

CHAPTER IV

THE FOUNDER OF MACHUPICCHU

Who was the Lord of Huari found in Vilcabamba? To correctly answer this matter it is indispensable to build a 'continuity model' that might expose the relationship regarding the Huari culture, corresponding to the Middle Horizon period (500 AC - 1000 AD), with the emergent Incas, or that perhaps treats about the same civilization detached into two stages. The chronicler Bernabé Cobo comments about the first conquest of Pachacutec, once he was constituted Inca:

“He began his conquests by the provinces of *Viticos and Vilcabamba*, very difficult to subjugate lands because of their great harshness, dense vegetation and impenetrable jungle. The Inca left Cusco accompanied with his bravest and most selected men; and entered the valley of Yucay following the river below of Tambo, arriving to the Amaybamba valley. There he received news that there was no bridge over the river to go ahead, *because their enemies had removed all the bridges of Chuquichaca* (which means Golden Bridge) and who, confident that the Inca could not pass, had placed themselves to resist him. But such was the power of the Inca that, not only he *did build a new bridge in the same place as the original*, but also many others...Having finished these bridges the Inca ordered to move forward the camp, arriving at Cospata, around twenty five leagues from Cuzco, where *ambassadors of the chiefs of Viticos and Vilcabamba came to him*. They advised him that it was a course land of scrubs and forests, very unhealthy, and that it could sicken His Highness if he were to continue ahead...The Inca did not accept this offering...

When these ambassadors returned to their superiors they were at the Pampacona plains, which is before the threshold of the deep jungle. Informed about the great power of the Inca, they lost their will to resist, defining that if the Inca were to attack them, they would be devastated. The Inca did not move on to these plains, but instead, the lords of those lands came to him to pay him homage, bringing him great replacements of provisions and gifts for his army. The chiefs, in order to please the Inca and gain his favor, said that they would give him a fine silver Mountain range and many rich gold mines.” (Cobo. History of the New World. 1653/1954)

Based on this manuscript we can deduce that Vilcabamba was never unknown to the Incas, nor was it just a refuge used after the Spanish arrival. We can prove this as Cobo declares: “he did build a new bridge in the same place as the original” (because their enemies had removed all the bridges of Chuquichaca). Pachacutec carried out this First Conquest immediately after the Hurin Revolution, which leads us to suggest that some surviving members of the Tambotocco-huari (Machupicchu), on seeing the dangers of the drastic changes initiated by Pachacutec, necessarily took refuge at Vilcabamba, due to its proximity and also because it was the land of their Huari ancestors. Pachacutec, following the war logistics and with the objective to defeat them absolutely, would began his conquests specifically in this

place.

Finally, towards the Spanish arrival, this would be the perfect place of refuge for the 'Ingas', whose origin was in Machupicchu. This is confirmed by the account of Titu Cusi Yupanqui (1916) which describes how Manco Inca builds new houses in Vitcos (Vilcabamba) "*so as not to sleep in those of his ancestors*". These houses built by these ancestors must have belonged to the Middle Horizon, an epoch normally attributed to the Huari, and scientifically confirmed with the "Lord of Huari" discovery.

All of this gives rise to the key question of this thesis: for how long did the Huari control the Cusco region?

Glowacki and Gordon McEwan (2001) led an research about the Huari occupation of the Cusco region on the basis of archaeological evidence, publishing "Pikillacta, Huaro and the vast Cusco region: The Huari occupation of the southern sierra; new interpretations." Their conclusions suggest that the Huari occupation of Cusco was earlier, more intense and their permanence was longer than has been considered until now.

John Rowe (1956) and Dorothy Menzel (1964) conclude their research proposing that Pikillacta was "the greatest Huari provincial center on the southern plateau", it occupy an area of two square kilometers and is found within the Inca capital Cusco perimeter (McEwan 1984). This city "was left unfinished, nor was it fully occupied, regardless of the huge investment of time and work". During its lifetime it exposed an area that was in use yet "already old" but with modifications, and for that reason one can be allowed to see the passage of time, and also other sectors were 'under construction'. Another archaeological remain that was also studied is Huaro, very close to Pikillacta and similarly an extensive Huari complex of nine square kilometers. The excavations carried out by Glowacki, Zapata and Román (1998 – 2000), concluded that Huaro was a previous establishment, after which Pikillacta itself was built.

These researchers stand that the Huari influence in Cusco began in the Early Intermediate Period (200 BC – 600 A.D), when there was interaction between the Cusco and Ayacucho peoples. They found analogies between the ceramic styles of the Cusco Early Intermediate Qotakalli and the Ayacucho Huarpa ceramics (Glowacki, 1996). These relationships are:

1. Black pigment over white or cream-colored englobe applied over a natural clay surface.
2. Long-neck jars with anthropomorphic faces.
3. Parallel lines patterns or designs, concentric triangles and interlacing rhombus shapes.
4. Camelids decorative figures.

All this leads us to new interpreting options for the Middle Horizon in Cusco:

A. At Pikillacta, the analysis of Qotakalli ceramic prove to be contemporary with some of the Huari ceramic styles.

B. McEwan's studies at Choquepukio (1995) reveal that when the Huari occupied Cusco, the Qotakalli pottery was already in use.

C. The Qotakalli style does not share typologies with the Early Horizon (1000 BC – 200 AD) local ceramic styles and the Late Intermediate Period (1000 AD- 1350 AD). Consequently, its appearance in Cusco at the Middle Horizon was caused by external factors.

D. Glowacki and Zapata during 1998-2000, considering their Huaro excavations, concluded: "The presence of this pottery suggests Titicaca Plateau influences previous to the Middle Horizon along with other south coast cultures (Nasca). It can be a model of earlier interaction between the Cusquenian Huari and other ethnic groups of this period."

Due to this archaeological evidence, which show the compositional analogies between the Qotakalli and Huari pottery, it is evident that these civilizations enjoyed a friendly relationship and shared the same production resources.

Glowacki and Zapata found at Qoripata, close to the historic center of Cusco and around an interior courtyard, rooms structures with fine gypsum plaster on the walls and floors. This design was analogous to Moraduchayuq, the government sector at Huari in Ayacucho, and the authors suggest the probability that they had similar function.

McEwan, Gibaja and Chattfield in their "Late Intermediate Period Monumental Architecture in Cuzco: Continuities of Ritual Reciprocity and Statecraft between the Middle and Late Horizons evidences." mention the work of Morris and Thompson (1985) about Huanuco Pampa, and highlight that one of the main functions of the administrative centers was to host banquets and feasts for the state government, as well as for religious duties (Morris C. and D. E. Thompson. Huanuco Pampa: An Inca City and its Hinterland. Thames and Hudson, London/New York). And for the Cusco region, they also propose, that the Pikillacta structures known as "corrals with niches" were mainly used as rituals space to pay homage to their ancestors. (Glowacki, 2005; McEwan, 2005). These researchers develop the hypothesis that the Incas prolonged this tradition as their instrument of government (McEwan, 2006).

They also consider Choquepukio to be the unique remaining vestige of the Early Intermediate Period (200 BC – 600 AD) monumental architecture in the Cusco Valley. Likewise, they highlight how Pikillacta is located within the borders of the capital, although the Inca architecture in the area is reduced in scale and "eclipsed by all the gigantic establishes of the immediately before pre-Inca period."

The fact that the Incas did not use the stones from this -already in disuse- archaeological site to build their own structures (as the Spanish did with the stones in the city of Cusco) means that Incas and Huari cohabited for a time period up until the Hurin Revolution, and later preserved the site as a "heritage from their ancestors". (McEwan, Gibaja, Chattfield, 2005) These studies give rise to the theories that question the Inca state quick advanced around 1438, that according to history that focuses more on the chronicles rather than on archaeological evidence, the Inca culture grew astonishingly fast within a very short period of time from a trivial political entity to a enormous and intricate empire.

Researches of the Mid Horizon in Cusco have established that this region was obviously part of the Huari Empire for nearly four centuries, until its structure collapsed around 1000 AD. (McEwan 1987, 1996, 2005; Glowacki 1996, 2005; Valencia 1996, 2005). Similarly, new studies carried out at Pikillacta suggest that the Huari controlled Cusco through the “manipulation of concepts of ancestors and huacas in a very similar style of the Incas” (Zapata 1993). In this way, the Huari sovereigns firmly established their power by means of the “logic of familial relationships reciprocal obligations, both real and fictitious” (Glowacki 1996, 2005). The rites of kinship were interlaced with the regime in power (Valencia 1996, 2005). The studies also revealed that the family line of leaders and members were gathered in rooms assigned for feasts in order to honor their ancestors, and, simultaneously, to carry out the rites of political administration. (McEwan, Gibaja, Chatfield 2005).

Alfredo Valencia, in his “The Hydraulic Works of Middle Horizon in the Lucre Basin” doctoral thesis (1996), reveals that the Huari established an “extraordinary” hydraulic and agricultural infrastructure, which was inherited by their successor in the Cusco Valley as a source for resources during the Late Intermediate Period (1000 AD – 1350 AD). Therefore, the Incas inherited from their ancestors an administrative organization as well as political and economic substructure. Then, we could, presume that this complex social and political society did not disappear with the fall of the Huari Empire, but rather continued on afterwards.

With regards to the tomb at Vilcabamba, Javier Fonseca (2011) describe his discoveries: “It is unique in the context of the general Andean archaeology, in so far as never before has there exposed evidence of a funeral context belonging to the Huari as large as this. The importance of this discovery lies in the fact that it is the first concrete evidence of the existence of prominent and powerful personalities within the Huari culture social structure.” (in Revista Iberoamericana, 2011). What were the Huari nobles doing in the jungle? This civilization was always considered as belonging to the highlands. Let’s look at the scarce material that is available. Isbell in 2000 made known a proposal about a widespread dissemination of an “emblematic art” in the Mid Horizon (650AD – 1000 AD), opened by proselytizing ministers. These objects would represent cosmological principles of a powerful religious philosophy, therefore, raising the following question: Were these mythical symbols scattered in order to create the acceptance of a new religious cult?

Makowski (2001), in respect to the excavations in the Huari power centers, proposes the following hypothesis: that worships accessible to representatives of strangers ethnic groups and proper of their ancestors and gods cult, used to constitute the State’s institutional support; and that these complex system of symbols in the Mid Horizon helped to support and to make evident the kinship bonds which were the foundation of the religious and political doctrine of Huari and Tiahuanaco.

In his study on “Garment, Architecture and Power Mechanisms in the Mid Horizon”, Makowski (2010) provides more elements of judgement:

“...the submitted evidences suggest that the Power Mechanisms would have been imminently of hegemonic nature. The Huari governors would probably expand their domains by negotiation, which

was eventually backed up either by marriage, or conquest when no other solution was probable consolidating it by means of gifts and privileges to the local elites becoming representatives of the Empire interests in their region.”

Then, we may deduce that there were proselytist missionaries promoting the adoption of the Huari religion through the incorporation of peoples from outside the empire. They should have been nobles allied to the Huari imperial elites; members of an enlarged kindred network, as well as dependency codes inherent to the kingship bonds.

Isbell details Huari tombs in Conchopata - Ayacucho; there the mummy lies within a rectangular mortuary chamber, and the inner cylindrical structure reached to 9.84 ft. depth, features analogous to the elite tombs identified in the Batan Urqu area at Huaru - Cuzco (Zapata, 1997). These typologies are very similar to those in Vilcabamba. Perez (2000) describes the peripheries of a Huari complex, where lower-class settlements were found, like Molinuyoq, a hill delimitating the Huanta and Huamanga valleys. In this place, there are funerary structures with large slabs in the way of caps (precisely identical to the tomb found at Vilcabamba). In addition, a fortified citadel ruins with funerary conic structures can be found. Conclusion: select tombs of high-class personalities, connected to priesthood or cult practices.

The main rudiments found at Vilcabamba are: two scepters of palm tree wood covered with silver sheets, a silver chest and mask, 687 turquoise beads, two gold bracelets (Fig. 12) (Photo: Ministry of Culture) 230 small silver sheets. According to technical report, the bone material found were a teeth of a 25 to 35 year-old male human.

Let us cite Makowski with the purpose of discriminating his models from the evidences:

“The local elites were subordinated to the new Andean leaders. Gifts —like unkus, mantles, pots, obsidian points weapons— which province chiefs empire administrators of different rank and political importance received from their superiors as a symbol of their authority, and took to the tomb as part of the grave goods, according to this scenario, become the main material vestige of the new political condition. Thus, instead of the desired administrative centers and other imperial constructions, archaeologists usually find at the elite funerary chambers the unique tangible evidence of the Huari presence.” (Makowski, 2007)

To point out if the Lord of Huari was of regional lineage, or a proselytizing ambassador of a strange to Vilcabamba power lineage, we will take into account the Makowski classification (2010):

“1) The Huari supreme elite required to legitimate their political rights by demonstrating their direct kinship with the Huari and Tiahuanaco kings, as well as the protection they received from the empire deities, the lake Apus (mountains) and of the Ayacucho basin. This legitimation was carried out during public ceremonials, religious festivities and the funerary solemnity, through the profusely ornamented attires in the ceremonial paraphernalia.

2) The subordinate regional elites of the empire: Huarpa, Nazca, Lima, Recuay, Huamachuco,

Cajamarca, etc. - The use of the pots shape, caps and unkus, in addition to exotic symbols of Tiahuanaco origin 'sensu lato', increases this kinship relationship. Yet, the glyphs absence points to the fact that those who used the attires and the so decorated pots had no right to worship the protecting deities of the noble Tiahuanaco and Huari lineages.

3) The peripheral elites or those from the recently conquered regions not included in the empire administration. - For them, the Huari style —with it's typical Tiahuanaco iconography, occasionally mixed with Huarpa and Nazca components— were considered of high prestige, valuable and exotic, and per se, a source of power and object of desire. It was part of the fashion to emulate them, adopt their conventions, cover up their own ancestral symbols and gods with new conventions and borrowed exotic details.” (Makowski, 2010).

According to this classification, our Lord of Huari would belong to the peripheries elites, areas not included in the imperial administration, elites identified by the dependence to the possibility of using Tiahuanaco symbols or not. The detail of the bracelets and pectoral images is not viable yet, since no records have been divulged about them. Nor were tissues found, but the portrait bottle discovered adjacent to the main tomb could be a representation of a Lord of Huari ancestor or could also be he himself. (According to the excavation team report)

Based on the iconography of the heads embossed on the silver plates and the picture of the sculptural bottle, it would be probable to associate the Lord of Huari with the agent 102 of the Knobloch classification: “AGENT: 102 This agent is one the earliest Huari depictions found in the 1977 Huari excavation dating back to Middle Horizon Epoch 1 (530 D.C.) Early effigy jars are simple face-neck vessels with round body. The facial features include black hair, black sideburns, Chevron headband and rectangular motifs on the cheeks that are similar to motifs painted on the interior of open bowls in the Ocos and Chakipampa style pottery. Such rectangular motifs may indicate ethnic identity and be precursors to Inca style tocapu squares used to designate known populations in the Inca Empire as often depicted by textiles. Acknowledged by Huari, Conchopata and Pachacamac artisans, this agent is typically associated with stylized images of profile attendants, front face deity and abstract geometrical motifs. I argue that this individual participated in the development of the new religious cult in its early proselytizing phase as it spread between these distant areas.”

If we compare the lacrimals of the picture of agent 102 (Fig. 13) (photo: Knobloch) with those of the bottle (Fig. 14) (photo: Ministry of Culture) we'll discover that they are directly analogous. In addition, let's compare the braided hair in the headdress of the personage, both in Agent 102 and in the Lord of Huari silver plates (Fig. 15) (photo: Ministry of Culture). By organizing the cited references, we will conclude that the Espiritu Pampa site was completely integrated to the Huari Empire. Then, our Huari Lord belonged to the first group, to the power lineage of and was a kind of 'proselytizing ambassador', since in his paraphernalia are found Tiahuanaco glyphs. He would be a personage parentally linked to the power lineage of those times, Pikillacta and Huaru, since Knobloch relates agent 102 to the development of a new religious cult and its spreading out into distant regions. This is proved by the C-14 coal dating collected from the "D" shaped rooms in Vilcabamba, performed at the Accelerator Mass

Spectrometry Laboratory of the Arizona University, by Javier Fonseca and Brian Bauer, which resulted 649-773 and 670-665 DC (See, Andean Past No. 11 - 2013) The Huari expansion epoch.

The mentioned studies reveal that the Pikillacta construction began about 530 AD. Phase 1-A of the Mid Horizon and was exploited by the Huari until nearly 1155 D.C. already on the Late Intermediate period (McEwan, 1984), therefore, the time of occupation is very extensive. Menzel based on the distribution analogous models of the Huari and Inca material, suggested that the Huari had a political organization very similar to the Inca. Glowacki and McEwan (2001) pointed out that the Huari expansion towards Cusco, had beginnings on the Early Intermediate Period (200 A.C. - 600 D.C) time in which the peoples of Ayacucho and Cusco made contact. All these conclusions clarify the following points: The Huari occupation of Cuzco began in the presence of pre Huari Ayacuchans and that the Cuzco - Ayacucho relationship was intense and complex. There were at least two main repopulations of Cusco and that this relationship endured for many centuries.

The material used in the attire of the "Lord of Huari" (silver) reminds us the myth told by Calancha: "In Huamachuco, the twin deities Piguerao and Catequil, after to be incubated in eggs, used slings provided by their father to stone and scare the inhabitants of the zone. Immediately they depart to a hill from which they brought out new Indians to inhabit Huamachuco; Catequil used a golden taklla, while Piguerao used a silver one. Both used masculine elements but the one of Piguerao was a material usually syndicated for the women." (Calancha, Antonio de la. "Moralized chronicle of the Order of San Agustín in Peru. "1631/1653) Detail that added to the fact expressed by Fonseca: "... constitutes the first concrete evidence about the existence of characters of high hierarchy and power within the social structure of the Huari culture." This plus the identification done by Knoebloch and Makowski helps us to deduce that he was a Huari nobility prominent member, whose work consisted in 'annex' new territories by means of an ambassador or proselytizing missionary.

All this matches with the primary objective of the Ayar Brothers: that of conquering the Cusco valley. The Ayar Petrification, a fact that in several cultures meant 'taking political possession of a place' (Levis Strauss, 1966) Sarmiento states: "And for this they called Ayar Cache and said to him: brother, know that in Cápacoto we forgot the golden glasses, named topacusi, and certain seeds and *the napa, which is our principal lords emblem.*" (Sarmiento, 1534), ratified by: "and by throwing four stones to the four parts of the world, he took possession of them." (Cobo, 1954) and corroborated by the 'Huarachico establishment', marrow of the political system structure; entirely identifies them with these 'proselytizing missionaries' coming from Ayacucho. We cannot deny its Huari extraction because there is an extreme linguistical relationship between Aya-cucho and Ayar-ucho. Likewise, we can properly claim that they were nobles of direct kinship with the Huari kings. Consequently, there is a 'perfect analogy' between the Lord of Huari character and that of the Ayar brothers. For all these reasons, it would be acceptable to date the Machupicchu foundation between 550 and 650 D.C. belonging to the opening and expansion of the Huari Empire epoch.

Though, we cannot ignore what Glowacki and McEwan (2001) propose that the Huari expansion on Cusco had origins in the Early Intermediate Period, 200 BC. - 600 D.C. time in which the peoples of

Cusco and Ayacucho made contact. Zapata and Román between 1998 - 2000, agree with this dating and conclude that Huaro was established as a primary settlement, from which Pikillacta was built. That the Huari occupation of Cuzco began in the presence of pre Huari Ayacuchans. That there were at least "two greater colonizations" of Cusco. This permits us to suggest that Machupicchu had two foundations: the first in the Early Intermediate, a first Tamputocco of which the 'stately mansions' analyzed in Chapter XII would be its archaeological correlate. And, already in the Mid Horizon took place the second foundation, when the Ayar ordered Tocay Cápac: "who afterwards was commanded to work at the birthplace of Manco-Cápac, by thrashing the house (antique) and raising (renewed) three windows-like stonework." (Pachacuti, 1995) which proof would be the old construction on the Figure 10.