Introduction

Andean myths tell of how the Incas made the world anew when they first walked a path to Cusco, a valley destined to become the center of their empire. The myths state that these ancestors of the Incas left their homeland behind and wandered across high plains and craggy peaks until they came to Huamacauri, a mountain that towered above Cusco.
In this paper, I present recent archaeological survey and excavation data to uncover the ritual practices through which the people of Cusco recognized their past and affirmed their social roles during Inca rule. Its particular, I examine how the pathways of the Capac Raymi ceremony engendered a landscape replete with diverse and even contradictory social memories and perspectives on the past. I also uncover the ritual practices through which Cusco’s people recognized their past and affirmed their social roles during Inca rule. My principal argument is that the inhabitants of ancient Cusco came to know their past by engaging in rituals as they walked pathways that invoked both indigenous and Inca social memories. Taking this approach, the paper moves beyond top-down myths of Inca dominance to explore what I term “cultures of articulation”—the complicated ways in which indigenous landscapes and memories may obstruct or become entangled with a state’s pretensions (see also Wernke 2013).

Navigating Cusco
Cusco was an extensive urban environment spread across a wide Andean valley. In building Cusco, the Incas assembled a network of ethnically discrete communities and terraced fields interconnected by agricultural task scheduling, a ritual calendar, and socioeconomic interdependence (Bauer 2004; Zuidema 1964, 1990). Hence, Cusco was less a concentrated city, such as the urban complexes of ancient Mesopotamia, and more an archipelago of settlements that were grafted onto the slopes that surrounded the city’s core. Architecture and settlement locations marked inner and outer areas of Cusco, while signifying differences between Incas, lower status Incas by privilege, and the commoners whom the Incas moved to the valley (Bauer 2004; Farrant 2013). To understand ancient Cusco, then, is to understand whether and how this urban environment created an appearance of spatial and temporal coherence—an Inca landscape.

Archaeologists and art historians have long sought to understand Cusco’s social landscape by interpreting the meaning and aesthetic of Inca stone buildings and shrines, Inca sacred spaces, and colonial buildings and pueblos. But the few recent studies that have examined these issues often neglect to consider how Cusco, which certainly embodied pre-Inca cultural values, became Inca.

Many anthropologists and historians have argued that, in creating Cusco, the Incas assembled a “sacred landscape” of monuments and ritual pathways that embodied their mythical and social narratives. Some have referred to this as a “sacred landscape” wherein the Incas reimagined space as place (Hirth et al. 2012; Sauer 1925). Others have argued that the Incas appropriated this mountain and this sacred space for their own purposes (see Urton 1990). They disagree on which ancestor becomes Huanacauri (compare, for instance, Betanzos [1551] 1968, pp. 12-13 and Sarmiento [1572] 1965, p. 213) with Cabildo de Balboa ([1586] 1951, pp. 261-262, Molina ([1573] 1947), pp. 11, 137, and Murúa ([1590] 1962, p. 23). However, several of these historical sources state that the Quechua consider Inca the name of this mountain and this sacred space. The Incas believed that Huanacauri was Inca’s name of this mountain and this sacred space (see Mannheim and Salas 2015). By naming this mountain and this sacred space for their own purposes, the Incas continued a trend in the Andes where Inca and pre-Inca narratives and practices were conflated (Chávez 2012; Espinosa de los Monteros and de la Torre 2014; Urcuyo and Espinosa de los Monteros 2014). The archaeological evidence suggests that the Incas’ efforts to make Huanacauri their own were not unique to Cusco, but were common throughout the Inca empire (Manning 2013).


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principles, or communicated that Inca rule was “natural” (e.g., Acuto 2005; Dean 2010; van de Gucht 1999). In particular, researchers contend that the Incas constructed monumental architecture at their royal estates (e.g., Pisac, Machu Picchu) in an attempt to memorialize their conquests and inaugurate an Inca epoch (Niles 1993, p. 163, 1999). Such research contends that, by raising august structures and carving gigantic stones throughout Cusco, the Incas clothed their imperial project in a general aesthetic that expressed an Inca claim to absolute authority and created a sense of shared history.

Other anthropologists and historians argue that Cusco’s landscape organized the Inca realm by encoding Andean structural principles (e.g., Zuidema 1996, 2011). This argument contends that the Incas established ritual pathways (ceque, huacas, cayao) and monumental architecture at their royal estates (e.g., Pisaq, Machu Picchu) in an attempt to memorialize their conquests and inaugurate an Inca epoch (Niles 1993, p. 163, 1999). Researchers have argued that the ceques determined social relationships throughout the Cusco region and emplaced a social hierarchy centered on the city’s monumental core. R. Tom Zuidema, the principal advocate of this argument, contends that the ceque system was a centrally organized map of Inca society. He suggests that each ceque of Cusco corresponded to a social group within a tripartite hierarchical system (collana, payu, cuyay) that described the group’s social rank and designated the other group from which they might choose a marriage partner (Zuidema 1964; see also the reformulation of this view in Zuidema 1977b). This approach describes the places and sites that constituted Cusco as if they were abstract entries in a vast “computer” (Zuidema 2008), a catalog of knowledge that Inca elites and administrators organized and read from the center of Cusco.

In focusing on aesthetics and ceque lines, the aforementioned models of Cusco concentrate on how the Incas organized their territory from the top-down and according to a general plan. In these views, the Incas conceptualized their landscape in a manner similar to a mental map, in which they understood the meaning and function of constituent places by referring to an overarching order of space (see Gell 1985 for a review of social maps). Similarly, Cusco’s history would have been understood in terms of an Inca ideology that, woven in stone and drawn in ritual pathways, emphasized Inca actions and principles of order while eclipsing alternative visions of space, society, and history (e.g., Zuidema 2002). And, perhaps more importantly, these theories suggest that Inca subjects and elites of different social stations could understand the general semiotic order of the Inca realm by encoding Andean structural principles (e.g., Zuidema 1990, 2011). Here I summarize R. Tom Zuidema’s theory that the Incas established ritual pathways (ceque, huacas) and monumental architecture at their royal estates (e.g., Pisaq, Machu Picchu) in an attempt to memorialize their conquests and inaugurate an Inca epoch (Niles 1993, p. 163, 1999). Such research contends that, by raising august structures and carving gigantic stones throughout Cusco, the Incas clothed their imperial project in a general aesthetic that expressed an Inca claim to absolute authority and created a sense of shared history.

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I suggest that we alter our perspective of Inca Cusco by focusing less on the semiotic structure of its monuments and more on the ways that Andean people moved throughout the city and learned its history. Recent studies provide insights into how Andean people associated sacred places with Inca monuments over time. Brian Bauer’s (1998) systematic archaeological and ethnohistorical survey suggests that the ceque lines were a dynamic ritual system that, at different times, undergirded different versions of Inca history. Given these findings, we might consider how Andean people invoked visions of the past as they engaged with Cusco’s landscape. For instance, Zachary Chase’s (2015) recent archaeological research in the Andean province of Huarochirí reveals how towns and huacas in this region were key stages for performative rites in which claims to a “deep mythic history” became manifest. Likewise, Abercrombie’s (1998) ethnography in the contemporary Andes describes how people mapped their social environment and kin relationships, less in terms of abstract structures and more in terms of oppositions between towns and hamlets. These insights suggest that, in ancient Cusco, knowledge of the past was likely transmitted through particular places. Indeed, places directed perception and spatial orientation, rather than mental maps.

A place-centered spatial orientation is consistent with both historical and contemporary Quechua reckonings of personhood, which understand a person through his/her relationships to human persons, non-human persons, and objects in the environment. In this spatial orientation, a person is not primarily defined as a particular kind of being (through reference to family name or social position, as is often the case in Western or Judeo-Christian societies). Instead, a person is a part of a particular place. This orientation shares an ontological bond with the land (Kosiba 2015; Mannheim and Salas 2015). Furthermore, Bruce Mannheim has recently demonstrated (personal communication February 2015) that Quechua speakers take on a spatial orientation that is radically different from the
spatial orientation assumed by a mental or abstract map. That is, Mannheim argues that Quechua speakers employ an allocentric (object-to-object) spatial orientation in which they come to know information about one object by coming to know the location of that object, or its constituent parts, relative to other objects (see Klatzky 1998 on allocentric and egocentric representation). In an allocentric spatial orientation, the location of an object, or character of an object is by necessity defined relative to other objects, in a sequence or a cluster. This kind of spatial orientation contrasts with egocentric (self-to-object) forms of spatial navigation and representation, which represent the location of objects relative to the body of the observer and the body’s phenomenological perspectives of right-left, up-down, and front-back (e.g., Klatzky 1998 and Hegarty 2001).

Building on these insights into Quechua spatial orientation, I reconstruct how the Incas came to know their city’s environment and past by moving along its pathways, from the very heart of the city to its borders. I suggest that pathways created knowledge about the landscape and its history consistent with an allocentric spatial orientation—that is, they established sequences of places and objects, and in so doing, afforded particular perspectives on the environment and the past. Data are derived from two projects that I directed: the Wa’ta Archaeological Project (2005-2009) and the Huacanauri Archaeological Project (2012-present). Several reports from the Peruvian Ministry of Culture were invaluable to this analysis (especially Amado 2003 and Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007).

Capac Raymi. Pathways through the Past

The pathways of the Capac Raymi ceremony offer a close perspective on how Cusco’s people (Cusqueños) perceived their city during the height of Inca rule. Capac Raymi was one of Cusco’s most important ceremonies. There is conflicting evidence about who participated in the ceremony, though it is clear that they were people from Cusco who were descendants or relatives of the Inca (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 207; Molina [1577] 1947, p. 107; Polo de Ondegardo [1572] 1964, p. 219; Molina [1577] 1947, p. 96). This offers insights into the participants when they joined together ina and indigenous Cusco ethnic groups to receive Inca initiates, to reenact the mythic journey to Cusco from Huanacauri, and to perform the Inca’s blessing. Moreover, Bauer also notes that, in Ramos Gavilán’s prayer spoken during the ceremony of Situa: “Oh Sun! My father, who said, ‘let there be Cusco’ and ‘Tembo’—the former likely referring to the city of Cusco and the latter to ethnic groups near the Inca origin place of Pachacámac. The Incas designated the city of Cusco as the ceremonial route to Huanacauri, and comparing it to the other processions in the ceremony, we can begin to understand how Cusqueños perceived their past.

Spanish historical sources focus on the ways that Capac Raymi marked status distinctions of inner and outer Cusco—that is, distinctions between the inner Inca elites and outer ethnic groups (see Yaya 2012). Capac Raymi was a ceremony of Cusqueños, and comparing it to the other processions in the ceremony, we can begin to understand how Cusqueños perceived their past.
Recent archaeological research greatly adds to the information from the historical sources, largely because the Spanish, in their accounts, did not record the places that the initiates encountered on their journey to Huanacauri. But, in an allocentric spatial orientation, these places, and the relationships between them, would have been essential to understanding Cusco’s landscape and history. Archaeological research has revealed the trajectory of the road to Huanacauri and nearby sites (Amado 2003, p. 43; Bauer 1991, 1998; Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007, p. 131). In 2014, I conducted an archaeological survey of the road and its immediate surroundings, by documenting all architectural features and associated surface-level archaeological materials within approximately 100 meters of the road. These data complement the historical accounts. Indeed, the survey shows that the road reiterated the inner and outer social boundaries of Cusco. For instance, the initiates embarked on their journey by following a path to Pumachupan, the site where the Tullumayu and Saphi Rivers meet. Early historical accounts recognize this point as the “remate de la ciudad” (Betanzos [1551] 1968, p. 37), a boundary defined by the rivers that separated the core of the city from surrounding fields and communities.

But my research also provides a different perspective than the historical accounts, revealing that the road invoked a vision of the past that is not contained in the myths. The data demonstrate that the procession, after leaving the inner city, passed through some of Cusco’s largest and most striking pre-Inca archaeological sites. First, the road crossed the site of Membilla (now the neighborhood and archaeological site called Wimpillay), which was occupied for thousands of years before the Incas (Barreda Murillo 1973, 1991; Bauer 2004). Membilla, quite literally, housed the early Inca past. In 1559, the Spanish administrator Polo de Ondegardo remarked that he found the mummies and idols of the first Inca rulers–of Hurin Cusco–at Membilla (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 66-69; Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916, p. 30). Second, the road passes Muyu Urqu, which was a regional ceremonial center during the Qotakalli Period (ca. 200-600 CE) and Middle Horizon (ca. 600-1000 CE) (Barreda Murillo 1982; Zapata Rodríguez 1998). Third, the road intersected Tankarpata, a long-occupied Qotakalli and Middle Horizon village (Bauer 2004:49; Bauer and Jones 2003), and then passed through the Inca town of Qotakalli, which includes, and was surrounded by, several large pre-Inca, Qotakalli Period villages (Bauer 2004). Finally, the road crossed Pukakancha, a Middle Horizon (Araway) burial ground (Bauer 2004, pp. 48-49; Bauer and Jones 2003; Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007).

Figure 3 This map illustrates the major Inca roads from the center of Cusco to the area near the huaca at Huanacauri. The procession road that was used during Capac Raymi (dark red) passed near or through several important pre-Inca ruins (orange). (Map by the author). The locations of the roads were in part derived from Amado (2006) and Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre (2007).

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It appears as though the road was intentionally built to pass through these sites. Using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), I conducted a “least cost path analysis,” which demonstrates that the Inca road significantly veered from what would have been the most efficient ascent from the center of Cusco to Huanacauri. The “least cost path” would have directed the initiates farther down the valley, near the town of San Jerónimo, before they ascended Huanacauri. The Inca road, however, passes the important pre-Inca sites mentioned above and also maintains, more or less, the direction of the line of sight from the center of Cusco to Huanacauri. The position of this road thus suggests three different possibilities: the road drew on the meanings and attendant practices of these past places; the road itself predated the Inca state; or the road followed a more or less direct visual path to Huanacauri. Recent archaeological excavations in the road itself did not uncover any evidence that the road was constructed before the Incas, evidence such as archaeological materials or structures from the Qotakalli Period or Middle Horizon (Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007). In fact, the excavations uncovered Inca artifacts from the road bed and nearby platforms, suggesting that the Incas built the road. It is difficult to evaluate whether the road was intentionally constructed to follow a direct visual path from Cusco’s center to Huanacauri, but it is important to note that this line of sight was probably significant to the procession. Initiates may have envisioned this straight line of sight even as they traveled a circuitous path. This line of sight would have directed the initiates’ perception toward Huanacauri, concentrating their attention on their journey into the mythic past.

The ethnohistorical and archaeological data strongly suggest that the road was built to draw on the meanings of the pre-Inca sites. The remains of the pre-Inca sites—the architecture, artifacts, and terraces that we can now see—would have also been visible to the Inca initiates. Of course, the initiates likely did not associate these artifacts with discrete cultural time periods such as Qotakalli and the Middle Horizon, but they were surely able to recognize that these were abandoned villages and ruined buildings containing non-Inca pottery, architecture, and agricultural terraces—“civilized” places which could not simply have been places of mythic “savages” who practiced neither town planning nor agriculture. Moreover, it is clear that the Incas recognized many of these pre-Inca sites as sacred places. Most of these pre-Inca sites were huacas within the Collasuyu quarter of the Inca ceque system, and were places of religious practices and offerings during Inca times. Several Spanish chroniclers state that the cult, Chima-panaqa, hosted ceremonies for the mummies at Membilla (Cobo [1653] 1964, pp. 66, 180; Polo de Ondegardo 1571) 1916, p. 30), a huaca called Tampuvilca (Cobo [1651] 1964, pp. 65, 181). Similarly, Muya urqu was a huaca called Tampuvilca (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 5) that received offerings of burned coca leaves (ibid., p. 182). Qotakalli likely housed the Inca deity called Catacalla (Cobo [1651] 1964, p. 7), one of the four major huacas (pururauca) that came to life in defense of Cusco, which would have received offerings (Bauer 1998, pp. 106-110; cf. Rowe 1980, pp. 11-12). Finally, classic Inca architecture and pottery at Pukakancha and Tankarpata demonstrate that these sites were continuously used or revered during Inca times. In general, the positions of these sites suggest that, by walking this road, the Cusqueños traveled through a series of places that, taken together, invoked memories of the past.

The survey also reveals how the initiates walked this path, recognized past places, and entered ritual spaces. Architectural attributes of the road called attention to pre-Inca sites and land features by influencing the initiates’ bodily dispositions and movements. For instance, after passing through Pukakancha, the road widened and became a stair case that led the initiates to a broad stone platform called Paqopallana which overlooked Qotakalli, Muya urqu, and Membilla. This wider section of the road would have subduced the initiates into a mass ceremony on the platform. After Paqopallana, the road narrowed considerably to about two meters in width as it traversed some of the steeper slopes on the route to Huanacauri. This narrow segment led to a small platform at the base of a peak called Inca Damian. Recent Peruvian Ministry of Culture excavations at Inca Damian uncovered canals embedded within the platform, suggesting a drainage system to receive offerings and/or protect the road (Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007). The wide road and broad platform at Paqopallana suggest a space for public ceremonies, in which dances and songs celebrated stories about the past, mythic heroes, and deities. The narrow road, however, would have required the initiates to walk in a single-file line, and then individually enter the platform at Inca Damian, suggesting a ritual in which the initiates gave a blessing (mochcam) to a land feature.

Similarly, the survey data demonstrate how the road directed the initiates’ entry into mythic space or past space. The road narrowed to about 1.5 meters right before the initiates arrived at another semi-circular platform, at the entry point to the site of Matagua. The initiates were mentioned in the Spanish chronicles was where the ancestors rested before they descended to Cusco/Betanzos ([1551] 1964, p. 13; Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 65;
The historical sources suggest that Matagua was where the Incas invented their rites of passage, including Guarachico (ear piercing), Ru-tuchico (hair cutting), Quicochico (first menstruation), and Awscay (ceremony of the newborn) (Betanzos [1551] 1968, p. 65; Cabelló de Balboa [1586] 1951, p. 263; Murúa [1590] 1962-64, pp. 23, 26; Sarmiento [1572] 1965, pp. 216), but particular sources also suggest that the Inca initiates would have recognized Matagua as place from the mythic past or a ruin from a past people. Indeed, Cobo ([1653] 1964, p. 181) suggests that Matagua was a ruin during Inca times, describing Matoro (a probable name for Matagua) as: “... una ladera cerca de Guanacauri, donde habia unos edificios antiguos, que cuentan fue la primera jornada donde durmieron los que salieron de Guanacauri despues del Diluvio”.

The evidence from the road survey suggests that the narrow section and small platform altered the initiates’ dispositions, focusing their attention on a ruin that they must have perceived as the mythic site of Matagua.

Recent excavations by the Peruvian Ministry of Culture suggest that Matagua was not occupied during the height of Inca rule. Matagua contains several small circular and D-shaped houses that correspond to the Killk’e Period in Cusco, a period that predates the classic Inca artifact and architectural styles. Cusqueños produced Killk’e pottery for centuries, but this pottery style is thought to correspond to the initial process of Inca state consolidation when it is found in excavation contexts without many cultural materials from other time periods (on Killk’e, see Bauer 1992, 1999, 2004; González Corrales 1984). Among the decorated pottery at Matagua (1928 fragments; 5.4 percent of total pottery recovered), the excavations recovered a very high density (1902 fragments; 98.6 percent of what was recovered) of Killk’e pottery, but very few classic Inca sherds (16 or 0.008 percent) (Catalán Santos and Mantúfar Latorre 2007, p. 723). In particular, there were many Killk’e serving vessels–especially ollas with conical bases, bowls, and high-handled jars with face effigies (ibid., p. 734). Overall, these data indicate that the site was largely occupied during the Killk’e Period. The high densities of serving vessels suggest that Matagua was a place for ceremonial feasting during the Killk’e Period. Matagua, then, was a site that the Incas recognized as a ritual place, and integrated into the road system.

The Spanish historical sources provide information about the Inca rites that occurred at Matagua and Guanacauri. They tell us that, after spending a night at Matagua, the initiates ascended to the shrine of Guanacauri. The priests who accompanied the initiates took a bit of wool from each llama and blew on it to make an offering to the mountain.
Some of these llamas were sacrificed (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 209; Molina [1573] 1947, p. 99). Then, the initiates received guaracas in a quebrada called Quirasmanta. Here, the attendants whipped the initiates’ legs, and then the initiates sang a guari (or huaylli), which was a song that the ancestors were said to have created for this ceremony (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 210; Molina 1947 [1573], p. 100; see Yaya 2012, p. 117).

My recent archaeological survey and excavations at Huanacauri revealed additional details of the road and the site. The architecture of the road and the site emphasizes individual experience. As the initiates approached Huanacauri, the road passed to the south side of the mountain, where the initiates lost sight of the Cusco Valley and, for the first time, saw the lands from where the Incas said they had emerged. After the road sharply veered to the east, the initiates saw the shrine complex of Huanacauri surrounded by the glaciated mountain peaks of the Cusco region. From this point, they entered a private and exclusive space—a plaza flanked by structures that obscured their vision of the surroundings. This, however, was not the end of the journey. My archaeological research at Huanacauri revealed another shrine in a small ravine on the other side of the mountain peak. This sector features a large zigzag (chakana) shaped wall, a symbol of power found at many prestigious Andean sites. The wall surrounds an immense jagged sandstone boulder, suggesting that this was a huaca.
The architecture at Huanacauri indicates that the initiates participated in a ceremony in the site’s plaza and then left offerings to the sandstone boulder. In 2014, I directed intensive excavations within both sectors of Huanacauri, uncovering a total of 192 square meters of this sacred Inca site. My analysis of the excavated materials is still in progress. However, the preliminary analyses definitively show that there was not a pre-Inca site at Huanacauri. There were no pre-Inca or Killk’e occupation levels and only an insignificant amount of Killk’e cultural materials. Indeed, among the diagnostic pottery recovered throughout the excavations at Huanacauri (3234 fragments), there was a very high density of classic Inca ceramic sherds (3101; 95.9 percent), but only a few fragments of Killk’e pottery (90; 2.8 percent) or non-Inca, non-Killk’e, pottery (43; 1.3 percent). These data strongly suggest that the Incas constructed Huanacauri after the process of state consolidation, though radiocarbon dates will clarify the construction sequence and occupational history of the site.

The excavations in the plaza complex and the Huaca revealed two distinct ritual spaces. Excavations in the plaza complex on the east side of the mountain uncovered multiple large pottery vessels (arihala, arpu) broken in situ near concentrations of ash and maize kernels, suggesting an area for maize beer (chicha) production and ceremonial food consumption. The excavations in the Huaca complex on the west side of the mountain recovered few artifacts, suggesting that the Incas regularly cleaned this space after conducting rituals. Within the artifact assemblage from this sector, however, there were many small Inca plates, suggesting that offerings were made to this stone. The architecture of this sector indicates that these offerings were made in private and individualized rituals. The spatial organization of the Huaca with a single doorway on either side of the zig-zag wall—suggests the initiates entered the space individually and then proceeded to cross the rock, in a procession, to the other doorway. Here, they did not encounter an ancient site. Rather, they participated in an intimate ritual in which they faced a living rock that embodied one of their mythic ancestors.

These preliminary archaeological details suggest the pathway to Huanacauri offered a perspective on Cusco’s past as it meandered through pre-Inca and mythic sites, and social rank in the Inca empire were not extended to boys. The weak boys were promoted (Ramos [1572] 1947, p. 237). Yavira was an important huaca for Cusco’s indigenous people (also called Apuyavira; Bauer 1998, p. 70). It was said to be a person who lived at the same time as the ancestor Incas and, like Huanacauri, turned to stone (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 211). Here, the initiates conducted sacrifices and received the materials of classic Inca material at the site suggests that Anahuarque became a Huaca during Inca times (see below).

After Anahuarque, the procession visited other huacas of Cusco’s non-Inca past and indigenous communities (see Yaya 2012, p. 117-119 for a more detailed account). Following their foot race from Anahuarque, the initiates returned to Cusco to make sacrifices and sing a guari in Aukaypata. Next, after sleeping at a place called Waman-kancha, they walked the road to Yavirla (Chinchaysuyu ceque 9, wak’a 6), a Huaca situated upon Picchu mountain, located on the north side of the Cusco Valley (Betanzos [1551] 1968, p. 42; Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 211; Molina [1573] 1947, p. 109; Sarmiento [1572] 1985, p. 237). Yavira was an important huaca for Cusco’s indigenous population (also called Ayuvayria; Bauer 1998, p. 70). It was said to be a person who lived at the same time as the ancestor Incas and, like Huanacauri, turned to stone (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 174). Yavira was also said to be the principal Huaca of the Maras ethnic group (Molina [1573] 1947, p. 111). Here, the initiates conducted sacrifices and received the materials that marked their status, such as breechcloths, earplugs, feather diadems (puma chas), and medallions (ibid.). After receiving these items, they performed a taqui (ibid., p. 122). Bauer (1998, p. 71) suggests that Yavira (or Ayuvayria) was a large stone on the slopes of Picchu, called the “Flood” (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 210). The initiates offered sacrifices, performed a guari, and received arms (Molina [1573] 1947, pp. 105-107). Then, they performed the role of Anahuarque as they swiftly ran from the Huaca to a hill above Cusco (Tito Cusi Yampupac [1570] 1988, pp. 33-36). Anahuarque was the principal huaca of the pre-Inca Cachona and Chocco ethnic groups who allied with the early Incas (Molina [1573] 1947, p. 105; see also Bauer 1998, p. 120; Yaya 2008, 2012). My archaeological reconnaissance atop the mountain of Anahuarque found the remains of rectangular structures, an extensive flat area, and classic Inca pottery (compare with Bauer 1998, p. 120). It is significant that this area was flattened on the road ceremony or Huaca times. There were not any fragments of Killk’e or pre-Inca pottery at Anahuarque, and no apparent structures from time periods before the Incas. Hence, similar to Huanacauri, the discovery of only classic Inca materials at the site suggests that Anahuarque became a Huaca during Inca times (see below).
After visiting Yavira, the initiates returned to Aukaypata to make more sacrifices, perform taquis, bathe in a spring, and finally, have their ears pierced in chacaras near Cusco (Mo- zina [1573] 1947, pp. 115-116). At the end of the ceremony, the foreigners were invited back to the center of the city to eat maize cakes soaked in the blood of the sacrifices from the Huacas along the route (Cobo [1653] 1964, p. 211). These final rites continued to mark differences between inner and outer Cusco. The cyclical return to the Aukaypata reiter-
ated the role of the plaza as a center that connected the disparate huacas of the broader landscape. More particularly, by inviting the outsiders back into the city, the Cusqueños confirmed a historical sequence-Inca state consolidation and then imperial extension—and mapped this historical sequence onto social differences between inner Cusco (those who participated in state consolidation) and the outer provinces (those whom the Incas subjugated). Only the Cusqueño people and places participated in the ceremony itself. Capac Raymi was thus an exclusionary rite that reiterated the phase of early Inca political development, a phase during which Cusco's ethnic groups joined to forge the nascent Inca state. The outsiders, then, symbolically received benefits from this core group of Cusqueños, who offered them consecrated foods, just as the Incas offered the stores of the state to the people whom they subjugated (cf. Ramirez 2005).

The roads of Capac Raymi were therefore designed as entryways to this past. Ancestral or indigenous huacas were not common in Cusco's ceque system, suggesting that the Incas intentionally positioned the pathways of Capac Raymi to visit these huacas. There were a total of sixty-six huacas (25.1 percent) in the ceque system that invoked Cusco's past. They embodied the actions of a named non-human person (e.g., Huanaucarí, pururauca) (25 or 7.6 percent), a named Inca person (e.g., Inca Yupanqui) (35 or 10.7 percent), or a named Inca person (e.g., “place where the Inca sat”) (6 or 1.8 percent). Only fourteen of these huacas were in the Collasuyu sector of Cusco, where the road to Huanacaurí was situated, and many of these were located along the road to Huanacaurí. Moreover, there were few Cusco huacas that invoked Cusco's indigenous past. Throughout Cusco, there were fourteen (4.3 percent) huacas that explicitly or implicitly embodied the indigenous past. Explicit huacas included such places as Cinca (Chinchaysuyu ceque 5, wak’a 9), which was said to be the place where the Ayarcamas emerged, or places such as Vicaribi (Chinchaysuyu ceque 9, wak’a 5), which was the tomb of the leader of the Mazas people (Cobo [1653] 1964, pp. 172, 174). Furthermore, implicit indigenous huacas were often listed as “adoratorios antiguos” or tombs of “local lords” (e.g., ibid. p. 178, 182), but these huacas were not common. Further research will be necessary to determine whether these huacas were in reality “indigenous,” that is, whether they predated the Inca state, or whether the Incas invented a “past” or emplaced an ancestor at these places, as they seem to have done at Huanaucari and Anañauca. However given the uneven distribution of these historical and indigenous places throughout Cusco, it is remarkable that the roads of Capac Raymi connected so many places that invoked the distant past.

Discussion. Landscapes and Memories in Ancient Cusco

The archaeological data from the routes of the Capac Raymi ceremony reveal a perspec-
tive on Cusco's past that is not evident in the Spanish historical accounts of Inca foun-
dations. Only the road to Huanaucari encountered abandoned villages and ancestral huacas, specifically huacas associated with a non-Inca past such as Anañauca and Yavira, as well as ruined cities such as Muyu Urqu, Pukanakcha, and Matagua. They met with these beings and places as they walked to pay reverence to their own ancestor, Huanaucari. The positions of these huacas and sites suggest that this road, and the other processions of Capac Raymi, were designed to call attention to the city's past and the city's constituent ethnic groups. The archaeological data also suggest how Cusco's past was invoked as these initiates walked the road to Huanaucari. The road was designed to alter the initiates' dispositions and perceptions before they entered mythic places. Broader plazas (Aukaypata, the plaza of Huanaucari, the platform at Paqopallana, and also the plain at Anañauca) suggest spaces to perform dances and songs of the past. It is probable that the platforms of the Capac Raymi roads were used for the taquis and quasir that the Spanish sources consistently mention when describing the ceremony. In contrast, the narrow sections of the road, the small platforms, and the exclusive walled huacas heightened the initiates' attention to specific places and land features, providing for an individual and intimate encounter with mythic beings.

The pathways of Capac Raymi invoked a perspective on the past by connecting a se-
quence of sacred places and requiring a sequence of ritual practices. In this sequence, “where” each huaca was located was essential to “when” each huaca was located (in using this phrase I draw on Chase's 2015 interpretation of Huaca). In other words, the posi-
tions of huacas on the land, and their positions relative to the sequence of other huacas placed them in time. The sequence of huacas created a temporal sequence that could only
be “known” from the relationships between objects in the sequence, rather than from a central or egocentric perspective from Cusco. In this sense, the Incas built Huacaucaus at the end of a sequence of huacas and ruins to anchor Cusco’s history in an ancestral line (a claim to history rather than a lineage). The initiates who walked the roads of Ca- pac Raymi journeyed through the recent past and the mythic past. The pathways to Huacaucaus first led them to a recent past personified by the hummified rulers and warrior boulders (pururaucas) of Inca Cusco. It then led them through the ruins. This leg of the journey does not have a correlate in the origin myths or historical sources. But it appears as though, by walking through these ruins, they recalled the deeper past of their city and their civilization. After passing the ruins, they entered a mythic past of the ancestor Incas when they encountered places such as Mataguas and Huamacarcu. Throughout the remain- der of the ceremony, the initiates continued to encounter these pasts: the past personi- fied by hummified ancestors, the past of living ethnic groups, and the mythic past. These “pasts” were not reduced to a linear sequence of time-together, the objects and persons on these routes constituted a vision of Cusco’s foundation. The ceremony reveals that, for the Incas, the past was present, living, and attainable. The Inca past was not a Chris- tian Protestant ontological sense of the past, in which mythic events, persons, and lands are largely attainable only through revelation, Biblical text, or priestly sermon. In Cusco, the past was knowable through ritual and movement. The initiates came to encounter and know their past when they participated in processions, taquis, and guaris.

The ritual practices and movements of Capac Raymi provided Cusqueños a personal ex- perience of the past, and this personal experience was essential to their subject posi- tions as heads of the Inca state. As the Cusqueños encountered sequences of huacas and ruins on these roads, they acquired social memories—shared perspectives on the past. Theorists differentiate between kinds of social memory: (1) episodic memories which reflect those events, people, and places we encounter and experience, and (2) semantic memories that reflect those events, people, and places we learn via lecture, map, or text (Assmann 2006, p. 2; see also Wernich 2002, p. 5). When anthropologists and historians discuss the construction and dissemination of ideas about “the past,” they typically refer to the processes by which a narrative perspective on the past is built and then distributed by way of education—a semantic memory that is learned through use of a map or text. In making such semantic memories, alternative versions of the past are silenced in favor of a single narrative (see Trouillot 1995). This kind of semantic memory is inscribed in (and perhaps created by) the Spanish historical sources. These sources attempted to render
ancestors became Inca. Second, the archaeological data strongly suggest that the Incas constructed the platforms, shrines, and roads used in Capac Raymi in an effort to construct the past of the Cusco Valley, a past that was always present in the land. The data indicate that sites such as Huanaacauri and Anahuarque were not established prior to the advent of the Inca state and its classic material culture style. These sites, and the Capac Raymi ceremony itself, may have been a later “invented tradition” meant to structure social memory among a Cusco elite during a time of imperial expansion (a time in which there were multiple new and non-Cusqueño claims to authority from the military, foreign sons, and provincial elites). The sites and roads of Capac Raymi, then, would have represented the panoply of indigenous Cusco groups that first assembled a state.

Furthermore, the archaeological data suggest that these Inca social memories depended on the geographic contexts and places in which they were invoked. Indeed, if we compare the pathways of Capac Raymi with my recent archaeological research on the Inca road from Cusco to the monumental town of Ollantaytambo (Kosiba 2015), we see contrasting perspectives on the Inca past. Similar to the pathways of Capac Raymi, the road to Ollantaytambo was a royal procession route that was most likely restricted to state officials and elites (on Inca restrictions, see Hyslop 1984). In brief, the road to Ollantaytambo reveals a perspective on the Cusco region grounded in an Inca view of “the present.” The Incas built this road on land they had recently reclaimed from the flood waters of the Vilcanota River, land that was previously unoccupied and undeveloped. The road calls attention to the state-directed public works on this land, such as agricultural terraces, a channelized river, canals, and new towns—it emplaces a political aesthetic similar to that of modernist states (Scott 1998). The Incas positioned carved boulder huacas along the road. Situated next to springs, amidst terraces, and above canals, the shrines emphasized Inca transformations of the environment. The similarities in materials and design suggest that the shrines were designed to standardize, focus, and direct ritual practice toward the Inca public works in the region. The huacas were situated in lands where the Incas had moved people from other areas of the empire (mitmakuna, mamakuni) (Kosiba 2015). In consequence, this road and its huacas emphasized new lands and new people. It did not pass near the pre-Inca sites of the Ollantaytambo area. It revealed a different (and perhaps contradictory) vision of the land and the past.

Conclusions. Walking Roads, Making Cusco

This paper provides a new archaeological analysis of Inca pathways and huacas in Cusco and offers insights into how the people of the ancient Inca capital in Cusco perceived their landscape and recognized their past. Given the preliminary data presented here, we might return to our starting point and ask: What was an Inca landscape? And, what was an Inca past? Our journey along the routes of Capac Raymi revealed that, if there was an Inca sense of “the past,” then it certainly was a politically charged past that was both transmitted and recognized in ritual practice, and not the textual meta-narrative of “history” that was often rendered by the Spanish (see Zuidema 1990). The data from the Capac Raymi and Ollantaytambo roads suggest that Inca understandings of the past were infused with political ideologies and modified according to historical and contextual circumstances. The study reveals that the Incas assembled perspectives about the past as they participated in ritual practices. The Incas experienced and perceived Cusco’s landscape by moving along pathways and tracing the past of powerful places.
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