2012). Glazed ceramics are mentioned in the eighteenth-century court case with their production in Cusco (discussed below). Today the majority of green-glazed and earthenware ceramics are regionally produced in the nearby communities of Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca located north towards Orcopampa. Artifact distribution did not conform to a clear dichotomy of European/Indigenous space, but rather reflects a heterogeneous assemblage of places and identities manifest in the landscape.

Majolica, exposed from wall fall (n=7), was recovered along the path from the plaza of the *reducción* to Andagua Antiguo as well as in other locations throughout the valley (see figure 6.3 and appendix). Descending further into Andagua Antiguo, in a patio of a contemporary residence sits a broken Inka *aríbalo* with a zoomorphic applique next to green-glazed ceramics and other material culture used through the present. In Andagua Antiguo, several properties and structures are occupied through the present alongside late pre-Hispanic remains, while others were recently abandoned. Bull horns protrude from the exterior wall of one abandoned structure, strewn throughout the interior are large cooking pots and storage vessels (*ollas* and *cántaros*) smaller green-glazed pitchers (*vasijas*) and glass bottles, most likely used for the production and storage of *chicha* (and possibly *aguardiente*). While pre-Hispanic material culture and practices continued, there emerged a wide range of novel material culture, with this structure and its contents nearly definitively post-contact, it is a challenge to distinguish Spanish colonial and Republican era ceramics with many of these artifacts used today or only recently abandoned. The valley has been made and remade through time with archaeological evidence offering a critical lens into humans' relationships with the landscape and formations of identity.

Figure 6.3: Post-contact Ceramics: green-glazed pitcher (*vasija*) with leaf applique; (top right) majolica plate found in the reducción of Andagua; (bottom right) large broken storage vessel (cantaro) used for storing chicha documented at the base of a terrace wall in the main valley. (bottom right) Majolica fragment found on path between Soporo and Andagua.

The program of *reducción* was not bound to the site but, as mentioned, a universal endeavor that encompassed the entire regional landscape. The land beyond the *reducción*, defined by *wak'as, llaqtas*, and *apus*, was not a timeless mythical landscape but emergent through active social and historical realities that shaped local Andean cultural practices and beliefs. Spanish imperialism could not escape the local characteristics and histories of the people and landscape,

which at the same time both legitimized and undermined it. Moving beyond the *reducción*, Spanish colonial efforts to convert the landscape and its residents are evident in the presence of crosses that scatter the valley and articulated with a range of features, including pre-Hispanic occupations, mortuary structures and paths. The intersections of ritual and labor formed contested places and landscapes.

Figure 6.4: The cross of Chahui articulates with a stone path at the edge of Andagua Antiguo that leads into the terraced valley. During the course of the project, the cross was replaced with a concrete one.

At the edge of the site of Andagua Antiguo, a platform with a cross articulate with a pre-Hispanic stone path that descends east into the main valley. The terraced valley and distinct toothed mountain silhouette of the Chila range, including Wachalanka, stands across the valley, as a backdrop to the cross. Nearly all the crosses documented in the valley are adorned by the local

community and face town rather than outwards towards the surrounding mountains. Literally and metaphorically these crosses serve as markers and borders incorporating indigenous people into both the Christian fold and Spanish empire. Though their antiquity is difficult to determine, they are important indices of how Spanish colonialism sought to transform the landscape and cultural practices, and reflect the dialectical relationships among Spanish colonial efforts and local populations (Chase 2015). In total the project identified fourteen crosses scattered throughout the valley. These included a cross overlooking Andagua and its cemetery in line with its urban grid pattern, a cross adjacent to a stone path located at the edge of the site of Quisguarani, another on top of one of the Twin Volcanoes (Los Mellizos) and others articulating with stone paths, contemporary roads, pre-Hispanic sites and mortuary features, such as Soporo, Paccareta, and Antaymarca (see figure 5). Broken regional ceramics and candles are often found at the base of crosses, with ancient stone discs documented at the base of the cross at Paccareta. The project also documented crosses on the top of thatched roofs.[23]

The archaeological evidence offers an important foil to historical claims of local populations returning to *llaqtas* to flee tribute and the Spanish colonial gaze, mentioned in the court case, as well as, a broader claim in the Andes, refining our understandings of the dynamic relations local populations had with the surrounding landscape (Mills 1997). Beyond the continued

[2] Crosses and large ceramic vessel fragments located on thatched roofs are documented throughout the region. Anthropologist Peter Gose (1994) conducting research in the Southern Peruvian Andes observed in his ethnography "when I asked people why the cross was put on the crest line of the roof, the only detailed answer I got was that it was put there to ward off "flying heads' (Spanish *cabezas voleadores*, Quechua *uma phawa* or *qepqe*)" (Gose 1994: 81). In the case of Andagua, I primarily received a response invoking the explanation of tradition or merely functional, to hold the paja down. Perhaps all are true, but nonetheless they reflect the irrevocable effects of Spanish colonialism.

[3] It is important to note the contrast of the house structure – a symbol of the combined social networks of a husband-wife pair – and those that bound the community and may distinguish the lands of its *ayllu*. Moreover, the distribution of labor between men and women extends to agricultural labor and ritual practices. This is evident in how women are responsible for preparing food and drink while men often hold institutional positions of power (Allen 2002). It is a goal of the project beyond the dissertation to carry out further interviews with women in the community.

occupation of the pre-Hispanic site of Andagua Antiguo, articulating with the *reducción*, the pre-Hispanic settlements and proximate agricultural infrastructure of Soporo, Antaymarca (Upper and Lower), Paccareta, Pumajallo, Tauca and Quisguarani were marginalized or abandoned with little evidence of continuous, intensive inhabitation during Spanish colonialism. Late pre-Hispanic sites, such as Quisguarani and Tauca, exhibit post-contact contexts, with post-contact regional ceramics and non-local *botijas* recovered during survey and excavations indicating their use as refuges for agro-pastoral practices (and continuing to the present). Throughout subsequent generations, there occurred a production of new inhabitations in the landscape and introduction of distinct material culture, including local populations' incorporation of manufacturing methods and aesthetics (e.g. Kelloway et al. 2018; Kennedy and VanValkenburgh 2015; Menaker 2016, 2019; VanValkenburgh et al. 2015; Wernke 2011). Today there are small annexes near the sites of Soporo and Pumajallo and agricultural fields surrounding Paccareta and Tauca were repurposed throughout the 20th century. Several households have chosen to live primarily in fieldhouses located throughout the valley, although some still retain property in Andagua.

Despite the *reducción* program resettlement, archaeological evidence highlights the dynamic relations local populations had with the surrounding valley landscape. This is manifest in a complex patchwork that embodies the history of agricultural construction, maintenance and abandonment across the valley. With agricultural fields far from the *reducción* still in use while terraces next to the contemporary town of Andagua can be abandoned, distance from the *reducción* was only one factor in the abandonment or continued maintenance of fields (Murphy 2017). Terrace abandonment cannot be reduced to demographic collapse but depends on a range of factors that can lead to agricultural de-intensification (Wernke 2010). Moreover, it is difficult to chronologically identify when fields and terraces were abandoned, or rehabilitated; it might only

take a few generations to transform a field – either from abandonment or fallow to fertile field, or vice versa (Murphy 2017).[4] Moreover, we should not assume continued land tenure patterns. In Andagua, property has been appropriated, claimed and distributed in a range of ways since Spanish colonialism and through the present.

Figure 6.5: Abandoned field houses in the main valley (above: site AND-20; left: site AND-44)

[4] For instance, several areas of agricultural infrastructure and archaeological occupations throughout the valley were abandoned and recently maintained during the 20th century, this includes the sites of Paccareta, Pumajallo and Tauca.

Figure 6.6: Contemporary field house in the main valley

Figure 6.7: Probable post-contact field refuge (site AND-51) built into the lava flow at the edge of terraced valley

As local populations in the Andagua Valley shifted settlement patterns, the construction of stand-alone structures in agricultural fields mark one effect of Spanish colonialism and a post-*reducción* landscape. While there exist isolated pre-Hispanic structures, most likely Late Horizon Inka construction built in agricultural fields, there were not as many substantial field houses in the pre-Hispanic landscape of the Andagua Valley. Local populations inhabited decentralized agglutinated settlements (*llaqtas*) and dedicated cultivating the surrounding fields and local resources (and before the Spanish the valley was subject to Inka state institutions). The production

of fieldhouses and local residents' relations with the surrounding landscape cannot be reduced to a singular event, such as the construction of the reducción of Andagua, but results from a series of historical processes and activities. The construction of fieldhouses and local residents' interactions with the surrounding landscape was an on-going process in the face of Spanish colonial projects (discussed in previous chapters). In many cases, the stones used for the construction of these structures and walls among fields are from pre-Hispanic occupations.[5] While noting their probable post-*reducción* construction, it is stubbornly difficult to specifically chronologically identify them based upon architecture styles.

The structures local residents have constructed in the surrounding fields vary in type and extent throughout the valley, from compounds of multiple gabled stone and mortar buildings (approx. 3-5m x 7-12m) to informal stone masonry (*pirqa*) structures and lean-tos that incorporate the local landscape and pre-Hispanic features. Local inhabitants use a variety of features to protect themselves from the elements, such as rock outcrops and pre-Hispanic agro-mortuary features, which have been repurposed to store materials to coordinate and carry out agricultural work (discussed in previous chapters as well). The field houses, refuges and agro-mortuary structures currently exist in a range of conditions, exemplifying varying historical abandonment and occupation. Moreover, while field houses, refuges and agro-mortuary structures are abandoned, many field houses are still occupied (or recently constructed) with most people residing in the town of Andagua, though several households have chosen to primarily live in their fieldhouses (while still possibly retaining property in Andagua). And in several cases, the field houses were

[5] It is important to keep in mind how everything from the division of fields to the movements through fields have been irrevocably transformed since Spanish colonialism. Most recently the valley has been transformed with the construction of roads, cutting across old stone footpaths and archaeological remains. Canals have also been converted into being made into cement as people observe how the landscape is porous (due to its volcanic geology). The project also often observed canals lined with plastic or even aluminum/corrugated roofing in an apparent effort to mitigate seepage into the ground.

only recently abandoned (within a generation). Sweatpants covered in spider webs lay sprawled next to stone tools, plastic and broken ceramics. The project did not document any contemporaneous inhabitation with ancestral remains; ancestors remain as present absences. [6] It is important to acknowledge that much of our archaeological endeavor of recovering the past is because of the consequences of Spanish colonialism.

Field houses and features are associated with a range of post-contact artifacts, the majority of which are regionally produced in Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca, such as *vasijas* (pitchers) and *cantaros* (large serving vessels), and many of which are used through recent past and contemporary. Green glazed wares, in particular, are one of the most ubiquitous artifacts recovered and while they have been documented from early Spanish colonialism their use is primarily indicative of the recent past and Republican era (discussed below) (Van Valkenburgh 2012; Van Valkenburgh et al. 2015). Relatively few archaeological collections have been produced that document sequences and patterns of mid-late Spanish colonialism and continuing through to the present (Kelloway et al. 2018; Rice 2013; Weaver 2015). The project identified a range of post-contact artifacts produced regionally as well as non-local materials that reflect novel social and commercial exchanges as well as enduring relations and practices, and reflect the generative potentials and contradictions of colonialism and forms of identity.

Artifacts are found in the *reducción* as well as extending along pre-Hispanic stone paths that radiate throughout the valley and act as veins connecting and pulsing resources and shaping identities that continued to be used through Spanish colonialism and the contemporary Peruvian

[6] It was uncanny collecting these remains, as you could feel the tug of the present and past (e.g. Buchli and Lucas 2001; Dawdy 2011; Fabian 1983). These types of material culture are still used and most people identify them as to belonging to their *abuelos* (grandparents), though how far past the history and how many generations is not usually clear. This generational awareness and limits thereof are revealing and provide an important lens for understanding the production and limits of social memories.

republic. These artifacts include a range of ceramics from tin-enamel *majolica* and wheel-thrown storage vessels (*botijas*) as well as transfer print indicative of probable early Republican contexts (Weaver 2015). During Spanish colonialism, the Andagua region would continue as a critical crossroads for trade, though transporting new materials, wine, spirits, wools, dye and other commercial products and material culture, with muleteers (*arrieros*) in addition to llama herders (*llameros*) (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012; Weaver 2015). One of these pre-Hispanic paths leads from Andagua Antiguo (and disappears with the *reducción* of Andagua) and continues at the northern edge of town traversing the site of Quisguarani. The stone path fades and re-appears for several kilometers north of Andagua and beyond the site of Quisguarani. Quisguarani would then be mentioned in the 18th century court case as the name of a cave with a ritual shrine housing a mummy named Cuyagmama ("loving mother" in Quechua), and to whom Gregorio Taco was alleged to make offerings dedicated to the apparent continuation of ancestor veneration stop along the regional trade network of roads and beyond the *reducción*.

A Snapshot of Spanish Colonial Andean Subjects and Landscapes

By the mid-eighteenth-century, Andean residents of Andagua were characterized by Spanish colonial sources as "haughty," independent, and with a "reputation of housing innumerable witches" whose "black arts" stoked fear among "Hispanic" residents (Salomon 1987: 150-154). Despite Spanish colonial discourses of epistemological prejudices that marginalize indigenous societies with narrative tropes of drunkenness, superstition and idolatry, such as flying witches and sorcery, it is possible to read against the grain in light of growing research in Andagua and elsewhere (e.g. de la Puente Luna 2007; Estenssoro 2003; Millones 1990; Stoler 2010). As mentioned, these *visitas* and court proceedings were exercises in state power that did not occur as

neatly as they appear in historical form. They constituted a jarring, often violent, encounter with local communities, composed of multiple events and encounters (Abercrombie 1998). The court case for Andagua was no exception and unfolded throughout several years, involving a series of efforts from colonial officials to not only acquire tribute, but to destroy local Andean cultural practices, and most centrally re-assert authority and subjugation of local Andean communities. This research is indebted to the work of several ethnohistorians whom have studied the court case, usually working with Takahashi's digital transcription (Marsilli 2005; Marzal 1988; Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). The remainder of this chapter offers a brief summary of the court case with an archaeological perspective attending to how identities came to form through a web of meaning and authority emergent in the material production of assemblages, places and landscapes.

Several scholars have examined the court case, constituting the majority of academic research and attention to Andagua's history. Manual Marzal, a priest and anthropologist, was a pioneering scholar who brought attention to the court case and offered initial interpretations of Andagua's historical record and significance. Despite Marzal's pioneering work, his writing on Andagua often paints local Andean identities in broad generalizing strokes and reify a European and indigenous dichotomy often leading to unidirectional analyses. In recent years, a history student, Yukyko Takahashi, from the Pontificia Universidad de Católica del Peru (in Lima) took on the task of additional historical research and analyses surrounding the court case and offering an invaluable transcription of the court case. She points out how some of the dates do not necessarily correspond, nor, as mentioned, the court case does not unfold like a neat packaged historical narrative telling a neat chronological, linear history.

Events in Andagua also echoed other movements and perspectives sweeping the colonial Americas. Yet in some cases these were considered "historically unthinkable" and are

continuously marginalized as they reveal enduring tensions of historical colonial power inequities and contemporary nation-state politics (Buck-Morss 2009; Trouillot 1995). Historical studies of late Spanish colonialism and Bourbon reforms that strive to account for social relations and anticolonial expressions in the eighteenth–century Andes analyze the political and economic aspects of the extractive tribute economy as it was more strongly enforced and disruptive, reflecting a turn towards more direct and central colonial administrations (Fisher 2003; O'Phelan 2012). Other scholars emphasize social geography, ideology and political culture and examine class and ethnic relations (Garrett 2005; Serulnikov 2003; Thomson 2003; Walker 2014). After more than 200 years of varied and indirect colonial rule, manifest in the "Republic of Indios," a multiethnic and decentralized state, local Andagua residents became not just accepting, but willing colonial subjects. Yet, how local Andean residents understood and acted in the colonial panorama often challenged and exceeded Spanish colonial intentions and programs legitimizing the imperial project (Serulnikov 2013; Thurner 1997). Andagua exemplifies how identity and relations of power are inseparable.

In 1751, spurred by recent Bourbon reforms, the Spanish colonial Corregidor of Kuntisuyu, General Joseph de Arana traveled to Andagua claiming years of unpaid tribute that was due to the crown. Soon after, assuming his meeting a success, Arana received news from the "interim cacique," Carlos Tintaya, that "ex-cacique" Gregorio Taco, a reputed leader of idolatrous ancestor shrines, had renewed anti-tribute agitation (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012: 123 [1748–1755 f. 49v-50r]). The community was not monolithic nor did identities fissure across lines of Andean or Spanish, with the court case involving a range of actors and witnesses espousing competing interests and claims. Ancestor cults were not limited to Gregorio Taco, but involved several other lineages, including the Tintayas, with the locations of shrines identified throughout the valley and

associated with volcanoes (and *wak'as*) such as Jenchaña ("*Quenchaña*") (Takahashi 2012: 99 [1748–1755 f. 18r]). The local priests (*curas doctrineros*) in Andagua and nearby villages were not leading accusers in the "idolatry" cases. They claimed to have no knowledge of the idolatrous practices, rather lamenting the weakness of church and state control of the region (Salomon 1987: 152). Gregorio Taco was, at the same time, patron (*mayordomo*) of the *Virgen de la Asunción* (the chapel at the edge of town) and friends with the local parish priest, Joseph Delgado, who supposedly also assisted him when he sought refuge from Spanish colonial authorities (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012: 141 [1748–1755 f.69v]).

Charges were leveled against the former cacique Gregorio Taco. Caught in surprise when colonial officials attempted to arrest him, Gregorio Taco and his wife reportedly cried out in Aymara, although, the majority of residents spoke Spanish and Quechua, and continuing to the present, thus reflecting the complex mosaic of identities and interactions in the Andes. Subsequently, neighbors in support of the Tacos ran out into the streets exclaiming their anger at the Spanish soldiers, including throwing rocks from slings at them, and threatening with "ethnic hatred," calling the soldiers "moors" (Salomon 1987: 151; Takahashi 2012: 86 [1748–1755, f. 8r]). While not an overt rebellion, informed by segmentary forms of authority overlapping with notions of a decentralized colonial authority (jural plurality), local residents rejected Spanish colonial authorities asserting that only the Viceroy could judge Taco. Axes of resistance were forged by Taco's status as leader of the shrine and successful merchant, with Taco supposedly inspiring awe and fear among the community (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). In the anxious colonial panorama, a complex politics of difference and authority filled this encounter with confusion, ambivalence and violence. Spanish colonial authorities escaped, marking the beginning of a multi-year proceeding that encompassed the region from communities in the Upper Majes west of

Coropuna, such as Chuquibamba, Pampacolca and Viraco and across the Andagua Valley, from Ocropampa to Chachas and Ayo (Takahashi 2012).

The following year, Spanish colonial officials carried out interviews with residents of the local community and across the region, creating a detailed record providing unparalleled historical detail into late colonial Andean life in the Andagua Valley. Yet their expressed purpose to learn about local Andean cultural practices in order to convert and destroy is manifest in the prejudiced historical record, which requires continued critical awareness. Facing the "dilemma of terminology" it is effective to make note how the term "mummy" does not appear in the historical court case, but has been widely used in historical analyses of it (Mills 1997; Takahashi 2012; see Heaney 2018 for historical discussion of the term). In the historical court case of Andagua, the remains are referred to as *cadaver* or *cuerpo*, sometimes accompanied by the words, *difunto*, *gentil*, or *infidel* (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). The shrines were called *mochadero*, stemming from the polysemic term *mochar* (the Hispanicization of *muchhani* or *muchhaycuni*), which means to thank, revere, and adore and has been associated with *wak'as* elsewhere throughout the Andes – integral to the performance of subjectification and authorization (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012: 7; see also Kosiba 2015: 188).

The historical record leaves an uncertain account with varying interpretations of the specific (genealogical) relationships among residents and the human remains and their antiquity (Marsilli 2005; Takahashi 2012). Gregorio Taco at first claimed no relation to the human remains and stated that he accidently came across them while chasing after one of his caravan mules, and only made an offering that one time he first encountered the remains. While later after being subjected to torture at the hands of Spanish officials, he acknowledged his relationship with the remains stretched back nearly twenty years (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). Ramon Sacasqui, a

forastero, said he was brought into the "ancestor cult" nearly a dozen years before, since participating in additional ritual practices dedicated to the remains after Taco had taken pity on his suffering. This demonstrates how Taco's "ancestor cult" was not necessarily determined by genealogical descent (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012: 169 [1748–1755 f. 101r–102v]). Sacasqui recalled that when he first encountered the Tacos, in the hills outside of the town of Andagua, "they were going to see a saint" whose advice and blessings they sought before "taking care of work" – traveling on their regional journeys (Takahashi 2012: 97 [1748–1755 f. 15v-16r]). Beyond a narrow entrance inside the caves, the silent ancestors were seated and dressed in "*uncus*" holding pitchers (*limetas de losa*) for *chicha*, wine, aguardiente, coca and surrounded by other "garbage" ("*porqueria*"), including ancient painted stone discs, serving as continued reciprocity for current and future health and livelihoods (Takahashi 2012: 90–97, 192 [1748–1755 f. 11r – 17r, 119r]).

Taco attributed his prosperity to his relationship with the deceased remains at his family's ("*linaje*") shrine ("*mochadero*"), saying that they "gave him wealth and happiness," such as Cuyagmama, the "pious, caring mother that gives" (Takahashi 2012: 168–170, 192 [1748–1755 f. 101r–102v, 118v]).[7] The deceased ancestors, present witnesses of the past, were links among people and the earth; as Salomon states, "[mummies] are the progeny of earth and reside in the openings of the earth, but they are also the progenitors of living people and apical members of local society. Through their mediations sacrifices go to earth, and wealth comes out of earth" (Salomon 1987: 159). Responsible for facilitating the flow of wealth from the earth to people and back again via the mediation of ancestors, Gregorio Taco's role as a major shrine priest contributed to the antitribute activism. In Andagua, questions of life, wealth and power underpinned residents' claims of resistance to state authorities from Arequipa (Salomon 1987: 162).

[7] Technically, *cuyag* (or *khuyaq*) means caring mother and connotes an affective ally.

While there is varied speculation about the continued uses or disuse of the painted tablets and discs during Spanish colonialism, the historical record in Andagua provides invaluable evidence and insight into their continued uses and shifting significances of the "painted stones" ("*piedras pintadas*") (Faron-Bartels 2011: 92–93; Jennings 2003; Takahashi 2012). In the court case, witnesses describe how the "*gentiles*" call the painted stones "*mollo*," which not only means "circle" in Quechua but is a multivalent term that is suffused with ritual significances across the Andes (and has been used to refer to *Spondylus* shells and glass beads) (Blower 2000; Menaker 2011, 2016). The painted stone discs were described as part of a ritual, invoking the Lord's Prayer, responsible for the celestial forces in the sky, with life and death consequences. A witness recounted the ritual performed by a *curandero* claiming,

> the favor of luck in the star science of the sky... that make the stars fall towards the birth of the sun [ensuring] life and governing the pueblo of Andagua, [but he noted that] if the sun fails to rise, you will die... To lower the stars, the *curandero* would take out coca herb from a sack and some painted stones (*piedras pintadas*) of the *gentilidad* that are called *mollo*, supplicating and waving them while reciting the Lord's Prayer (*padrenuestro*) (Takahashi 2012: 264 [1748–1755 f. 181r]). [8]

Ritual practices in the Andagua Valley exemplify how life and death matter hybrid places and assemblages that are not reducible to abstract identities (e.g. Keane 2007).

The accounts refer to the presence of "*losa*" and "*limetas de losa*," "*cántaros*," "*jarras*" used for (*chicha*) offerings dedicated to the ancestral remains. The term *losa* is broadly refers to glazed and vitrified post-contact material culture (ranging from tin-enamel ware, porcelain, whiteware) and *limeta* references a form of pitcher, most likely referring to what the project

[8] "Y a todo se halló presente María Collocollo muger de este confesante que no hubo otra persona y que para haser vaxar dichas estrellas el dicho Lorenso Carachi sacó la yerba de la coca de una talega y unas piedras pintadas de la gentilidad que llaman mollos y soplando con estas al ayre resando el padrenuestro y avería [sic] hizo todo lo expresado y a este confesante le enseñó que en adelante hiziera lo mesmo quando se viese en algún conflicto [181r] (p. 264 Takahashi).

identified as the green-glazed pitchers (*vasijas* or *jarras*) (Takahashi 2012). In the court case the *limetas* are identified as coming from Cuzco, contrasting with their ubiquitous production in Chilcaymarca and Chapacoco; it is possible that the Spanish officials misidentified the provenience of the ceramics, nor does this preclude the possibility that there were areas of regional ceramic production in the valley crafting green-glazed ceramics during Spanish colonialism (Bingham 1915). Spanish colonial authorities made several efforts to raid properties of the Tacos and indigenous residents, resulting in varying consequences, revealing the limits and effects of state power as well as producing multiple inventories of materials (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). The few inventories of goods acquired from these raids included blankets local and non-local, with handkerchiefs from Great Britain, and local "*lliglas*" [*llikllas*] and *uncus,* belt buckles, coca and domestic materials (Takahashi 2012: 137–141 [1748–1755 f. 67v – 69v])

In October 1752, the Corregidor Arana sent a larger force of 150 armed men as well as local authorities from neighboring valleys "being necessary for the total discovery and destruction of the shrines as well as capture and punishment for the abominable crime of idolatry" (Takahashi 2012: 191 [1748–1755 f. 117r–118v]). To locate the caves and remains of Cuyagmama "in the place called Quisguarani," along with several other shrines, "the force took along Carlos Tintaya and Ramon Sacasqui as prisoner-guides" (Salomon 1987: 155; Takahashi 2012: 191 [1748–1755 f. 117r – 118v]). The Corregidor requested that indigenous residents remove the bodies, but with "utmost repugnance, and even under the coercion of punishment, local indigenous residents refused to touch the remains," thus the local "Hispanic" ("*español*") population carried out the proceedings (Takahashi 2012: 191 [1748–1755 f. 118v]). After removing the remains, the Corregidor covered the caves with stones, made a sign of the cross and instructed his soldiers to place an actual cross. The colonial force paraded the human remains back to the plaza of Andagua

whereupon the silent ancestors were ordered to be hanged for several days. The bodies and belongings were subsequently burned, their ashes deposited in a distant lake. The “spectacle” caused “grave consternation and melancholy” among the indigenous residents (Salomon 1987: 155–156; Takahashi 2012: 191–192 [1748–1755 f. 118r–120v]). Spanish colonial forces continued throughout the valley destroying ancestor shrines and pre-Hispanic structures.

Gregorio Taco was subsequently tortured and after multiple interviews he acknowledged that he had held shrine for nearly twenty years and that it was the “custom of the town that parents instruct their children of the obligation to make tributes and sacrifices... to the first owners of this kingdom” (Takahashi 2012: 206 [1748–1755 f. 134v]). Taco repeatedly rejected the allegations of his role in the local resistance and defended his reputation as an exemplary resident of the town. The years-long proceedings had significant and enduring effects on Gregorio Taco and his family (and local residents), resulting in the destruction of property, torture, and more than a year in jail with his wife and children. It is further documented that residents were forced to pay the tribute demanded by the colonial state (Salomon 1987; Takahashi 2012). The court case, however, would eventually collapse, as charges of idolatry associated with tribute nonpayment crossed jurisdictional boundaries between church and state (Salomon 1987).

Almost one-hundred fifty years earlier during the early sixteenth-century, in the wake of extirpation trials in the central Andes region of Huarochirí, Chase notes in his archaeological history of the region how “organized collective being in the world without *wak'as* seems to have been inconceivable, which is perhaps why the absence of *wak'as* (whether stolen, lost, captured, or destroyed) is recorded as causing such grief, anxiety, and unease" (Chase 2015: 86). While Cuyagmama and the late Spanish colonial *wak’as* of Andagua were fundamentally historically (and materially) distinct from those in Huarochiri and pre-Hispanic *wak’as*, they were similarly

generators of life (and wealth) and loci of authority (e.g. Bray 2015; Salomon and Urioste 1991). The destruction of the ancestral inhabitants by Spanish colonial forces reflects how on the one hand, Spanish colonial authorities could not apprehend a world with these bodies, assemblages and places, while on the other, indigenous residents grieved a world without them. Although, significant social movements would surge throughout the Andes less than thirty years later, exemplified by José Gabriel Condorcanqui who took the name Tupac Amaru II, Andagua is not featured as a central locus of struggle in the historical record (Serulnikov 2003; Walker 2014).

On the Cusp of History

The Efficacy of Spanish Colonialism and Limits of Universal History

During the final decades of Spanish colonialism, from the late 18th century and early 19th century, colonial visitors would write about Andagua, including a colonial census carried out in 1813, less than a decade before colonial independence (in Barriga 1946; Millones 1975; Salomon 1987). Though these documents provide useful knowledge of Andagua's cultural histories, they are shrouded by epistemological prejudices, and describe a place that is backward and without history, saturated with cultural difference. While at once home to centuries of autochthonous regional developments and then a clear marker in the tapestry of the Inka Empire, Andagua and the Valley of Volcanoes, would be conceived as a backwater margin exceedingly beyond the immediate reach of Spanish colonial state power. Spanish colonial officials (and visitors through the 20th century) to Andagua comment nearly always emphasizing the distance and challenges to arriving at the valley from Arequipa, a several days walk away from the major colonial center of Arequipa in the Southern Andes. These comments would not so subtly express how the Andagua Valley and the people who lived there were without history, devoid of agency, or at least so

mistaken in their understanding of agency they were not rational modern subjects. This was evident in the material living conditions and material culture, from the straw (*paja*) thatched roofs to the unpleasant cold environment (in Barriga 1946; see also Salomon 1987).

Writing in 1813, Clemente Almonte began his colonial *visita*, composed of enumerated questions and statements, declaring that "the population of this doctrina is divided by people, this is *españoles americanos, indios* and *mestizos*" ("*poblacion de esta doctrina esta dividida de personas, esto es espanoles americanos, indios y mestizos*"), while he subsequently states in line two, "no one knows the origin of the *indios* of this *doctrina*" ("*no se sabe el origen de los indios de esta doctrina*") (AAA, legajo 1; and in Millones 1975: 54). These quotes exemplify the effects and continuing strategies of Spanish colonialism in administering regional populations. There is continued emphasis and import of regional trade and production of wool and possibly enduring cultural practices and beliefs which continue to vex Spanish colonial officials (Millones 1975). However, at the same time, we should be skeptical of the accuracy (and reality) of these colonial categories, as Almonte goes on to identify the continued use of the languages Coli and Puquina spoken throughout the region (Millones 1975). Almonte's knowledge of these languages and support for this claim are unclear, reminding us that we must not forget the limit of these colonial sources in their knowledge of the local languages, cultural practices and beliefs. Less than a decade later, the Spanish empire would cede authority to a suite of republican colonies. In the case of Andagua and the Peruvian nation-state, even the moment of its birth as a nation is a disputed historical date, straddling 1821-1824 (Klaren 1999).

On the eve of Peruvian independence it is useful to return to the agricultural landscape, fieldhouses and range of material culture, in particular green-glazed *vasijas*. As indigenous groups adopted and developed European glazing techniques with local materials during Spanish

colonialism, local and regional ceramic productions and uses would continue during the post-colonial Peruvian nation state. Ceramic production centers (involving the clay sourcing and labor) were most commonly located around Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca in the valley north of Andagua. (It is not clear if these areas were also locations for pre-Hispanic ceramic production, and clay sourcing has yet to be completed for the pre-Hispanic materials).

Most distinctively and ubiquitously there are pitchers (*vasijas*) that are used for drinking *chicha* among communal labor activities, especially fieldwork. *Chicha*, a low alcoholic and sustaining corn beverage, is a staple among labor projects in the Andes and following millennia of corn beer consumption at a range of events, intimate to state festivals. The *vasijas* are filled with *chicha* with one individual drinking the entire vessel clean before refilling it and passing it onto another individual. These *vasijas* are primarily found out in the fields and used for collective labor activities/work parties (*faena*) where the owner of the field enlists help from a cadre of relatives and friends to complete necessary field work – such as tilling, planting or harvesting. There are also larger vessels and pitchers (*cántaros*) that are used for storing and transporting large amounts of *chicha*, and are also produced in Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca. These *vasijas* can be simple, undecorated with only glazes, while many exist with an array of surface finishes. These are appliques that appear with leaves and other appliques. In total, the project recovered and collected 15 whole *vasijas*, while documenting more than 100 throughout regional survey. Moreover, the *vasijas* were only one type of ceramic form that appeared in similar ceramic paste style and composed a broader set that included teacups, and bowls of varying sizes.

There is one *vasija* sample that clearly identifies and embodies local Peruvian self-identification and subjectivity (figure). It was recovered during survey and though its manufacturing date and its abandonment are unclear, these *vasijas* in many cases are still used and

have belonged to families for several generations, with a general refrain that these are passed along from the "*abuelos*" (grandparents). It is worth mentioning that grandparents can loosely characterize several generations of ancestors, though people may not trace their specific acquisition, in a way time immemorial (see also Salmon 1995, 2002). Though this *vasija* is broken, its fragmented remains offers compelling traces. There is a complex assemblage of details and appliques indicating a local yet post-colonial Peruvian state identity. Around one side of the rim are the letters "ACOCO," most likely fragments of Chap*acoco* for its location of production. Below that and above a seal (that also features a camelid), are the letters "RU," probably indicative of Peru. On the other side of the vessel located on the rim above the seal are the letters "AÑO 1". Though the complete date is lost to us, it espouses a Gregorian calendar and sense of time, and with the entire assemblage indexing modern subjects in the march of universal time.[9] At the same time, the vessel is dedicated to a range of practices and relations that both defines Peruvianness and excludes people from equal representation and justice in the contemporary nation-state (de la Cadena 2015; Salomon 2002; Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011). Thus as new material culture emerged, exemplifying novel forms of subjectivity, colonial legacies would endure and particular post-colonial systems of exploitation would emerge (Gose 1994; Poole 1987, 2004; Thurner 1997).

[9]Though the date does not assume that that was the year of the production, but still indicates socio-historical consciousness and belonging to the Peruvian state.

Figure 6.8: Green-glazed small pitcher, marking its regional and historical production and sense of belonging, indicating a post-colonial context

Chapter VII

Archaeology of Gamonalismo *and Postcolonial Contradictions*

We are all equal... Well, I would like to believe...
No, we are not equal...
Competing narratives expressed by local residents in Andagua

The *Gamonal*

The term *gamonal* derives from the name of a virtually indestructible perennial plant of the lily family, the *gamón* (asphodel). The *gamón* grows on even the harshest of soils and is sometimes classified as a 'parasitic' plant, whose flowering and propagation occurs to the detriment of its less aggressive neighbors. As a metaphor for the particular class of bilingual, bicultural, and horrendously abusive landlords it describes, this name could not be more precise.
Deborah Poole, *Landscapes of Power in a Cattle Rustling Culture of Southern Andean Peru*, 1987: 372.

Regionalism and *Gamonalismo*

Regions and provinces have clear reason when they condemn centralism, its methods and institutions. They have clear reason when they denounce an organization that concentrates in the administrative capital of the republic. But there is absolutely no reason when, fooled by the mirage, they believe decentralization enough would solve their essential problems. The *gamonalismo* in the central, unitary republic is the ally and agent of capital in the regions and the provinces. Of all the defects, of all the vices of the central regime, the *gamonal* is solidary and responsible. Consequently, if decentralization does not serve but rather locates, directly, under the dominion of the *gamonales*, the regional administration and the local regime, the replacement of one system for another does not contribute nor promise the remedy of any profound evil.
José Carlos Mariátegui, *Regionalismo y Centralismo* in *Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*, 1995 [1928]: 147 (*my own translation*).[1]

[1] *"Tienen plena razón las regiones, las provincias, cuando condenan el centralismo, sus métodos y sus instituciones. Tienen plena razón cuando denuncian una organización que concentra en la capital la administración de la república. Pero no tienen razón absolutamente cuando, engañadas por un miraje, creen que la descentralización bastaría para resolver sus problemas esenciales. El gamonalismo dentro de la republica central y unitaria, es el aliado y el agente de la capital en las regiones y en las provincias. De todos los defectos, de todos los vicios del régimen central, el gamonalismo es solidario y responsable. Por ende, si la descentralización no sirve sino para colocar, directamente, bajo el dominio de los gamonales, la administración regional y el régimen local, la sustitución de un sistema por otro no aporta ni promete el remedio de ningún mal profundo."*
José Carlos Mariátegui, *Regionalismo y Centralismo in Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*, 1928: 147

How and Why Histories Matter

In April 2016, and again in August 2019, I accompanied don Ali Lázaro to his fields in Hochopampa above and to the west of the contemporary town of Andagua, as he went to tend to his cattle in the area. We walked against the stream from Coropuna, heading out of the formal grid of the *reducción*, and into the volcanic hillside following intermittent stone paths. We passed a large earthen retention pond before arriving at the edge of don Ali Lázaro's property. He noted that one side of the reservoir was cleaned by members of Hanansaya, while the other side was the responsibility of Hurinsaya, dual moieties that stretch back to Inka antiquity. He pointed to his recently rehabilitated fieldhouse with an aluminum roof and led me to the stone foundations of a kiln, built by the *gamonal* to produce bricks for his properties. While we walked, he picked up fragments of brick that dotted the landscape, and identical to those we excavated on the *gamonal's* former property. Along the way, Don Lázaro recounted the histories of the *gamonal* family and the continued subjugation indigenous people suffered at the hands of the *gamonal* despite claims of an independent Peruvian Republic composed of equal citizens. Don Lázaro emphasized how such independence and equality was only granted to the creole community. Rather, he identified indigenous liberation marked by the Peruvian agrarian reforms set in motion by Juan Velasco in the late 1960's, with the dissolution of large landholders and lands distributed to local community members.

We continued along an irrigation canal, with water from Coropuna and Misahuana, eventually arriving at several abandoned stone gabled field houses that belong(ed) to don Lázaro's family. He traces the property and structures from the Andaguaruni and Ccollocollo lineages, with these appearing in the 18th century court case (Takahashi 2012). He also told me how the Collocollo side of his family is from the Colca Valley. Don Alí Lázaro, and his family, are some

of the indigenous residents who bought and reclaimed property from the *gamonal* family through the "*hatun queja*" ("big grievance") (de la Cadena 2015), as well as, under the agrarian reform. In the face of these historical struggles – that reflect discontinuities of landholding patterns made possible through colonial legacies of the contemporary nation-state – residents in Andagua continue to make and remake Andagua with an uneven influence of the contemporary state.

Figure 7.1: Author with don Alí Lázaro standing at his ancestor's fieldhouses

The Presence of Recent Pasts

This project juxtaposes ethnographic and archaeological research to write inclusive histories that incorporate residents' perspectives to frame past experiences. While members of the community of farmers in Andagua recounted a range of oral histories and local knowledges, people

identify the sharpest era of subjugation in the recent past, during the contemporary Peruvian state, which took on the form of what is known as *gamonalismo*. The *gamonal* was a local landlord who operated at the margins of the state and the intersections of the colonial products of race and class to exploit local populations to perpetuate a servile labor order (de la Cadena 2015; Gose 1994; Poole 1987, 2004). *Gamonalismo* has been identified across the Southern Peruvian Andes, but it has not been academically documented in Andagua. This work offers the foundations of an archaeology of *gamonalismo*, with implications beyond Andagua, and demonstrates the post-colonial contradictions of the Peruvian nation-state (Poole 1987, 2004; Thurner 1997).

The *gamonal* family household remains infamous with mention of their name leading to strong emotional evocations and memories. These memories are both visceral and economic, with a great deal of resentment directed towards the *gamonal* and the broader political system in which he flourished. Ranging from written history to chance encounters with community members, this history is a defining chapter of their local experience. The second chapter of Victor Lázaro Julluyje's history and legends of the valley begins by describing the injustices and suffering indigenous residents faced at the hand of the local *gamonal* in Andagua, writing how the land was once ruled by "*terratenientes*" (landlords) (Julluyje 2004). The project's dedication to collecting oral histories and archaeological data allowed for opportunities of conversation and listening to residents' perspectives of the local landscape and history. When walking through town, several times we listened to residents tell stories of the continued subjugation and unjust treatment at the hands of the *gamonal*.

The *gamonal* exercised power in multiple forms; intimidation, coercion, and explicit violence. Community members in Andagua, deeply affected by the past, told us stories of the physical violence and coercion carried out by the *gamonal* to appropriate property and instill an

"aura of violence" (Gose 1994; Poole 1987). Such spectacles of violence were legitimized by claims of paternalism and racism (also discussed in chapter two and chapter six) (Poole 1987; Thurner 1997). We heard accounts of family members being forced to sell property under threat of or after suffering extreme violence. The *gamonal* would hang those who resisted from an iron bar (*barra de hierro*), whipping and beating them until they would acquiesce to his demands. Recounting pained memories and punctuated by soft whimpers, a local woman shop-owner told us of her grandmother's suffering at the turn of the 19th century. To emphasize the paternalism of the *gamonal*, she recalled how he would promenade around the plaza on horseback and ensure that residents would kiss his ring finger. Indigenous residents would continue to work the land though now it was no longer their own but appropriated by the *gamonal*.

Additional accounts tell us of how residents struggled against the *gamonal* through litigation and as actors in state courts. In their efforts to claim their rights over land and property in Andagua, people would have to travel over Coropuna to Aplao and other locations where colonial and national archives and the seats of state power were located. Before the construction of a road, it was a two to three day hike over the high mountain pass of Coropuna to Aplao. Yet, Coropuna was and is a liminal space that is conceived as a perilous place. In one case, a local farmer and herder told me about the cruel hand of power his grandparents and family suffered under the gamonal, while we walked from the valley floor returning to town in the late dusk. Recounting it as the dust from the road formed a cloud kicked up by the herd of sheep we followed on the road from lower in the valley. I have heard passing accusations of assassinations carried out in the highland pass near Coropuna before people could arrive to the Majes and regional authorities to air their grievances – even the walk to grievance was a dangerous and risky undertaking. There is a lingering sense of pain that in some cases justice will never be delivered.

The accounts from Andagua echo anthropological and historical research in the Southern Peruvian Andes providing comparative cases to contribute to regional histories (de la Cadena 2015; Flores Galindo 2010; Gose 1994; Poole 1987, 2004). In striking similarity to Andagua, Marisol de la Cadena's research in Cusco – based upon conversations with collaborator, Mariano – recount the physical violence imposed upon "those who disobeyed the *hacendado* [were] hung from a pole in the center of the *casa hacienda*. They would tie you to the pole by the waist and they would whip you while you were hanging" (de la Cadena 2015: 70). De la Cadena further describes how,

> "Mariano used to refer to the struggle against the landowner with the Quechua-Spanish phrase *hatun queja* (big grievance); he labeled the related activities as *queja purichiy*, which can be translated as 'to walk the grievance' or 'to make the grievance work'... To walk the grievance or to make it work refers to the bureaucratic wheeling and dealing necessary to oversee the complaint as it enters a space – within the state – where destitute people like *runakuna* tend to disappear as subjects of rights. Walking the grievance or making it work also refers to the need to be present physically, moving the documentation to the desired direction" (2015: 72).

Despite the violence and continuing forms of exploitation, indigenous residents in Andagua continued to struggle for self-determination and justice through appealing to state institutions (in addition to engaging in local collaboration and initiatives).

Beyond indigenous residents' struggles against the *gamonal*, this chapter discusses land and water management in the 20th century as the community independently continued to maintain livelihoods and material infrastructure in the valley. A group of residents rehabilitated the agricultural infrastructure of Paccareta in the 1960s through collective organization independent of the state and before the Peruvian Agrarian reform (Mayer 2009). The terraces and landscape of Tauca offers a contrasting case with the land being purchased and rehabilitated by a regional businessman and engineer and sold to families who relocated from Puquina (in Moquegua) when

their community's water source dried up. Running into the heterogeneous present (and recent pasts) of Andagua brings into relief the limits of culture-history models that depend upon top-down periodization. Such periodization often obscures the continuities and discontinuities of local, lived realities across multiple temporal and spatial scales along with assuming an isomorphic relation of identity with material culture and settlement patterns.

National independence did not liberate indigenous Peruvians but rather entrenched rural hierarchies. Here we can note the limitations of *lo andino*, which presumes an essential subject that flattens historical differences of subjugation and tends to overlook more than a century of republican discrimination and marginalization that led up to the ethnographic present. Despite colonial independence and birth of the contemporary Peruvian Republic, an assemblage of narratives and structures of practice would perpetuate racial and socio-economic discrimination and shape local populations experiences of the transformation from "two republics to one divided" (Thurner 1997). Examining the recent past in consideration with long-term historical processes underscores fundamental claims of the contemporary nation-states, regarding issues of representation, equal rights, market access and justice. In Latin America, the nation-state embraced the mantle of an inevitable human march of progress embodied by the "creole pioneers." At the margins of state authority and grounded in the historical processes of Spanish colonialism, indigenous people entered the nation-state as "a problem;" a holdover from the past, simultaneously denied history and treated as objects of the past with no future (Mariátegui 1995 [1928]; Thurner 1997; see previous chapter). Or indigenous people are always destined to be on the cusp of history, waiting to be folded into the "modern world," beginning with writing Spanish (de la Cadena 2015; Elena García 2005; Niño Murcia and Salomon 2011).

Liberated Colony, Republic Divided and (Market) Freedom Deferred

The end of the colonial era saw claims of incorporating a universal citizenry with equality for all through their idealized access to the ("free") market economy. This was intended for "Quechua speaking Indians" to enter the growing liberal economy based on cash flow and "free market" principles (Poole 1987; Thurner 1997). Spanish colonial institutions receded from regional areas of the Peruvian Andes such as the dissolution of the office of Corregidor. Indigenous populations were freed of the obligation of the state labor tax, and lost a "particular/colonial" status, which framed the two republics of the Peruvian colonial state. However, there emerged new loci of tensions and forms of subjugation in the Southern Peruvian Andes. With declarations of equal citizenship in newly formed republican body politics, land was made alienable, available for purchase and sale and was no longer property of the crown. The market economy, distinct from *encomiendas* granted by the king could be sold and distributed in new and different ways (Poole 1987; Thurner 1997). While the "dual republics of the colonial period were more fictional and juridical than they were actual and social/ethnic" there were "real historical consequences" (Thurner 1997: 6). As the Peruvian nation-state took form, post-colonial contradictions would take root from the spectrum of socio-cultural differences wrought from history.

The founding "creole pioneers" of the independent republics of the contemporary nation-state imagined a new body politic of individual citizens whose expression was the territorial state, a collective sovereignty "unencumbered by history and above ethnicity" (Thurner 1997: 6). At the same time, indigenous people were (and continue to be) held outside the 'logos' of the state, treated as backwards in the march of history and progress of modern civilization (exemplified by the narratives presented in chapter two) (de la Cadena 2015). Indigenous people were denied history upon entry into the body politic, with "a dehistoricized past," with such views already coming to

form in Andagua exemplified by the 1813 *visita* (discussed in the previous chapter) (Thurner 1997). Indigenous people were without history (and "agency") as the violence of Spanish colonialism went unrecognized. Historical (and cultural) difference was subsumed into the march of history with indigenous people viewed as objects of history. They were props (or pictured beyond the frames) of curious ruins for antiquarian gazes and unable to contribute to the modern, contemporary world (Thurner 1997; Wolf 1982).

While European imperialism and Christian evangelization claimed Universal History, the nation-state naturalized it (de la Cadena 2015; Elena García 2005; Poole 1987, 2004; Salomon and Nino Murcia 2011; Thurner 1997). Local Andean residents were ideally encompassed in a universal project yet remained subject to an unjust system that was local and palpable. Residents in the Andagua Valley, from the local ceramic artisans to agro-pastoral laborers, understood the stakes of national sovereignty and citizenry. This is exemplified in the green-glazed pitcher self-declaring the maker's national identification, and yet at the same time beyond their reach with justice delayed and perpetuated by new and old relationships and assumptions that made *gamonalismo* possible. In her work *Earth-Beings*, Marisol de la Cadena expands upon how the *gamonal* system was bound to the contemporary nation state project. Incorporating the analysis of a local collaborator, the *gamonal* was considered the "owner of the will" (*munayniyuq*) (de la Cadena 2015: 69). According to de la Cadena, the notion of *munayniyuq* is a critique of how the modern state does not recognize *runakuna* (indigenous people) as political subjects. Indigenous people are acutely aware of how they are held outside the order of the state, viewed as illiterate objects embroiled in "a quest for translation into modern, literate subjects of the state," they have been actively underrepresented for the possibility of self (or collective) determination (de la Cadena 2015: 246-247).

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, indigenous residents in Andagua continued to participate in regional economies as muleteers and llama herders. In addition, the valley terraces continued to be important markers of familial and historical territory and livelihoods, with local farmers constructing field houses in the surrounding terraces away from the *reducción*. However, the post-colonial nation-state would create a set of new tensions and struggles over management of land and property. *Gamonalismo* in the Southern Peruvian Andes exemplifies the historical production of race and class that resulted in a socio-racial moral hierarchy, which the *gamonal* and state further reproduced (and exploited) (de la Cadena 2015; Elena García 2005). Indigenous eventually replaced the colonial category of "*indio*," but ultimately the modern state perpetuated narratives to delegitimize and marginalize native Andean cultural practices and bodies (see conclusion and Salomon 2002 for local interpretations navigating these post-colonial contradictions). The indigenous Other continued as a static, essential subject and was an empty category to project utopian and nightmarish possibilities but in any case, unable to determine their own futures (Flores Galindo 2010).

Gamonalismo and the Production of Margins

In the Southern Peruvian Andes, during the 19th century (and continuing through to the present) there was an uneven footprint of the contemporary nation-state resulting in different access to the cash economy and state institutions, despite the intention of creating an "equal economic man" (Poole 1987: 370-371). Research of *gamonalismo* critically demonstrates the socio-historical emergence and limits of "liberal" claims of "equality for all" but as "in the market place" (Poole 1987: 370–371). The state and market were limited with the emergence of the *gamonal* operating in place of state institutions and market forces. Andagua was the site of

"frontiers and margins" where despite claims of universal reach, state authority (the market and justice) was illusory and perpetuated by colonial discourses of backwardness and "a theater of violence" to uphold colonial power structures exploiting indigenous people (Poole 1988: 389). Margins are not a place but a relationship that is historically produced. Andagua became "marginalized" through the erasure of local institutions, authorities and social memories that further subjugated cultural and historical difference to the encompassing state.

The *gamonal* emerged through the interstices of the Peruvian state and its enduring colonial legacies. While similar and different post-colonial processes disenfranchised indigenous people, the *gamonal* is particularly identified in the Southern Peruvian Andes. The *gamonal* was discussed and debated through the 19th and 20th century, exemplified by early 20th century intellectual Jose Carlos Mariátegui.[2] In contrast to Spanish colonial *encomenderos*, the *gamonal* was not an absentee landowner. He was, however, still dedicated to upholding a servile agrarian labor order, often characterized as "feudal" (Flores Galindo 2010; Gose 1994; Poole 1987).

Deborah Poole's research in Chumbivilcas outside of Cusco offers important historical context for the emergence of the *gamonal*, with similarities to the oral histories of the *gamonal* in Andagua. Poole writes how even in places where indigenous people had cash to participate in the market economy, the state institutions that mediated the market (and justice) were limited in their presence. Meanwhile, *gamonales* exploited the intersecting colonial products of race and class to distinguish their social power from indigenous people, forming social networks and embracing violence to exclude indigenous people from the judicial and legal authority of the state (Poole 1987: 371). To follow, Poole, the *gamonal* contradictorily represented both "the state and the forms

[2] For Mariátegui, writing in his *Seven Essays on the Interpretation of Peruvian Reality*, race, class and the "Indian problem" were urgent concerns, with the essential "Indian farmer" embodying the socialist utopian vision that held the key to a very particular (Peruvian) yet universal (nation-state) future grounded in class struggle and working the land (see also Elena Garcia 2005).

of private, extrajudicial and criminal power that the state purportedly seeks to displace through law, citizenship and public administration" (Poole 2004: 45).

The *gamonal* lived in the community, as a *misti* (or creole) who was intimately familiar with "Indian culture" while systematically separating himself from it in order to subjugate indigenous residents (Arguedas 2007 [1968]; Gose 1994; Poole 1987, 2004). In the case of the Southern Peruvian Andes, creole identity overlapped with what was called "*mistis*" and was embodied through a performance of material culture and practices characterized as "non-Indian," such as bullfighting, speaking Spanish and displaying artifacts associated with non-local or European provenience (*majolica* and whiteware). Wielding forms of charismatic power based upon individual authority and the threat of violence, the *gamonal* embodied an ethos of rugged individualism and masculinity associated with "livestock, houses and a regional bohemian aesthetic" (Poole 2004: 43). In this way, the socio-racial hierarchy that made the *gamonal* possible extended to a class aesthetic ("regional bohemian").

This class aesthetic was based upon central assumptions of identity and material culture, re-inscribing enduring and new claims about the proper relations of humans and things. This regional bohemian aesthetic and familiarity with Andean cultural practices is evident in the material culture and commercial activities of the *gamonal* family and is manifest in the town and throughout the valley. In Andagua, I was told how the *gamonal* family came from Cusco and specialized in commerce throughout the region (transporting metal, commodities and livestock). The regional bohemian aesthetic both anticipated and was echoed by international explorers and scientists of the 20th century, such as Hiram Bingham, Robert Shippee and George Johnson, who visited the region dedicated to studying "natural histories" (see also chapter two). Historical relationships and practices became naturalized as particular value laden interpretations took on

universal authority associated with modernity and civilization based upon socio-racial moral hierarchy with real world consequences.

The Gamonal Family of Andagua[3]

According to the remaining descendant of the *gamonal* family living in Andagua, Reynan, the family moved from Cusco in the 19th century and throughout the years established themselves as the dominant local merchants.[4] There was extensive late Spanish colonial and early Republican migration into and around Peru with the construction of transportation infrastructure creating new ways of articulating status in the Andes. Similar to other accounts of the *gamonal* economy, the family specialized in commercial trade, transporting materials (including aluminum and livestock) from Orcopampa to Majes and throughout the region, relying on Old World pack animals. In addition to taking ownership of properties throughout the valley, the patriarch of the family owned several properties in the *reducción*, including two large blocks adjacent to the plaza. In the late 20th century they converted their large "Casa Grande" ("Big House") on the plaza into a hotel, now with a large sign marked, Casa Grande (see figure 7.2). [5] Today the Casa Grande currently stands shuttered through neglect with the family living in Arequipa and elsewhere, and many of the parcels of the property sold and repurposed or remain under their ownership receiving limited

[3]I do not use the *gamonal* family's name here, and only use the first name of the descendant. I also leave local residents' names anonymous, other than local collaborators who asked that I share their stories, such as don Alí and Victor Lázaro Julluyje.

[4] While it is unclear of the direct relation to the area, there were likely regional post-contact, creole kinship networks preceding the 18th century.

[5] When I first arrived to Andagua, at 3am in 2013 and disoriented, I searched for the closest sign that offered lodging. Located on the plaza, I saw a large building with a large sign labeled "*Casa Grande hostal turistico*." Unaware of local histories and desperate for lodging I went over to the large wooden entrance doors, knocking to no avail. After several minutes of failed unresponsive knocking I wandered across the plaza where a few people were lingering moments after the bus had proceeded along its way on its journey to Orcopampa and they directed me to the Hostal de los Volcanes of Don Ali Lázaro, where we stayed throughout the duration of the project (full disclosure). Additionally, it is interesting to note that the gamonal family were still present when Linares Malaga visited the Andagua Valley – he writes how they were his hosts while visiting the valley (Linares Malaga 1991).

maintenance. The Casa Grande is distinguished for its aluminum roof, which has often been remarked as one of the first in town, along with the main church on the plaza more than a century ago. Tracing the circulation of and discourses about material culture in the recent past, offers another perspective anticipating (and echoing) the accounts of the visiting explorers who wrote with confidence about the material markers of progress on an arbitrary teleological timeline.

Figure 7.2: Casa Grande of the *gamonal* on the plaza

We carried out interviews in the courtyard of the remaining property across the plaza from the Casa Grande. The compound consists of structures with decaying thatched roofs and painted plaster walls from the early 20th century.[6] The property has received little modification in the past half century. A stone canal runs through the property and was most likely used for running water and sewage. The addition of a metal spigot tied to the local source of drinking water (a spring in the mountains above town), is one of the few modifications in recent years. Reynan visits the

[6] We would eventually excavate in the adjacent open field that the family had sold.

property occasionally to purchase items in town and use the running water. Reynan let us walk around and photograph his property, including the interior of his room, which is decorated with painting. He also shared with us another collection of regional ceramics made in Chilcaymarca and Chapacoco.

Reynan does not use his maternal family's name that bears the *gamonal's* surname, even though he is apathetic towards the father whose last name he now carries. This is exemplified in his indifference while discussing his father who had left him and his mother at a young age and perished in a highway traffic accident somewhere along the road to Puno several decades ago. Despite descending from the *gamonal* family, Reynan is welcome in the community. Well-educated and trained as a lawyer in Arequipa, Reynan became sympathetic to populist and leftist political philosophies and critiques of society of the 20th century, such as those of Mariátegui described and cited above. He eventually returned and taught at the local school in Andagua. However, he would only teach at the school for a short time before retiring to his family's properties. Today he resides across the valley of Andagua in Pumajallo. We were preparing to venture across the valley one day in the efforts of meeting with him and learning about his family's history, when we encountered him in town during a brief return to his family's property.[7]

As Reynan recounted the history of his family, the contradictions of post-colonial Peruvian nation-state were evident in the competing narratives of the reality of (Peruvian) citizenry put forth by residents of Andagua. Reynan, the sole descendant of the *gamonal* family in Andagua, expressed this weary optimism: "we are all equal... Well, I would like to believe..." I heard a different sentiment while speaking with another woman who was tending to her storefront – on

[7] Carried out interview and conversation (along with Victor Falcon Huayta) with Reynan, September 2016.

land that was purchased after once being the property of the *gamonal* – and who now operates local businesses and agrarian practices. In passing, she casually observed, “no, we are not equal...”

Figure 7.3 Historic property of g*amonal* and location of excavation units

Excavating the Recent Past

In the former property of *gamonal* and near where we carried out conversations with Reynan, our project carried out two 1x1m excavation test units adjacent to the plaza to investigate the archaeological history of the *reducción* (see figure 7.3). The property belonged to the *gamonal* family through the 19th and 20th century but was sold to a local community member in the past fifteen years. The property encompasses a large, heterogeneous block of the *reducción*. On the edge of the plaza there is a compound of older plastered stonewalls with a decaying gabled and thatched roof that still belong to the *gamonal* family. In the middle of the block, bordered by stonewalls at the edge of the street, an open terraced area is primarily used as a corral and field.

The property is adjacent to the stream that runs from Coropuna through town. Recognizing the terraced and disturbed aspect of the area, I was doubtful of the integrity of the contexts and opted for two smaller 1x1m excavation test pits to provide comparative data. Despite encountering disturbed contexts, the excavations revealed compelling material culture that highlighted the multiple occupations of the area ranging from Inka fragments to post-contact local and non-local artifacts, such as green glazed ware, *majolica* and 18th century whiteware (see appendix).

We placed a 1x1m excavation test unit (001-002A) in what we were told was once a stable (*huerto*) and located in the lower step of the terraced space. A large stone wall (greater than 5 meters tall) stands to the south remaining from when the property was a stable. We excavated to a depth of 1.4m revealing material culture that exhibits a range of historical activities and contexts. The post-contact archaeological evidence supported the use of the area as a stable and consisted of ceramics, metal (horseshoes, nails), brick, glass, as well as, the presence of large bones indicative of animals (cattle or horses) of European origins.[8] In total excavations of unit 001-002A recovered 646 ceramic sherds (total 4,976g) with 555 ceramic fragments of orange, brown and red earthen plain ware (85.9%) (and 460 of these are body fragments). Diagnostic post-contact ceramics included local green-glazed wares (n=42, 6.5%), purple-red on orange earthenware (n=14, 2.2%), several non-local artifacts including *majolica* (n=10, 1.5%) and the only examples of probable 19th century transfer-prints (n=3, <1%) collected by the project (besides one sample recovered in unit 001-002B) (figure 7.5). While still recovering post-contact material culture, excavations further recovered diagnostic pre-Hispanic ceramic sherds (n=17, 2.6%) from the lowest loci (1248), including black on red (and orange) ceramics, but many of these were small

[8] We were able to broadly identify species, distinguishing the features of Old World animals (such as horses and cattle) from New World camelids. A more comprehensive faunal analysis is in process, but is not expected to be completed by the date of the dissertation defense.

fragments with limited samples of motifs. While excavations in the property did not reach sterile soil due to the difficult depths and compact surfaces they revealed important collections offering insights into the extent of the pre-Hispanic past through the recent pasts. The artifacts excavated confirm a pre-Hispanic and Inka footprint beneath the *reducción* of Andagua and further demonstrate the performance of *gamonal* identity through the recent past.

Excavations across the property lot, revealed a probable stone floor patio, where we were told the property once had a bakery. We excavated to a depth of 50cm below the surface before coming across a probable stone floor patio made of small round, river cobble stones. Short on time and not wanting to take a pick ax through the stone floor, we did not excavate any deeper. These were the only test units that we did not excavate to sterile contexts. In total we recovered 268 ceramic sherds from this excavation unit (1,722.3g), with plain ware sherds of orange, brown, buff-beige, red slipped and unslipped varieties constituting the majority of the collection and most likely used for serving, cooking and storage purposes (n=224, 83.6%). The remaining collection was composed of green-glazed wares (pitchers and bowls) (n=31, 11.6%), three majolica fragments, and red transfer print ceramic (similar to the other unit on the property), and three local purple-red painted earthenware, and two polychrome late pre-Hispanic sherds. Lastly, at the level of the stone floor, we recovered a zoomorphic figurine made from clay (figure 7.4). Its use and significance somewhat escapes us and currently we are only left to speculate. Perhaps it is a toy, or another interpretation could be that the artifact is a post-contact *wank'a* or *conopa,* even though they are usually made from stone. In any case, the excavations demonstrate the spectrum of the *gamonal's* performance of identity, traversing "Indian" and "non-Indian" material culture.

Figure 7.4: Zoomorphic figurine excavated from unit AND-1-002B, at *gamonal* property

Figure 7.5: 19th century transfer-print ceramics excavated in former property of *gamonal*

Land and Water management in the 20th century

Through the mid-20th century, the *gamonal's* claims to properties would diminish as the patriarch passed away and the family's presence in Andagua dissolved leaving behind only Reynan. In addition local residents purchased or reclaimed the properties through the "*hatun queja*" and the agrarian reforms. Beyond a system mired in post-colonial contradictions, local residents continued to maintain and rehabilitate the surrounding landscape. In particular, recent histories of the agricultural landscapes of Tauca and Paccareta offer interesting contrasts of land and water management in the valley. Collective organization (determination) is evident in local community members' rehabilitation of abandoned agricultural infrastructure at the site of Paccareta, occurring in the mid-1960s, preceding the agrarian reform of the late 1960s.

While the eastern section of the valley, composed of agricultural infrastructure intensified under the Inka and subsequently marginalized during Spanish colonialism has been partially reclaimed and rehabilitated since the 1980s. Though, it occurred through different processes with a businessman and engineer from Chuquibamba creating a new piping system through a cliff side channeling water from the Andagua River across the valley. Through engineering a renewed irrigation connection, the engineer turned businessman, took claim of the land and advertised it for sale. Several families from the valley of Puquina near Moquegua saw the advertisement and upon scouting the territory purchased it and rehabilitated the fields and live there in scattered homesteads.

As well, the project documented five mills in the valley (AND-15, AND-16, AND-41 and AND-87) that were constructed during the 20th century. Two of the mills were built by prominent households in the valley, one by the Taco family below the Mellizos and another much larger one was supposedly built by the *gamonal* near his property in Pumajallo (figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6: The 20th century mill belonging to the Tacos with irrigation water at the base of the Twin Volcanoes

Paccareta and the Origins of Tomorrow

Since the early 1960's, prior to and independent of the Peruvian agrarian reform, local residents have rehabilitated the agricultural infrastructure surrounding Paccareta. Paccareta, and the Andagua Valley more broadly, offer a contrast beyond gamonalismo and the Peruvian state, exemplifying bottom-up social projects and the local community's independence of the state. Moreover, these are important historical details because they challenge timeless landscapes and show how history and humans' relationship with the landscape are bound together. I was told that 80 families agreed in principle to work to rehabilitate the land and form a cooperative dedicated to its continued maintenance, benefitting from the subsequent harvests and yields. Of those 80, however it is emphasized how only 15 families remained committed to rehabilitating the landscape

of Paccareta (including one woman representing her family). Today families continue to maintain the agricultural infrastructure of Paccareta with a couple households living there, and subsequent generations responsible for maintaining the landscape. The Taco family are one of lineages who continue to work the fields, but this is not due to deeper historical ties to those plots of land.

Our project is collaborating with geographer Blaise Murphy, who carried out soil analyses of a range of agricultural fields throughout the valley (Murphy 2017). Her results highlight the nutrient properties present in the soil and their relationships with agricultural terrace maintenance, rehabilitation and disuse. Despite cases of disuse, agricultural soil properties were resilient and did not diminish and thus show how rehabilitation efforts are possible resulting from the natural properties and processes of human cultivation (Murphy 2017). Murphy's work, in dialogue with anthropological and archaeological research, underscores how local residents in the Andagua Valley socially organize and maintain the landscape independent of state organizations and capitalist market economies contingent upon wage labor. As this dissertation has emphasized throughout, kinship (or family) is not static ideal but an animating mode of social organization that allows for collective labor projects and the formation of *llaqtas*. Moreover, in emphasizing kinship relations and reciprocity, I am not essentializing or romanticizing indigenous social organization but demonstrating the historical processes grounded in spheres of ritual and labor manifest in the material landscape. Indeed, part of the story of Paccareta is the disappointment and number of families who opted out. The green-glazed pitchers that circulate filled with chicha and shared during field projects exemplify the materiality of ritual and labor in Andagua.

Conclusion

In this chapter I outlined some of the main assumptions and tensions of the modern nation-state, including enduring issues of centralization and decentralization of state power. Examining the transformation from Spanish colonialism provides an instructive example of enduring and new issues that would take form during the Peruvian nation-state of particular colonial institutions to nation-state policies. This included the abolition of the colonial labor tax, dissolution of the Corregidor and the birth of a universal citizenry unburdened by history.

This work continues through to the present offering a perspective of local populations with expanding global and regional process, such as the nation-state and market economies, while also attending to the microstructures and microhistories that make worlds wrought with pain, nostalgia, indifference and hope. Local Andagua residents identify the contemporary Peruvian Republic and the existence of the system of *gamonalismo* as a defining experience of their subjectivities, and characterized by their most immediate struggles of oppression and disenfranchisement. Research in Andagua shows how property throughout the valley changed hands and resources were distributed among local community members to a local landowning family (known as the *gamonal*), with local community members often forced against their will to sell or work for them.

Chapter VIII

At the Limits of Universal History and Historical Justice

The Project of Universal History

Between uniformity and indeterminacy of historical meaning, there is a dialectical encounter with the past. In extending the boundaries of our moral imagination, we need to see a historical space before we can explore it. The mutual recognition between past and present that can liberate us from the recurring cycle of victim and aggressor can occur only if the past to be recognized is on the historical map. It is in the picture, even if it not in place. Its liberation is a task of excavation that takes place not across national boundaries, but without them. Its richest finds are at the edge of culture. Universal humanity is visible at the edges... There is no end to this project... It begins again somewhere else.

Susan Buck-Morss *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History*, 2009: 150–151.

Figure 8.1: Lucio Taco and family pause for a photo along a stone path on our way through the site of Quisguarani and towards the possible shrine of Cuyagmama

Re-Making Places and Presencing Pasts

More than 25 years ago, a young boy went running after loose sheep in the valley folds below Coropuna, an area named Anojara, one of the local *wak'a* who served Coropuna and battled the Inka. He came across a cave in the hillside where he found several human remains (mummies) and alerted the local community of *campesinos*. Today the community of farmers collectively stores the remains. While the region has been subject

to non-local looting, the community takes an active role as stewards of the landscape, protecting their cultural heritage, including building a concrete wall at the entrance of the cave of Anojara. The remains are associated with a range of late pre-Hispanic and Spanish colonial material culture, including Nueva Cadiz beads suggesting continuing relations with the ancestors during Spanish colonialism. The enduring human remains as well as their absence from social memories are further evidence of both the limited reach and efficacy of Spanish colonialism. The community primarily refers to the remains as *las momias* and occasionally calls them *los abuelos*. While claiming limited to no genealogical relationship to the previous inhabitants, residents are still affected by their relationships and (absent) presences, inspiring both fear and awe. Local residents walk around the valley often carrying quinoa and garlic as offerings to feed and appease those who came before, with the material landscape, and conditions for life (and death) a testament to their own lives.

Overlapping with systematic archaeological research, ethnographic collaboration involved walking with descendants of the Taco family to visit the caves of Cuyagmama and Anojara. First we climbed the stone steps leading to the chapel of San Antonio de Padua. After pausing in the open air plaza we walked through Quisguarani, weaving along pre-Hispanic stone paths and dirt roads towards the possible cave that held Cuyagmama. There the Taco family paused tossing quinoa and garlic at the entrance of the cave, which is now overgrown with shrubs and remains inconspicuous. We documented a few small fragments of green-glazed ceramic bowl.[1] Sitting among the rock outcrops, we rested, ate and drank, tossing the fruit peels at our feet. Making a place together, we listened to the

[1] We registered this feature and artifact collection as site AND-89.

Taco family tell us about their family histories and the work involved in making Andagua. From there we continued to the cave of Anojara where the community recovered the human remains. As the sun set, we headed back to town following a stone path and intersecting a contemporary dirt road, which continues farther to the pass of Coropuna and the Majes Valley. Along the way, I listened as Lucio Taco, descendant of Gregorio Taco, discussed Frank Salomon's (1987) article and explained how the local community had built the road in the mid-twentieth century, notably with the absence of the Peruvian state.

Mapping Histories

Embracing a multidisciplinary approach, I have traced early human inhabitation and the formation of *llaqta* in the Andagua Valley through the ethnographic present and non-state and state contexts. Research in Andagua offers a comparative study of local populations' relations with states and empires showing how particular epochs of subjectivity are experienced, identified, and manifest in the material landscape, historical record and social memories. An archaeology of *llaqtas* participates in a "politics of despair" that recognizes the tensions of subsuming historical difference into a universal narrative. In addition to systematic archaeology, this work uses historical and ethnographic research that incorporated oral histories and vernacular memories to produce inclusive accounts of the past (and present), exploring local, emic accounts and forms of history and historical consciousness. I have traced the emergence of local autochthonous social organization in pre-Inka contexts and continued occupation under Inka reign, followed by Spanish colonial state projects to transform indigenous subjects and the local landscape. The final chapter highlighted the enduring colonial legacies and the particular neo-colonial

discourses, structures and practices that emerged during the modern nation-state project. This work demonstrated the relational emergence of social life marked by early sedentism, with an archaeological footprint that continues to be made and re-made through the present.

Chapter two reviewed Andean socio-historical registers to understand forms of history beyond Modern, Western anthropocentric categories and presented the local oral history of a non-anthropocentric account involving regional volcanoes battling the interloping Inka. Rather than approaching the oral history through a lens of myth and history, this research considers Andean forms of history extending beyond individual, anthropocentric narratives. The pre-Hispanic (and post-contact) Andes involved a world populated by *wak'as* – a landscape of regional sovereigns embodying decentralized authorities confronting Inka expansion. The oral history contrasted with accounts during the 19th and 20th centuries that assumed a teleological universal history manifest in material culture as representative of identity along with reductive modern dichotomies. The implication for this is to challenge narratives of transparency and demystification that seek a primacy of univocality. Considering socio-historical registers, the chapter, examined the processes of soil formation and regional geological activity and how these overlap with concepts of *pacha* and *wak'a* without attempting to subsume difference into a universal framework.

The subsequent chapters presented the archaeological landscape of *llaqta*, from early sedentism in the valley through the pre-Inka past, examining the formation and proliferation of material culture as local populations domesticated the landscape. This included reviewing the sites of Soporo, Paccareta, Andagua and Andagua Antiguo and throughout the valley. Tracing the distribution of Soporo style pottery helps in

understanding the socio-historical relationships across the valley. Additionally, the study of painted tablets and discs as material media integral to socio-historical practices that marked places to legitimize the social order of the world provides insight into the performance of sovereignty. As places of dense human inhabitation, pre-Inka *llaqta* were composed of agricultural infrastructure, residential structures, mortuary features, *wank'a* (monolith) in addition to portable material culture and other archaeological features. This archaeological evidence shows no pre-Inka state with the Andagua Valley characterized by non-state, decentralized authority.

Chapter five examined Inka imperial expansion in the Southern Peruvian Andes and local Inka state efforts to transform and incorporate the local landscape and populations, bringing into relief the tensions of absolute and universal sovereignty and local difference. Inka state expansion was based on shared Andean cultural logics evident in the orientation of the ritual landscape and incorporation of local features and geological processes, such as Ninamama. Inka state presence further ranged from the construction of the large site of Quisguarani, agricultural intensification throughout the valley, and Late Horizon and Inka artifacts and features in Andagua Antiguo and several pre-Hispanic *llaqta*.

Offering a comparative study of state processes in Andagua, such as the program of *reducciones* and the Extirpation of Idolatry, archaeological research demonstrated varying effects and limits of Spanish colonialism. Andagua was the site of the latest known case of mummy worshipping and ancestor veneration in the Andes, during the 18th century. This research shows the archaeological conditions of possibility for Spanish colonialism and how local populations interacted with expanding states throughout the past. The

implications made apparent through the course of this dissertation are how the conditions of possibility for universal history are bound up in the violence of Spanish colonialism and Christian evangelization.

Dedicated to writing more inclusive histories, this project considers how residents identify patterns of historical change and significance (Oland et al. 2012; Platt 1987). In Andagua residents do not so much analytically prioritize Inka and Spanish era imperial servitude but recognize more recent moments of struggle. They emphasize their subjugation under the yoke of the Peruvian republic with enduring legacies of colonialism and the modern narratives perpetuating those structures, coinciding with broader identifications of *gamonalismo*. This dissertation studied how identities emerge through the production of places and the formation of relationships with the landscape across time and space. An archaeology of *llaqtas* challenges the universal subject and demonstrates how subjectivities are historical and particular. This work brings into relief the subjugation and translatability of kinship histories (and segmentary societies) into modern, universal abstract and homogeneous time (Benjamin 1968; Smith 2011).

The End of Universal History, Long Live Universal History

With eyes on the past and present, in these final pages we can revisit some assumptions of universal history and take a moment to discuss the implications of the elimination of the essential subject and the universalism of modern narratives. This section explores and asks, what are we left with after tracing the archaeological and historical production of "universal history" (and culture-history) with implications beyond Andagua? At the same time, universal history is not just a discursive product of human history. We

cannot deny the earth and human flesh intrinsic to being in time and thus inseparable from our particular, yet universal existence. Here we can close by returning to the themes presented in the introduction and throughout the dissertation. These include the tensions of difference and sameness and local and universal and explore how they inform contemporary discourses forged by the modern state, such as freedom, equality and justice, yet are also grounded in historical and violent processes of colonialism and evangelization.

Aware of the limits of universal claims, "the politics of despair" (Chakrabarty 2000), despite its melancholic tone, can be liberating and evoke the "moral optimism" of anthropology, advocated by Michel Rolph-Trouillot (2003), allowing us to recognize how difference can simultaneously exist and that we can learn more together. Understanding history as multivocal and in process, this dissertation investigated the limits of universal claims and attended to the socio-historical registers and practices that order the world. This work offers a critical approach to the project for universal humanity that allows space for historical difference. In the following section, I offer a brief critical discussion of freedom, equality and justice under the modern nation-state, and end by showing how anthropological, archaeological and historical research provide evidence of social forms at the limits of contemporary modern political dilemmas.

Echoing Horkheimer and Adorno's (2002) critique of modernity, Wendy Brown's (1995) feminist critique of the state in the late 20th century serves as an insightful foil to consider regarding the limits of appealing to the modern state in search of freedom, justice and equality. Brown similarly notes how freedom is problematically based upon an "enlightenment humanism" with a universal "subject that does not exist," and "a fictional 'will' that presumes such a subject" (Brown 1995: 19). This overlaps with the limits of

demystification that is premised upon an individual abstract subject empowered by a "free will" working towards some form of "liberating" social consciousness, which is not only possible, but even inevitable. Consequently, Brown states that "the death of the essential subject appears to eliminate the possibility of the free subject, as the death of the essential world eliminates the possibility of a free world" (Brown 1995: 19). This contrasts with modern historians (from Marx and Hegel) for whom history – its demystification and its destiny – were tied to freedom and liberation that was temporally and spatially absolute (Brown 1995: 7). Following Foucault, Brown emphasizes how freedom cannot be institutionalized nor is it a static condition, but a practice, and claims that it is a challenge to formulate a politics of freedom during late modernity (Brown 1995: 9). For Brown (and others), the contemporary nation-state (and the market economy) cannot necessarily offer freedom (Brown 1995).

Returning to Andagua, my research shows the relations among local populations and expanding states, while offering a bottom-up, regional history. To close, I argue that an archaeology of social life in Andagua highlights how freedom and liberation are not uniquely defined by the social category of an individual (abstract subject) endowed with a free will, but can entail collective determination based on kinship and/or corporate identity. It is not a question of being free and liberated from one another – the antithesis of Mauss' notion of the gift (1990 [1950]) – but recognizing the social and historical foundations to human life. Local populations in the Andes, and Andagua, have historically organized through kinship and labor exchange, and while continuing still today it is diminishing with a greater pervasiveness of the market economy along with the movement and disarticulation of kin and social groups.

In addition to how equality and freedom in liberalism entails claims of access to the market economy, the tensions of sameness and difference are also central to issues of equality (Brown 1995: 153). Echoing local residents of Andagua noting the contradictions of universal equality, Brown writes,

> "In liberalism, equality is defined as a condition of sameness, a condition in which humans share the same nature, the same rights, and the same terms of regard by state institutions... Here it is important to note that liberal equality's conceptual opposite is not inequality but difference: while inequality is the problem to which equality as sameness is the solution, difference is the problem to which equality as sameness does not apply. In liberalism, injustice occurs when those considered the same are treated differently; but ontological difference is a problem outside the purview of justice" (Brown 1995: 153).

The socio-historical difference of pre-Hispanic people, and the continued survival of their descendants, presents a challenge for ensuring equality and serving justice within the contemporary socio-political landscape of the post-colonial nation-state. Andagua and the Andes offers an important case study to examine how local populations were subject to the violence of Spanish colonialism, including the program of *reducción* and Extirpation of Idolatry, resulting in the destruction and marginalization of cultural lifeways. Further excavating the claims of historical ruptures, historical research has traced the roots of modernity in the Old World through the struggles and violence of Christian evangelization in confronting the difference of Judaism and Islam (e.g. Boyarin 2009). This work, then, takes part in both the modern project of knowledge production (demystification) while also illuminating its socio-historical formation.

This critique of demystification does not advocate for its dismissal, or abandonment of modern knowledge projects, but rather emphasizes demystification as a socio-historical process that is not linear, inevitable or universal. The process of demystification – of

learning and critically tracing dominant ideologies that seek to legitimize the world is a central component to working towards a more just and equitable world. Recognizing history as a multivocal process tied to power, Susan Buck-Morss builds upon Trouillot's work on Haiti's revolution in *Hegel, Haiti and Universal History* (2007). She notes how Hegel's philosophical insight of the master-slave and subject-object dialectic was grounded in historical observations of the Haitian revolution, not some eschatological journey of the spirit. Consequently, equality and justice are not abstract nor singular, but socially emergent values that are not universally realized and which are grounded in historical violence that continues to go unrecognized across nation-states and institutions. A comparative example of the tensions of historical difference and claim to rights under the Peruvian nation-state are further demonstrated in the Central Andes, with Salomon (2002) tracing the "necessary discontinuity of the problem of the pre-Columbian dead."

In the Huarochiri-Tupicocha region in the central Andes that was subject to colonial campaigns of the Extirpation of Idolatry, local communities call the remains of past inhabitants present in mortuary features throughout the mountainsides the "beautiful grandparents" (Salomon 1995, 2002). While these communities do not see themselves as directly related to the ancient dead, they nonetheless identify as heirs of the ancient dead, albeit "genealogically discontinuous from them" (Salomon 2002: 480). As outlined in previous chapters, national and modern narratives in Latin America entail a continued stigmatization of indigenous identity, thus resulting in the "de-indigenization" of autochthony (Salomon 2002: 477). Salomon points to how the legal legitimacy of Andean agrarian peasant communities depends upon an ahistorical formation of "official indigenism," dating to the eleven-year dictatorship of President Augusto Leguia (1919-

1930), wherein traditional rural land tenure was assumed to be constituted by the "twin native essences:" immemorial possession and collective ownership. Immemorial possession was demonstrated through continuous inheritance from "tributary Indians" identified under the Spanish colonial state and with collective ownership proven by ties to an *ayllu* (Salomon 2002: 477). Therefore, indigenous residents of Huarochirí are caught in a contradictory situation where they must retain indices of historical colonial products in order to receive fundamental and highly valued civic rights in modernity. Yet, at the same time, these indigenous markers are exactly what the modern project in Latin America also seeks to replace (Salomon 2002).

Here the remains of bones surrounding stone tombs and ruins, identified as the distant "beautiful grandparents," become evidence for residents of Tupicocha – and many other communities in the Central Andes – of a massive Indian suicide (Salomon 2002: 483). Andean communities, though, continue to fear and revere these previous inhabitants, understanding them as the original owners of the land. Considering this cultural interpretive framework, then, Salomon illustrates how Rojas Alberco locates the mass suicide in a document from 1670, called the Act of the Dead. This document referred to a common administrative occurrence involving tributary assessments and accounting for the present population of eligible tributaries – currently living colonial Andean subjects. In this case, the local lords (*kurakas*) burdened with facilitating such negotiations appealed to the colonial authorities for lower tribute, describing the decline in populations unable to provide the current tribute tax.

However, due to understandable paleographical misrecognitions in conjunction with the local interpretative frame, Rojas Alberco interprets this document and its relevant exchange as an account of how tax abuses ("taxing the underaged, dragooning peasants to

become miners, and imposing severe physical punishments") had in some way caused many tributaries to die (Salomon 2002: 486). People of Tupicocha, then, see the mass Indian suicide as a response to unfair tributes, a moral victory leaving a land of free people ever after (Salomon 2002: 492). Therefore, for Tupicocha, the Act of the Dead is a powerful document; "it is a charter of legitimate land tenure for the present inhabitants, and, in their eyes, the source of their civic liberties" (Salomon 2002: 482).

Salomon argues the historical roots of the contemporary community democracy of Tupicocha emerged during the late colonial period and might be a critical moment in the long struggle between local *kuraka* dynastic powers and Spanish colonial agendas. Salomon suggests that a local egalitarian framework emerged from this struggle, and even though "baroque in ritual," it would precede the 19th century democracy touted from Lima (Salomon 2002: 494). As such, residents of Huarochirí do not separate Inka reign from early Spanish colonialism, since, for them, both were epochs of servitude (Salomon 2002; Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 227). Instead, they identify this late colonial moment as when the bondage of servitude was broken by the emancipatory efforts of previous inhabitants. This understanding of historical and political time contrasts to what Peruvians learn in school – with the Bolivarian era (late 18th and 19th centuries) as the locus of emancipation. Salomon then states, 'the Act of the Dead, therefore can be seen as symbolic of non-ethnic citizen identity, which derives citizenship from endogenous history rather than from the fiat of external liberators (as Bolivarian-centered historiography propounds)" (Salomon 2002: 494).

Andagua, as I have shown, is home to different oral histories and views of identification and subjectivity, nonetheless, this comparative example from Huarochirí highlights central problems to seeking freedom, equality and justice from the state

institutions that historically perpetrated the sanctioned violence and prejudices. While such otherness is grounded in an essentialization of (historical) difference, it is not intractable. I argue that while top-down large scale institutional transformation at the level of the state can be an important component for recognizing historical injustice, it must begin by mapping out such histories and, if possible, learning from and engaging with local descendant communities and stakeholders, as well as, supporting local institutions.[2] Andagua, with the enduring presence of human remains, presents an intriguing case to explore how it is possible to recognize and reckon with these human remains not as objects of history outside the bounds of universal history, but highlighting its edges where perhaps there is space for understanding historical and restorative justice beyond modern ruptures and dilemmas.

Facing the Future of the Past

Since 2016, the community has been building a museum on the plaza, next to the church, made from volcanic rock quarried from the lava flow of Antaymarca. Today the museum sits unfinished, currently limited in resources leaving it at a standstill due to varying factors. In addition to serving as a place for cultural heritage programs and local artisans to sell their wares, the museum is widely anticipated to house the ancient human bodies, but for now they remain in a community building stored in boxes. While it is

[2] In addition to community collaboration and engagement now broadly applied with several exemplary projects in the Andes, recent work has critically explored issues of historical trauma, social memories, ritual practices and community dynamics. Falcón Huayta's Masters Thesis (2019) studies cultural heritage programs and local community dynamics and engagement in the community of Rapaz through a decolonizing framework. See also Rubin's (2016) work on justice and exhuming the dead in post-Franco Spain. However, a central difference to Rubin's work is that the historical events of 20th century affected recognized "citizens," while the historical process of colonial subjugation and violence against indigenous people is precisely because they were beyond the folds of Spanish Christian sovereignty.

unclear when the museum will be completed, PAVA and myself plan to continue to collaborate and support the community as the museum moves forward and the community looks to develop a sustainable, community-driven cultural heritage program.

Contemporary indigenous groups have varied practices and perspectives towards the past and the deceased, ranging from excluding non-cultural group members to working with non-local researchers, governmental and non-governmental actors. In the case of Andagua, so far there appears little aversion to the possibility of displaying the pre-Hispanic remains. This is most likely due to multiple factors; varied genealogical relation (consanguine or otherwise), and cultural traditions of ancestor veneration. As outlined in the dissertation, continuing until recent centuries the dead remained an active part of society. Although preserved in caves, terraces and tombs they were not concealed or cut off from the living. Thus, even as humans may cease to live, they endure(d) as loci of meaning and power and continue to do so through the present. Because, ultimately, humans are not abstract objects of history. These issues of objectification, historical trauma and contemporary power dynamics, among other factors, continue to underlie relations among indigenous stakeholders and non-local researchers, government officials, and others.

Recently Andagua has been declared a UNESCO Geopark, recognized for its geological features. As discussed earlier, this re-inscribes the dichotomy of nature-culture. International scholars and local businesspeople alike have speculated on the future of the local economy and tourism and its impact on the community. International scholars make several claims for the protection and the hazards of economic development (Paulo et al. 2014). Residents are acutely aware of their cultural heritage and the market power and commodification of identity. While beyond the scope of the dissertation, it is still important

to emphasize on-going tensions of claims over the landscape and resources, navigating universal and local authorities, now articulated by modern state and international institutions while mediated regionally and locally by individuals and community institutions. As such, the material dimensions of Andagua have already begun to change anticipating the growing market and tourist access, with a proliferation of hostels and construction. While the effects of UNESCO and the growing tourist economy and infrastructure are still unfolding, the future of Andagua is not singular nor determined. While appreciative of the on-going developments, residents also forewarn of an inclination to become like *gamonales*, subjugating others (and exploit for profit).

A goal of this dissertation has been to avoid re-inscribing modern ruptures, and allow us to look across historical eras to understand how local populations inhabited the Valley of Volcanoes and continue to actively make their world beyond and also bound to modern categories and institutions. I have shown how the socio-historical emergence of universal history is grounded in the recognition of our shared being, not as something idealized but a fundamentally material, relational and heterogeneous existence. After mapping out the historical trajectories that shaped the present, we can bear witness to the human remains that escaped the flames of the extirpators in the 18th century in Andagua with a growing sense of knowing and belonging. At the limits of the history and culture, life and death, perhaps, we can liberate ourselves from the conventional identities of the nation-state, and us and them, to embrace our shared being in practice. Approaching history and our being in time not as linear, abstract and homogenous but grounded in place and emergent, we can come to understand how Paccareta or *paqarina*, can signify both past origins and tomorrow. The end is only the beginning.

Appendix

I. Ceramic Analysis

The project carried out comprehensive ceramic analysis, documenting a range of characteristics and ware patterns. The ceramic analysis drew from Wernke's comprehensive analysis in the Colca Valley (using a type-variety methodology) (Wernke 2003). This analysis examines ware (manufacturing technology) and form to characterize pottery types in addition to paint and finishing motifs among other characteristics. Moving from more inclusive categories to diagnostic stylistic details, the analysis documented sherd type, vessel form, possible functions, firing, paste, applications (appliques), paint colors and schema (using the Munsell Soil Color Book), design motifs, slip coverage, surface finishes, preservation, as well as, weight, body thickness, and diameter (if possible). It was important to build upon and compare regional ceramic analyses since the collection overlapped with regional styles (e.g. Brooks 1998; Doutriaux 2004; Jennings 2002; Malpass 1993; Sciscento 1988; Wernke 2003, 2013), and with our analysis accommodating to local specificities and expanding analytical categories as necessary. This is exemplified in the creation of several paste types, design motifs and additional characteristics. As the pottery collection extend from the pre-Hispanic into post-contact contexts, this research contributes to growing historical archaeological research and offers comparative samples and approaches for analyzing such varied collections into the recent past. This includes documenting non-local post-contact material culture such as *majolica* and *botija* as well as regional styles such as green glazed wares.

Foundational archaeological research and pottery analysis among these regions has resulted in detailed typologies and ceramic sequences that characterize pre-Inka cultural groups to these regional valleys, such as Collagua in the Colca Valley and Chuquibamba in the Majes (e.g. Brooks 1998; Doutriaux 2004; Jennings 2002; Sciscento 1988; Wernke 2003). The ceramic

collection in the Andagua Valley exhibited pottery styles that overlapped with those found across the surrounding valleys and highlights the challenges of interpreting regionally bounded cultural identities in the Southern Peruvian Andes based on artifact type. With the Andagua Valley located among these prominent valleys, the project eschewed grouping local black on red ceramic pottery styles under a rubric of Collagua, Chuquibamba and Andagua styles that followed Kroeber's interpretations of identity and material culture (Kroeber 1944). Archaeological evidence in Andagua does not indicate broad epochal shifts, characterized by the Formative (500BC – 500AD), Middle Horizon (500 – 1000 AD) and Late Intermediate Period (1000 – 1400 AD). As the valley is characterized by long-term decentralized socio-political organization that formed *llaqta*, the pre-Inka ceramic sequence is presented for each prominent pre-Inka *llaqta*, including Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, Paccareta, Soporo and Pumajallo.

With no presence of pre-Inka states, such as the Wari and Tiwanaku, the connotations of Horizons, marked by the presence of state expansion, and Intermediate Periods (decentralized socio-political organization) are not necessarily applicable. And while they serve as important regional heuristics they are limited in explaining the particular socio-historical processes of the valley. We can identify ceramic styles that overlap with Middle Horizon expansion although not necessarily reducible to Wari or Tiwanaku state presence. To distinguish post-Formative material culture before the Inka during non-state contexts, I use the terms *Pre-Inka* and *Late pre-Inka*. While "pre-Inka" includes pottery that was contemporaneous to the MH, with the possibility they continued beyond AD 1000, "late pre-Inka" characterizes pottery that corresponds to diagnostic LIP regional styles. The current sequence is more conservative in distinguishing pre-Inka and late pre-Inka material, with the samples nearly identical to regional LIP styles. In addition, the pottery

sequence identifies varying Inka pottery types as well as offering samples of contemporaneous non-Inka pottery that would fall under the auspices of the Late Horizon.

The pottery sequence for Andagua begins with the Soporo style, and closed neckless pots (*ollas*), as corresponding markers of the Formative. Moreover, Soporo pottery style, and especially the closed neckless *olla*, continued through what is considered the Middle Horizon. The pottery that is most likely indicative of corresponding to MH occupations are exemplified by polychrome, cumbrous bowls. These "Middle Horizon" ceramics are also diagnostic for the orange slip in addition to red slipped vessels that are found across pre-Inka contexts traversing MH and LIP designations. The polychrome designs include wavy lines, solid points that compose complex geometric motifs (see below). These are similar to regional vernacular styles during pre-Inka contexts that were not Wari, such as Ccoscopa in the Cotahuasi Valley (Jennings 2002), as well as, the Colca and Majes Valleys (Wernke 2003). Many of the motifs appear to continue beyond the MH and remain present in what are characteristically described as LIP vessels, with black on red designs. In the case of diagnostic black on red pottery that has been identified elsewhere, I use the label "late pre-Inka."

From pottery to architecture, we can identify occupational inhabitation across state and non-state contexts, from early sedentism (Formative) through the growth of local settlements (*llaqta*) characterized by decentralized socio-political organization continuing with Inka state expansion followed by post-contact Spanish colonial state and into the recent past with the contemporary Peruvian nation state. Acknowledging the foundational stages of research, with collections acquired through survey and excavations with radiocarbon dates currently unavailable, further investigation is necessary to chronologically identify pottery types. Greater temporal control will be possible as we continue to make strides in reconstructing local and regional artifact

sequences across time and space. In the following section, I describe the main criteria and characteristics the project documented of ceramic features.

General Pottery Type (Excavations and Survey)	**TOTAL**	**% of Total**
Plainware (unslipped and undecorated)	**5694**	39.31%
Painted plainware (unslipped)	**101**	0.70%
Beige to light brown slip	**324**	2.24%
Orange slip	**1264**	8.73%
Dark brown slip	**1647**	11.37%
Red slip	**2328**	16.07%
Black paint on red slip	**1263**	8.72%
Paint on orange slip	**548**	3.78%
Polychrome	**383**	2.64%
White on red slip	**9**	0.06%
Green glazed ware	**699**	4.83%
Majolica	**72**	0.50%
Botija (Olive Jar)	**56**	0.39%
Post-colonial utilitarian ware	**67**	0.46%
Whiteware	**8**	0.06%
Creamware	**4**	0.03%
Stoneware	**4**	0.03%
Modern	**3**	0.02%
Not observable	**10**	0.07%
Total	**14484**	100%

Table A. 1: General Pottery Types of PAVA Collection

Ceramic Categories

Firing

CO	Complete and oxidized throughout
CN	Complete but not oxidized red. Buff to brown throughout
CX	Complete core but with less oxidized exterior and interior layers
CI	Complete core but with less oxidized interior
CE	Complete core but with less oxidized exterior
EO	Incomplete and reduced core but with oxidized exterior and interior
IO	Incomplete, reduced exterior but oxidized interior
IG	Incomplete firing with "ghost" of reduced core
IA	Incomplete firing with dark reduced core
IT	Incomplete, v. dark throughout, except outermost layer and slip
CD	Completly reduced
IE	Incomplete firing with exfoliating outer layer/slip
IP	Incomplete firing--poor firing throughout, low temp and brittle, brownish
VI	Vitrified

Paste

The project's analysis of paste type drew from Wernke's paste typology, while modifying and adding paste categories appropriate for the collection in Andagua. This resulted in a very detailed and expansive taxonomy of more than 50 paste types. The analysis distinguished the presence, size and frequency of the temper and inclusions, which are based on the standard Udden-Wentworth grain-size scale (Wernke 2003: 449-450):

Very Fine Sand: 0.0625-0.125mm
Fine Sand: 0.125-0.25mm
Medium Sand: 0.25 – 0.5mm
Coarse Sand: 0.5-1.0mm
Very Coarse Sand: 1.0-2.0mm

The inclusions present in the Andagua pottery collection include small to large volcanic black inclusions (the most frequent), white and grey feldspar, quartz, as well as, the glistening pyrite and mica, as well as, red inclusions indicative of local volcanic parent material and locally sourced clay. Inclusions present in the ceramic paste overlap with regional types and are also distinct based

on the particular place of the Andagua Valley. We were able to identify evidence of local production with inclusions of red volcanic rock.

Vessel Function and Form

The analysis included interpreting the possible use and function of the vessel, and which overlapped with identifying the form of the vessel. This ranged from serving, storage, cooking or more than one of these categories. For instance, large pitchers would often be considered serving and storage vessels. In some cases pottery vessels would also be classified as cooking uses if they had carbon remains and other possible microbotanical remains that resulted from burning that indicated association with a fire, but not related to manufacturing process nor post-deposition. This was most often visible among smaller pots, termed *ollas*, that could have been used for storage as well as cooking. Special function artifacts included discs, burnishing tools, spindle whorls, zoomorphic representational pottery and varying specialized fragments.

SER Serving vessel (n=3927)

STO Storage vessel (n=72)

COO Cooking vessel (n=61)

SSE Serving or storage vessel (n=5131)

COS Cooking or storage vessel (n=3756)

SFU Special Function (n=154)

NOB Not observable (n=1375)

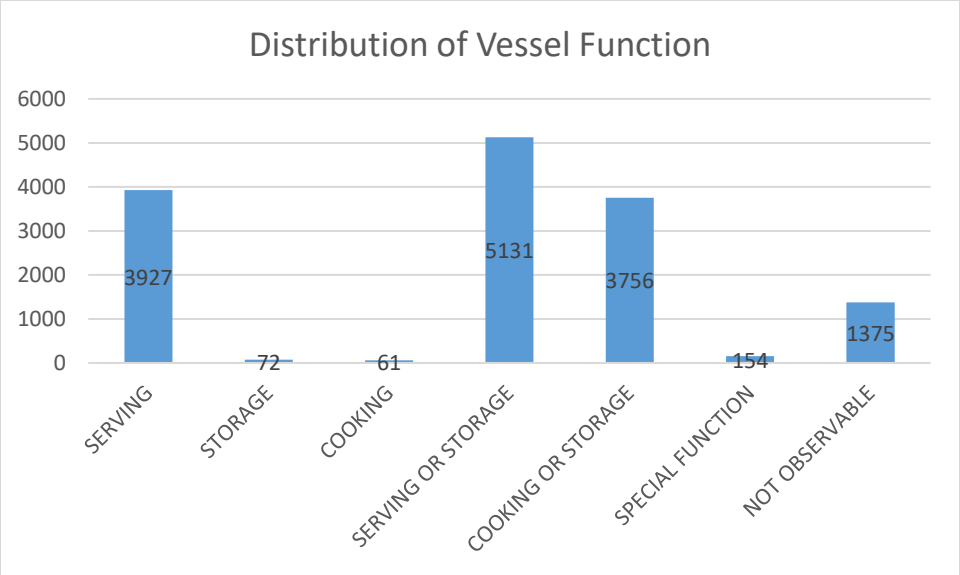


Figure A.1: Vessel Functions of PAVA Collection

Vessel Forms

The analysis identified a range of vessels that included bowls, plates, jars, pitchers, pots and an array of other forms. More than 15 different bowl types ranged from large shallow bowls (exemplified by green glazed ware) to cumbrous and collared bowls, and closed neckless pots of the Soporo style. Other common sherd type was identified as part of ambiguous large pitcher that could have been pre-Inka, non-Inka, or Inka *aríbalo* based on form alone, but can be distinguished by paste, firing and a range of other characteristics.

Andagua Pottery Sequence and Typology

In the following section, I present the foundations of a ceramic sequence for the Andagua Valley based on survey and excavations by PAVA from 2015 – 2017. The sequence broadly distinguishes the Soporo style (marking the Formative), pre-Inka as well as late pre-Inka pottery, Inka and local styles (Late Horizon), followed by several post-contact and contemporary pottery. Embracing an archaeology of *llaqtas*, with an emphasis on the relational aspects of archaeological contexts and socio-historical processes, the pottery is exhibited according to particular contexts, such as the sites of Soporo, Paccareta, Andagua (and Andagua Antiguo), Pumajallo, and other sites throughout the main valley, as well as, "isolated finds."

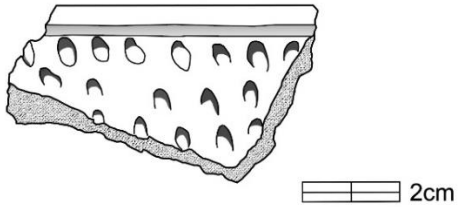
Soporo Style Pottery (Formative Period, 1500BC – AD 500)

Site	Total	Detailed Artifact Inventory of Soporo Style Pottery
AND-1 (Andagua)	17	2.139, 181.3, 568.3, 601.48, 608.27, 629.21, 634.5, 635.9, 714.6, 724.23, 730.41, 731.9, 897.15, 929.24, 929.25, 1151.2, 1363.9
AND-1 (Andagua) – AND 62	1	926.5
AND-1 (Andagua) – AND-75	3	767.3, 767.5, 767.8
AND-1 (Andagua) – Excavation Unit 001-001	1	1236.134
AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo)	10	906.2, 906.4, 906.6, 906.7, 907.20, 919.4, 1346.7, 1346.8, 1372.1, 1382.2
AND-46 (Main Valley)	1	194.11
AND-67 (Main Valley)	2	513.1, 513.15
AND-72 (Main Valley)	1	340.3
AND-84 (Paccareta)	21	489.1, 490.1, 646.1, 652.17, 663.10, 666.17, 667.1, 983.4, 985.18, 987.26, 991.21, 992.1, 993.31, 993.34, 993.46, 1000.5, 1031.12, 1032.6, 1032.8, 1034.25, 1337.1
AND-92 (Awayanki)	2	798.4, 801.1
AND-93 (Soporo)	4	811.7, 812.3, 839.8, 870.1
AND-96 (Tauca)	2	1068.2, 1092.6
AND-97 (Pumajallo)	1	1137.1
Isolated Find	6	325.27, 325.4, 326.6, 363.1-363.4
Total	**72**	

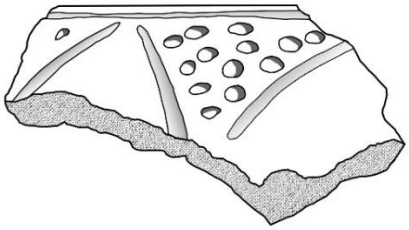
Table A.2: Detailed Artifact Inventory of Soporo Style Pottery

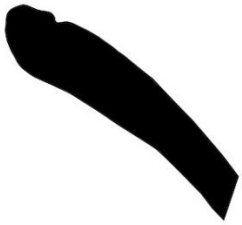
(From top left, clockwise: top row: 919.4, 518.9, 724.23, 929.25, 608.27; second row: 987.26, 646.1, 992.1, 839.8; third row: 667.1, 993.31, 635.9, 666.17, 929.24, 870.1; fourth row: 993.34, 1092.6, 340.3, 767.5, 767.9, 513.15)

Figure A.2: Examples of Soporo style pottery recovered by PAVA during survey

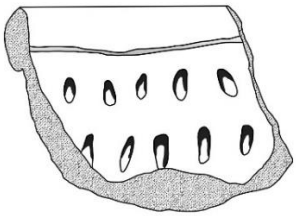


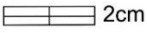
AND-326.6



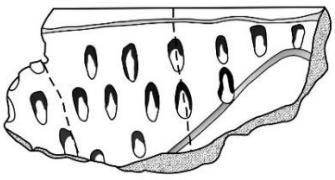


AND-194.11





AND-325.27



AND-363.1, 363.2, 363.4

Figure A.3: Soporo Style Pottery

Post-Formative through pre-Inka

(Middle Horizon, AD 500 – 1000/Late Intermediate Period AD 1000 – 1400)

Andagua and Andagua Antiguo

More than two-thirds (35%) of the entire pottery collection of PAVA was recovered across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo through regional survey, intensive survey and test-pit excavations (n=5,111 total, MNV, from surface collections and excavations). In particular, the project recovered 2,293 pottery sherds (MNV) in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo by regional survey (PAVA 2015), another 321 pottery sherds during limited surface collection associated with excavations (PAVA 2016), and 2,497 pottery sherds from excavations across varied contexts. This pottery total ranges from early sedentism including Soporo style pottery through green-glazed wares, *majolica*, and other post-contact pottery continuing through the recent past.

The pre-Hispanic sequence and ceramic typology benefitted from generous comments and insight by Willy Yepez who took a look at our collection as well as Steve Wernke, not to mention continuing to draw from published work and regional studies. While this discussion is not exhaustive of our ceramic analysis, this work outlines a foundational sequence for the valley presenting representative samples. This section presents representative samples of pottery beyond the Soporo style (post-Formative) through pre-Inka pottery styles. While aware there was no pre-Inka state in the valley with no clear epochal shifts in material culture or settlement type, we can consider Middle Horizon and Late Intermediate Period as corresponding heuristics allowing for comparative analyses. Post-Formative through pre-Inka pottery was recovered across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, with evidence suggesting the long-term continued occupation of the area.

Pre-Inka local and regional pottery in Andagua can be distinguished by a range of styles and forms. Geometric bichrome and polychrome designs, of white or cream, black, and red/purple

on cumbrous and collared bowls with red or orange slip are diagnostic of regional Middle Horizon styles, and were most likely broadly contemporaneous. These include crisscross designs, undulating and overlapping lines, solid dots and other motifs. In addition to polychrome bowls, a range of bowls and plates with black paint on red slip most likely occurred throughout the pre-Inka past, as well as continuing and transforming under the Inka and into post-contact contexts. Black on red or orange slip (and grey slip) making up nearly two-thirds of the painted non-Inka collection (n=538/835, 64%). The red or orange slip coverage of the rim interior of bowls, often with a band characteristic of the region, was present, but not definitive among the pre-Inka collection (see Brooks 1998; Wernke 2003). From the bowls, plates and large storage vessels, the paste types were indicative of local and regional manufacturing (communities of practice) with the presence of black volcanic inclusions and quartz and feldspar, along with a significant frequency of pastes with red volcanic inclusions, pyrite and mica.

Other diagnostic pre-Inka pottery includes large pitchers (*cantaros*) that have incised features representing faces. Similar features have also been identified in the Cusco region (Alan Covey personal communication). It is also most likely that black on red slip was present during this time. Closed neckless pots, similar in form to the Soporo style, but unmarked, were recovered and it is possible that these vessel forms were both contemporaneous to Soporo style during early sedentism and continued to be used throughout the pre-Inka past. There were 39 complete discs and 16 disc fragments collected during regional survey. The discs were most likely repurposed from large pitchers with samples exhibiting remains of a handle. The pastes of the pottery discs were diagnostic for the large presence of pyrite, mica and red volcanic inclusions in addition to inclusions of black, feldspar and quartz.

AND-601.1
(Andagua, AND-1)

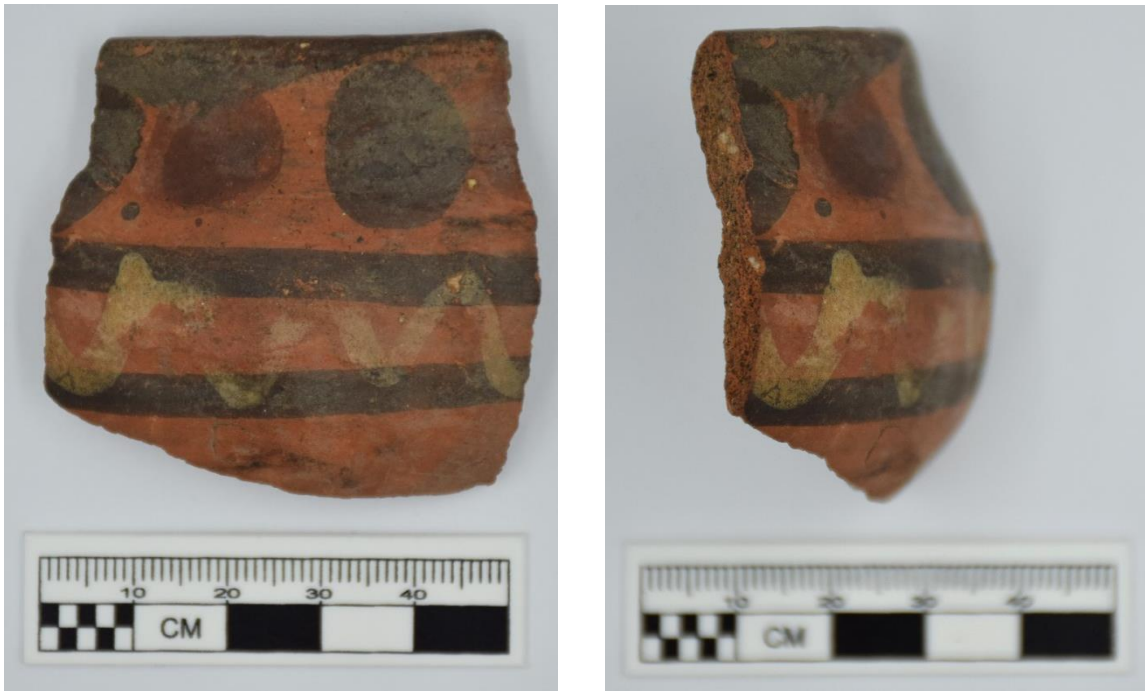
AND-731.16
(Andagua, AND-1, southeast of the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*)

Figure A.4: Pre-Inka polychrome pottery bowls recovered from Andagua

AND-715.11
(Andagua, AND-1, area west of the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)

AND-922.10
(Limits of Andagua, AND-1, and Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

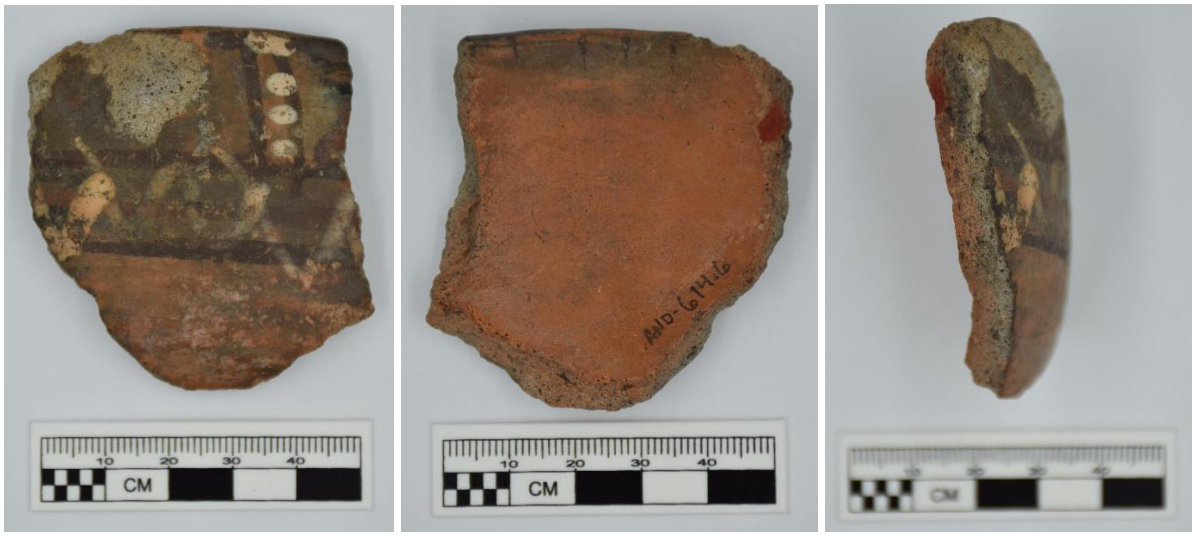
Figure A.5: Pre-Inka polychrome pottery bowls recovered from Andagua



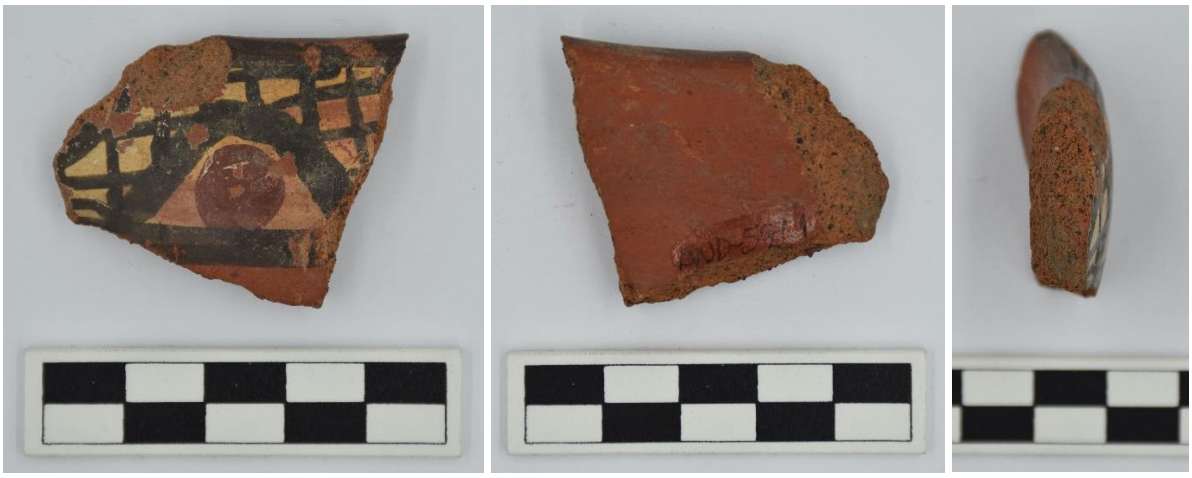
AND-919.12
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

AND-925.3
(Recovered at the southern edge of Andagua, AND-1, and in association with AND-62)

Figure A.6: Pre-Inka polychrome pottery bowls, cumbrous and straight sided



AND-614.6
(large red volcanic inclusion visible in profile)
(Andagua, AND-1, northeast of the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)



AND-591.1
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.7: Pre-Inka polychrome pottery bowls recovered from Andagua

(Andagua, AND-1, west edge of the platform of the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)

(Andagua, AND-1, near the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)

Figure A.8: Pre-Inka polychrome pottery bowls recovered from Andagua

AND-906.20
(Andagua, AND-1)

AND-601.10
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.9: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) bichrome pottery bowls recovered from Andagua

AND-601.13 (Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.10: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) bichrome pottery bowl recovered from Andagua

AND-130.7
(Near site AND-31, *wank'a*, monolith)

Figure A.11: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) polychrome shallow, open bowl

From top left: AND-629.4 (AND-1), AND-993.23 (AND-84); Bottom row: AND-614.10 (AND-1), AND-608.24 (AND-1), AND-606.53 (AND-1)

Figure A.12: Local Andagua style through time and across forms, bowls and plates

AND-629.4
(AND-1)

Figure A.13: Local Andagua style pre-Inka polychrome collared bowl

AND-608.42
(Andagua, AND-1, near *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción/ushnu*)

Figure A.14: Local Andagua style pre-Inka polychrome collared bowl

AND-1256-2.1

Figure A.15: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) bichrome cumbrous pottery bowl recovered during excavations in Andagua Antiguo (AND-60-001)

AND-1258.24

Figure A.16: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) polychrome straight-sided pottery bowl recovered during excavations in Andagua Antiguo (AND-60-001)

AND-1258.2 AND-1259.4

Figure A.17: Pre-Inka (non-Inka) polychrome (left) and bichrome pottery (right) recovered during excavations in Andagua Antiguo (AND-60-001)

Top, from left to right: AND-626.4 (Andagua, AND-1); AND-903.1 (Andagua Antiguo, AND-60); AND-1014.3 (Paccareta, AND-84); AND-381.8 (Isolated Find); Bottom row: AND-906.19 (Andagua Antiguo, AND-60); AND-325.14 (Isolated Find); AND-897.1 (Andagua, AND-1); AND-881.4 (Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.18: Examples of "face-neck" motif on necks and rims of large pitchers and jars

AND-262.7
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60–AND-59)

Figure A.19: Pre-Inka bichrome pottery recovered in Andagua Antiguo, associated with disturbed agro-mortuary feature

AND-906.18
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

AND-617.1
(Andagua, AND-1, near the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)

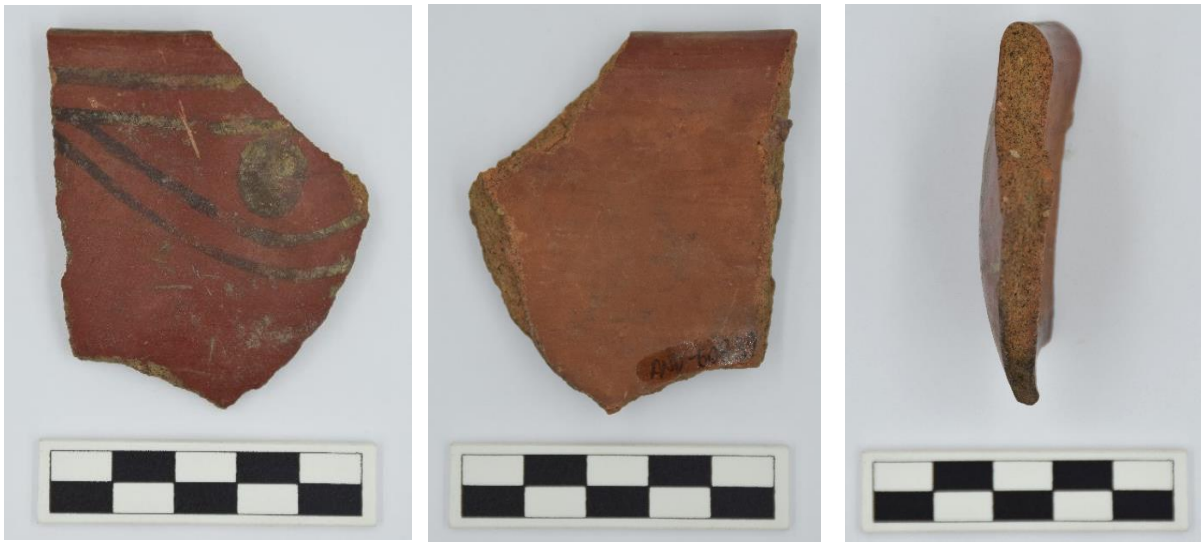
Figure A.20: Examples of late pre-Inka and late pre-Hispanic (non-Inka) bichrome pottery recovered in Andagua

Pottery styles and forms correspond to regional Late Intermediate Period, and are similar to samples of identified as Late Horizon, Collagua in the Colca Valley (Wernke 2003, 2013: 77).

AND-906.3
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

AND-601.14
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.21: Examples of late pre-Inka and late pre-Hispanic (non-Inka) bichrome pottery recovered in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo



AND-608.39
(Andagua, AND-1, recovered by the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción*/*ushnu*)

AND-746.1; AND-746.2; AND-746.3; AND-746.4; AND-746.5
(Recovered in Andagua Antiguo, And-60, exposed by recent construction)

Figure A.22: Examples of late pre-Inka and late pre-Hispanic (non-Inka) bichrome pottery recovered in Andagua and Andagua Antiguo

Pre-Inka (Middle Horizon/Late Intermediate Period) Pottery recovered at Paccareta (AND-84)

AND-462.2
(Paccareta, AND-84)

AND-468.1
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.23: Pre-Inka polychrome cumbrous bowl and open bowl with zoomorphic protuberance on rim, from Paccareta (AND-84)

AND-645.1
(Paccareta, AND-84)

AND-464.1
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.24: Pre-Inka polychrome cumbrous and collared bowls from Paccareta

AND-1004.1, AND-1004.3, AND-1006.5, AND-1006.7, AND-1006.9, AND-1006.10
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.25: Pre-Inka bichrome cumbrous bowl from Paccareta

AND-982.40, AND-982.42
(Paccareta, AND-84)
Figure A.26: Pre-Inka polychrome straight-sided cup recovered at Paccareta

AND-1000.1
(Paccareta, AND-84)

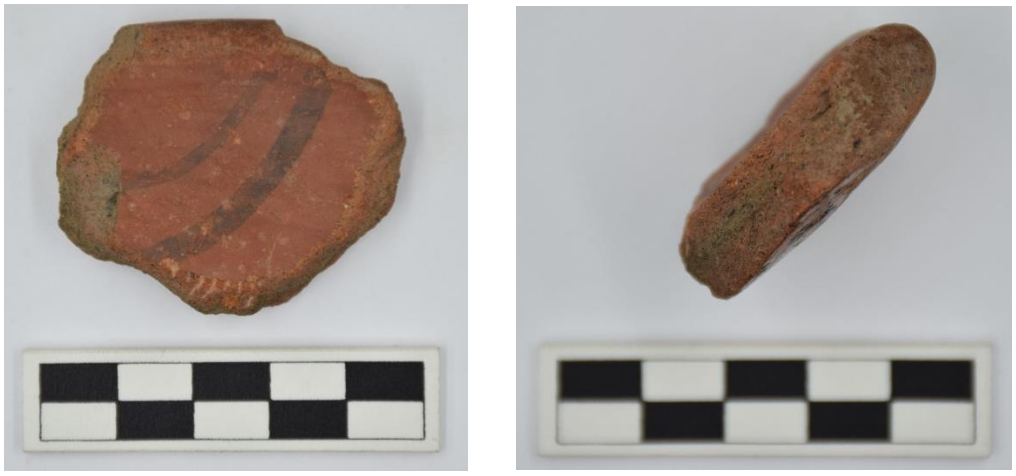
Figure A.27: Pre-Inka bichrome bowl from Paccareta

AND-993.23
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.28: Pre-Inka polychrome local Andagua style on collared bowl from Paccareta

AND-998.3
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.29: Pre-Inka bichrome black on red straight-sided bowl from Paccareta



AND-1021.2
(Paccareta, AND-84)

Figure A.30: Pre-Inka bichrome pottery recovered in Paccareta

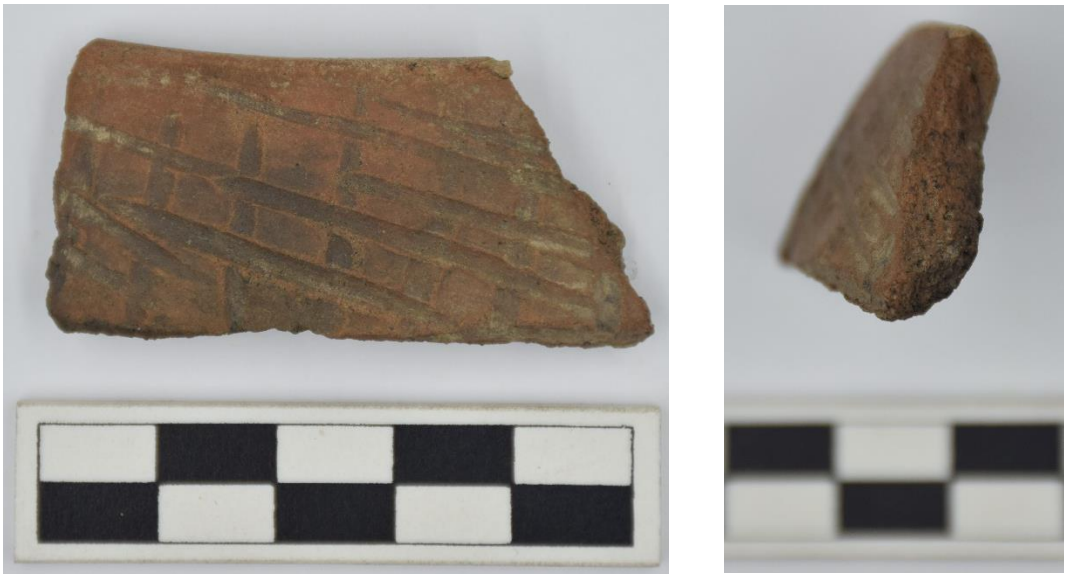
Pre-Inka Pottery Recovered During Excavations at Paccareta (unit 84-001)

AND-1226.134
(Excavation unit AND-84-001, Paccareta)

Figure A.31: Pre-Inka bichrome black on red slip bowl excavated in Paccareta

AND-1229.119
(Excavation unit AND-84-001, Paccareta)

Figure A.32: Pre-Inka polychrome collared bowl with local Andagua style dot motif excavated in Paccareta



AND-1228-P.1
(Excavation unit, profile, AND-84-001, Paccareta)

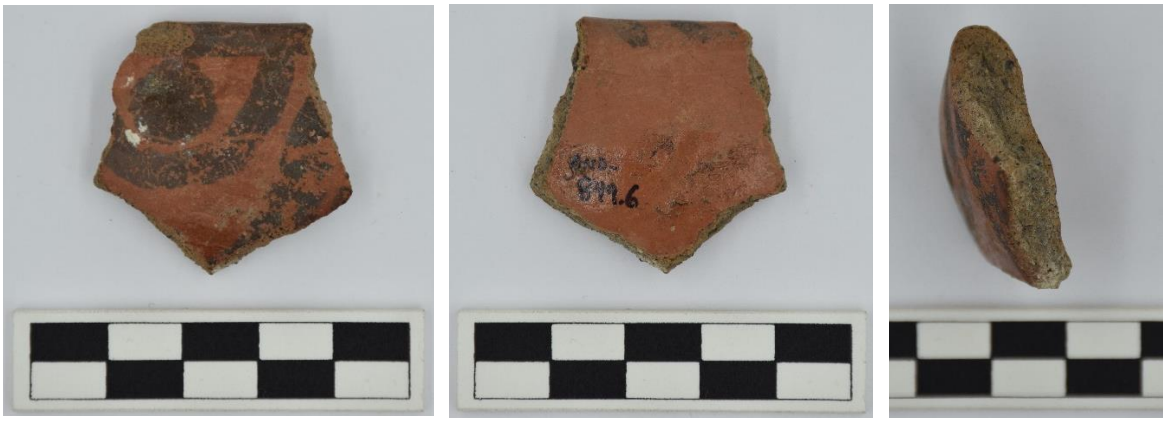
Figure A.33: Pre-Inka incised cumbrous bowl rim excavated in Paccareta

AND-1226.9, 1226.10, 1226.11; AND-1228-3.1, AND-1228-3.2; AND-1227.1

Figure A.34: Pre-Inka large pitcher rim and neck fragments with features similar to "face-neck" vessels, recovered elsewhere in the valley, excavated in Paccareta

Post-Formative – Pre-Inka artifacts recovered at Soporo (AND-93)

A total of 500 pottery sherds were recovered from the site of Soporo and the surrounding fields during regional survey, with pottery stretching from Soporo style to green glazed ware (n=7). This collection only includes artifacts recovered on the western side of the road cut and valley inlet of Soporo, with a range of artifacts also recovered, and separately discussed, found in between Soporo and Andagua). This section offers samples of post-Formative (non-Soporo) pre-Inka pottery. More than a quarter of the collection are bichrome, painted black (n=131, 26.2%), including exemplifying pre-Inka motifs, with 39 polychrome vessels, of which more than half are black and white along with the rest of the collection including combinations of black, white, orange, brown and purple. In addition to closed, neckless pots, more than a third of the collection (n=18, 36%) were identified as ambiguous storage and serving jars or pitchers, as well as, a range of plates and bowls. These include bichrome and polychrome cumbrous and collared bowls (cumbrous bowls, n=56), which are indicative of pre-Inka styles.



AND-849.6

Figure A.35: Pre-Inka bichrome cumbrous bowl evincing regional motif (with black on orange slip) from Soporo

AND-866.1

Figure A.36: Pre-Inka straight-sided cup (small bowl) recovered from Soporo

AND-867.2

Figure A.37: Pre-Inka bichrome slightly open bowl recovered from Soporo

AND-859.1

Figure A.38: Pre-Inka bichrome straight-sided bowl or cup recovered from Soporo

AND-783.4, AND-783.4

Figure A.39: Pre-Inka (late pre-Hispanic) bichrome bowl recovered from Soporo

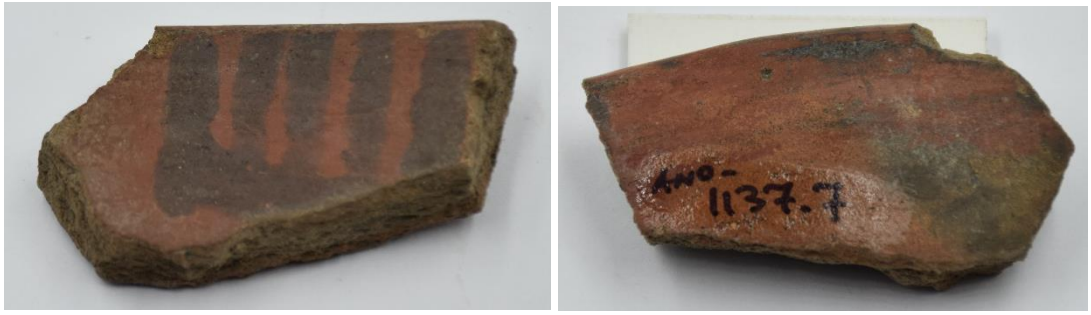
Pre-Inka pottery recovered at Pumajallo (AND-97)

AND-1122.1

Figure A.40: Bowl exemplifying Q'osqopa style recovered from Pumajallo AND-97

AND-1140.21

Figure A.41: Ceramic spindle whorl, black on red slip motif, possibly re-purposed vessel



AND-1137.11

Figure A.42: Black geometric motif on red slip of shallow open bowl, possibly late pre-Inka

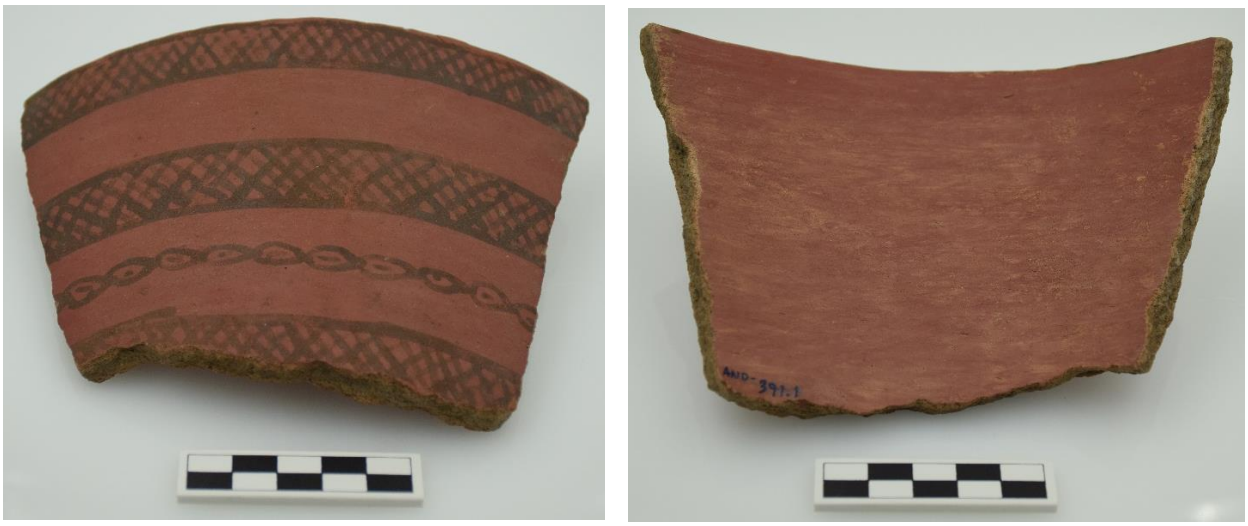
Lower Antaymarca (AND-29)

Lower Antaymarca (as discussed in chapter four) was most likely occupied during the late pre-Inka (Late Intermediate Period, AD 1000 – 1400). This is supported by architectural evidence, pottery and lithics. In addition to survey, excavations confirmed the limited inhabitation revealing a shallow deposition. The project collected 145 pottery sherds (MNV) during survey (5,040.88g), with 35 diagnostic painted samples (793g) that were primarily black on red (or orange) (n=29), one black and orange on red (body sherd), one black and white on red (body sherd), one brown on red (body sherd), purple on buff-light brown (rims), black and brown on red (body sherd). The paint styles involve varying geometric motifs that overlap with late pre-Hispanic styles, while also evincing continued patterns found among earlier styles such as painted rims and tick marks. The absence of Soporo pottery and polychrome designs that are found across long-term inhabited sites such as Andagua Antiguo, Paccareta and Pumajallo as well as throughout the main valley further support the late pre-Hispanic and pre-Inka occupation of the Lower Antaymarca. The collection also included two ceramic discs, and it is worth noting that the ceramic paste is composed of black inclusions and feldspar and quartz inclusions, but lacking mica and pyrite, which is found in other discs collected by the project.

The sherd types were primarily composed of ambiguous storage vessels (including cantaros and pitchers) (n=73), a range of bowls including eleven sherds from straight sided bowls (the remaining collection includes three variations of cumbrous bowls and other bowl types), 14 ambiguous plates or bowls, and five other types of plates including planar plate, large open plate, as well as, 20 unknown sherds.

Excavations recovered 295 total ceramics with 15 exhibiting diagnostic painting, 14 black on red and one black and white on red. Twenty-four (8%) of these were rim fragments and 87%

were body fragments (n=257). The remaining collection (~5%) included one body and base sherd, five neck sections, six shoulder fragments and two sherds with a handle or handle join.



AND-391.1

Figure A.43: Pre-Inka bichrome, black on red slip large straight-sided bowl recovered during regional survey at the eastern edge of Lower Antaymarca (AND-29)

AND-1217.103

Figure A.44: Black on red slip bowl recovered during excavations at Lower Antaymarca

AND-1217.104

AND-1219.26

Figure A.45: Black on red slip pottery recovered during excavations at Lower Antaymarca

Inka (1400 – 1532)

Inka pottery styles were recovered throughout the valley. The pottery analysis distinguished multiple types of Inka pottery, as discussed. Imperial Inka styles were most canonical, including bichrome and polychrome aribalo vessels with geometric and representative motifs, such as camelids and felines. Provincial imperial Inka is exemplified by a recurring style that overlaps with Inka forms and styles and is documented in Condesuyos but does not feature as a prominent Inka heartland style. While local Inka overlaps with late pre-Hispanic regional styles and Inka styles, demonstrating local artisans and improvisation in state contexts. These are exhibited in designs and forms that are similar but diverge from canonical types and demonstrate local or non-specialist manufacturing, as well as, black on red slip plates with concentric lines in the interior

AND-597.1

Figure A.46: Body sherd of probably *aríbalo* with polychrome camelid motif, recovered near the *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción/ushnu*

From top left clockwise to bottom right: AND-849.3 (AND-93, Soporo), AND-884.3 (AND-1), AND-821.1 (Isolated Find near Andagua), AND-1151.1 (AND-1), AND-619.1 (AND-1)

Figure A.47: Diagnostic Inka imperial fineware (*aríbalo*) recovered during regional survey near the *llaqtas* of Andagua and Soporo

Figure A.48: Inka *aríbalo* with zoomorphic (feline) lug documented in patio of household in Andagua Antiguo (not collected or analyzed)

AND-165.6 (Isolated Find)

AND-1130.1
(AND-97, Pumajallo)

Figure A.49: Inka imperial pottery style, polychrome body sherds with geometric motifs from large ambiguous storage vessels (possible *aríbalos*)

AND-849.1

Figure A.50: Inka imperial pottery style, polychrome body sherds with from large ambiguous storage vessel (probable *aríbalo*) recovered at Soporo (AND-93)

AND-262.10 (AND-59, associated with disturbed mortuary feature)

From top left, clockwise: AND-839.7 (AND-93, Soporo), AND-850.12 (AND-93, Soporo), AND-721.22 (AND-1, Andagua), AND-612.9 (AND-1, Andagua); second row: 834.1 (Isolated Find), AND-606.36 (AND-1, Andagua), AND-904.3 (AND-60, Andagua Antiguo), AND-852.4 (AND-93, Soporo), AND-816.3 (AND-93, Soporo), AND-846.1 (AND-93, Soporo)

Figure A.51: Examples of canonical Inka style representative of fern plants (*raki raki*)

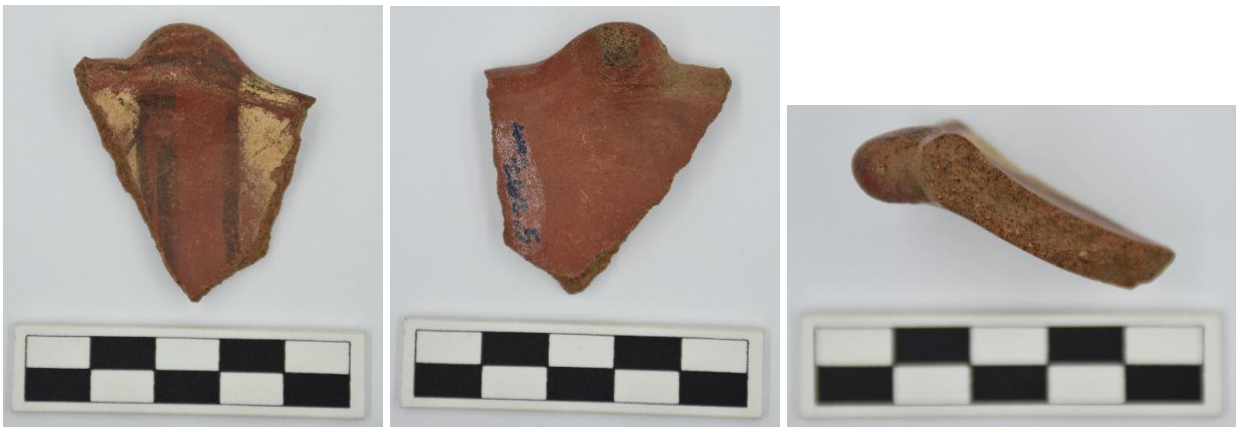
From left to right: AND-606.52 (AND-1), AND-601.44 (AND-1), AND-726.14 (AND-1), AND-603.5 (AND-1)

Figure A.52: Bichrome and polychrome imperial Inka plates with geometric (diamond/rhombus) recovered in Andagua near the *Capilla de la Virgen/ushnu*

AND-38.1
(AND-9, near Soporo)

Figure A.53: Bichrome imperial Inka plate

AND-914.1
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)



AND-262.5
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60, associated with disturbed agro-mortuary feature)

AND-716.5
(Andagua, AND-1, associated with the *Capilla de la Virgen/ushnu*)

Figure A.54: Bichrome and polychrome imperial Inka plates with geometric motifs

AND-876.1
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.55: Polychrome Inka bowl with representative motif (possible plant), recovered on a street named Sacsayhuaman in Andagua

AND-601.5
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.56: Inka polychrome shallow plate with geometric motif

AND-730.32

Figure A.57: Inka imperial polychrome of geometric motifs, and possibly reworked tool, recovered southern slopes of the *Capilla de la Virgen/ushnu*

AND-1361.1 AND-1358.7

Figure A.58: Inka imperial polychrome with geometric motifs on body sherds (ambiguous jars) recovered in field near *Capilla de la Virgen/ushnu* and excavation unit (AND-001-001)

AND-884.15

(Andagua, AND-1)

AND-1351.11
(near excavation unit AND-1-001)

Figure A.59: Zoomorphic Inka handles

AND-155.1, 156.1 (site AND-36)

AND-845.1 (Soporo, AND-93)

Figure A.60: Examples of possible provincial Inka style from polychrome *aríbalo* vessels

Figure A.61: Inka provincial *aríbalo* supposedly recovered by Hiram Bingham in the Andagua Valley, and currently on display at the Universidad Nacional de San Agustín (UNSA) archaeological museum (photo by Miguel Vizcarra Zanabria)

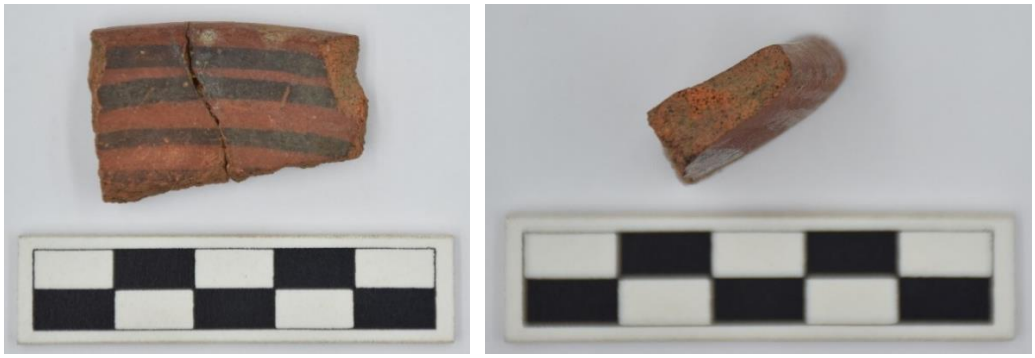
Late Horizon and Local Inka (AD 1400-1532)

AND-906.14
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

AND-906.21
(AND-60, Andagua Antiguo)

Figure A.62: Local Inka polychrome plate and polychrome handle base recovered from Andagua Antiguo

AND-1271.117; AND-1271.118
(Excavation unit AND-60-001, Andagua Antiguo)



AND-1235.6, AND-1235.8
(Excavation unit AND-1-001, Andagua)

Figure A.63: Local Inka/Late Horizon black on red slip plate with concentric lines recovered during excavations of Andagua and Andagua Antiguo

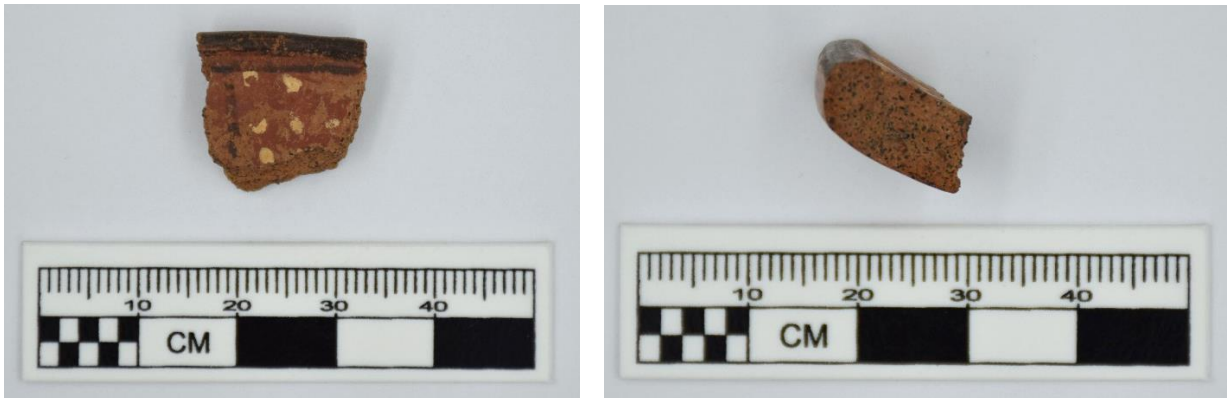
AND-262.7
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-59–AND-60)

Figure A.64: Local Inka/Late Horizon black on red slip plate with concentric circles associated with agro-mortuary feature in Andagua Antiguo

From top left: AND-606.32 (Andagua, AND-1), AND-617.8 (Andagua, AND-1), AND-973.3 (Lower Antaymarca, AND-29), AND-1098.8 (Pumajallo, AND-97). Bottom Row: AND-727.17 (Andagua, AND-1), AND-609.5 (Andagua, AND-1), AND-815.20 (Soporo, AND-93), AND-849.21 (Soporo, AND-93), AND-575.4 (Andagua, AND-1), AND-608.31 (Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.65: Local Inka/Late Horizon black on red slip plates with concentric lines recovered during survey across the valley

AND-614.10
(Andagua, AND-1, near *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción/ushnu*)



AND-606.53
(Andagua, AND-1, Corrals near *Capilla de la Virgen de Asunción/ushnu*)

Figure A.66: Late Horizon/local Inka plates incorporating local pre-Inka motifs

AND-907.9
(AND-60, Andagua Antiguo)

AND-1150.2
(AND-60, Andagua Antiguo)

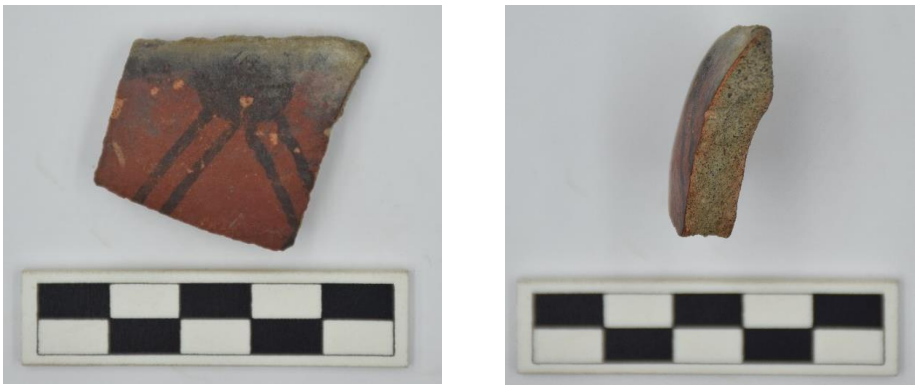
AND-807.10
(AND-93, Soporo)

AND-840.4
(AND-93, Soporo)

Figure A.67: Local Inka/Late Horizon bichrome vessels recovered from Soporo and Andagua Antiguo

AND-1271.113; AND-1271.114; AND-1271.115; AND-1271.116

Figure A.68: Inka polychrome pottery excavated from Andagua Antiguo (AND-60-002)



AND-398.69 (Site AND-77)

AND-147.1 (Isolated Find)

Figure A.69: Bichrome local Inka/Late Horizon bowls recovered during survey

Post-Contact Pottery

Green-Glazed Ware

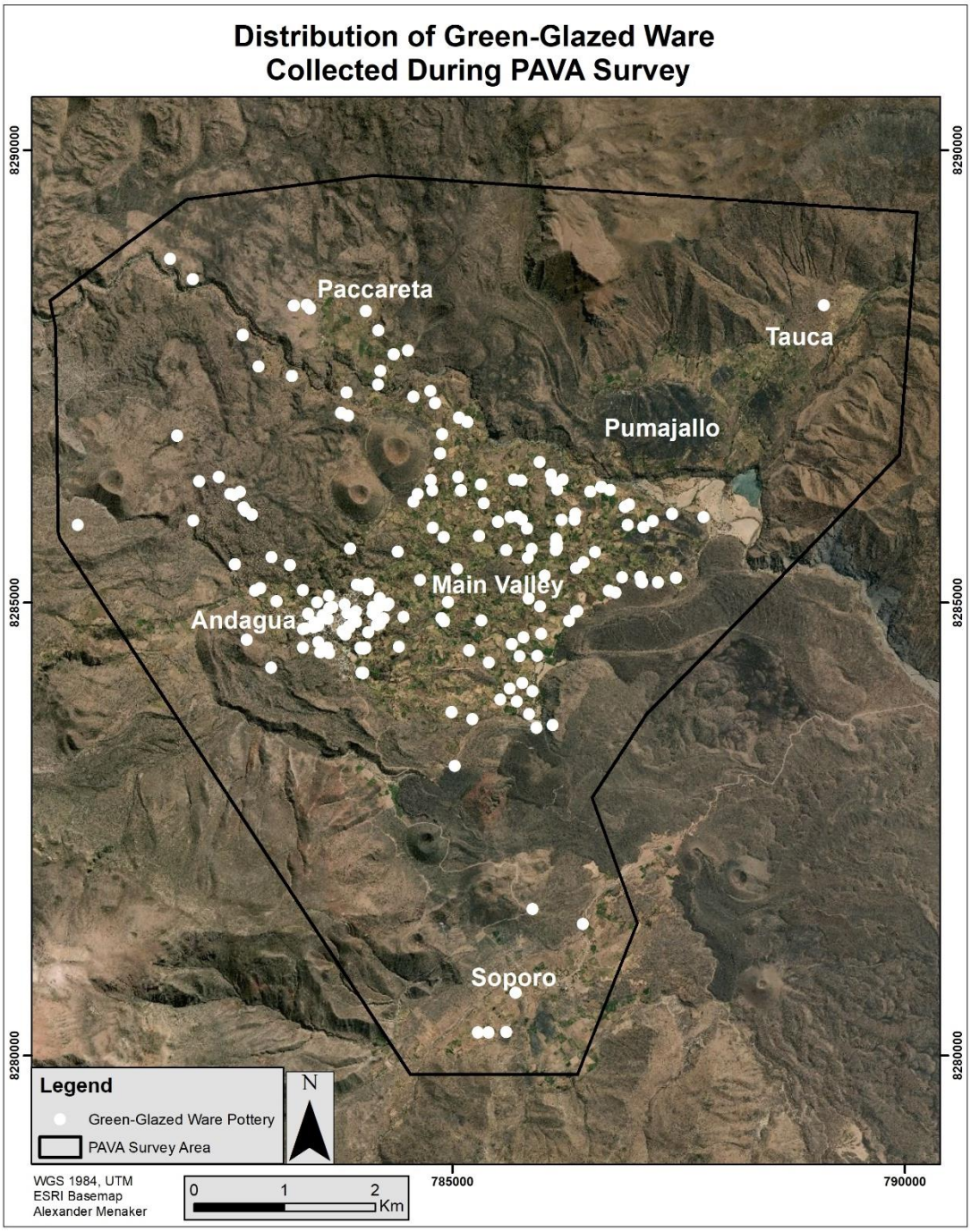


Figure A.70: Map of Regional Distribution of Green-Glazed Ware

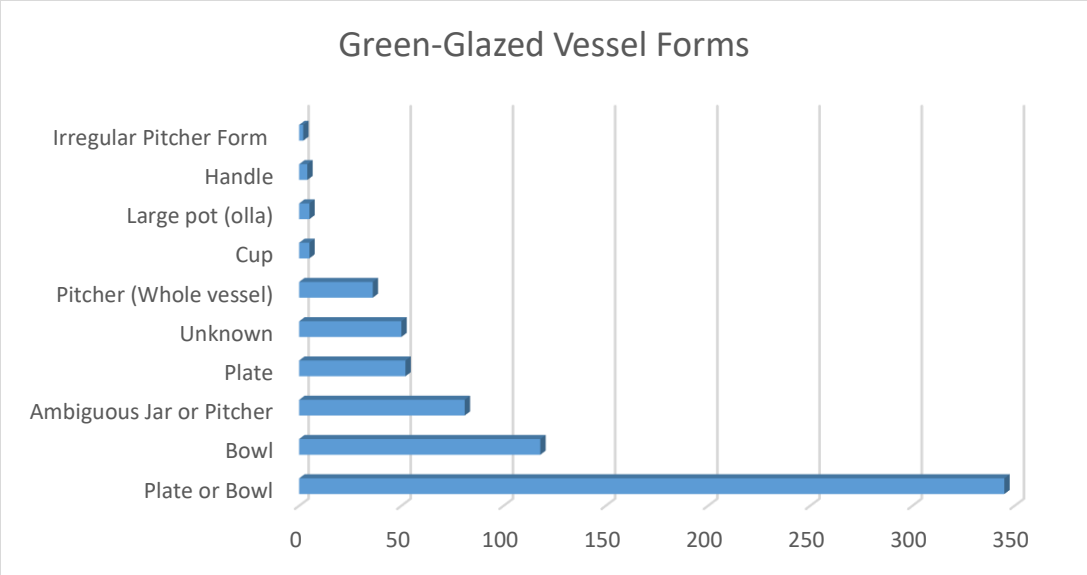


Figure A.71: Green-Glazed ware vessel form

The project collected a total of 699 green glazed ware (MNV) through the course of survey and excavations (4.8% of entire pottery collection). It is most likely that the estimates for green glazed ware are low, since not the entire vessel is glazed, and thus parts of the body appear with dark brown or greyware and are classified as plainware. As discussed in chapters six and seven, green glazed ware are diagnostic of post-contact ceramic production. Beyond identifying the post-contact it can be difficult to chronologically distinguish between colonial and Republican era material culture. Though, the green glazed ware pitchers, with one demarcating a clear post-colonial context with markings of the dates of Peruvian independence, national coat of arms, and location of production (see chapter six), and exemplifies how indigenous people (and local communities) self-identified within the Peruvian nation and recognized their fold into universal history (and time).

Green glazed ware appears to have been locally and regionally produced in areas surrounding Andagua, in particular, Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca north of Andagua in the valley. The historical record, of the 18th century court case, mentions green glazed ware that was produced

in Cusco and was used in offerings of chicha to the deceased ancestors. Archaeological and ethnographic research supports the use and circulation of green glazed ware produced in Chapacoco or Chilcaymarca. Beyond the green glazed ware, the project was informed that utilitarian ware and purple-red Republican era ceramics, often apparent in forms of large storage vessels, were also produced in Chapacoco and Chilcaymarca.

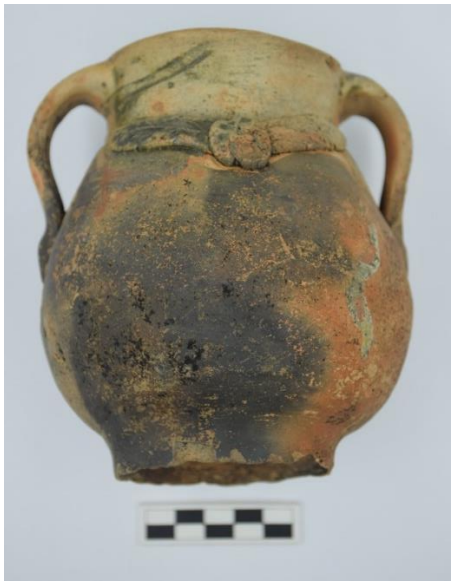
The vessel forms indicate serving uses, with more than 545 characterized for serving (78%). The 112 vessels were characterized as storage or serving, with the majority (66%) identified as ambiguous jars or pitchers (n=74), followed by ambiguous plates or bowls (n=18) and a range of pitchers, bowls and unidentified forms. Nearly half the sherd types were ambiguous plates or open bowls (n=345, 49%). There were 118 vessels that were characterized as bowls, with the majority consisting of shallow rounded bowls (n=41), followed by rounded open bowls (n=27), and large open bowls with flaring rim (n=20), with the remaining collection of bowls composed of varying shallow bowls, along with one cumbrous and few collared bowls. While 52 sherds were identified as plates (7.4%), with 67% (n=35) of the plates categorized as rounded open plates. The project collected five (MNV) small cups, like teacups (see figure A.76).

Some of the most diagnostic green glazed vessels are small pitchers that are used for serving corn beer. These are used for ceremonial festivities as well as primarily for serving during field labor parties, where in exchange for labor people are fed and offered corn beer by the owners of the land. The collection includes 36 complete vessels of small pitchers (*vasijas*) (5%) (28 with handles remaining, 8 with one or less remaining). Green glazed wares broadly includes glazes of varying shades of green, from light green and yellow to dark green, almost black. The small pitchers (*vasijas*) are often decorated with appliques of varying leaves and other motifs while bowls and plates are incised, such as concentric wavy lines and in a few cases leaf motifs as well.

The vessel forms of green glazed ware – consisting of smaller pitchers and bowls or plates – contrasts with other pre-Hispanic and post-contact earthenware vessels that include large pitchers and jars (*cántaros* and *aríbalos* for instance).

AND–133.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

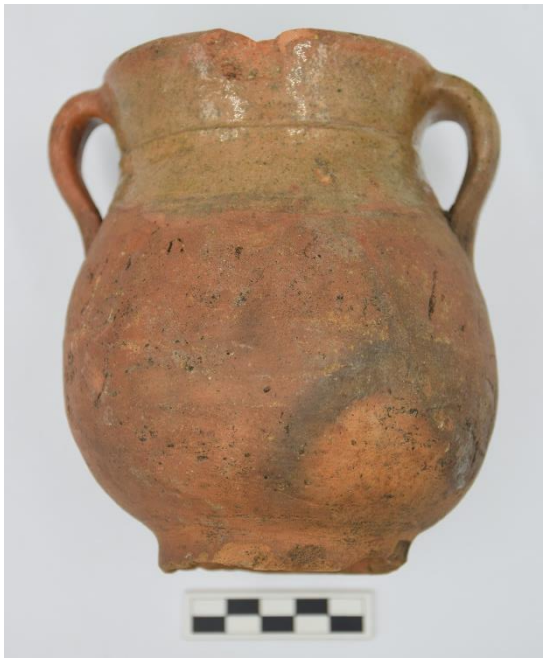
AND-134.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)



AND-135.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

Figure A.72: Examples of Green-Glazed Ware Pitchers (*vasijas* or *jarras*)

AND-136.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)



AND-220.1
(Associated with seasonal field refuge, Main Valley)

AND-250.1

(Site AND-55, Main Valley)

Figure A.73: Examples of Green-Glazed Ware Pitchers (*vasijas* or *jarras*)

AND-249.1
(Site AND-54, Main Valley)

AND-343.1
(Site AND-72, Main Valley)

AND-427.3
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

AND-434.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

Figure A.74: Examples of Green Glazed Ware Pitchers (*vasijas* or *jarras*)

AND-436.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

AND-443.1
(Isolated Find, Main Valley)

AND-902.2
(Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, AND-1 – AND-60)

Figure A.75: Examples of Green Glazed Ware Pitchers (*vasijas* or *jarras*)

AND-900.1
(Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, AND-1 – AND-60)

Figure A.76: Example of Green Glazed Ware Pitcher (*vasija* or *jarra*)

AND-204.1
(Andagua, AND-1)

Figure A.77: Example of Green-Glazed Ware Cup (*taza*)

AND-447.1 (profile and plan views)
(Site AND-83, Main Valley)

AND-446.1 (profile and plan views)
(Site AND-83, Main Valley)

Figure A.78: Examples of Green-Glazed ware bowls

AND-445.1, AND-445.2
(Site AND-83, Main Valley)

AND-312.1
(Site AND-65, Main Valley)

Figure A.79: Examples of green-glazed ware bowls

AND-419.13

Figure A.80: Example of broken green glazed zoomorphic vessel form recovered in main valley near field houses

AND-899.1

Figure A.81: Example of plainware pitcher

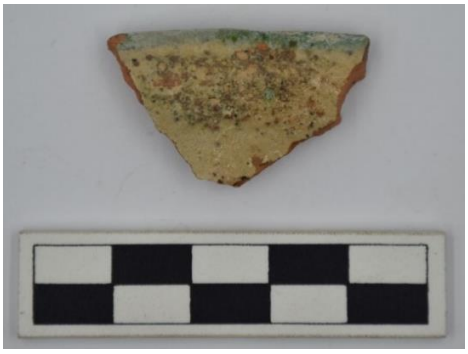
Majolica

Through survey and excavations (and limited surface collections), the project recovered 72 (MNV) majolica sherds (~0.5% of entire pottery collection, 1137g. total weight, from 0.9g to 200.1g sherd range wt.). Majolica is a post-contact Spanish colonial tin-enamel glazed pottery. The project collected 47 majolica fragments (MNV) during survey and 16 majolica sherds (MNV) through excavations, and another nine sherds during surface collection associated with excavations of Andagua and Andagua Antiguo. Excavations at the property of the gamonal (001-002A and 001-002B), were the only test-units that yielded majolica (or transfer print).

Majolica was recovered throughout the project area, with the largest quantities documented in the reducción of Andagua (n=30 total, 41.6%; n=14 survey, n=16 excavations) and Andagua Antiguo (n=4 survey), and at the intersections of Andagua and Andagua Antiguo (n=3 survey, n=9 limited surface collections – 060/001). The presence of majolica overlapped with the post-contact landscape and associated material culture. Majolica was documented (and collected) from multiple field houses and corral features throughout the valley (AND-22 abandoned field house, AND-80, AND-82), as well as, the late pre-Hispanic fieldhouse of AND-77. Documented along routes of transit and other places across the landscape, such as AND-11 and along an old road traversing Soporo to Andagua (and where *botijas* were recovered, discussed below).

Of the collection, 62 (MNV) were identified as serving vessels (SER), including a range of plates (n=19) and bowls (n=7), and due to the fragmentary nature of the collection, thirty-six were identified as ambiguous plates or bowls (36/62, 58%). Five sherds were characterized as ambiguous storage vessels (such as pitchers) that could have been used for storing and serving. Another three sherds were noted as possibly used for storage or serving but their vessel forms were not observable, and two sherds were unobservable across use and vessel form.

AND-35.1
(Near roads between Soporo and Andagua)



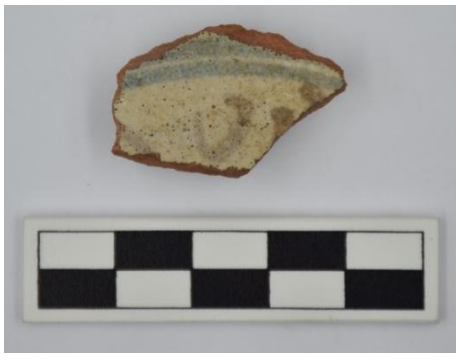
AND-1148.10
(Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

AND-737.1
Andagua, AND-1

AND-893.4
Andagua, AND-1

Figure A.82: Majolica recovered during regional survey in Andagua

AND-1245-2.32



AND-1246-3.34

Figure A.83: Majolica recovered in excavations of the *gamonal* property off the plaza, Andagua; left: excavation unit AND-1-002A; right: excavation unit AND-1-002B

Botijas (Olive Jars)

The project documented and collected 56 *botijas* (MNV) (<0.5% of entire pottery collection, total weight of the collection is 3,505.2g). *Botijas* are a post-contact pottery type that is distinguished by several manufacturing and aesthetic characteristics. The Spanish term "*botija*," roughly translates to earthenware pitcher. John Goggin's (1960) pioneering study identified the vessel calling it an "olive jar," though mentions them referred to as "*botijuelas*" and *botijas*, for its use to store olives, olive oil, and transport of liquid such as wine and brandy (Goggin 1960: 6; Weaver 2015). The form is similar to Mediterranean *amphoras* and is diagnostic for the thick, flaring rim. Though the collection is comprised of all body sherds, including two body and base sherds. The average sherd weight was 64.9g, ranging from 7.2g to 394.8g. The average body thickness of the sherds (and vessels) was 13.7mm – thicker than post-contact local utilitarian ware and green glazed ware. The sherds and vessels are diagnostic for their buff-light brown-beige slip on the exterior and often unslipped interior that is also marked by striations indicative of wheel thrown techniques, which were not present in the pre-Hispanic past. The *botijas* recovered in Andagua were not likely produced locally and far outnumbered compared to other post-contact material culture such as green glazed ware and purple-red utilitarian ware.

While the historical court case of the 18th century does not mention the term "*botijas*," there is a steady reference to the commercial transport of wine, brandy and other commodities from the Majes and coastal valleys into the highlands, with Andagua as an important node in the regional relationships and networks. It is most likely that *botijas* were among the myriad of vessels that were used to store and transport such commodities across the region. In the southern Peruvian valley of Palpa, near Ica and Pisco, Brendan Weaver's research of Afro-Peruvian enslaved labor at Jesuit Haciendas has recovered extensive collections of *botijas* used for wine and brandy

production and storage (Weaver 2015). Archaeological research in Andagua demonstrates the importance of attending to lines of evidence beyond the historical record.

The *botija* artifacts were found in a range of contexts with the largest quantity beyond the reducción of Andagua and often associated with features and areas of transit and fieldwork. Only one *botija* sherd was recovered in the formal *reducción* of Andagua. While two *botija* sherds were recovered in Andagua Antiguo, including one near a disturbed mortuary feature (AND-59). Several fragments (n=4) were collected by the chapel of San Antonio de Padua, located at the edge of the site of Quisgurani and the reducción of Andagua. The largest collection was recovered at the site of AND-78 (n=27, 48%), which is comprised of multiple stone walled corrals and abandoned rectangular structures. The canal that irrigates the agricultural fields of Paccareta passes nearby. This site qualifies more as an estancia for its larger size and location in the open pampa rather than fieldhouses which are located in and articulate with terraced fields. One botija was recovered at the site of Tauca (AND-96), where late pre-Hispanic structures are currently used for corrals. Many botijas were recovered in areas of transit and in the fields surrounding the densely populated towns, highlighting their uses for storage and transportation and circulation throughout the landscape. This includes multiple botijas (n=5) found along the remaining visible traces of a path, and near the site of AND-9, that travels between Soporo and Andagua. Botijas were recovered at multiple abandoned field houses located throughout the survey area, from in the main valley (AND-44) to north of Twin Volcanoes (AND-8) and into the northern extent of the survey area (AND-80).

Figure A.84: Wheel thrown *botija*, or olive jar, recovered during regional survey

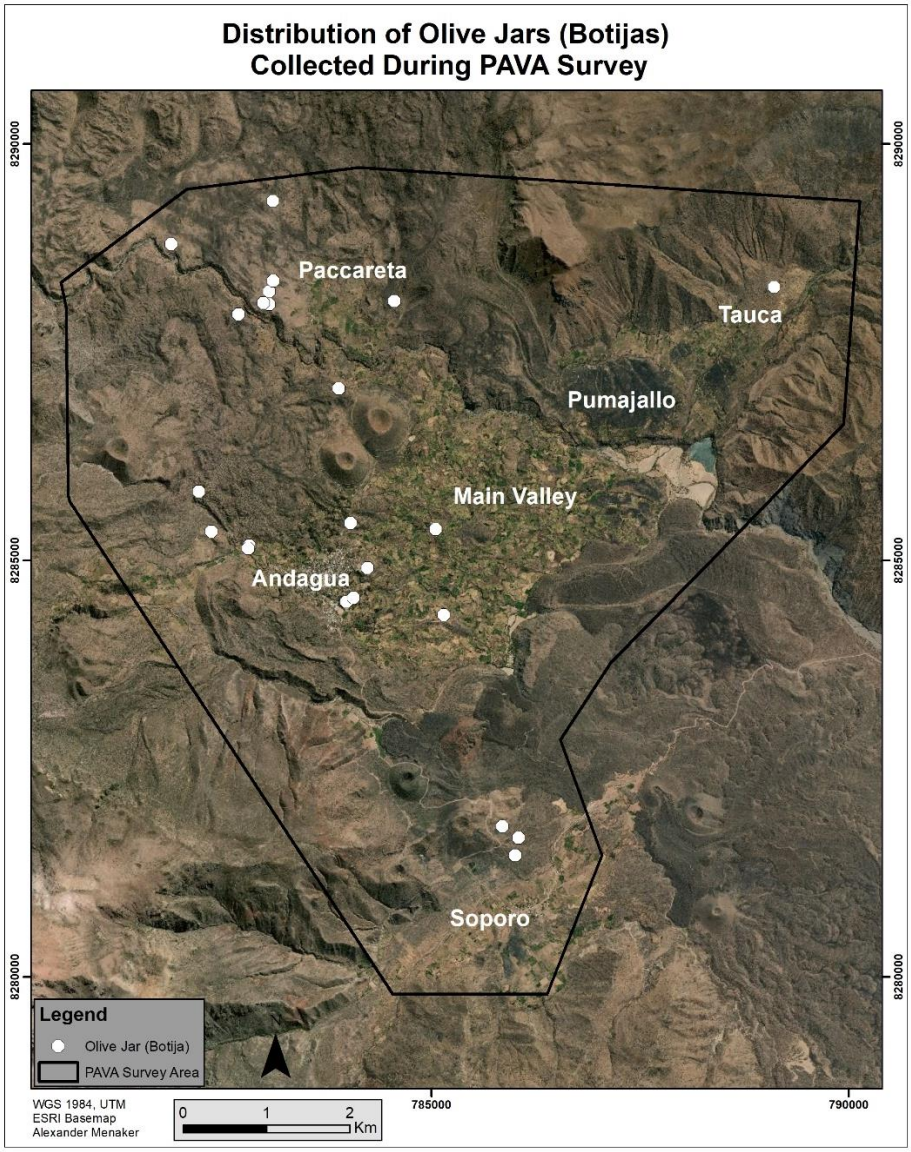


Figure A.85: Regional distribution of *botijas*, olive jars, recovered during PAVA survey

II. Lithics

Obsidian in the Valley of Volcanoes

During regional survey, the project collected 29 obsidian artifacts (95.2g). The majority of obsidian artifacts were flakes (n=19, 65.5%), followed by five possible scrapers (17%), two projectile points (~7%), two perforators (~7%), and one worked flake.

The project yielded tenuous to no diagnostic evidence indicative of pre-ceramic (Paleo-Indian and archaic period) inhabitation. Some of the obsidian points are similar to those identified in the Southern Peruvian highlands but their occurrence stretches across broad swathes of time, with the obsidian collection providing little indication to chronological resolution during the pre-ceramic (Klink and Aldenderfer 2005). This is most likely due to two key factors: first, the scope of the survey area was focused in the *kichwa* zone of the terraced valley (3000-3600masl) stretching to the undulating volcanic pampa below the highland folds of the rising *puna* (3600 – 4000masl), and secondly, the valley floor was forged through volatile volcanic activity during the Holocene. This volcanic history both made this an inhospitable landscape to early human inhabitation and most likely affected any corresponding preservation of early human inhabitation making it difficult to reconstruct and identify early human activities.

One of the only contexts that could indicate association with early human inhabitation involved the recovery of worked obsidian flakes in a river drainage west of the Late Horizon/Inka site of Quisguarani and near possible pre-Hispanic rock shelters (AND-113.1 and 114.1). One obsidian flake was recovered in the 100-hectare site of Quisguarani indicative Inka state planning.

The perforators were similar to Neira Avendano's (1998) documentation in the Arequipa region, with one documented at the northern extent of the survey area in open pampa and another

collected at the eastern edge of Andagua near the chapel/*ushnu* feature. It is unclear of the antiquity of these types of perforators (AND-71.1, AND-96.3).

One of the projectile points (AND-33.1) was recovered associated with the registered site of AND-31, which is a monolith (*wank'a*) oriented towards and mimicking the hill down valley. We placed an excavation test-pit (001-003) at the foot of the monolith and recovered additional obsidian and lithic artifacts in diagnostic contexts. The other point, while listed as an isolated find, was collected below the hill of Awayanki (site AND-92) and nearby the occupation of Soporo (AND-93). The site of Soporo exemplifies archaeological evidence from early sedentism through the Inka state expansion, and the feature of Awayanki is indicative of pre-Inka communities of practice formed through non-state socio-political organization. This is demonstrated by an extensive distribution of painted discs associated with a large rock outcrop (*wank'a*) also with red paint on it (see chapter three).

The project recovered 129 obsidian artifacts during the second phase of research carried out by PAVA, which involved excavations and limited surface collections surrounding the sites and areas of excavation. Similarly to the regional survey a large majority of the collection were flakes (n=103), and 17 projectile points (n=17), five preform, three scrapers, and one core.

Specifically, 24 obsidian artifacts were recovered through limited surface collections across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo, the site of Paccareta and another as an isolated find. Seventeen artifacts were collected from the contemporary town (and *reducción*) of Andagua (AND-1) in the surrounding area of the excavation unit (001-001) located at the eastern edge of town near the chapel/ushnu platform. Five obsidian artifacts – a preform, a point and three flakes – were documented across Andagua Antiguo (AND-60) and in the area adjacent to excavation unit (060-001). Lastly, one scraper (worked flake) was recovered through surface collections at the site

of Paccareta (AND-84) during this second phase of field research, and another obsidian artifact indicative of a preform was collected as an isolated find.

Extensive obsidian flakes (n=64, 47.0g) were recovered during excavations from unit 001-001, located near the *ushnu*/chapel feature at the edge of Andagua. The project documented 14 obsidian artifacts (59.9g) during excavations at the *wank'a* at the southern edge of Andagua (AND-31, excavation unit AND-1-003), and included four finely crafted points (1.1g – 7.5g), one core (43.1g) and nine flakes (0.1g – 2.2g, 0.1g mode) (see figure A.90). Obsidian artifacts (n=24) were recovered from Andagua Antiguo excavations. This included 17 flakes, six projectile points, and one preform. The obsidian points were recovered from locus 1255, level 4, two from locus 1259, and three from locus 1260. This excavation unit revealed a pre-Inka context, with excavations carried out in a broad pre-Inka/non-Inka complex, with a red anthropomorphic figure painted on a nearby rock outrcrop. Excavations at Paccareta yielded three obsidian flakes (7.6g), with two flakes of 0.1 g with the third much larger (7.4g). These were excavated from loci 1228, 1229 and 1231.

The project, in collaboration with Dr. Kurt Rademaker, carried out the first archaeometric analysis to identify the sources of the obsidian collection recovered by PAVA 2015 – 2017. Our results are in preparation for publication, and here I present the foundational results of our analysis (Menaker and Rademaker in prep). Following Rademaker's analysis, the vast majority 90.6% (n=126) of the samples tested, indicate Alca-1 as the source. Four samples (2.9%) are Alca-5. According to Rademaker, Alca-1, Alca-4, and Alca-5 are sources are found on the plateau west of the Coropuna and within the Pucuncho basin, so these results indicate Pucuncho Basin-Andagua links (Menaker and Rademaker in prep).

Obsidian Recovered during PAVA 2015 Regional Survey										
Obsidian Artifact Type	**Site or Context**									**Total**
	AND-1	**AND-2**	**AND-29**	**AND-31**	**AND-32**	**AND-61**	**AND-84**	**AND-96**	**Isolated Find**	
Scraper	1					1	1	1	1	**5**
Flake	8	1	1		1		2		6	**19**
Worked flake					1					**1**
Perforator	1								1	**2**
Point				1					1	**2**
Total	**10**	**1**	**1**	**1**	**2**	**1**	**3**	**1**	**9**	**29**

Table A.3: Obsidian recovered during PAVA 2015 regional survey

Obsidian Recovered during PAVA 2016 Excavations and Surface Collections									
Obsidian Artifact Type	**Excavations (Site-Unit)**				**Surface Collection (Site)**				
	AND-1-001	**AND-1-003**	**AND-60-001**	**AND-84-001**	**AND-1**	**AND-60**	**AND-84**	**Isolated Find**	**Total**
Core		1							**1**
Scraper					2		1		**3**
Flake	64	9	17	3	7	3			**103**
Point		4	6		6	1			**17**
Preform			1		2	1		1	**5**
Total	**64**	**14**	**24**	**3**	**17**	**5**	1	1	**129**

Table A.4: Obsidian recovered during PAVA 2016 excavations and surface collections

Obsidian Recovered during PAVA 2015 Regional Survey										
Artifact Number	**Site**	**Context**	**UTM East**	**UTM North**	**Elevation (masl)**	**Form**	**Diaphanous**	**Length/Width Dimensions (mm)**	**Thickness (mm)**	**Weight (g)**
13.1	Isolated Find		783874	8287813	3677	flake	opaque	39.5 x 20.6	12.1	7.1
33.1	AND-31		784013	8284225	3617	point	translucent	17.6 x 14.7	5.1	1
40.1	AND-32		784297	8283956	3590	flake	opaque	21.9 x 22.2	7.6	3.2
40.2	AND-32		784297	8283956	3590	worked flake	translucent	19.8 x 18.3	4.8	1.7
46.1	AND-1 (Andagua)		783868	8284733	3606	flake	opaque	23.5 x 8.8	11.4	1
56.1	Isolated Find		785128	8284420	3505	scraper	translucent	39.2 x 31.7	6.5	9
57.1	AND-61		785220	8284507	3518	scraper	semi-translucent	25.6 x 21.4	5.3	1
65.1	Isolated Find		785909	8283617	3383	flake	translucent	22.5 x 28.2	9.2	3.6
71.1	Isolated Find		783155	8288985	3665	“perforator”*	translucent	24.6 x 22.9	5.8	2.6
84.1	Isolated Find		787381	8285271	3285	flake	semi-translucent	30.5 x 25.4	10.8	7.1
89.1	Isolated Find		785413	8286333	3568	flake	semi-translucent	26.6 x 17.2	10.3	3.9
90.1	AND-1 (Andagua)	Stairs of Chapel of San Antonio de Padua	782821	8285137	3640	flake	semi-translucent	12.5 x 15.1	9.9	1.6
91.1	AND-1 (Andagua)	Chapel of San Antonio de Padua	782811	8285224	3637	flake	opaque	12.4 x 8.3	2.4	0.1
94.1	AND-1 (Andagua)	Northeast of the Chapel of the Virgin	784210	8284890	3600	scraper	opaque	31.8 x 30.1	4.7	3.9
96.1	AND-1 (Andagua)		784232	8284902	3582	flake	translucent	41.2 x 30.9	12.3	9.2
96.2	AND-1 (Andagua)		784232	8284902	3582	flake	semi-translucent	23.8 x 28.4	11.6	4.9
96.3	AND-1 (Andagua)		784232	8284902	3582	“perforator”	opaque	26.4 x 16.4	8.2	3.8

Table A.5: Detailed Inventory and Analysis of Obsidian Collection from PAVA Survey

Obsidian Recovered during PAVA 2015 Regional Survey										
Artifact Number	**Site**	**Context**	**UTM East**	**UTM North**	**Elevation (masl)**	**Form**	**Diaphanous**	**Length/Width Dimensions (mm)**	**Thickness (mm)**	**Weight (g)**
109.1	AND-84 (Paccareta)	Mortuary feature	784321	8287870	3674	flake	opaque	22.7 x 20.4	6.4	1.8
113.1	Isolated Find	In rain drainage at edge of Quisguarani	782140	8285907	3734	flake	translucent	26.7 x 29.5	7.4	4.2
114.1	Isolated Find	In rain drainage at edge of Quisguarani	782140	8285307	3734	flake	semi-translucent	27.7 x 22.3	5.2	2.2
115.1	AND-1 (Andagua)	Southwest side of the Chapel of the Virgin	784195	8284807	3573	flake	opaque	18.1 x 14.8	5.6	1.2
115.2	AND-1 (Andagua)	Southwest side of the Chapel of the Virgin	784195	8284807	3573	flake	translucent	17.5 x 13.4	3.5	1.1
118.1	AND-2 (Quisguarani)		783015	8285333	3663	flake	opaque	15.2 x 13.7	5.1	0.7
120.1	Isolated Find	Near Awayanki, AND-92	785668	8280552	3516	point	translucent	28.3 x 21.5	8.1	4.4
125.1	AND-1 (Andagua)		783921	8284729	3615	flake	semi-translucent	30.6 x 28.5	8.8	5.8
128.1	AND-29 (Lower Antaymarca)		785326	8283069	3531	flake	opaque	20.4 x 13.7	11.2	1.8
137.1	AND-84 (Paccareta)		784187	8288149	3641	scraper	translucent	21.6 x 18.7	3.3	1.4
137.2	AND-84 (Paccareta)		784187	8288149	3641	flake	semi-translucent	28.3 x 24.9	4.1	2.8
139.1	AND-96 (Tauca)		788854	8288372	3479	scraper	translucent	21.8 x 16.2	9.4	3.1

Table A.6: Detailed Inventory and Analysis of Obsidian Collection from PAVA Survey (continued)

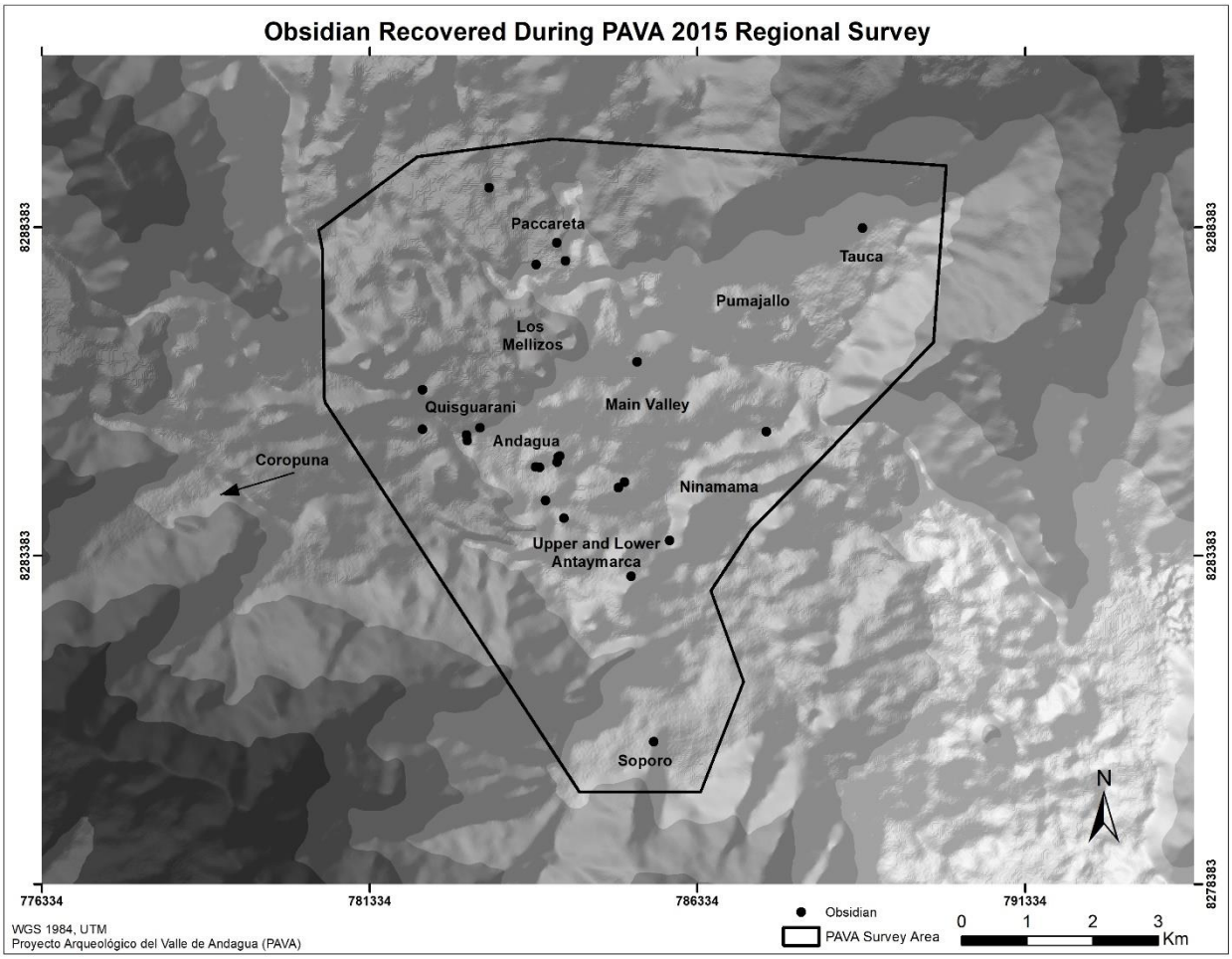
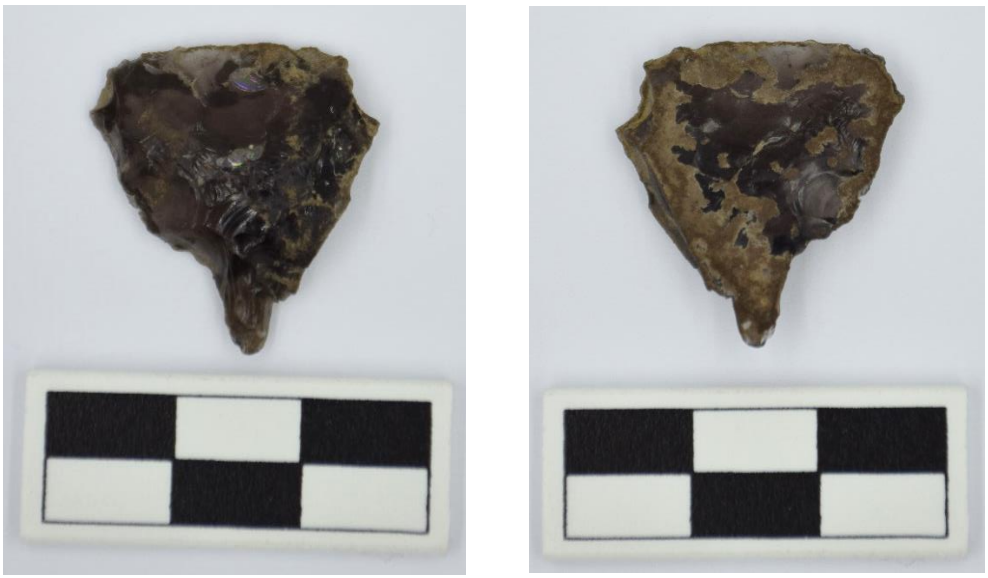


Figure A.86: Map of regional distribution of obsidian recovered during PAVA 2015 regional survey

AND-120.1

Figure A.87: Obsidian point recovered near Awayanki (AND-92) during regional survey



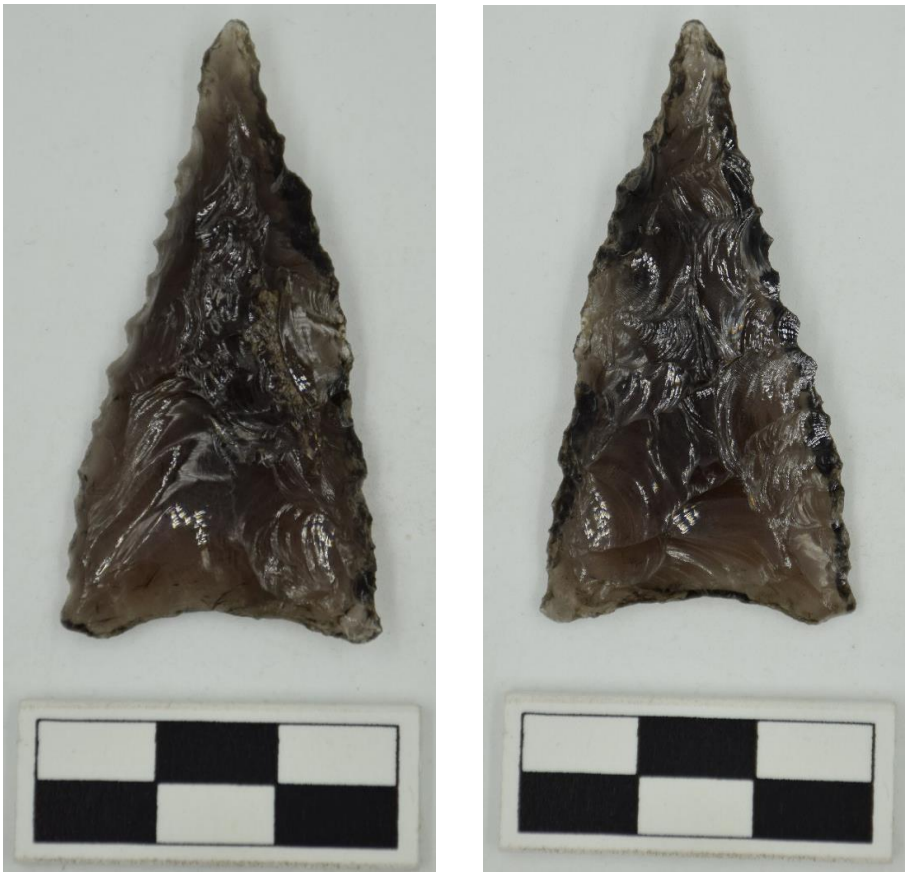
AND-71.1

AND-1335.1 (“perforator,” Andagua Antiguo, AND-60)

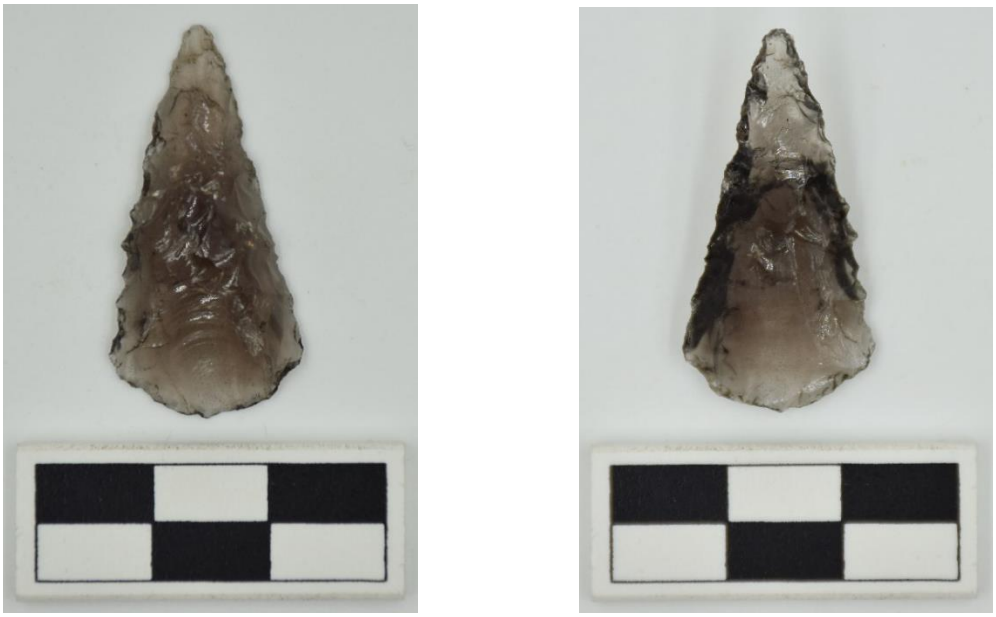
Figure A.88: Examples of obsidian “perforator” (see Neira Avendano 1998) recovered throughout the valley and at Andagua Antiguo

AND-1251.1 (artifact #1)

Figure A.89: Obsidian core recovered from excavation unit 001-003, *wank'a* at the southern edge of Andagua

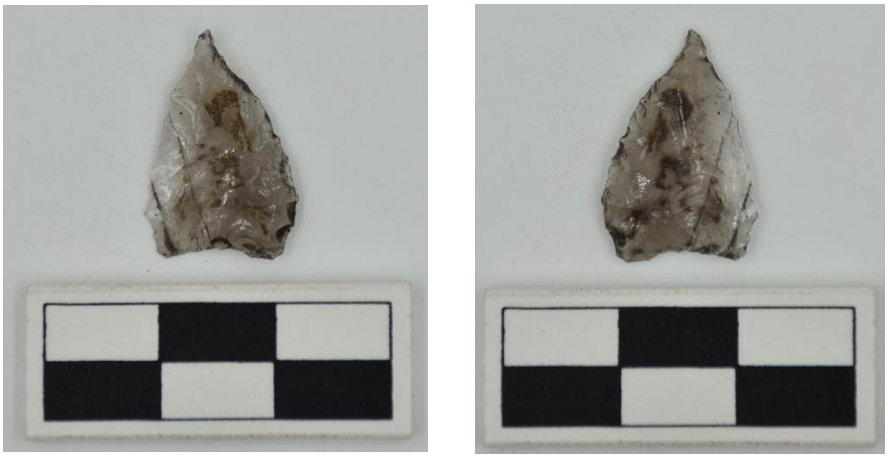


AND-1251-2.1



AND-1251-3.1

Figures A.90: Obsidian points recovered from excavation unit 001-003, *wank'a* at the southern edge of Andagua



AND-1259-1.1

Figure A.91: Obsidian point recovered from excavation unit 060-001, Andagua Antiguo

III. Review of Excavations

PAVA 2016-2017 excavated 10 distinct test-units, seven units of 2x2m and three units of 1x1m, at six distinct archaeological sites. These units were placed in pre-Inka (Middle Horizon, Late Intermediate Period), Inka (Late Horizon), and post-contact contexts from Spanish colonialism through the recent past under the auspices of Peruvian nation-state. Specifically, excavation units were placed in Andagua (AND-1; four test pits), Andagua Antiguo (AND-60; two test pits), Quisguarani (AND-2; one test pit), Paccareta (AND-84; one test pit), Upper Antaymarca (AND-95; one test pit) and Lower Antaymarca (AND-29; one test pit). The total artifact inventory from surface collections and excavations includes 5,393 ceramics (4,766 from excavations, 627 from surface collections), 387 lithics, 15 fragments of metal, glass, 1137 faunal bone fragments, shell, brick, and carbon samples.

The locus count started at 1201 because survey 2015 inventory went to 1155 and to provide continuity in our survey and excavations, we continued the inventory rather than starting at 1001. Consequently, technically there are no artifacts registered from 1156-1199. This was ultimately quite useful for analysis since we carried our artifact analysis of excavations and survey concurrent with one another and there was no concern for overlapping and confusing contexts across survey and excavations. Throughout the course of excavations we excavated loci 1201 to 1271. Since we also carried out excavation units concurrently, I would assign a block of loci so that each unit loci would be continuous. Unsure of the possible extent of the excavations, in a few cases this resulted in loci not being used for excavation contexts; for instance there are no loci 1232 – 1234, 1241 – 1244, 1253 – 1254.

PAVA 2016 Excavation Units		Datum			
Site–Unit	**Unit Size**	**UTM: East**	**UTM: North**	**Elevation: masl**	**Loci**
AND-1 (Andagua) – 001	2m x 2m	784220	8284927	3623	1235 - 1240
AND-1 (Andagua) – 002A	1m x 1m	783611	8284697	3629	1245 - 1249
AND-1 (Andagua) – 002B	1m x 1m	783619	8284704	3621	1246
AND-1 (Andagua) – 003	2m x 2m with 50cm x 50cm expansion	784014	8284225	3615	1251 - 1252
AND-2 (Quisguarani) – 001	2m x 2m with .5m^2 expansion	782498	8286024	3750	1201 - 1210
AND-29 (Lower Antaymarca) – 001	2m x 2m	785121	8283202	3580	1216 - 1220
AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 001	2m x 2m with .5m^2 expansion	784154	8284506	3616	1255 - 1261
AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 002	1m x 1m	784070	8284695	3600	1265 - 1271
AND-84 (Paccareta) – 001	2m x 2m	784171	8288014	3695	1221 - 1231
AND-95 (Antaymarca) – 001	2m x 2m	785139	8282915	3601	1211 - 1215

Table A.7: Review of Excavation Units

#	SITE – EXCAVATION UNIT	MATERIAL	QUANTITY	WEIGHT (g)
1	AND-1 (Andagua) – 001	CERAMIC	787	6,184.3
2	AND-1 (Andagua) – 002A	CERAMIC	650	5,455
3	AND-1 (Andagua) – 002B	CERAMIC	270	1,913
4	AND-1 (Andagua) – 003	CERAMIC	124	1,071
5	AND-2 (Quisguarani) – 001	CERAMIC	109	629.8
6	AND-29 (Lower Antaymarca) – 001	CERAMIC	296	1,884
7	AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 001	CERAMIC	334	8,074.1
8	AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 002	CERAMIC	332	6,686
9	AND-84 (Paccareta) – 001	CERAMIC	1,780	27,538.6
10	AND-95 (Antaymarca) – 001	CERAMIC	54	413.4
	TOTAL	**CERAMIC**	4,766	60,786.9g
	Surface Collections	**CERAMIC**	627	14,303
	PAVA 2016 TOTAL	**CERAMIC**	5,393	75,089

Table A.8: Ceramic inventory from PAVA 2016 (excavations and surface collections)

#	SITE – EXCAVATION UNIT	MATERIAL	QUANTITY	WEIGHT (g)
1	AND-1 (Andagua) – 001	LITHIC	70	267.5
2	AND-1 (Andagua) – 002A	LITHIC	NA	NA
3	AND-1 (Andagua) – 002B	LITHIC	1	14.7
4	AND-1 (Andagua) – 003	LITHIC	27	1,965.2
5	AND-2 (Quisguarani) – 001	LITHIC	NA	NA
6	AND-29 (Lower Antaymarca) – 001	LITHIC	5	1083.4
7	AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 001	LITHIC	41	764.2
8	AND-60 (Andagua Antiguo) – 002	LITHIC	6	114.4
9	AND-84 (Paccareta) –001	LITHIC	145	9,415
10	AND-95 (Antaymarca) – 001	LITHIC	17	1190.1
	EXCAVATION TOTAL	**LITHIC**	**315**	**15,049.7**
	Surface Collections	**LITHIC**	**72**	**9,215.6**
	PAVA 2016 TOTAL	**LITHIC**	**387**	**24,265.3**

Table A.9: Lithic inventory from PAVA 2016 (excavations and surface collections)

1. Site AND-001 (Andagua) – Unit 001 (2 x 2m) (Locus 1235 – 1240)

This unit was excavated in a corral field 60m x 65m in area demarcated by stone walls, located just to the northeast of the chapel of the *Virgen de la Asunción*. This area is located at the edge of the contemporary town of Andagua (see images below). During survey the project documented some of the highest concentrations of artifacts in this area and surrounding the chapel. While this unit is labeled as 001-001, it was not the first unit excavated and thus the loci in this unit are 1235–1240. Prior to excavations the field was used as a parking lot for the festival celebrating the Virgen de Asuncion, associated with the nearby chapel and *ushnu* platform, and involved several days of bullfighting with people parking their cars in the surrounding area. This is one of the most recent factors that most likely contributed to the preservation status of artifacts. During excavations, we were also informed by the owner of the property that a tractor came through to flatten the area and exposed extensive quantities of artifacts, including a possible Inka *aríbalo*, but it was broken and was subsequently discarded.

Excavations revealed a disturbed context with limited evidence of in situ cultural deposits and no architectural features. This is exemplified by a lack of architectural evidence and the abundance of (broken) artifacts located at the top stratigraphic levels. We excavated to a depth of a meter in the northern half of the unit. Despite the disturbed contexts, excavations affirm the area's pre-Hispanic significance through Inka expansion and continuing to the recent past. The import of this area as a locus of ceremonial gathering and feasting is exemplified by the extensive artifact collection of pottery and lithics.

In total the excavation unit yielded 788 ceramic artifacts (MNV) (3432.9g total weight), with only 22 painted pottery sherds (~2.8%). Nine sherds (MNV) were painted black on red slip, possibly indicative of late pre-Hispanic styles. One plate vessel exemplifies local Late Horizon

styles with black concentric lines on the interior below the rim (see figures, AND-1235.6, AND-1235.8). At the same time, these samples could be considered ambiguously pre-Hispanic and include five samples that exhibited variations of black on rims, along with samples that had fragments of black paint designs. Nearly all of the black painted designs were recovered in the initial loci and one was recovered in locus 1238. Seven pottery sherds were painted with black and white on orange/red slip. Two samples, recovered from locus 1236, were painted with the rhombus/diamond pattern indicative of Late Horizon and Inka styles. The remaining samples were partial geometric motifs. Two sherds had purple-red paint on orange/beige/light brown indicative of post-contact varieties.

The remaining majority of the pottery collection excavated in the unit consisted of unpainted sherds (n=766, 97%). Making up nearly 90% of the collection (87%), 685 fragments were identified as ambiguous large pitchers (of Inka or non-Inka provenience) with sherd types ranging from rim fragments, body sherds, neck carination, shoulder, handle joins, as well as, encompassing body to base. These vessel forms are indicative of use for storage and serving, probably for *chicha*, and supports the area's probable significance for feasting and consumption.

Locus 1235 was topsoil, which was ephemeral, composed of loose dirt, straw and broken-down feces. In locus 1235, we recovered 18 pottery sherds that were of significant size and quality that survived washing and sorting for lab analysis. Beneath this layer, the soil appeared more compact with rocky inclusions and would be denominated locus 1236. Locus 1236 was excavated in multiple levels, broken down according to arbitrary levels for control. In level 1236-1, we recovered 260 pottery sherds (MNV). In locus 1236, level 1, excavations revealed a Soporo style ceramic; it is the only time we recovered Soporo pottery from any excavation contexts, but as mentioned, this is from a disturbed context. In level 2 of locus 1236, excavations yielded 362

pottery sherds (MNV). Locus 1237 yielded 39 pottery sherds (548.5g total weight), all unpainted. Eighty-one pottery sherds were recovered in locus 1238, with 5 painted sherds, including two black and white on red slip, one black on red slip, as well as, one purple on orange slip and one white on greyware. No pottery was recovered from locus 1239, with the project reaching practically culturally sterile contexts with loci 1239 and 1240.

The project recovered 71 lithic artifacts with the majority as obsidian fragments (n=64, 90%), which was the greatest overall percentage of obsidian recovered from a single excavation unit. All of the obsidian excavated were flakes of varying sizes (total weight 47.0g, and ranging from 0.1g to 5.2g). The remaining lithics (n=7) included two stone (slate) tablets painted red, and varying small lithic flakes from quartz, basalt, quartz, and possibly jasper. The project also collected a substantial quantity of obsidian artifacts associated in the corral of Sr. Guillen) during both formal regional survey and surface collections carried out in conjunction with excavations (see figures; AND-1331.1, 1331.2). Of the obsidian artifacts collected during surface collections associated with excavations (PAVA 2016), seven were flakes, six projectile points, two preforms, and two scrapers.

Figure A.92: View of excavation unit, 001-001, located to the east of the *Capilla de la Virgen/ushnu* (chapel and platform visible in top image)

Figure A.93: View of excavation unit, 001-001, from the chapel/*ushnu* platform with the Twin volcanoes in the background

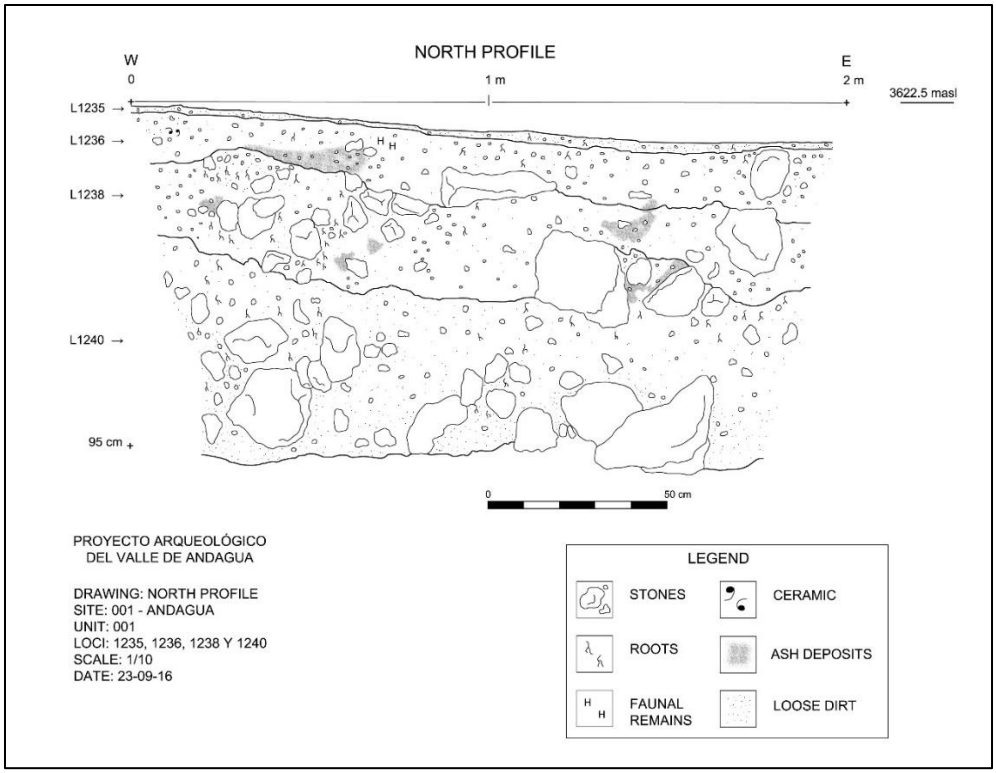


Figure A.94: North profile drawing of excavation unit, 001-001, Andagua

Figure A.95: End of excavation unit, AND-001–001, Andagua

2. Site AND-001 (Andagua) – Unit 002A (1 x 1m) (Locus 1245 – 1249)

This unit was placed in the town of Andagua, adjacent to the plaza in the original property of the *gamonal* family (this also discussed in chapter seven). We placed a 1x1m excavation test unit (001-002A) in what we were told was once a stable (*huerto*) and located in the lower step of the terraced space. A large stone wall (greater than 5 meters tall), remaining from when the property was a stable, stands to the south. We excavated to a depth of 1.4m revealing material culture that exhibited a range of historical activities and contexts, stretching from the late pre-Hispanic to the 20th century. The post-contact archaeological evidence supported the use of the area as a stable and consisted of ceramics, metal (horseshoes, nails), brick, glass, as well as, the presence of large bones indicative of animals (cattle or horses) of European origins.[1]

In total excavations of unit 001-002A recovered 646 ceramic sherds (total 4,976g) with 555 ceramic fragments of orange, brown and red earthen plainware (85.9%) (and 460 of these are body fragments). Diagnostic post-contact ceramics included local green-glazed wares (n=42, 6.5%), purple-red on orange earthenware (n=14, 2.2%), several non-local artifacts including *majolica* (n=10, 1.5%) and the only examples of probable 19th century transfer-prints (n=3, <1%) collected by the project (besides one sample recovered in unit 001-002B). Excavations further recovered diagnostic pre-Hispanic ceramic sherds (n=17, 2.6%) from the lowest locus 1248, including black on red (and orange) slip, but many of these were small fragments with limited samples of motifs. Excavations in the property did not reach sterile soil due to the difficult depths and compact surfaces. Excavations revealed important collections offering insights into the extent of the pre-Hispanic past through the recent pasts. The artifacts excavated confirm a pre-Hispanic

[1] We were able to broadly identify species, distinguishing the features of Old World animals (such as horses and cattle) from New World camelids. A more comprehensive faunal analysis is in process, but is not expected to be completed by the date of the dissertation defense.

and Inka footprint beneath the *reducción* of Andagua and further demonstrate the performance of *gamonal* identity through the recent past.

Figure A.96: End of excavation unit 001–002A, Andagua

3. Site AND-001 (Andagua) – Unit 002B (1 x 1m) (Locus 1246)

Another 1x1 excavation unit was placed in the former property of the *gamonal*. Supposedly was used as a bakery in the early 20th century. Reached a cobble stone floor and stopped the excavation, the depth was overall uniform across the unit around 40cm, and in the deepest context the unit reached 52cm. The contexts were also disturbed with limited cultural or natural distinction. The entire unit was excavated as a single locus though separated into four distinct levels for control. Excavations yielded pottery, faunal bone remains, lithic, metal and glass. Limited faunal remains were recovered from levels 2, 3 and 4 (with a total weight of 267.3g). In total, 268 pottery sherds (MNV) were recovered from the unit (1,722.3g total weight). Pottery distribution across the levels includes; 46 sherds excavated from locus 1246 – level 1, 87 sherds from locus 1246 – level 2, 59 sherds from locus 1246 – level 3, and 76 sherds from locus 1246 – level 4.

Nearly 97% of the collection excavated (n=259) is categorized as unpainted pottery sherds, including green glazed ware (n=31), and a range of earthenware from dark brown to orange slipped and, unslipped. The collection further included three majolica sherds, one whiteware with transfer print (there were three other fragments identified as whiteware, but unpainted). Three painted sherds were possibly pre-Hispanic with black, white and purple on red slip and white on orange slip, and purple and brown painted on orange slip. Two purple-red on orange indicative of post-contact styles. One of the most diagnostic and unique artifacts was a zoomorphic figurine made of ceramic, possibly in the form of cattle, which was recovered at the base of the unit at the level of the cobble stone floor. While we can only speculate on its significance, it evokes the possibility that it served as a post-contact *conopa* – a small and portable *wak'a* (sacred object) – that exemplifies enduring traditions amidst novel contexts where distinct species played integral roles in the livelihoods of residents.

Just over two-thirds (n=183, 68%) of vessel forms were sherds from large ambiguous pitchers (108 of these are categorized as *cántaros* due to a lack of a distinct flaring rim), most likely used for storage and serving. This is followed by 33 sherds (12%) that are fragments from either plates or bowls, while 18 sherds are from a range of bowl types including cumbrous bowls, shallow open bowls as well as straight-sided bowls among other varieties. It is also worth noting the presence of closed neckless pots (n=8) like the Soporo pottery style but these are of post-contact production. Further considering the uses of the pottery collection; 160 pottery sherds were characterized for storage or serving (160, 60%), 61 for serving (23%), 27 for cooking or storage (10%), 13 not observable (5%) and 6 listed as storage, along with one special function (which is a small zoomorphic figurine).

Figure A.97: End of excavation unit 001–002B, Andagua

4. Site 001 (Andagua) – Unit 003 (2 x 2m) (Locus 1250 – 1252)

This unit was placed at a probable *wank'a* (monolith) located at the southern edge of the contemporary town of Andagua. The unit encompassed and investigating the landscape surrounding a rock outcrop that appears to mimic the large hill, Cerro Mirador, down valley. Boulders and rocks mimicking landscape features is a prominent aspect of Andean cultural practices. During survey we documented this feature as site AND-31, but for excavations it fell within the jurisdiction of the municipality and thus labeled it as site 001. The unit was composed of loci 1250, 1251 and 1252, with excavations reaching depths of 5 cm to 50cm until sterile natural contexts. Excavations distinguished multiple volcanic layers, from a brown-red silt to a white ash.

We recovered 26 lithic artifacts throughout excavations of the unit, including slate (n=11), obsidian (n=14) and quartz. The obsidian collection was composed of one core (43.1g), four projectile points (from locus 1251, across multiple levels), and nine obsidian flakes (ranging from 0.1g to 2.2g). The projectile points were most likely for ritual use and significance, indicating little to no use-wear. We recovered five stone slate discs and another fragment of a slate disc. Three of these were painted with geometric motif, and two were painted red and black. These two with red and black were found in contexts of a pit dug into the volcanic strata (locus 1252, level 2).

Excavations yielded 122 pottery sherds (MNV) (1,072g total weight). None of the pottery was painted with the collection consisting of 110 body sherds, and the remaining artifacts are neck sections, rims and shoulder fragments. Most of pottery (n=105) was recovered throughout locus 1251. One green glazed vessel was recovered in the top soil (locus 1250), the rest of the collection was earthenware pitchers, bowls and pots. While the collection from the excavation unit consisted of relatively limited pottery and the cultural deposition was somewhat shallow, the varied contexts,

volcanic strata, stone discs and association with a *wank'a*, support the ritual significance of this place as a marker of meaning and authority in the regional landscape.

Figure A.98: Viewing the w*ank'a* (monolith) with Cerro Mirador south down valley before excavations

Figure A.99: *Wank'a* (monolith) and Cerro Mirador, south down valley after excavations

Figure A.100: Plan view of the end of excavations at AND-001-003, with white volcanic ash layer visible in northern half of the unit (original 2x2m unit and extension).

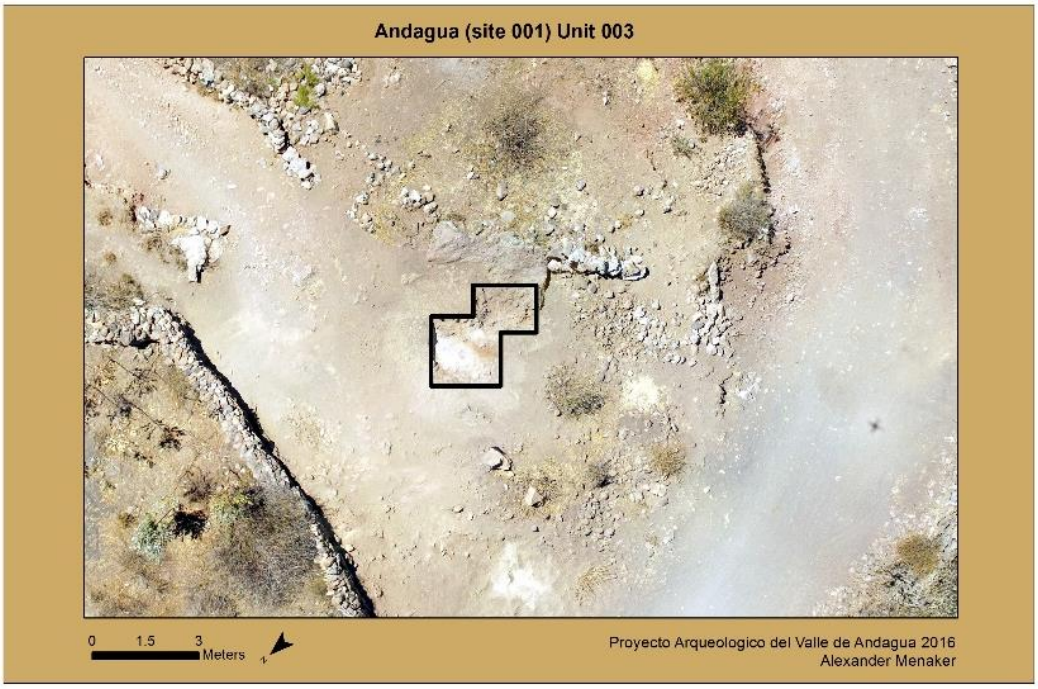


Figure A.101: Plan view of excavation unit with recent municipal road to the right and probable pre-Hispanic stone path veering to the left

5. Site 002 (Quisguarani) – Unit 001 (2 x 2m) (Locus 1201 – 1210)

The unit is located in the northwest central area of the site of Quisguarani. Research suggests it is a late pre-Hispanic, Inka construction with the site existing longer as a post-contact space than it was ever used for Inka state activities. This is supported by the lack of pre-Hispanic and Inka material culture along with the larger quantities of post-contact pottery. Despite the Inka state's formal and systematic plans, the site more likely has been inhabited through informal pastoral practices and traversed by regional commercial merchants in a post-contact landscape.

The unit was placed in the most diagnostic grid formation of the site. The particular 'patio' formation was 28m (NW x SE orientation) x 31m (SW x NE orientation) in size. The unit was placed straddling the interior and exterior of a stone structure to investigate the different contexts. The structure is a small feature (interior dimensions measure 1.95m x 2.2m, 55cm wall thickness, standing wall heights 1.15m – 1.8m), with little mortar visible and lichen growing on the stones, built juxtaposed to the large rectilinear stonewalls that make up the grid (wall thickness 1.35m), with this section exhibiting a niche in the wall (niche 28cm height x 33cm width and 55cm depth).

The excavation unit was an area of 2x2m along with an extension of 50cm at the eastern edge of the unit to further reveal the interior contexts of the structure. Though we did not excavate the entire unit since much of it encompassed the stone wall entrance and for safety measures we did not excavate the entire wall faces. Nonetheless, the project did excavate 'window' cuts to reveal the depth of the construction of the stone walls. It is still unclear if the small stone structure was built in conjunction with the larger stone walls that make up the entire site of Quisguarani.

This was the first unit excavated and is comprised of loci 1201 – 1210. The first locus (1201) was topsoil and wall fall. We separated loci between the interior and exterior of the structure, for the purpose of analytical control. Loci 1204, 1205, 1206 and 1208 were documented

in the open patio exterior to the structure; while loci 1202 (burn context), 1203, 1207 and 1209 were excavated in the interior of the structure. We excavated to a depth of an average of 25cm in the exterior of the structure, as well as, the interior of the structure.

Excavations revealed post-contact contexts in the interior of the structure, with burn contexts documented as locus 1202 in the interior of the structure indicative of a hearth. Suggesting that the space was used as a field refuge. Excavations revealed limited inhabitation and practically no inhabitation in the broader patio area. Locus 1203 was a very silty loam with small rock inclusions with faunal remains and pottery present. Loci 1204 and 1205 are soft, yet compact loam in the exterior of the structure. Loci 1208-1209 are compact clay strata, with locus 1208 marking the sterile cultural contexts exterior of the structure. Loci 1204, 1205, 1208 and 1209 excavated recovered no pottery, while the final locus 1210, in the interior of the structure, documented one pottery sherd.

In total, the excavation unit yielded 108 pottery sherds (MNV). Twenty-two ceramic artifacts were painted with a purple-red motif that is evident of post-contact production. Twenty-one of these were from ambiguous pitchers and jars, most likely storage vessels, which we documented throughout the valley during survey and continue to be produced through the present. Locus 1201 revealed 37 pottery sherds (MNV), including five with purple-red post-contact styles, locus 1202 had three pottery sherds, with one purple-red style, locus 1203 (interior of the structure) had the largest collection of pottery recovered from the unit (n=86, MNV, 80%), with 16 purple Republican era vessels. Excavations yielded no lithics.

Figure A.102: End of excavation unit 001, Site 002 (Quisguarani)

Figure A.103: Aerial image of excavation unit and larger patio context of Quisguarani

6. Site 029 (lower Antaymarca), Unit 001

This site is located just below and to the east of the lava flow of Antaymarca and the site of Upper Antaymarca (AND-95). To investigate the extent of the occupation and to glean any additional observations beyond the surface collection, we placed an excavation unit in a rectangular structure. The structure is a stand-alone located on a platform/small slope with a terrace platform associated (measuring 11.5m interior, E x W orientation, by 4m interior, N-S orientation, and 65cm wall thickness, and 2.25m standing wall height). From architecture, material culture limited historical inhabitation, suggest the site was occupied during the Late Intermediate Period – or at least post-Paccareta, Andagua, and the regional Middle Horizon. Excavation depths were to 57cm and were as shallow as 7-15cm. Excavations recovered 295 pottery sherds (MNV) (1931.2g total weight), with the largest quantity body fragments, n=269, (including body and base, neck section 5=n, and shoulder n=6), 24 rim fragments. 15 sherds are painted (14 black on red, 1 black and white on red). The design motifs and paint schema were primarily indicative of late pre-Hispanic traditions (see figures A.43, A.44, A.45).

Figure A.104: End of Excavation unit 001, Site 029 (Lower Antaymarca)

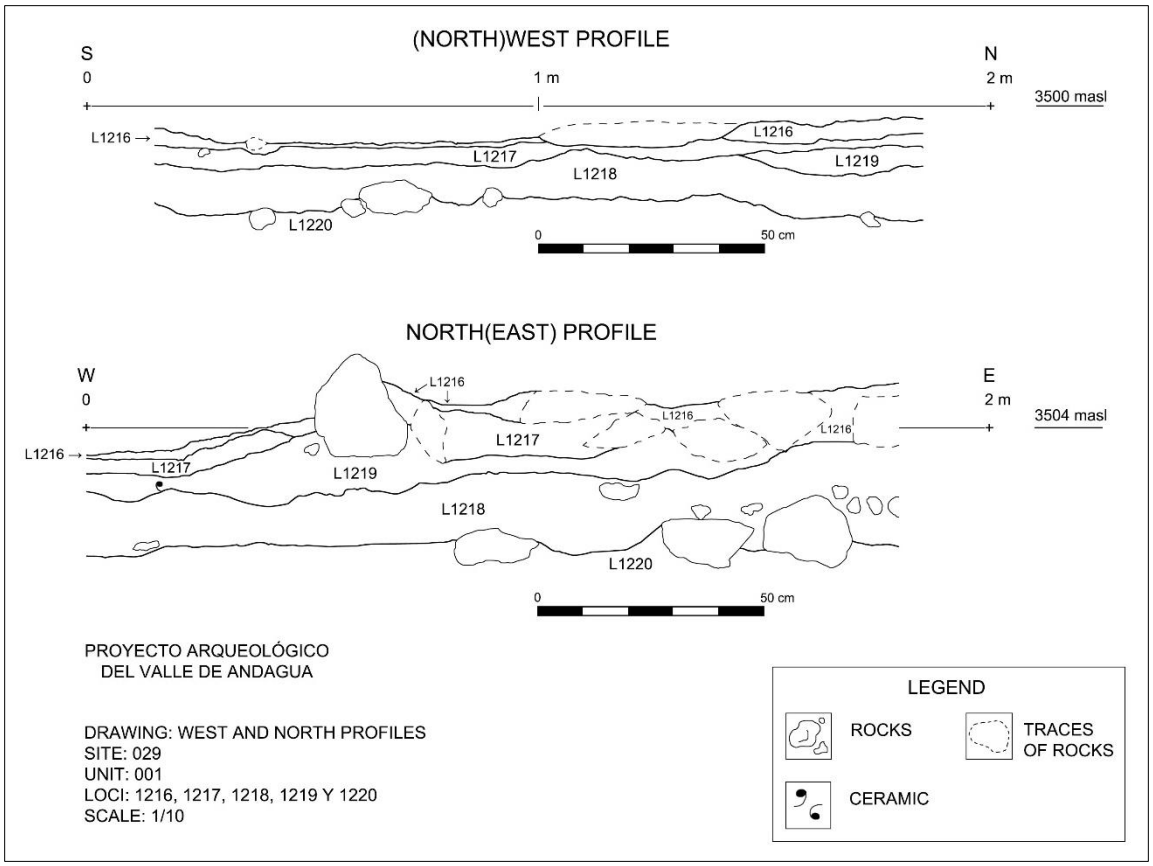


Figure A.105: Drawings of (North)West profile and North(east) profile of excavation unit at Lower Antaymarca, AND-29-001.

7. Site 060 (Andagua Antiguo), Unit 001 (Locus 1255 – 1260)

This unit is located in a pre-Inka complex on a hill, above the terraced ravines in Andagua Antiguo (AND-60), consisting of varying architectural features (platforms, U-shaped stone features, wall foundations), monoliths and probable mortuary features. We excavated a 2x2m test-unit (and extension) of the wall foundations of a large rectangular structure, exposing both sides of the wall (with the wall depth approximately 70cm and 70–90cm wide). The unit was also placed near an adjacent monolith that had traces of red paint. Excavations further revealed the possibility that the exterior part of the wall was covered with plaster (white and red). The excavations continued to sterile contexts, exposing red and white volcanic layers. The excavation contexts revealed no diagnostic Inka pottery and the immediate area is marked by pre-Inka practices (or non-Inka, in the case of concurrent occupation), material culture and relationships with the landscape. The unit was excavated to a depth of 0.7m to a 1m, reaching sterile contexts.

In total recovered 43 lithic artifacts, from loci 1255, 1256, 1258, 1259, and 1260. Of the collection, 14 were painted stone slate tablets, including one disc, recovered from loci 1255 and 1256. Obsidian flakes, preforms and points were recovered (n=24), including six fine obsidian points from loci 1255 (n=1), 1259 (n=2) and 1260 (n=3) and ranging in size from 43mm x 22mm to 17.7mm x 14mm and thicknesses from 1.98mm to 7.3mm (see figures). Other lithic artifacts include possible quartz flakes and core, as well as, a couple polishing stones.

Excavations yielded a total of 326 (MNV) ceramic artifacts with 7,207g as the total weight. Overall this area and associated artifacts support evidence of the pre-Inka (non-Inka) social practices and material culture. Two sherds of green glazed ware were recovered in the topsoil of locus 1255. In terms of general functions (totals edited), 267 pottery sherds were for storage or serving from pitchers, seven pottery sherds were for cooking or storage, 17 were for serving –

primarily bowls, two possible spindle whorls, and several unobservable remains. Ten pottery sherds had diagnostic painting and were recovered across loci, with more than half from loci 1258 and 1259; five painted black on red slip or orange slip, four black and white paint on red and orange slips, and one sherd painted red. The painted sherds from loci 1258 and 1259 are indicative of pre-Inka and non-Inka motifs. No pottery was recovered from locus 1257, which was excavated in the western half of the unit and exposing sterile volcanic soil. While loci 1258, 1259 and 1260 were excavated from the eastern half of the wall, which was most likely the interior of the structure.

Figure A.106: Plan view of excavation unit 060-001, with stone wall running N-S, and monoliths (probable *wank'a*) adjacent to the unit to the west. Red and white volcanic ash layers visible in the unit.

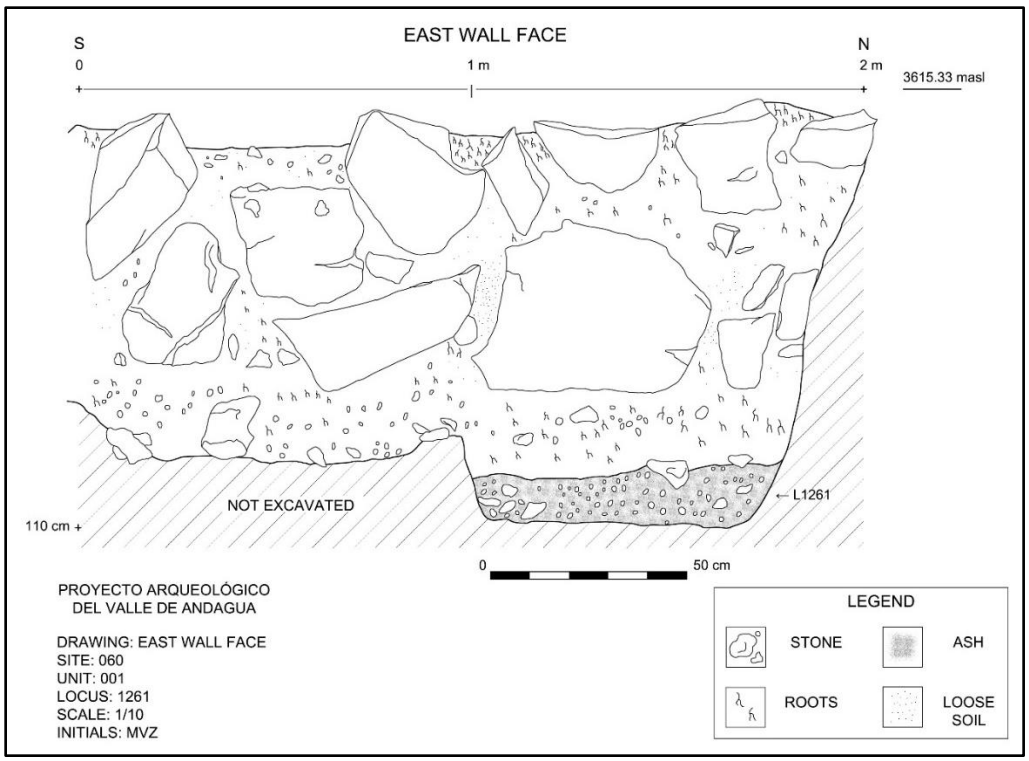


Figure A.107: Drawing of East wall face in excavation unit 060-001, Andagua Antiguo

8. Site 060 (Andagua Antiguo), Unit 002, (Locus 1265 – 1271)

A 1x1m excavation unit was placed in another area of Andagua Antiguo, in the lower ravine portion below the chapel/ushnu complex and off the main plaza. It was hypothesized that this area was inhabited and prioritized during Inka reign. While observations were challenging due to the continue inhabitation of the area with pre-Hispanic stone structures incorporated into contemporary fields and homes and repurposed. This was the final excavation unit opened and encompassed locus 1265 through locus 1271. Excavations proceeded to a depth of 1m across the unit, although due to time constraints and challenges of excavating farther in the unit excavations did not reach sterile soil. Nonetheless, excavations yielded important comparative data that confirmed the antiquity of the structure was able to differentiate from other excavations across Andagua and Andagua Antiguo. Pottery recovered near the farthest depths excavated confirm this structure as a late pre-Hispanic/Late Horizon occupation with the presence of local Inka artifacts. Faunal remains were recovered throughout the excavation unit.

Locus 1265 was topsoil composed of loose and fine gray-brown sandy soil with sparse rock inclusions as well as small clumps of compact soil, and excavated to a depth of approximately 7cm. The subsequent locus 1266 was a poorly sorted, silty clay that appeared to have greater moisture contents that was about 13cm in depth. In this unit, along with green glazed pottery and other ceramics and faunal remains, excavations continued to yield plastic exhibiting its recent uses and possibly disturbed contexts. The excavations revealed a stratum that were more compact and clayey with a continued moisture content, as well as, the presence of minute shimmering lithic inclusions, possibly quartz, and thus distinguished this context as locus 1267. While the context appeared to continue, after another 10cm of depth, locus 1268 was denominated. Though the unit became flooded with irrigation water, exemplifying its contemporary agricultural context and the

effects on the soil. Despite these challenges, we were able to distinguish patterns of artifact contexts and densities. Locus 1268 was approximately 20cm in depth and broken into two levels for control. Locus 1271, as mentioned, contained a collection of pre-Hispanic artifacts in the southwest corner of the unit. This unit began at a level of approximately 90cm depth.

A total of 315 pottery sherds (MNV) were recovered from the excavation unit. The collection consists of 296 are unpainted sherds and 19 painted sherds, 12 black on red or orange slip, which ranged from paint on rims to complex geometric motifs. Diagnostic Inka artifacts were recovered near the base of the excavation unit amidst a collection of artifacts (locus 1271). Also documented three black and white on red slip and orange slip, one of which a local Inka pot (See image). Only documented 5 green glazed ware sherds (from plates or bowls). Moreover, the lack of presence of GGW highlights how this structure has probably not been used for residential occupation through the recent past and also adds another line of evidence to clarify the circulation of GGW in the post-contact past. Of the collection, more than two-thirds (70%) were identified as storage or serving vessels (n=221), 43 sherds were classified as cooking or storage, distinguished by the presence of carbon, while 38 vessels are listed for serving, and are primarily forms of plates or bowls. Recovered seven pottery sherds from locus 1265, 10 pottery sherds from locus 1266, seven sherds from locus 1267, 27 pottery sherds recovered from locus 1268 – level 1, while 50 pottery sherds were collected from locus 1268 – level 2. Of the 126 pottery sherds excavated from locus 1271 there was no clear evidence of post-contact artifacts with a continued presence of late pre-Hispanic pottery.

Figure A.108: Plan view (taken by aerial drone) of excavation unit 060-002 and structure in Andagua Antiguo

9. Site 084 (Paccareta), Unit 001, (*Loci – 1221 – 1231)*

The project placed a 2x2m unit in one of the main structures located on the hilltops of Paccareta. Chapter four discussed archaeological research at the site, including excavations. This structure also has red paint on the exteriors. This offers an inventory and analysis of the contexts and artifacts recovered during excavations at Paccareta. In total, excavations yielded 1,781 pottery sherds (MNV) (25,797g total weight), with collection consisting of extensive pre-Inka and non-Inka artifacts. In addition to pottery, the excavation recovered extensive lithics, including painted stones tablets and obsidian, and revealed compelling contexts, such as a thick cultural burn layer and camelid remains. The following provides a summary of the artifact collection and loci contexts.

The overall distribution of general uses for the pottery collection included 1,226 vessel sherds listed as used for storage or serving, while 398 classified for cooking or storage, 96 for serving only, and one sherd for cooking only, one for storage, and 60 were not observable. The types of vessels of the collection included a majority of storage and serving vessels, such as pitchers (1,623 total, 91% of the total collection), a range of plates and bowls, from ambiguous plates or bowls (42) and varieties of cumbrous and collared bowls to open and shallow bowls. Of the collection, 1,727 pottery sherds are without diagnostic painting (97%). While most of the painted collection, have black paint on red slip or orange slip exhibiting a range of vessel forms (n=47, 2.6% of the total collection; n=55 painted, 85.5% of painted collection). The rest of the painted collection consists of four artifacts with black and purple paint on brown or orange slip on cumbrous and collared bowls, one black and red on red slip, one purple on orange slip, two red on brown and orange slips. The pottery collection overlaps with pre-Inka styles throughout the Southern Peruvian Andes, and affirms the probable pre-Inka ritual context of the structure. While

resolution is limited to distinguish the pre-Inka chronology, reviewing the contexts by locus offer a detailed discussion of supporting evidence for the archaeological interpretations and their limits.

Locus 1221 was topsoil and wall fall; locus 1221 recovered 6 pottery sherds, unpainted fragments of ambiguous pitchers. Locus 1222 was continued wall fall and wall melt; in locus 1222 excavated 5 pottery sherds (unpainted), also from ambiguous pitchers. Locus 1223 was compact wall melt and wall fall, with 27 pottery sherds collected, a few painted, and from a variety of vessels such as collared bowls as well as pitchers. Locus 1224 distinguished from the compact wall melt and wall fall that was loose silty and clayey, 21 pottery sherds and one with black paint, and all primarily from pitchers, including a neck fragment of a large pitcher (*cántaro*). Locus 1225 – also consisted of multiple flat stones, multiple surfaces/floors yielding a collection of 98 pottery sherds. Following locus 1225, locus 1226 was denominated and continued to excavate wall fall and melt, and the possibility of the remains of stone and compact dirt surfaces. Locus 1226 artifact collection included 226 pottery sherds, with nearly 95% from storage or serving pitchers, which include diagnostic samples possibly indicative of pre-Inka face-neck jars (AND-1226.9, 1226.10, 1226.11). While five painted pottery sherds are primarily from bowls; four with black paint on red or orange slip and one red paint on beige slip. Locus 1227 designated an interface between the compact layers of wall fall, stones and floor, and what would be revealed as an extensive ash layer. Forty pottery sherds were recovered from locus 1227; all are unpainted and are primarily sherds from ambiguous pitchers.

Locus 1228 was a thick ash layer, reaching 40cm in depth, which we excavated by multiple levels. The ash layer encompassed the entire unit, though it was uneven and affected by the wall fall. The locus consisted of five levels (level four was ephemeral), with levels important for control since the ash level was dense with cultural material. More than half the collection of pottery from

the excavation (n=1,097 pottery sherds, 61.5%), was recovered from locus 1228. This included 32 painted pottery sherds from a range of vessels, bowls to pitchers, primarily (n=28) painted with black on red slip (or orange slip), three black and purple on brown or orange slip, and one red paint. Nearly 91% (n=996) of the pottery collection from locus 1228, consists of pitchers for storing or serving, with the remainder of the collection including a range of plates and bowls, such as cumbrous bowls. Other artifacts included extensive faunal remains, such as camelids that possibly served as part of an offering (locus 1228, level 5).

Locus 1229 was a rocky yellow-orange layer of loose soil, distinct for the ash layer with the context yielding 214 pottery sherds, including eight sherds painted black on red slip, one black and purple on brown slip, and one black and red on red slip. While pottery density decreased, the contexts beneath the ash layer were full of painted stone tablets (discuss below). Locus 1230 recovered 41 pottery sherds and locus 1231 yielded three pottery sherds. The excavations continued in the northern half of the unit around what appeared was a shale rock outcrop. The rocky soil fill continued and it is probable that it was fill indicative of the construction on the hill.

Excavations recovered a total of 137 lithic artifacts that included painted stone slate tablets and discs as well as obsidian. The largest quantity was slate (n=126), comprised of varying size tablets and discs (n=5, four discs and one disc fragment, MNV). There were 125 tablets of different sizes (non-circular, irregular shaped, often rectilinear), ranging in size from 29.12mm x 26.72mm to 209.8mm x 124.34mm. There were varying painted motifs that included geometric, anthropomorphic and zoomorphic designs in red, black, green and blue paint. The majority of lithics were recovered in loci 1229 (n=28) and 1230 (n=89), after recovering two unpainted slate tablets and one disc in locus 1225, and one stone tablet with traces of red paint in locus 1226. In locus 1228, a few painted stone tablets and one disc along with obsidian and quartz were recovered

from the ash layer. Below the ash layer, in what appeared to be the end of extensive fill layers and along with rock outcrops, excavations recovered the largest quantities of stone tablets from loci 1229 through locus 1231. Of lithics recovered in loci 1229, there were 25 smaller slate stone tablets and a couple stone discs with traces of red, black, blue and yellow paint exhibiting geometric and anthropomorphic motifs. In locus 1230, the lithic collection consisted of 86 painted slate tablets and one disc with geometric and zoomorphic motifs in red, black, blue, yellow and green.

Figure A.109: Excavations of locus 1228, ash layer, Paccareta

Figure A.110: End of excavation unit in Paccareta, AND-84-001

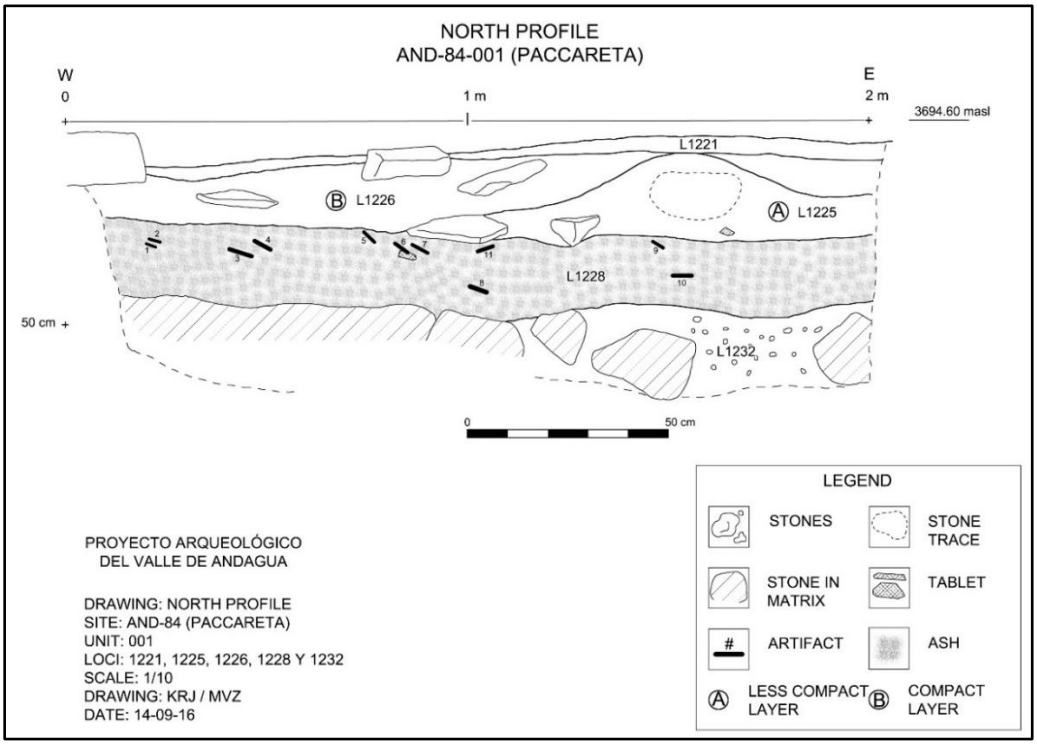


Figure A.111: North profile drawing of excavation unit at Paccareta

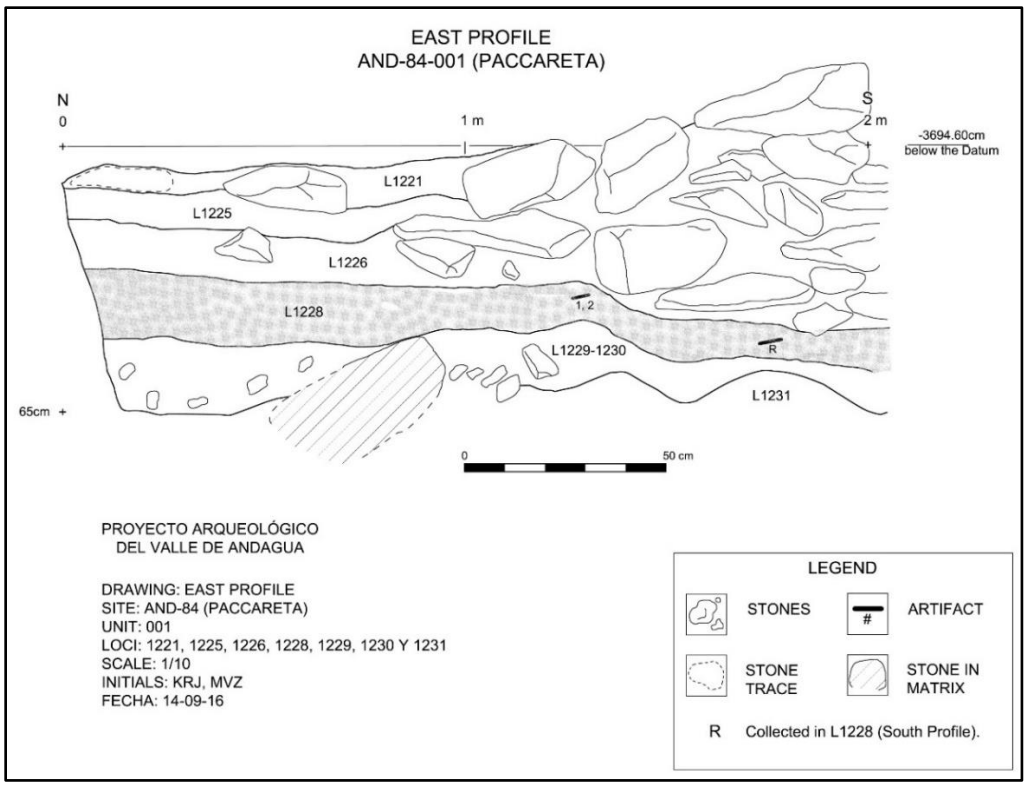


Figure A.112: East profile drawing of excavation unit at Paccareta

10. Site 095 (Upper Antaymarca), Unit 001

The project placed a 2x2m test-pit in the site of Upper Antaymarca to provide insight into the vertical resolution and occupational history of the site. Although this is one of the most well-known occupations in the valley, this was the first formal excavation of the site of Upper Antaymarca, like other sites. Excavations confirmed how the site was built onto the lava flow and yielded a shallow stratigraphic depth suggesting a limited occupational history. The excavation depth ranged from as shallow as 3cm to 30cm at its most profound in the center of the unit, and encompassed loci 1211–1215. In total, the test unit yielded 54 pottery sherds (total weight 407.2g), with three ceramics painted black, two black on red, and one black on brown, these were painted with single black lines on the fragments with limited diagnostic identification. Archaeological evidence, from survey and excavations, suggests that the site was occupied during the late pre-Hispanic, most likely corresponding to the Late Intermediate period prior to Inka expansion.

Locus 1211 was a shallow layer of topsoil, revealing 5 unpainted pottery sherds. Topsoil gave way to heterogeneous strata that were dominated by small rocks along with ephemeral and mottled silty soil that was possibly composed of decomposed volcanic rocks. Locus 1212 was also a shallow and ephemeral layer, on average 3cm deep, that included small deposits of carbon indicating past burning activities, along with artifacts such as a small stone disc painted red and 20 pottery sherds (total weight 152.8g), with one displaying traces of black paint on red slip. Locus 1213 was a dark brown/black silty soul located in the northern half of the unit, while locus 1214 was identified in the southern extent of the unit and is distinguished by how it is primarily composed of rocks small to large rocks and an ephemeral lighter brown soil. The loose soil would quickly slide down into the depths of the voids made by the volcanic substratum that was being revealed across the unit. Small stone tablets painted red as well as yellow were further recovered

across loci 1213 (n=6) and 1214 (n=6, MNV). Locus 1213 yielded 16 unpainted pottery sherds (total weight 134.7g), while 13 pottery sherds, with two painted black, were recovered from locus 1214 (89.1g total weight). Locus 1215 is a cultural sterile context that is the substratum of volcanic rocks, which is visible in the end of excavation photo. There were also limited faunal remains recovered; one fragment from locus 1213 and four across locus 1214, weighing a total of 3.2g.

Figure A.113: End of unit 095-001 (locus 1215)

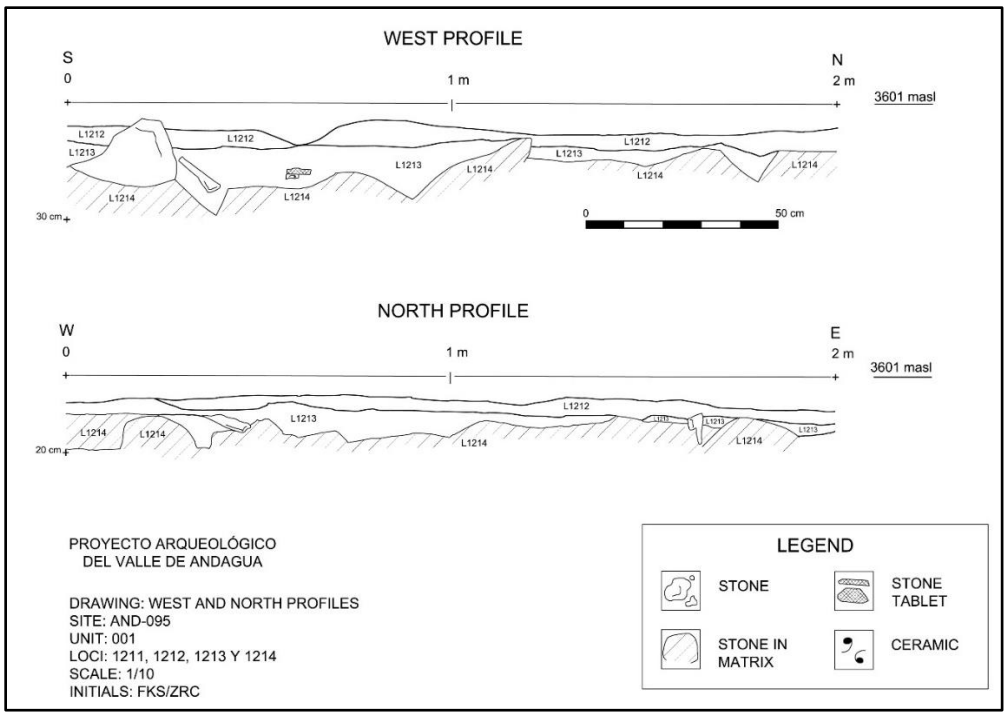


Figure A.114: West and North profile drawings of excavation unit at Upper Antaymarca

Table A.10: Inventory of Sites Registered During PAVA Survey 2015							
Site Number	**UTM: East**	**UTM: North**	**Elevation (masl)**	**Approximate Area**	**Site Type**	**Name If Known**	**Date Registered**
1	783845	8284858	3600	>100 hectares: ~1000m (N-S) x ~1000m (E-W)	contemporary town/reduccion	Andagua	29/8/2015
2	782796	8285693	3700	1400m (N-S) x 1600m (E-W)	large pre-Hispanic (Inka) site of formal grid plan composed of large walls, few structures, and terraces	Quisguarani	29/8/2015
3	785294	8282797	3705	150m (N-S) x 125m (E-W)	dense ceramic scatters on top of hill with retaining walls along the hillside	Cerro del Mirador	30/8/2015
4	784550	8283550	3575	450-500m (N-S) x 300m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic retaining walls and terraces		1/9/2015
5	783816	8286954	3710	36m (N-S) x 20m (E-W)	corral with traces of structures and possible stone altar		31/8/2015
6	783832	8287325	3677	24.5m (N-S) x 21.5m (E-W)	abandoned field house		31/8/2015
7	783229	8287507	3687	10m width of cave entry x 10m depth of cave	field refuge in cave/rock outcrop		1/9/2015
8	782687	8287958	3702	50m x 50m	Abandoned field house compound with multiple structures, patio and corrals	Pituna (meeting place for the faena of cleaning the Mother Canal)	1/9/2015
9	786258	8281731	3400	1000m (N-S) x 900m (E-W)	large pre-Hispanic site of collapsed structures, walls and terraces and moruary features		2/9/2015
10	783874	8287813	3676	70m (N-S) x 53m (E-W)	Large density of painted discs - exposed by road construction		3/9/2015
11	783851	8287070	3717	185-200m (N-S) - 270-300m (E-W)	corrals and possible pukara with dense ceramic scatters indicative of activities through the recent past		4/9/2015
12	785296	8285740	3524	10m x 10m	field refuge in cave/rock outcrop		5/9/2015
13	784890	8286862	3622	10m x 12m	abandoned field house		7/9/2015
14	784866	8286652	3593	10m x 10m	field refuge in cave/rock outcrop and possible mortuary feature (chullpa)		7/9/2015
15	784551	8286159	3554	10-20m (N-S) x 25-30m (E-W)	mill		12/9/2015
16	784619	8286206	3561	10m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	mill	Mill belonging to Taco family	12/9/2015
17	784653	8286039	3543	6m (N-S) x 12m (E-W)	abandoned field house		12/9/2015
18	785377	8285999	3491	12m (N-S) x 8m (E-W)	abandoned field house		12/9/2015
19	785036	8285886	3522	10m (N-S) x 10m (E-W)	abandoned field house		12/9/2015
20	784785	8285829	3581	10m (E-W, length); 4.5m (width, N-S)	abandoned field house		12/9/2015
21	785346	8286098	3500	15m (N-S) x 10m (E-W)	abandoned field structure/refuge		12/9/2015
22	784904	8285727	3543	15m x 15m	abandoned field house		13/9/2015
23	785898	8285721	3424	5m (N-S) x 5m (E-W)	mortuary feature	Paraje Ajopujllo	13/9/2015
24	785976	8285760	3423	5m (N-S) x 5m (E-O)	field refuge	Paraje Ajopujllo	13/9/2015
25	786145	8285649	3380	25m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	abandoned field house		13/9/2015
26	786142	8285584	3420	50-100m x 50-100m	dense ceramic scatter of pre-Hispanic and post-contact artifacts associated with architectural traces, including abandoned field house, but has been heavily disturbed and with stones repurposed	Jesus Parada	13/9/2015
27	785060	8286395	3562	10m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	abandoned field house		7/9/2015
28	783056	8287725	3560	20m x 20m	abandoned field house		1/9/2015
29	785228	8283318	3540	450-500m (N-S) - 500m (E-O)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement	Lower Antaymarca	15/9/2015
30	785015	8283529	3491	15m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	abandoned field house		16/9/2015
31	784014	8284226	3617	20m x 20m	possible "wank'a" - hill with rock outcrop and ceramic scattering of diagnostic artifacts, exposed from recent shoveling for road construction	Jillcata	16/9/2015
32	784301	8283964	3590	10m (N-S) x 20m (E-O)	wall foundations associated with stone path		17/9/2015
33	784381	8284205	3540	10m (N-S) x 15m (E-O)	rock outcrop with wall foundations and possible mortuary feature (remains of bones visible)	paltajata (piedra plana, plane stone)	17/9/2015
34	784276	8284198	3562	10m (N-S) x 10m (E-O)	rock outcrop with linear engravings and associated with discs	Huajrachi	17/9/2015
35	781649	8288633	3669	200m (N-S) x 300m (E-O)	isolated wall foundations and rock outcrops		19/9/2015
36	782528	8287925	3702	400m (N-S) x 150-200m (E-O)	large stonewall formal grid associated with ceramic scatter		19/9/2015
37	784572	8287278	3639	10m x 10m	abandoned field house		20/9/2015
38	784810	8287209	3630	20m x 20m	abandoned field house		20/9/2015
39	785167	8287001	3565	20m x 20m	abandoned field house		20/9/2015
40	784387	8285534	3620	100m x 100m	rock outcrop with extensive wall fall and ceramic scatter (including Inka) and stone discs	jalachaca	25/9/2015
41	784935	8285425	3563	40m x 40m	Mill		25/9/2015
42	784881	8285451	3570	15m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	abandoned field house		25/9/2015
43	784525	8285349	3548	70m (N-S) x 150m (E-W)	nucleated pre-Hispanic site of wall fall, structures and wall foundations		26/9/2015
44	785052	8285374	3551	15-20m (N-S) x 20m (E-W)	abandoned field house		26/9/2015
45	785480	8285357	3530	250m (N-S) x 500m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement, wall fall and foundations		26/9/2015
46	786835	8285541	3346	20m x 20m	rock outcrop associated with diagnostic artifacts and terrace platform		26/9/2015
47	787664	8285549	3259	20m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	rock cairn (hito/mojon)		26/9/2015
48	785136	8285214	3554	15m x 15m	abandoned field house	Q'ello Hatunta (flor amarilla, yellow flower)	27/9/2015
49	785248	8285118	3500	20m x 20m	abandoned field house		29/9/2015
50	785302	8285118	3489	10m x 10m	abandoned field house		29/9/2015
51	786677	8285000	3320	15m x 30m	abandoned field house constructed in volcanic moraine	Tarpo/Tarpuy (sembrar, to plant)	29/9/2015
52	786230	8284948	3383	200m (N-S) x 300m (E-O)	collection of several abandoned structures and wall foundations, probable pre-Hispanic site		29/9/2015
53	784952	8285019	3540	20m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	field house/refuge that is a probable repurposed agro-mortuary feature articulated with landscape features and canal		29/9/2015

Site Number	UTM: East	UTM: North	Elevation (masl)	Approximate Area	Site Type	Name If Known	Date Registered
54	786369	8284904	3395	10m x 10m	field refuge		30/9/2015
55	785323	8284799	3455	15m (N-S) x 20m (E-O)	probable agro-mortuary feature now used as field refuge		30/9/2015
56	784644	8284796	3525	20m x 20m	dense ceramic scatter and traces of wall foundations on hilltop		30/9/2015
57	785715	8284712	3422	50m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement		1/10/2015
58	785656	8284540	3415	10m x 10m	cave refuge with architectural features inside		1/10/2015
59	784066	8284554	3564	30m (N-S) x 50m (E-W)	agro-mortuary feature	Andagua Antiguo ("Old Andagua")	1/10/2015
60	784050	8284700	3560	500m x 500m	Pre-Hispanic occupations, including pre-Inka and Inka, composing the southwest section of Andagua, known as "Old Andagua"	Andagua Antiguo ("Old Andagua")	1/10/2015
61	785220	8284507	3518	20m x 20m	abandoned field house		7/10/2015
62	784236	8284213	3564	25m (N-S) x 50m (E-W)	stonewall foundations associated with dense artifact scatter, including pre-Hispanic ceramics, and stone and ceramic discs	Andagua Antiguo ("Old Andagua")	8/10/2015
63	785333	8284189	3520	50m (N-S) x 75m (E-W)	wall foundations associated with dense ceramic scatter		8/10/2015
64	786730	8285134	3320	10m x 10m	field refuge, with architectural traces and context suggestive of possible pre-Hispanic mortuary feature		9/10/2015
65	786804	8285115	3318	10m x 10m	field house built into the side of the volcanic moraine	huayrapata	9/10/2015
66	786862	8285229	3283	15m (N-S) x 5m (E-W)	field refuge in cave/rock outcrop	huayrapata	9/10/2015
67	786993	8285310	3283	50m x 50m	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement	huayrapata	9/10/2015
68	787091	8285230	3316	20m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	cave refuge with architectural features and stone staircase	huayrapata	9/10/2015
69	786366	8285386	3412	60m x 60m	wall foundation remains and collapse	huambo	9/10/2015
70	787598	8285586	3297	400m (N-S) x 200m (E-W)	dense ceramic scatter and remains of wall foundations	huayrapata	10/10/2015
71	787112	8285837	3327	25m (N-S) x 30-50m (E-W)	Abandoned field houses		10/10/2015
72	786935	8285859	3343	50m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	Abandoned field house compound associated with pre-Hispanic and post-contact artifacts and architectural features suggesting possible agro-mortuary features and occupation		10/10/2015
73	787066	8285945	3334	25m (N-S) x 25m (E-W)	Abandoned field house, possible late pre-Hispanic construction		12/10/2015
74	787426	8285984	3274	15m x 15m	abandoned field house		12/10/2015
75	783450	8284220	3640	300m (N-S) x 250m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement		16/10/2015
76	785714	8283909	3410	5m x 5m	repurposed agro-mortuary feature currently used as contemporary field refuge		17/10/2015
77	783429	8288253	3700	75m (N-S) x 100m (E-W)	abandoned field house of probable pre-Hispanic construction with trapezoidal niche and surrounded by post-contact structures and corrals used through the recent past		18/10/2015
78	782992	8288090	3715	75-100m (N-S) x 150m (E-W)	abandoned field house compound with multiple structures and corrals		20/10/2015
79	782135	8288576	3677	50m x 50m	abandoned field house		20/10/2015
80	781880	8288801	3673	75m (N-S) x 50m (E-W)	abandoned field house compound		20/10/2015
81	785050	8286291	3591	50m (N-S) x 40m (E-W)	abandoned field house compound		21/10/2015
82	786524	8286232	3319	20m (N-S) x 40m (E-W)	abandoned field house		21/10/2015
83	786646	8286284	3301	30m x 30m	complex of caves and informal stonewalls currently used as field refuges		21/10/2015
84	784186	8288104	3635	600m (N-S) x 700m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement	Paccareta	23/10/2015
85	784759	8286355	3659	20m (N-S) x 25m (E-W)	abandoned field house		30/10/2015
86	785963	8286555	3470	20m (N-S) x 30m (E-W)	abandoned field house		30/10/2015
87	786295	8286529	3333	100m (N-S) x 100m (E-W)	mill		30/10/2015
88	786281	8284159	3500	850m (N-S) x 400m (E-W)	stone retention walls and traces of built platforms on top of Ninamama and includes the large stone walls built in the crater in the side of Ninamama	Ninamama	31/10/2015
89	781954	8286844	3778	10m (N-S) x 15m (E-W)	cave shelter, field refuge	Quisguarani	3/11/2015
90	780962	8285779	3835	5m width of cave, cement covered the entrance	cave shelter where human remains were recovered - mortuary feature	Anojara	3/11/2015
91	782603	8285097	3640	20m (N-S) x 20m (E-W)	mill		4/11/2015
92	785769	8280560	3490	100m (N-S) x 50m (E-W)	dense artifact scatter of ceramics and painted stone discs surrounding a large stone monolith, probable wank'a, on top of a mound surrounded by retaining walls	Awayanki	16/11/2015
93	785637	8280150	3550	250m (N-S) x 125m (E-W)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement	Soporo	16/11/2015
94	783155	8285174	3659	30-40m (N-S) x 30-50m (E-W)	mortuary features (cist tombs) - approximately 15 disturbed cist tombs on hilltop at the northern limts of the town of Andagua		17/11/2015
95	785123	8282921	3565	250m (N-S) x 200m (E-W)	nucleated pre-Hispanic site (possible necropolis)	Upper Antaymarca	20/11/2015
96	788900	8288250	3450	450-500m (N-S) - 350-400m (E-W) (including terraces and mortuary features)	pre-Hispanic settlement	Tauca	24/11/2015
97	787150	8286820	3360	900-1000m (N-S) x 750-800m (E-W) (including terraces)	pre-Hispanic nucleated settlement	Pumajallo	25/11/2015

Archive Abbreviations

AAA – Archivo Arzobispal de Arequipa

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