An offprint from

VARIATIONS IN THE EXPRESSION OF INKA POWER

Edited by Richard L. Burger, Craig Morris, and Ramiro Matos Mendieta

Variations in the Expression of Inka Power
A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks
18 and 19 October 1997

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Published by Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D.C.
Distributed by Harvard University Press, 2007

Pilgrimage and the Geography of Power in the Inka Empire

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HIGH IN THE SOUTH-CENTRAL ANDES OF SOUTH AMERICA, IN THE GREAT lake called Titicaca, lie two small islands (fig. 1). According to ancient Andean traditions, the heavenly bodies first rose to the sky from these two islands, and we know that during Inka times (AD 1450–1532) these islands were dedicated to the Sun and the Moon. As the origin point of the sky deities, the islands were among the most sacred locations of the Inka Empire and were visited by pilgrims from across the realm. Bernabé Cobo (1990: 94 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18]) visited the islands in 1616 and noted that the veneration of the shrines was "so widespread that people came to this place on pilgrimage from everywhere." The word Titicaca itself may derive from a theological concept. Stanish and Bauer (2004) and Stanish (2003) note that Bertonio's Aymara dictionary defines the term "Thaksi Kala" as *piedra fundamental* (foundation stone). In this sense, "foundation" most certainly refers to some kind of creation belief.

In this paper, we address the role that this and other pilgrimage centers played in the Inka Empire. However, we also use the Titicaca sanctuary complex as an example of the powerful role that the manipulation of ideology and the conscious creation of "great traditions" played in imperial expansion. The Islands of the Sun and Moon, plus additional state-controlled installations on the nearby Copacabana Peninsula, comprised a culturally altered landscape of profound ritual and political significance. Beginning at the town of Yunguyu, pilgrims from around the empire walked through a series of increasingly sacred places and ultimately arrived at the Sacred Rock of Titikala located on the northern side of the Island of the Sun.

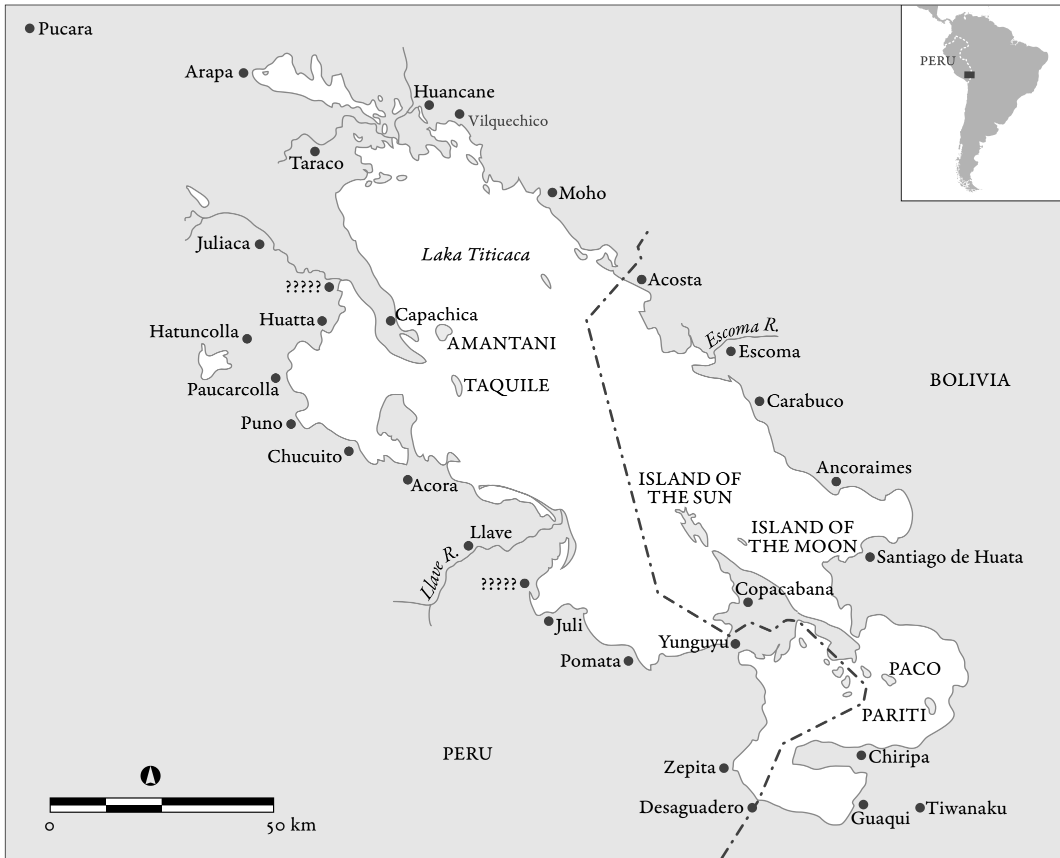


FIG. 1 The Lake Titicaca region

We argue that while the Lake Titicaca pilgrimage complex was culturally significant on several levels, the most prominent was the way in which it served the imperial interests of the Inka state. By conquering, incorporating, and enhancing the island sanctuaries, the Inka consciously achieved several ideological goals. The pilgrim route and state installations built on the islands were intentionally designed to co-opt ideological legitimacy from the local Aymara elite. The Inka altered the landscape in the southern Titicaca region to create a vast pilgrimage center where these politically useful ideological concepts were reinforced by the participation of both commoner and elite. In addition, as the holders and protectors of the origin place of the Sun and Moon, the Inka legitimized their authority on a pan-Andean basis. Finally, Inka control of the sanctuaries most likely served to link the Inka elite to the earlier Tiwanaku state, which had built the first pilgrimage center on these islands.

A Theoretical Perspective

Ideology is at once the most elusive and powerful of tools used by ancient states to project their authority. It is elusive because it is intensely personal

and is imbued with different meanings, making it difficult to control. At the same time, precisely because it is so personal, ideology can be one of the most powerful means to assert imperial control. Viewed in this way, pilgrimages and large state-controlled shrines can be seen as playing important roles in defining and legitimizing the power of the elite within ancient states. From the Delian League and Rome in the classical Mediterranean world to the fragmented states of medieval Christendom in Europe to pilgrimages in Hindu and Muslim states, elites continuously reworked a "sacred" area into the endpoint of a physical and spiritual journey that transformed a pilgrim from a member of a local ethnic group or village into a participant in a larger state system.

The Inka were experts at this type of ideological manipulation, drawing on earlier traditions and creating new ones to suit the needs of their empire. The Inka use of the Islands of the Sun and Moon and the adjoining Copacabana area for state ideological purposes has to be understood on several levels. The appropriation of this renowned shrine complex from the local population in the late fifteenth century was a political statement of the authority of Inka rule. Furthermore, the use of gendered symbols such as the Sun (male) and the Moon (female) and the sanctification of natural features of the landscape, such as outcrops and springs, were consistent with "traditional" Inka conceptions of proper ritual that developed prior to the expansion of their empire. Moreover, the actual pilgrimage and ritual acts performed had both political and personal meanings.

The act of participating in the pilgrimage reinforced the political status of the pilgrim, whether commoner or elite. In this sense, it was a profoundly political act. On the other hand, there is little doubt that for many pilgrims the journey held deep religious meanings that were not consciously perceived as political. These ideological levels, from the overtly political and conscious that reinforced cultural values of the Inka state to the deeply felt religious sentiment by some participants, represent the range of meanings associated with this great ritual complex.

Pilgrimages and pilgrimage centers worldwide have been understood by two broad classes of theory. One theoretical perspective begins with Emile Durkheim. As John Eade and Michael Sallnow (1991: 4) note, the "Durkheimian approach to pilgrimage is sometimes given a Marxist slant. Here, the cults are implicated in the generation and maintenance of ideologies which legitimize domination and oppression." In this conception, pilgrimage centers are constructions used by elites to perpetuate class distinction, political authority, ideological legitimacy, and divine sanction of the existing social order. One of the great examples of a state creating a pilgrimage center to aid in the maintenance of an empire is that of Constantine after his conversion to Christianity. Glenn Bowman

(1991) demonstrates how the first pilgrimage center in Christendom was "consciously created as such by the emperor Constantine to provide physical anchorage for the written texts of the newly adopted state religion with which he hoped to unify the empire" (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 1). Another salient example is the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela in northwest Spain. Santiago (St. James) was renowned as a fighter against the Moors, and the ideological power of his supposed remains in the cathedral were intimately tied into Christian efforts to retake the Holy Land during the Crusades (Coleman and Elsner 1995: 106). A pilgrimage to this shrine most certainly served to immerse the pilgrim in the ideology of anti-Islamic expansion and western European military campaigns.

The second class of theory is what Eade and Sallnow refer to as the Turnerian approach. For Victor Turner, such religious constructions actually served to subvert the established social order (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 5). Turner viewed cults not as hegemonic devices that reinforced the existing status quo, but as counter-hegemonic institutions. From this perspective, shrines challenged the authority of the state by setting up alternative and competing religious icons that superficially conformed to religious orthodoxy but that were outside of the direct control of a hierarchy.

There are hundreds of examples of such counter-hegemonic shrines in history and ethnography. Medieval European Christianity is replete with cases of pilgrimage shrines that were created outside of, and in many cases antithetical to, the interests of the official Church. In the Americas, many pilgrimage centers developed in a context of popular dissatisfaction with the social order. The famous late-nineteenth-century case of Father Cícero Romão Batista, an indigenous Roman Catholic priest from northeast Brazil, illustrates how a shrine that threatens the social order can be created by individuals who have official sanction but work against ecclesiastical and state authorities. Father Cicero, a low-level member of the church hierarchy, who befriended socially unacceptable people, was close to expulsion by the ecclesiastical authorities when a "miracle" occurred during mass. He was dismissed by the church and essentially lost official ideological sanction. He then began a career in politics where he pursued policies contrary to the interests of the clergy.

Years after his death, the town where he conducted his ministry attracted thousands of pilgrims. The pilgrimage was outside the control of the church authorities, and it served to counter the interests of the status quo. As related in Martin Robinson (1997: 42), Father Cicero's town "remains a Holy City, the new Jerusalem, the centre of the world, the land of Salvation" for the thousands who travel there. This "Holy City," endowed with official Christian icons, actually functioned as a political challenge to the status quo.

Numerous local pilgrimage destinations and shrines around the Andes can also be interpreted as popular expressions of resistance against political forces beyond their immediate control or, at the very least, as local shrines controlled by nonelite populations. There were a multitude of sacred places in the Andes at the time of the Spanish invasion. Known as *huacas*, these varied in size and significance from local places or objects venerated by a single family to regionally important shrines worshipped by most of the people who lived around them (Bauer 1998). These huacas may have been pilgrimage destinations in a limited sense, but they were respected and maintained by a relatively small and culturally homogeneous group of people in a confined geographical area. In these instances, the Turnerian model works well and explains the varied social, political, ideological, economic, and cultural forces that revolve around the shrines.

Among the multitude of huacas in the Andes at the time of European contact, a few select ones represented centers of pan-Andean religious importance that were profoundly different from the local shrines understood within a Turnerian perspective. While these great huacas also served as local shrines for the people who lived near them, they were principally famous as the destination for long-distance pilgrimages. The fact that long-distance pilgrimages were made to these shrines distinguished them as fundamentally different from local huacas. The shrine complex in the southern Titicaca Basin is an example of these great huacas. It was essentially a state institution, with local nonstate roots. The ritual complex was designed to project a set of unambiguous meanings associated with Inka culture, the Inka state, and most importantly, Inka political ideology.

We believe that a Durkheimian framework is the most appropriate theoretical tool for understanding such a huge and important pan-Andean pilgrimage center as the shrine complex on the Islands of the Sun and Moon. We approach the problem of the origin and maintenance of the sacred islands as one tied into the development of complex polities in general. We argue that the Lake Titicaca shrine complex was more akin to Constantine's efforts in the Holy Land and the cathedral of Santiago de Compostela than to the worship of a local shrine. From this perspective, the development of pan-regional pilgrimage complexes (with temples, support buildings, attendants, and so forth) only occurs in the context of state levels of organization. This is because only states have the capacity to mobilize labor, provision the attendants, and maintain the infrastructure of such a large complex. Furthermore, these kinds of pilgrimages serve huge regions and integrate numerous ethnic groups, and therefore fit precisely into the ideological needs of multiethnic, regional state organizations.

Great Shrines of the Empire

A pilgrimage center provides an ideal opportunity to materially depict state ideology. Selected natural features, architecture, artifacts, and rituals can be combined into a comprehensive metaphor for transmitting the ideals of the state religion. The significance of a local shrine is magnified substantially when it is co-opted by a state. The mere fact that the pilgrimage center, now associated with the dominant state, exists on or near an older sacred site sends a powerful message of cultural dominance and legitimate succession.

The Inka were masters at converting local shrines into centers of great ideological importance. At the time of European contact, several notable shrines controlled by the Inka were found across the empire. The three most important sanctuaries were the Coricancha in Cusco, Pachacamac on the coast, and the Islands of the Sun and Moon in Lake Titicaca. Each of these shrines was of pan-Andean importance and intimately connected with state authority.

THE CORICANCHA

The most important sanctuary in the Inka state was the Coricancha, called Templo del Sol (Temple of the Sun) by the Spaniards. The Coricancha, which means "enclosure of gold" in Quechua, was located on a slight rise in the heart of Cusco, near the confluence of two small rivers that flowed through the city. According to some early founding legends, it was here that the first Inka couple built their household and began the process of creating an empire.

The Coricancha was originally a local shrine of the pre-imperial Inka peoples. A number of separate archaeological excavations have been conducted in and around the temple during the past four decades by Luis Barreda Murillo, Arminda Gibaja Oviedo, Alfredo Valencia Zegarra, and Raymundo Béjar Navarro. These Cusco archaeologists have each recovered exceptionally high-quality Early Inka (i.e., Killke) pottery (ca. AD 1000–1400), indicating that the special nature of the site extends back before the establishment of the empire.

From the Coricancha radiated the spatial divisions, or *suyus*, that divided the Inka Empire into four quarters. The northwest quarter of the empire was referred to as Chinchaysuyu and the northeast was named Antisuyu. The two southern quarters included Collasuyu to the southeast and Cuntisuyu to the southwest. The Inka Empire was seen as the summation of these four parts and the Coricancha marked the center of the empire and their world.

Because the Coricancha contained the finest gold and silver objects of the empire, it was sacked by the Spaniards even before they established a secure rule over the Andes. Nevertheless, we know a great deal about

the organization of the temple and the activities that occurred there from the many Spaniards and natives who lived in Cusco during the Conquest period. The Coricancha is said to have held a set of temples dedicated to various deities: the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Thunder, the Rainbow, and the creator god Viracocha. The most important shrines in the complex, however, were those of the Sun and the Moon. These images were housed in separate chambers that were adorned with gold and silver respectively. Cobo offers the following description of the Temple of the Sun:

> The most important and most sumptuous temple of this kingdom was the one located in the city of Cusco; this temple was held to be the chief center or capital of their false religion and the most venerated sanctuary that these Indians had, and for that reason, it was visited by all of the people of the Inka Empire, who came to it out of devotion on pilgrimages. This temple was called Coricancha, which means "house of gold," because of the incomparable wealth of this metal which was embedded in the temple's chapels and walls, its ceilings and altars. (Cobo 1990: 48–49 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 12])

After the fall of the Inka Empire, the monastery of Santo Domingo was built on the site of the temple and much of the original compound was destroyed. Nevertheless, the remains of the former structures, and the superb Inka stone work, can still be seen (Bauer 2004).

PACHACAMAC (MAKER OF THE WORLD)

Another important sanctuary, called Pachacamac, was located on the coast a short distance south of modern-day Lima. This large center is consistently described in the chronicles as an area of immense religious importance.[1] For example, Cobo writes:

> In magnitude, devotion, authority and richness, the Temple of Pachacama[c] was second only to the magnificent [Cusco] Temple of the Sun. Since it was a universal sanctuary, people came to the Temple of Pachacama[c] on pilgrimages from all over the Inka Empire, and there they made their votive offerings. (Cobo 1990: 85 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 17])

In the center of the complex was a series of massive adobe platforms. The largest platform held a temple that housed the idol of Pachacamac. Pilgrims, both noble and common, made offerings and received advice at this universally recognized oracle.

After the incorporation of Pachacamac into the Inka Empire, the oracle remained an important huaca. The chronicles suggest that Topa Inka, Huayna Capac, Huascar, and Atahualpa each visited the shrine seeking advice. The Inka constructed a number of state installations at Pachacamac including a Temple of the Sun and lodgings for the priests,

attendants, and guards of the complex. Quarters were also constructed for the chosen women of the state who served in the temple. There were also additional buildings to house the pilgrims who arrived at the sanctuary (Cieza de León 1967: 334–337 [1554: pt. 1, chap. 72]; Cobo 1990: 85–90 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 17]).

Within months of establishing himself in Cajamarca, Francisco Pizarro sent his brother, Hernando Pizarro, to investigate the Pachacamac shrine. On his arrival at the oracle, Hernando learned that pilgrims from as far as 300 leagues (approximately 1,600 kilometers) visited the principal idol and that the lords of the surrounding polities came annually to make sacrifices (Xérez 1985: 130–148 [1534]). The official report from this expedition tells of Hernando Pizarro's encounter with the principal huaca at the site:

> The captain talked with them and said that he wanted to see that idol that they had. . . . It was in a good house well painted in a very dark, smelly, very closed room. They have a very dirty idol made of wood. They say it is their god, the one which nurtures and supports and maintains them. At the foot of it they had offered some gold jewels. It is so venerated that only its pages and servants, that they say that the idol selects, serve him; and no other dares to enter, or is worthy of touching the walls of its house. . . . They come to this devil in pilgrimage of 300 leagues with gold and silver and clothes, and those who arrive go to the watchmen and request the idol's servant, and he enters, and speaks with the idol, and he says that entrance is granted. (Xérez 1985: 136–137 [1534]; translation ours)

Hernando spent almost a month in the town and temple area looking for gold. He then returned to the highlands with the spoils and added them to Atahualpa's ransom.

Archaeological research at Pachacamac began in 1896 with Max Uhle's (1906) investigations. Historical and archaeological work on this pilgrimage center has continued throughout the twentieth century. It is now known that the occupation of Pachacamac is of great antiquity, and it is widely speculated that the site was already a pilgrimage center during the period of Wari (AD 600–900) control of the coast (Schreiber 1992: 106; Morris and von Hagen 1993: 121). If Pachacamac was a pilgrimage center in Wari times, then it is a good example of the Inka state appropriating an important religious shine for its own purposes.

Islands of the Sun and the Moon

Upon initial contact with the Inka Empire, the Spaniards were told that the Sun first emerged from a Sacred Rock on an island in Lake Titicaca. They also learned that the founding couple of the Inka Empire rose from

this great island. Furthermore, informants told the Spaniards that the island housed a series of temples that was part of a religious complex on the southern shores of the lake and that the largest temple stood beside the revered rock.

The first Europeans to view Lake Titicaca were two members of Francisco Pizarro's forces. They arrived at the shores of the lake in late December 1533 or early January 1534. According to their report, and others that followed, there were indeed two sacred islands, one called Titicaca (Island of the Sun) and the other Coati (Island of the Moon).

Following these initial visits, the shrine complex was described by chroniclers who lived in the region. The two most important are Bernabé Cobo and Alonso Ramos Gavilán. Both of these authors furnish extensive eyewitness accounts of the Inka remains on the islands and describe how the pilgrimages were conducted. Most importantly, Ramos Gavilán and Cobo provide detailed descriptions of the Inka shrine complex on the Islands of the Sun and Moon in the century following the Spanish conquest. These two chroniclers represent what we believe to be the most accurate and essential sources for the early history of the islands.

Cobo visited the islands about eighty years after Pizarro's explorations and interviewed many of the local inhabitants. He described the islands and noted that they were one of the three great sanctuaries of the Inka:

> On the basis of its reputation and authority, this sanctuary was the third most important one for these Peruvian Indians. Actually, it comprised two magnificent temples, which were located on two separate islands of Lake Chucuito [Titicaca].[2] And since both islands are close to the town of Copacabana, we use this name to make reference to the sanctuary. One of these islands was called Titicaca, and the other Coata [Coati]. The former was dedicated to the Sun, and the latter to the Moon. (Cobo 1990: 91 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18])

Cobo's descriptions of the Islands of the Sun and the Moon are supported by, and partially derived from, those of Ramos Gavilán (1988 [1621]). Cobo and Ramos Gavilán visited the Lake Titicaca region during the same decade, although they belonged to different religious orders and lived in separate towns. Ramos Gavilán resided in Copacabana, a town that was controlled by the Augustinians. Cobo spent time in Juli, a major Spanish religious center initially established by the Dominicans but later taken over by the Jesuits.[3]

According to Ramos Gavilán and Cobo, the religious complex on the Island of the Sun included the Sacred Rock called "Titikala," a temple to the Sun and other sky deities, and a large labyrinth-like structure that housed the "chosen women" (also called Mamacona) of the state who

FIG. 2 The Copacabana mainland and the Islands of the Sun and the Moon

attended the shrine. There was also a large temple complex, which is now called Iñak Uyu, on the Island of the Moon. The political and ideological importance of these islands was immense, and the Inka Empire invested huge resources in maintaining various temples, storehouses, and roads on the islands, as well as on the Copacabana mainland (fig. 2).

Lake Titicaca and the Origins of the Inka

A large number of Inka myths have been passed down to us in fragmented form. Two myths are central to understanding the Inka sanctuary of the Titicaca Basin: the Lake Titicaca origin myth and the Pacariqtambo origin myth. Although the accounts about Lake Titicaca are of primary interest to us, many early writers provide hybrid versions, combining elements of both myths into a single narrative.

The Pacariqtambo origin myth was the central narrative of the foundation of the Inka state as promulgated by their own historians and intelligentsia. It was recorded in over twenty separate chronicles. This myth begins with the emergence of Manco Capac, the first Inka, and his royal brothers and their sister/wives from a cave, called Tamputoco, south of Cusco in the region of Pacariqtambo. The myth describes Manco Capac's

northward journey from Pacariqtambo to the Cusco Valley and his battle with the indigenous people of the region. It recalls the triumphal occupation of the valley by Manco Capac and the establishment of a new dynastic order (Bauer 1992a, 1996). Through the Pacariqtambo origin myth, the ruling elite of Cusco were seen as the direct descendants of Manco Capac.

Numerous chroniclers also indicate that the Inka and other peoples of the Andes believed that the creator god, known as Viracocha, caused the Sun and the Moon to rise from Lake Titicaca. This momentous event ended a prolonged period of darkness. Sarmiento de Gamboa records one such account:

> Viracocha went to this island and ordered the sun, moon, and stars to emerge and rise up into the sky to give light to the world, and so it was done. They say that he made the moon much brighter than the sun and that because of this the jealous sun threw a handful of ash into its face as they were about to rise into the sky. From then onwards [the moon] has the darkened color that it has now. (Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007: 49 [1572: chap. 7)

Other writers, especially those who visited the Lake Titicaca region, record even more details about this myth. For example, Cobo provides another version of the creation myth:

> The shrine of the Sun, which was on the Island of Titicaca, was a large solid crag. The reason it was consecrated to the Sun and worshipped can be traced to a ridiculous story. It is said that in this province the people of ancient times tell of being without light from the heavens for many days, and all of the local inhabitants were astonished, confused and frightened to have total darkness for such a long time. Finally, the people of the Island of Titicaca saw the Sun come up one morning out of that crag with extraordinary radiance. For this reason they believed that the true dwelling place of the Sun was that crag, or at least that the crag was the most delightful thing in the world for the Sun. Thus a magnificent temple, for those times, was constructed there and dedicated to the Sun, although it was not so magnificent as it was after the Inkas enlarged it and enhanced its fame. (Cobo 1990: 91–92 [1653: bk. 18. chap. 18])

The early writers also commonly combined the Pacariqtambo origin myth with the Lake Titicaca origin myth. They speak of the first Inka and his sister/wife appearing on the Island of Titicaca and link this appearance with the parallel emergence of the Sun and the Moon on that same island. The writers then relate how the first Inkas left the Titicaca region and traveled to Cusco via Pacariqtambo. In these accounts, rather than

simply explaining the origin of the heavenly bodies, the Lake Titicaca origin myth is transformed to explain how the first Inka (analogous to the sun) and his sister/wife (analogous to the moon) emerged from the island. In other words, Inka intellectuals successfully linked the ruling elite of Cusco with that of the principal shrine of one of their most important highland provinces. The origin place of the Quechua-speaking Cusco elite was mythologically merged with the most sacred place in the Aymara-speaking Titicaca Basin. The Islands of the Sun and Moon became the ideological beachhead of Inka expansion to the south.

Incorporation of the Islands into the Inka Empire

There is some ambiguity in the historical sources as to when the Lake Titicaca region was incorporated into the Inka Empire and who built the structures that now stand on the islands. Among the sources that refer most extensively to the arrival of the first Inka to the Island of the Sun are Cieza de León (1554), Ramos Gavilán (1621), and Cobo (1653).[4] Cieza de León, the earliest of these writers, traveled through the Lake Titicaca region in 1549, and finished his memoirs only five years later in 1554. He suggests that while Viracocha Inka may have established an alliance with the Lupaca, his son Pachacuti was the first of the noble Cusco clan to visit and construct buildings on the sacred islands of Titicaca. Elsewhere, Cieza de León (1967: 277 [1554: pt. 1, chap. 101]) says that Pachacuti's visit was followed by those of later Inkas as the territory of the empire extended southward into modern-day Bolivia, Chile, and Argentina.

Ramos Gavilán (1988: 32, 36 [1621: bk. 1, chap. 3]), resident of Copacabana in 1618, challenges the information provided by Cieza de León, stating that Pachacuti's son, Topa Inka, was the first Inka to arrive at the islands. Ramos Gavilán indicates that Topa Inka was so impressed by the Island of the Sun that he ordered its entire population to be resettled in the village of Yunguyu, outside the larger Copacabana sanctuary. He then repopulated the mainland area and the island with people selected from across the Inka Empire. Topa Inka is said to have constructed a series of buildings on the island, including a royal palace for himself about a league from the rock. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 171 [1621: chap. 27]) states that after completing his work on the Island of the Sun, Topa Inka traveled to the island of Coati to build a shrine dedicated to the Moon, the wife of the Sun.

Ramos Gavilán (1988: 120 [1621: chap. 18]) states repeatedly that Huayna Capac, the son of Topa Inka, also played an important role in developing Inka installations on the sacred islands. Not wanting to have been outdone by his father, Huayna Capac visited both of the islands and improved their facilities (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 120 [1621: chap. 18]). Huayna Capac is also said to have sent two of his daughters to serve in

the Temple of the Sun near the Sacred Rock (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 185 [1621: chap. 31]).

The Pilgrimage to the Sacred Islands of Lake Titicaca

A state-controlled pilgrimage is more than a trip to a sacred place. It is an orchestrated series of acts, propelled by natural or man-made objects and places along the way, that leads the pilgrims to a greater awareness and appreciation of an abstract concept. Unlike visits to smaller shrines that are developed by individuals or groups outside of a political or social hierarchy, a pilgrimage to a state-sponsored center takes place across a carefully constructed ritual landscape. Pilgrims are forced to follow a prescribed pathway that is inevitably characterized by a series of specific, state-serving, religious icons and representations. By participating in a state-controlled event, the pilgrims implicitly or explicitly recognize the sanctity and authority of the ideology embodied in the shrine. The Lake Titicaca shrine complex represents a clear case of a state-altered landscape, with a prescribed pathway through a series of sequentially more sacred spaces that ultimately arrives at the most powerful destination point, the birthplace of the Sun. Using historical and archaeological data, we are able to reconstruct this pathway and parts of the cultural landscape.

ARRIVING AT COPACABANA

The sacred complex began at the town of Yunguyu, about an hour's walk from Copacabana. Cobo notes that a wall was constructed near Yunguyu and that guards were stationed at the gates to inspect travelers wishing to enter the Copacabana area:

> Since the area starting from the straits or isthmus which I mentioned above between Yunguyu and Copacabana was considered to be a sacred place, the Inka had this entrance closed off with a wall which he had made from one beach to the other. He had gates put along the wall with watchmen and guards to look over the people who came to the sanctuary on pilgrimages. (Cobo 1990: 94 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18])

Later in his account, Cobo (1990: 96 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18]) states that to gain access to Copacabana, the pilgrims spoke with a confessor and did penance. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 127 [1621: chap. 20]) describes a public building that the Inka built for the pilgrims to stay in. The pilgrims also abstained from salt, meat, and chili peppers. Interestingly, nearly four and a half centuries later, the Copacabana peninsula is still separated from the rest of the mainland by the national border of Peru and Bolivia. A modern wall and arch stands on a ridge at the border just outside of Yunguyu, and visitors must pass through immigration guards and seek permission to continue their journey.

Ramos Gavilán (1988: 127 [1621: chap. 20]) relates that as the pilgrims passed from Yunguyu to Copacabana they were provided with food and supplies from the royal storehouses at a place called Loca. The social and political status of the pilgrims apparently determined the nature of these gifts. The community and storehouses of Loca are probably those mentioned in a 1548 Copacabana *encomienda* document (Espinoza Soriano 1972: 10) that describes "another small town in which there are certain storehouses, that is between the town of Copacabana and Yunguyu, with seventeen Indians of service and nine widows and elders." According to Espinoza Soriano (1972: 5), the village of Loca still exists between Yunguyu and Copacabana. The Inka storehouses, however, have disappeared.

After arriving at Copacabana, the pilgrims rested for several days and prayed at the local temples and shrines before proceeding to the Island of the Sun (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 171–172 [1621: chap. 28]). A second confession was made in Copacabana before they departed for the island. Today, Copacabana is a major Christian shrine and one of the most important Catholic pilgrimage destinations in South America. It is no coincidence that the Catholic priests constructed such a shrine in this city (MacCormack 1991; Sallnow 1987). Archaeological evidence, as indicated by large quantities of Inka pottery, suggests a substantial Inka occupation under the city, and the town layout conforms to an orthogonal grid pattern as defined by John Hyslop (1990). There is a typical plaza that probably follows the Inka one, and the famous Christian church next to the plaza was probably constructed over an Inka structure (fig. 3). Likewise, near the town there are a number of Inka-style cut stones typical of Inka ritual places.

From Copacabana, the pilgrims walked toward the port of Yampupata, three to four hours away, on a well-paved Inka road. According to Ramos Gavilán (1988: 127 [1621: chap. 20]), while en route from Copacabana, the pilgrims passed through two additional checkpoints, with warehouses holding corn, other crops, and freeze-dried meat (*charqui*). Today, a major Christian shrine is found in a valley near a section of Inka road. This shrine was most likely patterned after Inka ones in the area. There may have also been a place at Yampupata for the pilgrims to spend the night before crossing over to the Island of the Sun (Squier 1877: 327).

The crossing of the strait from Yampupata to the Island of the Sun was an integral part of the pilgrimage process. Here, the Inka authorities were able to exert absolute control on the movement of pilgrims (fig. 4). Ephraim Squier made the two-kilometer trip across the strait in 1865 and provides a vivid description of the journey:

> Leaving behind the little playa or beach [of Yampupata], our Indian boatmen pushed along under a steep, rocky cliff, until they reached the point where the strait between the main-land

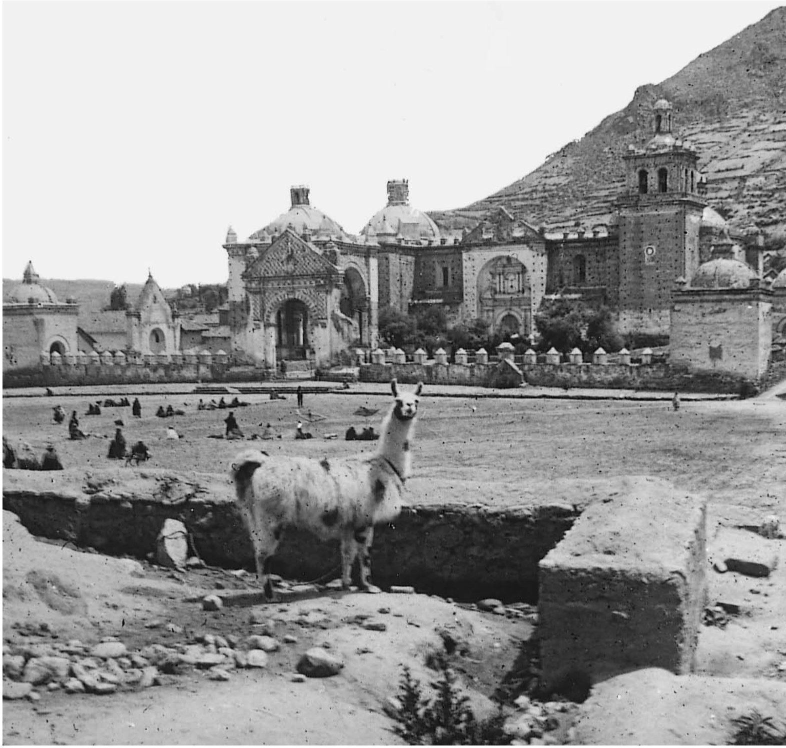


FIG. 3 Copacabana is a major Christian shrine, and is one of the most important Catholic pilgrimage destinations in South America (anonymous photograph, ca. 1900, private collection).

FIG. 4 For millennia reed boats have been used to transport people and goods from the Copacabana mainland to the Island of the Sun (photograph by William H. Rau, ca. 1900, private collection).

FIG. 5 The ruins of Pilco Kayma have long attracted the attention of tourists to the region (photograph by Luis D. Gismondi ca. 1920, private collection).

> and the island is narrowest. The water at the foot of the cliff is very deep, but wonderfully transparent. We were more than two hours in propelling the balsa across the strait, a distance which an ordinary oarsman in a Whitehall boat would get over in fifteen minutes, and landed on the island under the lee of a projecting ledge of rocks, full in view of the Palace of the Inka [Pilco Kayma] and the terraces surrounding it, half a mile to our right. (Squier 1877: 329)

Squier traveled in a particularly small boat, but he notes that there were larger vessels on the lake, some of which could be rigged with a sail and were capable of carrying as many as sixty people.

The former landing place on the Island of the Sun is simply called Puncu (entrance). It is at the extreme southeastern tip of the island, the point of land closest to the mainland. The remains of a prehistoric road that began at this landing point and ran across the southern slope of the island towards the modern village of Yumani can still be seen on the hill-side. Squier describes the remains of Inka structures at Puncu. Thirty years later these structures were barely visible (Bandelier 1910: 187, 191), and today only a few walls and a light scatter of Inka pottery remain to mark this important debarkation point.

From this landing place the pilgrims began their trip to the opposite end of the island. They soon passed the impressive site of Pilco Kayma. This two-story, multichambered structure was surrounded by a set of terraces. Its function is unknown, since none of the early colonial writers mention it. This silence is surprising, since Pilco Kayma is one of the most prominent and accessible Inka complexes on the island (fig. 5).

As the pilgrims journeyed towards the Sacred Rock area, they reached the summit of the island and walked along the ridge for approximately seven kilometers. Along the route they passed one of the largest Inka villages on the island, a site now called Apachinacapata. From the ridge, the traveler could have walked directly to the sanctuary area at the far end of the island, or have taken a lower trail that led past several Inka villages along the northwest lakeshore. Our survey work on the ridge between Apachinacapata and the Sacred Rock identified a series of low, rectangular platforms with light scatters of Inka pottery along the main trail. Although their exact function is unknown, these platforms may have served as offering spots along the pilgrimage route.

During Inka times, the two most important lakeside settlements on the island were Challapampa and Kasapata. Challapampa is on a narrow spit of land between two large bays, and surface collections indicate that the site was built during Inka times. It may have been the town that Cobo (1990: 94 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18]) credits to Topa Inka Yupanqui: "He made a moderate-sized town one league from the temple, and the majority of the inhabitants were *mitimaes* [colonists] of Inka blood and lineage. And he had a dwelling built there for them to live in."

Kasapata is on a wide and extensively terraced isthmus, a short walk from the rock sanctuary at Titikala. During Inka times, it was larger and perhaps more important than Challapampa. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 87 [1621: chap. 12]), refers to this site when he writes that Topa Inka Yupanqui "founded a moderate sized town, half a league, or almost, before the rock and shrine, and built his royal palace in it." It is also referred to by Cobo (1990: 93 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18]), who states that "one quarter of a league before one reaches the temple, there was an impressive tambo or inn for the pilgrims to stay in."

Surface collections and excavations at Kasapata by both Bandelier (1910: 203–213) and by our project have yielded elegant Inka ceramics as well as evidence of large trash middens (Stanish and Bauer 2004). Work at the site has also documented the remains of various Inka buildings, including one that measures approximately forty meters long. The building has five doorways and may be the structure mentioned by Ramos Gavilán (1988: 176 [1621: chap. 29]) when he discussed the December and June solstice celebrations that took place on the island.

The Entrance to the Sanctuary Area

A paved trail heading north from Kasapata leads directly to the sanctuary area, which is separated from the rest of the island by a low wall. The Sacred Rock area is a zone of minimal agricultural potential relative to the island as a whole. Today, it is uninhabited as it was in the nineteenth century (Squier 1877; Bandelier 1910). Nevertheless, we know that during the Inka period it housed one of the most important shrines of the ancient Andean world.

Both Ramos Gavilán and Cobo provide similar, although not identical, observations about the sanctuary area. Cobo states that there was a single entrance to the sanctuary, a gate called Intipuncu (Door of the Sun), that was located some 200 paces from the Sacred Rock. According to Cobo, it was at this portal that Topa Inka Yupanqui removed his sandals, a custom that was followed from then on. Cobo implies that most pilgrims were not allowed to approach the rock directly, traveling only as far as the Intipuncu where they handed their offerings to the attendants who resided in the sanctuary. He also provides a detailed description of a set of footprints and Inka structures that were near this gate. The footprints, in fact, are natural inclusions in the bedrock and can still be seen today.

Ramos Gavilán's description of the sanctuary entrance is more extensive than Cobo's. Although somewhat confusing, Ramos Gavilán suggests that the pilgrimage route passed through three closely spaced gateways to enter the sanctuary, and that at each door they held an audience with a priest. Ramos Gavilán indicates that the first door was called Pumapuncu (Door of the Puma). The second door, Kentipuncu (Door of the Hummingbird), was located some 200 paces from the rock and was covered with hummingbird feathers. We know that this is the same door that Cobo calls Intipuncu (Door of the Sun), since both authors indicate that there were Inka structures and footprints near it. The third and final door, Pillcopuncu (Door of the Pillco), was adorned with pillco feathers.[5]

Although differing in details, Ramos Gavilán's and Cobo's accounts of the entrance to the sanctuary area on the Island of the Sun are not unlike those provided by Garcilaso de la Vega for priests entering the Coricancha in the heart of Cusco. Garcilaso de la Vega (1966: 186, 187, 359 [1609: pt. 1, bk., 3, chap. 23; bk. 6, chap. 21]) notes several times that those visiting the temple had to remove their sandals when they were within a 200-step radius of the Coricancha. Furthermore, only the highest Inka royalty could enter the temple area itself, accompanied by the priests of the Sun. Visitors of lower status could only approach the entry gate of the temple, where they passed their offerings to the priests.

FIG. 6 The Sacred Rock of Titikala

The Sanctuary

The Inka constructed a number of features in the sanctuary area. The most important of these included an offering area near the Sacred Rock, a Temple of the Sun and other sky deities, a storehouse, and living quarters for those who served the shrine. We are fortunate that both Ramos Gavilán and Cobo described some of these facilities in detail.

The Sacred Rock, from which the sun rose, is a large exposed slab of reddish sandstone that lies near the center of the sanctuary area (fig. 6). It was believed that the sun left from a small hollow in this rock (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 164 [1621: chap. 26]). The far side of the rock descends down the eastern hillside toward the lake. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 115–116, 149 [1621: chap. 17, 24]) suggests that this side was covered with fine Inka cloth (*cumbi*), "the most subtle, and delicate, that never was seen in Indies." The plaza side, which is notably convex, was faced with plates of silver and gold (Ramos Gavilán 1988: 115–116, 150 [1621: chap. 17, 24]).

A plaza adjoins the Sacred Rock. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 93 [1621: chap. 13]) indicated that many gold idols, ceramic vessels, and other items had already been looted by treasure hunters in this plaza. Furthermore, he stated that there was a round stone in front of the rock into which corn beer (*chicha*) was poured as an offering to the Sun. He added that there were still traces of chicha vessels on the surface of the plaza. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 116 [1621: chap. 17]) also noted that the round offering stone had been used as a base for a cross that was erected in the plaza (fig. 7).

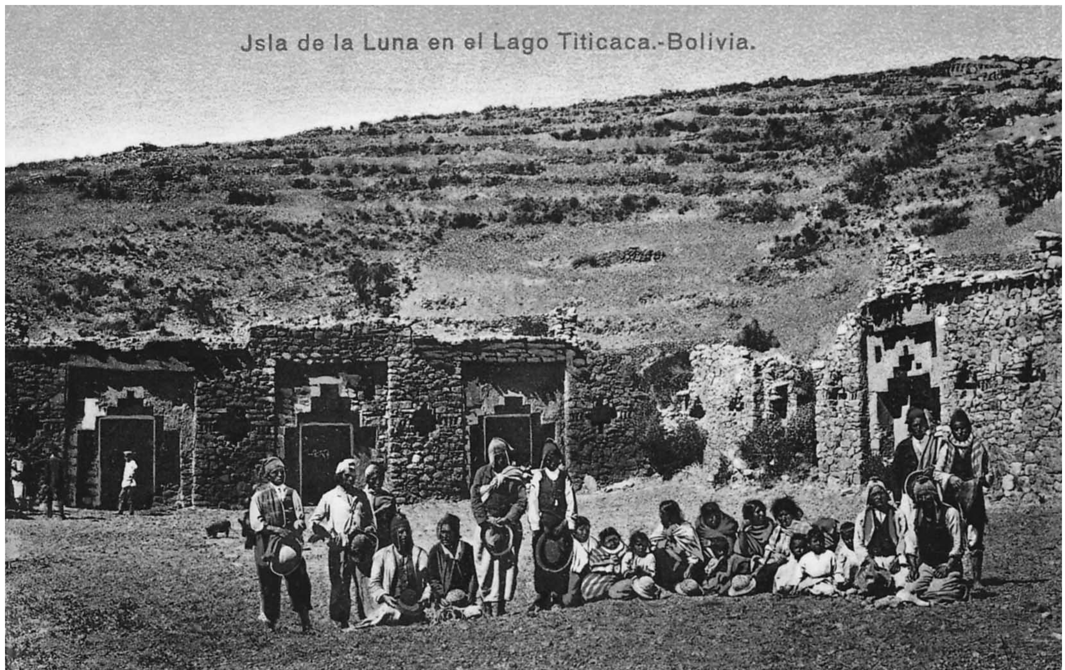
FIG. 7 The northern end of the Island of the Sun. The Sacred Rock and its adjacent plaza area can be seen on the right (photograph by Luis D. Gismondi ca. 1920, private collection).

FIG. 8 The ruin of Iñak Uyu is widely believed to be the remains of the Temple of the Moon (anonymous photograph, ca. 1900, private collection).

There were other structures in the sanctuary area as well. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 93 [1621: chap. 13]) writes that some thirty steps from the rock, toward the south, were located the Houses of the Sun, Thunder, and Lightning. Cobo provides a more detailed description of the temple, suggesting that it was an elaborate structure containing windows, cupboards, or niches along the walls. He also indicates that it was located some forty paces from the rock, near a maze-like storehouse. The labyrinthine storehouse that Cobo refers to is a large architectural complex called the Chinkana. Ramos Gavilán (1988: 93 [1621: bk. 1, chap. 13]) correctly places this majestic site on the southern slope of the island, in a gully facing the Peruvian shore to the west, and he indicates that it was already deteriorating when he visited the island.

The Return Home

Ramos Gavilán (1988: 170–171 [1621: bk. 1, chap. 28]) indicates that after visiting the Island of the Sun, many pilgrims traveled to the Island of the Moon (fig. 8). Cobo concurs and adds the following information: "Upon finishing their prayers and offerings at this sanctuary of Titicaca, they continued on to Coati Island, which was considered to be the second station. And since a visit to these sanctuaries was sold to them at such a high price, the result was that such visits were held in higher esteem"


Jsla de la Luna en el Lago Titicaca.-Bolivia.

(Cobo 1990: 96 [1653: bk. 13, chap. 18]). There is a large ruin on the Island of the Moon, called Iñak Uyu, which is widely believed to be the remains of that temple (Stanish and Bauer 2004).

After attending the Island of the Moon, the pilgrims began their homeward journey. Unfortunately, little is known of the status of the pilgrims after their return to their homeland. We can only speculate that it must have been great, since Garcilaso de la Vega (1966: 191 [1609: pt. 1, bk. 3, chap. 25]) notes that: "any Indian who could get a grain of that maize [of the Island of the Sun] or any seed to cast in this barn thought he would never want for bread for his whole life." Surely a person who had journeyed to the origin place of the Sun would have held considerable stature within the community.

Inka Settlement Patterns on the Island of the Sun

Recent archaeological research indicates a huge Inka presence on the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. All of the sites mentioned by the early documents have been located, and several dozen other smaller sites were discovered. The settlement system on the Island of the Sun, the larger of the two islands, is the most striking (fig. 9). The Inka may have relocated some people from existing settlements on the Island of the Sun to the mainland, and most likely imported mitimaes from across the empire, as described in the early historical documents, to repopulate it.

The Inka roads on the island were built on earlier trails that had crossed the island for millennia. The Inka were adept at formalizing earlier road systems throughout the Andes, and they did the same on the Island of the Sun. There were two principal roads that led from the southern side of the island to the Titikala area. The first begins in the Yumani area and leads north on the high ground on the west side of the island past Apachinacapata. It continues on the high ridge past some small platforms and then descends down to the Titikala area. The second road also begins in the Yumani area and continues on the east side to Apachinacapata as well. This road then descends down past the Challa Bay and follows the east side of the island past Challapampa and Kasapata, and finally the Titikala area. Inka sites are located along these roads and were constructed in part to service and/or have access to them.

One of the most striking characteristics of the Inka settlement pattern is the plethora of small sites. On the Island of the Sun, more than sixty of the sites were less than one hectare, while the largest habitation site was only a few hectares in size. This settlement distribution is characteristic of an imperial control strategy: a generally bimodal distribution of a few moderately sized administrative sites with a large number of small villages and hamlets. A similar Inka settlement pattern has also been documented on the mainland in the Juli-Pomata region (Stanish et al. 1997).

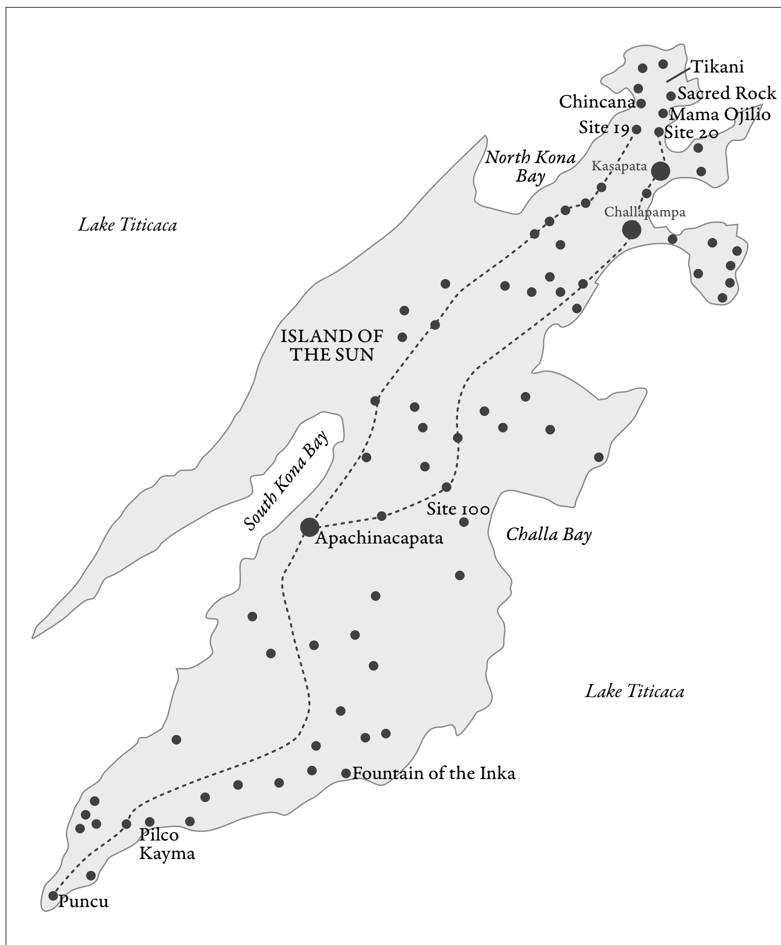


FIG. 9 Inka settlement pattern on the Island of the Sun

Apart from the lack of large administrative centers like those on the mainland such as Hatuncolla and Chucuito, it is significant that the Inka state utilized the same strategy on both the island and the mainland, scattering the bulk of the population into small settlements. Alongside these small settlements were a few larger ones that also functioned as minor administrative sites. One plausible hypothesis is that the native populations of the island were scattered into these small hamlets, while the state-dependent groups, particularly the mitimaes, were concentrated into the larger settlements. This proposition, of course, remains to be tested.

It is important to note that almost all nonritual sites on the island were located in optimal agricultural or fishing areas.[6] This settlement choice suggests that the island itself was converted into an economically productive area designed to provision the ritual specialists that were housed at the shine complex. In other words, the Island of the Sun was indeed a major ritual and pilgrimage center, but the settlement data indicate the Inka organized the populations to provide for the island's subsistence. It seems

that many of the goods that sustained the people on the island, including the priests, Mamacona (female attendants), and other ritual specialists, were produced on the island.

There are three important exceptions to this pattern of economic optimization. On the southern side of the island in the natural "bowl" or small valley above the Fountain of the Inka there is a large concentration of agricultural terraces. Unlike other parts of the island, there are no Inka hamlets or villages on, or between, the terraces. The habitation sites were located on either side of the valley to the east and west, where they were concentrated in great numbers along with less formal agricultural terraces. This kind of clustering of fields and settlements is the typical pattern for the Titicaca Basin in the Inka period: a set of agricultural fields and a series of sites that housed the peasant population that worked those fields (Stanish et al. 1997). The unusual settlement pattern in and around the Fountain of the Inka demands explanation.

We explain this distribution as a function of ritual settlement determinants. That is, the Inka state forced populations to live away from this particular valley for ritual and/or aesthetic reasons. There is a large stone stairway that ascends from the lake edge up to the Yumani community. The entire valley section would have been built with beautiful terraces, perhaps housing gardens of special maize or other plants. The peasantry who worked these fields may have been forbidden to live in the valley itself.

The second area that does not conform to the optimal pattern of agricultural land use is the western part of the island. Along the lower portions of the hillside there are large terraces without any evidence of habitation sites; this possibly was an area used to grow special crops. The climate in this area is distinct due to the strong sunlight and a topography that protects the terraced areas from wind. These features create a warmer environment that could have been used to grow non-altiplano crops.

The third area that has substantial human settlement without any appreciable agricultural sustaining land is, of course, the Titikala area. A number of sites discovered in the northern section of the island are not associated with good agricultural land. Most of these are small sites located adjacent to the sanctuary area. Further north, away from the ritual area, are several small sites on the Tikani Peninsula. These are associated with modest terracing and probably housed farmers who cultivated maize and other crops for the use and maintenance of the sanctuary's religious specialists. Therefore, the Titikala area proper was not an agricultural zone and the settlement determinants in this region were largely ritual.

Our survey work on the island also identified an unusual cluster of settlements and agricultural features in the southern Kona Bay, which

deserves description. This cluster is composed of a major Inka site characterized by a walled platform, which contains several niches. The site is located between two *quebradas* (ravines). Each quebrada was canalized with water diversion walls. These walls narrowed and formed the neck of a larger, oval depression located at the base of the pampa. This depression most likely functioned as a tank or reservoir. Below the tank are a series of relict raised fields. These fields do not cover an extensive area (a few hectares at most) but were used to intensively grow agricultural produce.

Finally we note that the number of sites and the total size of the habitation area during the Inka period is extremely high relative to the earlier periods, and this increase cannot be accounted for by natural population growth alone. Even accounting for some minor methodological problems, there is little doubt that people were brought into the area from elsewhere. In the case of the Island of the Sun, documentary evidence indicates that the Inka imported colonists from the mainland and elsewhere in the empire. The archaeological evidence supports these historical data.

The Antiquity of the Pilgrimage Center

One of the most fundamental questions that we addressed in our archaeological research on the Islands of the Sun and Moon concerns the antiquity of the shrine complex. The question can be framed as: did the Inka create a shrine *de novo* or did the empire appropriate an already existing ritual complex? To answer this question we must examine the pre-Inka remains on the island.

THE ALTIPLANO PERIOD SETTLEMENTS OF THE ISLANDS (AD 1100–1450)

The time immediately prior to Inka expansion in the Titicaca Basin is referred to as the Altiplano or Late Intermediate period (Hyslop n.d.; Lumbreras 1974; Stanish et al. 1997). It is defined as the time after the collapse of the Tiwanaku state (ca. AD 1100) and prior to the control of the area by the Inka (ca. AD 1450). The fall of the Tiwanaku polity led to an era of conflict in the Titicaca Basin. During this period, the former political organization shifted from a centralized state to a series of smaller entities, and the region witnessed the development of the Aymara polities (*señoríos*).

By far, the two largest polities of the lake region during the Altiplano period were the Lupaqa and the Colla. The Lupaqa capital was at the town of Chucuito, on the Peruvian side of the lake. They controlled territories as far south as the Desaguadero River, and possibly even further. To the north, they controlled the Puno Bay, and possibly up to the town of Paucarcolla. The Colla were located in the northwestern and northern basins. Their capital was Hatuncolla, near Sillustani. Their territory abutted the Lupaqa to the south, and extended north well away from the lake region.

Cieza de León suggests that the Island of the Sun was conquered by either the Lupaqa or the Colla. But he is ambiguous about which group conquered the islands. In the same section of his book, however, Cieza de León relates that there was subsequent fighting with the Canas and Canchi, and then the famous meeting of Viracocha Inka with the Lupaqa king in Chucuito (Cieza 1976: 232–235 [1554: pt. 2, chap. 52]). If we take the sequence of events as generally chronologically correct, then the Island of the Sun could have been conquered by either polity. However, if we assume that the death of the Colla paramount at the hands of the Lupaqa at Paucarcolla meant that the Colla lost regional influence, then it would be likely that the Island of the Sun would have fallen under Lupaqa control.

The evidence that the island was part of the Lupaqa polity immediately prior to the conquest of the area by the Inka is indirect at best, but it is compelling. In the first instance, the island is located close to the core Lupaqa territory. The pottery diagnostics on the island fit into the general southern tradition of the Titicaca Basin as a whole. These pottery styles are typical of Lupaqa area sites along the southwest side of the lake (Stanish et. al 1997). Furthermore, the Inka may have continued the tradition of Lupaqa presence in the Copacabana area by sending representatives of the Lupaqa within their mitimae program (Diez de San Miguel 1964 [1567]: 81; Ramos Gavilán 1988: 84–85 [1621: chap. 20]).

The settlement pattern of the Island of the Sun during the Altiplano period indicates a population size substantially lower than that of the Inka period and only marginally higher or equal to the earlier Tiwanaku period. These data conform to the general patterns of the region as a whole (cf. Stanish et al. 1997; Stanish 1997). Average site sizes reverted to pre-Tiwanaku levels as well, also typical of the region. Sites were scattered over the island, clustering in the richest agricultural areas such as the Challa Bay and the Kalabaya Peninsula (fig. 10).

During the Altiplano period in the Titicaca Basin, people built fortified sites called *pukaras*. On the Island of the Sun, there was one major fortified site (Kurupata) that had been occupied since pre-Tiwanaku times. This hilltop site, still called a pukara today, is surrounded by a fortification wall. During the Altiplano period, this site was most likely used as the principal fortified site on the Island of the Sun.

The status of the Sacred Rock area during the Altiplano period remains ambiguous. Settlement in the northern Titikala area (the entire part of the island in the sanctuary area) was reduced to only a few sites. The sites are not large and there is no evidence for any special constructions or elite/ceremonial artifacts. Excavations adjacent to the Sacred Rock itself indicate only an Inka occupation. There is no evidence of a special ritual site, nor is there any evidence that the Tiwanaku site of Chucaripupata

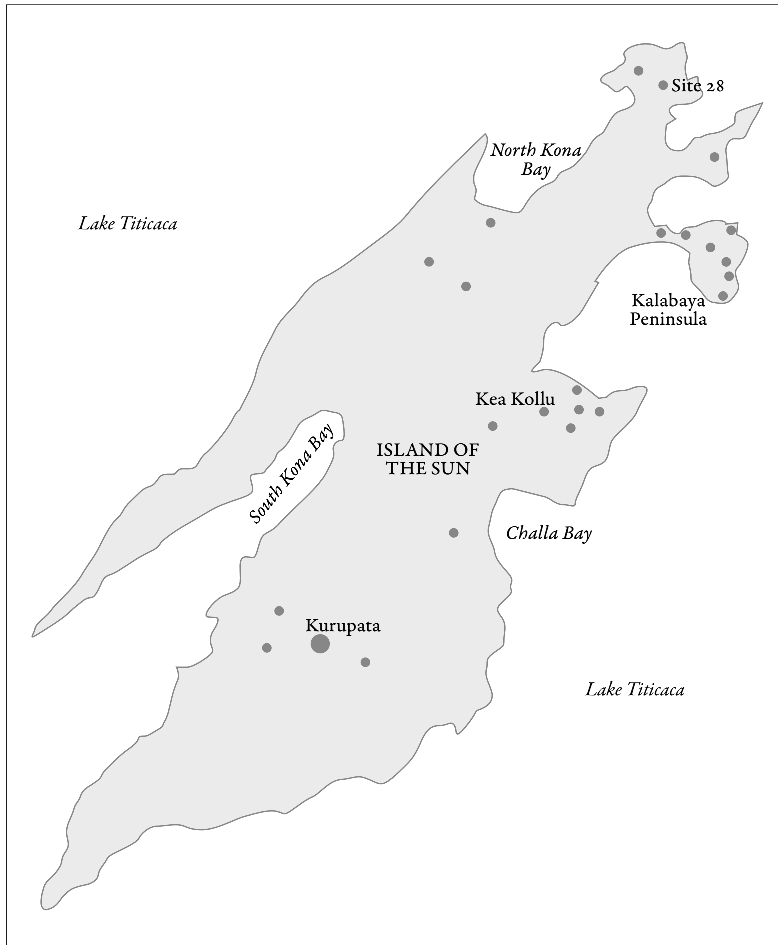


FIG. 10 The Altiplano-period settlements of the Island of the Sun

continued to be occupied in the Altiplano period in the entire Titikala area. In short, there is no evidence of a regional shrine during this period.

It is nevertheless significant that people continued to live in this agriculturally poor but ritually rich area. The main Altiplano-period occupation in the Titikala area is Site 28, a moderately sized settlement in the region. This site has no evidence of corporate or ritual architecture, but is located in an area that is not economically rich. Likewise, documentary evidence suggests that there was a shrine at the time of Inka conquest. Finally, the fact that the shrine was appropriated by the Inka also implies continuity from the Tiwanaku period. The settlement, excavation, and historical data therefore suggest that the Sacred Rock area was a local huaca of the Altiplano-period polity on the island. In other words, this would have been a pattern of shrine worship in the absence of large-scale political authority. While there is little doubt that a regional shrine did not exist, the question as to whether there was a local shrine remains open.

THE TIWANAKU OCCUPATION: THE FIRST PILGRIMAGE CENTER

Sometime in the middle of the first millennium AD, the peoples of Tiwanaku began to expand from their homeland in the Tiwanaku Valley to create the first indigenous state of the Andean altiplano. At its height, Tiwanaku would control a large territory throughout the Titicaca Basin. The Islands of the Sun and Moon were one of the first areas to be controlled by this expanding polity around the sixth or seventh century AD (Seddon n.d., 2004).

Evidence of Tiwanaku occupation on the Islands of the Sun and Moon was found more than one hundred years ago. In 1895 Bandelier recovered a number of Tiwanaku pottery vessels from the islands and the nearby mainland. He also recovered various Tiwanaku gold and silver objects. Likewise, work by Johan Reinhard and associates discovered Tiwanaku pottery and metal objects off the island of Koa (Ponce Sanginés et al. 1992; Reinhard 1992a, b).

Our survey and excavation work provides additional information on the Tiwanaku occupations on the Islands of the Sun and Moon. The survey located twenty-eight Tiwanaku sites on the Island of the Sun, and two on the Island of the Moon. The total number of sites decreased from the earlier period, but the mean site size of the Tiwanaku settlements was larger, averaging over one hectare. Tiwanaku continued the process of settlement nucleation that began in the previous period and reached the highest average site size in the history of the Island.

The survey data make it clear that the islands were a fundamental part of the Tiwanaku polity, and we interpret them to indicate that the island was incorporated into the Tiwanaku state around AD 600. Two sites emerged as the principal settlements on the Island of the Sun during this period: Chucaripupata and Wakuyu. The site of Wakuyu has no remaining architecture. However, several observations suggest that Wakuyu was a major site with elaborate architecture. The site is located on a low hill, surrounded by terraces. The terraces have a high density of pottery on the surface, indicating that they were domestic terraces and were used at one point as floor surfaces for houses. Since excavations in other Tiwanaku sites have revealed wall enclosures and a small sunken court in similar flat areas, we believe that this site may also contain elaborate structures beneath the modern ground surface (Stanish et al. 1997). Alberto Perrin Pando (1957) excavated at the site and discovered several Classic Tiwanaku pottery vessels. He also noted that the hill was artificial, and he discovered at least one major wall at the site.

The site of Chucaripupata is about the same size as Wakuyu and there is also no evidence of corporate architecture on the surface. However, excavations by Matthew Seddon indicate that there were indeed substantial architectural constructions at the site. He discovered a series of large

FIG. 11 Tiwanaku settlement pattern on the Island of the Sun

walls, domestic areas, and terraces. Furthermore, Seddon's excavations recovered a large number of elite ceramic vessels not typical of simple village sites (Seddon n.d., 2004). In short, there were at least two major Tiwanaku settlements on the Island of the Sun, one located near the richest economic area, the Challa Bay, and the second located near the Sacred Rock.

Settlement and excavation evidence suggests that the Sacred Rock area was first utilized in a systematic manner as a pilgrimage destination by the Tiwanaku state. The survey data, as seen in figure 11, reveal several Tiwanaku sites in a line along a road between Apachinacapata and Chucaripupata. The two-meter-wide road begins at least at Apachinacapata, continues along the ridge above Challa and Kasapata, and drops down to the site of Chucaripupata within the sanctuary area. This pattern constitutes the first evidence for any kind of formalized pilgrimage route from the historically known landing place in the south of the island to the sanctuary in the north. Curiously, there is no line of Tiwanaku sites

along the low, eastern side of the island where the Inka road and a series of Inka settlements were constructed much later.

It is during the Tiwanaku period that we see the first construction of a major site with corporate construction in the Titikala area. This, of course, is the site of Chucaripupata. It is also significant that the population of the northern end of the island increased along with a simultaneous aggregation of population into Chucaripupata. In the Tiwanaku period, therefore, there were two principal population centers on the Island of the Sun. One can be interpreted as the political and economic center, located in the Challa area. Chucaripupata, in contrast, is best interpreted as the focus of political and religious ritual (Seddon 2004).

Survey and excavation work on the Island of the Moon indicate that its ceremonial center, the temple site of Iñak Uyu, was occupied in the Tiwanaku period as well (Bauer, Covey, and Terry 2004). At this site, there is solid evidence of a major Tiwanaku occupation lying beneath the Inka complex. The fact that substantial numbers of ritually significant objects dating to the Tiwanaku period (for example, *incensarios*, finely made queros [drinking vessels], and gold and silver objects) were recovered at Iñak Uyu supports the hypothesis that a ritual pilgrimage complex was established on the islands by the Tiwanaku state.

In summary, the Islands of the Sun and Moon were incorporated into the Tiwanaku state around the middle of the first millennium AD. The first formalized pilgrimage route to the Titicala area was created at the same time that control of the islands was established. Prior to this time, the Sacred Rock area and the Island of the Moon may have been important local huacas, but there is no evidence of a pan-regional significance. In the Tiwanaku period, a ritual complex, complete with major architectural constructions and possible attendant populations, was established on both the islands. The incorporation of the Islands of the Sun and the Moon, and the creation of a pilgrimage route, would have been an integral part of the process of Tiwanaku imperialism as it expanded throughout the Titicaca region and beyond.

Shrine Worship and Regional Control in the Inka Empire

We take a modified Durkheimian perspective to understand the religious complex in the southern Titicaca Basin. The shrines of the Islands of the Sun and Moon were maintained by the Inka state to impart a sense of legitimacy to their rule in Collasuyu in particular, and throughout the empire in general. The overriding purpose of the complex was to impart a sense of political legitimacy in their control of the region. By controlling the Islands of the Sun and the Moon, the Inka were able to compete successfully with local elites, specifically the Lupaqa nobility, for ideological hegemony in the region. At the same time, they converted the islands

into a great pilgrimage center that profoundly affected their attempts to create and exert control over the ideology of the conquered provinces throughout their empire.

There is a tendency in contemporary scholarship to downplay the role of hierarchies, or at the very least, to inflate the role of nonelite in various forms of resistance to state authority. There is no question that commoner populations can successfully resist elite hegemony, particularly ideological hegemony in state and imperial contexts. That resistance often takes its most successful form as "unofficial" or "illegal" religions. We recognize that such resistance took place in the Inka state, alongside that of overt political resistance to state control. However, we locate that ideological resistance to state control not in the pan-regional pilgrimage centers under the control of the state, but rather in the local huacas and shrines maintained by nonelite populations under Inka authority.

The later Spanish Catholic domination provides a useful analogy. Overt resistance to Spanish ideology did not take place in the large Jesuit or Dominican urban centers, but in the countryside where people continued to worship "pagan" shrines. The extirpation of idolatry by Spanish religious authorities, backed by the power of the state, did not concentrate on large cities as much as it focused on rural and semirural communities where such practices persisted. The most significant resistance to ideological hegemony was not concentrated in the large centers like Lima, Cusco, or even Copacabana, but rather in the rural countryside where unofficial religious ideological practices continued to be practiced.

We reject a Turnerian perspective that sees pilgrimage centers as counter-hegemonic phenomena. Rather, the Island of the Sun and its sister shrine, the Island of the Moon, were state constructions designed and perpetuated to maintain state ideological and political control. The Inka appropriated a ritual center of earlier cultures, and they expanded and elaborated it on a scale previously unseen in Titicaca Basin history. In other words, a religious center was not only taken over but it was turned into a pan-Andean center of unprecedented scale and importance.

This pan-Andean aspect represents a level achieved by the Inka that the Tiwanaku state and its immediate successors did not, and could not attempt. At the time of the European invasion, the Islands of the Sun and Moon were ritually and politically significant not only for the Aymara-speakers of the Titicaca Basin, but for all the peoples of the Inka Empire. The Inka converted what was a regional shrine into an imperial pilgrimage destination. A shrine of significance to an earlier and smaller state (Tiwanaku) and later a conflict-ridden local polity (the Lupaqa), it was converted into the birthplace of the cosmos and origin of the founding lineage of Tawantinsuyu. In this master stroke, the Inka intellectuals not only co-opted a shrine of regional importance in what was arguably their

richest highland province, Collasuyu, but converted it into a center that sanctified the very founding and existence of their state in Cusco.

The shrine complex on the Islands of the Sun and the Moon was a fundamental element of the expansion process of the Inka Empire as it incorporated the heartland of Collasuyu. As such, the journey to the islands served both overt and covert political ends. The pilgrimage complex was also of profound religious significance to the thousands of people that visited each year. During Inka times, and most likely in the earlier Tiwanaku period, these islands were the final destination point of pilgrims on a religious journey. Although this journey was through an Andean landscape, many aspects of the trip mirrored elements of pilgrimages worldwide. This ritualized movement from the ordinary to the divine is especially clear in the pilgrim's progress to the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. It was a structured passage through a series of gates, ports, and landings of greater and greater sanctity. The pilgrims entered the Copacabana Peninsula through the guarded Yunguyu gates and spent several days journeying across mitimae-controlled lands to the port of Yampupata. After traveling by boat to the southeast tip of the Island of the Sun, they traveled on foot to the sanctuary area at its northwest end. The fact that the pilgrimage destinations were islands served to physically, and perhaps spiritually, separate them from the mainland. In this sense, the use of an island as a pilgrimage destination provided a clear separation between the most sacred and the less sacred, with the act of crossing the lake mediating this divide.

The pilgrims approached the area of the Sacred Rock by passing through one or more doorways, where they handed their offerings to the resident priests. It is not by chance that the final destination of the pilgrims was on the point of land furthest from the mainland at the northwest end of the island. Like many pilgrimage centers of the world, the sanctuary was situated in a remote location that served to emphasize its other-worldliness. A trip to the island sanctuary was to leave behind the recognizable shores of the mainland, and the ordinary, and journey to the point of cosmic origins.

Travel through the sacred landscape of Copacabana and the islands was not casual or incidental, but it reflected a regulated set of movements that stressed the special nature of the journey. Pilgrims gave confessions and abstained from certain foods as they passed though the various entrances, thereby physically and spiritually cleansing themselves. As the pilgrims trekked across the Copacabana region, they were supervised and monitored by the priests and attendants of the shrines. Through the tightly controlled access to the Copacabana area and the preparatory rites that the visitors underwent, the pilgrim's journey was transformed beyond simple travel and became a ritual itself (Coleman and Elsner 1995: 25).

Furthermore, by controlling access to the region and the sanctuaries, and by dictating the manner in which the pilgrims passed through each of the various entrances, the state was able to impose its own ideological character on the shrines. By imposing conformity on the ritual actions of the pilgrims, the state constrained, if not largely determined, the visitors' experiences at the shrines (Eade and Sallnow 1991: 11).

The Inka state was heavily invested in the maintenance of the island sanctuaries. The Inkas performed a number of annual rites, including the December and June solstice rituals, on the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. They presented a wide range of offerings, from maize beer (*chicha*) to children, to the Sacred Rock. The Inka removed the existing population of the islands and the surrounding mainland, replacing them with as many as 2,000 colonists from across the empire. They also established groups of elite women on the islands whose role was to serve the sanctuaries. Furthermore, they built a number of state facilities on the mainland and the islands, including temples, storehouses, specialized housing for the attendants, and lodging for pilgrims.

The Sacred Rock and the surrounding sanctuary were extensively modified by the Inka state. The convex side of the rock held an elaborate metal altar and a stone offering place, while the opposite side was covered with fine textiles produced by the servants of the state. A plaza area was built in front of the rock and a series of state structures were constructed in the sanctuary. With each of these additions the state altered the contents of the sanctuary area and asserted its authority. Likewise, the trip to the rock was also controlled and shaped by the state. Pilgrims were granted permission to enter the Copacabana area by official guards, and once inside they were fed and clothed from state warehouses and housed in state hostels. Although the pilgrims traveled through a sacred landscape, the panorama, both physical and ideological, was filled with symbols of the state. The powers of the state and those of the sacred locations, points of intense religious devotion, became intermixed and inseparable.

Notes

1 Among the many descriptions of Pachacamac are: Hernando Pizarro (1959: 82–83 [1553]); Pedro Cieza de León (1976: 334–337 [1554: pt. 1, chap. 72]); Hernando de Santillan (1950: 58–59 [1563]); Pedro Pizarro (1921: 244 [1571]); Cristobal de Albornoz (1984: 214 [ca. 1582]); Miguel Cabello Valboa (1951: 338 [1586]); and the Huarochirí manuscript (1991 [ca. 1608]).

2 In some early records, Lake Titicaca is called "Lake of Chucuito," after the capital of the nearby Lupaqa kingdom.

3 See Meiklejohn (1988) for a discussion of the relationship between the Church and the Lupaqa peoples in the colonial period.

4 Because Cobo incorporated a number of different sources into his chronicle, including those of Cieza de León and Ramos Gavilán, the work is at times contradictory. This is certainly the case for his accounts of the Inka conquest of the Lake Titicaca region and his descriptions of the Island of the Sun.

5 A pillco or pillku bird is described by González Holguín (1989: 285 [1608]): "Apillco ppichu. Un pájaro de los Andes colorado preciado por las plumas [A colorful Andean bird prized for its feathers]."

6 There is a similar pattern on the mainland as evidenced by the settlement data from the Juli-Pomata survey (Stanish et al. 1997).

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