

## CHAPTER FOUR

### LANDSCAPE BIOGRAPHY OF A POWERFUL PLACE

#### Raqchi, Department of Cuzco, Peru

Bill Sillar

Raqchi (which the Inka called Cacha) is (and was) a powerful place (Figure 4.1). Its dramatic landscape features are the subject of myths and animistic devotion. It has had a turbulent history of occupation, monumental construction, evacuation, and rebuilding, as individuals, institutions, and states have used it to express their beliefs and identities. The fundamental feature of Raqchi is the black volcano Kinsich'ata (Figure 4.2). It was particularly important during the Inka period when an audacious building project inserted a massive temple next to the volcano in honor of the animating deity Viracocha. As successive Wari, Canas, Inka, Spanish, and Republican groups have incorporated this landscape, they have had to engage with its prior history and meaning. To understand the power of this place, we need to consider how temporality and place are conceived and experienced. I address this by writing a biography of the sequential impact of activities on the land and discuss how they influenced the social meaning and use of Raqchi—a landscape biography.

**[! Insert Fig. 4.1 here !]**

**[! Insert Fig. 4.2 here !]**

This approach draws upon the biographical metaphor used in the study of material culture (Appadurai 1986; Gosden and Marshall 1999; Kopytoff 1986) and European approaches to landscape studies (Bradley 2002; Darvil 2006; Ingold 2000 [1993]; Pollard and Reynolds 2002; Roymans et al. 2009). The aim is to move beyond studying the landscape as the locus of economic and social activities by emphasizing the human and natural agencies that have shaped the landscape over the *longue durée*. This includes an investigation of the perception and use of natural features (Bradley 2000), the reuse and representation of the past

(Bender 1993; Bradley 2002), and a phenomenological consideration of how people experience the land (Bender, Hamilton, and Tilley 2007; Hamilton and Whitehouse 2013; Ingold 2000 [1993]; Tilley 1994). “Places and landscapes play an active role in the biographies and genealogies of people, binding persons and generations together, while at the same time creating their *own* life histories at different time scales through successive social contexts” (Roymans et al. 2009:339). Memories, narratives, and characters become attached to the landscape, giving the physical features meaning and significance. These “stories” become the focus for identity formation and contestation as people choose what is commemorated and what is forgotten in relation to other aspects of domination, resistance, and changes in land ownership (Bender 1993). This has included the process of “heritage distancing” (McAnany and Parks 2012) as dominant powers have alienated people from the tangible remains and knowledge of their pasts, or as people choose to reject their own pasts. People’s cosmologies change over time, but they are continually influenced by, and expressed in, the landscape, as seen in the Christianization of European landscapes (Ó Carragáin and Turner 2016). These issues have major implications for Andean landscape studies, where we need to consider how people engaged with the land and constructed structures to express their cosmologies, and how their cosmologies changed over time.

Landscapes are not simply the stable, fixed, and permanent backdrop on which the *longue durée* of human history is enacted. Like people, places have identities that are relational, are context dependent, and change over time. The distinctive materiality and history of a place contributes to its reputation, which may evoke strong memories, emotions, and experiences. In Western art and philosophy, the concept of the “sublime” is used to describe landscape features and phenomena of such drama, danger, and intensity that they overwhelm our senses and unsettle our comprehension, what Burke (1757) described as a kind of “pleasurable terror.” This has some parallels with accounts that highlight the dangers

and cautious aspirations of Andean people as they engage with powerful places (Bastien 1978; Gose 1994).

Many people, including in the Andean highlands, consider places to be sentient and capable of communication (Alberti and Bray 2009; Allen 1988; Bray 2015; de la Cadena 2015). This raises somewhat different issues than those normally considered in European approaches to landscape studies. To what degree is the land itself perceived to have agency? Andean places, such as mountains, lakes, rocks, fields, and houses, are named living presences that exist in a social hierarchy, with some places being more powerful than others (see Swenson and Jennings this volume). Today, many residents of Raqchi make libations or occasionally prepare burnt offerings for their homes, fields, pastures, and travel routes, with many of these directed to powerful local mountains (Sillar 2009). Mountains and hills are considered particularly powerful and are referred to as “lords” by use of the term *apu*. The volcano Kinsich’ata is Raqchi’s closest *apu*. Gose (2006, 2008, this volume) asserts that the attribution of power to the mountains in present-day Andean animism is a recent historical change in beliefs that emerged at the end of the colonial period, when most Andean people fully rejected the *huacas* and ancestral mummies that had been the focus for indigenous elite authority. In this article I consider the historical context of changing religious practices and address Gose’s assertion that the demise of the indigenous elite was linked to the development of mountain-focused animism at the end of the colonial period.

Andean animisms make presenting the region’s history through the biography of powerful places particularly pertinent. This biography presents the life history of the *apu* Kinsich’ata. A biography narrates the history of an individual—how their character changed over time and what influence they had on those around them. As with many biographies, the subject of this life history had a particular fame when it was the focus of Inka imperial attention, but to explain and contextualize this, we need to consider what happened here

before and after the Inka Empire. However, an “Andean ‘sense of history’ demanded not a chain of events, but a pattern of events” (Salomon 1982:9). The “time” of events is sometimes less significant than the “where.” The social significance of grounding events on the land, naming the places where they occurred, and discussing who was affected was more significant than a precise notion of “when.” Where archaeologists try to prioritize objective data for the sequence and dating of features, Andean narratives prioritize expressing the social and spatial relationship between narrator and subject (Howard-Malverde 1990) or locating and explaining the social order (such as kinship networks) in relation to the physical space of the land (Zuidema 1964, 1982, 1990). For instance, Inka sources listed their conquests in geographical order, sequencing the four quarters of the empire rather than presenting a chronological sequence (Ogburn 2012). The narrative of Inka conquests located their ideals for the social order on the landscape rather than worrying about the chronology of when events happened.

In his book *How Societies Remember*, Connerton (1989) highlights the importance of embodied history; the experience and recounting of history is maintained (or altered) through the repetition of rituals that maintain and transmit cultural knowledge. This should be a consideration in relation to phenomenological approaches to landscape studies that have emphasised the experience of moving over the land (Bender, Hamilton, and Tilley 2007; Tilley 1994). Garcilaso (1989 [1612]:332) reported that Inka *amautas* and *harauicus* turned historical events into stories and poems that were performed with music and dance. Niles (1999:7–11, 28–51) suggests that these performances were used to reshape history. These performances gained significance through where they were in the landscape. Thus the origin myths that justified Inka rule over Cuzco were recalled as part of an initiation ceremony for elite Inka youths, who raced up the hill to the shrine of their petrified ancestor on Huanacuari (Steel 2004:41). In a similar way, the “temple” that the Inka built at Cacha imposed a very

specific processional route that would have facilitated a retelling of Cacha's mythical origins in relation to Inka cosmologies.

A landscape biography allows us to combine the spatial and social relationships expressed in Andean narratives and rituals with more archaeological concerns about chronology. Like any biography, this is more than a tabulation of the subject's birth, activities, and death; it selects details that illustrate the wider historical and cultural context of the subject to develop insights into what shaped their character and how they affected those around them. This relies on various methods to interpret time, including geological stratigraphy, building sequences, carbon 14 dating (Table 4.1), artifacts, and site typologies. The biographical approach situates this archaeological sequence in relation to Andean narratives that prioritize location and social relationships. This is complicated, because myths have a history too, as they are adapted and retold to explain and justify contemporary social contexts (Urton 1999). For this reason, there is some repetition and reporting of conflicting myth-histories as I seek to show how the significance of Cacha/Raqchi has been reconceived by different interest groups at different times.

People's engagement with landscape features helps locate them within their social world, not least through the naming of places. Cacha was considered to be an origin place, or *paqarina*, where the Canas people emerged from under the ground. The *paqarina* binds the Canas people to Cacha, asserting that their group identity was forged in an unspecified distant past but tied to this specific place (see also Swenson and Jennings this volume). But, in taking a long-term perspective, we need to ask when the Canas developed their ethnic identity and became "attached" to Cacha. How did the Inka state engage with this place and its people? What happened to these identities in more recent times, when people no longer refer to themselves as Canas and have changed the place-name from Cacha to Raqchi? This makes recounting the biography of a powerful place contentious: When did places gain their names,

and whose history are we telling?

What does it mean for a place to be powerful? Power is the ability to act upon and influence others. This can include the energy and actions of natural forces, and Kinsich'ata emerged from powerful volcanic eruptions that transformed the landscape. For many people in the highlands of Peru today, the potential for the land to act is central to their animistic view of the world, and the mountain apus are considered the most powerful of these animate forces (Allen 1988; de la Cadena 2015). The term *powerful* is appropriate, as it avoids the loaded terms *sacred* or *deity* while highlighting that these places are considered active agents at the top of a hierarchy of animate places (cf. Mannheim and Salas 2015:63). But power is also a measure of human agency. Ancient states frequently developed central places and administrative centers as “places of power” within their political organizations, sometimes locating these in previously undeveloped locations for strategic reasons (which may have been the case for the Wari occupation of Raqchi). Places that already have a reputation become the focus of attention of the political and religious authorities, who seek to assert their social and political power by altering how people use and experience the spaces (Foucault 1979; Lefebvre 1991). There is a bias in what we recognize in the archaeological record, where major construction activities that intervene in the landscape are more easily identified, whereas beliefs that are expressed in words, libations, and occasional burnt offerings leave little trace. Our records are shaped by those individuals and institutions that made material changes to the landscape or left historical records of their beliefs and activities. Thus the powerful places recognized in archaeology are mainly those that were the locus of major physical interventions by states and other institutions, whereas places of significance to subaltern peoples, who left no written record or whose ritual activities left less material trace, can become left out of history. The material evidence for Wari, Inka, Spanish, and Peruvian state interventions that constructed Cacha/Raqchi as a “powerful place” is much clearer than

the question of when a belief in powerful mountain apus emerged. But let us start by considering several mythical explanations for the origins of the volcano and apu Kinsich'ata.

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#### FIRE FROM HEAVEN: VIRACOCOA'S VULCANISM

Juan de Betanzos (1996 [1557]:9–11) provides one of the most complete descriptions of the mythical origin of Cacha, which he was told by older residents at Cacha itself. According to Betanzos, the Andean animator (sometimes referred to as the creator god) Contiti Viracocha created people at Tiwanaku and then sent them underground to emerge from each ethnic group's designated origin place (paqarina), such as a cave, spring, or mountain. Viracocha then set out toward Cuzco, traveling by the "Royal Road," and called each ethnic group to emerge from its paqarina. However, when Viracocha called the Canas to emerge at Cacha, they came out with their weapons ready to attack him. In response, Viracocha caused "fire to fall from heaven," burning a range of mountains near the Indians. When the Indians saw the fire, they threw down their weapons and prostrated themselves before Viracocha. Viracocha accepted their supplications and went to the fire, putting it out with two or three blows of his staff. The Canas Indians later built a sumptuous huaca at the place where Viracocha had stood when he called the fire from heaven and from which he went to put it out. They also carved a great stone statue of Viracocha, almost 5 varas in length and 1 vara in width (approximately 4 by 0.8 meters).

Cieza de Leon (1922 [1556]:309) recorded an origin myth similar to that recounted by Betanzos. However, Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (1993 [c. 1615]:f.4v), an Aymara speaker from the Canas area, narrates a distinctive account. He claims that Tonapa Viracochampa Cachan destroyed the hill of Cacha with fire because he took offense at a female idol kept on top of the hill. Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui had been converted to Catholicism, and he suggested that this miracle was in fact performed by Santo Thomas, whereas Guaman Poma

(1988:[1584–1615]:93) states that it was San Bartolome who came to the Andes to preach the word of god and that he destroyed Cacha to punish sinners.

In each of these explanations, a powerful personality walks over the land and causes the fire as a punishment. Unlike the Huarochirí myths, in which the land itself is the active agent, these accounts make Viracocha, Tonopa, or San Bartolome the active forces who have individual agencies capable of transforming the land through their actions. This is distinct from current beliefs of Raqchi residents, who name Kinsich'ata as one of their apus, a mountain lord evoked during the preparation of offerings or when chewing coca. Kinsich'ata is the closest geographically and the most approachable of the apus recognized by the population currently living in Raqchi, with Kanchinisu, Auquisa, and the more distant Ausangate considered progressively more powerful but socially remote apus. In subsequent sections I will reposition these myths in relation to the historical process of different powers imposing their cosmology on the land. But let us start by considering a geological perspective on the agency of the fundamental forces that shaped this landscape.

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#### THE DYNAMIC LAND: WATER, ASH, AND ROCK<sup>1</sup>

The village of Raqchi and the volcano Kinsich'ata are located in a long valley formed by the Vilcanota River, which originates at the Vilcanota Mountain pass (elevation 4,313 meters) and eventually flows into the Amazon Basin (see Figure 4.1). At Raqchi the Vilcanota Valley is contained by steep-sided hills of calcareous sedimentary rocks to the north and south. The steep sides and deep infilling that created the wide floor of the Vilcanota Valley are relics of the Devensian glaciation. More recent evidence of soil development on this part of the valley floor includes sections where waterlogged peaty surfaces are preserved (Figure 4.3). A sample (WK-2128) from a peat layer that was overlain by one of the first deposits of ash from the volcano was dated to 10,573–10,071 BC, and a sample (WK-21280) from organics



in a mineral-rich layer overlying this ash gave a date of 9653–9256 BC (see Table 4.1), suggesting that Kinsich'ata began its volcanic activity around 10,000 BC. This volcanic activity deformed the land on which the modern village of Raqchi now lies, raising it slightly above the valley floor to form an elevated terrace and forcing the Vilcanota River somewhat farther south.

**[! Insert Fig. 4.3 here !]**

**[! Insert Table 4.1 here !]**

The volcano Kinsich'ata is the result of a series of ash layers, lava flows, and tectonic uplifts. The ash layers overlay earlier valley sediments and were later covered by lava flows. In some places the original thin layer of ash has been incorporated into local soil formations. This suggests that for the soils to form, ash eruptions took place over many hundreds of years. Ash contributes to many of the soils in the immediate vicinity of Raqchi, and its basic mineralogy may have improved the fertility and agricultural productivity of the otherwise more acidic valley soils. Several eruptions started with a sequence of fine ash layers followed by thicker ash deposits. A gradual start, followed by more intense emissions that were directed and winnowed by the prevailing wind, resulted in some ash deposits up to 5 meters thick. At a later stage, several flows of dark lava covered areas of this ash. The lava flows were very gassy, dark, and chemically basic, but they incorporated some glassy masses of quartzite pebbles, entrained and partly vitrified as the lava erupted through and flowed over the gravels of the river floodplain. Kinsich'ata's last eruption was a very fluid flow of lava from a fissure stretching from the north–northwest to the south–southeast, forming a 3-kilometer tongue of rock (Audebaud 1973:44). This caused the cone of the volcano to split, leaving three high sections, which explains the Native name Kinsich'ata, meaning “three peaks.” The fresh angular lava and the lack of soil within this lava field suggest a more modern date than the earliest, circa-twelve-thousand-year-old ash deposits—with the final

lava flows probably happening during the last five thousand years.

Kinsich'ata's volcanic rubble has spread like a dark inkblot over the Vilcanota Valley. An area of barren rock (Figure 4.4) sits next to a flat portion of the valley; together they offer useful resources, including enriched soils, natural springs, building stone, and clay. The valley also provides the major travel and transport route downriver toward Cuzco or up and over the Vilcanota Pass to the Titicaca Basin (see Figure 4.1). This juncture of freshwater springs and agricultural fields located next to a major through route helped make Raqchi a useful place for human occupation, and the stark black beacon of Kinsich'ata provided a sublime focal point for activities and narratives.

**[! Insert Fig. 4.4 here !]**

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#### BUILDING A POWERFUL PLACE (AND THE MISSING STATUE)

Archaic-period hunters had traveled through and settled in the Vilcanota Valley at least by the time of Kinsich'ata's final eruptions (Bauer 2004 [**not in reference list**]). By the Formative period, there was a significant human presence in the valley. Dean (2005:208–3) identified obsidian points and rock art that probably date to this period. Karen Mohr Chavez (1981) excavated at Pikicallepata, 6 kilometers from Raqchi, finding Marcavalle-style ceramics dating from 1200 to 500 BC (Bauer 2004:40). Incised polychrome pottery with high burnish like that described by Chavez is also found in abundance at Yanamancha (next to Raqchi), and our excavations at Pukara Uhu, within the volcanic rubble of Kinsich'ata, identified and dated Formative material (Dean 2005) (see Beta-156738 and Beta-156739 in Table 1).

The area became the focus of intense state-level occupation and modification during the Middle Horizon (see Figure 4.2 and Figure 4.5 for site locations). There are sections of very substantial walls from large rectangular buildings at Yanamancha (R8). A dense scatter

of pottery includes decorated Wari (Ocros-style) and a few Tiwanaku (Muyu Orco-style) sherds, primarily bowls and drinking cups (*keros*) like those reported by Bauer (1999). This suggests significant construction and feasting activity at the site. There are other major Middle Horizon sites at Cacha. A large walled enclosure (R3; see Figure 4.5) contained 152 circular buildings that had previously been interpreted as Inka storehouses (*colca*). However, our excavations revealed small hearths, and tuber (OxA-12147) and quinoa samples (OxA-13926) from two separate above-floor contexts gave Middle Horizon dates (Sillar, Dean, and Perez Trujillo 2013; see Table 5.1). Although the size of the structures and the presence of hearths and cooking pots point to a quotidian occupation, the planned layout of the sites and the highly restricted movement do not suggest long-term occupation by family groups, leading us to interpret this as a shorter-term accommodation for a labor force coordinated by the Wari state (Sillar, Dean, and Perez Trujillo 2013). The site of Wanq'osiki (R11), to the west of modern Raqchi, also has a well-planned layout with large rectangular buildings. Surface material is characterized by undecorated pottery jars and cooking pot fragments, with quite high numbers of *chakitaqlla* blades, hammerstones, and doughnut-shaped *porra* (used as mace heads or agricultural implements). A canal brought water across Kinsich'ata to irrigate the plain next to Wanq'osiki, and two aqueducts for this canal have a stepped profile similar to that of the Wari canal and aqueduct at Rumiqolqa (McEwan 1991, 2005) (Figure 4.6). The orthogonal, planned layout of Wanq'osiki and its associated canal and aqueducts suggest a state-sponsored construction, but the more functional (and less decorated) surface material suggests a location for agricultural workers rather than elites. Within the volcanic rock of Kinsich'ata, the site of Pukara Uhu (described below) also includes a small amount of diagnostic Middle Horizon ceramics, including a puma head from an *incensario* and a carbon sample (Beta-156736; AD 631–770), suggesting that Pukara Uhu could have been occupied from the Middle Horizon (Dean 2005).

**[! Insert Fig. 4.5 here !]**

**[! Insert Fig. 4.6 here !]**

Descriptions of the “statue of Viracocha,” which was a Canas huaca and became incorporated into the Inka temple at Cacha, suggest that it was originally a Middle Horizon–style sculpture. Cieza de León (1986b [1556]:10), who observed this statue in 1549, described it as a tall statue with the stature of a man, with a crown or tiara on its head, arms crossed, a belt around its middle, and “buttons” running down from its waist (1986a [1556]:270). Betanzos (1996 [1557]:10) also saw the statue, recording it being almost 5 varas in length and 1 vara in width (4 by 0.8 meters). His report of an old Indian of Cacha describing Viracocha as a tall bearded man with a belt, holding something in his hand, may refer to the statue. Garcilaso may be less reliable, but he states, “The image was of a man of good height with a beard more than a span in length. He held a strange animal of unknown shape with claws like a lion’s” (Garcilaso 1989 [1612]:291). Unfortunately, this statue no longer survives. But these independent descriptions are unlike any known Inka sculpture and suggest a Middle Horizon–period statue similar to Tiwanaku sculptural traditions or possibly those of Wari. Betanzos (1996 [1557]:10) also states that the statue was there before the Inka came to the site. However, it is unlikely that during the Middle Horizon this statue was thought to depict Viracocha. Couture (2004:130) argues that the Ponce and Bennet Monoliths at Tiwanaku depict a human wearing elite clothing and religious regalia representing a powerful person or ancestral figure. The same could be argued for the descriptions we have for the statue described at Raqchi in the colonial period.

All this evidence suggests that Yanamancha was an important ceremonial center with substantial Middle Horizon buildings, prestige artifacts, and significant statuary. The large enclosures at Raqchi (R3) and Wanq’osiki (R11) appear to be Wari construction projects that included a focus on state-sponsored agricultural production. (We do not yet know how this

related to earlier, or possibly contemporary, interaction with the Lake Titicaca/Tiwanaku area). Nevertheless, Yanamancha's prior significance in the Late Formative may suggest that the Wari selected Kinsach'ata and its associated springs because it was already recognized as a powerful place. Glowacki and Malpass (2003) have suggested that the Wari Empire sought to incorporate preexisting shrines, particularly those focused on springs, lakes, and other water sources (see also Schreiber 2004). Although we see extensive use of the landscape and its resources, none of the Middle Horizon buildings and open spaces have any clear orientation to engage with specific landscape features, and there is no evidence that the landscape was a focus for rituals. The strongest evidence is for state administrative and economic activity, with more elite-level rituals at Yanamancha and a focus on anthropomorphic imagery in stonework and ceramics that may represent deities, culture heroes, or elites.

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#### LIVING WITH THE DEAD IN THE MOUNTAINS—EMERGING ETHNIC IDENTITY<sup>ii</sup>

Around AD 1000, the ceremonial, elite, and administrative centers associated with Wari and Tiwanaku were abandoned, and the “Southern Andean Iconographic Series” (Isbell 2008), which included imagery of the “staff deity” and elite personages, was no longer produced. The religious understanding that had united a wide area and the pomp and ceremony that had underpinned elite power were widely rejected, possibly including the defacing of carved stone images at Tiwanaku (Janusek 2008:295). Emily Dean's regional archaeological survey of the Vilcanota and Sallca Valleys recorded 287 sites in an area covering 520 square kilometers. More than one hundred settlements with Late Intermediate period–style pottery were identified. This suggests a population expansion during the LIP, which may have been a boom time in the Andean highlands. Many of these settlements are located on hills, with increasing emphasis on pastoralism of the high grassland zones. Many

of the settlements have extensive evidence of circular houses, measuring between 3 and 6 meters in diameter. There is no display of hierarchical differentiation in the domestic architecture.

At eight of the LIP hilltop sites, Dean (2005:313) identified larger circular structures that are believed to have had a ritual function. These have very low walls, are three to four times the size of typical LIP houses, and have smaller circles or pits at the center. Four of these larger structures were identified on the hill tops of Kanchinisu (R16), Joruro (R64), Suyu (R110), and Quillahuara (R56); each of which are recognized today as apus and/or Catholic shrines. At Quillahuara, a small promontory has been partially terraced to create a platform. At its center is a circular pit, from which three, single-coursed lines of stone emanate. Each of these lines point toward a prominent mountain peak: Kanchinisu, Auquisa, and Kirma, which suggests that ritual life at these LIP sites included a focus on hills and landscape features (Dean 2005:315).

A wide variety of burial methods are used in this area. There are burials in natural or slightly modified caves, adobe “casitas,” subterranean tombs, and niches within domestic structures, but the most common are *chullpa* burial towers (Sillar and Dean 2004). Many of these burial methods respond to the specific nature of the local geology, as the dead were incorporated into the earth and rock of the landscape. The widespread adoption of aboveground burial towers—chullpas—for collective burials is associated with the LIP, and a sample of *ichu* grass (OxA 12401) from the internal plaster of a small chullpa in Raqchi gave a date range of AD 1324 to 1451. Chullpas are mostly simple structures built on prominent hilltops and exposed locations, where the dry air of the Andes would desiccate the bodies placed inside. Burial was probably not a single event; the process of death, mummification, ancestor worship, and burial could take several years, and an individual’s mortal remains might be moved through several locations during this process (Sillar 1996, 2012). For

instance, a corpse may have been taken to a high level chullpa to dry out, being periodically rewrapped in rope made from ichu as it desiccated and shrank, before finally being placed in a cave under a settlement.

Pukara Uhu (R18) is located within the volcanic rubble of Kinsich'ata and has approximately 250 circular to oval houses, varying from 3 to 5 meters in diameter with a few smaller, 1- to 1.5-meter structures, some of which were chullpas, as well as burials located in the volcanic rock, often under houses. There is also a small occupation of similar circular houses on one side of Kinsich'ata's crater (Kinsich'ata Cocha; see Table 1 for dates) with three chullpas overlooking the rim of the crater and extensive human remains placed in hollows of volcanic rubble in the crater. Hilltop locations, including Kinsich'ata, were the locus of occupation and daily life, where the living were in frequent contact with their dead and in constant view of the chullpas. This suggests an intimacy with the rugged land, where ritual engagement was integrated within the quotidian activities of domestic, agricultural, and herding life.

Historic documents from the early colonial period refer to the inhabitants of the southern Vilcanota River valley as the Canas and Canchis (Cieza de León 1986a [1556]:269–70; Cobo 1988 [1653]:131), and Betanzos names the Canas as the ethnic group that emerged at Cacha and upon whom Viracocha brought “fire from heaven.” Although we can't be sure when the Canas ethnic identity developed, it seems most likely to have emerged in the aftermath of the Tiwanaku/Wari and coalesced in relation to the development of other ethnic groups, including the expansion of the Inka (Sillar and Dean 2004). Bertonio (1984 [1612]:A2) states that both the Canas and Canchis were Aymara speakers (the area adopted Quechua only in the colonial period; Sillar 2012), a fact reflected in many of the area's toponyms, including Kinsich'ata (meaning “three peaks”), which is also the name of a hill and stone source near Tiwanaku. In both Aymara and Quechua, the word *cana* means “light”

or “incendiary,” possibly in reference to the ethnic groups’ association with the volcano. This binds the Canas people together with a shared identity in the landscape at Cacha. It is interesting that they select the former Wari administrative site as their identity focus, although none of the myths reference an earlier period of state activity. Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui (1993 [c. 1615]:f.4v), who came from the Canas area, recounts a myth in which “Tonapa Viracochampa Cachan” burns the hill at Cacha to destroy a female idol. The local Aymara nomenclature of Tonopa is one of the names for the wandering animator and perhaps recalls the demise of earlier Wari-period cult activity. During the LIP, Cacha was a Canas huaca and paqarina, which formed one part of their ritual focus on the hills and mountains where they lived and were placed after death.

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#### INKA ENGAGEMENT WITH THE *HUACAS* OF THE CANAS

The Inka “conquest” was a process that included a series of diplomatic relationships, alliances, military conquests, and renegotiations. Powerful places played a vital role in this process. Several colonial-period accounts discuss how the Inka incorporation of the Canas ethnic group included direct engagements with Canas huacas. Cieza de León (1986b [1556]:124) describes how Inka Viracocha negotiated with the Canas by sending offerings to their shrine at Ancocagua (125). The Canas responded positively by offering to work with the Inka and help maintain roads. When the Canas agreed to form an alliance, Inka Viracocha also participated in drinking and sacrifices at another Canas shrine, on the Vilcanota Pass. We have suggested (Sillar and Dean 2004) that a line of chullpas on the Vilcanota Pass formed one component of this shrine, so that Inka Viracocha would have been drinking with the Canas ancestors at the point where the Vilcanota River starts and at the boundary between territories of the Canas and Colla ethnic groups. The Canas helped Thupa Inka Yupanqui put down a major Colla rebellion. After a rout of the Colla people living in Ayaviri, it was



repopulated by *mitmaes* from the Canas ethnic group (Cieza de León 1986a [1556]:270), and a new Temple of the Sun was built there (Cieza de León (1986b [1556]:151). These incidents show a consistent pattern of the Inka honoring and endowing powerful places (huacas) that were already the focus of devotion during the LIP as an aspect of Inka negotiation and colonizing strategy. The elaboration of the shrine at Cacha and other powerful places within Canas territory was part of a wider Inka policy of incorporating potent and prestigious shrines and huacas (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Ogburn 2010). Like the Christian Crusades in the “Holy Land,” the capture, incorporation, and remodeling of these powerful places formed a motivation for conquest—and a tool for engaging with people and lands—that influenced the strategy of state expansion (Gose 1993).

The earliest dated Inka structure at Cacha, located next to the pre-Columbian road, is a walled enclosure with eight rectangular buildings arranged around a large courtyard (R6). This architecture is a radical change from the circular buildings the Canas were constructing on hillsides during the LIP. This structure, named Chaski Wasi by Chávez Ballón (1963), was probably a *tambo*, or lodging house. A date comes from some ichu grass incorporated in the mortar (OxA-12400; AD 1291–1408, calibrated). Although we have not excavated in Chaski Wasi, this early date could represent an initial phase of Inka engagement—which would agree with sources that suggest that the Canas formed an alliance with and provided troops to Inka Roca (Cobo 1988 [1653]:125) or with Cieza de León’s 1986b [1556]:121–28) more specific statement that the Canas formed an early alliance and cooperated with the Inka in constructing and maintaining the road. Various authors (D’Altroy 2015; Hyslop 1984) have highlighted the importance of the Inka road system as a tool for integrating the Inka Empire. Many of the paths that made up the “Inka” road had been used for generations, and the section running next to Wanq’osiki and Yanamancha must have been in use since the Middle Horizon, but further improvements and installations turned these paths into the Capac Ñan, or

royal road, a marker of the Inka state. The Inka may well have worked with allies to develop the road infrastructure in advance of full imperial control, suggesting a more cooperative aspect to the first stage of Inka “expansion.” The road system linked together the various ethnic groups, facilitating the movement of labor, including military personnel; the collection of tribute; and pilgrimage to huacas/shires. The places mentioned in Betanzos’s account of the Viracocha myth—Tiwanaku, Cacha, and Urcos—are located on the primary axes of the Capac Ñan, and he describes the animator Viracocha as “traveling by the royal road that goes through the sierra toward Cajamarca” (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:9–10). The Viracocha myth gave an added cosmological significance to the Capac Ñan, making it a primordial fact that helped justify its role as a unifying tool for the Inka Empire.

A large and very long wall (*muralla*), 1.5 to 2 meters wide and built from volcanic stone (without mortar), runs for 3.5 kilometers across the rubble of Kinsach’ata, surviving in a few locations up to heights of 3.5 meters. This massive wall stretches over Kinsich’ata, surrounding the large Wari enclosure (R3), the main Inka site, and the modern village of Raqchi. Today it has four entrances. Three of them are associated with the Inka Capac Ñan, and the final one provides a path up to Kinsich’ata’s crater. It is difficult to date this dry-stone wall, which could relate to the Wari or LIP occupation, but when Chávez Ballón was reconstructing part of the muralla in the 1960s, he removed a mummified body buried within the northern entrance of the wall. A sample of this mummy’s skin (UGAMS-25024) dates the mummified person entombed in the wall to the Inka period (AD 1415–1451). Although it is possible that this mummy was an Inka-period insertion within the preexisting wall, it shows that the Inka engaged with the large muralla and enhanced the entrance with a human immurement. An offshoot of this wall runs over the lava flow to the north of Kinsich’ata. If this offshoot is viewed from the point where the Capac Ñan crosses the “Wari” aqueduct at Wanq’osiki, it replicates the profile of the hills behind, including a protuberance that mirrors

Mount Auquisa (Figure 4.7). I am unsure whether this feature was a Wari or an Inka modification, but in either case it frames the natural landscape, drawing the traveler's attention to Mount Auquisa, which was the source of the canal water and is today considered one of the major apus of Raqchi. A local story recounts how a pregnant woman walking next to the canal running over Kinsich'ata met a snake and beat it with a stick out of fear. Instantly, the water retreated up the canal like a snake, and from that time, there has been no water to irrigate the lower fields. This story is not located in any specific time. Like the massive muralla that surrounds modern Raqchi, both the narrative and structure can be located in place but are not easily fixed to a specific time period.

**[! Insert Fig. 4.7 here !]**

“THE REMEMBRANCE OF THIS EVENT SHOULD BE GREATER”

The most prominent Inka construction in Raqchi is RI. This building has an extraordinary high wall rising 12 meters above the ground, with classic Inka fitted stonework at its base and large rectangular adobe bricks in the upper section (Figure 4.8). This wall formed the central partition and roof support for a large rectangular building measuring 92 by 25.25 meters. At the end of this building, the Inka constructed a shallow pond with two sets of Inka “baths,” which were fed from an underground spring. On the terrace just above the large building, in a sector referred to today as Yanacancha, very regular buildings are positioned in perfect alignment. The Yanacancha sector is planed with respect to the preexisting Wari walled enclosure (R3), with the circular buildings inside, showing how the Inka maintained this Wari enclosure as a part of their remodeling of the site (Sillar, Dean, and Perez Trujillo 2013) (see Figure 4.5).

**[! Insert Fig. 4.8 here !]**

The monumental use of adobe and the positioning of the building overlooking an artificial pond are very similar to the buildings at Quispiguanca, which Susan Niles (1999)

uses to define the architectural style of the last great Inka emperor: Huayna Capac. Samples of ichu grass from adobe bricks in the Temple and Yanacancha sectors (R1, OxA-12145, and OxA-12146) give dates that are somewhat earlier than this (AD 1416–1450; AD 1420–1452). Even if the dates are adjusted using the calibration curve for the Southern Hemisphere, which results in later dates (AD 1435–1497; AD 1430–1484—see Table 1), these are still prior to Rowe’s suggested dates for the reign of Huayna Capac (AD 1493–1528). This dating for the temple construction could show that Rowe’s chronology for Inka rule needs to be revised by a decade or two (Ogburn 2012). Alternatively, it could be considered to fit with Cieza de Leon’s (1922 [1556]:309) statement that Thupa Inka Yupanqui (whose reign Rowe [1946] gives as AD 1471–1493) built the lodging houses for *yanakuna* and *mamacuna*, or that Huayna Capac started directing building projects before he became Sapa Inka (during Thupa Inka Yupanqui’s reign).

These monumental buildings were late constructions, built well after the initial Inka incursions into Canas territory. Although some colonial sources state that the cult of the animator Viracocha was developed by the Inka emperor who took the name Viracocha (Cobo 1990 [1653]:23; Garcilaso 1989 [1612]:232), the building works at Raqchi and the other shrines associated with the animator cult were largely undertaken during the reign of Thupa Inka Yupanqui and his son Huayna Capac, suggesting that this cult had strong imperial support at the height of the empire. These constructions were accompanied by the endowment of personnel (*yanakuna* and *mamakuna*) and resources to sustain ritual activities.

The legend of Viracocha walking over the land and bringing people out of the earth linked otherwise discrete places into an empire-wide cult, and claims all ethnic groups were united in a single origin myth. Many of the sites associated with Viracocha, such as Tiwanaku, Isla del Sol, Cacha, Wiracochan at Urcos, and Pachacamac, had been significant during the Middle Horizon (Bauer and Stanish 2001; Glowacki 2002; Sillar, Dean, and Perez

Trujillo 2013; Yaeger and López-Bejarano 2004), but Inka investment reactivated them and proclaimed them as Inka ritual centers. An aesthetic feature that unites the Inka remodeling at several of these sites is the use of a stepped design, in both vertical and horizontal forms, that is carved, constructed, or painted on architectural features. (At Raqchi this was painted in red along the main wall of the temple; Figure 4.9). This stepped design is used in the triple jam niches and other features at Maucallacta/Pacariqtambo and Isla de la Luna (Bauer and Stanish 2001:129–31). It is possibly drawn from a similar motif present in the architecture and ceramics that the Inka admired at Tiwanaku. So this “archaic” motif may have highlighted the ancient significance of sites (Sillar and Dean 2004).

**[! Insert Fig. 4.9 here !]**

Betanzos states that when Inka Huayna Capac was inspecting Collasuyo, he saw the huaca at Cacha and was told how the animator Viracocha caused the volcano. Huayna Capac “decided that the remembrance of this event should be greater and ordered the erection of a large building near the burned hill” (Betanzos 1996 [1557]:175). Betanzos (1996 [1557]:175) describes how this enormous structure was roofed, with two lines of pillars to support beams running from the wall forming the central apex to the outer walls of the building (Figure 4.10)—a description that fits very well with the surviving remains (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:248, Figure 234; Sillar 2013). No native highland trees provide wood long enough for these beams, so people must have carried them for approximately 75 kilometers from the lowland *montana* region. The thatchers would have been working more than 12 meters above ground level and would have required a huge supply of native grasses to cover some 2,500 square meters. The materials, construction techniques, and scale of this building could justifiably be considered an example of Alfred Gell’s (1998) “technologies of enchantment,” designed to amaze the viewer, engaging a sense of awe and wonder. When Betanzos attributed this construction to Huayna Capac, he was drawing from a genre of Inka oral

history that recorded the biographies of individual rulers (Julien 2000), listing their major building projects to attest to their fame (Niles 1999).

Unusually for an Inka building, there is an early colonial account of how people moved inside this structure:

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On entering the temple by the main gate, they turned right down the first passage until they came to the wall at the right-hand side of the temple; they then turned left down the second passage and went on till they came to the opposite wall. There they turned right again down the third passage, and by following the series of passages in the plan . . . they came to the twelfth and last where there was a staircase up to the upper floor. (Garcilaso de la Vega (1989 [1612]:290)

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People entering the building by the surviving doorways rather than a passageway have their progress blocked by the roof support pillars, which they are forced to walk around. If participants initially walked around the pillar toward the outer wall, before turning back and going through one of the openings in the central wall, they traced a path along Garcilaso's zigzag motion and would go in twelve different directions before arriving at the far end of the building, facing the artificial lake and the volcano (Figure 4.10). Garcilaso's (1989 [1612]:290) description suggests that there was a higher level at this point, where the ancient statue now said to depict Viracocha had been relocated. If there were a viewing point at this end of the temple (like the person-size openings that survive 5 meters above ground level at the southern end of the building), the participant would emerge to a spectacular view of the volcano Kinsich'ata reflected in the waters of the artificial lake. Despite the massive scale of this cathedral-like building, it was designed to help participants engage with the landscape. This procession through the building may have been performed as a dance accompanied by

singing. “The Indians were much given to their *taquis*, which is what they call their songs and dances” (Cobo 1990 [1653]:243). “While they are singing these songs, they tell foolish things about their ancestors, they invoke the *huacas* by name” (Arriaga 1968 [1621]:50). This would fit well with Connerton’s (1989) concept of embodying history, as ritual procession through the new building allowed the Inka to reframe the recounting of Cacha’s significance according to their own priorities.

**[! Insert Fig. 4.10 here !]**

Lira (1949) and Poole (1991) have described the dance of the Canchis, which the people of Canas and Canchis perform during pilgrimages and festivals today. In this dance, participants are ranked by seniority and age. A central move in this dance is the *simp’a* braid. Also referred to as *chinkana* (labyrinth), it creates a zigzag pattern as dancers weave their way through the opposing column of dancers (Poole 1991). They also construct a zigzag pattern by placing their *varas* on the ground (Sillar 2002:234, Figure 9). This dance may recall the procession through the Inka temple. I believe this procession through the temple at Cacha was designed to communicate with the mythical past in a similar way to Inka initiation rights at Huanacuari. Participants wound their way down the temple at Cacha to meet the ancient statue thought to depict Virachocha, the volcano he had caused, and the *paqarinas* from which the Canas had emerged. The high-roofed temple was a “technology of enchantment” built to express Inka cosmology and frame the ritual movement of people in relation to the powerful huaca and landscape features of Cacha. This Inka intervention staked a claim on the origin and ordering of the Andean world. Like the United States putting a man on the moon, the Inka took great risks in using innovative technology and engineering skills to engage with a primeval part of the cosmos, and thus they asserted their claim of preeminence.

Cacha was an important site on an annual pilgrimage associated with the June

solstice, which went from Cuzco over the mountains to the Vilcanota temple and then returned to Cuzco (Molina 1947 [1572]:51–62; Zuidema 2006). The return journey went through Suntu (near Sicuani), Cacha (Raqchi), Quiquijani, and Urcos, retracing the mythical journey of Viracocha and the huacas dedicated to him, as well as following the Vilcanota River, which is conceptually linked to the Milky Way (Cobo 1990 [1653]:32; Urton 1981). The June pilgrimage honored major Canas shrines, possibly adding to the political power and prestige of the Canas by asserting their ancestral link to huacas recognized and honored by the Inka state. But developing the paqarina of the Canas and other ethnic groups could also help the Inka stabilize the identity of subject group and the loyalty of their leader (*kuraka*), thus maintaining a client that could more effectively raise a workforce (*mit'a*) for state needs (Murra 1980). This was also the development of an institutionalized religion, where the myth of Viracocha, much like the cult of the sun, could claim and integrate the disparate powerful places incorporated into the Inka Empire, uniting diverse peoples and places within a singular worldview (Urton 1999).

Inka monumental architecture was a far greater intervention with these powerful landscape features than had been seen in the south-central highlands during the LIP. But it is not clear to what degree this represents a fundamental change in beliefs or simply a change in the materiality of ritual engagement at the highest level of state-managed activities. In spite of all the investment in monumental construction and personnel, the Inka were also engaging with the landscape features. By making the Canas huacas and paqarinas central features of Inka state cult activity, they would guarantee Canas participation.

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#### HISTORY FOR A NEW WORLD

The myths and significance of Inka-period Cacha discussed above were written down in the early colonial period. They not only demonstrate the fame of Cacha in the Inka Empire, but



they also show how Cacha continued to draw the attention of priests, soldiers, and officials during the political and religious ferment under Spanish rule. The Spanish used the same through-route between Lake Titicaca and Cuzco, so Cacha became a shared topic for discussion among fellow travellers: a place of wealth, fable, idolatry, and curiosity. This led to a diversity of tales with disputed descriptions and attributions, as people attempted to locate the pre-Hispanic Andean world they encountered within their distinct ideals and Catholic convictions. Cacha remained powerful.

MacCormack (1991) has drawn attention to the fact that the Inka sun deity and higher Inka pantheon and religious practice died out very rapidly after the Spanish conquest, although local huacas and ancestor cults proved more resilient to Catholic interventions. This could suggest a relatively poor penetration of Inka state religious ideology into the wider population. But the mythical explanation of Kinsich'ata being caused by a deity's wrath was rapidly incorporated into a Christianizing myth. In the Bible, Saint Bartholomew is recorded as going to preach the Christian faith beyond the confines of the Roman Empire, and several Spanish and indigenous chroniclers claimed he came to the Andes. The eruption of Kinsich'ata was attributed to San Bartolome (Guaman Poma 1988 [1584–1615]:93) or Santo Thomas (Santacruz Pachacuti 1993 [c. 1615]:f.4), with Cacha explained as an equivalent of Sodom and Gomorra, where sinners were punished by the saint causing the volcanic eruption (Bouysee-Cassagne 1997). This was evidently a topic of general discussion, as several chroniclers allude to the debate. Cieza de León (1880 [1556]:9) goes to some lengths to dispute the suggestion that the statue of Viracocha depicted one of the apostles. During the colonial period, the Andean landscape was rapidly Christianized, in a similar way to northern Europe (Ó Carragáin and Turner 2016). The land was planted with churches and graveyards as well as miraculous visitations that turned huacas into Christian shrines (Sallnow 1987). While this was in part a Spanish imposition that distanced Andean people from their heritage,

it was also an indigenous appropriation of the European past and cosmology, as Andeans made the invaders' history their own (cf. Gose 2008).

Viceroy Francisco de Toledo ordered that Natives be moved far from the “idolatries and the tombs of their ancestors” (Toledo document in the Archivo General de los Indies, dated 1573, cited in Ramírez 2005:253). In the 1570s, indigenous populations were forcibly resettled through the policy of *reducciones*, which moved Native people to new centralized towns and villages, where churches were established. Those living in and around Cacha were resettled into the two *reducciones* at San Pedro de Cacha and San Bartolome de Tinta—removing the Canas residents from their paqarina and following Toledo's policy to reshape their identity (Gade and Escobar 1982). But the choice of Saint Bartholomew as the patron saint of Tinta was a syncretized reinterpretation of the Viracocha myth (Figure 4.11). Garcilaso de la Vega (1989 [1612]:291–92) mentions a fellowship of mestizo aristocracy in Cuzco that worshiped Saint Bartholomew and refused to permit Spanish devotees within their cult. The cult of San Bartolome may also have been encouraged by Bartolome Terrazas, the first *encomendero* of the Canas ethnic group, who built a new town in Tinta (and oversaw a huge depopulating of the area, partly by sending Canas people to work on the *mit'a* at Potosi).

At cacha the “temple” became a focus of early Spanish desecration:

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Although the temple was so curious in its construction, it was destroyed by the Spaniards. . . . The principle reason for destroying this work and all the others that have been pulled down was the rumour that there must certainly be a great deal of buried treasure under it. They first pulled down the statue, saying that there was a great deal of gold buried beneath its feet. They went on making trial excavations here and there in the temple down to the foundations, and in this

way the whole was destroyed. The stone statue still existed a few years ago, though it was completely disfigured by the stones that had been flung at it. (Garcilaso 1989 [1612]:292)

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The northern end of the temple (where Garcilaso states the statue stood) has indeed been destroyed. Some of the structural timbers in the central wall show evidence of having been sawed off, probably extracted for reuse in Spanish construction projects (such as the early colonial churches at Tinta and San Pedro). Yet the massive physical presence of Huayna Capac's "large building" continued as a beacon in the landscape, and the site did not lose all its cultural significance. Tupac Amaru II was an indigenous leader (cacique) from Tinta who took the name of the last Inka ruler to lead a rebellion against Spanish rule. On one occasion, when he rallied his troops: "He led them first to the ruins of the Temple of Viracocha, and there, surrounded by black and rugged lava walls, and under the shadow of the crumbling sanctuary, with strange and solemn ceremonies and ancient invocations, he adjured the aid of the Spirit that had fought by the side of the young Viracocha" (Squier 1877:415). He used the location of Cacha to appeal to the historic past and ideology of the Inka Empire (Tupac Amaru II had read Garcilaso de la Vega) and to fight the Spanish authorities. Tupac Amaru II was identifying with the material presence of the Inka temple, the volcano, and the origin place of the Canas (who made up a large part of his troops), perhaps appealing to the bellicose reputation of this ethnic group.

But the disarray after the failure of Tupac Amaru II's uprising and the subsequent war of independence led to a reconfiguration of local social and economic power structures, with significant changes in identity, cosmology, and landscape engagement. The power of indigenous caciques (such as Tupac Amaru II) and their control over labor and land was undermined, as was the ethnic identity that both the Inka and the Spanish authorities had used

as an administrative tool. From this period on, people no longer refer to themselves as Canas but locate themselves in relation to the villages and communities they come from. With the demise of cacique and colonial power, people were liberated to move out of the reducciones and occupy alternative sites, and this permitted a reoccupation of Cacha in the early Republican period. Families from the districts of San Pedro and Tinta relocated to build a new community which they called Raqchi in the early 1800s. The new community occupied the land of the previous Inka site at Cacha, using Inka building stone and terraces. However, unlike Squier's account of Tupac Amaru II, they were not claiming the identity of the Inka/Canas huacas or the fame of Cacha. The new community had a more pragmatic interest in the resources of the land; even the temple was ploughed as an agricultural field (Bingham 1922:128). Cacha was renamed Raqchi, probably to describe the location where pottery jars (*raqi* or *raki*) were produced by the residents, a continuation of pottery making started by the Inka, a process that mixed temper from Kinsich'ata with clays from the Vilcanota Valley (Sillar 2000; Sillar and Dean 2004:246). Given that Andean "places are named social individuals" (Allen 1988:41) and the name Cacha was well-known, this renaming must have been a deliberate act to avoid drawing attention to the Inka heritage of the site.

The people who formed the new community of Raqchi were Christians; they built their own small church (Sillar 2013). They chose San Miguel and the Virgin de Nevis as their patron saints. These are the secondary saints of San Pedro and Tinta and thus express the communities' continuing affiliation to the reducciones where Raqchi's members came from. At first community members returned to the cemeteries of Tinta and San Pedro when they died, but about sixty years ago the community created its own cemetery near the banks of the Vilcanota River, so the dead now remain in the village. The three chullpas on top of Kinsich'ata (which are referred to today as *kinsiwasi*, or "three houses") form the boundary markers for the three communities of Raqchi, Quea, and Cocha, and a section of the

abandoned Wari canal marks the boundary between the communities of Raqchi and Quea. Although these vestiges of a bygone era now mark territorial divisions, occupants of the area today express some anxiety about going to hilltop locations. The circular houses and chullpas that were once thriving communities in the LIP and the Inka period are now explained as the hiding place of dangerous *gentiles*, the people who were driven underground when the sun emerged (see Gose this volume). The site within Kinsich'ata has been named Pukara Uhu, which can be translated as "the hidden or underground retreat." This is a place where people can get lost or the gentiles may cause sickness. This can either be seen as a "heritage distancing" (McAnany and Parks 2012) that has resulted in indigenous people being alienated from their past or as a strategic move by Native people to deny the legitimacy of previous elite demands based on their ethnic allegiance (Gose 2008 [**Not in reference list**]).

In 1929, Peruvian National Law 6634 stated that all prehistoric structures were to become the property of the state (Trazegnies 2000:43). Although subsequent legislation (for example, Law 24047 of 1985) modified this requirement to a duty to protect and conserve archaeological heritage rather than state ownership, there has been increasingly strong intervention by the state at many archaeological sites. Since the 1930s, the Inka ruins at Raqchi have been the subject of a series of conservation, restoration, and reconstruction programs, with an increasing focus on the promotion of heritage and tourism (Sillar 2013). This was a small component of the early-twentieth-century use of pre-Hispanic sites and symbols in the creation of a new national identity, supported by the *indigenismo* movement. In 2012 tourist traffic through Raqchi exceeded 110,000 visitors, making it one of the top ten destinations in Peru and an important revenue earner for the Peruvian Ministry of Culture (Gould 2015). The visitors come primarily from buses of tourists en route between Cuzco and Lake Titicaca, with most of them staying for little more than half an hour. The primary foci of tourist attention are the Inka temple, the artificial lake, and Yanacancha, as well as the

Wari enclosure (R3) and the village church. Much like the Inka, the Peruvian state has taken control of the entrance to site, directs how people should walk around it, and increasingly, through the education of guides and sign boards, seeks to control how the site is interpreted.

But for residents of Raqchi, the ruins are a marginal part of their religious concern, which focuses primarily on the festivals of the church saints and an animism that recognizes houses, fields, and pasture land as living entities. While “heritage distancing” may have caused Raqchi’s residents to deny that the occupants of LIP sites were their ancestors, they are not “distanced” from the land, to which they continue to feel a strong social and emotional connection. This is most clearly expressed in the preparation of offerings directed to prominent mountains (apus) (Allen 1988; Bastien 1978; Gose 1994). For instance, when preparing an offering on the night of San Luis (August 24), family members chew coca and make libations over a ritual cloth, naming animate recipients that include the house; family members themselves, both living and dead; agricultural fields; pasture land; paths and roads; and marketplaces (Sillar 2009). Once the offering is prepared, it is taken into the household patio or a field. As it is placed on the fire, the apus Kinsich’ata, Kanchinisu, Auquisa, and Ausangate are called to feed. While Christian rituals require the building of a church and a religious hierarchy, this engagement with the animate landscape requires little paraphernalia and no architecture. The most important locales, the mountain apus, are evoked in frequent libations, burnt offerings, and salutations but are never visited.

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#### POWERFUL PLACES

The biographical approach has helped us explore how Cacha/Raqchi emerged as a powerful place that was continually transformed by different agencies and interest groups. This has served to highlight several important factors that could be considered in relation to the study of other powerful places:

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1. Cosmology: the way that places, people, and deities come into being and what agency they have (or is attributed to them), including how people from different backgrounds and in different time periods may have brought distinct cosmologies to the same location.
2. Sublime features: unusual topographic features that may be explained by geological processes, human construction, or supernatural forces but that have inspired awe and required a social response.
3. People: Who engages with the place? Who considers it powerful? Who identifies with it? Who narrated stories about it?
4. History: how the significance of a place develops as people respond to their knowledge of earlier events and the material remains of the past. Narratives may express historical, social, and spatial concerns without prioritizing chronology, but these narratives still need to be contextualized in relation to when they were being recounted and by whom.
5. Manipulation: how people and institutions make claims over places and use constructions, 'technologies of enchantment', behavioral norms, or narratives to alter other people's experience of the place.

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Cacha's topographic identity was initiated by the volcanic origins of Kinisch'ata, which combined with its location in the Vilcanota Valley and freshwater springs to create a bleak landscape feature next to verdant flat land. This place appealed to an Andean "aesthetic of alterity" (van de Guchte 1990; see Swenson and Jennings this volume), a sublime landscape that has been a powerful place for reflecting on and expressing people's changing understanding of their relationship to the land and the cosmos. The power of this place has

developed through a history of human engagement, construction, and performance.

We do not yet have sufficient detail on the construction or function of the Middle Horizon infrastructure at Yanamancha. (A program of excavation is required to reveal the building forms and to analyze the activities that took place there.) But this area of major state-level intervention included a resident workforce and investment in agricultural production as well as monumental architecture, major statuary, and prestige ceramics for commensal rituals that focused on elite power. It is likely that these interventions were located here in response to an earlier settlement as well as the water springs and agricultural potential. Although we do not know how these Middle Horizon groups perceived this place or whether they had a ritual engagement with this landscape, their investment in large building projects and production of an awe-inspiring statue helped to create a powerful place.

There was a hiatus in large-scale construction at Cacha during the LIP. Like Bauer and Stanish's (2001) research at the Islands of the Sun and the Moon, this hiatus seems to reflect the absence of institutionalized religion. The demise of Wari and Tiwanaku figurative and representational art at the end of the Middle Horizon suggests a rejection of the personages represented in elite iconography and a major change in cosmology. This is accompanied by the wide-scale construction of chullpas, which signifies a focus on ancestors throughout society, not only at the elite level. By the end of the LIP, a large population lived in the hills along the Vilcanota Valley, surrounded by their dead but with little sign of the ostentatious rituals of the Middle Horizon. It seems likely that people abandoned the higher pantheon or founding heroes and religious practice of Wari and Tiwanaku elites and developed their concern for local huacas, ancestor cults, and orientation to landscape features. But the site of Cacha, with its ancient architecture and statuary, became the focus of an emerging ethnic identity as the Canas paqarina.

Cacha provides an interesting example of the LIP and the Inka incorporating a



figurative sculpture into their rituals. However, the assertion that the carving depicted Viracocha is almost certainly a latter interpretation. (For instance, none of the descriptions of this statue suggest it was carrying a staff, which is a central feature of Betanzos's description of the Viracocha myth.) While a paqarina expresses an intimate connection between a group of people and a specific place, the myth of Viracocha, who moves over the landscape, links the fixed location of individual paqarinas into a universal origin story. The caves and springs of each paqarina could be considered the source of life, with people emerging from the generative capacity of the land itself. But Viracocha is described, like the Christian God, as the maker or animator of all life. Locating this animating power in an individual appears to be the antitheses of current Andean animism, which dissipates power, fecundity, and life throughout the many named places of the land. However, *vira* is the word for animal fat, which is considered a vitalizing force, and *cocha* is a lake or water source, so the name Viracocha refers to the animating forces of the land. We do not know how the Viracocha myth relates to earlier depictions of a "staff god" (Demarest 1981), but the Inka investment at Cacha shows how the Viracocha cult was sponsored and spread during the later stages of the Inka Empire as a cosmological device that had the potential to assimilate the paqarinas and huacas of conquered ethnic groups into an empire-wide ontology.

A major factor promoting Raqchi/Cacha's fame was its location on the Vilcanota River and the road connecting Lake Titicaca to Cuzco; this became central to Inka ideals, and the primordial Viracocha walking along the Royal Road helped legitimate it. The highly planned architecture of Huayna Capac's "large building" and the choreography of movement through the building, and during the June pilgrimage along the Vilcanota Valley described by Molina, are examples of the Inka state's role in coordinating movement. The landscape becomes a medium through which people enacted religious concerns and reproduced the desirable social order (Moore 1996:98–102). The Inka architecture at Cacha was constructed

with respect to surrounding landscape features and the Canas huacas. It utilized terracing, canalization, and precisely planned buildings as “technologies of enchantment” to impress visitors.

In the colonial period, the church used similar processes to incorporate many Andean huacas, claiming them as sites of Christian miracles and transforming them into centers of church power, although Sallnow (1987) notes that this was an ongoing process in which the church continually had to claim its authority over new sites where local people had claimed Christian visions or begun to make offerings. Like the Wari and the Inka before them, the Spanish also had a strong interest in trying to acquire and control the perception and experience of powerful places, but rather than rebuilding Cacha, they forced its abandonment. At Cacha the Spanish authorities destroyed the Inka temple and moved the population to reducciones with new churches, but they facilitated a syncretic link through the cult of San Bartolome. Like the Inka, the colonial authorities continued to bolster the ethnic identity of the Canas and their indigenous leaders to facilitate administration and taxation, and Cacha continued to hold some significance to the cacique Tupac Amaru II when he rallied his troops there.

I agree with Gose (this volume) that there was a significant reorientation in people’s cosmologies at the end of the colonial period. The new residents of Cacha rejected its previous associations with Viracocha, the Inka, and the Canas paqarinas by renaming it Raqchi. They also showed their commitment to Catholicism by building a new church. The animating power that might previously have been associated with the elite sculptures, huacas, or ancestors is now considered dissipated throughout the landscape, with its most powerful expression in the distant peaks of the mountain lords (apus), which people engage with by preparing offerings and making libations (Sillar 2009). However, this focus on mountains seems to originate in the LIP, when people lived in the hills, placed their ancestors on hillside

chullpas, and made alignments pointing to mountains (Dean 2005), and this may have remained a focus for non-elite ritual practice for a millennium. The difficulty is that aspects of past cosmologies that were primarily expressed in words and gestures are hidden from us. The evidence for powerful places is biased toward the institutionalized practices expressed through elaborate material culture, monumental construction, and historic records that can attest to state ideologies (the iconography and statuary of Tiwanaku, the ceremonial spaces of Inka religious practice, the churches and saint images of Catholicism). The reoccupation and renaming of Raqchi as well as the demise of Canas ethnic identity supports Gose's analysis of the rejection of indigenous elite authorities and "heritage distancing" at the end of the colonial period, but I see today's focus on apus as a further transformation of a long-running engagement with these high points in the landscape including Kinsich'ata.

By taking the "long view" of a landscape biography, we have seen how individuals and institutions, as well as natural forces, have shaped the land. People have repeatedly utilized landscape features, remains, and narratives of the past to affirm current identity claims. Cacha/Raqchi has been claimed as a powerful place and transformed again and again to assert Wari, Canas, Inka, Christian, Spanish, and Peruvian identity and authority. People's cosmologies and perception of the land have been contested and changed over time, as they have attempted to incorporate the sublime features of the land into their social world.

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<sup>i</sup> Incorporating information from David Jordan's unpublished geological survey around Raqchi.

<sup>ii</sup> Incorporating findings from Emily Dean's (2005) research into the LIP around Raqchi.