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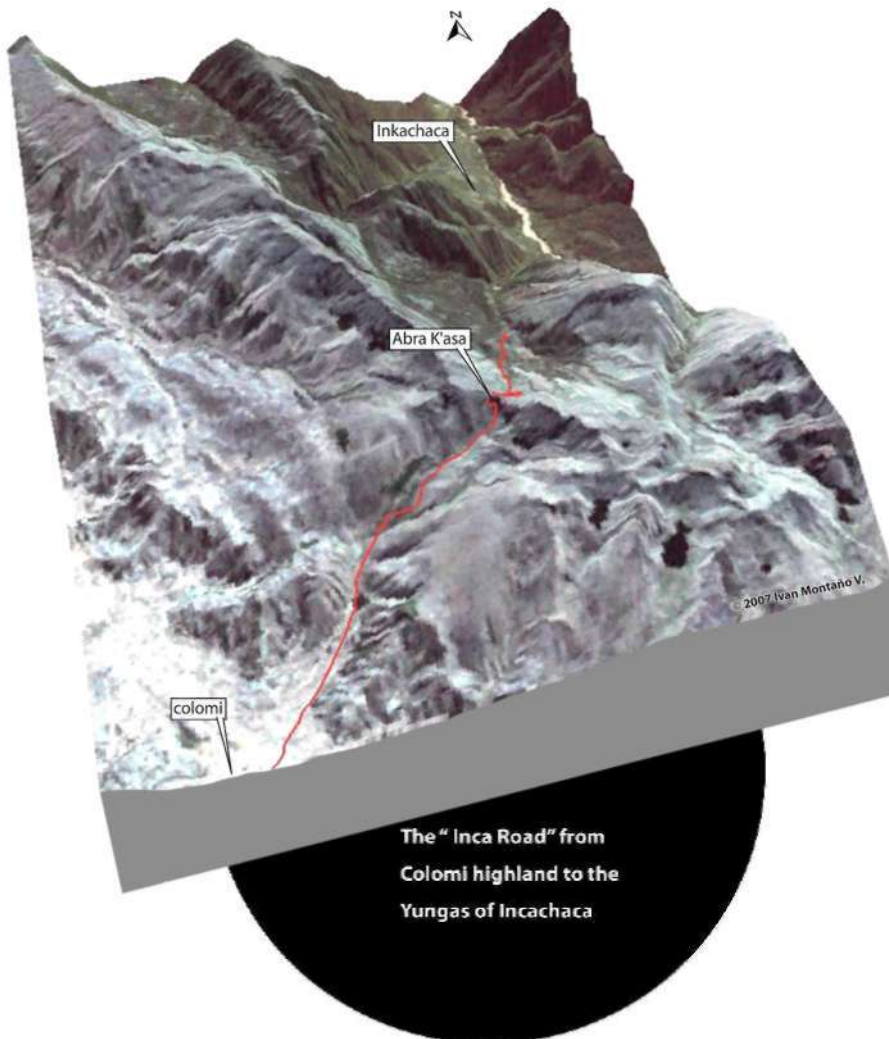
**Título:** THE COLOMI INCACHACA INKA ROAD

**Año:** 2007

# Colomi- Inkachaca

## THE "INCA ROAD"

When one arrives to Colomi and asks the local people about the location of the Inca's road they immediately point out toward the "Abra k'asa" hill (which means "broken path" in Quechua.) What is the significance of this name? A person can only understand this if he/she gets near the hill and finds the deep cut located in the middle of the hill summit, like a door that opens up toward the sky. There runs one of Bolivia's most beautiful pre-Hispanic roads that connects the highland of Colomi with the warm valleys of Inkachaca.



This beautiful road, paved in almost all its extension along with contention walls, perrons (out-of-door flights of steps, as in a garden, leading to terraces or upper storeys) and simple and double drainages, ascends from Colomi (3,300m above sea-level) towards K'asa (3976m above sea-level). This is a place from where we can observe two opposing landscapes: on one side, toward the West, is the highland of Colomi, with its limpid blue sky and, on the other side, toward the Northeast, are the green oriental flanks of the yungas with their large vapours of white steam ascending quickly in order to humidify the landscape.

Here begins the quick descent toward the humid valleys of Inkacorral, Inkachaca and Paracti (below 2,000m in altitude), from where a person can see immense condors, with their white necks, soaring across the sky.



**- right: -left: General panorama.  
in the circle we can see Abra K'asa**

**- left: A way to Abra K'asa  
towards the Yungas**

During the Inca's period, the highland of Colomi (3,300m above sea-level) was a part of the shepherd land distributed by the Inca Wayna Capac to the "Sipe Sipe Llamacamayoc" (these were the people of the Inca State, specialists in the upbringing of the llamas). Although at the present time the llamas no longer exist here, in Colomi, and have been replaced by trucks and cars, in the past this strategic area pastured hundreds of llamas that were used for ritual ends as much as for transport (it is calculated that in the highlands of the Cochabamba Cordillera in Altamachi, more than 90,000 llamas still exist). It is possible that during the Inkario, big "llama troops" penetrated the hot valleys of Tablas Monte, Corani, Paracti and Inkachaca, carrying potatoes, chuno and meat and bringing back pepper, feathers, chonta, locoto, honey, as well as medicinal and aromatic plants. If we follow early chronics, Amo or Umu

mitmaquna (the mitmaqunas are people that the Incas brought to Cochabamba from other regions) lived near the places of Inkachaca, Paracti and, possibly in the current Rasupampa. Through recent archaeological discoveries of Tiwanaku ceramics and other materials found in the low lands, we now also know that these areas were already populated during the Half Horizon period. It is then possible to think that the roads were formally built during that period.

Studied inside the "Tablas Monte" archaeological project" (UMSS-ASDI/SAREC), the setting, with regards to the value of this Inca's road, its restoration and its handling can

support the tourist development not only of this area but of the whole Colomi municipality.

Based upon the consolidation of a general conscience of respect toward the archaeological patrimony, we expect that this and other roads can continue being a lesson of History for the future and a possibility of economic development with identity for local people and for the region.

Walter Sanchez C.

Infography: Ivan Montaña  
Photography Walter Sanchez C.

# THE INCA TRAIL IN AREPUCHO and "THE STONE WITH WRITINGS"

Stone with writings  
over San Pedro River



In August 1990, archeologists Antonio Paolillo and Ricardo Cespedes organized an expedition to the Parque Nacional Carrasco to cover the Inca trail regarding the "coales" situated in the Yungas of Arepucho. An article published in the Ligabue Magazine tells about the discovery of this pre-Hispanic trail and the presence of a rock with petrography situated in the community of San Pedro. In 2004, I returned to cover this beautiful pre-Hispanic trail which goes through beautiful landscapes of humid forests and deep rivers full of trout in the area of Sehuencas.

The trail, described at the beginning of the colonial period as "very dry and rough", is partly covered with cobblestone. The Yungas of Arepucho was considered by the Spanish as "diseased land" and "hot", reason for which caused many deaths among the Incas who were getting ill because of the cold when going up towards the valley of Pocona carrying coca.

The rock, known by the natives as the "Stone with Writings", is found very near the pre-Hispanic trail which connects Arepucho with Icuna. It has a pyramidal shape. The iconographic representations are found on the superior surface facing North, where there is a serpent figure approximately one and a half meters long. Figures in shapes of 'S', 'w' and 'v' along with

small serpents dominate the remaining surfaces of the rock.

It is possible that this rock had a ritual meaning of the Yuracare people, an indigenous group of the 16th century which inhabited this area. It can be deduced by the fact that the iconographic elements seem to originate, not from the Andean cultures, but from the Amazonian.

A myth, collected by Alcides D'Orbigny in 1845, regarding the origin of the Yuracares, speaks of the existence of a great rock called Mamore inside the Parque Nacional Carrasco. According to Miller who lived among the Yuracares during the end of the XIX century, "the word Mamore... originates from the Yucarare language ... meaning 'mother of the human race'". The myth also speaks of how the first people came out from a hole which was guarded by a serpent:





### Rock with petrography

"The point where the people came out of is found near a great rock called Mamore, from which no one could climb out of and where no one could approach; the people were frightened by the great serpent that guarded the entrance. This place is found where the rivers Sacta and Sore merge into the river Mamore".

Could it be possible that the rock of the river San Pedro is the iconographic representation which narrates the creation of humanity and the Yucarares? We do not know. Nevertheless, it is indubitable that the Yuracare people are closely linked to the river and animals of such ecosystem, such as snakes. In fact, in a document in National Archives of Bolivia, which tells of an excursion made by Captain Aguilera to the Yungas of Arepucho at the beginning of the XVII century, of how the Umo or Amo, a group most probably related to the Yuracare, had a settlement where there were 6 or 7 homes or ranches belonging to the "indios" and

amongst them "a hut which seemed to be an altar of the devil where the Umo people had offerings of bows and arrows, bowls, flutes, querus (cups) for drinking chicha, as well as snake heads, placed upon a pulpit made of clay and painted rock, where they performed rituals and ceremonies".

Although scarce, the data mentioned gives us insights to begin understanding the importance of the cultural patrimony of pre-Hispanic groups which inhabited the Parque Nacional Carrasco - one of the most beautiful and unexplored natural landscapes of Bolivia - that nowadays are found abandoned.

By: Walter Sanchez C.  
Photos: Walter Sanchez C  
Translated by: Daniel Vanello.  
Text edited by: Daniela Viljoen

# Pre-Hispanic Agricultural Landscapes in Tablas Monte

In 1975, news coming from England moved Bolivian archaeologists. A journalist and adventurer, Ross Salmon, who had visited Tablas Monte (Cochabamba), along with archaeologist David Davies proclaimed to the London newspaper *The Daily Mail* to have discovered (May of 1975) the legendary lost city of El Dorado', the same that would be found "lifted up by the hills that dominated the Amazon", with approximately "three kilometers of circumference, defended by eight concentric walls...(and) silos that were able to contain 47.000 tons of wheat" (\*). Although Davies quickly denied such statements, due to imprecision and for having a sensationalist personality, Tablas Monte still appeared in archaeological literature as an important Inka site.

We do not know what Salmon and Davie saw. It is possible that they had observed the great amount of stone structures that are in the plains of Rasupampa, and that the same stone structures were interpreted as "concentric walls" and "silos." We do know that during those years (1975-1976) the countrymen of Tablas Monte carried out "chaqueos" (burning and clearing of shrubs, mainly for agricultural purposes) in the plains of Rasupampa, what would have allowed them to observe the cultural landscape of pre-Hispanic agriculture from the hill of Huaycho Moqo.

In 2003, with the Tablas Monte Project (UMSS/ASDI/SAREC), began an archaeological and ethno historical study that covered the areas of the Yungas of Tablas Monte and Inkachaca. The archaeological work (excavation and prospecting) showed that in this area there was an important human presence during at least 600 a.C. - 1450 a.C. The ceramic Tiwanaku findings, "local" "ciaco", and Inka, as well as original from the Amazonian plains of the Chapare region



© 2005 Walter Sanchez C.

Tiwanaku Keru (vase) discovered in Tablas Monte

showed that, in these lands that are situated in strategic areas between the Amazon tropics and valleys of Cochabamba, unfolded an important local culture — possibly related to the Yuracare —, which at the same time emphasized a meeting point between people of the plains and the valleys with those of the Altiplano.

The amount of "ruins" - an inadequate word to give patrimonial archaeological meaning - as many in Tablas Monte as in Inkachaca, explain at least two processes: 1. a huge development of a distinct local culture to that to the valleys and plains of Cochabamba, and 2. a profound anthropogenic intervention over the environment that resulted in a complex pre-Hispanic agricultural landscape, as well as the confluence of Andean, Amazonian and local groups.



Stone divisions between rows in Rasupampa



Pre-Hispanic agricultural landscape with "gardens" in Rasupampa

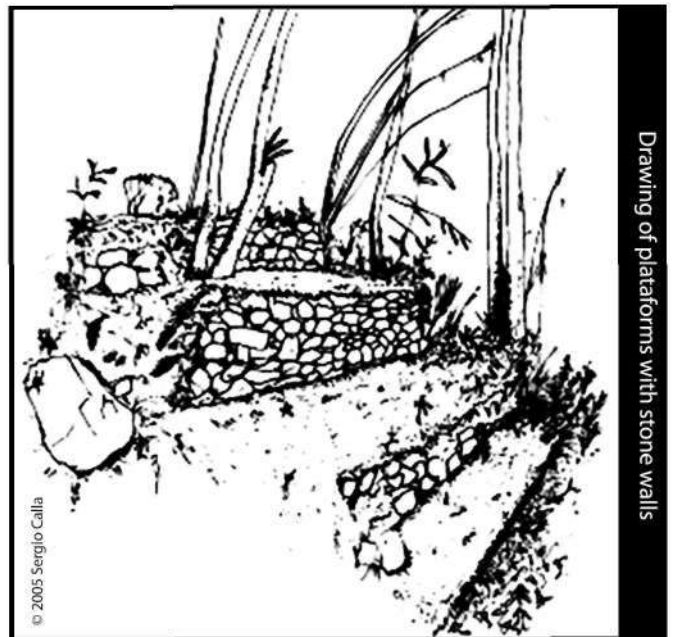


It is important to highlight the cultural role of stone, as used for the making of domestic artifacts (plates, grinding tables and stones called moroq'os), ritual artifacts (axes and statues), as well as construction for agricultural landscaping. In effect, it cannot be comprehended, for example, the anthropogenic modifications over the natural landscape in Tablas Monte - mainly in Rasupampa and Rasufalda - without the presence of stone. Rasupampa is an extensive horizontal plain of over 40 hectares filled with stone wall structures - made with

stones of various sizes -, square, rectangular and circular, that are small agricultural "gardens". These "gardens" are intersected by rows of stones that serve different functions: to solidify the furrows or water canals of the plantations, to make cleaning easier, to maintain the humidity beneath the soil during dry seasons and to provide a drainage system during rainy seasons. Rasufalda is located on a steeper area of about 100 meters, that falls almost vertically from Rasupampa to the Jatun Mayu River. In this area, the agricultural landscaping is dominated by platforms and terraces built also from stone. The platforms are built in a form of steep steps of 80 cm wide and 90 cm high, sustained by walls made of smaller stone. The terraces are sustained by enormous stones that serve as reinforcements, followed by walls made of stone taken from the river Jatun Mayu.


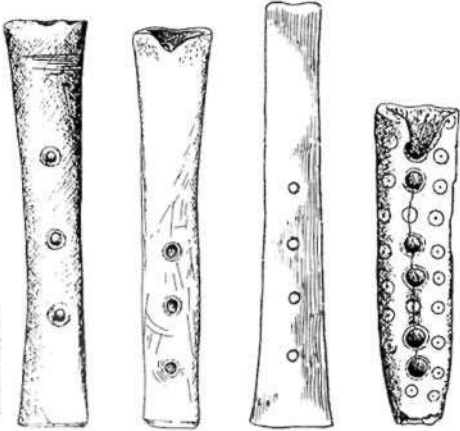

All of these cultural landscapes, unique in their own way and hidden amongst the tropical forest, create an important local and regional patrimony. Apart from the fact that it should be considered "capital technological agriculture", it should deserve more specific studies as it could well serve to better the local agricultural production.

by Walter Sanchez C.



\*Hov Newspaper June. 1975: 1

# The Prehistoric Andean "Quena"

I N K A	1540  1400	 <p>© 2007 Hans-Monika V.</p>
T I A W A N A K U	1100	 <p>© 2002 Ricardo Céspedes P.</p>
F O R M A T I V O	400  0  1000	 <p>© 2002 Walter Sotchek C.</p>

The quena (Andean flute) is a symbolic musical instrument of the Bolivian Andes. Its use has been widely used in Aymara and Quechua communities, where campesinos craft it from wood. As a solo instrument, .... The quena can also be played in an ensemble, of different sizes and sounds, all given distinct names in different regions of Bolivia. The quena quena is traditional of the Altiplano of La Paz, mainly the surroundings of Lake Titicaca. The lichwayu are made in the planes of Cochabamba and in the Altiplano of Oruro. The choquela are played by the Aymara around Lake Titicaca, and is also known throughout some areas of Peru (Apurimac and Puno in particular). The pusi pia (also known as mukululu) are made almost entirely throughout the department of La Paz. From the 1960s, a medium size quena was introduced to folk musicians. Its use became popular thanks to the French musician "El Gringo" Favre, member of Los Jairas (musical group).

This musical instrument appears along with the first inhabitants of the valleys of Cochabamba during what is called the Formative Period (1500b.C. - 400a.C). Archaeologists of the Archaeological Museum of the Universidad Mayor de San Simon have discovered a quena in Yurac Molina made of llama bone and is considered to be one of the oldest reported in Cochabamba. In Santa Lucia (Valle Alto of Cochabamba), another site, archaeologist Olga Gabelman also discovered various fragments of quena.

During the Horizonte Medio (400a.C. - 1100a.C), a time when the Tiwanaku culture developed, the use of the quena appears to grow massively and there seem to be a variety of types. Archaeologist Ricardo Céspedes has excavated four quenans made of camelido from a hilltop in Piñami



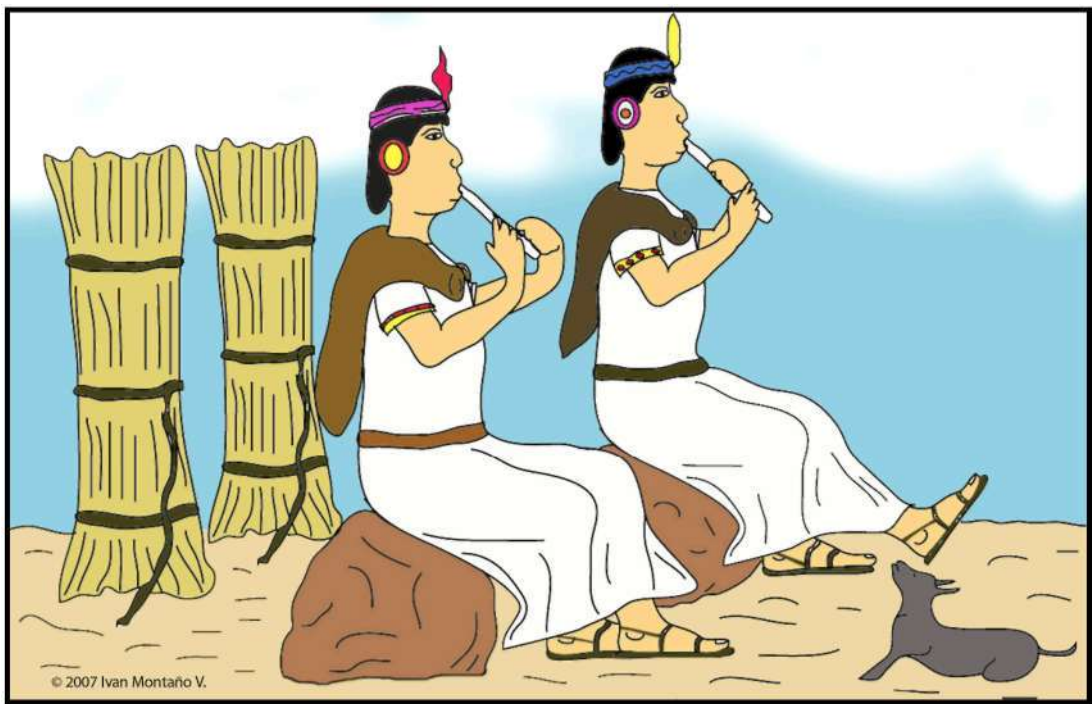
(Quillacollo). Three of the quenenas demonstrate three tone holes and range between 10 and 13cms long. The fourth discovery shows a total of six tone holes separated by a type of circular decoration. In his book "Tihuananu, La Cuna del Hombre Americano" (1896), Arthur Posnansky published an article describing a quena made of bone with four tone holes. In another article published by Julia Elena Fortun in "Aerofonos Prehispanicos Andinos" (1968-1970), she describes a small quena made of bone (11.5cms), with three tone holes, which had been excavated by archaeologist Carlos Ponce Sanjines in Mollo (La Paz).

During the periods Intermedio Tardio (1100a.C. - 1450a.C.) and the Horizonte Inka (1450a.C. - 1530a.C.) the use of this instrument continued. A beautiful example of a white quena made from bone was recovered from the Inka de Tuska Pujio site (in Sacaba) by me. It contains three tone holes and is approximately 13 cms long.

The presence of the quena throughout prehistoric times and its presence nowadays - presently made of wood (cañahueca) -, demonstrates the importance of this musical instrument in the music of the Andean people.



Flutes (quenenas) of the Periodo Formativo on display at the Archaeological Museum in Cochabamba.



By: Walter Sanchez Canedo  
 Translated by: Daniela Viljoen  
 Quena Drawings by Ricardo Cespedes  
 Digital drawings by Ivan Montaña



Artistic recreation of Inkallajta in the shape of a condor.

In 1972, UNESCO's World Heritage Convention created an instrument that recognizes and protects natural and cultural heritage of exceptional value. Nevertheless, it was only by 1992 that the World Heritage Committee incorporated cultural landscape as one of its areas of interest, generating an international juridical tool to identify, protect, conserve and leave future generations these cultural landscapes of exceptional value.

**W**hat is cultural landscape? According to the first Article of the Convention, it is what "combines the work of man and nature". Therefore, it refers to the anthropogenic interventions of man over space, giving it meaning. It also implies taking into account the present sense of meaning which people (local, regional, national and international) give to landscapes.

The Operative Guide for implementing the World Heritage Convention defines three categories of cultural landscape:

Those landscapes designed and created intentionally, such as gardens and / or parks.

Those landscapes that have evolved as a result of social, political, economical, religious or ritual processes and that are also divided into sub-categories: 1. The Fossil/Relic landscape, whose process has been completed or ended, 2. The Continual landscape; meaning one that continues to be used by contemporary societies and that is linked to traditional ways of living.

Those landscapes associated with religious, artistic or cultural aspects and whose environment or location is quite relevant.

In Bolivia, archaeology has been particularly sensible to understanding and studying the interventions than men and women have over the environment. Some examples of pre-Hispanic agricultural landscapes have been studied scientifically by archaeologist Clark Erickson in the plains of Moxos (artificial canals, trails, terraces, platforms, etc.) and in the area of Titicaca (canals, artificial lagoons, platforms, terraces for cultivating, etc.)

In Cochabamba, the introduction of location coordinates in archaeology is only beginning. This is important as it allows us to comprehend the logic behind the construction of the space used in the past by indigenous societies that can also serve as models for present and future societies.

In Mental Landscape, Landscape as idea and concept (Landscape Research 4, Vol.29, 2004), Gerard Ermisher emphasizes three aspects to understanding cultural landscapes:

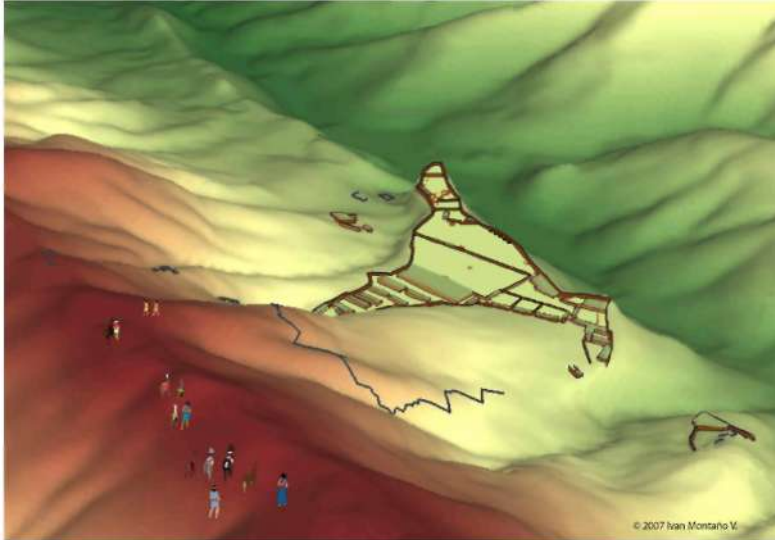
1. Human ideas on landscaping, 2. the process of building a landscape — historically determined, and 3. the cultural view of landscaping, which is not singular, but collective.

If human ideas — Cosmo vision — are focused on the construction and perception of the landscape, one of the

# **LANDSCAPES...**

# **PAST AND PRESENT**

Artistic recreation of herdsmen going to Inkallajta (with it's Condor shape).



first steps to approaching pre-Hispanic landscapes, is by understanding the ideas that those societies intervened over space and relate them to actual perceptions due to the fact that we — in the present — are the ones who value these inherited landscapes and give them meaning.

Anthropologist Tom Zuidema, in his article *The Lion in the city: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco* (*Journal of Latin American Lore* 9, 1983) spoke of how Cuzco during the Inca Empire - which extends to a more ample region not just a city - was organized through a radial-spatial system of sanctuaries, known as "ceques" made up of springs, rivers, mountains, rocks, etc., and expands over 15-25 kilometers.



© 2003 Fernando and Edgar Salazar.

Polo de Ondegardo, who know the system of ceques of Cuzco well, in his book, *Informaciones acerca de la Religion y Gobierno de los Inkas* (1571), pointed out that the systems of Pocona (Cochabamba) had a particular "order" similar to that of Cuzco. He writes, "Even though there were not as many sanctuaries as in Cuzco", the placement of these ceques were so similar to those of Pocona that "the Indians drew these on a map for the Archbishop of Charcas."

Bernardo Ellefsen, in *La Importancia Historica de Incallajta*, (1972), following Zuidema, explains that the need to understand Pocona as an ample location that includes Inkallajta, whose pre-Historic name appears to be Machaca Marka or "Pueblo Nuevo"(new town) in Aymara. According to architectonic parallelisms with Cuzco, Peru, he also concludes that Inkallajta was an "an important religious, astronomical and administrative location", where possibly the system of ceques was distributed or partitioned. Following the same views, Bolivian archaeologist Ramon Sanzetenea states that this new "pueblo", according to the symbolic location, represents a "flying condor", metaphorically as the urban landscaping of Cuzco represents the "body of a puma".

Zuidema emphasizes "there is no evidence that the shape of Cuzco represents that of an animal (puma) lying on its side"; there is also evidence lacking that the architectonic landscape of Inkallajta represents a "flying condor". However, it is important to recognize that a part of the perception and cultural construction or building of current pre-Hispanic landscapes is linked to the constant need to reinvent the past and give meaning again to those significant cultural locations.

By Walter Sanchez  
Infography: Ivan Montañó  
Arqueological Museo

Translated by: Daniela Viljoen

Recreation of Cuzco, Peru in the shape of a puma, according to Fernando and Edgar Salazar.



“They say that the cantaritos on the stone were caused by lightning,” says a young peasant boy talking about the cavities that exist on in the rock near Calicanto River, in the K'ara Kara community of Tarata-Cochabamba. Just three decades ago, this place was used for prayers, asking for rain during the drought season. “When I was a child, my parents took us and we would kneel and, together with the entire community, ask for rain. We would say ‘Yacu Tatay, Paray Tatay’ - ‘Father Water, Father Rain’. The whole community would go, including children, boys and girls. Kneeling, we would pray and shout for rain. For this, people would bring water in jugs from a spring that was close to the Convent in Tarata. From there, the water was brought and put into the cantaritos.”

But these people do not do this anymore.

What was the relation between the lightning, the rock, the cavities in the rock, and the rain? During Incan times, Illapa, the god of lightning, was one of the most important gods of the Andes. Juan Polo de Ondegardo, an emissary in the Paso, a valley of Cochabamba, who was an expert in indigenous religions, emphasized in his 1871 book *Tratado sobre los errores y supersticiones de los Indios* the significance of these gods. “The

Incas, lords of Peru, the most adored after Viracocha and the Sun, gave the names of Chuquilla, Catailla and Inti Illapa to thunder, pretending he is a man in the heavens with a club, who held in his hands all rain, hail, thunder and everything that creates the clouds in the skies.” The relationship between Illapa and the rain was further explored by priest Bernabe Cobo, who, in his 1653 book *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* states that the indigenous religious “Gave thunder the ability to rain or hail with everything else that touches the clouds in the skies... thus, under the name of thunder or as followers of him, adored the lightning, thunder, the arch of the sky, the rains, the hail and even the storms.”

With the arrival of the Spanish conquistadors came the illegality of these gods, and this is the reason that today indigenous people still dress their gods in Christian clothing, to continue worshipping them in secret. Therefore, Illapa became Santiago and the traditions of water and the rain were concealed underneath the face of Christian appearance. In other places, these rituals were performed in the name of other saints, although many old rituals were maintained.

At present these rituals have lost their relevance. In Tarata - and in K'ara K'ara - the local rituals have disappeared because

# Worshipping Water: Ancient Rituals in Cochabamba's High Valleys



K'ara K'ara and Laka Laka landscape with the location of cupulas

Photos 1-3. Cupulas near K'ara K'ara



of acute drought at the beginning of going back nearly three decades, brought on by El Nino. Desperately, the people in Tarata and smaller surrounding communities asked the priests of the Franciscan Church to perform processions in the name of San Severino, believed to be the saint of miracles. After one such procession, a huge storm began, causing flooding. This

"miracle" passed through the mouths of the people from town to town. It was then that San Severino was baptised as "Saint of the Rains" with an adjoining cult that grew to the extent of becoming a regular regional festivity.

Forgotten, the ancient rock cavities or domes remain as the only mark of the ancient rituals that came before these processions.



Photos 4-6 Cupulas near Link'urina and La Maica

By: Walter Sanchez  
Photographs: Ivan Montaño and Walter Sanchez  
Illustration: Ivan Montaño  
Institute of Archeological Research, Museo de Arqueología San Simon



# The sound of the snake

Walter Sanchez Canedo  
Institute Archeological Research



What was the reason for the Andean and pre-Hispanic fascination for rattlesnakes (*crotalus durissus terrificus*)? Felipe Criado Boado, in his book *Del Terreno al Espacio: Planteamientos y Perspectiva para la Arqueología del Paisaje* (Capa 6, 1999) said that the "weak analogy" can be a methodological way in which to ask questions that enable us to advance our understanding of an unknown phenomenon. It is to be understood not as the search for ethnographic parallels, similarities or continuities, but as the sizing up of and looking closer at phenomena that, because of their nature and separation in time and space, are irreducible. In this way is this possible to locate the significance and connotations of rattlesnakes within the Trwanaku culture (400a.C - 1.100 a.C) through an exploration of Andean ideology.

The Aymaras and Quechuas of Bolivia divide the universe into three parts: Alax Pacha (upper world), Kay Pacha (our world) and Manqha Pacha (underworld). Alax Pacha is a sphere of light, which is associated with the official deities of God, the Saints and the Virgins. Manqha Pacha is the underworld sphere, the darkness, where the Andean Deities are located: Pachamama (Mother Earth), the dead and the ancestors, the evils, the lightning and the Siruni, "musical and poetic Evil".

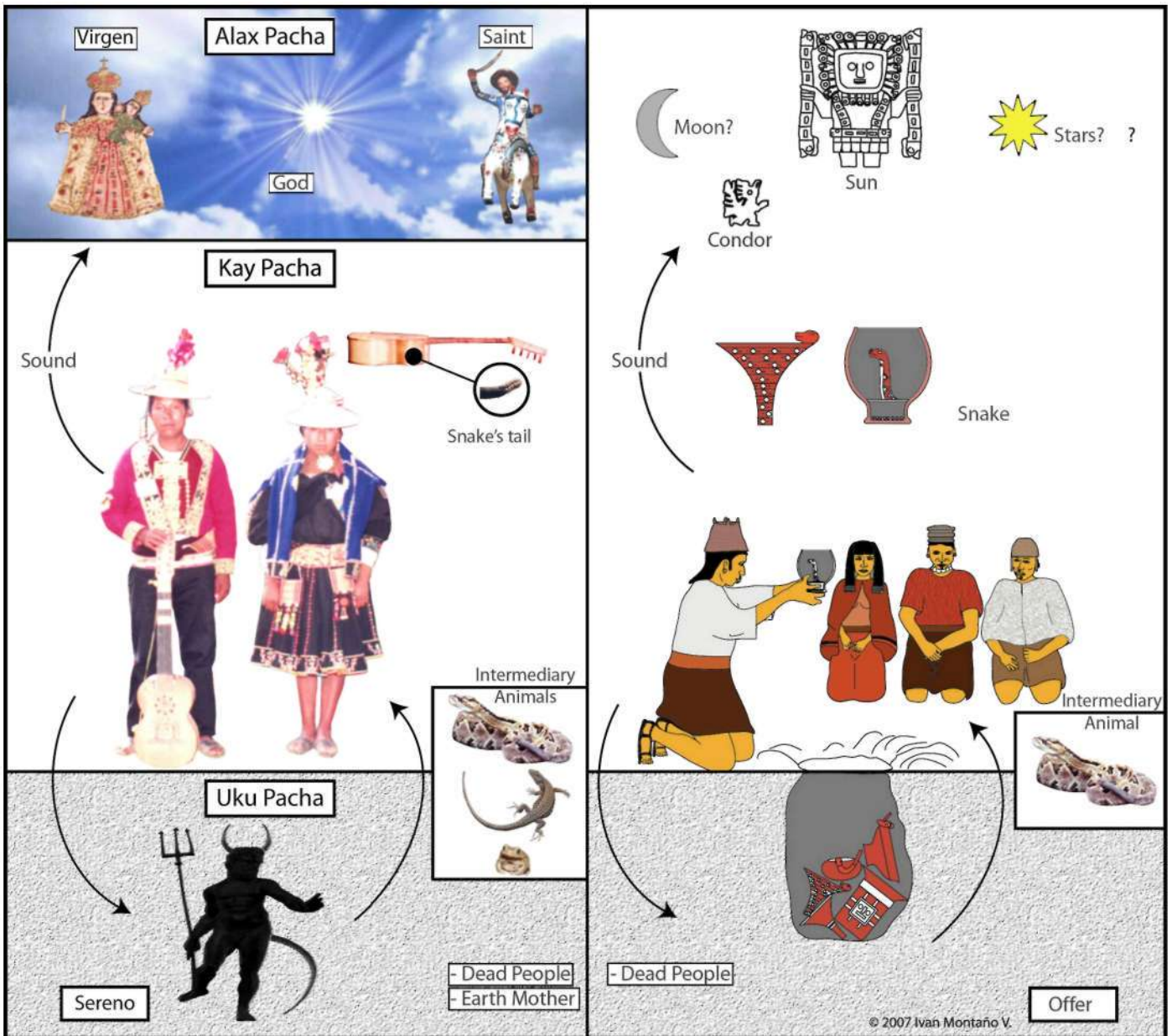
The Siruni is a Deity in all of the Andes, who is invoked only to listen to the sounds through which it communicates. It gives human beings music, the singing poetry, and also the aesthetic sound of musical instruments. Each year in the north of Potosi, the peasants perform rituals at night (ch'allas) in the water slopes (pajchas), where the Siruni live, with the aim of listening to the new music and poeties in order to take them to the festivals. They say that Siruni is "evil" and appears in Saint Sebastian. The Sereno leaves the slope saying "occ", and then begins to sing the new waynas (songs) with an imilla voice (the voice of a young women). Then he tunes the instruments and plays them. They then take these songs and melodies to parties. In other communities of Chuquisaca and Cochabamba, the Siruni appear in the dreams of the music teachers, the Luriri, to give them new melodies and waynas.

With the idea of increasing the "charm" of the music and calling the attention of single women, the young peasants from the north of Potosi and the south of Cochabamba put the crotalo of rattlesnakes inside the box of their charangos (string instrument). The crotalo signifies the Siruni and the dark cave of the dark world of the Manqha Pacha.

The rattlesnake is associated with the sound of the crotalo, which appears often in pots and rattles (globualres or keru) belonging to the Trwanaku culture. These pots have two parts. The first is where the liquids are stored and the other is where they put litde stones that rattle around making a similar sound to the crotalo of the rattlesnakes.

These pots have been found sporadically in different excavations in Cochabamba, Oruro and La Paz. The discovery of "The Pariti Treasure" by a Bolivian-Philanders team, the most important in the last decade, has not only affirmed the close connection between the Trwanaku rattle pots and the crotalos terrincu, but also its meaning in the rites. In fact, if we look at the Pariti Trwanakota ceramic treasures and the Pariti book *Isla, Misterio y Poder* (Antti Korpisaari & Martti Parsinen), the snake-like decoration and sculpting elements had an importance we do not know, although we can begin to ask questions. What was the role of crotalos *durissus terrificus* inside the cosmology of Tiwanaku?





What was the power of the sound of crotalo in Tiwanaku? Was the sound of crotalo a device of mediation between men and deities from the Tiwanaku mausoleum? Were the pots with rhomboid decorations that, according to archaeologist Richard Cespedes, represent rattle snakes used in special rites and rituals? Who used these pots? And which other snakes were represented in the Tiwanaku culture?

Amongst the many pots discovered in Pariti, a globular pot, inside which appears the head of a rattlesnake, stands out. If we follow the interpretation of the discovery, the pot was used for ritual purposes. The interpretation supposes that, just before it was buried, the pot was used for a special event, in which the crotalo sound and the liquid with which the pot was filled were of great cultural significance. There

is no doubt that the pot represented *crotalos durissus terrificus*. The same act of burial must have been a metaphor for the return of the snake or the pot from "our world" to the "under world", putting into relief the bridge between the two worlds. If we take the interpretation of Terese Bouysson-Cassagne in her text *Lluvias y Cenizas* (1988), this can represent an offering to Coac. Coac was the word which the Pukinia people, whose language some researchers believe to be that of the Tiwanaku culture, gave to the snake and the Supreme Divinity.

By: Walter Sanchez  
 Illustrations: Ivan Montaña  
 Museo de Arqueología, San Simón  
 Translated by: Carmen Copa & Lucy Witter

# Tiwanaku in the Yungas of Cochabamba

Walter Sanchez of the Archaeological Museum introduces an unknown Cochabamba to all of us, Tiwanaku culture and his influence in ceramics



The Tiwanaku culture is known in Cochabamba specifically due to its ceramics. What marked the Tiwanaku's presence? Research has offered various models of inter-regional interaction, through which this culture has been interpreted. Dick E. Ibarra Grasso suggests it was due to military domain. Geraldine Byrne de Caballero agrees with John Murra and David Browman, that these interactions gave way due to the socio-economic control and direct access through agricultural colonization (vertical control of ecological terraces). Ricardo Cespedes describes two phases of the Tiwanaku culture: The first being what is called "illataco" (350a.C.-725a.C). This phase describes groups of locals and Tiwanakus having contact between both cultures and promoting exchange between themselves. The second phase is referred to as "piñami", (725a.C.- 1100a.C), a time when Tiwanaku migrated to Cochabamba. It is believed that during this second phase is when Cochabamba became one of the main capitals of the region, that later influenced and controlled surrounding areas. Alvaro Higuera, after proposing four models - political subordination, vertical control, trade of exotic goods and independence (or status quo) — believed that even through the presence of Tiwanaku style ceramic in Cochabamba, there was still a minimized predominance of local groups (model of status quo), resulting in a more direct presence of Tiwanaku people.



Ricardo Cespedes was the first archaeologist to report findings of Tiwanaku style ceramic in the Yungas of Paracti. In 2002, a small site that was dug in the yungas verified the presence of this ceramic style in excavation. In 2003, during a search carried out with archaeologist Ramon Sanzeteña in the Yungas of San Jose, we were able to collect a small sample of fragments of Tiwanaku ceramic at the Nina Rumi Punta site. In 2005, with the Archaeological Project "Tablas Monte" (through an agreement between the Swedish organization ASDI and the Universidad Mayor de San Simon), we carried out





an excavation of four different sites in the town of Tablas Monte, demonstrating the presence of Tiwanaku style ceramics, relating to the two phases that had been proposed for Cochabamba, the "illataco" and "piñami", related to or associated with local ceramic as well as from the alluvial plains of the Chapare region.

There are no models, nor interpretations regarding the ways of inter-regional interaction between the Yungas or Tiwanakus. And it is less than likely that even a direct domain existed due to military conquest or that there was any type of agricultural colony of Tiwanakus in the yungas. It is more probable that this is due to an accumulation of diverse mechanisms between those who must have prevailed in commerce and exchange. The excavation of a Tiwanaku "cista", or offering, in Tablas Monte, suggests the presence of Andean culture during agricultural rituals. Therefore, it would be factual to suggest migratory causes. An important group during this time of trade could have been the "llameros" of Colomi, Pisle, Pallq'a, Ch'apisirca and Altamachi. It is possible that these "llameros" were strongly linked to the Tiwanaku, and therefore be the ones who carried these Tiwanaku ceramics to favor their commerce and trade.

Another important element that arises from the excavations in Tablas Monte is the presence of ceramics similar to those



of the alluvial plains of Chapare. This fact makes the process of interaction more complex and suggests that the yungas was a more strategic site situated between the high lands and low lands. Other data that could be of great significance is that the yungas of Tablas Monte makes up one of the smaller regions of the Andes that allows for both pre-Hispanic "Andean" agriculture, such as the arracacha, yacon, achira, walusa, locoto and peanut, as well as Amazonian agriculture such as manioc.



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 Translated by: Carmen Copá, Kevan Brown  
 Daniela Viljoen



# A plain of water named Cochabamba

Walter Sanchez C. from the Archaeological Museum introduces us to the history of Cochabamba's name



Cochabamba's valleys, according to the actual references correspond to a dry climate, with extreme temperatures ranging from 28° C. in the summer and 5° in the winter.

This climatic environment provides a kind of vegetation in which the Molle (*Schinus molle*), el Algarrobo (*Prosopis alba*) or la Jark'a (*Acacia visco*) are the most distinguished forms. Was this natural and bioclimatic scenery the same as the one described by the first Spaniards in the XVI and XVII centuries?

Cochabamba's name, according to several researchers, derives from the Quechua word Cochapampa or the Aymara word Qutapampa, in which the meaning in both cases is "flat flooded place" or "lake plain".



**Rocha River surrounded by willows (c. 1920)**

Fray Martin de Murua in his *Historia General del Peru* (*General History of Peru*) explains that the origin of this name is taken from a local legend: "At the times of the Incas, Huayna Capac gave the name of Cochapampa when he arrived to the Cochapampa valleys. There was a very big lake that almost closed the road (they call the lake Cocha). As he did not want to change the road, he ordered to dry that lake and the captains of that infinite army heard his wish and ordered that every indio and india (Indian) help to dry it with a pitcher.

In less than 6 hours the people did it without problem. They were placed around the lake with their pitcher and dried it without leaving a drop of water. As they have the pitcher full of water, a main orejon "the nobles, also called orejones by the Spaniards (big-ears), due to the deformation of their ear lobes through carrying heavy jewelry that differentiated them in rank" went and asked the Inca what should they do with the water. He ordered to look for a rough crevice to put it. He found it nearby. All this soldiers went to pour it. It became a big lake. After some days the water evaporated and it became a dry and sandy place and the Indians turned it into a flat and big place. That is why it was named Cocha Pampa, where the Spaniards settled and made it a very rich city".

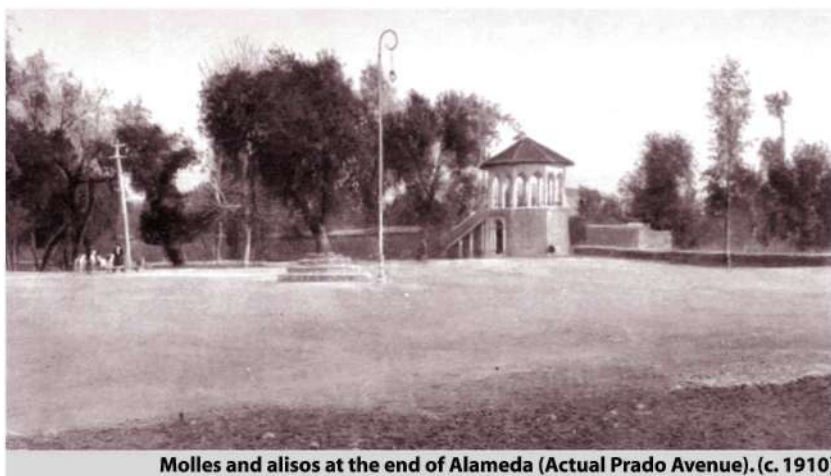
The R.P. Fr. Diego de Mendoza in his *Cronica de la provincia de San Antonio de los Charcas* (1664-1976) (*Province of San Antonio of the Charcas Chronicle*) describes Cochabamba Valleys as the place "where the water is sufficient for the sown lands because of its plentiful streams from the region valleys"

Regarding the weather, fauna and flora, he pointed out that: "in the valleys of Cochabamba the air is mild because this city is located at the foothill, which cherishes and conserves a bit of snow all year, its mild overcast top warmer than cool, the humid and muddy plot, thus it was named Cochabamba or Pampa (flat land) or just as "llanada de agua", with a very healthy climate. The denseness of its groves, the great variety of birds, which are pleasant to sight and sound, plentiful mountains of cedars, and another kind of wood". This landscape is different to the nearby valley of Clisa which is six leagues southeast from the city (Oropeza)" in spite of "its plentiful fruit crops, there was not much water to water the crops."

The historian Mr. Jose Macedonio Urquidi, in his book *"El Origin de la Noble Villa de Oropeza"* (1949) (*The origin of the noble Villa de Oropeza*) transcribes a document which the Caciques of Sipe Sipe, Hachata and Consabana made (in 1552), in the grounds that they call "Canata" or "in the town of Canata" (nowadays the city of Cochabamba). This book gives precise references about the bioclimatic characteristics from the region. Andres Berra, a witness, points out that "the lands from Canata- are swamps". Another witness, Yucura, from Sipesipe, indicates that they do not work these lands because the Indians who tried to do it died as the land is constantly flooded". Caulla (from Sipesipe) explains it a bit more, "ten years ago -the Indians from Canata, have not worked and they do not work these lands, and they do not think to do it because they are considered mean lands. When Indians work there, they die since this is a warm land.



**Laguna Cuellar (now Satadium "Félix Capriles") with a forest of poplars. (c. 1920)**



**Molles and alisos at the end of Alameda (Actual Prado Avenue). (c. 1910)**

The details of the land give us some information about the flora and the slopes. "The Canata town starts in a willow placed on the edge of a swamp until the Rio Grande of Canata (nowadays the Rio Rocha); this town has a small stream in which there are some big and old farmyards from the Inca period. In the other side of the stream, between the top of two mountains some slopes flow.

The characteristic of a muddy land where the centre of the city of Cochabamba is located, is restated by P.Fr. Diego de Mendoza who points out that "the convent of San Francisco (located in calle 25 de mayo and the corner of calle Bolivar) was a bit narrow, this was the less humid place from the city"

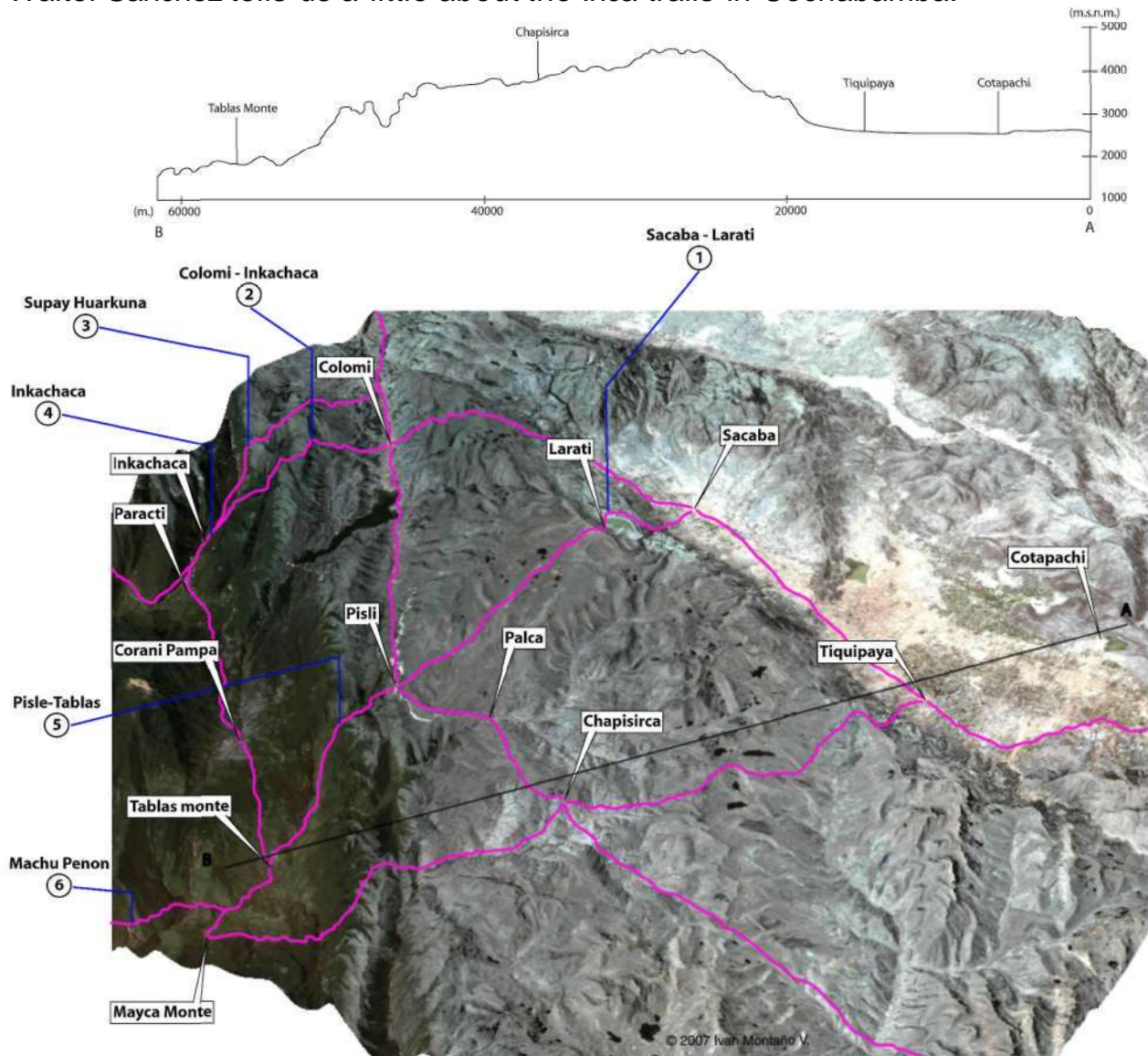
This meaningful evidence proves that the central valley of Cochabamba was covered with a forest with several tree species such as: Willows (*salix babilonica*, *salix humboldtiana*), Cedars (*cederia lilloi*), and Chillijchis (*Eritrina Falcata*), and another species which grows with a lot of water. It had a warm and humid weather which was refreshed by the clouds from the Tunari mountains where the existent glaciers fed the rivers, the streams and the slopes. These abundant waters turned some lands from different areas into muddy places, and the low lands flooded, forming small lakes and lagoons.

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# The Trails of Power

Walter Sanchez tells us a little about the Inca trails in Cochabamba.



When the Incas arrived in Cochabamba (XV Century), many of the known "Inca trails" were already being used. This is even more evident if we accept, as is already sustained, that herds of llamas were always moved to the valleys of Cochabamba centuries ago through these trails. Although without empirical evidence, there is support that leads us to believe that the Tiwanaku culture is responsible for the construction of a majority of the trails to and from the valleys of Cochabamba.

If we understand that any leader, group or State, who wants to control its people, resources and territories, they should have control over the trails. We understand that the Incas quickly took power over the network of trails of the Andes. Furthermore, these trails were rapidly linked with a political



two trails: one through the Valle Alto and another that led towards the central valley and the valley of Sacaba.

From the valley of Sacaba, another trail that was formally established, led towards to mountain range of Tiraque and Larati. This trail contained many areas of land with old cobblestone and wall structures. In Larati, this trail divided into two smaller ones: one that continued on to the plateau of Pisle-Pallq'a, and the other towards Colomi.

and ritual significance of power of the Incas over territories. Perhaps it was during this time when differences in trails were introduced and accepted by conquered groups. Ludovico Bertonio, supports the fact that the Lupaka, a type of authority of the Altiplano, recognized three different types of trails or *thaqi* (as they were called in Aymara): 1. the "*angofto* trail", also called Hucchufa, kullk, 2. the wide trail called *Haccancca thanqui* and 3. the *tupu* or *cama*, a "royal trail". The *tupu* were, without a doubt, the *Qhapac Nan* or the Incan royal trail.



According to archeologist John Hyslop, the *Qhapac Nan* was the symbol of authority of the Incan State over the known and conquered world. It ran from Colombia to Argentina and joined the entire *Tawantinsuyo* (the four Incan States).

According to written sources, the "royal trail" emerged from Cuzco towards the four suyo and corresponded with the *ceque*, or ritual sites of the Incas; this is also the reason for its sacredness. One of the four trails led towards the *Collasuyo* where it divided in Lake Titicaca. Both trails ran along the border of the lake and the parallel throughout the Altiplano. The north trail reached the *Tambo Real de Paria*, located in what is now Oruro. From this *tambo* (a lodging point for travelers), a trail led south towards the town of Tapacari and from there continued to the valley of Cochabamba. In the Valle Bajo, the royal trail divided into another







The trail that led to Pisle-Pallq'a was formally built. Even today there are still some visible parts of ancient cobblestone that, in some places, are accompanied by rock structures that appear to have been living quarters and corrals. From Pisle-Pallq'a, the trail leads towards the archaeological site in Tablas Monte, where we have already found Tiwanaku and Incan ceramics (See: cocha-banner No. 24). From Tablas Monte, the trail continues until it reaches a greater archaeological site, Machu Penon.

The trail that led towards Colomi was divided into two new trails. The first, leading to the present day area of Aguirre, going towards the countryside of Murmuntani, and crossing a bridge called *Rumichaca* (bridge of rock), which has disappeared. From there, it zig zags through a formally built trail until Incachaca. This trail contains a diverse system of typical Incan trails: side ramps made of stone, walls and simple drainage systems and steps.

The second trail, what is known today as the Inca Trail (See: cocha-banner No. 17), leads towards the mountain of Abra k'asa and crosses the mountain range through a deep ravine of tropical surroundings. From this point on, the trail descends abruptly reaching the yungas of Incachaca/Paracti, where an important Tiwanaku and Incan archaeological site is located. In this area the trail joins together with another that leads south

along the river Supay Huark'una, a trail that is almost entirely covered in cobblestone, steps and water drainage systems.

This entire network of Inca trails towards to Yungas demonstrates that the Tiwanaku and Incas did not just stop in the valleys of Cochabamba, but their presence was evident in the west Andes region and, without a doubt, the Amazonian plains of Chapare.

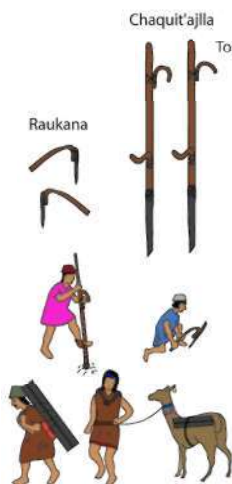
by: Walter Sanchez  
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Infography: Ivan Montaña





# The Chonta Palm and the Agricultural Tools used in Cochabamba

Chonta wood tools manufactured by the mitmaqunas (Inca servants) for their tillage works



Chaquit'ajlla

To the other ethnic groups of the highland

Cotapachi

Sacaba

Colomi

Inkachaca

Paracti

El Palmar

Sehuencas

To the other ethnic groups of the valleys

Arepucho

To the other ethnic groups of the valleys

ChuquiUma

To the other ethnic groups of the highland

Chapisirca

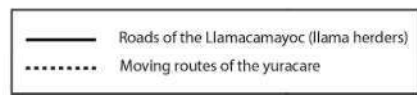
Tablas Monte

Villa Tunari

Chapare's River

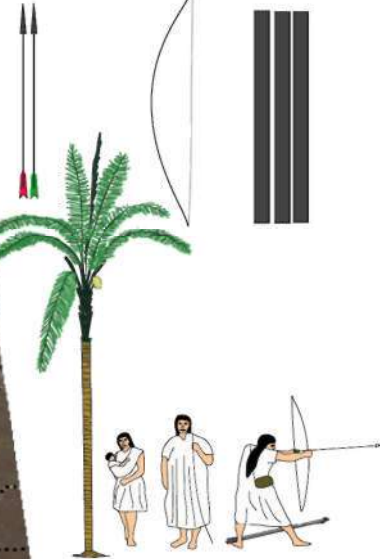
Chimore's River

To the other ethnic groups of the low lands



Chonta wood and other devices manufactured by the yuracare for their exchange

Arrows Bows Chonta wood



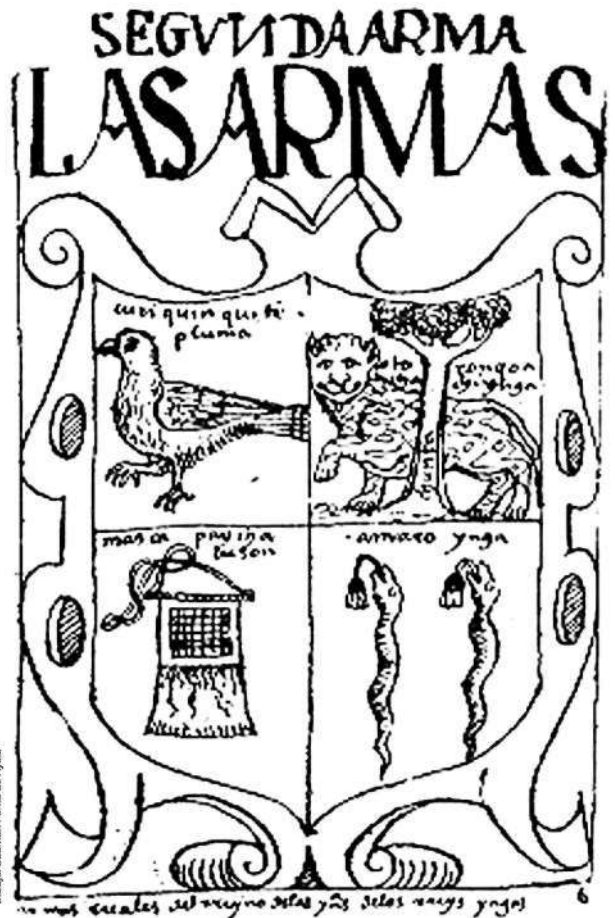
To the other ethnic groups of the low lands

Model that shows the points of Exchange of the Chonta palm between the Yuracaré and the people of the Yungas and Valleys.

According to Peruvian historian Maria Rostorowski, the use of the chaquit'ajlla — an "Andean" plough - dates back to approximately 2500 B.C. This agricultural instrument, made of a stick measuring 1.70m high, has two extensions: one where the hand is placed and another which is used by the foot as a lever. Bourliaud states in his article, *Chaquitaclla, Strategies de labour et intensification en agriculture andine* (1986), that this agricultural tool, one of the most important of the Andes, is so perfectly adapted to the Andean physiographical conditions that it allowed them to successfully work on land which sloped at an angle of 45° or more.

The chaquit'ajlla was used by the people of the Tiwanaku tribe (400 A.C. - 1,100 A.C.). Many of the artifacts found in the Valleys and Yungas of Cochabamba have been linked to the Tiwanaku people, which leads us to believe that they had an important presence in these areas. It is known that 14,000 colonizers (*mitmaquna*) reached Cochabamba, led by the Incas Thopa Inka Yupanqui and Wayna Qhupac. With the help of two tools, the chaquit'ajlla and the raucana (Quechua) *liuk'ana* (Aymara), the colonizers cultivated maize and coca, which helped them establish an agricultural area.

Archaeological findings and sources show that these two pre-Hispanic tools, the chaquit'ajlla and the raucana were made of hard, rough palm tree wood and were used to plough the



Arms of Manco Capac. You can see how they appreciate the Chonta palm in front of the jaguar

earth. The Chonta palm (*Astrocaryum chonta* Mart, of the *Palmae* family) can only be found below 1000m, so there are many in the tropical Yungas as well as the Amazonian flats. The indigenous Yuracare people of Cochabamba are experts in transforming the wood into tools, a process which involves fire.

After the Spanish conquest, the landscape of Cochabamba was dramatically changed. There are two reasons for this: 1.

the presence of the ox driven plough - which resulted in the destruction of the terrace system; and 2. the introduction of iron tools - various documents written and published by Jose Macedonio Urquidi suggest the presence of these new agricultural tools.

During the following decades there was an increase in use of these new agricultural tools. By the end of the XIX Century, these two tools, the chujchuca (azada) and the arado, were introduced into the most common agricultural practices of the campesinos of the valleys of Cochabamba. In his article, *Instrucciones Para la Vida Campesina* (1888), Luis F. Guzman explains how the topographical conditions determined their use: "When the land that needs to be worked and it is on a slope where the plough cannot reach, it is indispensable to work it by hand, uprooting (with the chujchuca) the brush and straw, little by little, if there are no trees to cut or burn. If the ox and plough can move freely, then the work is perfected just by the help of the chujchuca".



The trunk of the Chonta palm

The hoe, the chujchuca, ax and machete were all important in the Yungas. The hoe and the chujchuca were used predominantly in the cultivation of coca, while to plough the fields they would use the "chontas or small iron spears with a flattened curved tip. Its length varies, depending on whether they were used to work on soft soil or to clear heavy brush." This description demonstrates that although the use of palm tree wood was abandoned in the Valles, they continued using this material in the Yungas until the end of the 19th century.



The Chonta palm Tree in Villa Tunari - Cochabamba

Through looking at these findings, we can begin to understand the importance of palm wood in the agricultural societies of both the Yungas and the Valles. We can see that interaction and exchange between the "Amazonian" and the "Andean" societies existed, which goes against all previous writings that insist that the two tribes lived separately.

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 Infography : Ivan Montañó  
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# Religious Popular Art



A type of shadow box with a large image of "Tata Santiago". Jesus Christ seated in the background

There is a type of Popular Art in Cochabamba, created by mestizos that was greatly accepted among the campesinos. This art is made from small wooden cases that imitate the kind of cases or alter-pieces of the churches, where the artists of the villages unfold the religious imagination. These cases are so small, they can be moved from one place to another.

The themes these cases carry inside vary. They can be images or anything from Saints, Virgins, "Señores" accompanied by miniature statues of animals (cows, bulls, sheep, etc.) that protect or favor their fertility and abundance, to the sole



presence of painted stones with religious scenes or with symbols of nature associated with Christian symbolism. Some cases have doors that open to the side and imitate European art. The interior or these doors are painted with detail, flowers, stems or branches and trees.

This portable representation comes from Colonial origin. A quick look at the formal elements of the paintings demonstrates not only the existence of religious symbols, but also symbols that represent the pre-Hispanic indigenous deities, or wak'a as they are known. How did this come about?

Polo de Ondegardo, Encomendero (\*) of the beginning of the El Paso Colony, explains in his writings of his document *Los errores y supersticiones de los indios, sacados del tratado y averiguacion que hizo el Licenciado Polo* (1 571) (Collection of Books and Documents of Peruvian History, T. III), that before the Spanish conquest, the locals recognized two types



Painting on stone with the images of Santiago, the Cross and the Virgin with baby Christ



Stone with a natural formation of the Cross.

of wak'a: the "mobile" and the "immobile". The "mobile" were those that were ordinary, they were family deities that were carried from one place to another; whereas the "immobile" were the wak'a that remained "fixed" in one place and those "you could not take your eyes off of: the mountains, the Pachamama, the rivers and springs.

Those mobile wak'a, also called cunupa, were, according to Arriaga, the Extirpator of idolatries, "ordinary and of stone, and usually without any particular shape; others have more diverse figures...others have the shape of animals". Each cunupa has "its own name" and are used to help the fertility of the animals and crops.

With the arrival of the Spanish, this entire indigenous religious complex was persecuted through a process called

San Marcos, protector of livestock, with the "accountant" and the milk maid holding cheese.



Stone painting of Virgen protecting the livestock at her feet



the "Extirpation of Idolatries". The images of local religious Gods were burned, their temples destroyed, their cunupas confiscated. At the same time, the Catholic Church began a process called the "Conquest of Indigenous Souls", through which new temples were built and new Christian images or symbols were introduced, along with other religious paraphernalia (mass, festivities, processions and so forth).

This is when imagery begins to integrate religious elements of the conquistadors along with local religious elements creating this new religious complex. This phenomenon allowed the indigenous to integrate their ancient family deities into the colonial religion, disguised under Christian clothing. Through this, the Andean God Illapa, God of thunder, lightning and rain, became "Tata Santiago". The stone cunupa, protectors of livestock, are painted along with images of Saints and Virgins to continue following their own ancient beliefs. In other cases, only stones are placed, with natural figures that reproduce Christian symbols like the cross, the Virgin or Christ, turning them into guardians of their homes. Of the more popular imaginative mestize art, the more sophisticated alter-pieces, such as the famous San Marcos, possess various characters such as the "accountant" represented by holding a pen and a notebook "to count his livestock", the milk maid carrying cheese, all surrounded by a great number of cows and sheep.

The artists of this Popular Mestize Religious Art that maintained during the colony and the republic times have now disappeared. The only proof of their presence is kept by the campesinos, in their homes, these small shadow boxes with images of their Saints, Virgins or Señores. During certain festivities, these cases are carried and taken to the Church to Mass, and they continue to follow the ancient work of protecting, sacrificing and safekeeping of the people's crops, livestock and homes.

\* During the Colonial Spanish rule, Spaniard who had indians under his charge.

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