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The Polish Society for Latin American Studies

2023

Pärssinen, M & Korpisaari, A 2023, 'Ideological and Cultural Continuities between the Ancient Tiwanaku and the Inca Empire', *Estudios Latinoamericanos*, vol. 43, pp. 165-199.

<http://hdl.handle.net/10138/589937>

publishedVersion

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Ideological and Cultural Continuities between the Ancient Tiwanaku and the Inca Empire

Martti Pärssinen and Antti Korpisaari

Abstract:

The extent to which the Inca empire was built on knowledge, experiences, and ideology inherited from one or both of its Middle Horizon predecessors – the Tiwanaku and the Wari states – is a long-debated topic in Andean studies. In this article, we review the relevant discussions regarding ceramics, architectural styles, iconographical patterns, radiocarbon dating, and historical sources. We then proceed to discuss the new insights, especially into the Tiwanaku-Inca continuity issue, that our own archaeological research in the Lake Titicaca area offers. On the one hand, even though the Tiwanaku state probably collapsed around AD 1000, its legacy continued in ceramic iconography until the 13th century AD in the Lake Titicaca area, in northern Chile, and in southern Peru, probably indicating some ideological continuity as well. On the other hand, even though the traditional chronology of the Inca expansion, established by John H. Rowe, argues for a very late expansion into the southern part of the empire (that is, for expansion after AD 1471), mounting radiocarbon (and thermoluminescence) evidence firmly indicates that Inca-style ceramics and architecture were already present in the Lake Titicaca area in the 14th century AD. Even though many kinds of changes undoubtedly occurred, especially ca. AD 1250–1350, iconographical and ideological continuity, as well as a trajectory of similar architectural developments, can be established from the Tiwanaku to the Inca in the Lake Titicaca area (and probably also in southern Peru, northern Chile, and northwestern Argentina). Thus, our results challenge the dominant Cuzco-centered view of the early political and ideological development of the Inca empire.

Keywords: *The Inca; Tiwanaku; Origin myths; Lake Titicaca; Ceramic style; Architectural style; Ideological continuity; Cultural continuity.*


Resumen:

CONTINUIDADES IDEOLÓGICAS Y CULTURALES ENTRE EL ANTIGUO TIWANAKU Y EL IMPERIO INCA

El grado en que el Imperio Inca se construyó sobre el conocimiento, las experiencias y la ideología heredados de uno o ambos de sus predecesores del Horizonte Medio, los estados Tiwanaku y Wari, es un tema largamente debatido en los estudios andinos. En este artículo, revisamos las discusiones relevantes sobre cerámica, estilos arquitectónicos, patrones iconográficos, datación por radiocarbono y fuentes históricas. Luego procedemos a discutir las nuevas perspectivas, especialmente sobre el tema de la continuidad Ti-

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wanaku-Inca, que ofrece nuestra propia investigación arqueológica en el área del Lago Titicaca. Por un lado, aunque el estado Tiwanaku probablemente colapsó alrededor del año 1000 d.C., su legado continuó en la iconografía cerámica hasta el siglo XIII d.C. en el área del Lago Titicaca, en el norte de Chile y en el sur de Perú, probablemente indicando también cierta continuidad ideológica. Por otro lado, aunque la cronología tradicional de la expansión inca, establecida por John H. Rowe, argumenta una expansión muy tardía hacia la parte sur del Imperio (es decir, después del año 1471 d.C.), la creciente evidencia de radiocarbono (y termoluminiscencia) indica firmemente que la cerámica y la arquitectura de estilo inca ya estaban presentes en el área del Lago Titicaca en el siglo XIV d.C. Aunque indudablemente ocurrieron muchos tipos de cambios, especialmente alrededor de los años 1250–1350 d.C., se puede establecer una continuidad iconográfica e ideológica, así como una trayectoria de desarrollos arquitectónicos similares, desde Tiwanaku hasta los incas en el área del Lago Titicaca (y probablemente también en el sur de Perú, el norte de Chile y el noroeste de Argentina). Por lo tanto, nuestros resultados desafían la visión dominante centrada en Cuzco sobre el desarrollo político e ideológico temprano del Imperio Inca.

Palabras clave: Los Incas; Tiwanaku; Mitos de origen; Lago Titicaca; Estilo cerámico; Estilo arquitectónico; Continuidad ideológica; Continuidad cultural.

Introduction

The Tiwanaku state was one of the most important pre-Inca polities of the Central Andes (together with its Middle Horizon contemporary, the Wari state). The heartland of the Tiwanaku state was situated in the southern Lake Titicaca basin in present-day Bolivia at an altitude of over 3,800 m asl. The construction of the monumental religious and administrative core of Tiwanaku began around AD 400/500, and the city reached its maximum extent toward the end of the first millennium AD (Janusek 2004, 2008; Kolata 1993, 2003; Ponce 1981; Vranich and Stanish 2013). Around AD 600, the people of Tiwanaku began to acquire more and more direct control over their immediate neighbors (Janusek 2008; Janusek and Kolata 2003; Pärssinen 2005; Stanish 2003) and also started establishing colonies in some lower-elevation valley settings suitable for growing maize and coca, among other crops (Anderson 2013; Goldstein 2005, 2013). The Tiwanaku state endured for a number of centuries and in so doing left an indelible mark on the cultural history of the South Central Andes. However, around AD 1000 the Tiwanaku state began to experience all kinds of internal and external hardships, which ultimately resulted in its disappearance by AD 1050.

Around or a little after AD 1400, the Incas of Cuzco began their great conquests, rapidly expanding their empire such that on the eve of the Spanish Conquest it spanned from Pasto in present-day southern Columbia in the north to past Santiago de Chile in the south. Furthermore, our research has shown that Inca armies penetrated several hundreds of kilometers east of the Andes, at least as far as the confluence of the Madre de Dios and Beni Rivers (Pärssinen 2018a; Pärssinen *et al.* 2003; Siiriäinen and Pärssinen 2003), and possibly all the way to the Pacaás Novos Mountains in present-day Brazil (Pärssinen 1992, 2015).

The Incas certainly made use of and expanded roads, terraces, and other kinds of infrastructure built in earlier moments of Andean prehistory. However, the extent to which the formation of the Inca empire may also have been influenced by

the survival of political, administrative, and/or religious institutions and patterns of behavior from Middle Horizon times remains an open question. The articles in the recent volume *The Inka Empire* (Shimada 2015), for example, contain several strong, differing views linked to this topic. Bauer and Smit (2015: 70) argue that the success of the Inca state was ultimately due to a 'unique level of regional consolidation that occurred in the Cuzco region between A.D. 1000 and A.D. 1400,' and that 'the settlement pattern data suggest not the rapid influx of a powerful foreign group, but rather continued stability' (Bauer and Smit 2015: 78). Therefore, for Bauer and Smit, the Inca origin myths, which tell that the royal Inca lineage would have originated either south of Cuzco, near the town of Pacaritambo, or farther away in the south, in the southern part of the Lake Titicaca region, are just myths.

Conversely, the linguist Cerrón-Palomino (2012, 2015) argues that the Inca dynasty was founded by a group of Puquina-speakers who would have migrated from the Lake Titicaca region to Cuzco following the disintegration of the Tiwanaku state, perhaps pressured by a drought. Furthermore, Shinoda's (2015: 63) study of ancient DNA indicates that 'the DNA of the Inca people [more specifically, the DNA of dozens of people buried at and in the vicinity of Machu Picchu] resembles that of the population around Lake Titicaca and the adjacent *altiplano*.' Cummins (2002) sees the preeminent role of the *qiru* drinking cup in both cultures as an important link between the Tiwanaku people and the Incas. Yet another recent line of study linked to the question of the Inca origins has revolved around the archaeological investigations carried out by McEwan *et al.* at the Cuzco Valley site of Chokepukio as well as the information contained in the 17th-century chronicle of Fernando de Montesinos. McEwan (2006) argues that an elite Tiwanaku lineage would have usurped power in the Cuzco Valley after the fall of the Wari state. These newcomers from present-day Bolivia would have settled in Chokepukio and 'eventually joined with the immediate neighbors to the northwest at the opposite end of the Valley of Cuzco to become part of the royal Inca line' (McEwan 2006: 66; see also Hiltunen and McEwan 2004; McEwan 2012: 258–259; McEwan *et al.* 2002; on the chronicle of Montesinos more specifically, see Hiltunen 1999; Hyland 2007; Szemiński 2009). Somewhat earlier, researchers such as Szemiński (1995, 2002) and Ponce (1999) had already seen the list of the former Peruvian kings in Montesinos as a reference to the kings of Tiwanaku, and these earlier kings as the direct predecessors of the Inca rulers of Cuzco.

We are not saying that we necessarily agree with the opinions advanced by the scholars mentioned in the preceding paragraph. However, their studies do underline the importance of seriously considering the possibility that the Inca origin myths related to Tiwanaku and/or Lake Titicaca's Island of the Sun contain at least some grains of truth. Indeed, in his article in *The Inka Empire*, Pärssinen (2015; see also Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011; Pärssinen 2005; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1997) presents several lines of evidence which seem to indicate that there really

existed intensive cultural contacts between the southern Lake Titicaca region and the Cuzco Valley in the Late Intermediate Period at least a century prior to the Inca conquest of the first-mentioned area. In the present study, we aim to expand and elaborate on these themes, paying special attention to several key historical sources and the prehistoric pottery recovered in our excavations at the sites of Tiquischullpa (Caquiaviri) and Pariti in the southern Lake Titicaca region of Bolivia, among other pertinent data.

On the Inca Origin Myths

Spanish and indigenous chroniclers recollected various myths of Inca origins. All of them state that the Incas were originally foreigners in Cuzco. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572: 112–113, 117–118, Ch. IX), who collected his information directly from the royal *panacas* and *ayllus* of Cuzco, tells us the following story, translated and condensed by Pärssinen (1992: 179):

Originally there lived three nations or *parcialidades* in Cuzco. The first was called Sauaseras, the second Antasayas and the third Guallas. They lived in Cuzco many centuries before the Incas came into the valley. In the next stage, three foreign *curacas* with their people came into the Cuzco Valley. The first foreign *parcialidad* was called Alcabiza, the second Copalimaita and the third Culumchima. ‘And so these six *parcialidades* came to live a long time in peace, three natives and three newcomers.’ ... During the last epoch, three other foreign groups came to Cuzco. They came from Pacaritambo, where they had appeared from three windows. The first of these groups was called Maras, and according to the myth, they appeared from the window called Maras-toco. The second group was called Tambos, and they appeared from the window called Sútic-toco. The last group was composed of Manco Capac, the first Inca, and of his brothers and sisters. They appeared from the central window which was called Cápac-toco [Cápac = rich, principal, royal].

From other sources we know, for example, that the Sauaseras (the first indigenous group of the first epoch) belonged to the *ayllu* of Sútic-toco (the second group of the third epoch), and that the Alcabizas (the first group of the third epoch) were considered to be descendants ‘of a brother of Manco Capac’ called Ayar Uchu (a member of the third group of the third epoch), and so on (Rowe 1985a: Table 2; Toledo 1570–1572: 186–187). These facts demonstrate that the origin myth copied by Sarmiento was not historically accurate but was created in order to justify certain aspects of the sociopolitical organization of Cuzco. Even so, the myth clarifies several issues concerning the ethnic groups of Cuzco, their possible origin, and the later internal re-organization of the Inca capital.

It is also noteworthy that this myth, as it was collected by Sarmiento, follows the same tripartite model (Qullana–Payan–Qayaw)¹ as the famous *ceque* list of

¹ The Incas used three basic terms to express the tripartite hierarchical division: *Qullana* (excellent, the first), *Payan* (the second, the midmost), and *Qayaw* (the last) (Rowe 1985a: 40–43, 1985b: 195;

Cuzco, which was based on the *kipus* and was later copied by Cobo. We believe that Sarmiento's text is also based on *kipu* texts. Hence, it is possible that the use of *kipus* would have systematized the expression of this myth; at the same time we may argue that the *kipu* texts are the best way to understand the classificatory system of the Incas, as this record-keeping system was based in classificatory logic (see also Murra 1975: 243–254; Urton 2003).

	<i>Qullana</i>	<i>Payan</i>	<i>Qayaw</i>
<div style="display: flex; align-items: center;"> <div style="border-left: 2px solid black; height: 100px; margin-right: 5px;"></div> <div style="writing-mode: vertical-rl; transform: rotate(180deg); font-weight: bold; font-size: 1.2em;">t i m e</div> </div>	I QULLANA first epoch	1 Sauaseras	2 Antasayas
	II PAYAN second epoch	1 Alcabiza	2 Copalimaita
	III QAYAW third epoch	1 Maras-toco/ Maras	3 Sútic-toco/ Tambos Capac-toco/ Incas

Figure 1: Schematic table showing the structure of the Inca origin myth as described by Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572).

Figure 1 shows the numeric structure of the myth under discussion, which demonstrates the peculiarity of the system: From the perspective of mythic time, the royal Incas (Group III: 3) were the last group (*Qayaw*) that conquered Cuzco, but from the perspective of prestige, the Inca conquerors were, without a doubt, the first group (*Qullana*). This same phenomenon was identified by Rowe and Zuidema both in the genealogy and the kinship system of the Incas. According to Rowe (1985a: 42), the closest relatives of the Inca ruler, that is, his father and brothers, were called *Qayaw*; the grandfather and his descendants were called *Payan*, and the great grandfather and his descendants were called *Qullana*. However, in matters of prestige, the positions were inverted: The Inca and his father became *Qullana*, the grandfather and his descendants remained *Payan*, and the great grandfather and his descendants were now called *Qayaw* (Rowe 1985a: 40–60; see also Zuidema 1977: 267). In other words, the myth collected by Sarmiento seems to explain, although in a peculiar way, the prestige hierarchy of several of the subgroups that lived in Cuzco (Pärssinen 1992: 179–181).

The myth seems to demonstrate that, at the time of the formation of Tawantinsuyu, Cuzco was a kind of confederation of different ethnic groups. Some

Wachtel 1977: 77–78; Zuidema 1962: 42, 1977: 266–269).

of these groups were indigenous to the area, and the rest of them migrated to the area later. The Incas were not among the indigenous peoples; in fact, they were said to have been the last group to arrive in Cuzco, even though they were the most powerful group there.

Various other myths deal specifically with the Inca elite. Some of these repeat that the Incas appeared in Pacaritambo (see Urton 1990), but some chroniclers write that instead of Pacaritambo, the Incas appeared in Tiwanaku or on an island in Lake Titicaca.

As Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse (1988), and Sherbondy (1992: 46–66), among others, have shown, the site of Tiwanaku and the Lake Titicaca area played a central role in Cuzqueño ideology. According to the information collected by Betanzos (1557: 11–13, Chs. 1–2), the creator Contiti Viracocha was said to have emerged from Lake Collasuyu (Titicaca), accompanied by a certain number of people, to later create the Sun, the Moon, and the stars, as well as a new generation of people and ‘a leader [*un principal*] to govern them,’ in Tiwanaku. On the other hand, Molina tells the following story (1575: 4–7; see also Sherbondy 1992: 56):

There in Tiahuanaco, the Creator began to make the people and nations that are in this land. He made each nation out of clay [and] painted on them the costumes and clothes that each one was to have. ... Continuing the above fable, they say that during those times the Creator was in Tiahuanaco. They say that because it was his principal seat... They say that it was night and that he made the Sun, Moon, and Stars there [i.e., at Tiahuanaco]. And that he ordered the Sun, Moon, and Stars to go to the Island of Titicaca, which is nearby, and that from there they should rise to the heavens... Then, at that very instant, Manco Capac and his brothers and sisters, by order of the Creator, descended into the earth and they emerged from the cave of Pacaritambo, from where they claimed to originate, although they say that other nations [also] emerged from that cave. They emerged at dawn, on the first day after the Creator had divided the night from the day. Hence from then onward they retained the surname “Children of the Sun” to call themselves, and worshipped and revered the [Sun] as [their] father.

There are other similar versions of this myth describing the creation of the world in Lake Titicaca and in Tiwanaku (see the summary in Bandelier 1904: 197–239, 1910: 293–340), and it is important to note that the Incas tried to combine the myth of Tambotoco of Pacaritambo – as the place of origin of Manco Capac – with the myths of Tiwanaku. As Guaman Poma (1615a: 85) wrote, “They say that they came from Lake Titicaca and from Tiahuanaco and that they entered into Tambotoco. From there eight brothers and sisters, Incas, came out.” In a very similar manner, Cobo (1653a: 103–105, Book XII, Ch. III) explains the same series of creations. The first creation happened in Tiwanaku or on the Island of Lake Titicaca, and the final creation happened in Pacaritambo:

The first one [fable] goes this way: From Lake Titicaca up to Pacarictambo, a place seven leagues from Cuzco [southeast], there came certain Indians called Incas, men of prudence and valor, dressed in clothing very different from that used by those of the Cuzco region... Another foolish tale is that when the Creator of the world (who has two names in their language, which are Ticciviracocha and Pachayachachic) made all things in Tiaguanaco, where they pretend that he resided, he ordered the Sun, Moon, and Stars to go to the Island of Titicaca, which is located in the lake of this same name, and that from there they should go up to the sky. When the Sun was ready to leave in the form of a brightly shining man, he called the Incas, and the Sun himself spoke like an older brother to Manco Capac in the following way: "You and your descendants will subjugate many lands and peoples, and you will be great rulers. Always regard me as your father, and pride yourselves on being my sons, without ever forgetting to venerate me as such." And after he finished saying this, the Sun gave Manco Capac the royal insignia that he and his successors used from then on. And then the Sun went up to the sky with the Moon and Stars, where each one assumed its habitual place. And at once, by order of the Creator, the Inca brothers made their way beneath the earth and emerged at the cave of Pacarictampu.

According to Guaman Poma (1615b: 79–80), the Incas had two sets of symbols similar to European coats of arms. The first of these displayed: 1) the Sun, 2) the Moon, 3) *Chuqui Illa Villca* (a thunder deity associated with Venus; see Ziółkowski 1997: 231), and 4) symbols of the Inca creation in Tambotoco. These were the symbols of the Incas who originated in Pacaritambo, and this symbolic complex meant that the Inca ruler was considered the son of the Sun (his father) and the Moon (his mother), and that Venus was considered his brother (and, in some other contexts, his son; see Pärssinen 1992: 181–187). The second Inca coat of arms displayed: 1) a bird, 2) a jaguar and a *chonta* palm, 3) the *masca paycha* (a badge of office that the Inca ruler carried attached to the front of his headdress or helmet), and 4) two large *amaro* snakes. Guaman Poma (1615b: 83–85, cited also in Pärssinen 2015: 277) states that the Incas associated with these symbols originally came from the Lake Titicaca area and Tiwanaku, appeared later in Tambotoco of Pacaritambo, and finally entered Cuzco. The relatives of the Incas who had remained in Collao were called Poquina Collas [Puqina Qullas]. Here our aim is not to analyze the historical value of these statements but to emphasize the ideological connection between Cuzco and the Titicaca area, including Tiwanaku. In Tiwanaku iconography, feline, avian, and snake motifs are among those most frequently represented (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011; Makowski 2002, 2018). Guaman Poma mentions these very same symbols as being associated with the Incas that had come from the Lake Titicaca area. Thus, Guaman Poma's statement is in accordance with our current archaeological knowledge concerning Tiwanaku iconography. At the same time, he confirms the multiple origins of the Inca culture, which also explains the existence of the different versions of the origin myth.

Furthermore, scholars such as Rowe (1967a: 125–131; 1967b: 298–300), Chávez (1976), and Mohr Chávez (1988), among many others, have already alluded

to the existence of an early link between Tiwanaku art and that of the earlier Chiripa and Pukara cultures. For example, Staff God, Rayed Head, and Profile Attendant figures with feline, avian, and snake/fish attributes were already present in Pukara art (Chávez 2004). Even earlier, the snake, the catfish and other fishes, batrachians, and a motif we interpret as representing the *suri* or lesser rhea were featured centrally in the so-called Yaya-Mama iconographical tradition (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: 171). Interestingly, all of these figures and motifs, including the probable *suri* motif (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: Plate 28D), are present in the ceremonial Tiwanaku pottery we found in 2004–2005 on Titicaca's Pariti Island.² Furthermore, it has been demonstrated that the inhabitants of the Lake Titicaca region still worshipped Yaya-Mama idols in the early Colonial period (Bouysse-Cassagne and Bouysse 1988; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011). Consequently, this religious tradition apparently had a very long local duration in the Titicaca area, which helps to explain why some Pariti vessel forms and iconographic motifs differ somewhat from those of the more standardized, traditional Tiwanaku style.

For the Inca ruler, the *amaro* [*amaru*] snake was one of the most important symbols, together with avian and feline motifs. This is confirmed by an anonymous Augustinian priest (1560: 31), who wrote, 'It is said that the Inca had two snakes as [symbols] of the arms, and so I have seen in many tanbos (way stations), especially in Cuzco and Huamachuco.' We also know that the main idol of Inca Cuzco was called *Punchao* [*P'unchaw*]. Following the Spanish conquest, Punchao was transported from Cuzco's main temple, Coricancha, to the town of Vilcapampa. However, during Francisco Toledo's reign, Punchao was captured and sent to Spain. As Duviols (1976: 170–171), Pérez Gollán (1986: 68–69), and Julien (2002: 709–715), among others, describe, this golden idol had the shape of a seated Inca wearing the royal headdress and disc-shaped ear spools, with rays symbolizing those of the sun emanating from the shoulders. This central figure was flanked by two snakes and two pumas, posed as if guarding him.

It seems that this main Inca idol represented some kind of a creator god, incorporating elements of the Sun (Inti), Viracocha-Tunupa, and the Thunder God (Illapa). Curiously, many of the aforementioned elements were not only present in Tiwanaku iconography but also in the preceding Pukara and Chiripa cultures and in the Yaya-Mama religious tradition. This supports our interpretation that the Incas

2 Our team of Finnish and Bolivian archaeologists began to work on the island of Pariti in 2003, and in 2004, we encountered and excavated a ca. 170–180-cm-deep Tiwanaku offering pit filled with the remains of hundreds of intentionally-smashed pottery vessels. The following year, we excavated another offering pit, slightly smaller than the first one. In total, these two features contained the remains of at least 435 ceramic vessels, many of which are of the very highest artistic quality. We have eight radiocarbon dates from Pariti's two offering pits. Run together in OxCal, these give the combined two-sigma date cal AD 980–1025 (X2-Test: df=7, T=29.5(5% 14.1) (see Korpisaari 2018: 226–227; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: 71–72; Korpisaari *et al.* 2012). Consequently, the Pariti ceramic offerings date from around the time of the collapse of the Tiwanaku state and predate the Inca conquest of the Lake Titicaca region by some 400–450 years.

incorporated many aspects of the older traditions of the Lake Titicaca region into their own belief system and religious ideology.

Without a doubt, Lake Titicaca played a very important role in pan-Andean ideology. For this reason it is hardly surprising that the Incas tried to monopolize and justify their imperial rule by alluding to their sacred origins. Hence, it would be a mistake to interpret these myths literally, as actual historical events.³ The Incas surely inherited various cultural aspects from earlier cultures that inhabited the Cuzco area (Bauer 1992a, 1992b; Rowe 1944). However, it would also be a mistake to deny major influences from cultures that inhabited other Andean areas (cf. Bauer and Smit 2015), as the Incas were skilled at adapting new ideas and modifying these for their own use (see also Meyers 2007, 2016). In order to justify their rule, it was appropriate for the Incas to explain that they were the descendants of the Sun and that they had received their power from him, as well as from Viracocha, the creator of the world. Additionally, migrations, pilgrimages, marital alliances, religious and material influences, and other types of contacts between smaller and larger polities have always been common in the Andes.

The Inca Conquest of Pacasa, the Former Tiwanaku Heartland in the Southern Lake Titicaca Region

Regarding the Incas of Hurin Cuzco (the lower of the Inca moieties in Cuzco), we have some local information about Mayta Capac's (the so-called fourth Inca) and Capac Yupanqui's (the fifth Inca) actions far beyond the Cuzco Valley. According to the traditional view, the fourth and fifth Incas (of Hurin Cuzco) would have lived in the first half of the 14th century (e.g., Hiltunen 1999: 405). However, their genealogical position and the historical contexts in which they are mentioned place them in the 15th century AD (Pärssinen 2005: 172–174). Thus, the persons referred to in the local sources in question may only have had the same names as the fourth and fifth Incas or, alternatively, Pachacuti Inca (the so-called ninth Inca; for more details, see Pärssinen 1992: 200–220, 2005: 167–177) may have been their contemporary. The latter explanation would mean that the traditional list of twelve successive Inca kings is not historically trustworthy.

One way or the other, classic chronicles and local historical sources testify that the first Inca ruler of whom we have relatively reliable information is Viracocha Inca (the so-called eighth Inca). He lived in the early 15th century AD and established a chiefdom or small kingdom in Cuzco and the neighboring valleys. We also know that he made a treaty with the Lupaca against the kingdom of the Colla (Pärssinen 2005: 175–177). However, according to the chronology established by Rowe (1945, 1946), still today probably the most cited chronology in the field of Andean studies,

3 As we have known for a long time, even the myth of the so-called Chanca war is without much historical value (Duviols 1979: 363–371; Pärssinen 1992: 80; Zuidema 1962: 137–138; cf. Bauer and Smit 2015: 77).

the Inca conquest did not pass the Desaguadero River before the reign of Topa Inca in the last quarter of the 15th century AD. Nevertheless, local testimonies unknown to Rowe in the 1940s reveal that the actual conquest of the Lake Titicaca and Lake Poopó regions was carried out during the reign of Pachacuti Inca, who is said to have succeeded Viracocha in the first half of the 15th century AD (Pärssinen 1992; Platt *et al.* 2006). He personally took part in expeditions against the inhabitants of Collao (one of the inter-ethnic confederations, or *hatun apocazgos*, formed in Collasuyu; see Pärssinen 2002) and is known to have visited the ancient town of Tiwanaku in Pacasa, in the southern Lake Titicaca area (Pärssinen 2015: 267).

When the Incas conquered Pacasa, they paid a lot of attention to the ruins of Tiwanaku and to the Island of the Sun. As Cobo (1653a: 141, Book XII) wrote:

Pachacuti saw the magnificent buildings of Tiaguanaco, and the stonework of these structures amazed him because he had never seen that type of building before; and he commanded that his men should carefully observe and take note of that building method, because he wanted the construction projects in Cuzco to be of that same type of workmanship. From there he went to Copacabana and on to see the sanctuary of the Island of the Sun, and finally, crossing the Strait of Tiquina by raft, he passed through Omasuyo, and on to the city of Cuzco...

The admiration that the Incas felt for Tiwanaku is confirmed by Cieza de León (1553a: 284, Ch. CV), who wrote:⁴

It is believed that before the Incas reigned, long before, certain of these buildings [of Tiahuanacu] existed, and I have heard Indians say that the Incas built their great edifices of Cuzco along the lines of the wall to be seen in this place. They even go further and say that the first Incas talked of setting up their court and capital here in Tiahuanacu.

Again, we should not take the information given by Cieza de León and Cobo too literally. In their recent monograph *The Stones of Tiahuanaco*, Protzen and Nair (2013) argue that Inca and Tiwanaku architecture and stonemasonry differ fundamentally one from the other. They write: ‘We do not deny that the Incas may have been impressed and inspired by what they saw at Tiahuanaco; we only argue that whatever the Incas saw, whatever inspired them, they completely reinterpreted it and made it their own’ (Protzen and Nair 2013: 203). However, recent radiocarbon dates firmly indicate that stonemasonry technology survived in the southern Lake Titicaca area after the collapse of Tiwanaku, and it apparently developed further during the Late Intermediate Period, especially in the context of funeral architecture (of the so-called *chullpa* burial towers) (Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005; Pärssinen 2015: 276–277). Thus, exchanges of architectural influence between the Cuzco and

⁴ Writing somewhat later, Lartán (1608: 18–19; see also Saignes 1980: 9; Szemiński 1995: 66–67, 2003: 318–319) confirms the information given by Cieza de León, adding that Tiwanaku was considered the geographic center of Tawantinsuyu between Quito and Chile.

Titicaca regions were possible well before the actual Inca conquest of the latter area took place. It is also good to remember that both the chronicles written in Cuzco and local sources written in the provinces of Lupaca and Pacasa confirm that many of the stonemasons who built Cuzco in the 15th and 16th centuries came from the Lake Titicaca region (Cabeza de Vaca 1586: 71; Cobo 1653b: 82; Díez de San Miguel 1567: 39, 80, 92, 106, 116, 204; Sarmiento de Gamboa 1572: 199; see also Gasparini and Margolies 1980: 11; Isbell 2001: 323; Murra 1988: 72). Murúa (1609a: 66, cited also in Bouysse-Cassagne 2010: 295–296) even states that the king of the Colla himself participated in the construction of Coricancha, Cuzco's Temple of the Sun, in the time of Pachacuti Inca. Thus, the entire Collao confederation seems to have participated in the rebuilding of Cuzco and, hence, the peoples of the Lake Titicaca area directly influenced the Cuzco style of stonemasonry.

Copacabana, a New Tiwanaku?

As one of us has pointed out earlier (Pärssinen 2003), Sarmiento de Gamboa (1572: 232, Ch. LII) and Murúa (1616a: 97, Book I, Ch. XXVI), who used the same sources, mention that Topa Inca appointed two governors general, called *suyoyoc apu* [*suyuyuq apu*], as his lieutenants and viceroys. One of these officials resided in Jauja, while the other lived in Tiwanaku. Although our intention here is not to study how well these arguments hold true in the case of the governor general of Jauja, it is interesting to note that Hatun Jauja was one of the most important Inca centers, where several members of the noble Incas of Cuzco resided; even Huascar (known there also by the name 'Ynga Ynti Cuxi Gualpa') lived there at some point in time (D'Altroy 1992: 103; Pärssinen 1992: 268, 271, 338–341). Furthermore, the local elites of Jauja held considerable interprovincial power, as Antonio Cuniguacra testified in the village of Concepción in 1561: His grandfather Apo Nina Guacra [*Guala*] was married to Cachua, a daughter of an Inca; was the leader of Hanan Huanca, Lurin Huanca, and Jauja; and had been appointed to govern over spaces reaching from Jauja to the province of Quito (Limaylla 1663: Fol. 41r–v). Therefore, Jauja may well have served as the post for a *suyoyoc apu*.

Nevertheless, what is of particular interest to us here is the reference to Tiwanaku as another post for such a governor general. This information is in agreement with that given by Cieza de León (1553b: 353, Ch. CV; see also Cobo 1653c: 105), who mentioned that Manco Inca had been born in Tiwanaku, and with the information given by Betanzos (1557: 192, Ch. XLV), according to whom Paullu Inca was also born in Tiwanaku. However, when the first Spanish chroniclers visited Tiwanaku, it was already almost completely in ruins, and Cieza de León (1553b: 353, Ch. CV), for example, only mentioned a few Inca buildings in the village. Similarly, archaeologists have not found very many remains of Inca-style buildings at Tiwanaku, although they have found a considerable amount of Pacajes, Inca-Pacajes, and Inca ceramics in Pumapunku and its surroundings (Vranich 1999;

Vranich *et al.* 2001). This finding has been used to criticize our hypothesis regarding the partial abandonment of Tiwanaku (Yaeger and Vranich 2013: 145). Nevertheless, Inca and Inca-related ceramics are common everywhere in the Tiwanaku–Guaqui Valley (Albarracín-Jordan 1996; Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990), as well as in the nearby Jesús de Machaca and Caquiaviri regions (Pärssinen 2005; Rydén 1947). In the central and lower parts of the Tiwanaku Valley alone, Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews (1990) registered 492 sites with Inca and Inca-Pacajes ceramics. Fifteen of these archaeological sites, including Guaqui, were considered to be extensive (1.6–6 ha in size), but as far as we know, none were permanently populated by the Inca elite. Furthermore, these archaeological findings correspond well with the historical information regarding the number of villages under the jurisdiction of Tiwanaku and Guaqui: Tiwanaku had ten and Guaqui six villages before the reduction carried out by Viceroy Francisco Toledo (1570–1575) (Mercado de Peñalosa 1585–1589: 55–56). As we will demonstrate later, Inca and Inca-Pacajes ceramics were used in the Pacasa province long before the actual Inca conquest took place in the 15th century AD, and hence, Inca-style ceramics' evidential value regarding actual Inca activities remains more than problematic.

Furthermore, in light of 16th- and 17th-century written sources, it seems that Tiwanaku was a small village. In the year 1543, in all the area, including the neighboring villages, there only lived some 700 adult men (Rojas 1548: 182; see also Toledo 1570–1575: 58), and there is no mention of an *aklla wasi*, or of *ayllus* of Cuzqueños whose members would have resided in Tiwanaku. This last fact is particularly surprising, as in many *cabeceras* (principal villages) of Pacasa, such as Chuquiapo, Caquiaviri, and Guarina, there were Inca *ayllus* (Archivo General de la Nación 1579–1684; Pärssinen 1992: 284; cf. Pacsi Pati 1658: 83–84).

We do not doubt the importance of Tiwanaku for the Incas – especially of the sector of Pumapunku (Yaeger and López Bejarano 2004). It is well possible that the Incas really considered establishing their court there, and some rebuilding projects were certainly initiated. Nevertheless, it was in Cuzco where the Inca court was finally established, while Tiwanaku became a center of pilgrimage. Furthermore, we suppose that Pachacuti's successor, Topa Inca, or even this latter's successor, Huayna Capac, may have moved the center of religious activities from Tiwanaku to the triangle of Copacabana–Island of the Sun–Island of the Moon.

As one of us has argued earlier (Pärssinen 2003), the ideological solution to the problem of a double Tiwanaku might indeed be found in some Inca myths, which describe the creation of humanity and the first Incas as two successive events: First, humankind was created in Tiwanaku, and later the creation continued in Titicaca, when the first Incas emerged from the deep waters of the lake. We think that for the Incas, an intermediate location, Copacabana, could have represented a new Tiwanaku, in the same sense in which some Inca centers were seen as 'new Cuzcos' (Hyslop 1985, 1990: 303–304; Morris and Thompson 1985: 32). This hypothesis

could explain why 16th-century chroniclers never even mention Copacabana, where people from more than 40 ethnic groups from an area ranging from Copiapó (Chile) to Pasto (Colombia) lived, and which was like an enclave of Cuzco with its governors of royal blood. It is probable that when the Incas referred to later Inca-period Tiwanaku, they were actually talking about the sanctuary of Copacabana, which had been relocated from the Pacasa province to the old Lupaca area, as close to as possible to the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. Old Tiwanaku still was a part of the Inca ideological system, and some activities were conducted in the Pumapunku complex. However, main ritual and administrative activities seem to have moved to the Copacabana area. From there, we do have information about an *aklla wasi*, a temple of the Sun, and the presence of members of several royal *panacas* of Cuzco, especially the descendants and 'grandchildren' of the Inca rulers Capac Yupanqui, Yahuar Huacac, and Viracocha, as well as of Incas from Collasuyu (Hurin Cuzco) and Antisuyu (Hanan Cuzco) (Santos Escobar 1984, 1987, 1989). We know that Paullu and Manco Inca escaped to the sanctuary of Copacabana in order to avoid execution at the hands of Atahualpa's soldiers and that in Copacabana Paullu found and married one of his sisters. On the other hand, according to the information we have, the birth of Paullu in Tiwanaku seems very improbable (Heffernan 1995: 67; Lorandi 1995: Note 9; Santos Escobar 1984: 5). Furthermore, according to Ramos Gavilán (1621: 67), the Inca governor of Copacabana wore 'the clothing of the Inca, and only differed from the actual ruler and king in wearing the royal tassel (*borla*) to one side, whereas only the Inca king was allowed to wear this on his forehead.' This fits quite well with Sarmiento's and Murúa's information regarding the *suyoyoc apus*, one of whom 'resided in Tiwanaku.' Additionally, local information from Copacabana, published by Santos Escobar, confirms that Apu Chalco Yupanqui, the son of the first governor, Apu Inga Sucso, was also a very important governor himself. According to the testimony, Huayna Capac 'appointed him as his governor and captain general of the provinces of Collasuyo, Omasuyo, and Orcosuyo, Chucuito, Pacages, Carangas, Paria, Charcas, Chuiz, Yamparaez, Chiscas all the way to Copiapó, Chile...' (Cáceres Chalco Yupanqui Inga 1593–1610: 28). All this evidence indicates that there really was an Inca governor of royal blood in Collao besides Apo Cari, the local lord of the Lupaca and of the '*hatun apocazgo*' of Collao (Murra 1978: 418–419; Pärssinen 1992: 261–268), who held great civic-religious authority in Collasuyu. However, this Inca governor did not reside in Tiwanaku of Pacasa, but in 'Inca-period Tiwanaku,' that is, Copacabana.

The Question of the Collapse of Tiwanaku

Our current data from Pacasa indicate that certain kinds of demographic and cultural continuities are evident from the Tiwanaku period (phases IV and V, ca. AD 400/500–1000/1100) to the Late Intermediate Period. However, in the 13th century AD, new migrations, wars, and a period of fortress-building changed the

cultural panorama and the mortuary ideology, which began to be focused around the *chullpa* burial towers (Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005; Pärssinen 2005, 2015).

Speaking of the political collapse of the Tiwanaku state, some evidence indicates that this involved bloody episodes in Moquegua, as some of the Tiwanaku sites and monuments of said valley were completely destroyed already in the 10th century AD (Goldstein 2005: 225–226; Sutter 2000: 51). It would seem that something similar occurred in Pariti around AD 1000 when one of this island's principal temples was intentionally destroyed (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: 73; Pärssinen 2018b). Because of these observations, we believe that the Tiwanaku state system had already collapsed close to the year AD 1000 (see also Augustyniak 2004; Owen 2005).

However, according to the studies carried out in the Tiwanaku Valley, the break in material culture was not necessarily as abrupt there as in the south of Peru and on the island of Pariti. It is possible that the power of the Tiwanaku elites first weakened in the peripheries, whereas in the center the process of collapse would have been slower, at least judging by the domestic, mortuary, and ceramic traditions documented by archaeologists. Still, even in the center of Tiwanaku, the construction of new buildings and monuments stopped around the year AD 1000 (Alconini 1995; Vranich 1999), and, furthermore, evidence of a violent revolt has been uncovered in the elite sector of Putuni (Couture and Sampeck 2003; Janusek 2008). Therefore, the capital was already largely abandoned in the 11th century AD, but many villages of the Tiwanaku Valley continued to be inhabited, and the number of small settlements in the Tiwanaku Valley began to increase.

In general terms, Tiwanaku's collapse can be observed through the rapid increase of small settlement sites, not only in the Tiwanaku Valley (see Albarracin-Jordan 1996, 1999; Albarracin-Jordan and Mathews 1990; McAndrews *et al.* 1997), but also in a vast area of the Bolivian-Peruvian altiplano and the *yungas* of Peru and Chile. It would seem that in the Tiwanaku period, the population had been concentrated in the capital and its immediate surroundings, and that following state collapse, much of this population dispersed toward the peripheries. Still, on the shores of Titicaca's Lago Menor, the Tiwanaku style survived in ceramics until the 13th century AD (Korpisaari 2006), whereas in Caquiaviri, to the south of Tiwanaku, the Tiwanaku style disappeared rapidly, with the explosive increase of new settlements from the 11th and 12th centuries onwards (Pärssinen 2005). At the same time, the quality of pottery fell somewhat, and Tiwanaku motifs such as felines, birds, and fishes/snakes rapidly evolved toward simpler and more geometric forms (Pärssinen 2005; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1997).

The recent discovery of late Tiwanaku (ca. AD 1000) ceramic portrait vessels on Pariti Island is also important here. Some portraits show headdresses resembling *chuku* hats described in Colonial texts and seen also in Guaman Poma's (1615b: 169 [171]) drawings (Korpisaari 2006: Figure 5.21; Korpisaari and



Figure 2: On the left, Tiwanaku portrait vessel PRT 00188, recovered on Pariti Island (photographed by A. Korpisaari). The male's headdress closely resembles those worn by high-status Inca nobles in many early Colonial drawings and paintings, such as Guaman Poma's drawing of Topa Inca on the right (image credit: Royal Danish Library, GKS 2232 kvart: Guaman Poma, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (c. 1615), page [110 [110]]).

Pärssinen 2005: Photos 17, 19–20). Furthermore, according to various pictures drawn by Guaman Poma (1615b: 270 [272], 293 [295], 324 [326]), wide, turban-like hats were worn by another ethnic group in Collao, probably the one he refers to as *Puqina Qullas*. Again, strikingly similar turban-like headdresses are portrayed by Pariti pottery. Nevertheless, for the topic of this article, the most important of the Pariti discoveries is a vessel that portrays a man with a helmet nearly identical to those worn by the Inca rulers and high-ranking Inca military captains in 26 of Guaman Poma's (1615b) black-and-white drawings, 13 of the watercolors in Murúa's so-called Galvin manuscript (Murúa 1609b), and 8 of the illustrations of the Getty Murúa (Murúa 1616b) (Figure 2). Such helmets are also depicted in a similar manner in Herrera (1615: 149; see also Pärssinen 1992: 217) and on some early-Colonial-period wooden *qirus* (see illustrations in Querejazu 1983, between pp. 222 and 223).⁵ Our research on Pariti proves that more or less direct precursors

5 If the *huaco retrato* PRT 00188 was complete, the likeness between this Tiwanaku headdress and those worn by principal Inca nobles in early Colonial illustrations might be even more perfect; judging by a surfaceless area at the front of the helmet in the middle of the forehead, some ornament was once situated there. Unfortunately, we were unable to recover this ornament, but it may have resembled (and/or been a precursor of) the Inca royal fringe (*masca paycha*). Ornaments of one kind or another also originally hung from the underside of the Pariti portrait vessel's headdress, over and/or in front of the individual's ears. Remarkably, two long (textile?) ornaments typically

for the feather-diadem-crowned Inca helmets were used in the Lake Titicaca region some 400 years prior to the emergence of the Inca state. Consequently, it now seems that certain features of the Tiwanaku culture and the Yaya-Mama religious tradition continued into the Inca and early Colonial periods more strongly and directly than is generally acknowledged (for more details, see Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011).

Already in the 14th century AD, when the Incas (Killke) and the other polities of the Cuzco area established new contacts with the polities of the Lake Titicaca region, an interchange of ideas and stylistic influences certainly took place. Somewhat later, as is well known, the Colla king participated in the wedding ceremony of Inca Viracocha, and still later, Viracocha allied himself with the Lupaca kingdom against the Colla (Cieza de León 1553a: 215–221, Ch. II: XLI–XLIII; Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua 1613: f. 17v–18). Finally, when the Incas conquered Pacasa at the time of Pachacuti Inca (probably around AD 1420–1450), Inca influence became ever stronger, among other things, through the resettlement of groups of people. However, influences moved both ways. As we have already pointed out, the architectural styles and the mythology of the Lake Titicaca area polities influenced Inca ideology and styles much more than has been recognized (see also Julien 1993: 190–199). Furthermore, several buildings on the Islands of the Sun and the Moon seem to have pre-Inca origins, although they were reutilized by the Incas for their own purposes (Pärssinen 2005).

Connections between the Tiwanaku and Cuzco Ceramic Styles

In this final part of our article, we want to concentrate on Tiwanaku, Inca, and regional Inca-influenced ceramics. As we mentioned above, archaeologists working in Cuzco tend to deny any continuity between the Tiwanaku and the Inca states, instead interpreting the ideological and stylistic change from the Killke to the Imperial Inca style as a local development. However, the growing number of pre-Inca radiocarbon dates for the so-called Inca ceramics found in Collasuyu challenges this theory. In fact, we would like to challenge the interpretation of the internal evolution of the Cuzco pottery from a stylistic point of view, too: The similarities that have been observed between Killke and Inca ceramics (Bauer 1992b, 1999; Rowe 1944: 60–62) are also present between local Caquiaviri, Pacajes, Inca-Pacajes, and Inca ceramics (Pärssinen 2005: Figures 87, 90, 112–114b).

Rowe (1944: 49) was already aware of the fact that some of the ceramics he collected in Cuzco shared many characteristics with the pottery of the Colla and Lupaca provinces of the Lake Titicaca area. Hence, he named one particular style Urcusuyu Polychrome. Later on, Julien (1993: 190–198) analyzed the Taraco and Urcusuyu styles of the Lake Titicaca area and noticed their heavy impact on the

hung from the helmets of Inca lords, one on each side, either in front of or behind the ears/ear plugs. Therefore, in light of all the mentioned sources, the Pariti vessel in question probably depicts a high-ranking Tiwanaku noble or military leader.

Cuzco Polychrome B style, too. Nevertheless, she did not have radiocarbon dates for these styles, and she even suggested that later copies of Tiwanaku wares might have influenced the Cuzco style. Thus, Julien suggests that the Inca and Lake Titicaca styles came into contact with one another very late, at the end of the 15th century AD, during the Inca conquest of the Titicaca region in the time of Topa Inca, as proposed by Rowe (1944, 1945).

Notes on Tiwanaku Ceramics

In the Lake Titicaca region, painted Tiwanaku pottery is traditionally classified into two phases and styles – Tiwanaku IV and Tiwanaku V – as defined by Ponce (1981). Nevertheless, there is no sharp temporal dividing line between these two phases (e.g., Janusek 2003). Even though the Tiwanaku V style appeared later than Tiwanaku IV, our excavations on Pariti demonstrated that in this ceremonial context, the Tiwanaku IV style was in use until the end of the Tiwanaku era, alongside vessels in the Tiwanaku V style (Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005, 2011). Furthermore, Goldstein (2005: 152) reports similar results from the Osmore Drainage regarding its corresponding Omo (Tiwanaku IV) and Chen Chen (Tiwanaku V) phases/styles.

Typical Tiwanaku IV style pottery probably appeared in the 6th century AD (Marsh *et al.* 2019). It is of high quality, and well fired and polished. The surface color of the paste is yellowish, red, or black. Plastic forms and polychrome painting with feline, avian, snake/fish, and geometric motives are abundant. Among the most emblematic vessel forms are *qirus*, *ollas*, *sahumadores*, and *incensarios*.

While the earlier Tiwanaku IV style continued in use, as has been mentioned, the somewhat more standardized Tiwanaku V style emerged around AD 700. Its well-fired paste is normally yellowish-brown, and geometric designs (typically painted in black and white) dominate on an orange/yellowish or red slip. However, toward the end of the Tiwanaku V phase, the quality of firing and surface finishing deteriorated, probably due to the state disintegration process and the diaspora that followed. Nevertheless, as we mentioned above, on the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, the Tiwanaku style continued in use until the beginning of the 13th century AD (Korpisaari 2006), while in other areas, new styles emerged more rapidly (Pärssinen 2005).

Tschopik (1946) identified many styles that emerged during the Late Intermediate Period. These include the Urcosuyu, Taraco, and Sillustani styles from the northern and western Lake Titicaca basin. To the east and south of Lake Titicaca (Bolivia), the Mollo and Pacajes styles are well-known (Albarracín-Jordan and Mathews 1990; Faldín 1985). In southern Peru, the Churajón and Tumilaca styles are good examples of styles that emerged during the Late Intermediate Period (Goldstein 2005; Sharratt 2011; Szykalski 2010), and in northern Chile, the Maytas and San Miguel styles are well-known (Muñoz and Chacama 2006; Uribe 1999). Furthermore, the latest radiocarbon evidence indicates that the Tiwanaku-

related Cabuza phase of North Chile would also mostly have been a post-Tiwanaku phenomenon (Korpisaari *et al.* 2014; Muñoz 2019). What is important here is the fact that in many of these emerging Late Intermediate Period styles, the former Tiwanaku influence can easily be noted in ceramic forms as well as in painted elements and motifs.

Finding a Fit: Evidence of Tiwanaku- and Inca-Style Ceramics from the House Foundation of Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri

We base our argument of the stylistic continuity from Tiwanaku to Inca pottery on excavations realized in a house foundation in the former Inca capital of the Pacasa (Pacajes) province, in Caquiaviri, situated ca. 50 kilometers south of Tiwanaku. The excavations of this Tiquischullpa house were conducted in 1989 and 1990, and the results have been presented on several occasions (Pärssinen 1993, 2005, 2015; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1997).

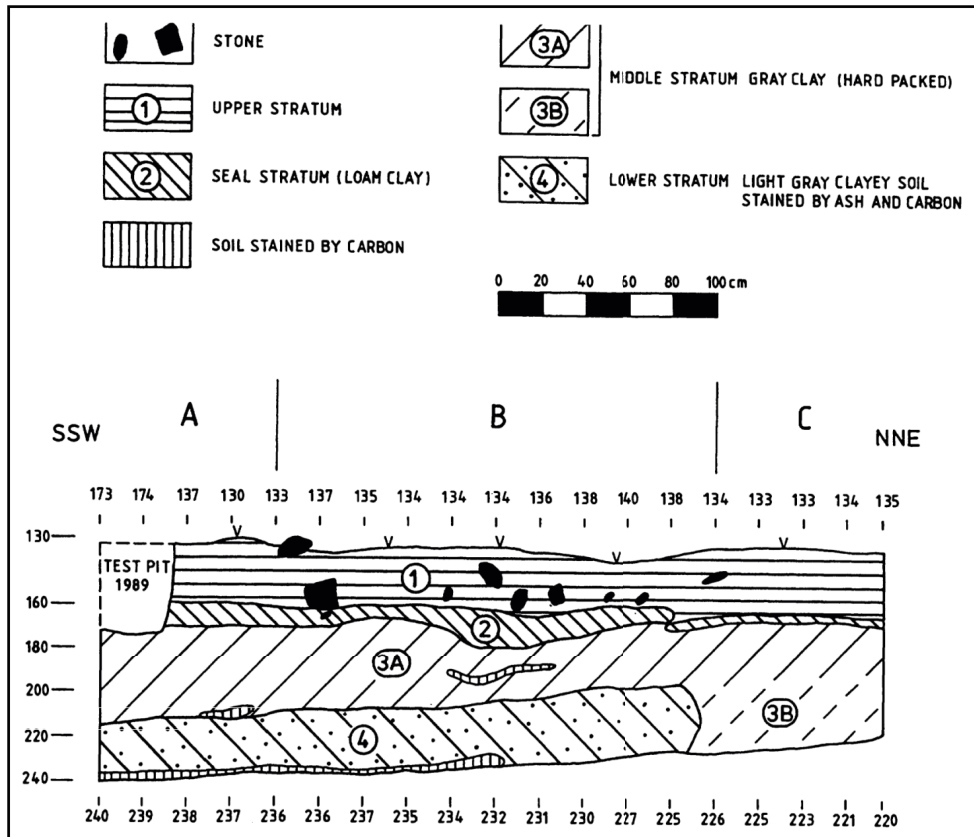


Figure 3: Profile of the Tiquischullpa house foundation excavations (drawn by R. Kesseli).

According to the results of our excavations, the Tiquischullpa house burned twice (Figure 3). The first fire took place soon after the house was first built, around cal AD 1046–1265 (one sigma; 68.2%; see Table 1), and the second fire happened around cal AD 1399–1496, possibly during the historically known Inca conquest of the Pacasa chiefdom. The second burning episode caused the hard, reddish clay to form a seal stratum, which locked all the lower deposits (the middle and lower strata) beneath it. Samples for four radiocarbon dates were obtained from between the upper and lower burnt layers. Sample Ua-2324 (charred wood and manure) gave the date cal AD 1179–1284. The three other samples were of charred sticks and *ichu* grass that, in our experience, give very reliable dates. Said samples gave calibrated dates between cal AD 1298 and cal AD 1406, in correct stratigraphic order (see Table 1). Thus, date Ua-2324 from directly below the seal stratum seems a bit too early in comparison, possibly because older wood was burnt in the fireplace. Even so, all dates from below the seal stratum are earlier than the historically known Inca conquest.

Lab #	Site	Sample Material and Context	$^{14}\text{C} \pm \sigma$ Yrs B.P. $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ -corrected	Cal A.D. Yrs (1 σ)
Ua-2325	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred branches on the original floor of the house foundation; lower stratum, 110 cm below surface	910 \pm 90	1046–1089 (15.2%), 1110–1119 (2.6%), 1131–1235 (43.1%), 1243–1265 (7.3%)
Ua-2900	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred sticks in the lower stratum, 90 cm below surface	680 \pm 60	1298–1327 (24.9%), 1339–1391 (43.3%)
Ua-2899	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred sticks in the middle stratum, 65–70 cm below surface	660 \pm 70	1301–1367 (50.2%), 1373–1398 (18.0%)
Ua-2898	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred <i>ichu</i> grass in the middle stratum, 60 cm below surface	640 \pm 55	1310–1360 (45.0%), 1379–1406 (23.2%)
Ua-2324	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred wood and manure in the middle stratum, 50 cm below surface	840 \pm 70	1179–1284 (68.2%)
Ua-2897	Tiquischullpa in Caquiaviri	Charred sticks and straw in the seal stratum, 40–50 cm below surface	505 \pm 70	1399–1496 (68.2%)

Table 1: The Tiquischullpa radiocarbon dates. The samples were analyzed in the Radiocarbon Laboratory of Uppsala University, Sweden, by the accelerator method. A half-life of 5,568 years was used, and the results have been corrected to correspond to the $\delta^{13}\text{C}$ value of -25‰, compared with PDB.

All calendar ages were produced using OxCal 4.3 and the ShCal13 calibration curve.

In the Tiquischullpa excavations, almost 10,000 potsherds were recovered. Of these, the great majority are from well-polished bicolor and tricolor vessels of high quality. In addition, some four-color sherds were found. Most importantly, all stratigraphic strata include Inca-style sherds in abundance, even the upper stratum above the burnt seal stratum. The clearest temporal change in style (most notable after the second burning episode, which took place in the 15th century AD) was the partial disappearance of the orange slip color in polychrome pottery (diminishing from ca. 65% to ca. 15%, moving from the lowest stratum to the upper stratum). Concurrently, red and brown slips on polychrome vessels increased in popularity (from ca. 5% to 50%), and the bicolor Black-on-Red horizon style became more frequent. Otherwise, temporal change was gradual from the bottom toward the upper stratum: from late-Tiwanaku-related sherds toward the Caquiaviri, Pacajes

(Figure 4a), Inca, and the so-called Inca-Pacajes (Figure 4b) styles on the surface (Pärssinen 2005: 183–208).

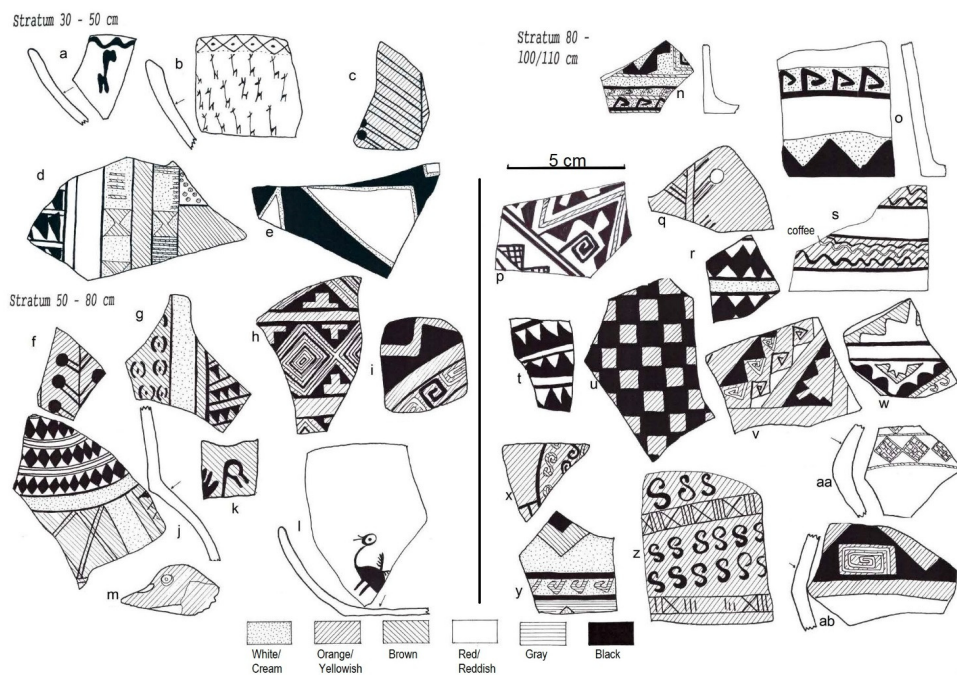


Figure 4: Examples of potsherds excavated from the house foundation of Tiquischullpa, Caquiaviri (drawn by M. Pärssinen).

Among the Tiwanaku-related Tiquischullpa sherds, the most common were those of *qirus* with polychrome geometric designs. In time, the rims of some of these *qirus* became more heavily everted; that is to say, they were somewhat similar to the rims of aryballoid vessels. The same phenomenon is documented in the *qiru* vessels found in Cuzco, where broadened or heavily everted rims are quite common (Flores Ochoa *et al.* 1998: 12–13, 23; Valcarcel 1934–1935: Láminas 1, 5). Furthermore, late-Tiwanaku influence on Tiquischullpa pottery can be noted in different compositions of S-symbols (Figure 4x, z; compare with Goldstein and Owen 2001: Figure 13; Korpisaari 2006: Figures 7.22, 7.29; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2005: Figure 39; Rydén 1959: Figure 37), black avian motifs (Figure 4k, l; compare with Goldstein and Owen 2001: Figure 13; Rivera Casanovas 2003: Figure 11.11A; Rydén 1959: Figure 37), staircase, inverted-staircase, or step motifs and wavy lines (Figure 4h, n, p, s, v, w; compare with Burkholder 2001: Figures 12–14; Janusek 2003: Figure 3.46; Korpisaari 2006: Figure 7.11), rhombi and rows of concentric rhombi or ‘diamonds’ (Figure 4b, h, j, r; compare with Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: Plates 8E, 21E; Owen and Goldstein 2001: Figure

5E), and different types of hook designs (Figure 4i, n, o, p, v, w, y; compare with Janusek 2001: Figure 18; Korpisaari 2006: Figure 7.29; Korpisaari and Pärssinen 2011: Plates 7E, 21E; Posnansky 1957: Plate XLVIII; Uribe 1999: Figure 2). The latticed-rhombus motif (Figure 4aa) is also common, although it may have been borrowed from the pre-Inca Mollo and Churajón cultures (Faldín 1985: 65–88; Lumbreras 1974: Figure 211; Ponce 1957: 56–117; Rydén 1957: Figures 12, 56). Even quaternately-patterned triangle motifs, regularly present in Tiquischullpa pottery and often attributed to the Inca style, can be found in Tiwanaku textiles (Figure 4e; compare with Agüero 2007: Figure 10c).

It is important to note that many of these motifs were common in various post-Tiwanaku styles such as Mollo, Churajón, Tumilaca, and Cabuza. In our case, we are also able to define a particularly high-quality Caquiaviri style, which can be divided into three basic categories. Items in the first category have motifs consisting of concentric rhombi. These are often combined with triangles that enclose step motifs or pyramids of two (T-shape) or three platforms (Figure 4h). Items in the second category have two lines of opposing triangles or saw-teeth. The saw-teeth can be closed but are painted in alternating colors (Figure 4o). However, most typical of the Caquiaviri style are lines of open, opposing saw-teeth (Figure 4i, v). Items in the third category have hook motifs attached above or below a straight line (Figure 4n, o, y). Furthermore, hooks are often attached to the points of triangles or saw-teeth (Figure 4v), or can simply appear within triangles (Figure 4p, ab).

The Caquiaviri style is also known from Cuzco (Flores Ochoa *et al.* 1998: 13), but what is important here are the most typical motifs of the Inca ceramics, presented in Figure 4c, d, f, g, q, and t, which represent the so-called necklace and serrate patterns. These could be interpreted as local variants of the Cuzco Polychrome A and B styles (Rowe 1944: 47, Plate V), which were distributed throughout the entire area of Tawantinsuyu. Incan black rhombi (Figure 4j, r) and ‘chessboard’ motifs (Figure 4u) and the so-called ‘hour-glass’ designs (Figure 4d, z) were equally common in all stratigraphic levels of the Tiquischullpa house foundation.

As to form, the most common Inca shapes were open bowls and flat plates (quite often with a bird-formed handle; see Figure 4m). Aryballoid jars (typically without peaked bottoms) and *qiru* beakers (Figure 4n, o, s) were abundant, too. Pedestal bowls (Rowe 1944: 48, type j) were rare, and Inca-type tripod vessels (Rowe’s type k) were completely missing. This means that not all Cuzco vessel forms were present. Still, the similar proportion of the Cuzco Polychrome A and B and other Inca style sherds compared to the local Caquiaviri style, Pacajes, and Inca-Pacajes style sherds firmly indicates that all of these styles belonged to the same cultural complex and ideological design set. In addition, as the ceramic paste reveals, most sherds seem to be local Titicaca-based, high-quality productions, containing quartz, albite, vermiculite, and sometimes mica (Pärssinen 2005: 186–208; Pärssinen and Siiriäinen 1997).

If, as argued by Bauer and Covey (Bauer 1992a, 1999; Bauer and Covey 2002; Covey 2003, 2006), the Cuzco Polychrome A and B styles appeared as the result of internal development in Cuzco quite suddenly around AD 1400, or somewhat earlier, while the Killke style was still dominant, how can we explain the massive presence of most markers of the Cuzco Polychrome A and B styles in Caquiaviri throughout the entire 14th century AD, a hundred years before the historically described Inca conquest took place in the 15th century AD? This is not all: Our Caquiaviri findings and dates are in accordance with results obtained from northern Chile. There, according to thermoluminescence dating, Inca-style and Inca-Pacajes (Saxamar) ceramics appeared in the late 13th or the early 14th century AD (Muñoz and Chacama 1988, 2006; see also Cornejo 2014). Thus, it does not appear to be a coincidence that a sherd from a local north Chilean 'copy' of a Cuzco Polychrome A style vessel has also yielded the thermoluminescence date of 760 ± 50 B.P., or AD 1230 ± 50 (Schiappacasse *et al.* 1991: 45, 48, 56–57).⁶ In sum, all the evidence presented here indicates that the standard design motifs of the Cuzco Polychrome A and B styles, as well as many other 'Inca motifs,' developed in those parts of the greater South Central Andean area that were influenced by the Tiwanaku style, much before the actual Inca conquest took place.

Conclusions

We conclude that the collapse of the Tiwanaku state system around AD 1000 gave rise to a disintegration process, which led to a diaspora from the former center toward the neighboring areas. In some regions, this process was reflected in material culture rather quickly and extensively, in others much more slowly. Nevertheless, Tiwanaku's influence was strong, as it was manifested in the newly emerging ceramic styles of the Late Intermediate Period, in architecture, and in the *longue durée* religious ideology, which stemmed from the Yaya-Mama Tradition. Thanks to the accumulation of new archaeological evidence and the enhanced precision of radiocarbon dates, we now know that, on the one hand, the cultural markers of Tiwanaku continued until the 13th century AD in some parts of the Lake Titicaca area. On the other hand, we know that the first markers of the Inca style also appeared in this same century. Thus, there was no extended temporal break between the disappearance of the Tiwanaku style and the appearance of the so-called Inca style in the South Central Andes.

Following the collapse of the Tiwanaku state, some settlements were fortified (Arkush 2011). Nevertheless, in Central Pacasa, most new post-Tiwanaku settlements were established on unprotected plains, and it was only in the second half of the 13th century AD and the first half of the 14th century AD, when fortified settlements suddenly appeared due to unrest and the movement of peoples

⁶ Recent radiocarbon dates from northwestern Argentina support our interpretations, giving surprisingly early dates for Inca-style ceramics (Gifford 2003: 103–168; Marsh *et al.* 2017).

(Pärssinen 2003, 2005). Soon, many hillforts were abandoned, but the same time period was marked by a significant change in funeral ideology and the appearance of new funeral architecture (*chullpa* burial towers), especially around Lakes Poopó and Titicaca, but also in other southern highland areas, all the way up to Cuzco (Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005; Pärssinen 2005; see also Korpisaari 2006: 149, endnote 30). It is probably no coincidence that a great drought is documented to have affected the Lake Titicaca area around AD 1250–1310 (Abbott *et al.* 1997; Thompson *et al.* 1985; see also Covey 2006: 123–125; Pärssinen 2005: 118–120), just at the time when the greatest changes in settlement patterns and funeral tradition took place, after the collapse of Tiwanaku and before the Inca conquest. As Cerrón-Palomino (2015: 48) has noted, the drought ravaging the Lake Titicaca region may have been a powerful trigger for migration.

Whether or not Pärssinen's (2003, 2005) hypothesis of Copacabana as a new Tiwanaku is correct, there is no doubt that the Incas respected the site of the ancient capital of the Tiwanaku state, and that Copacabana and the Islands of the Sun and the Moon were among the most sacred places in the whole empire (e.g., Bauer and Stanish 2001). What is harder to determine for certain is whether or not the Incas appropriated and promoted the sacredness of Lake Titicaca simply due to the lake's generally-accepted, pan-Central-Andean religious importance, or due to the fact that some parts of the Inca nobility indeed would have had their roots in this region, as Szemiński, McEwan, Cerrón-Palomino, and some others have suggested. A decade or two ago, we would have been very hesitant to accept this last-mentioned scenario as a real, historical possibility, but our work first in Caquiaviri and later on Pariti has made us slightly more open-minded in this regard. As Meyers (2007: 245) has stated, 'there is still room for arguments for the development of Inca style in the Lake Titicaca area and its expansion to the Cuzco Valley.' However, regardless of whether some Incas really hailed from the Lake Titicaca region, the pre-Inca inhabitants of this area certainly maintained contact with the pre-imperial-phase inhabitants of the Cuzco Valley, as we hope to have shown in this article. Therefore, we have no doubt that the cultural traditions of the Titicaca basin did indeed contribute to the formation of certain Inca ideological, artistic, architectural, and religious canons.

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