

The Social Life of Death: Mortuary Practices in the North-Central Andes, 11th-18th centuries

Volume 1

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Abstract

For many societies, the world of the dead reflects the world of the living. Studies of mortuary practices are a fundamental way for scholars to research ancient societies, rituals and belief systems. This thesis examines the transformations in funerary practices in the North-Central Andes from AD 1000 to 1799, a period covering both the Inca and Spanish colonisations. This research demonstrates how historical events, political actions and manipulation can affect the *habitus* of a society. By studying the ways that people treat their dead, scholars can track changes in the social and cultural practices of ancient groups.

This research has a multi-disciplinary approach that combines archaeological and ethnohistorical data. It investigates the ideology related to the use of tombs, within a framework of changing social organisation. By drawing on the existing archaeological and historic reports, a unique database has been created which catalogues the tombs of the Ancash highlands in a systematic way. This includes basic formal descriptions of the tombs and analysis of their variability in order to propose specific time periods for tomb use. Archival work completed in Spain and Peru provided information about what people continued to do, or had changed, in their mortuary practices after the arrival of the Spanish and Catholicism. Archival documentation also provided details about the religious organisation and evangelisation of the region.

The results demonstrate that there were no drastic changes in mortuary practices with Inca and Spanish colonialism. This would suggest that, in the Ancash highlands, changes in mortuary practices were not a priority for the Incas, who probably ruled the region indirectly through administrative centres. During Spanish colonisation, data reveals two types of behaviour, a continuity in the use of Prehispanic mortuary customs and an adoption of the new ones. Nevertheless, this dualistic practice is a more complex process, where both groups actively adapted and negotiated their cultural identities over two centuries.

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Preface

To understand how and why I am here today to present my PhD dissertation on Andean archaeology and history, we have to go back a few years. In 2004 I left France with my parents to go to live in Chile. The wonderful experience that I had during my years living in South America (learning a new language, discovering a new culture, etc.) influenced my desire to learn more about Andean material culture, history and archaeology. My first trip to Peru occurred because of an exchange between my class and a Peruvian class of the Alianza Francesa. Following my return from this trip I knew that I wanted to specialise in Andean archaeology and more particularly Peru. This is the reason why, during my BA in Paris at the Panthéon/Sorbonne, I decided to go to Peru for my first fieldwork experience. Thus, in 2007 I went to Peru, as a volunteer to excavate on the site of Marcacajirca in Huari, Ancash, and again in 2008 on the site of Kipia, Cordillera Negra, Ancash. During these five months of fieldwork I was able to excavate in front of Prehispanic mortuary monuments (Marcacajirca), and inside a colonial chapel that had empty colonial tombs (Kipia). These two sites are represented in the database of this thesis. During my MA research (2009-2010), I looked at how different scholars examine colonialism and its impact on the social history of the Andes during the 16th and 17th centuries and the importance of multi-disciplinary research in colonial studies. For my doctoral thesis (September 2010 to June 2014) I decided that I wanted to continue to engage with both archaeology and ethnohistory, still looking at the impact of colonisation, but this time focusing more particularly on how they could affect mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands. Dr George Lau suggested the idea of focussing on above-ground structures called *chullpas* for which there was no existing typology or survey.

In February 2011, I spent a month studying Spanish colonial archives in the Archivo General de las Indias in Seville. In 2012 (March to May) I conducted a three-month research trip to Peru, during which I visited some of the archaeological sites presented in this thesis including, Atunhirca, Chinchawas, Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain, Kipia (and sites surrounding it), Queushu, Willkawain. I also wanted to visit others sites situated in the Conchucos area such as Gantu, Marcacajirca, Rapayán, but numerous people advised me not to go because of problems with narcotics traffickers in the area (mainly Rapayán area). I also inspected archival material held

in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Archivo Arzobispal de Huacho and the Archivo General de la Nación in Lima, looking for materials mentioning any mortuary practices or details relating to the dead-living relationship in the Ancash highlands. I returned to Peru between October 2012 and March 2013 in order to complete the archaeological and ethnohistorical survey. Another reason for me to go back was the possible opening of the Archivo Arzobispal de Huaraz early in 2013. I had intended to collect more information on the region not only previously, but also specifically focused on the area. Unfortunately this archive did not open before I left, but it will be a precious source of information for future research. Nevertheless, the 10 months of fieldwork and my previous experience working in the Ancash highlands enabled me to complete the dataset already compiled whilst I was in the UK. This data was used to compile the first comprehensive and detailed analysis of mortuary practices and tombs in the Ancash highlands.

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To Felipe, your unconditional love and support (professionally and personally) is what made this journey possible. Thank you for being there for me. Lastly, I offer my regards and blessings to all around me who believed in me and my project, and most especially my parents who supported me in all respects during the completion of this project. *Cette thèse vous est dédiée.*

I

Introduction to the Research Problem

Death is an important feature of identity for societies, with funerary practices being a significant expression of cultural change and interaction (Bloch and Parry 1982a). Death and the dead in Andean Prehispanic societies were an important part of daily life constituting the base of existence. There was a cultural effort to preserve the world of the dead and incorporate it into the social organisation and the future of their descendants. As Sherbondy (1986) argues, the life of the agro-pastoral communities living in the Andes was closely related to water and fertility. The dead of the community became necessary agents in the life of the living. Mummies and tombs were both a private matter and a public one, being part of the collective memory as a kinship and landscape marker in time and space. The dead, especially the ones considered to be sacred, became part of the cultural identity of the group, their presence was materialised by the people's intervention in the creation of their tomb, the rituals organised for their veneration and the long-term memory-making behaviour. This thesis analyses the transformations in mortuary practices of a society under a dominant external agent. Specifically, it considers two periods of colonialism in the Ancash region of Peru; firstly, by the Incas (AD 1460-1533) and subsequently by the Spanish (AD 1533). The central question of this thesis is how and why societies might modify their mortuary practices under external pressure. This study was carried out using an interdisciplinary approach, combining the archaeological analysis of burial patterns in the Ancash region and a critical review of the ethnohistorical sources, which observe changing practices through time. This introductory chapter opens with a presentation of the research problem and a discussion regarding terminology. It will conclude with an outline of the thesis.

1.1 Rationale

This research focuses on the mortuary practices of the highlands of Ancash, north-central Peru (Fig. 1.1). There has been little research regarding mortuary practices in the region, especially when compared to other areas such as Cuzco (Jamieson 2005: 362). Historical archaeology in the Andes is a new discipline, which has only emerged in the last thirty years in comparison to other regions in the Americas such

as Mesoamerica (Jamieson 2005: 354).¹ This might be due to the trauma that the Spanish colonial period inflicted on the populations. It is an event still present in the social memory of these populations, and is dealt with through indigenous folklore which idealises the Prehispanic past as a model of national identity (Jamieson 2005, Wachtel 1971). The earliest project undertaken in Peru was the Moquegua Valley Project (1985-1990). Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón conducted the first historical archaeology project related to the continuity of mortuary practices in Peru. In the 1780s, he was the Bishop of Trujillo and studied several burials at the site of Chan-Chan. Some of them were 16th century tombs of Chimú lords buried with a mix of Spanish and indigenous artifacts (Cabello Carro 2003, Kaulicke 2001). Another example of early colonial Peruvian burials is the recent discovery of thousands of mummy burials at Puruchuco (Lima, Peru) where we can observe Inca (Late Horizon) tombs containing European goods (Murphy *et. al* 2010). From the 17th century, Spanish colonial policies attempted to put an end to such practices. However, archaeological excavations of later Catholic cemeteries are very rare in Peru (Jamieson 2005: 357). Historical studies of the colonial period in the Andes usually start from the end of the Inca Empire and the arrival of the Spanish, a restricted time period (AD 1460-1533). Nevertheless, in this thesis I take the viewpoint that colonisation and colonialism were not restricted to the arrival of Europeans.

As seen in the coast of Peru, and as other examples across the world show, a colonial presence generally influences local funerary practices, which tend to integrate elements from both traditions (Frankfurter 1998, Webster 2001). In this work, I will explore the impact of two colonial processes (Inca and Spanish) that occurred in the north-central Andes, addressing issues of cultural assimilation, acculturation and creolisation in customs and/or material culture. It has been argued that the Spanish policy of *reducción* brought fundamental changes to the local populations' lives.² I will also argue that, prior to the Spanish conquest, the Incas had already exerted a similar process of acculturation in the Ancash region (Zuloaga 1994). The Spanish took on some elements of the Inca policy and added changes that met their purposes (Wachtel 1971). In doing so, the Spanish accelerated the previous colonial process created by the Incas. In this dissertation, I

¹ For recent works done on historical archaeology of Peru see: Klaus 2008, 2011; Murphy *et al.* 2010; Vanvalkenburgh 2012; Wernke 2006, 2007.

² Explanation of Spanish and Quechua terms *italicised* in the text can be found in the glossary.

argue that these changes must not be viewed as simply the passive adoption of a new material culture, but rather we must analyse them for possible evidence of resistance within native culture and practices. As others scholars (Dietler 1998, Gasco 2005, Gosden 2004, Schreiber 2005, Stein 2005), I advance the view that colonialism is not a static process, it is a system of interaction where both parties are active agents in the changes of the society. By analysing and comparing archaeological evidence of regional mortuary practices and combining this with a review of the written archival resources, this analysis observes changes in the relationships between the communities, their dead and ancestors from the 11th to 18th centuries.³

1.2 Definitions

As this thesis will discuss (Chapter 7), Stein (2005) highlights the fact that there is still no consensus among scholars about the notions of colonies, colonisation and colonialism. Colonialism is a characteristic of the modern world (European expansion into the non-European world), and previous scholars have adopted a dualistic approach that tends to define colonial encounters in terms of coloniser and colonised, core and periphery, dominance and resistance. However, colonial encounters and colonialism were also incorporated in pre-contact state-based societies such as the Romans, Greeks, Mayas and the Incas (D'Altroy 2005, Gosden 2004, Stein 2005, Lawrence and Shepherd 2006, Lightfoot 2005, Wernke 2007). Due to the difficulty of defining this concept, in this thesis I will use the terms 'colonisation' and 'colonialism' in keeping with the definitions given by Lawrence and Shepherd (2006) and Gosden (2004). Lawrence and Shepherd (2006: 69) define colonisation as:

‘The expansion of one state or polity into the territory of another and the establishment of settlements subject to that parent state. Expansion may be accomplished by conquest or by trade, and includes political, economic, social, cultural and psychological dimensions.’

³ The term ancestor in the Andes is usually defined a sacred dead, as not all the dead can become an ancestor. In this study the term ancestor will be used as a general term to define the dead, and their relationship with the living. However, this does not exclude the fact that different types of ancestors can be distinguished according to their importance in the community. See Chapter 3 and 7.

Colonialism is defined as:

‘The process by which new societies emerge with both the new territories and the core because of colonisation, and the new systems of relationships that result.’ (Lawrence and Shepherd 2006: 69).

As Dietler (1998: 298) suggests, when studying colonial encounters, one must be aware that in order to describe the entire colonial encounter it has to be divided into different phases. I agree with Dietler (1998) and Gosden (2004) that colonial encounters are a continuously changing process and that we should not focus on what appeared in later periods, assuming they were present in earlier stages. In this thesis colonialism is not defined as a monolithic concept; instead I will use the three types of colonialism that are defined by Gosden as:

- Colonialism within a shared milieu: ‘ Colonial relations between state and non-state polities created within a (partially) shared milieu. These are processes whereby the values attached to material culture are created and appropriated by a few, and become attractive to an elite over a large area, but still maintaining a symbolic centre of reference, which is an important part of their power.’ (Gosden 2004: 41).

- Middle ground: ‘Accommodation and regularised relations through a working understanding of others’ social relations. All parties think they are in control. Often create new modes of difference, not acculturation.’ (Gosden 2004: 26).

- *Terra Nullius*: ‘Lack of recognition of prior ways of life of people encountered leads to excuse for mass appropriation of land, destruction of social relations and death through war and disease.’ (Gosden 2004: 26).

Thus, the analysis presented in this thesis of the relationship between the local populations of the Ancash highlands and the Inca and Spanish colonialism will be developed within such a theoretical framework. Further notions such as acculturation and creolisation will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

1.3 Methodology and research objectives

The methodology adopted in this thesis consists of a comparison of archaeological and ethnohistorical data. This approach has been used in historical archaeology, and has proved to be fundamental in addressing the inter-relationships between verbal

and artefactual discourse in past societies (Couse 1990: 57; Funari, Jones and Hall 1999: 9; Little 1996: 50). This juncture of ethnohistory and archaeology has rarely been attempted and has never been employed in the north-central Andes. This thesis aims to go further than the simplistic matters of supposition already observed in studies of Andean mortuary practices, which are mostly based on data from colonial records. In this study, archaeology is used to verify and complement the written source. The use of this approach is to achieve three main objectives:

Firstly, this research presents a unique compilation of ethnohistorical documents concerning colonial Ancash. Previous scholars have already published some of these texts, but there are others that I have identified as a result of conducting research in the archives of Huacho, Lima and Seville. This is in itself a valuable resource available for any scholar interested in colonial Ancash. Secondly, this investigation provides a substantial database detailing formal and material aspects of the funerary practices in the region, including comprehensive coverage of archaeological discoveries. This database also includes a typology of tombs with their particular patterns, layouts and artefact associations. Thirdly, this thesis provides a better understanding of the transformations in the agency of societies that are under the process of cultural assimilation or resistance from one group to another. This interdisciplinary approach offers new insights into how colonial processes impacted on the take up and pace of cultural changes and on the history of the region. The comparison of two consecutive case studies of colonisation in the same region has important implications and broader applications for other colonial studies.

1.4 Outline Chapters

This thesis has been divided into eight chapters including of this one. Chapter 2, entitled ‘Sacred Landscapes: The Geography and Archaeology of Highland Ancash and the Central Andes’, consists of an overview of the environmental and cultural setting of the Ancash region. In particular, this chapter will clarify the geography of the different ecological zones included in this study and will provide a chronology for the region. A brief history of the research conducted on mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands will conclude the chapter. Chapter 3, entitled ‘The Archaeology and Anthropology of Death and Memory in Past Societies’ focuses on the theoretical and methodological approaches regarding burial patterns and

funerary practices in general with a review of the literature on the subject. This chapter also includes the description of the evangelisation of Peru, and more particularly, Ancash. It will focus on the organisation of the Church and its conversion strategies (e.g., the different clerical groups living in the region, the number of converted Indians, the number of hospitals and confraternities). Finally, it will define the Prehispanic and European visions surrounding death, in order to understand better the impact of bringing these two visions together within a colonial context.

This will be followed by three data chapters that together provide archaeological data and textual evidence about death which will illuminate how mortuary practices are a cultural identity marker. Chapter 4 is entitled ‘Mortuary Practices in the North-Central Andes’ and will describe the methodology, the terminology used to describe tombs in the area and also the main research and typologies known and used at the moment to classify the tombs evident in the Ancash highlands. Chapter 5, entitled ‘Mortuary patterns in the Ancash highlands’, will present my own categorisation of these monuments which will be based on my typological analysis of the region’s mortuary architecture and practices. This is the first substantial compilation of burials in the Ancash highlands. On the basis of this standardised typology it will be possible to employ it in future research by archaeologists interested in the region. I have also included, as part of this study, the different types of materials found within the tombs (these artefacts will be categorised according to the following groups: human bone, animal bone, ceramic, lithic, textile, maize, shells, all of which have their own physical characteristics). I will mainly focus my analysis on the ‘so-called’ *chullpas*, looking at different architectural variables. These analyses will be productive of visible patterns of diachronic continuities or changes in customs and in the relationships of communities with their ancestors under the colonial impact (i.e., political, economic and cultural changes occurring due to colonisation in the region).

In Chapter 6, entitled ‘Ethnohistorical analysis of funerary practices in the North-Central Andes’, data collected from archives in Europe (Archivo General de las Indias, Seville)⁴ and Peru (Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Archivo de la Nación, Archivo de Huacho) will be reviewed.⁵ In particular, I focus on historical

⁴ Archivo General de la Indias (hereafter AGI).

⁵ Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, Archivo General de la Nación, Archivo Arzobispal de Huacho (hereafter AAL, AGN and AAH).

description or mention of mortuary customs in the area and consider these in relation to other documents about the region during my period of interest, in order to build a more detailed historical context. These documents were mainly written by Spanish clerics and officials who were sent to Peru to evangelise the New World. An important source used by ethnohistorians is the *Visitas*, which include pastoral visits or visits against idolatries made during the 16th century in the Andes. Some of these documents have already been published (see Benito 2006, Duviols 2003, Doyle 1988, Polia 1999, Varón Gabai 1980, Zuidema 1990). In the case of mortuary practices, these documents provide important information on the practices of Andean populations, such as disinterment or making offerings to their dead. Finally, 18th century documents written by the religious priests of the region reflect on pre-existing Prehispanic and new forms of mortuary practices, organisation and ideology. In order to structure this information I will present this ethnohistorical data according to four different themes:

1. Death and idolatries.
2. Death and idolatries in the Ancash highlands.
3. The cost of burial during Spanish colonial times.
4. The role of language in evangelisation.

Chapter 7, entitled ‘ Social impact of colonialism on mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands: An archaeo-historical synthesis’ provides a review of the findings. Firstly, I will review the main concepts regarding historical archaeology and the archaeology of culture contact and colonialism. Secondly, I will discuss the role played by mortuary practices within colonialism. In particular, I look at the social impact these colonial processes had on mortuary customs or material culture of the population living in the Andes. In this part I will also show how historical events, political action and manipulation affected the societies in the Ancash region between AD 1000 to 1799. This chapter finishes with general conclusions on the data analysis of the main case study of this thesis: the Ancash highlands. Chapter 8, entitled ‘Conclusions’, presents the summary of the different issues raised by the research, and closes with a discussion about the possible broader application of this interdisciplinary (archaeo-historical) approach and developed typology in future research (i.e., contrast and comparison between the coast and the highlands).

II

Sacred Landscapes: The Geography and Archaeology of Highland Ancash and the Central Andes

Before discussing mortuary practices in the Central Andes and more particularly the Ancash region, it is important to contextualise the environmental and geographical settings within which different cultures developed over time. This will be followed by a discussion of three other points: an explanation of the creation of the Ancash region from the 16th to the 19th centuries, and its importance in the study of this thesis. An overview of the prehistory and colonial history of the North-Central Highlands, and a review of the previous research done on mortuary monuments and mortuary practices in the highlands of Ancash from Prehispanic to colonial times.

2.1 Geography and environment of the Central Andes

2.1.1 Theoretical concepts of landscape

Maria Nieves Zedeño defines the concept of landscape as:

‘Archaeological and historic landscapes contain the history of past interactions among humans and the natural and supernatural worlds, landscapes belong in the present, as they are reified in memories about past interactions and present practices aimed at preserving ancestral connections and land-based identities.’ (Nieves Zedeño 2008: 214).

There is no one single definition of ‘landscape’ in archaeology. However, if we want to attempt to define landscape in archaeological terms, it can be referred to as the human environment constituted by natural (e.g., ecological, geomorphological and hydrological) and cultural (e.g., cosmological, technological, organizational) aspects (Patterson 2008). Landscape can be defined as a mediation between these aspects mixed with the *habitus* of people experiencing the world around them (Knapp and Ashmore 1999). This thesis will aim to examine how the natural environment is culturally transformed by human adaptation and social organisation of society; how people experience and create their own space, even with the presence of an external agent due to colonisation.

The major focus of this work concerns death and mortuary practices. Mortuary monuments and burial practices are one element that defines human

interaction with the space they inhabit. People identify themselves with their community by the use and appropriation of their environment through monuments. Funerary monuments are representatives of the collective memory and the social boundaries of a society, creating a landscape of the dead by and for the living. Therefore, landscape becomes more than an environmental system of settlements patterns; it becomes a social and sacred landscape where people are engaged with its sacred meanings.

The social role of the dead will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, on death and memory in past societies. However, one must keep in mind that memory stresses social continuity in the landscape, presenting its social, sacred or ceremonial *longue durée* (Bender 1998, Holtorf 1997, Renfrew 1973, Buikstra and Charles 1999, Barrett 1999 in Ashmore and Knapp 1999). Moreover, the area studied in this thesis and its landscape can be examined in relation to changes in traditional customs in reaction to the political and economic transformations brought about by two successive colonisations of the area (those of the Inca and the Spanish). Conquest and colonialism involve destruction or obliterations of monuments and symbolic markings; the landscape is remade, disorienting the society (Ashmore and Knapp 1999). This notion of colonialism as both assimilation and resistance will be developed from a case study in the highlands of Ancash, north-central Peru.

2.1.2 Physical landscapes of the Central Andes and their cosmological importance

The Central Andes encompass Peru, Ecuador, highland Bolivia and northern Chile (Sandweiss and Richardson III 2008). This region is characterised by three main geographical areas: the arid Pacific coast, the mountainous Andean highlands and the forested Amazonian lowlands. Over many centuries human-environment interactions and ancient complex Andean societies were reliant on that climate diversity (Murra 1972, 1975).

This thesis focuses on the highland landscape of the Ancash region which lies between 2,300 and 4,800 meters above sea level (hereafter masl) in elevation and includes four different ecological zones: *quechua* (2,300-3,500 masl), *suni* (3,500-4,000 masl), *puna* (4,000-4,800 masl) y *janca* (above 4,800 masl) zones (Pulgar Vidal 1996) (See Fig. 2.1). These rapid altitudinal changes show a variety of ecological micro-environments creating vertical ecological landscapes. The levels

are defined by changes in climate, temperature, rainfall, vegetation and fauna. Each community living in these different ecological strata have adapted themselves and transformed their environment in order to develop their own intensified production, tied in with the various zones. This direct use of the various complementary ecological zones by different groups, the redistribution and the reciprocity system between them, gave them a better chance of improving local production and resources i.e., agricultural, mineral and animal products (Murra 2002).

Therefore, Andean populations were tied to their own landscape for generations. Moreover, the attractive strategic positions of certain ecological zones created conflict between groups living in these key areas. The Incas also strived to incorporate these economical resources into their territory. Ancash's central location, commercial resources and large workforce attracted conquerors to the area. Moreover, the Spanish colonisation was also attracted to these strategic resources. Landscape appropriation was essential to local identity. The nature of the relationship between different individuals of a community, the structure of the group, and also their place and organisation, relied upon the landscape and area (Renfrew 1976, Saxe 1970 in Parker Pearson 2003, Silverman 2002).

The Ancash region is situated in the north of Peru, extending from the Pacific Ocean to the Marañon River (Superficies of aprox. 35,900km²) (see Fig. 1.1). Two branches of the Cordillera Occidental mountain chain make up the region running parallel to one another: The Cordillera Blanca characterised by its glaciers (Huascarán mountain 6,768 masl is the highest in Peru) and the Cordillera Negra. Between the cordilleras is the Ancash capital Huaraz (3,027 masl). The Cordillera Blanca divides two valleys, which are the focus of this research: the Callejón de Huaylas on the west (Cities of Huaraz, Caraz, Carhuas see map) and the Conchucos on the east (Cities of Huari, Chacas, Pomabamba, San Luis).⁶ The Conchucos region is characterised by a succession of valleys perpendicular to the Marañon River on the eastern slope of the Cordillera Blanca.

Renowned archaeologist Antonio Raimondi (1873) described the Callejón de Huaylas as the most beautiful place in Peru. According to him, there is no other place with such favorable conditions and so many elements of prosperity and progress grouped together. Indeed, the Callejón de Huaylas saw the development of some of highland Peru's most prosperous communities, including the Chavín and Recuay.

⁶ The area of Conchucos is also known as Callejón de Conchucos. However, this is not geographically correct and therefore this terminology will not be used in this thesis.

The Callejón de Huaylas is the longest Andean valley in Peru, feeding into the Pacific through its coastal tributary, the Santa River. The economic activities of the communities in the area are based on agropastoralism, utilizing glacial runoff from the Cordillera Blanca (Lane 2006, 2011a).

Water and mountains were powerful entities in Prehispanic Andean cultures, where the landscape had not only an important economic role, but also was a strong element in belief systems. It is important to note that the veneration of the landscape, of major *huacas*, was a central part of their religious organisation. *Huacas* were focal points in the collective memory. Rostworowski (2007) notes that in different Andean languages the meaning of *huaca* is always associated with the natural landscape. In quechua, Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, for example mentioned '*guacas-templos de ydolos*' (temples of idols) when he made reference to something sacred; in Aymara '*huaka*' could be an idol or a part of the landscape that people worshipped before the Spanish conquest. Testimonies compiled during the extirpation of idolatries mention the *huacas* and, sometimes Andean people referred to the new Catholic religion and customs as different '*huacas*' but with considerable doubt that it would give them the same conception as their old ones (e.g., fertility of the land, food, health, etc.). Types of *huaca*, *pacarinas*, hills and waters (Gose 1993, Herrera 2005, Lane 2011a, Lau 2011) were venerated as mythological places of origin. *Huacas* and *pacarinas*, are elements mentioned in documents by chroniclers or extirpators since the beginning of the conquest (Duviols 1967, Doyle 1988).

One example from the documents concerning idolatries in Cajatambo from 1642 (AAL, Capítulos Leg 11,I, 1642), mentions the sacrifices of the *pacarinas* and *mallquis* in the hills of that area:

'(Fs 35 R) (...) 'Donde ambas muy conformes an hecho sacrificio a sus pacarinas o malquis y en especial a uno de sus progenitores del dicho don rrodrigo que esta en el dicho serro todavía sin ser descubierto en las visitas pasadas de ydolatria donde como dicho(...)'. (AAL, Capítulos Leg 11,I, 1642).

This reveals the communication difficulties at the beginning of the conquest and the impossibility of translating the Andean cosmovision and concepts into Spanish. The introduction of the Spanish language was seen as the best way of introducing the new principles of the Spanish evangelisation (Rostworowski 2007 and see Chapter 6). Andean organisation was based on reciprocity between the

different groups or *ayllus* (Zuidema 1964), but also between people and their religious deities and ancestors. Therefore, the ceremonial landscape was also the bond between the communities and their ancestors, because it was the ancestors who created the land and it was the present inhabitants who lived from it. It created a network of kin groups and lineages into a multi-generational cosmological space where land is not considered as simply soil, but rather an entity in a perpetual relationship with the ancestors (See De Coppet *et al.* 1985, Hastorf 2003: 327). Thus, the correlation between mortuary practices and the presence of water were essential in the definition of the role played by ancestors as active agents in the community (See Lau 2002, Makowski 2000, Moore 1996). Archaeologically, mortuary monuments of the region were usually situated next to, or really close to, a source of water such as a lake, rivers, wellsprings, etc. (Herrera 2005, Lane 2006). This close relationship and vital function of the landscape affected everyday life for Andean communities, and is one of the main elements affected by the changes brought about by colonisation.

2.1.3 Climate

Climate has a strong impact on the organisation of societies in the Andes. The human requirement to exploit the physical environment for the practicalities of life is a universal characteristic through which the formation of human societies and organisations are established and developed all around the world (Evans 2003). The Ancash climate varies.⁷ The climate in the highlands is generally characterised by being hot during the day, and cold at night. The Callejón de Huaylas climate is temperate and dry with temperatures of below 6°C and 12°C, reducing to 0°C in winter. It is dry and cold in the *puna* area, and high plateaux (more than 4,000 masl) with temperatures under 6°C. In the Marañón valley in the Conchucos area, the climate is hot and humid, varying between 60% to 70%. The precipitation level is usually concentrated between November and April. These wet and dry seasons structured the economic and the social organisation of the societies living in the highlands. Weather and climate are outside human control but this unpredictability of climate change was used as a process of cause and effect, and as a source of religious

⁷ For more information about climate changes see Thompson *et al.* 1995.

predictions in societies.⁸

In Andean society, ancestor veneration was used to understand these climate changes. The economy was based on agro-pastoralism, and a good climate was synonymous with good agricultural production. During Inca times, the Inca mummies acted as a symbol of fertility, cycle of life and rebirth. They were seen to bring continued fertility to the living and the fields (See Chapter 3). Nowadays, the custom is still practised; the *abuelitos* (grandfathers) or ancestors are still questioned in some parts of the region of Conchucos to bring rain or sun to communities (Robles Mendoza 2006, Venturoli 2011).

2.2 Historical formation of the region of Ancash

The composition of the Ancash region and its creation varied through time. It is only since the proclamation of the 28th February 1839 that the department was called Ancash.⁹ Prior to the Spanish arrival, the modern Ancash region was composed of different autonomous polities such as the Huaylas, Conchucos and Caxatampus (Espinoza 1964, 1981; Zuloaga 1994). Later, with the Spanish colonisation and the viceroyalty (1565) the *Corregimientos* of Huaylas, Conchucos, Cajatambo and Santa were created (Estremadoyro Robles 1989). These were politically divided between the jurisdictions of Lima (Huaylas and Cajatambo) and Huánuco (Conchucos) (see Figs. 2.2 and 2.3).¹⁰ In 1784 the *corregimientos* were replaced by *intendencias*. Huaylas and Conchucos became *Partido de Huaylas y Conchucos* as part of the *Intendencia* de Tarma, which also included Cajatambo and Huánuco (Estremadoyro Robles 1989: 1). At that time Conchucos had 25,308 ‘souls’,¹¹ 1,384 Spanish and 9,899 Indians distributed over 15 *doctrinas* and 29 annexed villages. Huaylas, which had 12 *doctrinas* and 20 annexed villages, was

⁸ Important climatic fluctuations in the Andes are due to the El Niño-Southern Oscillation event, a cyclical phenomenon that mainly increases ocean temperatures and provokes unusual rainfall, with drought in desert areas and in the highlands. In Moche society, it has been argued that they specifically sacrificed people at that period and that the number of sacrifices rose during such events. It is also known that one of these climatic events brought changes in Moche society until its collapse (Bourget 1998). The relationship between climate and society in reaction to such events is about how people explore themselves and manipulate others through their constructions of climate (McIntosh *et al.* 2000 in Evans 2003: 98).

⁹ At that time the General Gamarra was the Provisional President in Peru, he gave the name of Ancash in order to continue to remember the place where he won against the Ejército Confederado de Santa Cruz (Estremadoyro Robles 1989:2).

¹⁰ In 1574, Francisco de Toledo reorganised the *corregimientos* created by Lope García de Castro in 1565 under the dependence of Lima.

¹¹ In the text the word *almas* is used, which is the Spanish equivalent of souls. In that case it could also be considered and translated as inhabitants.

inhabited by 40,822 ‘souls’ (3,604 Spanish and 20,935 Indians). The inhabitants of the *Partido de Huaylas* were described as being much more cultured and harder workers than the ones in the other highlands (such as Cajatambo) (Haënke 1901: 139). This is particularly interesting to this study as from the data collected I suggest that the two areas (Huaylas and Conchucos) should be viewed as separate entities when we try to understand what could have been the impact of colonialism and the evangelisation of the populations living in the region. I would agree with Farriss’ argument (1984: 29) that colonial experience depended on the local environment and varied regionally. This description tends to show that the population reacted to the colonisation and missionizing by adopting different behaviours. This also indicates discrepancies between the different areas of the Ancash region. This is in keeping with the stated aim of this analysis to get a better understanding of the regional processes of colonisation.

In 1836, Cajatambo stopped being part of the department of Ancash. As previously mentioned, it was in 1839 that the Ancash was officially created. In the same year some representatives from Ancash asked for the restitution of the Cajatambo province, which was initially denied. However, Cajatambo was reintegrated in 1851. In 1902 the province of Cajatambo was divided into two: Cajatambo and Bolognesi, the former passed to Lima whereas Bolognesi stayed in Ancash (Estremadoyro Robles 1989: 2) (Fig. 2.4). In summary, this investigation centres on a period of time when the Ancash highlands was composed of the areas of Huaylas, Conchucos and Cajatambo. This overview of the historical formation of the Ancash region emphasises the importance of knowing the history of the region, which in turn enables us to see beyond modern geopolitical borders. Without this preliminary research, the area of Cajatambo (and its historical documents) may have been excluded, since it does not belong to the modern Ancash jurisdiction. As a result, historical information regarding the Cajatambo province has been included in this dataset as it comprises part of the history of the Ancash highlands.

2.3 Prehistory and colonial history of the Ancash north-central highlands

As there are a great quantity of data and archaeological sites in the area for the different historical periods, only brief mention will be made of the main intervals and cultures of the highlands. The main focus of the discourse will be on the periods studied in this thesis, which are (time frame taken from Bonavia 1991): Late

Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440), Late Horizon (Inca) (AD 1440-1536), and the Spanish Colonial Period (see Table 2.1 in Appendix C).

2.3.1 Preceramic period (1800-1500 BC): Guitarrero Cave

One of the oldest testimonies of human occupation in the Andes is in Ancash, near Yungay, in the Callejón de Huaylas. These settlements are associated with the Paleo-Indians, small nomadic groups of hunter-gatherers who colonised the American continent (Lynch 1978, Chauchat 1988). Guitarrero Cave is a rock shelter discovered in 1969 by Thomas F. Lynch, who revealed human occupation beginning approximately 12,100 years ago. This well-preserved site includes high elevation hunting camps, workshops, etc. and presents the earliest textiles identified in South America to date (including two bundles and four coils of fibre) (Jolie, Lynch, Geib and Adovasio 2011). The environment always played an important role in the life of these hunter-gatherers. They lived on a diet of mixed terrestrial fauna (e.g., wild cuy) and flora (mostly coming from the coast). The discovery of this site created discussion on the preceramic period in the Highlands of Ancash, and on the question of transhumance, 'verticality', and relationships between the coast and the highlands. Indeed, it is thought that these hunter-gatherers regularly migrated from one elevation and environmental zone to another, this being reflected in the frequency of various classes of stone tool artefacts (Lynch 1971). Moreover, the faunal remains, botanical remains and camp remnants furnished secure radiocarbon results, which dated very old skeletal remains in South America (10 610 BC) (Lynch and Kennedy 1970). Tombs were found in Guitarrero Cave but only in succeeding occupation levels (Early Horizon and Middle Horizon), unfortunately, all had been looted.

2.3.2 Early Horizon (1600-100 BC): Chavín Horizon

Great changes in highland Andean society occurred during the Early Horizon. The main culture to emerge in this period was Chavín (1200-200 BC). However, the problematic definition of the chronology of that period is still being debated (Burger 2008, Kaulicke 2010, Rick 2005).

During the Early Horizon, monumental landscapes were best represented in the Ancash highlands with the famous site of Chavín de Huántar in the Callejón de Conchucos (Fig. 1.1). Chavín was an important place of worship from about 1200-200 BC. This complex of terraces, temples, subterranean galleries and

zooanthropomorphic ornamentation characterises the ceremonial architecture, and the main culture of influence during the Early Horizon. From preceramic times, there was a close relationship between the north coast and the highlands. The creation of different ceremonial centres and shared cultural patterns suggests the development of long distance communication routes and interaction (Burger 2008). Chavín de Huántar was first described in 1521, by a Spanish chronicler. This site was initially investigated by Julio C. Tello between 1919 and 1941, with more recent investigations by Luis Lumbreras (1974, 1993), Richard Burger (1984) and John Rick (ongoing).

An important ceremonial centre and pilgrimage site during prehispanic times, Chavín was considered to be an idolatrous place during the colonial era. Cristóbal de Albornoz, in his crusades of 1572 against idolatry, included Chavín in his list of *Huacas* and said:

‘*CHAVIN, guaca principal de los indios guariguanucos, es una piedra questá en una plaza que se llama Ayas pampa. Llamase el pueblo Ayas.*’ (Albornoz 1572).

The Archbishop Mogrovejo also mentioned it in its Diary II:

‘... *una guaca de tiempo antiguo ... , y tiénese noticia que ha sido huaca que ha tenido mucha riqueza ...*’. (Mogrovejo 2006 [1594]: xxiv).

Two terms are worth looking at in more detail: *guaca* and *ayas*.

- The term *guaca* or *huaca* was interpreted by the Spaniards as a religious centre/place of worship of old and prohibited Andean customs. For them, these were the place of the devil.

-The term *ayas* used to be the name for the plaza and the village. The particularity of this term is that it has been used to define the dead in the Guamán Poma de Ayala’s drawing (1615) about interments in the *Chinchaisuios*.¹² It is also mentioned in Gonçales Holguin’s dictionary (1608) and Figueredo’s *Vocabulary of the Chinchaysuyu* (1754). They both define it as a dead body or dead (*cuervo muerto, muerto*) (Gonçalez Holguin 1608: 56, Figueredo 1754: 166), *pampa* is

¹² *Chinchaisuios* as Guamán Poma de Ayala wrote it, is now commonly spelled *Chinchaysuyus* and for the North part of the Inca Empire (see Fig. 2.5). The tomb representation in this drawing will also be discussed in Chapter 4.

translated as land or plaza (*campo, praça*).¹³ Therefore, *Ayas pampa* could be translated as land/plaza of the dead.¹⁴

The modern Ancash region, and thus Chavín, was part of *Chinchaysuyu*. Moreover, the *huaca* is described as ‘a stone in the plaza’. If we look at Duviols’ study of *huanca* (1979), it is evident that, instead of the general term of *huaca* to associate the object with the sacred, they could have used the term *huanca*. Indeed, a *huanca* was not only a synonym for stone, but also for the extirpators of idolatries, such as Arriaga (1621) or Avendaño (1648), it was a monolith in the fields or the village which had a tutelary function that Indians would worship. Duviols’ analysis goes further and explains how the *huanca* was the mineral double of the sacred dead (*mallqui*),¹⁵ and that when it was situated in the village (*marcayoc*) it was venerated by the villagers as the founder ancestor (Duviols 1979: 9).¹⁶ The founder ‘hero’ changed into stone and was then used as the landscape identity marker for the group. Thus, the cult of the *huanca* was a cult to the ancestors, and it may be possible that this central plaza where the *huaca* was, was called *Ayas pampa*, in order to emphasize this close relationship between the ancestors and their community, or between the living and the dead.

During the extirpation of idolatries, hostile testimonies regarding colonial Chavín are documented. One by Vázquez de Espinoza in 1613:

‘... junto a este pueblo de Chabin hay un gran edificio de piedras muy labradas de notable grandeza; era Guaca y Santuario de los más famosos de los gentiles, como entre nosotros Roma o Jerusalén, adonde venían los indios a ofrecer y hacer sus sacrificios ; porque el demonio en este lugar les declaraba muchos oráculos...’ (Vázquez de Espinoza 1613).

And another one of the extirpator Estanislao de Vega Bazán in 1656:

‘... Asi mismo parece descubrió el dicho Visitador un templo de el dicho HUARI, que era común adoratorio de los Indios, todo debajo de tierra con unos callejones, y laberintos muy dilatados, hechos de piedras muy grandes, y muy labradas, donde halló tres ídolos, que los quemó e hizo pedazos, y

¹³ See also Salomon 1995 and Chapter 4.

¹⁴ Domingo Santo Tomás 1560 defines *ayap pampa* as a cemetery for the dead (see Chapter 4); Gil García 2002 also uses the term to define a ‘place of formal deposition of the dead’ or cemetery.

¹⁵ As we will see in Chapter 3 *mallqui* was the Quechua term used for ancestor’s bundles. However, in Quechua this term means plant, which as we will see in chapter 3, shows the fertility and the necessary relationship between the living and the dead.

¹⁶ See also Falcón 2004, Lau 2000, 2011.

enterró lo cual le descubrió un indio viejo que era sacerdote del dicho Huari, ... (Vega Bazán 1656 in Diessl 2004: 61).

These two testimonies mention the themes of veneration of the *huaca*, the idols and the devil. These historical testimonies reveal that Chavín still had a relevant cultural importance during Spanish colonial times, some 1500 years after the site's construction and initial occupation. Despite the religious and ideological importance of the region during the Early Horizon, there are few archaeological records or studies on mortuary practices and tombs in Ancash for that period. The only example of tombs from that period (800-550 BC) in the highlands are in the region of Cajamarca, north of Ancash, at the sites of Cerro Blanco and Kuntur Wasi, where high status burials have been found in the temple platform (Kato 1993). It was really from the Early Intermediate Period that mortuary practices developed and changed from underground to above-ground burials and became a central aspect of Andean societies.

2.3.3 Early Intermediate Period (AD 1-700), Middle Horizon (AD 700-900): Recuay culture and Wari

The Early Intermediate Period is characterised by the birth of different Ancash cultural traditions, the most important being the Recuay (Orsini 2007). Recuay culture had a great importance in the area, and Ancash was its centre of development. In the Middle Horizon, there is evidence of Wari influence extending into Ancash. Based on agriculture and pastoralism, Recuay culture developed from AD 1 to 700. The main elements that characterise the Recuay culture are its ceramics, architecture, mortuary practices and stone sculptures (Bennett 1944, Grieder 1978, Ibarra 2003a, Lau 2002, Schaedel 1952, Tello 1929). These anthropomorphic sculptures are of interest to this research as they are sometimes found at the entrances of the tombs (Lau 2008).

During the Early Intermediate Period (after AD 600) a new kind of tomb appeared, the *chullpa*,¹⁷ which would live on for over a millennium. Due to changes in their social-political system (AD 500-900) and to the Wari expansion (ca. AD 750) in the Callejón de Huaylas, new transformations in ceremonial practices and material culture appeared (Lau 2002, 2012). They not only buried their dead in

¹⁷ The term *chullpa* will be discussed later on in this thesis.

subterranean tombs, but in mortuary monuments, above-ground tombs, nowadays called *chullpas* by archaeologists. One can find an important number of this type of tomb in the region (Chinchawas, Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain, Waullac, Wilkawain, etc.) and these tombs form part of the dataset for this thesis (See Chapter 4 and 5). It seems that their use continued after the disappearance of the Recuay culture. It is the aim of this thesis to construct a typology of *chullpas* and other tombs in highland Ancash and identify possible discrepancies between the areas, in order to get a better understanding of mortuary practices.

2.3.4 Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440)

During the Late Intermediate Period (LIP), one of the periods on which this thesis focuses, polities of varying political and economic complexity emerged, expanded and collapsed, as opposed to the earlier, longer lasting traditions like Chavín and Recuay (Dulanto 2008: 761).

The Callejón de Huaylas and the Conchucos were both inhabited by different groups or communities living individually with no hegemony over one other: such as the Huaylas, Conchucos and Caxatampus. They shared a common cosmology, language and socio-economic mode of production. In his thesis, Kevin Lane (2006) raised the question of differences in the local identity between ethnically similar groups. The ethnohistorian, Marina Zuloaga (1994) was able to identify the different pre-inca realms in Huaylas during the LIP (Realm of Huaylas, Huaraz y Recuay) in her thesis.

However, there have not been many archaeological investigations done on the LIP except for recent investigations by Herrera (2006) and Lane (2005) in the Cordillera Negra, or Ibarra (2003) and Mantha (2004) in Conchucos. We will see their work in more detail in section 2.3 of this chapter and that part of their research focuses on the tombs of that period.

2.3.5 Inca Period (Late Horizon (AD 1440-1536))

The Inca imperial political expansion began around AD 1400. From their capital Cuzco,¹⁸ the Incas came to rule their Empire called *Tawantinsuyu*, or lands of

¹⁸ Cuzco: From the Quechua word *qusqu* which probably had an aymara origin. With the Spanish colonisation it became Cusco or Cuzco. Garcilaso de la Vega defined it as ‘centre or navel of the earth’ (See Chapter XI Comentarios Reales de los Incas 1609). For more information about the meaning of Cuzco see also Cerrón-Palomino (2006).

the four quarters : *Chinchaysuyu* (north), *Cuntisuyu* (west), *Qollasuyu* (south) and *Antisuyu* (east) (Covey 2008, D'Altroy 2002) (Fig. 2.5). For 4000 kms, north to south, from Colombia to Chile and including Peru, parts of Ecuador, Bolivia and Argentina they incorporated different linguistic and ethnic groups under their control (McEwan 2006). It was only between AD 1460 and 1533 that Ancash was under the domination of the Inca Empire. As mentioned above, before the arrival of the Inca, the region was composed of different groups. Even though the Incas tried to reorganise the region socio-politically, imposing some aspects of the Inca social organisation, the conquest of the region was not an easy task. Garcilaso de la Vega (1609) described the difficulty encountered by the Inca Capac Yupanqui during the conquest of the area:

'El Inca Capac Yupanqui, hermano de Pachacutec pasó a mano derecha del camino real y con la misma industria y mana, redujó otras dos provincias muy grandes y de mucha gente la una llamada Ancara y la otra Huailas, dejó en ellas los ministros de gobierno y de hacienda, y la guarnicion necesaria.' (Estremadoyro Robles 1989: 46).

There was a strong local identity in the region despite the domination of the Inca Empire. There is not much detail on the composition of the Inca province of Huaylas. Even the biggest local entities were usually quite small (no more than five *guarangas*), so the Incas grouped them together to create provinces (Zuloaga 1994). However, Marina Zuloaga was able to determine that it was structured into two realms, Recuay and Huaylas; perhaps three including Huaraz. At the division of Huaraz, the realm of Huaylas was the Hanan moiety and Recuay was the Hurin moiety.¹⁹ These two moieties each had six more *guarangas* (See map 2 in Zuloaga 1994). She observed that the new structure created by the Incas was similar to the old one with the two moieties staying politically independent. Spanish chroniclers identified three local ethnic groups existing in the area. Therefore, it is important to look in more detail to identify to what extent the Incas transformed the social organisation of the communities for the two main areas of Ancash (Callejón de Huaylas and Conchucos).

¹⁹ *Hanan* (upper) and *Hurin* (lower): the two moieties representing Andean duality. The division of the city of Cuzco, for example, was not only the representation of the social division of the city, but was also a cosmological representation of duality and complementarity of the system. It is still an important concept for Andean communities, see for example Wachtel's study (1990) of the Chipaya in Bolivia, or for Ancash, Venturoli's study (2011) of three villages in the Conchucos Region.

Conchucos Region

In 1465, the Inca Empire was under the governance of the Inca Pachacutec. The groups of Ancash were living in a state of political balance between each other, each group had their autonomy and there was no hegemony between them. Each ethnic group was referred to as the *pachaca* (group of 100 families) or *ayllu* (Espinoza Soriano 1981, Rostworowski 1981). The ones who lived in the actual Conchucos region during the 16th and 17th centuries, according to Colonial documents, were: the Conchucos, Huari, Pincos, Piscobamba and Siguas (León Gómez 2003).

It was during Pachacutec's second campaign of extension that his army of fifty thousand men, led by his brother Capac Yupanqui, finally took over the region of Conchucos. Indeed, the different populations of the area grouped together against the enemy, preferring to die instead of having new laws, customs or gods. After a cruel war, which took up to six months, the Conchucos area was included as part of the *Tawantinsuyu* (ca. AD 1465). Conchucos only stayed under Inca domination for 68 years before the Spanish arrival (Estremadoyro Robles 1989). This episode shows that the populations of the area were attached to their own customs and initially the Spanish conquest was seen as a way to get rid of Inca domination. The Inca system restricted local communities in the practice of previous customs. Thus, on the arrival of the Spanish coloniser, communities took the conquistadors to be an ally who could vanquish the Inca supremacy and in that sense get their organisational system back. Moreover, at that time the zone was exploited for its mines (*mitmas*), especially gold mines, and textiles for the vast Inca Empire.

Archaeologically, one can appreciate important Inca constructions in Ancash, such as part of the *Qhapaq Ñan* (Inca Road), which crosses 10km of the district, connecting Huánuco to the cities at the north of Conchucos and Cajamarca (Ccente and Román 2006, D'Altroy 2002, Diessl 2004, Hyslop 1984). The *Qhapaq Ñan* in the Conchucos area was a symbol of the relationship between the Inca centre and its regions (Ccente and Román 2006, Espinoza and Escobar 2009, Mantha 2009). Its construction occurred 30 years (1493-1528) after Conchucos became part of the Inca Empire. The road and *tambo* systems were designed for rapid communication, to assist military and logistic operations (Hyslop 1984, D'Altroy 2002: 224).

Callejón de Huaylas

For many years, this area was considered to be an area of low intensity for Inca presence with a very different strategy of control. New research done by Kevin Lane (2011) in the Cordillera Negra of the Callejón de Huaylas challenges this point of view. Lane's research revealed a complex web of different Inca sites: administrative and ceremonial ones that linked the coast and the highlands. This indicates a new hypothesis around the importance of the Inca presence in the area and the importance of water in the development of Prehispanic societies in that zone, developing agro-pastoralism. Also, the zone was administratively dependent on the city of Huánuco,²⁰ which is today known as Huanucopampa. It was an important religious centre and an intermediate point between the region and the capital of the Inca Empire, Cuzco. There were probably two smaller provincial capitals in the area depending on Huánuco. The first one, around the actual village of Huaylas in the north of the Callejón, called Atun-Huaylas (Varón Gabai 1980); and the second in Recuay, the Inca centre of Pueblo Viejo o Chuquirecuay (Zuloaga 1994). Furthermore, Pärssinen (2000) mentioned the difficulties faced during the Inca conquest in the area. Indeed, looking at the role and dynamics of the Inca colonisation, the resistance against the new organisation provoked a mass movement of populations. The province of Huaylas was partially depopulated as groups were sent to different areas of the empire (e.g., Copacabana, Panatagua, Chimpo) (Pärssinen 2000). Thus, in grouping together different populations (each of them having their own customs), how did the Inca's socio-political organisation deal with these mixed elements? Was there any sort of assimilation or insertion of new customs? (see Chapter 7)

In general, after observing these two areas, it seems that the Incas mainly followed the local modes of social and economic organisation (including self-sufficiency and reciprocal relationship between *ayllus*) in exchange for their labour services and loyalty. Constructing different provincial centres, they tried to have economic, political and cosmological control of the region. However, it was difficult for the Incas to maintain a complete hegemony and political stability throughout the entire Empire. Mortuary practices and monuments are testimonies of the local

²⁰ The spelling used during Colonial times usually used a G instead of an H, which is the case here for Huánuco, but also for Huaraz named Guaraz or Huaylas named Guaylas, and terms such as *huaca* named *guaca*. Thus, old spelling may be used in this thesis when ethnohistorical documents are quoted.

resistance against this Inca domination, as will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 7. This political weakness would be crucial to the conquest of the Inca Empire by the Spanish.

2.3.6 Colonial Period

From the colonial history of the area, it is evident that the Callejón de Huaylas and the Conchucos Region were one of the first access routes between North Peru and Lima during the Spanish Conquest. This is one of the reasons why the remote highland Ancash landscape was described in different historical documents. The first, and most famous, document was Miguel Estete's description of the Cordillera Blanca during Hernando Pizarro's expedition in 1533, between Cajamarca on the north coast to Pachacamac. Francisco Pizarro stayed in the Callejón de Huaylas between 31st August and 7th September on his way to Cuzco, and his amanuensis, Pedro Sancho, described the area. 'Ancash' is also mentioned in other documents: Pedro Cieza de León, who travelled in the region in 1547, Vazquez de Espinoza's description in 1629, the chronicles of Fray Juan Meléndez who traveled to Chavín and Huari in 1631 (see *Tesoros verdaderos de las Indias*), the report of Cosmé Bueno in 1774 in *Descripción de las provincias del Arzobispado de Lima* and the *Descripción de la Intendencia de Tarma* in 1793 by Mariano Millán (Lefebvre 2005).

As previously discussed, the use of the different ecological zones and landscape by the Andean populations is a key element in the organisation of Andean societies before the Spanish conquest. The disappearance of the Inca Empire in 1532 brought back the resurgence of small communities with their own local traditions but the eventual changes imposed on the region by the Spanish were drastic with 1575 marking a crucial time of transition in Andean history. The reformations of the Viceroyalty of Toledo (1575) obliged Andean populations from different areas to be relocated and grouped in small villages, called *reducciones* in the lowest areas of the region, far away from their original homes, so that they were geographically more accessible for the Spanish armies.²¹ At the head of these colonial villages, a *curaca colonial* was installed, as the middleman between the Europeans and the Andeans. A hierarchy of the different *curaca* colonials in Ancash was presented in Zuloaga's

²¹ The impact of the altitude on the health of the Spanish could also have been another reason why they decided to change the spatial organisation of the Inca's centres and relocate the villages of the region at a lower altitude (Ccente and Román 2006: 40).

thesis (Zuloaga 1994: 54). During Prehispanic times, the *curaca* represented the unity and identity of his community, protecting it against external intrusion and leading the organisation of the work and ritual obligations of the group. The curaca usually inherited his position from parents or close relatives (Stern 1993).

The changes imposed by the Spanish reformation at the end of the 16th century brought about a depopulation of the Cordillera Blanca. All the lakes and woods were considered to be the property of the Spanish Crown and could only be used collectively by the population by paying a tax. Local documents show a regional disparity (Spalding 1967, in Varón Gabai 1980), which reveals that even though, officially, people were living in the *reducciones*, some still had strong contact with their old villages. The access to the resources from the highlands for the local populations was compromised again, until the 18th century, by the privatisation of the lands and the creation of *haciendas*.

The Spanish colonisation imposed new constraints to keep order in the country, destroying the economic base of Andean society in just a few years. These changes not only had an impact on human relations with the environment but also on settlement patterns. This thesis will discuss how the relocation of the populations affected the customs of a society, and more specifically, their mortuary practices.

Conchucos Region

The first Spanish contact in the region took place in April 1533, when Hernando Pizarro came back from Pachacamac with fourteen riders and a small troop. They came from Huánuco to Conchucos using the *Qhapac Ñan* made by the Incas, crossing the lands of the Pincos and the Huari. On their arrival, the Spanish had to face a rigorous climate and the problem of access to the villages, usually situated at high altitude (over 3,800 masl). The Inca road system was not made to be used by horses (i.e., stairs), and numerous bridges were destroyed from the war between Huáscar and Atahualpa (Rodolfí, León Gómez and Villanueva Delgado 1995: 133). According to Estete, it took them nine days to travel to Conchucos from Huánuco.

During these first penetrations of the region, the populations were pacific, due to the Inca domination. The Spanish differentiated three ethnic groups (still existing after the Inca conquest) living in the area: the conchucos, the piscobambas and the huaylas or huaraz.

However, the new organisation and the creation of the *encomiendas* to control both the workers and the wealth brought many abuses. In 1539, they also brought about a bloody rebellion in Conchucos (Espinoza Soriano 1964). Indeed, Francisco Chávez Lieutenant of Pizarro, sent men to kill 600 children in the area, to punish the people rebelling against the Spanish Crown. This event is evident from a document sent by King Carlos V in 1551, in order to create religious schools in Conchucos to compensate for the killing of these innocent children, which is now kept at the Archivo General de las Indias (AGI Indiferente General, 532. Libro 1, hoja 283v) (Espinoza Soriano 1964, Alba Herrera 1989). The following year the Huari and Pinco allied together against the Spanish, but again the rebellion was strongly repressed.

The different events and the organisation of the Evangelisation in the area will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 3. Cristóbal Ponce de León visited Conchucos in 1543; this visit created one of the fundamental documents used to understand the colonial organisation of the area (See Espinoza Soriano 1964). As Pedro Cieza de León described in his *Crónica del Perú, el Señorío de los Incas* (1553), the arrival of the Spanish to the New World not only brought with them a new way of life, beliefs and systems but also new diseases that decimated some villages by more than half their population. This initial phase is followed by the arrival of Pedro de La Gasca in 1572, who tried to eradicate the rivalries between Pizarro and Almagro, and regulate the tax for the Indians.

The Viceroy Francisco de Toledo started the final phase of Ancash colonisation. León Gómez (1995) defines the period between 1572 and 1600 as a consolidation time. The strong repression and change brought by Toledo have been emphasised, but it also has to be highlighted that for the area of Conchucos, this new organisation helped to reduce the abuse against the Indians and their population recovered somewhat (Diessl 2004).

I hypothesize that the highlands of Ancash were an important economical source for the New Kingdom of Spain. Indeed, even though Conchucos was an area difficult to access and far away from the coast, it was one of the most important places for the Spanish economy. These changes were mainly due to the role of the *curacas* and their relationship with the *encomenderos*. Documents of the period (like the *protocolos notariales*) mentioned that at the end of the 16th century, there were around nine big textile factories (the one of Acopalca next to Huari employed around

400 people from around there, including children) and silver and copper mines in Conchucos (Cieza de León 1553). The area was also used for its rich production of wheat and cattle. Indeed the seeds imported from Spain survived well in the cold weather and altitude (León Gómez 2003, Diessl 2004). The exploitation of the mines and textile factories did not start with the European colonisation, but had already been developed under Inca domination.

Callejón de Huaylas

During the early Colonial Period the Callejón de Huaylas, had been an attractive and controversial area, with a problematic division and many fights over land. Pizarro had a strong link with the province of Huaylas, as his concubine Inés Huaylas was the daughter of Huayna Capac and Contarhuacho, one of the local leaders of Huaylas. As mentioned in the document, (AGI, Justicia 405A), in the Callejón de Huaylas, the *encomienda* of Chuquirrecuay had been given to Jerónimo de Aliaga and Sebastián de Torres by Pizarro in 1534 (Zuloaga 1994), grouping the *cacicazgos* of Waras, Marcomarca and Corcora.

In 1538, a new demarcation and repartition was done, creating three *encomiendas* in the Callejón de Huaylas: Hurin Huaylas for Torres, Hanan Huaylas for Pizarro and Marca-Recuay for Aliaga (Zuloaga 1994).²² The *encomienda* under Pizarro's stayed under the governance of his daughter until his death, then, around 1541, Vaca de Castro took the *guarangas* of Tocas and Huaylas. Thanks to the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro and his *caciques*, the two *guarangas* came back to the *encomienda* of Huaylas. Torres created San Sebastian de Huaraz,²³ a city situated in an important agricultural and cattle raising zone. Vaca de Castro visited the region in 1541, and mentions the hamlet.

Sebastián de Torres was killed by a rebellion while he was visiting his *encomienda*. Problems of inheritance occurred after his death, between the new husband of his widow, Ruy Barbara Cabeza de Vaca, and his son, Hernando de Torres (See map 5 in Zuloaga 1994). Documents kept in the AGI show that in 1577, Hernando de Torres regained his rights to the *encomienda* (Varón Gabai 1980). The visits of Guaraz (Huaraz) in 1558 and 1643 and Llaguaraz in 1558, have been studied by Rafael Varón Gabai in his study of the *encomiendas* of Huaraz (1980). It revealed continuity in the native Prehispanic structures, but also a new

²² For more information on the Spanish colonial repartition of Huaylas, see Zuloaga's thesis, 1994.

²³ Actual city of Huaraz.

accommodation to the Spanish colonial situation. The visit of Hernández Príncipe in 1622 also hints at the possible religious contacts between Recuay and Huaraz, and important testimonies on idolatries in the region.

In her thesis, Marina Zuloaga mentions that during the 16th century, the two *encomiendas* of Huaylas and Recuay were for their size, the number of their *guarangas*, populations, wealth and geographic position among the most lucrative *encomiendas* of their jurisdictions (Lima and Huánuco) (see Figs. 2.2 and 2.3).

In 1558, the six *guarangas* of Huaylas were reduced: Guambo in Yungay, Matos and Huaylas in the towns of Caraz, Ica and Rupas in the town of Carhuaz and Tocas in Macate, Santa Ana and Lampaní (including the mitmas of Marca and Recuay). Yungay was the centre of the *corregimiento*. In 1580, the *corregimiento* of Huaylas had four *reducciones*: Huaylas, Recuay, Huaraz and Marca.

In conclusion, the region of Ancash was an important economic centre from Prehispanic to colonial times. The diversity of the landscape and ecosystem of the area favoured the development of complex communities and subsequent colonisation by external agents. Ancash was also an important centre of what the Spanish called *idolatries*. Significant documents mentioned the area and the problematic question of the continuity of old practices and beliefs. This theme will be developed in more detail in Chapter 6, with more emphasis on ancestor veneration, and the continuity and/or changes in mortuary practices of the populations living in the highlands of Ancash.

2.4 Archaeological and historical research on mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands

Little systematic research has been done on the subject of mortuary practices in the region of Ancash, although some recent scholars working in the region have considered tombs: Alcade 2003; Bennett 1944; Diessl 2004; Herrera 2005; Ibarra 2009; Isbell 1997; Lane 2005; Lau 2012; Mantha 2009; Orsini 2007; Paredes; Quintana and Linares 2000; Ponte 2000; Raimondi 1873; Tello 1956; Zaki 1978. The archaeological dataset in Chapter 5 is based on these works. Some of them did a typology of the tombs of their sites (see Chapter 4). However, none of them have done a meta-study of the tombs in the Ancash highlands, which is what this thesis does.

As mentioned in the introduction, historical archaeology in the Andes

is a relatively new discipline, which has only been emerging in the last thirty years. Moreover, the place of death in the process of colonisation in the Andes has not been studied thoroughly, especially when compared to Mexico. The most recent work being done was that of Gabriela Ramos (2010) about death and evangelisation in 16-17th century Lima and Cuzco. Her fine and deeply researched analysis, which presents death and its meaning as a major factor in the evangelisation of the New World, is an essential source of inspiration for this work. Indeed, in this research I also try to get an understanding of how the colonisation and the evangelisation of the New World might have changed some aspects of the society both sociologically and ideologically. It addresses the question of identity, social memory and change due to colonisation. Do we have to see the colonisation of an area as an assimilative process or a juxtaposition of two entities? This thesis will provide a complementary insight on the shift between Prehispanic mortuary practices and the Spanish colonial period. It is related to the concept of colonisation in general, and changes in practice and organisation including relationships between material culture, identity and power, not only with the Spanish colonisation but also with previous ones, such as, in this case, the Inca's. Moreover, Ramos' work (2010) is mainly focused on ethnohistorical sources even though she has a multidisciplinary approach; she only summarized archaeological literature on Andean burial practices in one chapter, and mainly focused her work on an impressive ethnohistorical dataset. Thus, this research will be a balance between archaeological and ethnohistorical data. This dissertation will therefore constitute another important treatise examining death and evangelisation focusing in an area, as yet unstudied, such as Ancash.

Currently, the local impact of Inca and Spanish presence remains relatively unclear, especially from the standpoint of death practices. To understand the history of Ancash, one has to take into consideration Father Alberto Gridilla's (1937) study on the department's evangelisation and history. He not only describes the prehistory of Ancash and the different conquests of the area (Inca and Spanish) but also gives an overview of the first written historical testimonies and spiritual conquest of the region, in particular with Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo's visits (an important source of information if we want to look at idolatries in the area). Furthermore, the study of ethnohistorical documents on the anti-idolatrie campaigns done by the Archbishopric of Lima to extirpate the Prehispanic practices (Doyle 1988, Duviols 2003, Mills 1997, Polia 1999) reveals different aspects of the

evangelisation of the Ancash region. One of the themes that stands out in the ethnohistorical research on the subject is for example, clandestine disinterment.²⁴ As discussed by historians (Duviols 2003, Gose 2003, Ramos 2010), although churches were constructed all around the region to bring the populations towards the ‘correct’ faith and to bury their dead, indigenous customs still persisted. Another major document on idolatries, which will be studied in this thesis is Hernandez Principe’s (1622) account studied by Zuidema and Duviols (2003), which gives another insight on the veneration of ancestors.

Many ethnohistorians have studied other documents on the Spanish colonisation of the region, which are useful to get a detailed vision and understanding of the colonial organisation and impact in the area. Waldemar Espinoza Soriano (1964), for example, did an interesting study of the document on the Visit of Conchucos in 1543, and José de La Puente Brunke (1992) did a study of the *encomendas* and *encomenderos* of Peru, and their socio-political organisation. This topic on Spanish Colonial History and its documents will be developed in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7, in which the works of scholars who studied the Spanish Colonial Period in Peru in a broader area (Estenssoro 2001; Gose 2008; MacCormack 1991; Ramírez 2005; Salomon 2000; Wachtel 1971; Zuloaga 1994, 2012) will also be presented.

In terms of archaeological data, Isbell’s book, *Mummies and Mortuary monuments. A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization* (1997) is one of the most recent general references, mentioning in one of its chapters the mortuary monuments of the north-central highlands of Peru and more particularly the Callejón de Huaylas and Ancash. Isbell (1997) focuses on one type of monument - the open sepulcher, also called *chullpas* by archaeologists. This book is valuable in the general understanding and analysis of the *chullpas* with its discussion of the term *chullpa* and the overview of the different open-sepulchers in Peru. However, it is very limited in terms of presenting the mortuary monuments of the North-Central Andes of Peru, and more detailed information has become available since 1997. In his book, Isbell really focused on the relationship between the *ayllu* organisation with the ancestors’ mummies and these with the *chullpas*. However, even though I agree with some aspects of Isbell’s argument, it will be interesting to discuss the

²⁴ As detailed in Chapter 6, clandestine disinterment is a term used to describe the action of taking a body out of the church to bring it back to the tomb of its ancestors, in the Andean Spanish colonisation context.

ancestors/*chullpas* relationship in more detail, by using the complementary data analysis done here for the Ancash highlands in Chapter 7.

Historically, even though chroniclers such as Cobo mentioned and described different Prehispanic burials (see Chapter 6), it was only during the visits of Antonio Raimondi in Ancash in the mid-1800s that the open sepulcher monuments were visited and mentioned (Raimondi 1873 (2006)). In 1929, Tello identified and described burial constructions and their contents (Wantuy, Katyama, Wilkawain and Chinchawas between others). Tello's work (1956 [1937]) and the work of Augusto Soriano (1950) identified funerary patterns characteristic of the Wari presence in the Callejón de Huaylas. It was not until Bennett's (1944) survey of the Callejón de Huaylas in 1938, and extensive excavations of the sites of Wilkawain and Ichic Wilkawain, that one of the first detailed descriptions of *chullpas* came to light. In 1978, a survey in Katyama by Andrzej Zaki confirmed the presence of *chullpas* and their link to the Early Intermediate Period and part of the Middle Horizon, already mentioned by Tello, Soriano and Bennett.

Isbell carried out some excavations on the site of Honcopampa, from which he published an article in 1991 in which he described the site and its *chullpas*. Similar characteristics have been found during the excavations of the site of Pampirca and Piquijirca (Paredes *et al.* 2000). Victor Ponte Rosalino excavated the site of Yarcoq where he excavated three of the eighteen structures in the area. The results present an occupation from the end of the Recuay Culture to the beginning of the Wari, and he was able to define an intermediate type of funerary architecture compared to the ones in Wilkawain or Ocopampa (Ponte 1999, 2000). In general, important research has been carried out about Middle-Horizon above-ground structures of the Callejón de Huaylas, the most recent of which are Paredes (2006, 2008) excavations at Ichic Wilkawain, which reveal important aspects on the use of *chullpas* and the mortuary practices related to them during Middle Horizon.

As can be seen in the following chapters, analysis of the database on the tombs in this area at that time period shows similar results to those of other scholars. However, the analysis done in this thesis is not only focused on Early Intermediate Period-Middle Horizon tombs of the Callejón de Huaylas, but includes all the highlands of Ancash. This allows a broader view of the different types of tombs in the region, in order to compare them and see possible discrepancies between them.

More theoretically, George Lau (2001, 2008, 2011, 2012) develops different aspects of the topic of mortuary landscapes in Prehispanic society: questions of changes in social practices and the importance of ancestors' veneration. First of all, he notes how, during the Early Intermediate Period, Recuay society started to use above-ground tombs instead of subterranean tombs. He shows evidence that these changes seem to be due to social changes in the community organisation, and underline the importance of kinship in the community. Thus, this first aspect on the materiality of death brought another question to George Lau's work, the importance of ancestors' veneration and images in the Central Andes. He focused on how ancestor effigies are materialised, where we can find them and venerate them and what their images can do in a society (Lau 2008). The changes in mortuary practices observed in the Recuay community will encourage a new mode of veneration of the ancestors. There was a new will of visibility of status inside the community but also between the communities, making death and ancestor veneration a territory landmark. Thus, a stronger link between kinship, society and death will be created. Lau's article *The dead and the Longue durée* (2012), brings together his different theories. He examines burials and mortuary practices in the north-central highlands of Peru, analysing the relationship between the living and the dead and its renewal role for society over time and how these changes are manifested. He achieves this by presenting different tomb patterns through time until the colonial period. In a sense this thesis, will follow a similar scheme to the analysis done by Lau.

For later periods, the theme of community and ancestor relationships has been studied by other scholars, such as Alexis Mantha and Alexander Herrera (Herrera 2005, Mantha 2004) (Herrera 2006, 2011; Mantha 2009, 2010). In his thesis on the archaeological site of Rapayán, situated on the Upper Marañón basin in the province of Huari (see map) Alexis Mantha examines the relationship between social boundaries, territoriality and ancestor veneration during the Late Intermediate Period (Mantha 2004, 2009). He also suggests that multi-storey buildings might have also been structures made in order to keep the ancestor's mummy bundles. I remain sceptical on that argument, as Mantha did not excavate any of the funerary structures in Rapayán and is mainly basing his argument on the visual testimonies of the villagers or comparing elements found in ethnohistorical documents. However, Mantha only hypothesises this argument, which is controversial for different reasons

(the ancestors definition, the unique aspect of the building, and maybe a general use of the historical documents to prove his point).²⁵

Alexander Herrera's work develops the interesting point about landscape appropriation through mortuary practices. Mortuary practices in a community are related to the collective social memory while defining collective identities (Herrera 2005). Lane (2005, 2006, 2011a) also considers the question of landscape relationship and communities. He gives new perspectives on the History of Ancash, such as on the theme of the Inca domination and their presence in the Cordillera Negra, which was not only an economic and political control but also a cosmological one (Lane 2011a). This thesis will develop the same questions of social boundaries, territoriality and ancestor veneration, but looking at it on a larger scale.

Apart from Mantha, others archaeologists work in Conchucos (Diessl 2003, 2004; Ibarra 2009; Orsini 2007). Bebel Ibarra (2009e) studied the place for the dead and ancestor veneration in the ancient community of Marcajirca from the Late Intermediate Period to Colonial times. This archaeological site, which is included in this research dataset, with a sample of distinctive *chullpas*, seems to have been used continually until Colonial times (Ibarra 2009e). However, it is a shame that there is not much more information published yet on the subject. The information published at the moment does not represent in great detail the diversity of the tombs on the site. We have a more generalistic presentation of the structures which deprives us of a rich source of information that could have been used in this research. Moreover, the dates from the site might be controversial without more proof supporting the case that the site was continually used until Colonial times. Carolina Orsini's work in Conchucos will also be used in this thesis, her book on the Recuay culture (2007) has valuable information to help to understand Recuay society. As seen earlier, *chullpas* seem to have appeared in the Ancash highlands during the Early Intermediate Period. Thus, part of her book mentions the Recuay funerary traditions, presenting the main distinctive types of tombs, with some examples. However, this study not only focuses on mortuary practices but mainly on the history of the Recuay culture and the general transformations that occurred during that period.

The archaeological dataset of this dissertation will compile the different Ancash highlands research presented above, in order to get a typology of burials. It will be the first research in the area that has tried to compile all the information

²⁵ This will be developed in more detail in Chapter 7.

available on the tombs and mortuary practices of the Ancash highlands. I will also propose my own categorisation of these monuments based on my first substantial survey of the region's mortuary architecture and practices. This will enable me to discuss the main characteristic names given to tombs in the area, in order to try to answer, what is a *chullpa* or *machay* or *pucullo*? Is it appropriate to categorise them in such boxes as some scholars do?

Finally, these analyses are made to observe potential patterns of diachronic continuities or changes in customs and in the relationships of communities with their ancestors under the impact of political, economic and cultural changes occurring due to the successive colonisations in the region. A subject that, thus far, has not been investigated in this region by anyone.

In summary, this work builds primarily on aspects of recent pioneering research in highland Ancash, on ancient and colonial sociopolitical life, and complements these through a unique focus on colonialism, mortuary practices and landscape.

III

The Archaeology and Anthropology of Death and Memory in Past Societies

The treatment of the dead and their placement in tombs constitutes a conscious, deliberate act by the living members of a community and can reveal functional (structural and organisational) as well as ideological aspects of the nature of past societies (Parker-Pearson 2003). This work is based on the types of tomb, their characteristics and forms. Mortuary architecture is related to social aspects of death and what death implies in a society: ritual practices, cosmology, group identity and the organisation of life around the loss of a member of the community. Death is a conjuncture of change and transformation of social relations and cultural configuration. The loss of a relative involves an adjustment in the community, ritualised by social practices (Bloch & Parry 1982a).

The importance of memory is a key point related to the concept of death (Hallam and Hockey 2001:1). Spaces of death and their significance in memory-making have been transformed across historical time in both their material form and their metaphorical potential. Cultural preservation of persons or objects requires investment which might be economic, political or emotional, so that the cultural practices involved in memory making exist at the macro, as well as, the micro level of societies (Hallam and Hockey 2001). In this thesis the transformations and changes in burial architecture and patterns of the region of Ancash are observed, how mortuary practices survived, or not, through time as an essential component of Andean society and how these modifications can characterise the social agency of a group. As such, objects serving the practice of memory in the past are, in the context of the present, a resource for the reinterpretation of history (Hallam and Hockey 2001: 9). For this reason the first part of this chapter presents different ways of studying and approaching death in a society.

3.1 Mortuary Studies in the 18th & 19th centuries

From the late 18th and during the 19th century, there was increasing interest in the study of graves and burials of past societies. Today we look at graves as a memory marker in space and the minds of the people, but the first interpretation of their use was studied to identify ancient races, their migrations, chronological relationships

and evolution (Williams 2003: 3). Nevertheless, there was also a strong interest in studying ancestor worship in societies and religious behaviour. One of the first publications on the subject was *La cité antique* (1864) by Fustel de Coulanges, analysing the effects of death on Greek and Roman societies. He related the kinship structure of a society to the significance of mortuary practices (Bartel 1982: 33). One of the principal works on death and religion was Tylor (1866) who did an ethnographic comparison to understand the ‘body-soul dichotomy’ of ancestor worship. He discussed the notion of animism and how the living used the offerings in order to get the help of the deceased for the protection of the family (Bartel 1982: 34). This was followed, in the late 19th century, with Lubbock’s work (1882, 1900). Lubbock agreed with Tylor’s religious ideas, that beliefs in afterlife are related to dreams (Lubbock 1882: 214). He was the first to do a statistical analysis of burials (1900) and based on this, a correlation between monumentality-wealth-time and labour. Bartel (1982: 37) observes that these first analyses on death done by archaeologists were mainly simplistic correlations compared to the more behaviourally realistic interpretations that we try to achieve nowadays.

3.2 Mortuary Studies in the 20th century

There are overarching theoretical and methodological issues in time and according to specialties. This review will be organised chronologically in order to focus on both archaeological and anthropological theories around the study of mortuary practices.

3.2.1 Early 20th Century Mortuary Studies

Two of the most influential interpretations of death practices were written in the early 20th century by Robert Hertz (pupil of Durkheim) and Arnold Van Gennep. They studied mortuary practices from a sociological perspective, looking at funerary practices as part of a wider social system (Bartel 1982: 38). Hertz (1928) focused his research on the premise that it is a moral obligation of a society to take care of the body of the deceased. Death is represented as a collective representation and with a strong relationship between the deceased and its relatives. Van Gennep (1909) mainly looked at the rites of passage, arguing that, in any society there were structural analogies between major rituals of transition in life such as birth, puberty, marriage, and death. Other scholars took these insights further, for instance: Victor Turner (1969); Metcalf and Huntington (1979); or, Bloch and Parry (1982). These

works are essential for a better comprehension of the phenomenon of death and the rituals associated with it.

Each individual death brings problems to the deceased group, technical and emotional. The composition of the social structure is usually divided between the world of the living and the world of the dead. Death in a community creates a relationship between three different actors: the dead, the relatives and the society (See Fig. 3.1). Leclerc (1990) follows Radcliffe-Brown's (1922: 286) argument that death can be viewed as an attack upon the cohesion of the community and that funerary practices are an obligated sequence of periodisation, to organise itself and reach a new equilibrium. Van Gennep (1960 [1909]) famously proposed, the tripartite structure of rites of passage, of which death rites could be one type: rites of separation, rites of transition and rites of incorporation. So the process of death can be divided into three times: the time of the funeral, which is a time of emergency because the dead body is still present with the living. During this time, there is the sorrow and stress for the relatives and the organisation of the ceremony associated with the universal fear of mixing life and death. Then there is the time of mourning, where the dead is buried, followed by a time of absence and consolidation for the society. Finally, the post-funerary time, where it is a question of memory and forgetting; the tomb is the final depository of the dead 'forever' (Fig. 3.1).

Forever is a very interesting word because, as Leclerc (1990) explains, it is the time you need to forget, in the sense that you never forget your dead. Indeed, ritual activity does not necessarily end with the death or the interment of the body, it can continue long afterwards to aid the incorporation of the soul into the other world, or to keep the ancestors in their world and not make them return to the living because their descendants stopped taking care of them. The rituals performed 'can model the way in which crisis or change has been met in the past and suggest ways to meet it in the future' (Paxton 1990: 8). Above-ground tombs are also physical markers in the landscape created to ensure that the dead of the community are never forgotten. Thus, death is a cycle following the same circle again and again with each new death. It is a central phenomenon in the constitution of society, and rituals around it are a form of social control and symbolic order to reinforce the cohesion of the community. It is an essential element for the continuation of life.

Hertz (1960) postulates that every life-cycle ritual ‘implies the passage from one group to another: an exclusion’ (Hertz 1960: 81). ‘It is possible to think that the separation of the bones of the dead and their union with those of the rest of the group symbolized their passage into a different condition, that of protective ancestors and givers of life, along with the dissolution of a supposed individuality’ (Bloch and Parry 1982b:7). This is due to the impurity that is associated with the dead body. As we have seen, there is a liminal period (as argued by Van Gennep) where there is a danger for the community while the soul of the body is still present in the living world. The death of an individual necessitates the exclusion of his or her body from his community. Its rebirth with a new social identity and reassertion in the society is only possible when he is no longer in this transition and time between the two worlds (living/dead), but fully considered to be part of the dead. This is enacted with the interment ceremony of the body or remains. ‘Rites of this type concern processes of individual transformation, whereby social and cultural norms are symbolized and reconfirmed’ (Binski 1996: 29).

As Lévi-Strauss (1973) suggested, the relationship between the living and the dead can have two aspects. Firstly, the dead play little part in the world of the living as long as they are respected. Secondly, the dead are more powerful and necessary to the living and thus demanding (Lévi-Strauss 1973: 302). In the case of the Andes, there is a strong relationship between the living and the dead, and a necessity of help from the dead to the living. During Inca times, in order to get their demands fulfilled, the living had to attend the Inca ancestor in the best and most constant way possible (servants, offerings, sacrifices, feasts, events, etc.) (Kaulicke 2000, 2013).²⁶

Numerous scholars also noted that one of the main symbolisms of mortuary rituals is sexuality and fertility (Hertz 1928, Metcalf and Huntington 1991, Turner 1969, 1975, Van Gennep 1960). Death is often associated with the renewal of fecundity for people, animals or crops, or all of them. ‘In most cases what would seem to be revitalised in funerary practices is that resource which is culturally conceived to be most essential to the reproduction of the social order’ (Bloch and Parry 1982b: 7). This means that death represents not only an ending or pollution in the community but also a regeneration. Death is a source of life and new beginning. This concept of death is very similar, as highlighted in point 3.3, to Andean

²⁶ See also section 3.3.

mortuary customs and ancestor cults (Isbell 1997; Kaulicke 2001; Lau 2002, 2008, 2012, 2013; Salomon 1995; Sherbondy 1986). Leach (1961) points out that 'religious ideology uses the promise of rebirth to negate the finality of death' (Bloch and Parry 1982b: 9). Indeed, section 3.4 of this chapter will discuss the notion that in Christian ideology, the concept of resurrection after death is one of the major elements in the definition of death. Death is part of a cyclical process of renewal. Another interesting point that is found repeatedly in the representation of death in Christian Medieval Europe (3.4) is the concept of a 'good' and 'bad' death. Indeed, the 'good' deaths are those, which are controlled and thus permit the reproduction of life. An example of 'bad' death would be suicide, where the soul is excluded from the society of the dead and is condemned to wander in the world of the living. In Christian conceptions of death, such a soul cannot be saved or even been buried in consecrated ground (Binski 1996). Moreover, 'symbolically it is the corruption of the corpse which creates the purity of the soul' (Bloch and Parry 1982a: 26).

Finally, through mortuary practices, social relationships are actively initiated, transformed and terminated through exchanges and alliances. In many societies, funerals are not simply reaffirmations of social structures and social roles but a central moment in life, inheritance and economy. The anthropologist Edmund Leach (1979: 122) writes: 'If graves are in any way an index of social status it is the social status of the funeral organizers as much as the social status of the deceased that is involved.' Funerals are practices, which are historically situated and open to manipulation. Funerals are also moments when the structure of power may be radically reordered; they are not simply reflections of social order (Childe 1945, Metcalf and Huntington 1991, Parker Pearson 2003: 86). Gordon Childe (1945) argued that elaborate funerals (i.e., size of the tomb, wealth of the offerings and furniture associated with the burial, presence of sacrificial victims) were usually used as political legitimation during politically unstable or formative situations. In sum, funerary practices tell us about social organisation and can be used for political manipulation (Parker Pearson 1993).

Important works completed in the early 20th century on the archaeological approach of mortuary practices include: Boas (1940), Childe (1956) and Kroeber (1927). Childe followed 19th century ideas of mortuary practices as part of religion. Boas (1940) promulgated mortuary practices as societal components used to identify

culture-areas. Kroeber (1927) was an early proponent of the notion that funerary customs should be classed with unstable social elements.²⁷ His analysis of the methods of disposing of corpses within aboriginal California revealed a ‘variance in corpse disposal (cremation and inhumation) [that] did not correlate with climatic or topographical variables in, what he thought was, a given culture area. (...) He then concluded that this apparent diversity and rapid change in corpse disposal was associated with the degree of intersocial contact’ (Bartel 1982: 49). In other words, changes in funerary practices were due to interaction between different communities, each having their own customs. Such ‘patterning’ due to intersocial contact is an aspect to keep in mind when looking at change in mortuary practices during Andean colonial times.

3.2.2 Mortuary studies: from 1960s onward

This vision changes from the late 1960s and early 1970s onwards, with the emergence of the New Archaeology and its processual approach to the study of ancient societies. Their approach was to focus mainly on the causes of culture change (process) due to different cultural and environmental settings. To do so processualists suggested a more systematic style of data collection in order to enable intra- and intersite comparisons. The processual archaeologists contributed significantly to the study of mortuary practices, especially works such as Saxe (1970), Binford (1971), Brown (1971, 1995), Tainter (1978) and O’Shea (1984).

Processual archaeology was strongly associated with the Saxe-Binford hypothesis where burial patterns, social identity and social persona played an essential role. Lewis Binford’s interpretation of mortuary practices (1971) was especially influential. His interpretation was written as a criticism of Kroeber’s notion of burial patterns and burial isolate.²⁸ Kroeber (1927) argued that ‘In their relative isolation or detachment from the remainder of culture, their rather high degree of entry into consciousness, and their tendency to strong emotional toning, social practices of disposing of the dead are of a kind with fashions of dress, luxury, and etiquette’ (Kroeber 1927: 314). For Binford (1971):

²⁷ See further discussion later in this chapter.

²⁸ Kroeber (1927) argues that mortuary practices vary and cannot correlate with other cultural aspects of a society. Even if mortuary practices are a central part of society this does not mean that they are completely stable and integrated (changing rarely) in the cultural aspect of the society.

‘change or variability in mortuary practice (...) is commonly attributed to change or variability in beliefs. Although we are rarely enlightened as to the causes of changes in belief, it would appear (...) the change in belief is generally assumed to proceed from the cumulative experience of man in coping with his environment (...) we would expect that (...) the heterogeneity in mortuary practice which is characteristic of a single socio-cultural unit would vary directly with the complexity of the status hierarchy, as well as with complexity of the overall organization of the society with regard to membership units and other forms of sodalities’ (Binford 1971: 13).

Processual archaeologists ‘frequently focused on the burial evidence as a resource from which social complexity, stratification and change were thought to be reflected and modelled, bolstered by the rich use of ethnographic evidence used in establishing cross-cultural models relating burial to society (Binford 1971; Chapman, Randsborg and Kinnes 1981; Morris 1992)’ (Williams 2003: 4). Saxe (1970) and Binford (1971) assumed that the social status left in life had an impact on the treatment upon death and that material culture should be studied as a long-term adaptive process. Saxe (1970) argued that there is a relationship between the number of components in a disposal domain, their kinds and their complexity of organisation (Goldstein 1981: 55). Tainter (1978) tried to go further on the interpretation of these theoretical concepts on social persona and identity. He proposed to study a model for ranking differentiation looking at the energy expenditure concept for mortuary rituals. In that sense the higher the rank of the deceased, the more the energy is expended in the inhumation. ‘Higher social rank (...) will correspond to greater amounts of energy in the interment ritual’ (Tainter 1978: 125). O’Shea’s study (1984) on mortuary variability highlights that not all aspects of social organisation can be reflected equally in a burial context. According to O’Shea (1984: 50), different variables have to be considered when looking at mortuary practices: differentiation as an expression of social distinctions in the society, changes in practices across time, and differentiation as expressions of ethnic distinction.

The processual period was one of the main eras for the development of mortuary studies. However, processualist methods were criticised by British archaeologists (Tilley 1982, Hodder 1986) in the 1980s-1990s, who were following

anthropologists such as Bourdieu (1972), Sahlins (1976) or Turner (1969). Their own method was to put more attention on the meaning and symbolism of material culture. They argued that ‘material culture was active – that it was used and manipulated by people to effect social change (Hodder 1982), and that it could transform the ideologies through which people understood their world (Miller and Tilley 1984)’ (Hodder 2005: 208). With these scholars, the processual paradigm will move towards a post-processual perspective.

3.2.3 Post-Processual Mortuary Studies

The first analysis challenging the Binford and Saxe argument was from Pader (1980, 1982). She argued that ranking based analyses of mortuary practices were quite simplistic, based on the fact that social relations are not simply a question of status. She focused her argument on the symbolic aspect of the material culture. She looked at how the artefacts can be put in relation to the age and sex of the deceased and their location, in order to argue that things might have different meanings according to their context (Hodder 1982: 152).

The post-processual approach revealed the necessity of using a more contextual approach when studying mortuary practices (Hodder 1986). The first main element of post-processualist theory is the symbolic significance of the material culture. The meaning of the object depends on its context (Hodder 1982, 1986; Shanks and Tilley 1982). Thus, symbols and rituals are an active part of social practice, which give us more information on the cultural context (Geertz 1966, Pader 1982). The second element that was taken into consideration by the post-processualist scholars was how to consider the study of the archaeological record. Post-processualists study it as a dynamic context that evolved over time and not as a static one. As Aubrey Cannon argues, mortuary rituals are a long-term process that continues long after the initial burial (i.e., changes in the grave’s content, organisation, symbolism) (Cannon 1989: 437). We will see in this thesis that, in the case of the Andes, time-extended rituals are related to the notion of the cult of the ancestors (e.g., Dillehay 1995, Salomon 1995, Lau 2002). Mortuary rituals as a long-term process can also sometimes be related to another important aspect that post-processualists have argued on the notions of manipulation and negotiation. Hodder (1982: 10) suggested that ‘burial pattern, then, is not a direct behavioural reflection of social pattern. It is structured through symbolically

meaningful codes which can be manipulated in social strategies.’ Hodder (1986) implies that material culture and remains had social functions not only reflecting a society but also creating that society (Hodder 1986: 151). Such an approach has been used in the Andes to note the importance of manipulation in regard to mortuary practices (Buikstra 1995, Dillehay 1995). Section 3.3 shows that this is particularly evident in the case of mortuary practices during the Inca period. The elite used the death of the Inca ruler as a system of control and manipulation over the populations in order to keep the socio-political stability of the Empire. This topic will also be discussed in Chapter 7, as well as the use of material culture as a means of passive rebellion against colonialism.

The other commonality of post-processualist research is reference to the concept of human agency. In Giddens’ theory (1984), the individual expresses his free will in ways that may or may not be coherent with the cultural norms of the society. Funerary practices and rituals are constituted by beliefs about proper treatment of the dead. Their understanding is only possible by trying to know what they did to lead us to what they believed. Thus, mortuary archaeology today is a useful tool to understand socio-political factors of a society and how these change. Davies writes:

‘The major changes in funerary liturgy and mortuary practice which take place in the centuries (...) took place in cultures experiencing radical forms of social change, including war and conquest’ (Davies 1999: 3).

Archaeologists must understand the function of historical processes to be able to assess the social and ideological meanings of mortuary practices through time. Nevertheless, even if funerary practices are associated with, and reflective of, religion and life after death, both of which are general topics found in different societies, it has to be kept in mind that the interpretation of a funerary system stays unique to each culture, society, time and place. It is the repeatability of customs, which might lead us to a ritualisation of a system and then which will allow us to infer a significance of these practices (Leclerc 1990). This is particularly important to keep in mind in this research where a time period spanning seven centuries is being studied.

Moreover, for the archaeologist, tombs can also give information about the formation and transformation of the landscape. As a locus or place of memory, the

landscape is a built environment, constructed cognitively, symbolically and physically (Silverman 2002). This spatial dimension of mortuary practices is related to the interplay between agency of each group and how each community reacts in their relationships to other groups. Tombs are not only a link between the living, the dead and the land, but they are also a social marker in the landscape (Renfrew 1976, Saxe 1970, Parker Pearson 2003). Landscapes with burials and tombs are often part of the cultural identity of the group, but it is historically contingent through social, political and economic changes. Material culture mediates our relationship with death and the dead, objects, images and practices, as well as places and spaces that call death to mind. There are different views: personal, social or political; and different social values and cultural meanings associated with death. These processes often entail value judgments. While the deaths of royalty or political leaders are marked, others might be marginalized or forgotten (Hallam 2001: 2). However, we have to consider that such events are representations of the perceived reality of social relations and are also open to conflict, negotiation and misrepresentation (Parker Pearson 2003: 86). These changes are evident in this research with the different processes of colonialism that occurred in Ancash.

In summary, anthropological, sociological or historical perspectives are crucial to archaeological interpretation of mortuary practices. Anthropology permits the archaeologist to see how memory may have operated through material culture in past societies. It shows how the monumentality or the practice of some specific rituals are there to emphasise the need to remember, or forget, their past relatives. In our case, historical studies of death are relevant to understand the archaeological changes of mortuary practice in the Andes due to Spanish colonialism. It is also interesting to understand the evolution in beliefs within a society, how for example the Christianisation of death played an important role in the perception of death in Europe from the Middle-Ages until the 18th century, and how this in turn affected the situation in the Andes. Finally, the study of death in archaeology includes how landscape's changes are also part of the socio-political organisation of a society and their social memory markers in time and place.²⁹ These aspects will be elaborated in the next part of this chapter, which focuses on understanding how death and memory were essential to the organisation of life in Prehispanic Peru.

²⁹ See also Chapter 7.

3.3 The Andean concept of death and memory in Prehispanic Peru

Bloch and Parry (1982) present the fact that ‘ancestor ceremonies help to reconstitute society by reconciling physical death with local concepts of the body and soul, and the “reallocation” of the roles and possessions of the deceased’ (Bloch and Parry 1982 in Lau 2008: 1029). Dead persons considered as ancestors were an essential component of Andean society before the Spanish conquest. As the chroniclers’ testimonies inform us, ancestors’ mummies of the Inca were preserved as living people, fed and carried around during important ceremonies. Sancho de la Hoz, secretary of Pizarro in 1533 and 1534 says what they were doing with the ‘señores difuntos’:

‘imágenes hechas de yeso o de barro que solamente tienen sus cabellos y uñas que se cortaban y los vestidos que se ponían en vida, y son tan venerados entre aquellas gentes como si fueran sus dioses. Los sacan con frecuencia a la plaza con música y danzas y se están de día y de noche junto a él, espantándole los moscas.’ (1968 [1554]: 330, 334 in Kaulicke 2001: 27).

The importance of the dead in the Inca Empire

Feasts, Inca worship and the notion of memory are essential in order to reaffirm the lineage strength, dominance and political power of the Inca over the society (Hernández Astete 2012; Kaulicke 2000, 2013). ‘The Inca himself creates and maintains memory by his personal charisma. His acts are thought to be supported by the help of the gods and the ancestors’ (Kaulicke 2013: 393). It was necessary for the Inca to maintain and create a personal political memory marker during his lifetime in order to get help from the gods and his ancestors, but also to be able to become an ancestor after his death (Kaulicke 2013). Hayden (2009) argues that the death of important family and lineage members creates instability in the social and political aspects of the group. Thus, through funerals, feasting and ceremonies, it is possible to demonstrate to the community and regional groups that the loss of a prominent member does not affect the social and political organisation of the group (Hayden 2009: 40). In state society, funerals helped to reinforce regional political alliances (Isbell 1997, Salomon 1995). This is particularly the case for Inca funerals where local nobles took part in the ceremonies, and members of the elite helped the regional lords to arrange mourning in the provinces (Hernández Astete 2012: 247, Kaulicke 2013: 396). The one-month ceremony (*purucaya*), performed one year after

the death of the Inca, was equally important.³⁰ Chapter 6 will describe two main ceremonies, apart from the funeral, which were important for the well-being of the living and the dead: the *pacaricuc* rite and the first year anniversary celebration.³¹

For the Incas, there were different materialisation of memory linking the living and the dead. The sun played an important role in the power of the Inca ancestors. The Incas believed that their rulers were direct descendants from the sun (D'Altroy 2002, Gose 1996, Kaulicke 2003). Kaulicke takes the example of the site of Pisac, where the funerary area receives the first morning light of the sun, which regenerates the ancestors (Kaulicke 2003, 2013). In that case, the tombs were also related to water and landscape. It is clear that Cuzco, and the landscape around it, was a cosmological environment centred on the ideology imposed by the Inca (Kaulicke 2013: 395). In Chapter 7, similar notions of memory and landscape associations will be addressed, with a specific focus on the case study of the Ancash highlands.

Thus, ancestor worship was necessary to maintain the social organisation and cohesion of the Empire. Ancestors were there for the ceremonies, but also emblematised the continuity of the state, being kin relations to the whole *Tawantinsuyu* (Kaulicke 2001). In his chronicles, Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615) described and drew the different funerary practices and tombs in the four regions of the Inca Empire. For the northern region, a representation of a *chullpa* (called *pucullo* in the drawing (see Fig. 4.1)) can be observed. This is an interesting document because it represents the kind of tombs that are found archaeologically today in Ancash, but this will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 4. Death was something essential in life for everybody in Inca society. In Andean communities, the interaction of the dead with the living was necessarily present. The Jesuit Bernabé Cobo (1653) did a detailed recompilation of the funerary customs of Prehispanic Peru. He puts in evidence two types of tomb (subterranean chambers and burials, and surface buildings) and highlights the fact that there were a variety of types according to the region or area (e.g., coast and sierra).

‘Most of the tombs were built in the countryside, some in their fields and others in the uninhabited pasturelands where their livestock grazed, and in

³⁰ See more information on the Inca's death and the one-month feast (*purucaya*) in Hernández Astete 2012 and Kaulicke 2013.

³¹ See also Doyle 1988: 227.

some provinces in their own houses. The form of the tombs was not the same throughout the whole kingdom. Since the provinces and nations were diverse, they also had different types of tombs. However, we can assign them to two groups. The first, those that were dug out underground and the second, those that were built above ground. Within the first group, some were very deep; many steps were provided for going down into them, and others were at ground level. Both types were hollow like vaults; their size and elaborateness depended on the status of the one who had them made. The majority of these were square, and some were as large and deep as an ordinary room, with stone walls as well built as the finest Inca buildings. The doorway was narrow, and it was covered with a single stone slab, and some had a second slab under the first, and sometimes two more, very close together. Tall tombs built above the ground were more common. But we also find a great variety of these because every Indian nation sought a new style of making them. In this respect, there was a great difference between the Indians in the plains along the seacoast and those of the sierra. (...) The Indians of the sierra did not make such big tombs as those of the coast. (...) They made them in the pastures, grasslands and uninhabited areas, some close to their towns, others far from them. All the tombs were made in the form of small towers; the smallest ones were one *estado* (5 ½ feet) high, more or less, the size of our fireplace chimneys, but a little larger, and the largest ones were four to six *estados* high. The doors of all of them face east, and these doors are as small and narrow as an oven door, for it is impossible to enter through them without touching your chest to the ground.’ (Bernabé Cobo 1990 [1653]: 246).

The above-ground structures described by Cobo are the ones used by the Indians of the *Collasuyu*. In order to compare descriptions and see if there is variability in tomb patterns as suggested by Cobo, the next chapters will describe, archaeologically and ethnohistorically, the tombs evident in the Ancash region. Tomb construction and changing patterns linked with the fact that the dead need to be present and visible in society will also be discussed. The surroundings of the deceased, depending on their characteristics, can be an element in the interpretation of the role of the ancestor. It is a reciprocal relationship between the two worlds (Hernández Astete 2012; Lau 2012, 2013). The dead cannot live without the living

but also the living cannot live without the dead. As Susan Ramírez (2005) says, it is: ‘To feed and be fed.’

Moreover, as Rakita and Buikstra suggest (2005: 99), the dry climatic conditions of Peru made the development of mummification possible for a long time. As different scholars argue: ‘At the moment of the conquest, funerary patterns featuring, most notably, the desiccation of the body, were widespread in various regions of the Andes’ (Lau 2013, Ramos 2010: 21). However, as seen in Chapter 2, the climatic conditions in the Sierra of Ancash are less favourable to such preservation, and the next chapters will discuss the possible interpretations for our case study. Coming back to the significance of what an ancestor mummy is in Prehispanic Peru, we have to look closer at the terminology to define it. The term *mallqui* that is found in ethnohistorical documents from the 16th-17th centuries was not only the definition of a dead mummified body. The body was associated with a kind of grain which flowers; this symbolically represented a new cycle of life (Duviols 1979: 22, Kaulicke 2000: 26, Lau 2013: 146, Salomon 1995: 328, Sherbondy: 1986).³² The Inca deceased were a necessary part of the cycle of life and fertility, as they were considered to be living members of the society even after death. Indeed the Incas considered that the Inca himself was still alive as long as his mummy was still present. The living Inca’s human life was extended into divine, supernatural life, while the deceased Inca’s divine and supernatural life was extended into human life. As MacCormack (1991: 131) suggested, his dominion over his subjects was exemplified by his dominion over time. In the first part of this chapter, the notion of death as part of the cycle of life was discussed. The death of the Inca was also synonymous with a historical cycle where, on his death he became the founder of his group, generating life again.

Ancestor veneration, however, did not only characterise Inca society. This *habitus* was based on concepts of previous Prehispanic groups. For each community, the ancestors were necessary in tracing lineages and kinship relations (Isbell 1997, Kaulicke 2000, Salomon 2005). With their dead and funerary practices each group presented their cohesion and their potential dominion over a territory, which was also synonymous with political rivalry between groups.³³ Moreover, like the mummies of the Incas, the ancestral spirits were there to bring fertility, health

³² Sherbondy (1986: 10) explains how, in the Inca tradition, the maternal and paternal ancestors were likened to trees (*mallqui*).

³³ See Chapter 7.

and success to their descendants. Then we can ask ourselves; who were the ancestors? Were all the dead of the community considered to be an ancestor? Peter Kaulicke (2001) has an interesting answer to this question: an ancestor is defined by a society, which recognise him as such. It is not a ‘universal’ concept valid for all, but different elements that are specific to each community. Moreover, it is not a ‘democratic’ concept, as not all of the dead are considered to be ancestors. It seems they were mostly old men (the majority of children and young individuals were excluded for not having the required qualities). However, it was dependent upon each specific context, the conditions and associations according to the time period and the different local expressions, which defined an individual as an ancestor (Kaulicke 2001: 27). For Kaulicke becoming an ancestor is an entire process composed of different steps and culminating in the regeneration of life.³⁴

In the Catholic Church, the regeneration of life is also an important aspect of religion. For example, in St John 11:1-45, Jesus talks about the resurrection of Lazarus saying: ‘I am the resurrection and the life: he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live: and whosoever liveth and believeth in me shall never die.’ However, the concept of life and death in Andean society is different to the Catholic Christian vision and culture. For Andean society, it was the preparation of the body that ensured that the general dead passed into the next life. The forms of memory practices carried out by Prehispanic Andean populations were the making and use of ancestor effigies, the presence of regalia and the offerings to them (See Fig. 3.1), and this continued through time and generations with festive activities in honour of ancestors (Salomon 1995; Kaulicke 2001; Millones 2001; Lau 2011, 2012, 2013). As Lau (2013) suggests, the ancestors live, eat and work as the living do. The preservation of the body or remains, and the possibility to have physical access to their dead, and more especially to their ancestors, were essential for Andean populations (Estenssoro 2003, Hernández Astete 2012, Lau 2013, MacCormack 1991, Ramos 2010).

‘Their materiality of permanence (dryness, hardness, stone or likened to stone) goes hand in hand with the perceived perpetuity of their work. Their work seeks to achieve the same goals as the living: to promote the group’s reproduction, and ensure survival and well-being.’ (Lau 2013: 141).

³⁴ See discussion in Chapter 7.

However, as Ramos (2010: 71) and Lau (2013: 140) argue, the Spaniards had another perception of the body. Dead bodies were corruptible; they decayed and disappeared whereas the soul was immortal. Through the body's decomposition, there was the promise of resurrection (Ramos 2010: 75). Indeed, 16th century Christian faith gave more importance to the soul of the deceased than the body. So there was no special need to preserve the body or give any offerings to it, the latter actually were prohibited at any funeral (see section 3.4).

Death in Prehispanic societies was part of a useful element constituting the essence of life itself. That is why there was a cultural effort to preserve the world of the dead and incorporate it into the present organisation and the future of their descendants. Mummies and tombs were at the same time, a private matter and a public one, being part of the collective memory as a kinship and landscape marker in both time and space. The dead, mostly the ones considered to be main ancestors, became part of the cultural identity of the group and their presence was materialised by the people's intervention in the creation of their tomb, the rituals organised for their veneration and the long-term memory-making behaviour. However, the *habitus* of a society defines each social, economic and political context. In order to better understand the events, behaviours and acts of the Spanish during the colonisation and evangelisation of Peru, the next section provides another vision of death, the Christian European one.

3.4. European Christian concept of death and the evangelisation of the Andes: Similitudes and discrepancies

Death is a vast topic and is not studied here in a specific broader sense. This section is an overview of death in Christian Medieval Europe (France, Spain, Italy from the 10th to the 16th centuries), in order to understand the vision of death held by the Europeans, especially the Spanish, when they arrived in the New World. As seen earlier, death in a society can be divided into different ritual actions that have similar aims across many cultures, but which also have differences. This topic is discussed in addition to the documents and themes that are going to be studied in Chapter 6. The understanding of both visions of death (Andean and European) will help to value the obstacles faced by the Spanish to Christianise Andean funerary customs, and to understand the policies that they adopted towards Andean practices. It might also highlight that there were not only 'contradictions' in their funerary

practices and cosmological conception of death, but also ‘similarities’. Finally, this point argues that colonialism and evangelisation in the New World were not a process of strict opposition and non-understanding between two different societies, but also of incorporation, assimilation and juxtaposition by both sides. To do so, this research will be based on the main arguments in Ramos’ analysis (2010) of death and conversion in the Andes (Lima and Cuzco areas). In the first part, the European vision of death and how it could have affected evangelisation of the Andes will be presented, followed by an overview of the process of colonialism and Christianisation of Peru, with more emphasis on the case study of the Ancash highlands.

3.4.1 European Christian concept of death

Scholars have argued that there were two levels of Catholicism in Spain during the 16th century. One was based on the sacraments of the Universal Church composed of the Roman liturgy and the Roman calendar. The other was based on particular ‘sacred places, images and relics, locally chosen patron saints, idiosyncratic ceremonies, and a unique calendar built up from the settlement’s own sacred history’ (Christian 1981:3). There was opposition between Spanish clergy and common people, whose religious practices were considered as ignorant, pagan and lax. For common people it was thanks to their relationships and veneration of their saints that they could face the difficulties of life. They worshipped them to get fertility for their crops and be healthy themselves (Christian 1981). Thus, there was a conflict between the two visions and practices of the same religion in Spain. This is relevant to understand the behaviour of Spanish clergy in Peru. How can people who ‘fight’ members of their own ideology understand the religious customs of another society?

Christianity had a strong impact on the perception of medieval death and beliefs. The death of Christ and his resurrection were a central subject in the Christian faith. As Binski says, ‘the Christian triumph over death is final, absolute, for with it death re-entered the realm of the living’ (Binski 1996: 11). For a long time, mostly during Antiquity, death had been separate from the world of the living; and to prevent the deceased returning and disturbing the living, they were worshiped with funerary cults. With the emergence of the Catholic Church, the dead body was not considered as impure as it had been during Pagan Roman times.

With time, the dead were not excluded from the living with extra-muros (outside the city) necropoli but were re-admitted into the city, especially into churches. Ethnohistorical documents of 16th century Peru present the importance of burying the dead in churches or monasteries, and not in the countryside.

During early medieval times, Christianity was a religion of the body and the soul (Binski 1996:12). However, there is a difference between the early Church vision of death and that of the Late Middle Ages (from 10th to 16th centuries), where attitudes to the body and the soul became two different topics. By comparison, in Andean society, body and soul are inextricably linked. Nevertheless, practices and attitudes surrounding death in Medieval Christian society were sometimes contradictory with the evangelisation system organised during Andean colonisation. The first to be buried in churches were the Saints. The Saints were not considered as entirely dead because they were still present on earth through their bodies, yet already received into Heaven (Ariès 1974, Binski 1996). While Andean people were forbidden to worship the bodies of their ancestors, pilgrimages to see the relics of Saints were part of every good Christian's life. People needed to be close to the Saints, it was a question of medieval nationhood and kingship. The closer you could be to these holy bodies the more you were protected in death or healed by God's miraculous power (Binski 1996:14). 'In the Middle Ages and even as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the exact destination of one's bones was of little concern so long as they remained near the saints, or in the church, near the altar of the Virgin or of the Holy Sacrament' (Ariès 1974: 22). From this, the cult of the relics started. In Peru, the Dominicans erected a lavish altar in their convent in Lima to keep holy relics brought from Rome (Ramos 2010: 77). Chapter 6 will show that this action contradicted what Christians told the Andean population to do with the bodies of their dead. It can also be observed that the veneration of the 'special dead' (which are the Saints in Medieval Europe or the Ancestors in Prehispanic Peru) and the necessity for the normal dead to keep a relationship, a link to them, was present in both ideologies. Can we consider therefore, that the Saints have the same role as the ancestors have in Andean communities? As Ramos (2010: 76) writes, during the reign of Philip II 'the miracles attributed to the relics of Saints during severe illnesses that afflicted the king and his family were matters of public knowledge.' It can be stated that the cult of the Saints brought a tight interaction between the living and the dead; the dead Saints helped the living as the Andean ancestors did.

However, as far as general people were concerned, ‘pagans prayed *to* the dead for this reason: that the living should be protected. Christians, in contrast, for the most part prayed *for* the dead, since the dead was not held in dread’ (Binski 1996: 23). Thus, it is the living who helped the dead. Indeed, in Christian religion, the body is temporal but the soul is eternal (except for the saints’ bodies). On the other hand, for the Christians, the moment of death was the moment when the devil was trying to take possession of one’s soul by entering his body. That is the reason why the presence of a priest (to give the extreme unction), or another person firm in faith, was necessary to save the soul. The last sacrament is an important matter in the Christian way of dying well. Nonetheless, this has been an obstacle in the good christianisation of Prehispanic Peru, and the continuity of old funerary practices. Indeed, there are numerous testimonies of Spanish priests being reluctant to give this last sacrament to dying Indians, explaining it by their ignorance of the native language, the long distances to get to the places, the decency and cleanliness in which to perform the rites. In 1585, in the Huaylas region, the priests refused to go to the home of the sick to help them spiritually through their death, arguing that there were no decent hospitals in the region (Ramos 2010: 107). It is only with the decrees of the Second Council of Lima (1567) that the priests were obliged to follow their obligation in any matters (Ramos 2010: 80). Thus, if the priests sent to Peru did not carry out their obligation, it was not only more difficult for them to eradicate pagan customs in general but the ones around death too.

Nevertheless, it was not the first time that the Christian Church had faced this kind of problem in its history. At the beginning of its history, the relationship between the dead and the living as a spiritual and economic interaction was a problem. Pagan rites were composed of feasting at the gravesite to honour the dead. ‘In a letter of 392, Augustine complained about the drunken parties around pagan tombs for the consolidation and refreshment (*refrigerium*) of the dead (...)’ (Binski 1996: 26). The Spanish encountered the same ‘problem’ with the feasts given by the populations to their ancestors, going to their tombs and giving them food and drink (*chicha*). This proximity to the dead continued in Europe until the 17th century, despite council laws (13th-15th centuries) forbidding dancing or any form of gambling in cemeteries or churches (Ariès 1974: 24). In the case of Peru, ambiguity prevailed; the Church fought all types of idolatries around mortuary practices, prohibiting feasting, long mourning for the dead and offerings (see Chapter 6). The

Second Council of Lima instructed the priests that they should not allow anyone to put cooked food on the graves, in order to avoid them thinking that the dead would actually consume it (Ramos 2010: 86). However, the need for offerings to the dead was necessary for the Catholic doctrine of purgatory, and a compromise needed to be reached. Thus, as can be seen from the documents presented in section 6.3 of Chapter 6, they were allowed, and obliged, to put wax, wine and bread on the tombs on the feast days of the living and the dead. As Ramos (2010: 86) suggests, this compromise was also made in order to encourage people to bury their dead in churches.

The Catholic Christian cult for the deceased had five steps: the funeral rites at home, the procession to the church, the mass at church, the procession to the cemetery, and the return from there, while the clergy would sing psalms or anthems.³⁵ However, the major act to help the dead was the anointing ritual, which was ‘ensuring that the dead died in a spiritual grace’ (Binski 1996: 29). The rite was considered to be a way of transition and transformation in death, as seen in the first part of this chapter. The dead remained linked to the living society with two rituals: the Office and the Mass.

In medieval times, a good death was to die peacefully and be buried in humility, keeping in mind the Four Last Things (Death, Last Judgment, Heaven and Hell). Lay people needed to understand the basics of sin, confession and penitence, and the ways in which to accomplish this were compiled in a handbook entitled *Ars moriendi* (15th-16th centuries).³⁶ The dying man ‘must lie on his back so that his face is always turned toward heaven’ (Ariès 1974: 9). Binski writes, however, ‘late-medieval Christians in dying could aspire to strengthen the permanent bonds of solidarity between the dead and the living, and solidarity of this type was essentially an affair of kin and family’ (Binski 1996: 36). In the Books of Hours (15th century) and in 16th century poetry, the increase of macabre representation and decomposed cadavers shows that there was as much interest in what happens to the body after death as there was in what could happen to the soul (DuBruck 1999: 26).

In Medieval Spain, it was common to preserve and adorn the body of the important figures of State as was done with the Inca bodies. In the late 13th century, Spain was synonymous with ostentatious funerary practices. Nevertheless, Catholic

³⁵ Chapter 6 will show that these steps are evident in the wills of converted Indians.

³⁶ The third council of Lima (1582-1583) created a similar document to help the new Andean Christians to die in the true faith.

monarchs such as Charles V had a lack of interest in what could happen to their body. This was followed in the 16th century by ‘Priests of mystical and ascetic leanings, who attained positions of considerable influence (...), condemned the attachment to material goods and conceived of the body as a prison from which the soul must be freed’ (Ramos 2010: 75). From the second half of the 17th century, there was a return to the old custom of embalming important Spaniards, with nice clothes and regalia. This might be linked to the traditional preservation of the Saints and holy relics (Ramos 2010: 76). So again, it can be observed that in the history of the Christian Church, the relationship with the body of the dead is complex, but constantly reformulating through time.

A closer look at the late medieval burial reveals that it was a sacral matter with spiritual and social dimensions. As Binski writes, ‘The tomb stood for the dead, marked their resting-place, and lent them a voice; and yet the complexity of the medieval effigial tomb reflected the existential complexity of the state of death itself’ (Binski 1996: 71). It was then a memory marker for the living to remind them of the relationship they need to have with the dead, mainly via prayers. The tomb was then goal-oriented to the future of the living and the dead (Binski 1996). Even though most burials were situated in a churchyard, the most prestigious tombs were made to represent the individual and show the social elevation of the dead. This individual representation was also part of a collective identity with, for example, the representation of family identity. As Bossy writes, ‘Death may be an individual event for the dying, but it is a social event for those who remain behind’ (Bossy 1985: 27) and Binski argues, ‘In fifteenth-century Italy, humanistic discourse began to influence the formation of the tomb more in line with ancient notions of the individual’ (Binski 1996: 122). Funeral art with dead representation and personalisation increased until the 17th century. The tomb is there to bring the memory of the deceased to the living and, in that way make them able to give to the deceased the religious services he deserves to save his soul (Ariès 1974). Ariès states that, ‘In the mirror of his own death each man would discover the secret of his individuality’ (Ariès 1974:50).

The existence of the dead is made with what the living imagine for them (Schmitt 1994: 1). However, this depiction is particular to each culture, beliefs and time. As Philippe Ariès (1974) demonstrates, there is a unity in relationship between the living and the dead from the 5th to the 18th centuries in Europe. Death

became a natural part of life cohabiting the same space. Christianity tried to ‘socialise’ death and the dead, which was possible without specific rituals to maintain a safe passage from one world to another. Even though European people of the 16th century were more exposed to death, in the Christianisation of Peru there was reluctance to understand and tolerate the meaning of Andean funerary practices. This will to Christianise death in the Andes did not allow them to realise that, in the processes of death and commemoration of the dead, there were more similarities with their own customs than discrepancies between them.

One could argue that death, the dead, and the ancestors are conceptualised very differently. Although I agree with this,³⁷ the aim of this chapter is to provide an historical context of the concept of death in two regions of the world during the same time period, to be able to understand the archaeological or historical evidence for changing death practices that the next chapters present. The brief overview of European practices around death can also be put in relation to Appendix D.6 showing a chronological table of events, presenting the main processes of change concerning policies of the Church regarding the colonisation and evangelisation of the New World, and its impact on Andean death practices (from the Late Intermediate Period to mid colonial time). In the next section the process of Spanish colonialism and Christianisation of Peru and Ancash will be discussed, with a particular emphasis on the creation and use of hospitals to evangelise and help the Andean populations to die in the right faith (Arrizabalaga 1999, Ramos 2010), and how hospitals could have affected the regional mortuary customs.

3.4.2 Process of colonialism and Christianisation of Peru

Colonialism as a concept has been a problematic subject that researchers in humanities have had to deal with. The history of Europe has meant that the view created was often tainted by a Eurocentric conceptualisation of what they have called the New World, but over decades of research, interpretations of this process have changed and evolved (Alcock 2005, Gosden 2004, Gose 2008, Lawrence and Sheperd 2006, Stein 2005, Schreiber 2005, Wachtel 1971).

The understanding of colonialism made us realise that it has always been a long process as common to Europe or the New World as political and economic strategy. A different religion, customs, day-to-day existence and organisation were

³⁷ See discussion about ancestors in Chapter 7.

major aspects that the Spanish invaders were confronted with on their arrival. The colonial process was not a new event for Andean people. The foundation of the Inca Empire was based on military conquest and colonialism. So, as already discussed in Chapter 2 (Section 2.3), the 15th century people living in Ancash had to adapt to a new religion and domination by the Inca. That is why in some places, Spanish colonisation and evangelisation were actually seen as a way to go back to their old customs. So my questions are:

- How were the Spanish, with their new religion, able to impose their ideas, and new mortuary practices?
- How were the internal structure, organisation and concepts of the Christian Church major factors affecting the impact of colonialism in the area and their understanding of Andean people?

The Spanish conquest of the New World is closely related to the conversion of the people living there (Estenssoro 2003: 35). If we look at the process of Christianisation, we can recognise two different periods of evangelisation in Peru. The arrival of the Spanish in 1532 was characterised by a secular Church,³⁸ and with different orders (Franciscan, Mercedarian, Augustinian),³⁹ the most important being the Dominican.⁴⁰ They were considered to be the first to bring the Gospel to the Indians. The Jesuits only arrived in 1568 (Gridilla 1937: 123). This first generation of priests, sent to evangelise, was not properly prepared for such a task, and they had no knowledge of, for example Quechua (Zuloaga 1994: 71).⁴¹ The insufficient numbers of priests made it essential to train novices. As Sabine Hyland (1998) points out it is generally believed that only Europeans and creoles were ordained priests in Colonial Peru. However, she mentions that *mestizos* were at that time the ‘substratum of the Peruvian clergy’, and that they were usually ordained to serve in the *doctrinas* without a real chance of promotion (Hyland 1998: 432).⁴² Apart from secular clergy, the Jesuits at that time (1569) were the first order to accept *mestizos* (Hyland 2003: 3). The Mercedarians also accepted *mestizos* throughout the 16th century. The Dominicans and Augustinians maintained barriers against it. The Franciscans who initially built a college to train natives and *mestizos* finally refused to allow them to

³⁸ Secular: ‘Of members of the clergy: Living ‘in the world’ and not in monastic seclusion, as distinguished from ‘regular’ and ‘religious’ (O.E.D).

³⁹ The Augustinians arrived in Peru in 1551 (Gridilla 1937: 144).

⁴⁰ See also Duviols 2008: 95 on the different religious orders and the extirpation of idolatries.

⁴¹ See 5.4 in Chapter 5, for more detail on the role of languages in the evangelisation of the Andes.

⁴² *Mestizos*: Mixed Indian and European descent.

make religious vows. There was a fear among the Church that natives were not prepared enough and confirmed in their Christian faith to be ordained priests (Hyland 1998: 435).⁴³ However, the *indios ladinos* and *mestizos* became vital agents in the evangelisation of the Americas (Charles 2010, Hyland 1998). Sometimes in the absence of the priest christianised Indians were in charge of the administration of the sacraments (Robles Mendoza 2006: 113). The papal bull issued in 1576 by Pope Gregory XIII allowed the ordination of *mestizos*. As Charles (2010: 18) notes the creation of a class of literate native intermediaries was necessary for the Church in order to teach Spanish and the Christian doctrine to communities.⁴⁴ However, *indios ladinos* had a conflicted role, as they were at one and the same time assistants of the Church in its fight against pagan beliefs and customs and defenders of the communities rights. They were considered as untrustworthy by both parties (Charles 2010: 4).⁴⁵ In 1577, the Crown wrote to the Bishops of Cuzco and Lima to stop the ordination of *mestizos* (Hyland 1998: 437).

The first period of evangelisation (1532-1583) was considered pacifist.⁴⁶ There was a desire to bring a religious continuity to Andean populations, to make them understand and replace their customs with the Catholic faith.⁴⁷ So, during this time there was no mandate to eradicate the old rites, customs or beliefs, but they were looking for an accommodation between both traditions. *Khipus* (knotted cord records) were used by native church assistants to teach catechism (Charles 2010, Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011). The First Council of Lima announced that the synod's laws must be presented to the community and kept as writing records and *kipu* by the local cacique (Charles 2010: 77). *Khipus* were used for learning basic prayers, confession and solved in a way the problems brought by languages

⁴³ Peruvian bishops refused to ordain Peruvian Indians as priests. This was stressed with the First Council of Lima (1551-1552) and Second Council of Lima (1567). The First Council forbade the ordination of Indians until 'they are more instructed and settled in the faith and know better the mysteries of sacraments'. However there was no mention about the admission of *mestizos* (Hyland 1998: 435).

⁴⁴ See in Rojas Runciman 2010, the case study of the curaca Callan Poma in San Francisco de Mangas (1662).

⁴⁵ Rojas Runciman (2010: 56) mentions that in Mangas the relationship between *mestizos* and the Indians of the community was bad. The *mestizos* could not be trusted as they report idolatries to the extirpator Bernardo de Noboa.

⁴⁶ Estenssoro (2003) defines the period starting from 1532 until the Third Council of Lima (See Estenssoro 2003: 31).

⁴⁷ Six texts were used for catechism: *Instrucción que se ha de tener en la Doctrina de los naturales* (1545) by the Archbishop of Lima Jerónimo de Loayza, *Primer concilio limense* (1552), *Plática para todos los indios* and *Confesión general para los indios* (1560) in *Grammatica o arte de la lengua general* Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Suma de la fe* (1567) Matienzo in *Gobierno del Perú, Segundo concilio limense* (1567) (Estenssoro 2003: 33).

differences (Charles 2010:85).⁴⁸ However, the work was not efficient. The diverse orders in missions in the different regions of Peru had their own methodology according to their order, but also had to take care of councils' orders (first one in 1551). The first decision taken by this council was to baptise Andean people, so that they would stop practising their idolatrous customs. However, an interesting fact about this first period is the non-acceptance of the baptised Indians. For some people of the clergy, even though the Indians were baptised, they were not considered to be fully Christian. This meant that they were not able to access communion and confession (Estenssoro 2001: 461). As it will be discussed in section 6.4 of this thesis, even within the same religious group, such as the Jesuits, different strategies of evangelisation were followed: a repressive one such as that followed by the *mestizo* priest and extirpator of idolatry Francisco de Avila or the more pacifist one which combined native customs with Christianity.

There was a political and economic necessity for the Spanish Crown to organise its religious system of evangelisation. Changes were implemented around 1560 with the Trent Council, the Viceroyalty of Toledo (1570) and the arrival of the Jesuits, leaving room for more repression and destruction of all forms of continuity with the old traditions or idolatry. The Second Council of Lima (1567-1568) mentioned destroying the *huacas* and putting crosses or a Church in their place. Toledo reinforced the obligation to teach Spanish and use *indios ladinos* to do so. The education of the native elite became a priority for the Spanish as it helped them in their missionary actions, such as upholding colonial laws, facilitating the collection of tribute and assisting the priests) (Charles 2010: 20). As inbetweeners between the Spanish and the communities, Indians officials became central agents in Colonial Peru. At the end of the 16th century, the division between the regular and secular Church became more important. The secular clergy complained that problems in the continuity of idolatries was down to the laxity or excess of the regular clergy (Charles 2010: 182). The regular clergy complained about the secular clergy, claiming merits on parishes that the regular clergy founded (Gridilla 1937: 146). The regular clergy was in a situation of inferiority because they were named to a *doctrina* for only three or four years. On the other hand, the secular clergy was able

⁴⁸ In their 2011 book Salomon and Niño-Murcia note the coexistence between khipus and written records. During Spanish colonial times the khipu became a widespread skill compared to Prehispanic times when it was reserved to the Inca elite. For more information about the colonial use of khipu see Charles 2010, Hyland 2003, Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011.

to stay in a *doctrina* for an indefinite amount of time (Duviols 2003: 35). In the long term, the number of regular priests decreased and the secular ones increased. The Augustinians had to give up their parishes at the beginning of the 16th century. At the end of the 18th century all the parishes had passed from a regular clergy to a secular one.

The main change brought about by the evangelisation of the New World can be found in the Third Council of Lima (1582-1583). It was decided that every clerical order should use the same method of teaching, and which meant learning native languages. At that time a lot of Andean villages had already been reduced (by relocating, and grouping people in one village from different ones across the area). The Spanish thought that with the imposition of this new system all Prehispanic customs would disappear. However, there were many testimonies indicating the contrary. At the difference of the Mercedarians, this native resistance to evangelisation made the Jesuits doubt the sincerity of the faith of the *mestizos*. José de Acosta and the neo-Thomist school of Francisco de Victoria considered *mestizos* to be ‘too degraded by the customs of their mothers to make good Christians and, therefore, good priests’ (Hyland 1998: 436). From that moment on the place of *mestizos* in the Church became a central debate. Already banned by the Crown in 1577, from 1582 *mestizos* were banned from the Jesuit order (Hyland 1998, 2003, 2011). As Sabine Hyland rightly describes in her 1998 article, a racial hierarchy appeared in the 17th Peruvian priesthood. During the Third Council of Lima (1582) the Archbishop Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo lifted the banishment of *mestizos*, and agreed their ordination, however they could only be assigned to Indian *doctrina*.⁴⁹ This was followed in 1588 by a royal order from the Spanish Crown (Hyland 1998: 439). As Hyland (1998: 444) states from that point on the only bodies to officially exclude *mestizos* was the regular clergy, and a ‘racially polarized clericate’ developed.⁵⁰ The 17th century became a period of more repression and vigilance over pagan behaviours. Pagan behaviours or so-called idolatries were described as a false doctrine diverting native communities from the true faith (Rojas Runciman 2010). John Charles (2010) defines the concept of idolatry for the Spanish. It encompassed different ‘crimes ranging from *malqui* worship to diabolic healing’ (Charles 2010: 139). The Jesuit, José de Acosta defined idolatry as a religious expression of native

⁴⁹ ‘Doctrinas were usually the poorest, most isolated, and least influential parishes in which a priest could serve in Colonial Peru’ (Hyland 1998: 444).

⁵⁰ For more information see Hyland 1998.

people towards ‘natural things’ (sacred landscape, *huacas*) and ‘things of human invention’ (idols, mummy bundles) (Charles 2010: 140). Pagan customs and behaviours such as drunkenness, sorcery, dream-keeping were also considered as idolatries and detailed in specific manuals such as the *Tercero catecismo* (1585). The campaigns of Extirpations of Idolatries started in the Huarochirí Sierra by Francisco de Avila (1609-1619). This was followed by two other campaigns in the Archdiocese of Lima (Fig. 3.2) (1625-1626) (1641-1671).⁵¹ The most vigorous period is considered to be after 1650, and coincided with the intense pursuit of Judaizing by the Inquisition (Hyland 1998: 446).⁵² The campaigns were episcopal visitations where church inspectors were following specific methods and instructions to direct the investigations and trials of suspected idolatries (catechism, confession, procession, etc.) (Charles 2010, Guevara-Gil and Salomon 1994, Hyland 1998, Mills 1997, Rojas Ruciman 2010).⁵³ It was a ‘ritual process’ to keep Andean society inside a model created by the State and Church (Guevara-Gil and Salomon 1994: 3). John Charles (2010: 141) enumerates the three points followed by the extirpaters in finding a suspect guilty of practising idolatries: ‘the native minister’s rejection of God and the Church, the arrogance and vanity of believing in false gods, and the devil’s role in traditional cult practices’. The visitador was accompanied by a fiscal mediating the interactions between the local community and the visitador, and a notary making a record of the events (Charles 2010: 135). The controversy of the role of native assistants within the Church (discussed earlier) resulted in clerics such as Arriaga being against recruiting Indians for the visits. Nevertheless, numerous native Indians took part in the process. The visits were not a hegemonic process; Andean populations became active agents of the system.

In conclusion, it can be observed that the organisation of the Catholic Church in Colonial Peru was not monolithic, the diversity of the members (secular/ regular clergy, *mestizos* and *indios ladinos*) had an impact on Andean evangelisation. As Sabine Hyland (1998: 452) demonstrated in her article, *mestizo* clergy had an important impact on the evangelisation of the Peruvian Andes, which divided the Church. Two different opinions stand out: on one side the clergymen who believed that *mestizos* and Indians should be part of the priesthood and even consecrated as

⁵¹ The Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo (1625-1626) decided to transform his pastoral visit of the archdiocese of Lima into a visit against idolatry (Duviols 2008: 177).

⁵² See also Burga 1988: 191 about the different cycles of idolatries in Cajatambo.

⁵³ Guevara-Gil and Salomon (1994: 11) mention that two types of visitas were visible in the Andes.

bishops for their importance in the evangelisation of the communities. On the other hand, there were priests who tried to remove completely *mestizos* from the Church arguing that they were a brake on evangelisation (Hyland 1998: 452). The study by Charles (2010), reveals that *mestizos* and native assistants had a more important impact in the evangelisation than expected. Andean mediators had a central part in the extirpation of idolatries and, it was often thanks to them that major discoveries were made. However, not all of them were exclusive practitioners of the cultural and political forms of the Spanish. Native literates and fiscales also used their knowledge of writing as a way to protect Andean communities' rights and challenge Spanish colonialism and evangelisation (Charles 2010: 134). Different scholars, such as Griffiths (1996) have argued that the jurisdictional conflicts within the Church were used by the natives against the Church.⁵⁴ According to the Archbishop Villagómez, such litigations against the clergy were a distraction from the extirpation of idolatries. As Charles (2010: 189) states, such petitions against the clergy 'produced chaos in the highland parishes and prevented visitadores from punishing Andeans for religious crimes'.

Evangelisation of the Ancash highlands

One of the main pitfalls in the strategy of the evangelisation of the Andes was the absence of unity inside the Catholic Church. The elements available on the clerical organisation of the Ancash highlands are compiled here to get a better historical overview of the situation in the area.

The provinces of Huaylas, Conchucos and Cajatambo were religiously part of the Archdiocese of Lima (Mills 1997:2).⁵⁵ In order to understand if such disparity inside the Church was affecting the region of this study, this section enumerates the different religious groups present in the Ancash region from the 16th century until the beginning of the 17th century. The following analysis is based on the AGI document (AGI, Lima, 301, 1619), and the visits of Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo (1593-1605) (Fig. 3.3).⁵⁶ Before starting with the analysis of these documents, it is relevant to mention Zuloaga's thesis (1994) on Huaylas, and Gridilla

⁵⁴ See the case of San Francisco de Mangas in Rojas Runciman 2010.

⁵⁵ During the third campaign against idolatries the following were sent to Ancash: Dr Pablo Recio de Castilla (Checras and Cajatambo), Lic. Felipe de Medina (Yauyos, Jauja, Chancas and Huaylas) and Lic. Bartolomé Jurado (Conchucos and Huamalíes) (Duviols 2008: 181).

⁵⁶ Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo was Archbishop of Lima from 1579 to 1606. During his pastoral visits he visited his diocese three times.

(1937) about the evangelisation of the region. Zuloaga's analysis of Huaylas *encomiendas* mentions that evangelisation was one of the first obligations for the *encomenderos*. However, it was not a priority at first (Zuloaga 1994: 70). She cites the will of Sebastián de Torres's widow, which says that evangelisation of the Indians in Huaylas had been neglected during her husband's life (Zuloaga 1994: 71). She also underlines the fact that the *caciques* quickly converted to Catholicism,⁵⁷ and that the *encomienda* of Huaylas was directed by Dominicans and that Huaraz, Recuay and Marca were secularized (Zuloaga 1994: 84). The Dominicans were the first ones to arrive in Ancash and to evangelise the population (Gridilla 1937: 282). The *corregimiento* of Huaylas had a Dominican convent established in Yungay around 1540 by Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás (Gridilla 1937: 283). It became a priorship in 1579 (Zuloaga 1994: 71). In her thesis Zuloaga mentions that the first Dominican friars there in the 16th century (including Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás) helped in the evangelisation of the *encomienda* of Huaylas, compared to the ones of Recuay and Huaraz (Zuloaga 1994: 71).⁵⁸ In his first visit to the region in 1585, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo indicated that almost all the Indians were Christians. However, it is also said that the churches of the area were in a really bad state (Gridilla 1937: 286). He revisited the region eight years later, in 1593 (Huaylas) and 1594 (Conchucos), and gave details about each *corregimiento* and their *doctrinas* (See Table 3.1 and 3.2 in Appendix C). In his 1593 visit to the Huaylas area, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo visited 29 different villages, over 28 *doctrinas*. None of them had a hospital and only Huaraz and Yungay had one confraternity each. The Dominicans were directing the *doctrinas* of Yungay, Macate, Mato, Huaylas, Caraz and Carhuaz. There were in total 27,033 people living in the *Corregimiento* of Huaylas, of whom 16,961 were converted Indians. The main language spoken by the populations in the villages was also mentioned. In his visits to Huaylas and Conchucos he noted that people were still speaking the 'general language of the Inca' (or Quechua) and that sometimes the priest of the village could not speak Quechua properly. One of the arguments used by the secular Church and the Archbishop against the regular clergy was their 'incapacity' in speaking the

⁵⁷ For the ones of Huaylas (probably the *encomienda* of Huaylas) according to the Governor Vaca de Castro (1542). Zuloaga argues that in Recuay, Marca and Huaraz the *caciques*, even though they had Catholic names, continued to have polygamous relationship with women (See Zuloaga 1994: 84 and Estenssoro 2003: 36).

⁵⁸ Spanish Dominican missionary, he evangelised the southern part of the Callejón de Huaylas, part of the coast and some villages in Conchucos (Gridilla 1937: 285).

languages of the Indians. In the case of Ancash, the Archbishop Gonzalo de Campo wrote to the King on the 8th October 1626, about his visit to Ancash:

'salióme [...] tres leguas antes a prevenirme que no le había de examinar [...], llegado a la doctrina no quiso por ningún caso consentirlo y yo lleuaba ya relación y mala satisfacción de que ni sabía la lengua ni tenía suficiencia. Comencé la visita y hallé que no sabía la lengua ni predicaba ni enseñaba en al lengua y que se había estado intrudo y sin presentación del virrey ni aprobación del Ordinario.' (Duviols 2003: 37)

In 1594 he visited the area of Conchucos with its 24 villages over 18 *doctrinas*. There were 18,236 people living there, of whom 10,249 were converted Indians. In contrast to Huaylas, there were four hospitals (Corongo, Pueblo de Tauca, Pueblo de Llapo, San Luis de Huari) and four confraternities (*Cofradía*) (San Luis de Llamellín, Santo Domingo de Huari, Tauca and Pallasca). The Dominicans directed the *doctrinas* of Santo Domingo de Huari, Huántar and Chavín. The Mercedarians were directing the *doctrinas* of San Cristóbal de Uco, San Francisco de Paucas, Santiago de Yanas, Santo Domingo de Guachi and Nuestro Señor de Guadalupe. During my research at the Archivos Generales de las Indias, I found a 17th century document transcribed by Lissón (1947) corroborating Zuloaga's argument that the *encomienda* of Huaylas was directed by Dominicans and that Huaraz, Recuay and Marca were secularized, and the information given by Mogrovejo. This document (AGI, Lima 301, 1619) is a report that recompiles the relationship between cities, villas, parochial places (Spanish or Indian) and *doctrinas* in the Archbishopric of Lima.⁵⁹ This document gave a list of the religious people present in the area, the number and name of the confraternity, the presence of a hospital and its use. It is relevant to observe that the document is dated from 1619, the last year of the first campaign against idolatries in the Andes. Thus, this thesis will continue to focus only on the information about the region of Conchucos and Huaylas in order to see what was the religious situation 22 years after the visits of Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo and the first campaign against idolatries.

In 1619 Conchucos had 14 *doctrinas*, ten with secular clerical people and four with friars (Dominicans and Mercedarians) (See Table 3.3 in Appendix C). The 14 *doctrinas* entailed in total more than 28 villages, each of them having their own

⁵⁹ See this document in Appendix A.

church and baptismal pile. Conchucos had a total of 11,500 converted Indians, 11 hospitals of which only two were actually used and 31 confraternities. The confraternities were mainly dedicated to the Blessed Sacrament, the Virgin Mary, and the Souls in purgatory.⁶⁰

For Huaylas, the document stipulates the presence of 19 priests, 11 of them being from the secular clergy and eight from the Dominican order. From the description of each *doctrina* it transpires that there was in total 17 *doctrinas*, with secular clergy (n=10) (the one at Cotaporaco *doctrina* seems to have left before the visit) and with regular clergy (n=7). The 1619 document (see Table 3.4 in Appendix C) shows that, in contrast to 1593, there was no information about the number of converted Indians, the presence of a hospital or confraternity in the *doctrinas* managed by the Dominicans. According to the document, it seems that the Dominicans did not let other clerics visit their *doctrinas* or give any information about them. This evidence confirms the argument of Duviols (2003) about the resistance of the regular clergy. Duviols (2003: 39) mentions that the regular clergy (mainly the Augustinians and Dominicans) was opposed to the importance given by the Church and the Archbishop to the visits of the idolatries' system (See AGI, Lima 325, 1622). The 1619 document also indicates that there were 36 villages over the 17 *doctrinas* of the *Corregimiento* of Huaylas. Analysis of the information available from 10 of these *doctrinas*, there is a total of 7,810 converted people, eight hospitals (only three used) and seven confraternities of which four are situated in the Huaraz *doctrina* (the other three are divided over two other *doctrinas*).

Confraternities and hospitals were important in the evangelisation of the populations.⁶¹ Ramos (2010) states that hospitals were not only created to treat the population's illnesses but also to change their lives and convert them to Christianity (Ramos 2010: 99). In the places where there were no hospitals, the friars would create houses for the poor; this was the case in Caraz, Carhuaz and Macate (Zuloaga 1994: 208).⁶² In 1594 there were only four hospitals for the whole region of Ancash and they were only situated in the Conchucos area. During his visits, Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo described the absence of hospitals or the misuse of them (Zuloaga

⁶⁰ We will see the importance of the confraternities for getting prayers to save the souls from Purgatory in Chapter 6.

⁶¹ There will be more details about confraternities and the introduction of new mortuary practices in Chapter 6.

⁶² Ramos (2010) also stipulates that in Spain, hospitals were meant to be for the poor, and that in the Andes the Indians were identified as the poor (Ramos 2010: 102).

1994: 209). Furthermore, the 1619 document shows that still more than 20 years later, only a few of the hospitals were being used. Ramos (2010) and also Zuloaga (1994) stipulate in their research that the Indians did not have much interest in the hospitals, they refused to go there and preferred to continue to see their own local healers (See Ramos 2010: 104 and Zuloaga 1994: 208).⁶³ Ramos (2010) also cites a 1585 document stating that the priests of the Huaylas region complained that the Indians ‘died like beasts in the fields for lack of hospitals where they might be cured’ (Ramos 2010: 107). The role of the hospitals was clearly important in relation to mortuary practices and the soul’s salvation. Previously in this chapter, the different stages (before and after death) necessary to have a good death as a good Christian were discussed, and hospitals in the Andes were used in that sense. As Ramos argues, hospitals were the places where those who were already Christian could make their confessions before dying, but also where the unbelievers could be converted and baptised before they died (Ramos 2010: 102). In hospitals people could die and be buried in the proper Christian manner.⁶⁴

In Medieval times hospitals were the link between the living and the dead, a reflection of the society, it was the place treating the body and that secured soul salvation. As a charitable act, these institutions were founded by the rich for the poor (Arrizabalaga 1999, Grell and Cunningham 1999, Pullan 1999). Being rich without charity was considered to be a major sin for the Catholic Church, it was necessary to practice charity work in order to save the soul from Hell or Purgatory. Williams (2003: 234) writes that: ‘the founding and patronage of religious houses was often motivated to create a physical locus for the remembrance of powerful families’. Constructing hospitals helped the rich achieve salvation. It advertised your charity in order to make people pray for you (Rawcliffe 2014). Nevertheless, the construction of the hospital was not enough; there was a need for lasting celebrations where people commemorated you (i.e., through paintings of the Last Judgement with representation of the benefactor of the hospital, the book of the dead) (Williams 2003).⁶⁵ Apart from the Church, the hospital was the place where mass and alms-

⁶³ ‘Indians looked with fear and distrust on the practices of confining large numbers of the sick together: seeing that many of them did not leave the hospital alive, they started to call it the ‘house of the dead’ (Ramos 2010: 103).

⁶⁴ Ramos (2010) mentions the necessity to write a will as a good Christian, giving directions for masses for their souls (Ramos 2010: 104).

⁶⁵ The book of the dead registered the names of all the people who gave money for the hospital. The book was put next to the altar so that people who had their name on it could get benefits from the masses (Rawcliffe 2014).

deeds were celebrated. Chapter 6 will discuss in more detail how this notion of insecurity around death in the Catholic faith created a 'commerce of salvation' (i.e., to escape from purgatory, alms-deeds and masses were necessary).

By comparing the 1593-1594 documents of the visits of Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo in Ancash and the 1619 documents changes in the religious organisation of the area can be observed. In 20 years an augmentation of the number of hospitals and confraternities in the region is evident.⁶⁶ In the Conchucos area, the number of confraternities multiplied by ten. The general analysis of this 1619 document gives the impression that the *Corregimiento* of Conchucos had more converted people and more confraternity in its *doctrinas* than Huaylas. However it should be kept in mind that information from seven of the *doctrinas* of Huaylas plus the ones visited by Mogrovejo in 1593 but not in 1619 is missing. Mogrovejo's visits and Zuloaga's thesis suggest that the installation of the Dominicans in Huaylas had a strong impact on the evangelisation of Huaylas. Nevertheless, it is obvious that the relationship between the Dominicans and the secular clergy changed over time. If Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo was able to collect information from the Dominican *doctrinas* in 1593-1594, this was not the case in 1619. A *Real Cédula* written in 1615 by Fr. Cristóbal Ruiz from the order of San Antonio de Padua in Santa, informed that its order left the convent of Santa due to the absence of funding and went to create another one in Pomabamba. He also mentioned that there were two convents in Huaraz. One was of the Belén order, which had a hospital and a school for the nobles. The second was a Franciscan convent. He also confirmed that the Dominican's convent in Yungay was the oldest in the region (Estremadoyro Robles 1989). It is interesting to observe that, in the 1619 document, there is no mention of these two Huaraz convents.

With these documents two things can be observed. One, that there was a clear division between the secular and regular clergy, and from that Christianisation must have been different in the different *doctrinas* of the same *corregimiento*. It is also interesting to point out that the opposition of the regular clergy against the visits against idolatries was already evident in Ancash at the end of the first campaign.⁶⁷ As Zuloaga suggests (1994: 85), the secular clergy might have been more dependent on the collaboration with the *caciques* in order to evangelise the rest of the community, compared to the regular clergy that had more method, organisation and

⁶⁶ Even though there is an augmentation, there was a lack and a misuse of the hospitals in the region.

⁶⁷ The resistance of the regular clergy is discussed by Duviols 2003: 38.

legitimacy. From 1770, secular priests appeared next to the Dominicans in Carhuaz, Caraz, Yungay and some other places. At the end of the 18th century the regular clergy had completely disappeared from Yungay (Gridilla 1937: 148). Nevertheless, the importance of Dominicans and Mercedarians in the region until the 18th century might suggest a more opened vision of Andean Christianity, which embraced native traditions compared to the secular one. As mentioned earlier such opposition within the Church must have had some impact on the evangelisation of the region in different ways. First of all, some areas must have been more propitious to keep their traditional customs in areas where the clergy considered Prehispanic customs as a way to introduce the Christian doctrine. Secondly, the division between the regular and secular clergy in the area, must have been used by the native populations to fight the process of extirpation of idolatries. The documents also reveal that the Jesuits were not present in the region, however, they took part in the campaigns against idolatries of the area. Numerous testimonies mentioned in Chapter 6, which include documents from the *Cartas Annuas* describe the encounters between the Jesuits and the populations and their repressive actions against idolatries practised in the region. These different factors probably played a central role in the continuity of Prehispanic customs such as Andean mortuary practices.

The second element coming from these documents concerns the case of mortuary practices. The absence of a hospital in some sectors of the region might be evidence that there were few rich families living in the area to sponsor their construction compared to the bigger cities such as Lima. This lack of hospital use in the region created more difficulties for the clergy to evangelise people and help them to die well. This also probably reinforced the continuity in using old mortuary practices in the area. Estensoro (2003) defines conversion in the Andes as fragmentary and heterogeneous. These documents regarding Ancash seem to be consistent with this argument. Even after a period of reorganisation of the Church and imposition of new rules in order to optimise the Christianisation of the Andes, the Church was not completely unified in its fight against idolatry.⁶⁸ Father Gridilla mentioned that it took the Dominicans a long time and a lot of work in order to convert the populations of the area that were practising idolatries (Gridilla 1937: 285). It seems that, for the Ancash region, the disparity in the Church's organisation created an atmosphere of instability that encouraged the continuity of Prehispanic

⁶⁸ For more information on the evangelisation of the Andes see Estensoro 2003.

practices and customs in the populations. In Chapter 6 the impact that such conventions could have had in the Andes will be developed in more detail. This research will not only focus on the material culture of death in the Andes, but will also investigate the social and ideological aspects of it and the possible changes due to the arrival of new groups, first by the Incas and then the Spanish. In the next chapter the archaeological data recollected to study the mortuary practices of the Ancash highlands will be presented.

IV

Mortuary Practices in the North-Central Andes

One of the aims of this thesis is to understand what happened with mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands from AD 1000 to 1799. What were the different types of tombs used in the Ancash region from the Late Intermediate Period until Colonial times? Is there any variability through time or between the different geographical areas of the region? Are there any obvious changes in mortuary architecture that could suggest any influence from the two colonisations of the region? This chapter constitutes the presentation of the archaeological data used in this research, the typologies already existing in the region and the tomb definitions used to describe them. Firstly the data gathering process will be introduced with reference to the unequal quality of information. Secondly, the general database organisation and utilisation will be presented. Then, the different definitions and terminology used by archaeologists to describe tombs in the Ancash highlands will be discussed. Finally, the different surveys and typologies will be introduced describing the tombs used by archaeologists working in the three sub-areas of the Ancash highlands (Conchucos, Cordillera Negra and Huaylas).

4.1 The data gathering process

This thesis focuses on regional differentiation and group affiliation during different time periods reflected by patterned mortuary practices, with a view to understanding the impact that the Inca and Spanish processes of colonialism on the mortuary practices of the populations living in the Ancash highlands may have had. In order to do this, one of the first steps was to gather together all the information available on known burials of the Ancash highlands. This was done by compiling information from published and unpublished formats, and organising the data in order to analyse it using quantitative methods.

However, it should be observed that the information compiled is of unequal quality as some of the data available for analysis is more complete and detailed than others. In some cases, the archaeologists only reported the presence of graves without any further information or description. In other cases, the burials have been carefully described within their context. Thus, the quality and reliability of the data

have been estimated according to different criteria: precision of the descriptions, simple survey or excavation, depth of the analysis, date of excavation or publication.

Therefore, in order to complete the information already gathered with published formats and also to be able to have my own view of the data directly from the sources, I have also been in the field to visit some of these main sites such as: Chinchawas, Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain, Keushu, Kipia and its surrounding sites. All of these sites have what archaeologists call *chullpas*, except for Kipia and its surroundings where I observed different types of tombs directly in the field.⁶⁹ The fieldwork method was to take measurements, notes and photos of the tombs, and record the main architectural traits of the structures (type of walls, types of roofs if still existing), the presence of an entrance, their orientation and dimensions, the dimensions of the structures as a whole, the number of rooms where possible, the presence of a platform and walls around the structure.

Thus, this research does not include any excavation. Nevertheless, it has been possible to determine the characteristics of the tombs of each site using the compilation of published data and fieldwork. The statistical analysis of the information in the next chapter analyses the metric data (size of the tomb, size of the entrance), geographical position of the tombs in the landscape, their orientation, masonry, etc. These elements form the bulk of the database, which is presented in the next section.

4.2 The database

Nine hundred and eighty-five burials from one hundred and thirty-two sites were selected for analysis. For each burial, general information was gathered including: its location, dating, type of funerary structure, its contents and organisation and finally, the sources and bibliographic references. Several variables were used during the data gathering process. This dataset collects information on location and shows the position of the different tombs studied, which are then coded, a brief description of the area of excavation or survey where they have been found is added, and correlated with a map showing the sites mentioned (Figs. 4.1 and 5.70). Part of the description here also permits us to delimit Ancash as a region with different boundaries and zones of important geographical areas such as the Callejón de Huaylas and the Conchucos (described in Chapter 2). Each tomb was named or coded which enabled

⁶⁹ These types/categories have been made up by scholars. In the next section of this chapter the definition of these terms and their use in this research will be discussed.

it to be categorised as a ‘type’ according to their different particularities. Thus, the structure of each burial has been described according to different variables: its dimensions, orientation, shape, presence of an entrance, number of internal divisions, number of storeys, masonry, the overall quality of the construction and state of preservation. The different state of preservation of the disturbed tombs due to other elements not associated with natural collapse, such as looting or reuse of the structure by local communities, were mentioned in order to facilitate their analysis.

The presence of human bones found in the tombs was assessed and also the number of individuals or MNI (Minimum Number of Individuals) with any extra information associated with it. Few skeletal analyses are available for this dataset. However, any information of this type has been taken into consideration. Information on the type of artefacts found within or around the tombs has been detailed according to their categories: lithic, ceramic, textile, faunal material, shell, organic material and any other type of artefact. They have been coded according to their presence, quantity and diversity. In the case of the ceramics, any type described by the sources has been recorded.

Before going into more detail, it is important to present the main reasons for doing a typology of these tombs and how these tombs have been defined by scholars in their research in Ancash highlands, and why. Finally, the different typologies done by scholars, mainly on their own sites, will be introduced to be able to argue these studies with this analysis.

4.3 Typologies and tomb definitions in the Ancash highlands

This section will discuss the terms used to define the different types of tombs that scholars are describing in their studies of the Ancash Highlands. Generally, mortuary structures of the Ancash highlands are classified by archaeologists (Bennett 1944, Lau 2001, Isbell 1997) using two main categories: above-ground structures and underground tombs. However, the problem remains that, in each category there are different types of tombs defined by archaeologists, such as *machay*, *chullpa* or *pucullo*. Nevertheless, giving specific names to types has always been a problematic question, and we can ask to what extent a general definition can be used in archaeology? What is their significance, when were they first mentioned and does their original meaning still mean the same today? This is why this terminology is presented here, to get a better understanding of tomb classification in Ancash and

how we should really understand and use this terminology. Finally this study will identify what can be done to improve the description and classification of tombs in the Ancash highlands.

4.3.1 Tomb types in the Ancash Highlands

Description of Machays

Doyle's (1988) analysis of the term presented three types of *machays* used during the 17th-18th centuries. The first type were considered to be pagan burials or Prehispanic tombs, which were used before the arrival of the Spanish until the Early colonial Period, before Toledo's reforms of *reducciones* (1570-1575). The second type of *machays* consisted of tombs of baptised individuals and the last ones were mixed burials, both of these were used after 1575. Doyle (1988: 105) assumed that the *machays* had been used even after the Spanish colonisation and evangelisation. The aim of this thesis is to understand if tombs in highland Ancash, including *machays*, were still used by the Indians after the Spanish Conquest, or whether as Doyle's analysis suggests, the term *machay* was reappropriated by the Spanish with another meaning.

Where does the term *machay* come from and what does it mean? One of the first uses of the term can be found in Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615), in the chapter about the idols, where *machay* is referred to as a cave (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 278). However, this abstract only presents the cave as a sacred, venerated place by warlocks with no allusion to any mortuary use. There are also other lexical descriptions that only mention the Quechua term *machay* as a cave made of soil or stone (Domingo Santo Tomás 1560: 29),⁷⁰ as caves for sleeping, or caves used as a house (Gonzalez Holguín 2007 [1608]: 157).⁷¹ As we will see later, it seems that Guamán Poma de Ayala only used the term *pucullo* to describe tombs from Prehispanic times.

It seems that it is during the Extirpation of Idolatries period (1609-1671) that interest grew over burial. The Archbishop Don Pedro de Villagómez, in his letter *Exhortation and Instructions against Indian Idolatry* (1647),⁷² commanded the visitors to investigate possible disinterment of Christian bodies and see if they

⁷⁰ 'Cauerna o cueua de tierra o piedra'

⁷¹ 'Cuevas para dormidas callan camachayo huayrancalla. Cueva tamaña como vna casa.' We will see later on that he uses the term '*aya machay*' to define under bedrock/rock shelter burials.

⁷² See Villagómez 1647: 13 and 62.

carried the bodies to the burial places of their ancestors (in the fields) which they call ‘*Machais*’.⁷³ Villagómez actually copied exactly Arriaga’s *Extirpation of Idolatries in Peru* (1621) section on the dead.⁷⁴ The *machays* are also mentioned as ancient burials situated in fields in isolated areas, in the section on the *mallqui*.

During the 18th century, Figueredo (1754) in his Quechua dictionary, *Vocabulario de la lengua Chinchaysuyu*, defined the term *machay* as a cave or ‘cueva’ in Spanish. Duviols (1979) also mentioned the term *machay* as a natural cave, which were used to bury the common dead whereas the *amay* or *chullpas* were used to bury the *curacas*.⁷⁵ Doyle (1988) also agreed that *machay* was classified as a natural or modified cave. She argued that archaeological survey in the Central Highlands of Peru matched with the cave *machays* seen in historical descriptions. However, she pointed out that many types of tomb like vaults or subterranean *machays* were also described as being like caves, when they could have been built inside them or set into mountainside. Andean scholars tend to describe different types of tombs under the term *machay*, such as, caves, under boulders or rock-shelter burials (Herrera 2005, Hrdlička 1914, Isbell 1997, Lane 2006, Lau 2008, Orsini 2005, Salomon 1995, Squier 1877).

Other Spanish testimonies that mention the term *machay* have been identified.⁷⁶ It is worth mentioning that the term *machay* would have been used by witnesses describing their ‘pagan’ ritual practices to the Spanish. So it would be descriptive first and perhaps not the local term for it. It seems that *machay* was a generic term to refer to a cave, which with time took a funerary meaning with the Spanish evangelisation.

Description of Chullpas

Chullpa is an Aymara word and cannot be found in any Quechua dictionary. It is Bertonio (1612) who first used the word *chullpa* to describe 16th century interments of Aymara people. His dictionary defined different types of burials. The term *chullpa* can be translated as burial or matting/basketry made of ichu grass or totora, in which they placed their dead.

⁷³ See Chapter 6 about disinterment topic.

⁷⁴ See Arriaga 1621: 35 and 98.

⁷⁵ The terms *amay* and *chullpas* are here described by Duviols as different architectural burials.

⁷⁶ AAL, Leg. III, 8 (Doyle VI:10-II.32) and (AAL V: 2 Doyle (1988) and Duviols (2003)); AGI Lima 333.

Imawi a la “sepultura debaxo de la tierra cavada nomás”, Amaya vta a “sepultura como casa sobre la tierra”, Callca a la “sepultura como caxa de muchas piedras para enterrar la gente principal debaxo de la tierra” y Chullpa vel asanco a una “sepultura o serón como isanga donde ponían el difunto.” (Bertonio 1612: 430).

Chroniclers usually described the tombs by their mortuary function without giving them a specific name (e.g., Cieza de León 1871, Cobo 1653).⁷⁷ Scholars usually refer to Guamán Poma de Ayala drawings as being *chullpas*. However, as can be seen by the description of the term *pucullo*, Guamán Poma de Ayala seems to define these above-ground structures as *pucullos* and not *chullpas*.

The term *chullpa* seems to have become popular in the 19th century, with Eugène de Sartiges (French traveller) who described Sillustani monuments as *chullpas* (Isbell 1997). At the end of the 19th century, Squier (1877), during his travels through Peru, drew and described groups of mortuary monuments that he called *aymara chulpa*, in the area around the Titicaca Lake and Puno (including the site of Sillustani) (Fig. 4.2 and Fig. 4.3). Between 1910 and 1950 many archaeologists who worked in the area of the Titicaca Lake tried to interpret the term *chullpa* (Bandelier 1910, Rydén 1947, Tschopik 1946). Squier suggested they were square structures or towers used as mortuary monuments. Bandelier (1910) called them *Cave Chullpas*, considering them together with under natural bedrock tombs. Rydén also pointed out that the term was applied to grave chambers in the ground in Bolivia, and even used the term *chullpa culture* or even *chullpa ceramic* (Rydén 1947). Eventually they all accepted that the term *chullpa* became a general term meaning above-ground mortuary houses and the place where mummies were kept (Isbell 1997). However, we have to keep in mind that Bertonio’s 16th century description never defined it in this way. Hyslop’s study of the *chullpas* of the Lupaca zone (1977), was the first study that tried to reconstruct a typology and a chronology of use of the *chullpas* of the Titicaca Basin (Fig. 4.4). According to him, the early *chullpas* could have been an adaptation from subterranean cists, and were used as mortuary monuments and territorial markers. To support his argument, he used a Guamán Poma drawing of Inca frontiers where a tower-shaped structure can be seen in the background (Fig. 4.5).

⁷⁷ See Chapter 6.

Further studies, such as Romero (2003), Kesseli and Pärssinen (2005), and Gil García (2010) did typological studies of the *chullpas* in the Titicaca Basin and studied their technological features, in order to see the *chullpas* as an expression of the material culture of the different ethnic groups of the area (Rozas 2012). The *chullpas* were studied as part of the social landscape of the communities.⁷⁸ As discussed in Chapter 2, Isbell (1997) also tried to define the term, and pointed out the improper usage of the name since the 19th century. However, this did not avoid the term being used in others areas, such as the north of Peru (Raimondi 1873). Scholars such as Herrera (2005), Kaulicke (2000), Lau (2002), Mejía (1957), Soriano (1950) and Tello (1956) working in the Callejón de Huaylas have been, and are still, using the term *chullpa* to define a collective mortuary structure above-ground. However, I agree with Isbell that the term has never been a Prehispanic term to define open sepulchre mortuary monuments, but was instead introduced and used during the 19th century, based on a definition from the south of Peru and Bolivia and was a characteristic of the Aymara region.⁷⁹ If we look at the traits defining the types of what is known as *chullpas* in the Ancash highlands, they are similar in some respects (e.g., corbelled vault or slab roofs) but also completely different from the ones in the Aymara region (e.g., masonry type).⁸⁰ Thus, it is by their recent study and the information given by the modern local population, that the term became the main reference to define such mortuary monuments in the whole of Peru. However, its use by archaeologists in Ancash as a common term to describe above-ground mortuary structures may be inappropriate. There are no historical descriptions which define mortuary monuments of the Ancash highlands as *chullpas*, and until documents can prove the contrary, other terminology will be uses throughout this research.

Description of Pucullos

The term *pucullo* is used in different parts of Guamán Poma de Ayala's *Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno (1615)*. The first use of the term in Guamán Poma's account seem to be related to the house without talking about death, but related to the past (second and third ages of the Indians). The first part of the

⁷⁸ This will also be developed in this thesis with the study of the mortuary monuments of the highlands of Ancash.

⁷⁹ This indigenous term is still used today by Andean populations.

⁸⁰ See Chapter 5 to get a typology of the above-ground tombs that can be found in the Ancash Highlands.

description of the Ages of the Indians shows interesting elements for the meaning of the term *pucullo* and the use of mortuary monuments.

First age of the Indians

According to Guamán Poma de Ayala there is nothing to highlight about this period, they were burying their dead simply and without doing any idolatries.

'El entierro destes yndios Uari Uira Cocha Runa fueron común, cin hazer nada desde el tienpo de Uari Uira Cocha Runa, Uari Runa, Porun Runa, Auca Runa. Fueron cimplente el entierro cin ydúlatra ni serimonias alguna.' (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 52).

Second age of the Indians (*Uari Runa*)

It is during the second age of the Indians that the term *pucullo* appears in the Guamán Poma's accounts, however without mentioning any use in funerary practices. They "built little houses that look like ovens which they call *pucullo*." Thus at that time *pucullos* were houses made with rocks which were still visible in 1615.

'Y no tenían casas, cino edificaron unas cacitas que parese horno que ellos les llaman pucullo.' (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 54).

'Hasta dezir "Alpamanta Rurac" [el que lo hizo de la tierra], dezían y dauan bozes; nunca sabía dezir más ni adorauan a los ydolos y uacas. Y con ello parese que tenía toda la ley de los mandamientos y la buena obra de misericordia de Dios, aunque bárbaro, no sabiendo nada, cino comensando una cacilla de piedra, pucullo, que hasta oy están.' (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 56).

Third age of the Indians

Again during the third age of the Indians, *pucullo* is only mentioned as a house.

'Questos dichos yndios de Purun Runa comensaron a poblarse en tierra uaxa y buen tenple y callente. Ydeficaron casas de pucullo. Dallí comensaron alsar paredes y cubrieron casas y sercos y rreduciéronse y tubieron plaza, aunque no supieron hazer adobes, cino toda era de piedra.' (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 59).

Fourth age of the Indians

It is only in the fourth age of the Indians that he underlined the fact that ‘people started to bury themselves honourably in their vaults called *pucullo*, without ceremony.’ These structures were whitened and painted.

‘De cómo esta gente comenzaron a enterrarse muy honradamente en sus bóvedas que llama pucullo: Questa gente comenzaron a edificar estos enterramientos de los principales aparte y lo blanquearon y pintaron y se enterraban sin ceremonia ni había idólatra en aquel tiempo.’ (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 69).

From that moment the term is used in the account to describe a mortuary monument during Inca times. He presents the month of November, as the month of the dead (Fig. 4.6). He specified that they took the dead bodies from the vault called *pucullo* for the ceremonies and later returned them.

‘En este mes sacan los defuntos de sus bóvedas que llaman pucullo y le dan de comer y de ueuer y le bisten de sus bestidos rricos y le ponen plumas en la cauesa y cantan y dansan con ellos...Y le pone en unas andas y andan con ellas en casa en casa y por las calles y por la plasa y después tornan a metella en sus pucullos, dándole sus comidas y bagilla al prencipal, de plata y de oro y al pobre, de barro.’ (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 257).

For the interment of the Inca (Fig. 4.7), the same term is used, with a clear mention of it being used as a funerary structure: they brought the body to a vault called *pucullo* (funerary structure).

‘Y, acauado el mes, enterrauan y lo lleuan a la bóveda que llaman pucullo [construcción funeraria] con grande procición y solene, todo aquel mes hasta enterrallo.’ (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 288).

The term is then mentioned in the Inca’s laws and twice in the descriptions of the different types of interments in the Inca Empire. As a general order for the whole Empire, the Inca commanded that people bury their dead in ‘*bóveda*’ – here the term

seems to mean cave and ‘*pucullo*’ funerary structure. It was forbidden to bury the dead inside houses, and they should also have the proper offerings.

‘Yten: Mandamos que todos enterrasen a sus defuntos en cada sus bóbedas y pucullos [construcción funeraria] y que no las enterrasen dentro de sus casas y que enterrasen al huzo de su natural con sus bagillas y comida y beuida y rropa.’ (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 186).

For the *Collasuyus* interments (Fig. 4.8), he mentioned that the body was not taken out of its vault, *pucullo* (like in the *Chinchaysuyus* Fig. 4.9) but was left inside.

*‘Pero no lo sacan afuera el defunto como Chinchay Suyo a la procición al dicho defunto, cino que le dexan estar metido en su bóbeda, pucullo y le llam[an] el pueblo de los defuntos amayan marcapa hiuirinacan ucanpuni cuna huchasa camachisi [aymara: Del muerto en su pueblo los mortales en ese siempre algún pecado se realiza; o sea: Los que alimentan a los muertos, en ésos siempre se hace el pecado].’*⁸¹(Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 294).

For the *Condesuyus* interments (Fig. 4.10) it is clear that they had buried their dead in *pucullos* since the fourth age of the Indians (or *Auca Runa*). He also mentioned that people buried the bones under rocks in the hills or gorges.

‘Y luego para sepultalle edefican unas bóbedas como horno de piedra y los blanquean y los pintan de colores y llaman ayap llactan [pueblo de los muertos], amayan marcapa [aymara: del muerto su pueblo]. Y otros entierran en peñascos y en los serros los güesos questán en quebradas, güesos grandes. Son güesos de los primeros de Uari Uira Cocha Runa y de Uari Runa y de Purun Runa y de Auca Runa. Entier[r]a en pucullos [construcción funeraria] desde el tiempo de Auca Runa.’ (Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 296).

Finally, in the chapter on Indians and proposals for the Reform he said that the hills called Village of the Dead were the place where people buried their dead during Inca times, in house-shaped tombs made of stones known as ‘*ayap pucullo*’.

⁸¹ See again Chapter 3 for the notion of feeding the dead so that the dead feed you.

‘En los serros que le llama ayap llactan [pueblo de los muertos], ayap pucullo [tumba de piedra en forma de casita] adonde se enterrauan antiguamente en tiempo de los Yngas con las serimonias questán dichas.’
(Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 894).

The same word and icon is also used to represent open-sepulchres of peoples in different provinces of the empire (See Fig. 4.8 to 4.11). The term ‘*pucullo*’ is sometimes used to describe underground tombs in the Ancash highlands (Lane 2006, Lane and Luján 2009). But the descriptions by Guamán Poma de Ayala about ‘*pucullo*’ refer more to an above-ground structure made with stones and which usually had the shape of a house and was painted in white. In this case it seems that the description of a *pucullo* refers more to that used by archaeologists in the Ancash highlands to describe the open sepulchre that they call *chullpa*. Thus, it might be inaccurate to call above-ground structures of the Ancash highlands *chullpas*. *Chullpa* being an Aymara word, it might be possible that the term should only be used to describe a particular type of funerary structure, such as the funerary towers in the south of Peru and Bolivia. And as previously mentioned, it seems that the term *chullpa* was never used as a Prehispanic word to describe any mortuary monument in the Andes. Finally, Guamán Poma de Ayala also mentioned that people buried the bones of their dead inside rocks, gorges or in trees (Fig. 4.11). Even if there is not a specific term used to describe these tombs, it seems that according to the definition of previous terms they could have been what they called *machays*.

Description of Zamay

The last term to look at is ‘*zamay*’. The term *zamay* has not been used by archaeologists to identify Prehispanic tombs in the Andes, and is not usually mentioned by historians, except by Duviols (1979), who defined the term *samay* as the place where the dead rest or as a waiting place for the dead, and Gose (2008) who mentioned the term quoting Arriaga (1621). In comparison with *chullpa*, it is one of the names used by chroniclers to describe tombs. As seen earlier and as will be discussed in Chapter 6, death and the process of extirpation of idolatries are two themes which complement each other. If we come back to Arriaga’s *Extirpation of idolatries in Peru* (1621), or Villagómez’s (1647) accounts of disinterments, the authors do not only use the term *machay* but also the term *zamay*, meaning

‘sepulchre of the rest/resting place’, which according to them, has the same aspect as a *machay* but is sometimes called *zamay* in some areas. The other interesting mention of *zamay* is when the soul is in *zamay huaci*, which means that the soul is now in a resting place. If we look further back in time, the studies of Quechua vocabulary done by Domingo Santo Tomás (1560) and Diego González Holguín (1608) only define the term as ‘*descanso*’ or resting (Table 4.1 in Appendix C). Thus, if we observe closely there is a different terminology used to define cemetery, burial or dead with specific words (see Table 4.2 in Appendix C).

In conclusion, this survey of terms shows that great care must be taken about which term is used for a typology or when describing a tomb. Specific terms are easier to misinterpret and the characteristics that are attributed to them nowadays do not necessarily correspond to their historical meaning, much less Prehispanic meaning. However, we will see in the next section that archaeologists tend to use such terms when describing the tombs of the Ancash highlands. In this dataset and analysis, the use of such specific terms in the analysis of the archaeological data has been avoided. The typology provided will be based on formal criteria to distinguish each type.

4.3.2 Tomb type surveys in the Ancash Highlands

At the moment there is no generally accepted typology of tombs for the Ancash highlands. However, archaeologists have differentiated the various types of tombs they have found on their sites. These main sites will be presented by area, using in the description the terms that scholars have used in their reports or publications.

The Conchucos Area

A. Mantha (2004), Ibarra (2009): Rapayán’s tombs

Mantha (2004) and Ibarra (2009) are two main studies which have provided greater detail on tombs than most studies in the Conchucos area. The typology done by Mantha on the site of Rapayán and its surroundings will be presented next. This will also include the work of Ibarra (2009) on this area, and on the site of Marcajirca (Ibarra 2003). The work of other scholars who tried to do a more general typology for this area, including Diessl (2003) and Herrera (2005), will also be discussed. Rapayán’s tomb typology by Mantha (2004):

Chronology: Late Intermediate Period (LIP)/Late Horizon (LH)/Colonial.

Type of tombs: *chullpas*, rock-shelter *chullpas*, multi-storey buildings, niches inside houses.

Chullpas

Type A: Above-ground structures of rectangular or irregular shape, they have one or two-storeys, although really elaborate masonry cannot be observed. The roofs are of superimposed slabs and mortar, which together present a flat or a more round shape. On some rectangular ones an alternation of horizontal and vertical big rocks on the corners can be observed. They are quite small *chullpas* with small entries situated above the floor level. The entrances of the *chullpas* are characterised by big rocks used as a lintel on all four sides of the entrance. They face north, and Mantha suggests they are quite unusual. This will be discussed later on in this chapter. The majority of the two levels *chullpas* have more of a tower shape. They are situated on the cliff side of the site, near habitations and in an area difficult to access. They can also be isolated on the eastern areas of the site or embedded in the retaining walls of the habitational terraces. Human bones are still evident in some of them.

Type B: Multi-storey *chullpa* (2/3 levels). Above-ground structure with gable roof and protruding slabs (for each level); covered by a light blue plaster. There is a better finish to the masonry and choice of rocks. They are more even, and thinner slabs are used compared to the *chullpas* in Type A. The entrance is small and in the middle of the first level, a little bit less than 1m above the floor. The first level is approximately 1m high, the second floor 1.50m, and the third one which is partly destroyed seems to be like the first. There are no big rocks on the four sides of the entrance like in type A. Two semi-circular *chullpas*, also plastered, are situated on each side of the main one.

Type C: Under rock tomb, called rock-shelter *chullpas* by Mantha. Human bones are evident in all of them. One of them has large pieces of ceramics. According to the descriptions of these tombs, their architecture is similar to the ones that are called *machays* in other areas. This proves that it is difficult to use a specific term to describe a tomb, as in this case, rock-shelter *chullpas* might be called *machays* by some archaeologists.

Type D: Unique *chullpa* with zigzag pattern. Situated in the IV Sector, the *chullpa* is embedded in the wall of the superior west side of the site. Above-ground

structure similar to type B in construction, with protruding slabs on the sides and front (at aprox. 2m high) and with better finish to the masonry. There is a zigzag pattern above the two entrances of the *chullpa*, created by small slabs forming a succession of horizontal triangles. The entrance is similar to Type B. According to Mantha this zigzag pattern is visible in different sites in other regions situated next to the Marañon River and quite close to Rapayán. Moreover, it seems to be a characteristic of later periods (Late Intermediate Period/Late Horizon) of Andean prehistory.

Multi-storey buildings: Buildings (6 in total in 4 different sectors) between 6m to 13m high. They usually have niches on the front (around 6) of 1.42m high and 0.75m wide. Two of these buildings are attached to defensive walls. Stairs to get from one level to the other and up to the roof are made from projecting slabs in the wall. The floors of each storey are made with long slabs uniting the walls of the building across the width. Finally, superimposed slabs make the roof. Some of these buildings have engraving on the rocks, the majority represent concentric circle patterns, but there are also animal and anthropomorphic figures. Mantha (2004) believes that multi-storey buildings were used to locate the *mallquis* of the *ayllus*. He argues that the strategic position of the buildings (in front of a plaza, part of the defensive wall) and their visibility influenced the funerary use of these structures. In the sense that the population had easy access to commemorate the ancestors in public ceremonies, these buildings were considered to be an identity marker for the community. Their height made them visible to other communities, and some of them are situated at one end of the site, which also makes them territory markers between groups.

Mantha also argues that the dead placed here were of a more important status than the ones in the *chullpas*, under-rocks tombs or inside the houses (Mantha 2004: 133). In the survey done by Mantha in the surroundings of Rapayán, the Type A *chullpa* is the most widespread (12 sites), four sites with Type B *chullpas*, one with Type C, and two sites with what Mantha calls Type D *chullpa*.

Ibarra (2009), defines five types of funerary structures for Rapayán and its surroundings, which does not differ much from the formal divisions made by Mantha:

- **Type a:** Buildings with niches.
- **Type b:** Mortuary structure with cornices, one of them with zigzag decorations. For Ibarra, such cornices only exist in the Rapayán complex.
- **Type c:** Small oval tombs, built on the hillside like caves.
- **Type d:** Closed *chullpas* of rectangular groundplan, with flat slab roof, situated inside settlements.
- **Type e:** Oval *chullpas*, 1m high, with access situated at floor level, and situated in a difficult to access ravine.

B. Ibarra (2003)

Funerary structures have been identified by Ibarra in different sites of the Conchucos area such as Llapajmarca, Marcajirca, Misión Jirca, Rapayán, Tupucjirca, Ushnu and Ushnujirca. For the majority of them, the main type described is the *chullpas*. Only Ushnujirca has underground tombs. Marcajirca is the site that has the most numerous *chullpas* in the area. It is also the most systematically studied of these sites (Ibarra 2003, 2009, 2013), so is the main focus of this section.

Chronology: LIP/LH/Colonial.

Type of tombs: *Chullpas* and funerary caves.

Chullpas: Ibarra identified between 36 and 38 *chullpas* in Marcajirca, and did a small drawing for 23 of them (Ibarra 2003: 287). In the majority of them he found human bones. He did not give them any name classification according to their types, so are referred to as Marcajirca 1, 2, ... 5 according to formal differences that have been observed from his descriptions (Ibarra 2003, 2009).

Marcajirca 1: He defines Marcajirca Type 1 as vertical architecture, constructed with rocks and joined by clay mortar. They usually have a square or rectangular groundplan. The roof is usually conical and is made with superimposed thin slabs. They usually have one level and one access that can be elevated, between 0.40m and 0.45m high. They do not face a particular direction. Inside, there are protruding stones, and in the corners of the structures thicker slabs connecting the vertices of the walls can be observed. Some of these structures have traces of red plaster.

Marcajirca 2: One level structures, similar to Marcajirca 1 in the general masonry. However, these structures have almost flat roofs, made with superimposed thin slabs.

Marcajirca 3: There are three structures similar to Marcajirca 1 in the masonry. However, these have two levels, with two accesses for each of them. They also have niches inside the structure.

Funerary Caves: Sixteen have been identified. They usually have human bones inside them.

Marcajirca 4: Under natural bedrock cave.

Marcajirca 5: Under natural bedrock cave with small wall constructed to delimit the area and the entrance. According to the pictures the masonry of the walls is similar to the ones of the *chullpas*. Depending on the rock, the delimited area is around 1.5m².

C. Diessl (2003)

During surface surveys and visits to different districts (Chavín, Huántar and San Marcos) of the Huari Province in Conchucos, Diessl described a great variety of tomb types. Again there are no name classifications, thus Conchucos 1,2, ... 5 will be used:

- **Conchucos 1:** Boxes or small baskets lined with stones and covered with a slab.
- **Conchucos 2:** *Chullpa* “tower” type, of circular or rectangular ground plan; almost none of them were complete or intact.
- **Conchucos 3:** Megalithic tombs, under natural bedrock blocks. They are dug out caves coated with small rocks and enclosed by a wall.
- **Conchucos 4:** Underground or semi-underground tombs, with circular or oval chambers, or with a complex architecture of rectangular chambers.
- **Conchucos 5:** Rock tombs, using caves, niches or rock shelters where the rock walls were enclosed by a wall.

D. Herrera (2005)

Herrera (2005) describes three types of tombs that can found in the Conchucos area: *machay*, *chullpa* and a burial cist tomb.

Machay tomb type: Tombs built directly against mountainsides, the majority tightly clustered along horizontal or slightly sloping geological faults in standing limestone massifs. Square in plan with one entrance and no windows, some having traces of plaster and paint (white and red). Rock art is also sometimes associated (geometric and zoomorphic motifs). He also mentions two semi-subterranean tombs as *machay*.

Chullpa tomb type: Rectangular above-ground structure built on low oval platforms.

Burial cist tomb type: Circular stone-lined cists tomb.

Herrera (2005) also mentions the use of *chullpas* and *machays* in the Callejón de Huaylas and the Cordillera Negra, but without giving new typology about them.

The Cordillera Negra

Herrera and Lane (2004) completed an extensive survey of the area of the Cordillera Negra, identifying the different kinds of tomb that can be found in the area. Herrera did not change his typology from the tombs that he observed in the different areas of the Ancash highlands (Conchucos, Callejón de Huaylas including Cordillera Negra). Lane identifies another type of tomb: the *pukullo*.

A. Lane (2006)

Lane (2006) identified a total of 98 mortuary structures in the Cordillera Negra. Apart from the carved stone-cist graves at the site of Cajarumi, and coastal cist tombs in Paucarmás he distinguished three main types of tomb:

Machay tomb type: These are stone chambers built onto cliff-faces or into rock shelters. The masonry consists of rough-hewn small and medium sized stones joined with mortar.

Chullpa tomb type: Freestanding stone chambers, sometimes built on a terraced platform and enclosed within a perimeter wall. The masonry consists of rough-hewn small and medium sized stones joined with mortar. (See also Herrera and Lane 2004).

Pukullo tomb type: Underground stone-lined chambers, capped or uncapped by a stone slab.⁸²

The typology of Lane stays similar those found in the rest of the Callejón de Huaylas and Conchucos region. However, he is the only one who uses the term *pukullo* to refer to a type of tomb. It has been mentioned previously that the term *pukullo* does not describe any kind of underground tomb.

⁸² Lane (2006) uses the term *pucullo* with a 'k'. However in this thesis, when it is not in reference to Lane's work *pucullo* will be written with a 'c'.

Callejón de Huaylas

A. Bennett (1944)

In 1944 Bennett surveyed and studied different sites of the Callejón de Huaylas. From that analysis he identified five types of tomb: Temple (2),⁸³ above-ground houses (16), deep stone-lined tombs (4), stone box graves (13) and unlined graves (3).

Temple: Multi-storeyed stone structure, which stands on a flat platform in part natural and in part artificial. The first temple (Willkawain) has three storeys and seven rooms on each floor, numerous entrances on all four sides of the structure (3 on the longest and 1 on the smallest) and a peaked roof. The second temple (Ichic-Willkawain) has its third storey partly destroyed, and a different number of rooms on each floor. However, it is a similar type of construction to the first one.

Above-ground house: Situated next to the temples, Bennett (1944: 17) described them as having a similar type of construction to the temples, but less carefully done. The masonry consists of large stones with smaller ones filling chinks and roofing of large slabs (see Honcopampa Type one in section C.). Between one and two storeys, they are much smaller than the temples and have fewer internal chambers.

Deep stone-lined tomb: Underground rectangular tombs (around 2.5m deep), the walls are lined with large and small stones set in clay cement. Four large stone slabs are used as covering and roof. This description is similar to the one given by Lane (2006) for 'pukullo'.

Stone-box grave: Stone-lined box graves under natural boulders. Some of them are under boulders and covered by a stone slab.

Unlined grave: Direct burial, without any particular preparation of the grave. They are usually around 1m in diameter and deep, without a lining or covering of any type.

B. Lau (2001) Chinchawas

Chullpa tomb type: Twelve of the mortuary structures of Chinchawas are described as *chullpas*. Above-ground structures, *chullpas* at Chinchawas are almost

⁸³ As there was no evidence of human bones, the structures called temples or above-ground houses were not considered by Bennett to be mortuary monuments. Today they are usually referred to as *chullpas* by archaeologists working in the area.

always quadrangular, and have a rectangular groundplan. They vary in size between 1.75m lengthwise to just under 5m. Most of the *chullpas* on the site are one-storey, but at least one may have had a second floor. Some of the simplest *chullpas* have only one chamber, others might have more rooms usually separated by walls or columns. Even though the quality of stone masonry varies between them, they all have one entrance and face east or northeast. They can be isolated, or situated on top of a raised terrace platform, or even appear in clusters (group of 2 or 3) sometimes enclosed by a wall.

Subterranean chamber type: There are three subterranean chamber tombs in Chinchawas. Lau describes two of them as ‘short gallery tombs’. There are two rectangular ones with one anteroom and a larger main chamber, the entrance is at the top. Another one has a chamber that is roughly oval in plan. The tombs also share similar attributes such as the use of bedrock for the walls, the use of slabs or boulders for a roof and finally *wanka/pachilla* masonry (Lau 2001: 156).

C. Tschauner (2003) Honcopampa

The only mortuary structures found in Honcopampa are described as *chullpas* (between 15 and 16). In his description of architectural characteristics, Tschauner came to the conclusion that *chullpas* in the Callejón de Huaylas area have very specific architectural characteristics which, according to Kinzl, distinguish them from the ones in the High Marañón (Kinzl (1935) in Tschauner 2003). These *chullpas* (at least 5 sites such as: Honcopampa, Ichic-Willkawain, Wilkawain) are the biggest ones in all Ancash highlands, they also usually have two or three non-communicating storeys, various rooms and are built over platforms. These mortuary monuments have a certain type of masonry (called by Tschauner (2003: 204) Honcopampa type 1) and are usually associated with the residential area of the site to which they belong. Tschauner (2003) also argues that there are numerous smaller *chullpas* in all of the Callejón de Huaylas, with Honcopampa type 1 masonry at sites such as Waullaq or Chinchawas. The type 1 is characterised by big blocks, a regularity in their positioning and the use of two materials of contrasting colours. The difference in size between the blocks and the *pachilla* (small rocks) is that the blocks are more visible and the distance between the blocks is more important. The *pachillas* are also placed horizontally in order to create a better visual effect (Tschauner 2003).

D. Herrera (2010) Acosta (2011) Awkismarka/Pueblo Viejo

Acosta (2011) based her typology analysis of Pueblo Viejo on Herrera (2005, 2010) and Valverde (2008).

Subterranean tomb type: There are 148 subterranean tombs in Awkismarka, with a great variety in form, dimensions and number of chambers. The majority of them have an antechamber and one main chamber. However, in Pueblo Viejo these are called ‘galleries’ and have between 4 and 10 internal chambers. Where there are more chambers they are usually separated by slabs thinner than the ones used for the ceiling. They are between 2m and 6.70m long and between 0.75m and 1.20m high (Acosta 2011).

Dolmen tomb type: According to Herrera (2010) and Acosta (2011), this type of tomb is unique to Pueblo Viejo. There are 64 tombs of this type on the site, composed of three slabs; two used as columns and one as a roof. Depending on its size, the structure can be annexed to a chamber, usually formed by walls. Small and medium sized rocks are used for the walls and flat roof above the roof slab. Their size can vary between 1.50m wide x 1.15m long to 3.4m x 2.43m. The height varies between 0.90m and 2.10m.

Machay tomb type: There are 40 machays in Pueblo Viejo. These structures are described as adapted to natural caves, rock shelters or spaces under erratic boulders. They can be used simply without much human modification or could be constructed with walls forming the frontal access of the tomb and attached to the bedrock. Some of them have evidence of paintings on the front of the walls or directly on the principal rock used as both wall and roof. In Pueblo Viejo they can be between 0.5m wide x 1.35m long to 2.02m x 2m.

Chullpa tomb type: Above-ground structures, the majority of which are rectangular or quadrangular. They can have one or more entrances which are usually positioned on the longest facade. They can have one or more levels. There is variability in masonry, size, number of internal divisions and presence, or not, of columns. In Pueblo Viejo the majority of them are associated with one or more terraces and/or containing walls. The sizes of the *chullpas* are between 1.74m wide x 1.18m long to 4.28m x 9.03m. There are a total of 212 *chullpas* registered in Pueblo Viejo.

E. Valverde (2008)

Valverde (2008) developed a general typology of tombs to analyse the mortuary structures of three sites studied by Herrera (2005) in the Cordillera Blanca: Collpacatac, Keushu and Oqtawain.

Subterranean tomb type: The subterranean tombs are spaces arranged to be used as tombs. They generally have walls in the interior to divide the internal space, creating different chambers.

Chullpa tomb type: Above-ground structures, visibly evident and which look like stone houses.

Under rock tomb type: This tomb is characterised by the use of the space between the ground and the rock as the repository for dead bodies. There are no internal arrangements such as walls.

Under rock with external wall tomb type: These are characterised by the use of the space between the ground and a boulder. A wall is also built around that space.

For the site of Keushu, another study done by another of Herrera's students: Gavin Mather, repeated the same categories of tombs as the ones presented by Alejandra Valverde.

In conclusion, it can be observed that most scholars working in the region use a generally similar typology to define the tombs on their sites. However, sometimes they define the same term differently. Apart from a few exceptions, they have not classified the sub-types of, what are often called, *machay* or *chullpa*. In the next chapter there is a reconstruction of a general tomb typology (divided into four main types) in the Ancash highlands, including all these descriptions, and all the descriptions of tombs provided by archaeologists in the region. This new typology will facilitate an inter-regional analysis of tomb forms and diachronic appreciation of their use.

V

Mortuary Patterns in the Ancash Highlands

In the previous chapter the different typologies and terminology about tombs used by scholars working in the Ancash highlands were presented. The general organisation of this database and the data gathering process were also described. This chapter brings together the available data for studying the Ancash highlands' mortuary patterns and variability. Mortuary practices and tombs will be organised in a database and analysed. Finally, the data will be statistically examined in order to present a typology of tombs in the Ancash highlands, resulting in a diachronic overview of their mortuary practices. This will enable us to observe the general similarities and differences between the three sub-areas (Conchucos, Huaylas and Cordillera Negra) of the region. This analysis will present possible changes through time, and also regional and cultural variability in mortuary practices.

5.1 General Ancash highlands tomb typology

A typology permits us to classify by type elements according to their common traits. This specific case focuses on the study of tomb types based on the physical form and characteristics of the structure and not its use. Focusing on form rather than function creates more reliable material when working with a large database.

The main focus will be on above-ground mortuary buildings often called '*chullpas*', which will be referred to as Type A above-ground structures. These are the predominant mortuary monuments in the region from the Late Intermediate Period. In addition, they are the ones that exhibit the most characteristics and internal variability, thus allowing for a comprehensive and satisfactory comparative analysis of types.

Each structure will be classified using three different criteria:

- The structure's dimensions
- The structure's access and internal division
- The masonry

As previously noted, 985 tombs are included in this dataset over 132 sites. The tombs have been divided into four main types. Type A (quadrangular stone-built above-ground tomb), Type B (tomb situated under or inside a natural cavity or boulder),

Type C (above-ground tomb situated under natural bedrock with wall constructions defining the tomb) and Type D (underground tomb), all of which have their own sub-types.

Type A

Type A are stone built above-ground structures, which are generally referred to as *chullpas* by archaeologists (Acosta 2011; Herrera 2010; Ibarra 2006; Isbell 1991; Lane 2006; Lau 2001, 2011; Mantha 2004; Valverde 2008) (Fig. 5.1).

In the Ancash highlands, 578 tombs are classified as Type A, which represents 58.7% of the tombs of the total dataset. The general characteristics for Type A tombs are from the Early Intermediate Period to Colonial times. They are mainly small rectangular or quadrangular buildings, with a surface area of between one square meter and 15m² (221 tombs). They usually have one entrance (n= 452, 78.2%), one room (n= 356, 61.6%), and one storey (n= 500, 86.5%) with no platform (n= 372, 64.7%) and no specific type of decoration to the masonry (such as plaster, carvings or paintings) (n= 496, 85.8%). It is most common to observe flat and rounded roofs, however, as flat roofs are mainly observed in only one area of the region (113 in Conchucos) this is probably due to the state of conservation of the structures over time. According to the reports, roofs of Type A tombs have usually been constructed using a false vault technique, which would have given a more sloping or rounded form to the roof, and thus flat roofs that can be observed now are usually due to time deterioration, rather than their original intention.⁸⁴ Moreover, numerous Type A tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas have internal pillars (See Fig. 5.1), which are usually associated with the corbelled roof technique of construction, and which give it more of a gable form.

For the analysis of the orientation, only 282 tomb orientations were available in the database. However, this sample shows that the majority of them are oriented to the east side (70) (See Appendix B.2). Interesting patterns are visible according to their respective subareas, but this will be developed in more detail later.

The masonry is quite heterogeneous, possibly due to the primary material available in the area, the period and different groups living in the region. The walls are made of different sized rocks (small, medium, large),⁸⁵ and clay mortar. The

⁸⁴ See also Herrera 2006, Lane 2006, Lau 2011, Mantha 2004 all of whom mention this technique.

⁸⁵ Small under 0.50m long and wide. Medium between 0.50m to 1m long and wide. Large between 1m to 2m long and 0.30m to 1m high.

positioning of the rocks is more or less worked and regular depending on each site. Some have more elaborate constructions using the *wanka/pachilla* technique (big slabs, regularity in the positioning, use of *pachillas* in between), in others a use of more rounded rocks instead of rectangular ones.

Entrances Masonry Type A tombs

During this study, the masonry used for the entrances of the tombs has also been observed. The entrances to Type A tombs are usually open, and do not now show evidence of door, caps or seals.⁸⁶ I have defined a total of nine types of entrances that are still visible in the Ancash Highlands. However, some are more prevalent than others according to the area or time period. It seems that Type A tomb masonry differed according to the period and area of use in the region. Therefore this typology is aimed at getting a better understanding of the cultural and social aspects behind these mortuary monuments. Types of entrances (See Fig. 5.3):

Type 1: Horizontal slab used as lintel. The jambs are made with small and medium sized rocks aligned with the wall masonry. The entrance is situated at floor level. For example: Chucuman entrances (Conchucos), Honcopampa (Huaylas).

Type 2: Two horizontal slabs are used for the lintel and the bottom part of the entrance. The jambs are partly made with slabs and medium sized rocks. The entrance is situated in the middle of the façade. For example: Mantha's Type A Rapayan tomb (Conchucos), Marcajirca (Conchucos).

Type 3: Horizontal slab is used as lintel. Rocks are aligned with wall masonry and slabs are used as jambs. The entrance is situated in the middle of the façade. For example: Mantha's Type B Rapayan tomb (Conchucos).

Type 4: Horizontal slab used as lintel. Rocks are aligned with wall masonry and slabs are used as jambs. The entrance is at floor level. For example: Mantha's Type D Rapayan tomb (Conchucos), Marcajirca (Conchucos).

Type 5: The entrance is made of four slabs. Two placed horizontally as lintel and threshold, and the other two are used as jambs. The entrance is situated in the middle of the façade. For example: Casa Blanca tomb or Gantumarca T6 (Conchucos).

Type 6: The lintel and threshold are made with rocks from the wall masonry. The jambs are made using slabs (one on each side). The entrance is in the middle. In the

⁸⁶ Lau (2011) suggests that they were temporarily closed by movable stone slabs.

case of Porvenir, the width of the entrance is the whole width of the façade wall. For example: Porvenir II T12 (Conchucos).

Type 7: Three slabs are used, one as the lintel and the other two as jambs. The entrance is situated at floor level. For example: Chacpar (Fig. 23 Diessl 2003) (Conchucos), Queushu (Huaylas), Collapacatac (Huaylas).

Type 8: Two horizontal slabs are used for the lintel and threshold. The jambs are made with slabs and rocks from the wall masonry. Entrance is at floor level. Same type of construction as Type 2 except that it is situated at floor level. For example: Marcajirca (Conchucos), Wilkawain (Huaylas).

Type 9: Four slabs are used: one as the lintel, one as threshold and the other two as jambs. The entrance is situated at floor level. For example: Marcajirca Chullpa 13 (Conchucos), Ichic-Wilkawain (Huaylas).

There is a contrast between Huaylas and Conchucos, not only in the types of entrance but also in their period of use. Firstly, all the Type A tombs visible in the Conchucos area have been dated from the Late Intermediate Period onwards (see Table 5.1 in Appendix C). In contrast, the Huaylas area has Type A tombs from the Early Intermediate Period. In the Huaylas area, including the Cordillera Negra, Type 1 entrances are more common from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon. During the Middle Horizon two other types of entrance appear which are not evident in later periods. However, Type 7 entrances already evident in the Early Intermediate Period remain so until the Late Intermediate Period. In the case of the Conchucos area, three types of entrance were used, Types 1, 2 and 4 with the exception of the site of Marcajirca where there are Types 5, 8 and 9 entrances. The other difference between the two areas is in the positioning of the entrance on the façade. In the Huaylas area the entrances are mainly situated at floor level whereas the ones in Conchucos are mainly situated in the middle of the façade (aprox. 0.50m above the floor). There is quite a diversity of entrance types during the same period in Conchucos, whereas in Huaylas there were two main types used almost continuously from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon. The size and type of entrances of Type A tombs played an essential role in understanding the relationship that Andean communities had with their dead.

Lau (2011, 2012) rightly argues that Early Intermediate Period subterranean tombs and *chullpas* are characterised by their ‘dark, sombre and cramped conditions.’ Lau (2011: 114) highlights the necessity to crouch to get into the tomb

and move inside it, putting the person at the same level as the mummy bundles. The analysis of the size of the entrances of this database confirms Lau's argument. Type A tombs in Ancash have a height and width situated between 0.10m to 1.40m, which only permits one person to enter at a time.⁸⁷ Early Intermediate Period Type A tombs, like the ones in Chinchawas (Huaylas) have more than one chamber and a small access which necessitates crouching to get inside and move around. This pattern applies to all multi-chambered Type A tombs. The largest entrances (one meter above) are situated in Huaylas in Middle Horizon Type A tombs (Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain, Waullac, Wilkawain). Middle Horizon Type A tombs are characterised by their large size (23m² to 60m²) and usually have more than one entrance; if the tomb is multi-storey, the entrance is facilitated by the presence of external stairs (See Fig. 5.4). The general Type A tomb more widespread in Ancash from the Late Intermediate Period has only one chamber and one storey (See Table 5.2 in Appendix C). These tombs tend to have a smaller entrance between 0.10m to 0.70m high and wide. I hypothesise that the smaller entrance was a way to restrict access to the tomb, the person visiting the dead had to stay outside the tomb due to the restrictive access and give their offerings in front of the entrance.⁸⁸ Thus the entrance was probably only used to place new mummy bundles or remove them for ceremonies.

The visibility of the doorway and the formal changes of the tombs emphasised the relationship between the dead and the living and show its historical changes. The changes in the socio-political system (AD 400-900) in the Recuay society living in Huaylas and the influence of the Wari expansion, brought transformations in ceremonial practices and material culture (Lau 2002, 2012). The construction of Type A tombs and their characteristics from the Early Intermediate Period to the Middle Horizon, shows the necessity for the living to get access to the tombs as a place of ancestral rites, in order to interact physically with the dead (Lau 2011, 2012). As Lau argues (2011: 113), the number of chambers and antechambers were a way to create movement and provide space for offerings and rituals (Fig. 5.5). Lau (2012: 13) compares the physical experience of entering the tombs and crouching inside with difficulty in moving and breathing as a metaphor to regenerate and subsequent re-birth on exiting the tomb. In the case of Late Intermediate Period Type A tombs, which usually only have one chamber and a small entrance, it would

⁸⁷ Tombs' sample of n= 127 for the height and n= 158 for the width.

⁸⁸ This is the case in the site of Marcajirca Conchucos area, see later on in this chapter.

have created another type of relationship (Figs. 5.6 and 5.7). The dead were still necessary to the community but the physical interaction was probably created by taking the dead bodies in and out, performing rituals outside and not inside the tombs.⁸⁹ This created a more collective external interaction with the dead rather than an internal individual one. This was probably the same situation with Type B and Type C tombs, where the dead were physically placed and protected in important features of the landscape (natural cavities, under boulders).⁹⁰ Doyle (1988) presents ethnohistorical documents describing the small entrances and spaces in the tombs. To illustrate her argument she mentions a document from the visits of idolatries kept in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL, IV-18: 11r),⁹¹ and Betanzos' description (1551) of the emergence of the brothers Ayar from a cave at Pacaritambo.

'la puerta de los dichos machayes era muy pequena a modo de bramadera de orno.' (AAL, Leg III: 10).

'(...) abrió la tierra una cueva siete leguas deste pueblo, do llaman hoy Pacaritambo, que dice – Casa de producimiento –; y esta cueva tenia la salida della quanto un hombre podia caber saliendo ó entrando á gatas (...).' (Betanzos 1880 [1551]: 9).

Type B

Type B tombs are situated under stones or inside natural cavities.

Type B1: Caves or, what are sometimes called, *machays* by some scholars.⁹²

Type B2: Cliff tombs (Fig. 5.8).

Type B3: Under natural bedrock.

Type B4: Under erratic boulder (Fig. 5.9 and 5.10).⁹³

Type C

Type C tombs are situated under natural bedrock (similar to Type B) but with external wall constructions defining the tomb (Fig. 5.11).

⁸⁹ On the first anniversary of death, a ceremony was performed where the mummy was taken out of the tomb (Doyle 1988: 228).

⁹⁰ Caves are commonly associated with points of origin, for the Incas they are related to the myths concerning the creation of the sacred lineage of the Inca rulers (Doyle 1988: 71).

⁹¹ This document is now classified as (AAL, Leg III: 10).

⁹² See Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3 in this chapter.

⁹³ Erratic: glacier-transported rock fragment that may be embedded in till or occur on the ground surface and ranges in size from pebbles to huge boulders weighing thousands of tons (E.B.O.). No geochemistry analysis has been done in this research, however, I am using this term to define a rock situated in the landscape that differs in composition and shape from the bedrock surrounding it.

Type D

Type D tombs are underground.

Type D1: Cist tombs which are sometimes called *pukullos* by some scholars (Fig. 5.12).⁹⁴

Type D2: Stone box/stone-lined tombs.

Type D3: Subterranean gallery (Fig. 5.13)

5.2 Tomb types by region

A detailed description of the typology of tombs follows, for Conchucos (64 sites), western slope of the Cordillera Negra (33 sites) and the Callejón de Huaylas (35 sites). The main purpose is to give a clear general description and show the distribution of the tombs. The last section will show a diachronic study of the tombs' characteristics and to get a better understanding of mortuary variability, particularly from the Late Intermediate Period to Colonial times.

5.2.1 Conchucos tombs general analysis and typology

General analysis

The database begins with the Conchucos area where 64 sites are divided into three categories according to their state of preservation. There are 37 (or 73%) of Conchucos' sites categorised as being poorly preserved with almost no information about them. In total 532 tombs have been categorised, 150 of which cannot be categorised under any of the types presented above. However, information is available for 277 tombs (Fig. 5.14):

- Type A (n=187)
- Type B (n=24)
- Type C (n=9)
- Type D (n= 55, but 13 of these are type TD1)
- Undefined (n=2).

Thus, in general in the Conchucos area, Type A tombs are the most predominant.

Sites, type of tombs and elevation analysis

⁹⁴ See Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.3 in this chapter.

In order to analyse the volume of the different types of tombs from each site according to their elevation, sites situated on the same section have been grouped together. For example, sites between 3,801 to 3,900 masl will be grouped together, and so on (Fig. 5.15).

This information indicates that the Conchucos sites with the most Type A tombs are situated between 2,020 to 3,200 masl (n=110) and between 3,701 to above 4,000 masl (36).⁹⁵ Type B are situated between 3,701 to 3,800 masl, Type C between 3,801 to 3,900 masl and Type D ones between 3,601 to 3,700 masl. Furthermore 11 sites were not clearly located and their elevations were not mentioned.

Sites, type of tombs and period of occupation analysis

The distribution of the sites according to their occupation period shows that there is a great disparity in the information, as only 15 of them have been classified, all the others are not precisely dated. The sites have been divided by their occupation times: Early Horizon (1600-100 BC) until the Early Intermediate Period (AD 1-700), Middle Horizon (AD 700-900) sites, and sites from the Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440) to Spanish Colonial times (Fig. 5.16).

Four sites are grouped from the Early Horizon until the Early Intermediate Period. Two of them are situated between 3,301 and 3,400 masl, the other two are not closely related one being situated at 3,670 masl, and the other one at 3,820 masl. From the fifteen dated sites in Conchucos only two were classified as Middle Horizon, the first situated between 3,401 and 3,500 masl and the second at 3,818 masl. Finally the group of sites from LIP to Colonial times, which are the majority here, is constituted of nine. Two groups of three sites each represent the extremities of the elevation chart which are from below 2,800 masl, and from above 4,100 masl. The other three are also relatively close to each other between 3,800 to 3,900 masl. This tendency to have Late Intermediate Period to Colonial period sites situated below 2,800 or between 3,701 to 4,001 masl and above would confirm Ccente and Román's (2006) argument about the geographical distribution of settlements in the Conchucos area during the Late Horizon and Spanish Colonial times. They argue that, during the Inca domination (Late Horizon) of the Conchucos area, the sites were usually situated at high levels, around 3,800 masl, whereas with the Spanish

⁹⁵ Quechua and suni eco-zones. The quechua zone is mainly a cultivation area whereas suni is a transitional area between the agricultural quechua and the pastoral puna.

colonisation there was a relocation of these Prehispanic sites towards ones situated at lower levels, below 2,800 masl and (Ccente and Román 2006: 40).

Furthermore, none of these sites have had continuity of occupation observed from an early period to a late one. Only three sites had this characteristic; however, there is no information about their elevations. The only other continuities that have been observed were those from the Early Horizon to the Early Intermediate Period at Pirushtu de Chacas site but these only have undefined tombs, including two underground ones. One of the most interesting continuities of the occupations concerns sites with an occupation from the Late Intermediate Period to Late Horizon or from the Late Intermediate Period to Colonial times. The Late Intermediate Period/Late Horizon continuity was observed in three sites. One is Ñawpamarca de Huamantanga, which has three *chullpas*, but no information about them. There were two sites in the Rapayán district: Tactabamba I and Tactabamba II, where the presence and use of Type A tombs can be observed. Finally, there were also three sites showing occupation from the Late Intermediate Period to Colonial times in the Conchucos. One of them, unfortunately, was poorly described (Ishla Ranra), with a mention of the presence of five undefined tombs including one underground. However, the two other sites, one named Marcajirca (Cajay district) and Rapayán (Rapayán district) were the most characteristic late occupation sites in the Conchucos area. More detailed specifics about mortuary monuments will be discussed later on in this chapter. These last three sites are very important for this thesis, as they are the best documented and well-preserved sites in the Conchucos, where people lived under the Inca and early Spanish occupations. It is the study of these major sites and the presence of their mortuary monuments, which help us to understand how social customs in communities could change over time due to the colonisation of the area.

The aim of the next section is to arrive at a Type A typology of the tombs in the Conchucos area. This will be presented through a statistical study of their architectural characteristics and organisation. However, the number of tombs used for analysis for each characteristic can vary from one to another due to the information available to date.

Architectural features

Groundplan

Type A tomb groundplans are divided between four different shapes: quadrangular,⁹⁶ rectangular, square and circular (Fig. 5.17). Due to their small number, the semi-circular ones have been included with the circular ones. Of the 167 Type A tombs analysed for the Conchucos area, the majority have a rectangular groundplan (140).

Roof Types

Different techniques were employed to construct the roof of Type A tombs. As previously noted, Type A tombs tend to have corbelled roofs made using the false vault technique (Fig. 5.19).⁹⁷ However, in order to analyse the typology of the tombs' roofs they have been divided into four formal categories: rounded, flat, pointed and natural bedrock (Fig. 5.18). As mentioned in section 5.1, it seems that a considerable amount of flat roofs were found in the Conchucos area (113 out of 144). Most of the sites in the area (Chucuman, Gantu, Marcajirca, Rapayán, Tinyash) show the use of the false vault technique, giving the roof a gabled shape with dual sloping. Thus, it seems that the evidence of such a high number of flat roofs in the area is due either to the poor state of preservation of the different tombs, or to the poor descriptive information about the tombs rather than being a specific characteristic of the area. The analysis of the two other sub-areas may show a similar tendency to be evident throughout the region.

Entrance Types

The nine different types of entrance for Type A tombs have been described in 5.1 of this thesis. What can generally be observed from this analysis is that one type of entrance was the most popular form in Conchucos: Type 2, with 103 out of 127 (See Fig. 5.20). This suggests that Type 2 entrances (Doorway situated approx. 0.50m above ground made with two slabs for the lintel and threshold, medium and

⁹⁶ A large number of the tomb descriptions mention quadrangular groundplans without giving more precise information to classify them. They are grouped under such terminology as 'four sided structures' which does not clarify if they are square or rectangular.

⁹⁷ The roof is constructed by superimposing stone slabs with clay mortar. These overlap each other in order to create a false vault.

large sized slabs used as the jambs) were one of the characteristics for the Late Intermediate Period tombs made in the Conchucos area.

Decorations

There were 175 Type A tomb examples found in the area of Conchucos, 40 of which had decorations (Fig. 5.21). The term decoration has been used to refer to any description mentioning traces of plaster, painting, frieze or carved stones visible on the tomb. There were 135 Type A tombs categorised as having no decoration on the external walls of the structures. It has to be born in mind that, as with the roof masonry, the presence or absence of some perishable type of decoration (plaster, paintings) can be due to their state of preservation. Type B tombs in the area (Pitakilla, Guellejirka) are usually associated with traces of plaster and paint (red and white), clearly used to make the tombs stand out from a distance (Herrera 2005: 182).

Presence of a platform

The general description of Type A tombs mentioned that they can be situated above a platform. In the Conchucos area only 19 are situated in this way, and 161 are not, which may highlight a possible characteristic of Conchucos Late Intermediate Period tombs (Fig. 5.22). The absence of a platform might suggest that it was not necessary to emphasize the visibility of the tomb. Such use of Type A tombs as a more widespread and common burial during the Late Intermediate Period might possibly contrast with the other sub-areas of the region.

Number of storeys

Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands have at least one, and sometimes as many as three storeys. The data indicate that Conchucos' tombs generally have only one storey. In Conchucos, 136 tombs have one storey against 42 multi-storey structures (See Fig. 5.23). This probably reinforces the previous argument that small plain tombs are more common and signifies the absence of strong social differences within the community. This is particularly evident in the case of the sites at Gantu, Ishla Ranra, Marcajirca, Ñawpamarca de Huamantaga, Pogtán, and Yangón, which only have one-storey Type A tombs. However, some differences can be observed with other sites in the Conchucos area. These sites are situated in the eastern part of the region and are characterised by the main use of one storey Type A tomb but a

few also use the multi-storey style (Rapayán, Tactabamba II, Tinyash, Wata) (Fig. 5.24). These few tombs, which stand out by being multi-storey or for being situated above a platform, might emphasise differences in the status given to the dead in the community and the importance given to specific ancestors. In the site of Tinyash, for example, some of these multi-storey tombs are predominant in the landscape, enclosed by walls and above a platform they also sometimes have decorations (tenon-head sculptures) associated with them, highlighting the social importance of such tombs (Lau 2011). Therefore, in one sub-area, the same general customs are followed, but different local characteristics and traditions are evident.

Number of rooms

The number of rooms in Type A tombs is closely related to the average of the surface area of the tomb and the number of storeys. As the majority of Type A tombs in Conchucos are of medium size, there are fewer internal divisions inside and thus 49 of them (80%) only have one room (Fig. 5.25). At the beginning of this chapter, it was mentioned that the presence of an antechamber, as is evident in the Huaylas area, would have provided ritual space dedicated to making offerings for the dead (Lau 2011: 113). These rooms have not been reported for Conchucos, where they usually have a surface average of between 3m² and 11m², only one chamber with one small entrance (approx. 0.50m high and 0.70m wide). This would restrict the entrance of a standing individual to the tomb, as only one person could enter at a time by crouching or kneeling. The person in charge of the tomb would probably only enter to introduce a new mummy bundle or to remove one for specific ceremonies.⁹⁸ The offerings would probably have been left outside the entrance to the tomb, or if inside at a distance only reachable at arms length so a person would not have to completely enter. Excavations done in front of the Type A tombs on the site of Marcajirca reveal that different offerings (carvings, pottery, fires) were made in front of the entrance (Ibarra 2013: 18). Furthermore, Mantha (2004, 2006) argues that multi-storey buildings were made to keep the mummy bundles of the ancestors. I argue that these monuments were not used as tombs but that they were probably used to hold the bundles only for ceremonial purposes. If access to the tomb was restricted and the ceremonies only practiced by religious specialists, it is possible that they had to remove the mummies to expose them to the community for specific purposes. This

⁹⁸ Doyle (1988) suggests that only religious specialists were able to communicate with the mallquis and were in charge of their cult and celebrations (Doyle 1988: 61).

supports the hypothesis given earlier, of the changing relationship between the living and the dead, small multi-chambered tombs would tend to give the person a more physical and direct relation to the dead, whereas the restrictive access to the small one-chambered tombs would keep the dead separated from the living, with the necessity for the community to engage with the dead through another agent (religious specialist, offerings, placement of the tomb, landscape).

Area (m²)

For Conchucos, 74 Type A tombs were used as a sample (Fig. 5.26). For calculating the area, the measurements given by different archaeologists have been used. These measurements usually include the interior surface of the tomb and the thickness of the walls. From the total amount of tombs available for Conchucos, 47 have an area between 3-6.99m². Compared to other areas, Conchucos has a homogeneous area. This graph also shows that the majority of Type A tombs in Conchucos have a small-medium area, which could be another characteristic from the Late Intermediate Period onwards. This smaller size does not seem to reveal a social difference, such as being used for one particular individual instead of a family. Archaeological records show that all Type A tombs in this database contain more than one individual; this is also corroborated by ethnohistorical documents mentioning the numbers of individuals found in Prehispanic tombs.⁹⁹ It seems that the size of the tombs in Conchucos reflects the social relationship between the living and the dead become more external than internal as mentioned in the previous section on the chamber.

Orientation

Type A tombs in general tend to face east. However, the Conchucos area differs from the other areas by having 35 or (46%) of its tombs facing north. Type A tombs studied in Conchucos date from the Late Intermediate Period onwards whereas the ones situated in Huaylas are mainly from earlier periods (Middle Horizon) (See Fig. 5.27). As Mantha (2009: 162) rightly mentions, sites from the Late Intermediate Period situated in the different valleys of the area share common archaeological characteristics such as their location on ridge tops, the use of Type A

⁹⁹ Doyle (1988) mentions that the number of individuals in the tomb can vary depending on how they were counted e.g., baptised or non-baptised). However, *visitadors* usually tend to talk in hundreds (see for example (AAL, II-12b: 32v-33r) in Doyle 1988: 115).

tombs as mortuary monuments and little visible social differentiation. By comparing the two main sites of the area (Marcajirca and Rapayán) situated in two different valleys of Conchucos, the similarities and differences in the spatial organisation of their mortuary monuments can be observed. In both cases they are situated on mountain ridgetops with the funerary sector situated next to the residential area of the sites. Mantha (2009: 172) argues that above-ground tombs would have been a powerful territorial and geographical marker for the community, and their location next to the residential sector would have created an enclosed sector which probably excluded external members. Despite these similarities, differences can be observed, as mentioned previously with the use of one-storey or multiple-storey tombs. The orientation of the entrances to Type A tombs also differ between these two sites. In the case of Rapayán, 29 of 31 Type A tombs are facing north where there are agricultural terraces (Mantha 2004, 2009). Such positioning would suggest a strong relationship between the ancestors and the fertility virtues that they bring to the community (Doyle 1988; Kaulicke 2000; MacCormack 1991; Lau 2011, 2012). In the case of Marcajirca, it does not seem that a specific pattern was followed towards the tombs' orientation. Of the 23 Marcajirca Type A examples, six face west, four north-east, four south, three south-west, three north-west, one north, one east and one south-east. This seems to suggest that even if there was no regular pattern for the tombs' direction, they tended to face towards the western side of the site where the sacred mountain of Llamoc is situated. This mountain was an *apu* or *huaca* for the community living there, which could have been the representation of the main founding ancestor (Ibarra 2009a: 235, 2013). The fact that the tombs are facing this direction would give greater emphasis to the relationship that the community had with their ancestors, the landscape and the role they played in the community. On the actual mountain Prehispanic archaeological components can still be observed. At the top of the mountain a circular platform is evident with a Catholic cross in the middle (Figs. 5.28 and 5.29).¹⁰⁰ This variability might not only be obvious geographically but it could also be evidence of a diachronic change.

The analysis of Type A tombs in the Conchucos area shows that, from the Late Intermediate Period onwards, the use of these tombs was widespread. The absence of great variability in size (surface average, one storey, one room, no platform) emphasises little social differentiation in the use of tombs. However,

¹⁰⁰ This is related to the religious landscape appropriation of the Spanish evangelisation of the Andes. See Chapter 7 for more detail.

communities living on the eastern side of the Conchucos area seem to have given more social importance to specific mortuary monuments rather than others inside the community. In the whole sub-area a strong relationship between the ancestors and the surrounding landscape can be observed. As Lau (2011: 112) suggests, such location and orientation of the tombs conveyed the idea of permanent vigilance of the dead over the living and its resources. However, it seems that there is also a variability in the spatial organisation, orientation and architectural features of the tombs in the Conchucos area, which differs from other sub-areas of the Ancash region and from earlier historical times. This analysis complements Mantha's argument (2004, 2009) on the fact that the important differences in the Conchucos area suggest an ethnic diversity which was more important during the Late Intermediate Period compared to earlier periods. In that sense, this analysis of the Conchucos area tombs tends to show internal ethnic diversity inside Conchucos during the Late Intermediate Period, asserting the presence of different groups in Conchucos each with their own local particularities. This research also highlights that there was a geographical diversity in the use of Type A tombs between the Huaylas and Conchucos areas of the Ancash highlands, and in the use of the tombs during Middle Horizon compared to the Late Intermediate Period onwards. The formal changes in architecture between early Type A tombs in Huaylas and the Late Intermediate Period ones in Conchucos, reflect changing mortuary practices of the communities. In order to complete this argument, the next two sections examine the tombs situated in the Callejón de Huaylas area and in the Cordillera Negra.

5.2.2 General characteristics and tomb typology of the western slope of the Cordillera Negra sites

General analysis

In this database, 33 sites are situated on the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra, each divided according to their state of preservation. There are 25 (or 81%) of them classified as having poor conservation and/or having no information about their status. There is a total of 228 tombs, from which 170 have been identified. There is an equal number for each main type of tomb except for Type C (Fig. 5.30):

- Type A (n=65)
- Type B (n=54)
- Type C (n=1)
- Type D (n=50)

There is a vast difference between this and the first analysis of the tombs situated in the Conchucos area. For the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra there is no one tomb type that stands out above others in this area. Instead there is a consistent number of tombs used, over three different types: Type A (quadrangular stone-built above-ground tomb), Type B (tomb situated under or inside a natural cavity or boulder) and Type D (underground tomb).

Sites, types of tomb and elevation analysis

The geographical distribution of the sites and the number of different types of tomb they have, highlights that the sites concentrate between 3,201-3,400 masl and between 3,501 to 4,000 masl (Fig. 5.31). Compared to the area of Conchucos, the division of the types of tomb according to site elevation is much clearer. It is evident that up to 3,300 masl Type D tombs seem to be more common. The area between 3,301 to 3,400 masl is the only sector where an equal number and diversity in the use of the tombs can be observed: Type A (13), Type B (13) and Type D (11). From 3,401 to 3,700 Type B tombs will be more common and Type A will only be frequent between 3,701 to 4,000 masl. Moreover, in the Cordillera Negra it is evident that the use of Type A tombs is more important in the *suni* eco-zone (See Fig. 2.1). In the Conchucos, Type A tombs are mainly situated in the *quechua* zone, whereas Type D tombs were used in the Cordillera Negra. The *suni* eco-zone would be the second sector where Type A tombs can be found in Conchucos. The *quechua* zone is a predominantly agricultural zone and the *suni* zone is a higher transitional area between the agricultural quechua and the pastoralist zone (Lane 2006: 32). It is interesting to note that the distribution of the tombs in the highlands seems to be related to these two zones used for agricultural and pastoral purposes. Lane (2006) suggests that the use of the tombs in these zones is a marker of the intense use of these eco-zones (Lane 2006: 138). This would highlight the role of the ancestors promoting the fertility of the land, providing food and vital resources for the community.

Sites, types of tomb and period of occupation analysis

The previous graph (Fig. 5.31) shows clearly the sites' distribution. However, it is difficult to analyse the number of sites according to their period of occupation and elevation. For the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra only 7 of the 32 sites have been dated. The classification used here is the same as that used in the Conchucos area analysis (section 5.2.1).

As can be seen from the graph (Fig. 5.32), the majority of the dated sites are situated at 3,300 masl, two of them being occupied during the Late Intermediate Period (Putaqqa, Kipia)¹⁰¹ and one from the Early Intermediate Period (Corpus Rumi). Of these three, the main focus is on the site of Kipia (5.3), which is interesting because of its continuity of occupancy from the Late Intermediate Period to Colonial times. And it is one of the only sites in the area occupied until Colonial times and having C14 analysis to corroborate the ceramic dating. It also has numerous amounts of Type D and Type B tombs as well as tombs associated with sources of water. As noted previously in this chapter, the ancestors were necessary and closely related to the need for agriculture and water.¹⁰² The restricted access to water and the need for storage make control of water essential in the Cordillera Negra area (Lane 2005: 87). Moreover, as will be discussed in Chapter 7, tombs in the Andes were part of the physical and cosmological vision of the landscape, creating a local sense of identity (De Leonardis and Lau 2004; Herrera 2006; Lane 2006; Lau 2012, 2013; Mantha 2004).

At 3,500 masl there is a site named Atunhirca, which appears to have been used between the Early Intermediate Period and the Late Intermediate Period (Lane and Luján 2009). Here again the use of Type B and D tombs can be observed. However, in contrast to Kipia, there are only three tombs listed during the survey, and no excavation has been done there. During this survey, Kipia and its surroundings was visited again. Nevertheless, the vegetation in Atunhirca prevented detailed observation of these tombs to get more specific information about them. The site (Puk 16) situated at 3,591 masl is where three Type B tombs can be observed. Based on the ceramic sherds found inside the tombs, the site was probably occupied between the Late Intermediate Period and Late Horizon.

¹⁰¹ Kipia has an occupation until Colonial times, which will be detailed later.

¹⁰² See also Chapter 3 and Chapter 7.

Finally, two dated sites are situated between 3,601 and 3,700 masl, both from the Early Intermediate Period (Cajarumi and Ishkepunku). Ishkepunku has six Type B, one Type C and one Type D tombs. Inside the Type B tombs besides ceramic fragments, twine and gourd, layers of textiles composing mummy bundles, including ichu grass as an internal filling, were found (see Appendix D). The investigations in Cajarumi (Advincula and Chirinos 2000), indicate possible Type D1 or stone cist burials. These probably had a water ritual association with the ancestors (Lane and Luján 2009). Another site found during this survey (probably Puk 3), situated on a hill top (3,340 masl), is divided at least into two sectors, a residential one and a mortuary one.¹⁰³ The funerary sector is situated on the upper part of the site and four tombs are visible: one Type D, two Type B and one Type A (Figs. 5.33, 5.34 and 5.35). The funerary sector is delimited by a canal which goes down to the residential sector (Figs. 5.36, 5.37 and 5.38). This particularity again highlights the importance of water in the area. The mortuary sites' association with water and its role in the ancestors/living relationship will be developed later (See Chapter 7).

This general analysis of the sites in the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra highlights various points. It seems that in this area the use of some types of tomb rather than another might differ according to the geographical situation. Furthermore, there is no evidence of major changes in mortuary practices during later periods (LIP until Colonial times). The evidence seems to show that Type A tombs were not included as new mortuary monuments (at a later time) if they were not already present on the site from earlier periods. The sites with more Type A tombs are not well-dated. Moreover, Type A tombs do not seem to be a particular important type of tomb used in later periods compared to the Conchucos area. Furthermore, the geographical position of the sites and tombs are closely related to agricultural zones and sources of water in an area where water is considered as more difficult to get (as it has to be stored rather than being available from the glacier) in comparison with the Cordillera Blanca. This might suggest that the populations living on the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra attached even more importance and significance to the use of water. There is a strong relationship between the ancestors, water and landscape, and the fact that they associate the tombs with specific places in the landscape related to water, puts more emphasis on its importance for the populations living in the area (Lane 2006). Nevertheless, this

¹⁰³ An intervisibility between this site and the site of Kipia can be observed.

argument cannot be presented as a particularity of the Cordillera Negra. As has been shown for the Conchucos area, and as will be seen in the analysis of the Callejón de Huaylas, some sites situated in the northern part of the occidental side of the Cordillera Blanca, share this close relationship with water.

The next section will describe the analysis of the architectural characteristics of Type A tombs in the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra in order to propose a specific typology. The number of tombs differs due to the information available. Type A tombs were not the most common type used in the Cordillera Negra, in contrast to the other sub-areas of the region. This distinction with other areas might show differences in the formal characteristics of the tombs.

Architectural features

Groundplan

Compared to other regions, the area of the Cordillera Negra is distinctive because of the shape of its Type A tombs (Fig. 5.39). Their groundplan is mainly square, whereas there are mainly rectangular Type A tombs elsewhere. Most interestingly, it could be assumed that, because there are mainly square tombs in this area, they should be smaller than the others. However, in an area where Type A tombs are not predominant, their surface average (between 11m² and 37m²) is larger than expected (see Fig. 5.47). This might underline a specific use for Type A tombs compared to other types in this part of the region.

Roof Types

There is not much to say about the types of roof that can be found in the Cordillera Negra for Type A tombs (Fig. 5.40). Their general features are similar to other Type A tombs found in the region. As has been said previously, the rounded shape of the roofs that we find nowadays on Type A tombs is usually due to the quality of the preservation of the tomb over time. The majority of descriptions of roof masonry in the area tend to talk about a false vault technique of construction (Herrera 2006, Lane 2006, Lane and Luján 2009).

Entrance Types

Only two Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra, had information about their entrance masonry, which is why only two types of entrance are visible (Fig. 5.41).

This limited information cannot be used to describe this feature as a main architectural characteristic for Type A tombs in the area. A further and more detailed analysis would be required to complete this database.

Decorations

From the information available for Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra, none have been described as having any type of decoration (Fig. 5.42). It has to be mentioned that for the cases that value $n=5$, 8% of the sample, there is no information on the subject. It is important to be cautious about this result, because the fact that no decoration is visible nowadays might be due to the state of conservation of the structures, or no evidences has been found yet. Indeed, sites in the area with Type B (Ishkepunku, Kakacucho) and Type D (Putakaka) tombs have been found with red ochre on their façade (See Fig. 5.43), it could therefore be assumed that it would also be the case for Type A tombs in this area.

Presence of a platform

Platform analysis of Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra is interesting, as it differs from Type A tombs from other regions of the Ancash highlands (Fig. 5.44). It seems that in the Cordillera Negra, there is almost an equal number of Type A tombs situated above a platform with 31 of over 60 tombs analysed situated above a platform. Although it has not been possible to date the majority of sites in the Cordillera Negra with Type A tombs, it seems that Type A tombs were constructed in order to be visible and to be better distinguished from other types of tomb. This would also give more emphasis to other structural patterns helping with the visibility of the tomb (size, surface average), which will be developed in later sections. Similar to the evidence that we have in the eastern part of the Conchucos area, where there was a specific use of Type A tombs as social markers, Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra were also probably used in a specific way to show the difference in the social status of the dead and to give them a special engagement with the community.

Number of storeys and number of rooms

Even though Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra seem to have been made to be visible markers in the landscape and share some similarities with the well-

known large, multi-storey and multi-chambered Middle Horizon Type A tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas, they differ in two points. Firstly, figure 5.45 shows that the 61 examples (or 94%) of the tombs have only one-storey (instead of two or three for MH Type A tombs in Huaylas), and that they have only one room (N= 43, 88%) (Fig. 5.46). Thus it seems that we have continuity in some specific features (masonry, size of the tomb, presence of a platform) from past architectural practice of Type A tombs. However, the discrepancies would probably suggest a reuse of these techniques but creating a newer style of Type A tombs over time.

Area (m²)

Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra are generally larger in size than the normal area elsewhere the Ancash Highlands (Fig. 5.47). An important number of Type A tombs with large dimensions (12 of 35, have an area of between 23m² to 37m²). Such patterns tend to be a specific feature of the large Middle Horizon Type A tombs only situated in the Callejón de Huaylas area. Such a characteristic is much more unexpected as the Type A tomb is not the main type used in the Cordillera Negra. This shows that a greater effort was made in the construction of Type A tombs compared to Type B or Type D. This fairly unique aspect of Type A tombs and the emphasis made of their size and visibility could have been a sign of the importance of the dead, and the families that these tombs belong to, over the rest of the community. This hierarchical division evident in the Cordillera Negra tombs contrasts with the two other sub-areas of the Ancash highlands, where the use of smaller Type A tombs is more widespread in Late Intermediate Period sites.

Orientation

In contrast to the Conchucos area, Type A tombs in the Cordillera Negra mainly face east (Fig. 5.48). Thus the Cordillera Negra revealed a use of three main types of tombs: Type A (quadrangular stone-built above-ground tomb), Type B (tomb situated under or inside a natural cavity or boulder) and Type D (underground). The tombs are strongly related to the cosmological landscape of the communities. Their locations in specific agricultural and pastoral eco-zones, emphasise the role of the ancestors in the everyday life of the community. The analysis of the Type A tombs in the area, tends to show communities following an earlier tradition in the construction of the tombs (some of the same characteristics as

Middle Horizon tombs situated in the Huaylas area). The emphasis given to the visibility (size, platform, surface average) of Type A tombs in the area would suggest that they might have been used to represent social difference inside the community. Nevertheless, it also has to be pointed out that Type B and Type D tombs were also still regularly used during the Late Intermediate Period. This again highlights a continuous use of the same tomb types through time. Type D tombs are considered to be of an earlier date and with the emergence of above-ground structures they tend to have disappeared. This analysis of the Cordillera Negra would suggest that there was a continuity in the use of underground tombs and the emergence of above-ground tombs was in order to give more emphasis to the social status of the dead within the community. Type B and D tombs, which are underground and usually partly hidden, could also have been used more importantly during Spanish Colonial times during the repression against idolatries rather than Type A tombs, which are more visible in the landscape. However, these identified continuities cannot be generalised over the whole region.

For the Conchucos and the Cordillera Negra regions, it can be observed that, even though there is a general conformity of use of Type A tombs for the whole region, each sub-area has its own particularities, perhaps related to the social identity of the ethnic groups living there. This might suggest a geographical difference in mortuary customs in the same region, where communities follow the same general tradition. In order to develop this argument and get a better understanding of the use of Type A tombs in the area, the analysis of the Huaylas area will be discussed in the next section, and comparisons will be made accordingly.

5.2.3 General characteristics and tomb typology of the Callejón de Huaylas sites

General characteristics

There are 35 sites situated in the Callejón de Huaylas in this database. From the three areas studied, this is the one with fewer sites classified between poor conservation and no information about their status (n= 20, 60%). There is a total of 492 tombs (Fig. 5.49):

- Type A (n=355)
- Type D (n=115)
- Type B (n=19)
- Type C (n=3)

This demonstrates that Type A tombs were very common in the Callejón de Huaylas. However, there were also many Type D ones. Further analysis might help to highlight if there was any continuity in their use (first underground then above-ground tombs), if they were used in association with each other, or if they were both used separately but at the same time.

Sites, type of tombs and elevation analysis

There is no information about their elevation for 16 (or 46%) of them (Fig. 5.50). However, the majority of sites with available data (n= 6, 17%) are situated between 3,401-3,500 masl. In this elevation range, the information is divided between six sites where Type A tombs are predominant with a total of 253, 83 Type D, and only 17 Type B and 3 Type C. The next cluster of Type A tombs is situated between 3,301-3,400 masl, where 56 tombs of this type have been identified over two sites. Other large numbers of this type of tomb, oscillating between 20 and 47 structures are mainly between 3,701-3,900 masl. Thus, it can be seen that the usual concentration zone of Type A tombs in Huaylas is similar to that in the other two sub-areas.

Sites, types of tomb and period of occupation analysis

Looking at the period of occupation of these sites it can be observed that from the six sites between 3,401-3,500 masl, four have a Middle Horizon occupation (Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain, Oqtawain, Wilkawain) (Fig. 5.51). The other two (Pueblo Viejo and Queushu) are even more interesting because they were occupied from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Intermediate Period. All six sites will be described in more detail later in this chapter. The diachronic study (5.3) will explain that Type A tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas were the first to be constructed in Ancash (Middle Horizon) and have their own specific characteristics (Bennett 1944; Isbell 1997; Lau 2011, 2012; Paredes 2000, 2006; Tschauner 2003). The other site that has to be mentioned is Chinchawas, situated at 3,853 masl, which also shows occupation from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Intermediate

Period. Moreover, like Queushu or Ichic-Wilkawain, there is a presence of not only Type A tombs but also of underground tombs. The architectural features of Type A tombs in the area of Huaylas will be studied in order to compare them with the two other areas.

Architectural features

Groundplan

Most Type A tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas are rectangular in groundplan (146), which is similar to the Conchucos area (Fig. 5.52). However, there are also many quadrangular tombs (i.e., which could be square or rectangular) (109), which is partly due to the imprecise reporting about the structures.

Roof Types

The roof types of Type A tombs in the Huaylas area are divided between rounded (73), flat (24), pointed (25) (Fig. 5.53). As in other two areas, it seems that this division maybe mainly visible due to the various states of preservation. Furthermore, sites such as Ichic-Wilkawain or Waullac have been remodelled (See Fig. 5.54 and Fig. 5.55).

Entrance Types

It is interesting to observe that there are similar types of entrances in both Callejón de Huaylas and Cordillera Negra (See Fig. 5.56). Type 1 (one slab as lintel and doorway situated at floor level) is the most commonly used with 77 entrances of that type and 52 of Type 7 (three slabs are used, one as lintel and two as jambs. Doorway situated at floor level). It is also interesting to note that there are no Type 2 (doorway approx. 0.50m above floor level) entrances here, when this is the main type of entrance in the Conchucos area. This seems to be one of the primary differences in construction between the Conchucos and Huaylas areas. These differences might be due to different local traditions. It was suggested earlier that the types of entrance in the Huaylas area were more accessible than the ones in Conchucos, which has smaller Type A tombs with the majority only having one chamber and one small entrance. In Huaylas the largest Type A tombs are found, these multi-storey and multi-chambered tombs also have multiple entrances that facilitate access to the tomb and movement in it. It has to be remembered that Type A tombs started to be

used in Huaylas from the Early Intermediate Period, and that the common Type A tombs that are found in Late Intermediate Period sites seem to follow the same earlier tradition. In Conchucos a different form of Type A tomb was constructed from the Late Intermediate Period onwards, with architectural characteristics that differ completely from the first Type A tombs used in the Huaylas area.

Decorations

The majority of Type A tombs (Fig. 5.57) in the area do not have specific decorations (only 13 of 301 tombs show decoration in the case of Huaylas). This is very similar to the others areas. It seems that decorations were not common in the Type A tombs in the Ancash Highlands, or at least that they are no longer visible. This might be due to the difficulty of preservation of such aspects but also to the importance of looting in the area. Lau (2011: 115) emphasises the importance of adornment in Recuay mortuary monuments (use of paint or sculptures). He mentions the use of clay and white and red pigments evident on some Type A tombs on the site of Pueblo Viejo de Huandoy, or the use of sculptures in the entrance of Type A tombs in Chinchawas site (Lau 2001) (Figs. 5.58 and 5.59).

Only 5 of 131 Type A tombs at Pueblo Viejo de Huandoy have traces of white plaster or red painting. However, the other two sub-areas of the Ancash highlands tend to show that decorations were probably used more often than expected or seen archaeologically. There is no archaeological evidence in Ancash showing Type A tombs with decoration used as a specific representation of elite burial. What the analysis seems to reveal is a possible social division between populations living in some areas of the Ancash highlands. Instead of defining an elite/popular class, the evidence appears to show a more public/private opposition, or more likely, a sacred dead/dead division.¹⁰⁴ Lau (2011: 116) suggests that colourful mortuary structures played an important role in the Recuay ancestors' ceremonial tradition. The presence or absence of decoration might have defined the importance of the dead in the tomb for the community. This will then divide, what can be called a more private tomb (with the dead of each family) and a public one (with the main sacred dead of the community) where specific ceremonies and feasts will take place.

¹⁰⁴ See also discussion about ancestors in Chapters 3 and 6.

Presence of platform

In spite of its high amount of Type A tombs, Huaylas is not the area with the majority of Type A tombs above a platform (Fig. 5.60). 184 of 314 tombs are not situated above a platform. There is a general tendency in the whole region of the Ancash highlands to have Type A tombs without a platform. However, the analysis reveals that the ones which do have a platform in the Huaylas area, are mainly those used during the Middle Horizon, or the ones which seems to follow a Middle Horizon influence in their architecture.

Number of storeys

Huaylas does not seem to differ from the others area of the region. In general Type A tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas are only one storey buildings (303 of 317) (Fig. 5.61). Only 14 (or 4%) examples have more than one storey and the larger, Type A tombs appear to be fairly specific to a period of use and area (Middle Horizon in Huaylas).

Number of rooms

The number of storeys of the tombs has some repercussions on the number of internal divisions and the area of the monument (Fig. 5.62). If the structure has only one storey, it will usually tend to have only one room with no division in the structure. The ones with three or more rooms tend to be the large multi-storey structures. For example, T1 a two-storey Type A tomb in Honcopampa (Fig. 5.63) is a structure which has six entrances (floor level), three on the northern wall, and one on each other side of the structure.¹⁰⁵ Each entrance leads to three or four rooms (Fig. 5.64 and 5.65), which do not interconnect with rooms from another entrance. These entrances lead to a total of 20 different rooms for just that level. This facility of access, enables more movement in the tomb and interaction between the dead and the living. The access to these tombs is not restricted to one person which implies that the community was able to have direct access to the tombs, as opposed to small one-chambered ones. Nevertheless, the private access of each entrance of a tomb to

¹⁰⁵ T1 is the name given to that tomb during my own recollection of data from my fieldwork in 2012. This tomb has previously been mentioned as MC-S1 (Tschauer 2003).

different groups of chambers might suggest that sacred ancestors of different *ayllu* were kept in the same tomb with each of them having their own space.¹⁰⁶

Area (m²)

The Huaylas area has the largest range of area (Fig. 5.66). Huaylas Type A tombs are medium sized structures in general.¹⁰⁷ It is the only area of the Ancash region which has more than 20 tombs bigger than 23m², and which has any tombs bigger than 60m². Huaylas clearly distinguished itself from the other two sub-areas, with a specific sub-type of Type A tombs composed of large tombs.

Orientation

Huaylas is the only area that has great disparity in the orientation of its Type A tombs (Fig. 5.67). Eastern and western orientations are the most predominant, with almost an equal number (38 tombs facing west and 30 facing east). Furthermore, if we include the Cordillera Negra to the Huaylas area, then the majority of Type A tombs are facing east contrasting with the Conchucos area where they are mainly facing north. The rest of the sample for Huaylas is split equally between the other possible orientations. This disparity in orientation, might be due to the fact that the populations living in Ancash might have placed their tombs facing some specific traits of the landscape instead of one general specific orientation (Acosta 2011; Herrera 2005; Lau 2011, 2012; Valverde 2008).¹⁰⁸ This was the case in the Conchucos area for the sites of Marcajirca and Rapayán. Herrera (2005), Valverde (2008) and Acosta (2011) studied the spatial locations and orientations of the tombs of the sites of Queushu and Pueblo Viejo de Huandoy. They concluded that some of the tombs had strong relationships with some specific traits of the landscape (mountain, canal, wetlands). In the case of Queushu, some of the Type A tombs tend to be orientated towards the larger *chullpa* of the site situated in a prominent sector next to a lagoon and with the Cordillera landscape behind it (Valverde 2008: 42) (See Fig. 5.68).

In the case of Honcopampa (Middle Horizon site) the main group of Type A tombs is facing north towards the residential area (Lau 2011: 100) (See Fig. 5.69).

¹⁰⁶ Doyle (1988: 122) mentions that there is a possibility that members of different *ayllus* shared the same tombs for their related founders' dead.

¹⁰⁷ For the analysis of this thesis small sized structures are considered to be between 0m² and 10m², and medium sized structures are considered to be between 11m² and 23m².

¹⁰⁸ See Chapter 7.

This close location to the residential area evident for Late Intermediate period sites in Conchucos, seems to also be visible for Middle Horizon sites in the Huaylas area. Nevertheless, this is not the case for the Late Intermediate Period sites of the Cordillera Negra and Huaylas area, where the funerary sectors were isolated from the residential area. This would suggest a change in the relationship between the living and the dead during the Late Intermediate Period. It seems that a physical separation between the living and the dead was needed. For example in Conchucos, if this physical separation is not visible within the location of the mortuary sector next to the residential zone, it could be evident by the size and access to type A tombs. As argued by Mantha (2004, 2006), Conchucos tombs would be a territorial marker for the community, it would differentiate one group from another. In relation to the cult to the dead, there would be a more restricted access, i.e., by the size of the entrance, and of the tomb in general, and the presence of offerings outside and not inside the tombs. As argued by Doyle (1988), it seems that from the Late Intermediate Period onwards, cult to the ancestors and specific ceremonies were held by religious specialists.

In conclusion, it appears that there is a similar overall tradition of Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands. However, there are specific divergences in the architectural features of these tombs, which could be representative of different local customs between communities (Table 5.2 in Appendix C).¹⁰⁹ This would confirm Lau's argument (2011: 118) suggesting that the same formal characteristics of Type A tombs evident throughout the Ancash highlands is due to a quick and widespread adoption by local communities and that this variability is evidence of local choice to distinguish themselves from the shared cultural conventions (Lau 2011, 2012).

The next section will present the main characteristics of early sites (Early Intermediate Period to Middle Horizon) and the later ones (Late Intermediate Period to Colonial). However, there will be a major focus on the later ones due to the main period of interest of this thesis.

¹⁰⁹ See also in the Appendix B the different graphs comparing the different patterns of the three sub-areas of the Ancash highlands.

5.3 Diachronic study of Ancash Highlands tomb characteristics

From this dataset here are 28 sites in the Ancash highlands which have been dated and have a Late Intermediate occupation.¹¹⁰ For some of them, occupations lasted until the Early Colonial Period. However, the analysis done in this thesis will permit other sites which have at the moment no specific date, to be included (Table 5.3 in Appendix C and map Fig. 5.70).

Huaylas

1. Chinchawas (possible occupation until 1300): Type A (n=6) tombs and Type D (n=3).
2. La Pampa (LH): Type D (n=2).
3. Pueblo Viejo (Auquismarca) (Late EIP to LIP): Type A (n=131), Type B (n=5), Type C (n=3) and Type D (n=58).
4. Queushu (EIP to LIP): Type A (n=14), Type B (n=8) and Type D (n=11).
5. Tornapampa (EIP to LIP): Type A (n=18) and Type D (n=1).
6. Pata Pata (MH to LIP): Type A (n=27).

Total: Type A (n=196), Type B (n=13), Type C (n=3), Type D tombs (n=75).

Conchucos

1. Gantu (LIP to LH): Type A (n=1).
2. Marcajirca (LIP to Colonial): Type A (n=23) and Type B (n=8).
3. Rapayán (LIP to LH): Type A (n=32) and Type B (n=4).
4. Tactabamba I (LIP to LH): Type A (n=3).
5. Tactabamba II (LIP to LH): Type A (n=2).
6. Tinyash (LIP): Type A (n=8).
7. Wata #43 (Until Colonial times): Type A (n=22).
8. Yangón (LIP to LH): Type A (n=5).
9. Pogtán (LIP to LH): Type A (n=4) and Type B (n=3).
10. Pununán Cóndor (CVP 31) (LIP): Type B (n=1).
11. Gotushjirca (LIP): Type D (n=12).
12. Ishla Ranra (LIP to Colonial): Type D (n=1).

¹¹⁰ The majority of the dates for these sites are based on relative dating except for Chinchawas, Kipia and Marcajirca where C¹⁴ dates are available.

13. Ñawpamarca de Huamantanga (LIP to LH): Type A (n=3).
14. Pitakilla (EIP to LIP): Type B (n=1).

Total: Type A (n=103), Type B (n=17), Type C (n=0) and Type D (n=13) tombs

Cordillera Negra

1. Paucarmás (LIP to LH): Type A (n=7), Type B (n=7) and Type D (n=4).
2. Kakacucho (LIP): Type A (n=6) and Type D (n=7).
3. Puk 16 (LIP to LH): Type B (n=3).
4. Putaqaqa (LIP): Type A (n=1), Type B (n=1) and Type D (n=4).
5. Kipia (LIP to Colonial times): Type B (n=1) and Type D (n=15).
6. Atunhirca (EIP to LIP): Type B (n=2) and Type D (n=1).
7. Cj-3 (LH): Type A (n=11).
8. Merquash (Until LIP): Type A (n=2) and Type B (n=1).

Total: Type A (n=27), Type B (n=15), Type C (n=0) and Type D (n=31).

Total tombs in Ancash from LIP to Colonial times: Type A (n=326), Type B (n=45), Type C (n=3) and Type D (n=119).

Sites and elevation analysis for LIP to Colonial times occupations

There is not a specific zone of elevation preferred for mortuary sites during the Late Intermediate Period to Spanish Colonial times in the Ancash highlands. However, there is more a particular zone used for each area of the region studied. For Conchucos, sites concentrated more between 3,701 to 4,001 + masl, whereas the Cordillera Negra ones were generally between 3,201 to 3,600 masl, and Huaylas ones were mainly 2,800 masl and below, or between 3,401 to 3,500 masl (Fig. 5.71).

This might represent different challenges that the different groups of the region might have faced during their respective periods. It is important to keep in mind that two different behaviours can be observed during the Late Intermediate Period.

Firstly, in the Callejón de Huaylas sample there were no sites which only were occupied during the Late Intermediate Period to Late Horizon or Colonial times. What is evident is that the sites started to be occupied generally from the Early

Intermediate Period until the LIP or later. On the contrary, for the Conchucos area, sites were only occupied from the LIP onwards.

This might suggest that other needs or problems emerged during that period in the Conchucos area which favoured putting their mortuary sites in a more defensive area. This is the case for the Rapayán region (Conchucos area), where Mantha (2004) revealed the presence of 16 defensive/ceremonial sites, confirming a violent climate during the Late Intermediate Period (Mantha 2004: 287). This is also suggested by Ibarra (2013) for the site of Marcajirca (Ibarra 2013: 15).

During the Late Intermediate Period, many rows of *chullpas*, or *machay* sites, were away from settlements, in pasturelands, agricultural fields or cliff sides, across the Andes (e.g., Cobo 1653, Bonnier 1997, Gil Garcia 2002, Hyslop 1977, Isbell 1997, Parsons *et al.* 2000). The data presented here for the Late Intermediate Period sites in the Cordillera Negra and the Cordillera Blanca in the Callejón de Huaylas corroborate this argument. Tombs are situated away from the settlements and have close relationships between the landscape and sources of water (Kipia, Queushu, Pueblo Viejo de Huandoy) (See also Herrera 2005, Lane 2006, Valverde 2008). The landscape association is also evident on the LIP sites of the Conchucos area, however, their funerary sectors are usually close to the residential area, perhaps to give more emphasis to the territorial marker of the tombs (Mantha 2004, 2006). Thus two behaviours can be seen. Type A tombs for example, in the Huaylas area, are usually reused (from LIP onwards), whereas in the Conchucos area there is a specific type of Type A tomb. As Lane (2006: 138) suggests for the Cordillera Negra, this reutilisation of the tombs through time in the Huaylas area, and the addition of similar constructions in the same location, shows the importance of cosmological landscape for the community and its reappropriation through generations. This is also suggested by Lau (2011) for the Type A tombs in the Huaylas area. The transition between Type D (underground) to Type A (above-ground) tombs during the Early Intermediate Period-Middle Horizon and constructing Type A tombs over Type D tombs in sites such as Chinchawas, Ichic-Wilkawain, shows a social continuity in the importance of the sacred landscape for the communities (Lau 2011: 94).

This work expands on these hypotheses in order to understand the mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands from the Late Intermediate Period until the Spanish colonisation, by trying to define a typology of tombs used for the period. The analysis is based on the Conchucos area types, discussing the elements that

characterise them as Late Intermediate Period tombs and then how they differ from those that defined earlier ones.

First Type A tombs

It seems that Type A tombs appeared during the Early Intermediate Period but their use became popular during the Middle Horizon (Lau 2002, 2011, 2012). The characteristics of these types of tomb have largely been discussed, and what can be concluded is that they are mainly situated in the Callejón de Huaylas, and can be recognised by their size, masonry and structural organisation (Bennett 1944, Isbell 1991, Paredes 2000, Tschauner 2003).

There are larger above-ground tombs associated with smaller ones, but grouped together next to, or really close to, residential sectors (e.g., Honcopampa main group of Type A tombs are facing the settlement). They are usually above a platform, and have multiple storeys, entrances and rooms. The masonry is characterised by the *wanka-pachilla* technique (block and spall), which is usually associated to Recuay Culture (Lau 2001: 65). Furthermore, on Middle Horizon sites like Honcopampa, and Ichic- Wilkawain there is more regularity of positioning, a technique played with the colour and size of the rocks, which are used to create a visual effect on the façades. The monumental aspect of these (Middle Horizon) tombs compared to the earlier (Early Intermediate Period) or later ones (Late Intermediate Period) shows the strong contrast in intention from the communities (Lau 2011: 117). This is probably due to the Wari influence on the area during the Middle Horizon (Lau 2011, 2012; Paredes 2000, 2006). Lau (2012) also suggests that the agglomeration of the largest tombs in the Callejón de Huaylas ‘resonates with the valley’s surge of economic interaction, a pattern found much less prominently elsewhere in highland Ancash.’ (Lau 2012: 11).

Type A tombs in the Huaylas area, a transitional style

Looking at the sites occupied from the Late Intermediate Period onwards in the Callejón de Huaylas, it is evident that architectural features on Type A tombs stay really similar to the earlier ones. These similarities in construction would suggest two aspects: firstly, reuse of the tombs through time without making any specific modifications, and secondly, the construction of new ones continuing the tradition of the earlier ones but on another scale. This physical juxtaposition over

time, as Lau (2011) suggests, might represent a long-term tradition of mortuary practices defining a strong relationship between the ancestors, the community and the sacred landscape (Lau 2011: 113).

The large, multi-storey tombs that can be found in Honcopampa, Ichic-Wilkawain or Wilkawain, in my opinion should be considered as Middle Horizon Type A tombs, really specific to the Huaylas area and period of utilisation (Bennett 1944, Isbell 1991, Paredes 2000, Terada 1979, Tschauner 2003). That does not mean that similar tombs cannot be found on other sites during the same period. On the contrary, I think that these tombs were used as a prototype for future constructions in the region. Other sites in the area of Huaylas, occupied from the Middle Horizon onwards, have Type A tombs with the same *wanka-pachilla* masonry (e.g., Queushu, Pueblo Viejo). However, they are smaller (medium sized tomb), and have no platform. They usually have only one entrance, one chamber and probably a gabled roof. The presence of internal pillars in many of them indicates that a false-vault technique was probably used for the roof.

Furthermore, what I call a Late Middle Horizon Type A tomb can also be observed in Huaylas, which is a more transitional style, between the Early MH style and the LIP one.¹¹¹ This type can be defined as a medium sized above-ground tomb, with one storey, one chamber and a gabled roof. This description shows that there is still a continuity in construction traditions over time; however, there are differences between Early MH Type A tombs in Huaylas and Late MH-LIP ones, which is visible in their masonry. The architectural features of Late MH-LIP CH are: there is no more use of *wanka-pachilla* masonry, the masonry is quite regular and made with medium and large sized rocks with clay mortar in between. Large slabs are usually used at the corners of the walls (but not always), Type 7 entrances also seem to be more common during that period in Huaylas (See Tables 5.4 and 5.5 in Appendix C).

Type A tombs in the Conchucos area

In both the Huaylas and Conchucos areas from the Late Intermediate Period onwards, there were two different patterns with the main mortuary tradition. In the Conchucos area, Type A tombs also seem to be the more commonly used type in the region at that time. However, specific types of Type A tombs can be observed from

¹¹¹ The LIP Type A tombs, especially visible in Conchucos will be developed later in this chapter.

LIP onwards. From the analysis of this database, it has been possible to define three different styles of Type A tombs used from the LIP onwards in the Conchucos area.

LIP-TYPA-CC1:¹¹² The first type is characterised by small-medium sized, above-ground structures, of quadrangular groundplan. They have one entrance, and one chamber and a gable roof made with superimposed flat slabs (protruding) and made using a false vault roof technique. There is no presence of a platform. The masonry is regular and mainly made with medium and large sized rocks and clay mortar. The rocks are quite rectangular and elongated and are superimposed over one another, but without putting any small rocks in between. Usually large rocks are used to define the entrance and sometimes, they are also used at the corners of the tomb. Some of them are more elaborate than others. (Marcajirca, Gantu, Ñawpamarca de Huamantanga, Rapayán Type A chullpa, Yuying, Wata, Tactabamba II).

LIP-TYPA-CC2: The second type is similar to LIP-TYPA-CC1 but they are multi-storey buildings with protruding slabs defining each level. There is usually one entrance for each level on the frontal façade of the building. (Wata, Gantumarca, Chucumán, Aypur, Porvenir, Tactabamba I).

LIP-TYPA-CC3: The third type is a multi-storey building with gable roof and protruding slabs. There is a better finish to the masonry and choice of rocks. The entrance is small and in the middle of the first level. There are no big rocks to define the entrance (Casa Blanca #34).

These three types are the main representative ones of the Late Intermediate Period Type A tombs are found in the area of Conchucos and that are included in this database. LIP-TYPA-CC2 and LIP-TYPA-CC3 are only evident on sites situated in the eastern part of the Conchucos area. This analysis helps to classify sites with no dating information or cultural affiliation such as: Casa Blanca, Gantumarca, Chucumán, Yuying, Aypur, Porvenir and Ishkepunku. Future research will help to complete this first classification in more detail.

Other Types of tomb used during the LIP onwards

Many sites occupied from the Late Intermediate Period onwards also have other types of tombs used such as Type B, Type C and Type D1 tombs. Underground tombs (Type B3-B4 and Type D1) were still in use in later periods and did not disappear with the emergence of the above-ground structure (Type A). Type

¹¹² LIP= Late Intermediate Period, TYPA = Type A tomb, CC= Conchucos area.

B were really popular in Spanish colonial testimonies to define the tombs used by Andean populations before the Spanish arrival (See also 5.3.1 of this chapter and Chapter 6). It seems that these other types of tomb were common in the Cordillera Negra during the LIP and onwards compared to the traditional Type A tombs common in the Cordillera Blanca and the Conchucos area. However, all of them are evident throughout the region (See Table 5.6 in Appendix C).

Type D are underground tombs, with no visible above-ground marker (that we can see nowadays) (such as Type B3 and B4). Thus Type D1 tombs can usually be associated with Early Period type tombs. However, this study shows that on the contrary, the emergence of above-ground tombs did not abolish the use of underground ones, and that they had been used quite often in the Callejón de Huaylas and Cordillera Negra during the Late Intermediate Period (La Pampa, Queushu, Kipia, Atunhirka, Putaqaqa, Kakacucho, Paucarmás). Such continuity of use might represent two patterns, one that the reuse of previous practices and tombs was a way to continue this relationship with the sacred landscape and reappropriating it by constructing new tombs on the same sector. Secondly the use of different types of tomb in the same area could reveal the necessity to socially distinguish some dead from others or to adapt their customs toward changes brought about by an external agent. However, Type D1 is the most common underground tomb used during the Late Intermediate Period and later.

LIP-TYPD-1: These are circular underground tombs. A large pit is made, which can be reinforced with large rocks or slabs on its margin and bottom part. Then small rocks can be piled up on the edges. Finally the grave is covered with large flat slabs overlapping each other.

As for any type of tomb in this research, the state of preservation of the sites and/or tombs varies. During the survey made for this research Type D1 were only recognised as excavated pits, usually the rocks or slabs were not visible anymore (Figs. 5.12 and 5.34).

Type C: These appear at sites occupied from EIP to LIP onwards in Ancash, and on LIP onwards sites in Conchucos. I would suggest that this type of tomb, like the LIP-MH-TYPA-CH, also appeared during the transition period at the end of Middle Horizon and the beginning of the Late Intermediate Period. Indeed, the masonry of the tombs is usually more similar to LIP type of structures than MH ones. It could be a most sophisticated version of a Type B tomb, which sometimes had a

small wall in front of its entrance during the Middle Horizon. The presence of Type C tombs at the site of Ishkepunku, would suggest at least a Late MH- LIP use of the site.

Finally, the material found at the different sites of this database clearly proves the use of Type A, B, C or D tombs until the Inca (Ishla Ranra, Marcajirca, Pueblo Viejo, Rapayán, Cj-3, Gallaparna, Kipia, La Pampa) and Spanish Colonial Period (Ishla Ranra, Marcajirca, Pueblo Viejo, Rapayán, Kipia) throughout the Ancash highlands (see Appendix D).

It should be remembered from Chapter 2, that the Ancash highlands were not an easy region to conquer, even during the Inca expansion of its Empire (late inclusion of Conchucos area ca. AD 1465). This analysis tends to agree with this observation. Even though the Ancash highlands were conquered twice over a century (by the Incas and the Spanish), mortuary practices were a difficult aspect to change of the populations who lived in the area. There are few funerary architectural innovations that can be definitively associated with Inca influence, or that suggest major changes in practices.

However, the regional difference that can be observed in the types of tomb used from the LIP onwards might reflect a different impact of these colonisations over the populations living in different areas. The fact that a greater use of Type A tombs can be observed in Conchucos during LIP onwards, compared to Huaylas, might be due to the fact that the Conchucos area is a more difficult area to access compared to Huaylas, and a more rebellious one. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the configuration of the Callejón de Huaylas between the Cordillera Negra and Blanca favours the access to it, compared to the Conchucos area. Lau (2005) mentions the core-periphery interactions between the people living in Chinchawas and Huaraz during the Wari expansion (around 9th century AD) in the Huaylas area. The Callejón de Huaylas was considered to be a cultural and economic centre of interaction (Lau 2005: 95). Moreover, the general geographical characteristics of the Conchucos area do not permit an extensive development of extended urban centres, in contrast to Huaylas. The main Spanish Colonial cities of the Ancash highlands are also situated in the Callejón de Huaylas (to name a few Huaraz, Caraz, Yungay, Recuay). For these reasons, it seems that the *Qhapaq Ñan* situated in the Callejón de Huaylas was used more than the one in Conchucos (Ccente and Román 2006: 89; Rodolfi, León Gómez and Villanueva Delgado 1995).

The analysis completed in this thesis tends to corroborate this argument. The majority of the sites, and many places of idolatries recorded during Early Colonial times show native practices were still common during the 17th-18th centuries. It is impossible to say for certain, but above-ground tombs, such as Type A or Type B, may have continued to be used because of less Spanish surveillance in the Conchucos region, due to the isolated position of their sites. This highlights that the Spanish repression against idolatries probably touched the Huaylas area first before getting to Conchucos.

Nevertheless, the whole Ancash highlands were an important economical source for the Spanish Crown (see Chapter 2), thus the new standard organisation arrived quickly in the area, populations were reduced and this impacted on the mortuary customs of the people living there (Diessl 2004, León Gómez 2003). They could not put their dead in Type A tombs anymore and so tried to bury them in more hidden places such as Type B or Type D tombs (See Chapters 6 and 7).¹¹³

Spanish colonial representation of mortuary practices

One of the most concrete examples in this dataset, and the only site with a clear Spanish colonial representation of mortuary practices in the highlands of Ancash, is the site of Kipia in the Cordillera Negra. Kipia is situated on the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra, Pamparomas district. The C¹⁴ date of the site shows an occupation from the Prehispanic period to colonial times, which overlaps with the two colonial occupations of the site for the local populations; the first by the Incas and the second by the Spanish. From a study of the general characteristics of the tombs on the occidental side of the Cordillera Negra, fairly similar numbers of examples of three tombs types are evident: Type D1 (n=67), Type A (n=61) and Type B (n=67). However, for the Prehispanic tombs around Kipia, there was a preference for using mostly Type D1 (n=37) and Type B3 and B4 (n=5). There are no known Type A structures in this sector. In other areas of the Ancash highlands, Type A tombs were more commonly used during the Inca period. The fact that no Type A tombs were constructed during the Inca occupation of the site induced no

¹¹³ It is not known at the moment if the increased mortality rates due to new diseases brought with the European colonisation had an impact in the form and number of tombs in the Ancash highlands. Cook (1981) did a study on the demographic collapse in Peru with Spanish colonisation. This study reveals that the Huaraz-Conchucos area (important mining area) had a small percentage of males due to emigration or high masculine mortality. However the population did not decline at a different rate from other areas of the north highland region (1,9% per year) (Cook 1981: 183).

architectural evidence of changes to mortuary practices or a reuse of the tombs used before the Inca colonisation. This example shows again that, during Inca rule of the region, changes in mortuary practices in that part of the Empire was not the major element in their colonial strategy. Compared to the southern region of the Inca Empire, near the capital, where a specific Type A tomb was used during the Late Horizon with Inca features (Isbell 1997; Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005), in the Ancash highlands Inca features were not common in Type A tombs.¹¹⁴

Regarding the impact of the Spanish colonisation on the site of Kipia, the interesting element to point out is the case of the chapel dedicated to Santiago. It was excavated for two reasons (Lane and Luján 2009); firstly, it must be mentioned that the chapel is situated on the same platform of a Huaylas/Inca *huanca* (See Figs. 5.72, 5.73 and 5.74).

Huancas were associated with the protective ancestors. In documents written by the Spanish during their fight against idolatries (1660), the *huancas* were defined as the stone representation/or double of the major mummies/ancestors of a community (Duviols 1979: 8). Here, the stone seems to represent the landscape in the background of the site. Thus it is clear that the construction of that Christian religious monument was an appropriation by the Spanish of the religious sacred landscape (as was previously seen for the *apu* Llamoc next to Marcajirca site). The explicit association of the old public ritual space with the new one, was part of the Spanish evangelisation strategy. Moreover, numerous Spanish colonial documents mention the necessary appropriation of the religious landscape over local populations, in order to convert and evangelise them more quickly (see Chapter 5). This is not a unique example. There are other archaeological sites with such characteristics in Peru. Wernke (2003) in his thesis on Late Prehispanic and Early Colonial Colca Valley also argues the fact that colonial chapels (similar in construction and orientation to the one in Kipia) are situated near to Inka *kallanka* structures and their associated plazas (see also Mantha 2004).

Very few colonial burials studied archaeologically have been published in the Central Andes of Ancash. However, different colonial burials have been excavated and studied in the Lambayeque region on the North Coast of Peru. All of them were

¹¹⁴ Cut-stone masonry tombs were used to bury the elite. Usually high quadrangular or circular towers (See Kesseli and Pärssinen, 2005). The influence of the Incas in the Ancash region will be discussed in Chapter 7.

found under ancient chapels in the region mentioned in historical documents (Klaus 2008, 2011). This brings us to the second interesting aspect of Kipia site.

During the excavation of the chapel's floor two empty burials were discovered. These two Christian types of tomb are rectangular with rounded corners: a small one (Tomb 1: 0.80m long, 0.40m wide and 0.30m deep) parallel to the altar; and a bigger one (Tomb 2: 1.38m long and 0.65m wide), perpendicular to it, in the centre of the chapel (Figs. 5.75, 5.76, 5.77, 5.78 and 5.79).

Both of them had small flat stones on their extremities. According to the excavation report (Lane 2008), it seems that the burials were made at the same time as the construction of the chapel, and had never been disturbed or used after that. It is possible that the site was abandoned before their use. There is also a small cut on the north-east side of the bigger tomb, which might have been done in order to bring offerings to the deceased (See Fig. 5.75). This type of offering pit is not usually found for European Christian burials (the Church being against the use of any type of offerings in tombs, see Chapter 3) and this would be an element of transition between Prehispanic customs and the new colonial tradition. Their small sizes suggest that they were made for small people (Tomb 1 next to the altar could have only be used to bury a child) or to put someone in a foetal position (Lane 2009). The next chapter will highlight that one of the characteristics of graves in chapels or churches of the early colonial Period is, that they have to be positioned next to the altar. Religious texts of 13th century Christian Europe also specify that the way to be buried is to be in an extended position and have the head on the west side and the feet on the east side. Over many years, archaeologists studying Christian burials used this pattern as a fact; nevertheless, it cannot be used as a generality. Despite the fact that numerous Christian cemeteries in Medieval Europe followed the west/east orientation there was also an obvious change towards the south-west/north-east orientation. This gap to the south for the tombs orientated west/east could be an orientation to the sunrise (see Chapter 3, the topic about burials in Christian Medieval Europe). In the case of Kipia, Tomb 1 is orientated north-east/south-west and Tomb 2: south-west/north-east. Colonial burials found in Mórrope were also aligned on a north-south axis, following Prehispanic traditions (Klaus 2008: 7). My analysis of Late Prehispanic sites also tends to show a northern orientation of the tombs. It seems that the Early/Middle Colonial Period occupation of this site represented a period of hybridization of burial patterns. Spanish Colonialism was the

obligatory acceptance of new funerary behaviours but with an inside interest to conserve culture and identity. Chapter 7 will discuss how mortuary practices were a key element in cultural contact during Spanish colonialism.

Thus in Kipia, even when the Inca occupation was followed by a Spanish one; there is no external influence on the local mortuary practices of the area. This might be due to the small size and short-term use of the site. The repression of ‘pagan’ mortuary habits might have been more important during the abandonment of the site, and during the reduction of the population in the new village, where a church and cemetery were constructed. Ethnohistorical documents would be valuable sources of information to complete this hypothesis. However, during my fieldwork I have not been able to find any documents related to that specific area, but talking with people from the actual village of Pamparomas revealed that such documents existed, have been seen by villagers, but are missing today.

Finally I want to mention the recent excavations (April 2013) made in the Colonial Church of San Francisco de Mangas (Bolognesi, Ancash) by Jeisen Navarro Vega and Luis Burgos Chávez (Fig. 5.80).¹¹⁵ The building is another testimony of the transitional process between Prehispanic architecture and Spanish colonial architecture. The Franciscans constructed the church at the end of the 16th, beginning of the 17th century. It is the only Colonial church, which remained with a roof made of straw until the 1970 (Robles Mendoza 2006: 126).¹¹⁶ Ethnohistorical documents (17th century) mention the existence of a mythical ancestor (*Anca Yacalhua*) kept as a *mallqui* and buried outside the bell tower of the community (Rojas Ruciman 2006: 17). The excavation in different areas of the church (next to the western entrance, principal entrance and adjacent to the altar) revealed the use of the church as a cemetery (Burgos and Navarro 2013: 36). At least 20 burials were found from the test pits (Figs. 5.81, 5.82 and 5.83). The graves of Mangas’ church share numerous similarities with the burials found in the chapel of Kipia. In both cases the bodies are oriented with the head situated on the southern side and feet on the northern side. As mentioned previously, such patterns are also visible in other early/middle colonial sites suggesting a combination of Prehispanic traditions with the adoption of new ones. The bodies of adults and children were also placed in

¹¹⁵ For more information about Colonial Mangas see Burga 1988, Robles Mendoza 2006, Rojas Ruciman 2010.

¹¹⁶ About the traditional fiesta of the Church roof renovation (*Fiesta de los mashas y lumsuyes*) see Burga 1988, Robles Mendoza 2006, and Rojas Ruciman 2010.

extended positions in grave cuts. In his study of European medieval burials, Williams (2003: 243) suggests the graves ‘were fully incorporated into the fabric and space of the church rather than retaining an independent integrity, transforming the social person and fixing it in relation to an holy place.’ In the majority of the cases such as those in Kipia, the bodies were placed directly inside the graves (only two wood coffins were found) (Figs. 5.82 and 5.83). There is no evidence of any offerings related to these burials. Previous construction works carried out next to the church on the west side revealed a great quantity of human bones, which could suggest the presence of an ossuary. Some of the interments in Mangas were disturbed which indicates the use of the church in the *longue durée*. Nevertheless, different documents (1604, 1662, 1663) kept in the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima mention that people were still venerating their dead; they continued to pray for the fertility of the land and were practising disinterment.¹¹⁷

5.4 Conclusions

In conclusion, this chapter has reported on a compilation of over 900 tombs and a new typology of tombs in the Ancash highlands. It describes a regional tradition with different patterns of formal constructions, which vary according to the area or the period of occupation. Type A tombs are most common and show diachronic evolution, reflecting a possible Ancash identity. The analysis elucidates mortuary practices from the Late Intermediate Period onwards. Type A tombs are not always common everywhere in the region during the Late Intermediate Period, as previously argued.

The formal analysis of Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands highlights different arguments. It seems to me that there is a change in mortuary practices between the use of the first Type A tombs (Early Intermediate Period and Middle Horizon) and the later ones (Late Intermediate Period onwards). Early Type A tombs tended to be larger, close to settlements and more open to physical interaction between the living and the dead. Middle Horizon tombs are characterised with their multi-storey structure, chambers and entrances. They allow the community to enter

¹¹⁷ Idolatrías e hechicerías: AAL, Leg. 1: 14, 1604; AAL, Leg. V: 2, 1662; AAL, Leg. V: 1, 1663. The *ayllus* of Nanis and Chamas left the *reducción* to get back to their old villages where they had their idols and *mallquis*. ‘(...) y saco los guesos hasia sus sacrificios de cuyes y chicha y coca disiendo Auca Atama resibi esta ofrenda que te damos y oidnos lo que te pedimos que era para que le diese salut y aumentos de cha[ca]ras (...) quando mochauan sus malquis por auer dejadoselos los dichos malquis para el aumentos de papas mais coca ocas cuyes y carnero de la tiera (...)’ (AAL, Leg. V: 1, 1663 in Duviols 2003).

into the tomb, and physically interact with the ancestors, through ceremonies and offerings. Such tombs like the one in Wilkawain even allow the person to stand inside the tomb. The presence of different entrances leading to different chambers could also be evidence of different *ayllus* related through their founders' kinship shared the tomb. Smaller Type A tombs with multi-chambers or large enough to be able to move into, also suggest this physical relationship. Lau (2011, 2012) describes the experience of crouching to get in, and not being able to stand in the darkness of the tomb, as a way to be closer to the ancestors, and it reflects an interest in regeneration as a cyclical process.

It seems that Late Intermediate Period Type A tombs, from their formal characteristics, did not have the same function. In the case of the Conchucos area, the site of Marcajirca for example, has small sized Type A tombs with a small entrance, which suggests a more restricted access to them. The living were then not communicating physically by entering into the tomb, but through offerings left in the entrance or through a religious member during specific ceremonies, it became an external contact rather than internal one. At the site of Rapayán, such ceremonies could have consisted of removing the mummy bundle and taking it to the multi-storey buildings situated next to a communal plaza, in order for the community to practice specific rituals (including music, food, drinks and other offerings to the ancestors). The close location of the mortuary sector to residential sectors in the Conchucos area could emphasise the strong link between the community and the dead through its mortuary monuments. Due to the possible violent climate in the area during that period, mortuary monuments were probably used as geographical markers in the landscape, defining boundaries (See Mantha 2004, 2009, 2010; Ibarra 2013). The ancestors were used as protectors of the community. Even though Late Intermediate Period sites in the Huaylas area are not situated close to settlements, there is also a strong relationship between the dead and the landscape. The orientation of LIP type A tombs in both Huaylas and Conchucos, towards features of the landscape, suggests that the ancestors had an important role in providing protection and vital resources to the populations, more significantly where such resources are rare, like water in the Cordillera Negra. It seems that the physical relationship between the dead and the living evident during the earlier period, became more related to the interaction between the living, the dead and the landscape

in later times, with a more restricted access to Type A tombs (by their size or location, away from settlements).

Finally, this analysis improved understanding of the two processes of colonialism (Inca and Spanish) of the area and their impact on the mortuary practices of local populations. The Ancash highlands were difficult to conquer for the Incas. Even though the Inca presence is evident in the area (Inca road system, regional centres, presence of material culture) mortuary practices do not seem to have been an essential element of their conquest. There are few visible traits of the Inca influence on mortuary practices (some Inca ceramics found in tombs). Type A tombs, which are also common in the south of the Empire, do not seem to have had any formal change in their architecture. Type A tombs were usually used in the southern part of the Empire to bury the elite, or the local elite of conquered populations (D'Altroy 2002, Hyslop 1990, Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005). This is not a characteristic of the Ancash highlands. This analysis shows that there was little social inequality during Ancash late Prehispanic periods (Herrera 2006, Ibarra 2003, Mantha 2009). On the contrary, it is possible that this acceptance of customs was a way to have more influence on other changes imposed on to the way of life of local people. It seems that Ancash was mainly ruled indirectly by the Incas through regional centres, and thus had less impact on the internal lands of the region (Herrera 2006, Mantha 2004). Furthermore, as the people sent into the region from Cuzco were only sent there for a short time, there was no necessity to construct new tombs or cemeteries in Inca provincial centres. Thus it was usual to send the body of the dead back to his homeland to be buried with his own ancestors (D'Altroy 2002, Morris 1972).

Based on the evidence, I believe it is possible to suggest that one impact of the Spanish colonisation on the area occurred in two main patterns, a fast repression mainly in the Callejón de Huaylas, and a slower one in the Conchucos area. The presence and use of Type A tombs in the Conchucos area suggest that the populations were still able to use the tombs despite the early Spanish colonial rule, mainly because the sites in Conchucos area were difficult to access for the Spanish. In Huaylas it seems that the rapid reduction of the populations into new settlements tended to oblige people to follow their mortuary practices with tombs that were less visible than Type A tombs. The archaeological evidence provided by colonial burials of the area appears to indicate that there is an adoption of new mortuary practices that incorporate some Prehispanic burial patterns. In order to complete this

archaeological and statistical analysis, the next chapter will discuss how historical documents can help with the interpretation of mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands with the Spanish colonisation.

VI

Ethnohistorical Analysis of Funerary Practices in the North-Central Andes

As mentioned in the previous chapters, ethnohistorical documents from the 16th-17th centuries are one of the most important sources to help our understanding of the funerary practices and customs of the Inca Empire and of the regional customs practiced during the colonisation and evangelisation of the Andes. Nevertheless, during fieldwork in the different archives in Spain and Peru, I was confronted with two different problems, which made me reconsider how my research should be organised. Firstly, the evangelisation of the Andes has been a long process divided into two different periods. During the first period, which was considered to be a 'pacific' one, the Catholic faith wanted to bring a religious continuity to the Andean populations to make them understand and replace their customs (Estenssoro 2003). At that time, it was not a question of completely eradicating the old rites, customs or beliefs of the populations, but more looking for a possible compatibility between both traditions. However, there is a lack of ethnohistorical documents from that period (beginning of the 16th century), the majority of the pertinent archives start with the changes in the Church plans and organisation for the New World. Indeed, with the Trent Council (around 1560), the viceroyalty of Toledo (1570) and the arrival of the Jesuits in Peru, repression and destruction of all forms of any continuity of the old traditions or idolatry became the main focus. By the end of the 16th century, the evangelisation was uniform across the country, and the three campaigns of the so-called Extirpation of Idolatries were the ultimate step in the long process of the eradication of the old beliefs and customs. These changes and difficulties (described in detail in Chapter 3) were found in various documents in the Archives. Those most studied by scholars are the Process and Visits of Extirpation of Idolatries and Witchcraft (*Sección Idolatrias e Hechicerias*) kept at the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL). These have mainly been transcribed and published, the well-researched book of Pierre Duviols: *Procesos y Visitas de Idolatrías. Cajatambo, siglo XVII* (2003), being the key reference on the subject.

This research will focus only on funerary practices in the North-Central Andes. Mortuary practices are not specifically mentioned in the documents as a

theme. However, they can be observed in different ways as they form a central part in the idolatries and old customs practiced by the Andean populations, death being at the centre of their lives (DeLeonardis and Lau 2004; Salomon 1995; Kaulicke 2000, 2001; Lau 2012). The PhD thesis of Mary Eileen Doyle (1988) or the last book of Gabriela Ramos (2010), are two major pieces of research which have looked at this theme in the Peruvian Andes. The first one mainly used the documents from the Visits of Idolatries kept at the AAL and Gabriela Ramos' analysis only focuses on the *protocolos notariales* (notarial protocols) or wills of the cities of Lima and Cuzco. The other group of documents used in this thesis is the *Cartas Annuas* (Annual letters) of the Jesuits who visited the region. These have been recompiled in Mario Polia's book (1999). Due to the sensitive nature of the topic and the quality of documents already published on the subject, it is outside the scope of this study to present a new concept or idea on evangelisation or idolatries. The aim of this chapter is to present different documents that can help us to get a better understanding of the changes in customs of the populations living in the North-Central Andes of Peru, and more particularly, study what happened with the possible continuity of mortuary practices in a society under pressure from an external agent. This study is made in order to help to fill a gap in the knowledge of what happened in the Ancash region during the Spanish Colonial Period. To do so, this chapter is divided into three different topics. The first concerns the question of the relationship between Death and the fight against idolatries in Peru. Then we will see how the cost of burial in the Catholic religion is visible in Ancash and how this created a disruption in the evangelisation process of the area, and finally we will observe the role played by words in the evangelisation and integration of new mortuary practices and concepts.

During the Spanish Colonial Period, the region was religiously part of the Archbishopric of Lima (Fig. 3.2), but politically it was divided between two jurisdictions: Lima (for Huaylas) and Huánuco (for Conchucos, Huaraz) (Figs. 2.2 and 2.3). For this reason it will be mentioned throughout this thesis documents from nowadays Huánuco and Cajatambo regions, as they were part of the colonial area where Ancash would have been.

The documents mentioned here are either already published by chroniclers (Alvarez 1588, Arriaga 1621, De Villagómez 1649, Cobo 1653, Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615) or scholars (Duviols 2003, Doyle 1988, Polia 1999, Ramos 2010, Zuidema 1978) or were collected by me during my fieldwork from four different

archives. At the beginning of this thesis five different archives were chosen: the Archivo General de las Indias (AGI) in Seville, the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL), the Archivo General de la Nación (AGN) in Lima, the Archivo Arzobispal de Huacho (AAH) and the Archivo Arzobispal de Huaraz. Due to the limited amount of time for each visit, the archives in Huanuco were excluded. However, research made by others scholars (Venturoli 2011) reveals that there are interesting documents about the Conchucos area in this archive. Unfortunately the Archivo Arzobispal de Huaraz was not yet open to the public during this fieldwork. However, it will be one of a main archive to study in future research in order to complete the information collected for this thesis. It would also be useful to do a similar study to that Gabriela Ramos did for Lima and Cuzco, evaluating the wills of the Ancash region.

Mortuary Practices in ethnohistorical documents

6.1. Death and idolatries

6.1.1 Death in the Evangelisation of the Andes

The socio-political and economic situation of Castile before the conquest of the Americas played a key role in shaping the nature of the Iberian expansion (Andrien and Adorno 1991: 2).¹¹⁸ As Phillips Jr. and Phillips (1991) argued, the experience of reconquest that the Spanish had to fight for during the Middle Ages shaped different Christian notions about the conquest of alien people. This experience made them understand that such phenomena can generate wealth and, as importantly, the security, survival and defence of Christian society and faith (Phillips Jr. and Phillips 1991: 15). In this sense, the Spanish and the Catholic Church did not have to deal with the eradication of heathen customs when they arrived in the Americas. Spain had lived with the fear of contagion from Jewish or Muslim influences for over seven centuries before the conquest of the Americas.

In Europe at that time death was a central part of the Catholic faith.¹¹⁹ However, pagan influences on death, funerals and mourning gestures were visible in 15th-16th century Spain. The study made by Eire (1995) in Madrid reveals that some non-intercessory gestures such as, mourners' crying, wearing mourning clothes,

¹¹⁸There was not one unique 'kingdom of Spain' in the 15th-16th centuries and the conquest of the Americas became a possession of the kingdom of Castile (Phillips, Jr and Philips 1991: 13).

¹¹⁹ See Chapter 3.

burning candles were considered to be imitating heathen rites, and betraying the Christian faith.¹²⁰ The different synods on the subject (some over a century and a half later) reveal the disobediences of these restrictions, and the gap between the official measures ordered by the Church and the Crown and actual popular practices (Eire 1995: 151-152). In the Catholic faith, death was not to be grieved because any good Christian who believed in the Resurrection should be hopeful about the afterlife (Eire 1995: 167). In that sense the problem of the continuity of previous customs in burial rites was not a new and unique case between the Spanish and Andean people. On the contrary, the Catholic Church knew the difficulties, problems and limitations that they could face during the conquest of alien people, and how they should eradicate their previous practices.¹²¹

In the case of the Andes, if we look at the evolution of change in mortuary practices, we observe that death and mortuary practices quickly became of key interest for the Church and the Crown. For the Church it was the religious conversion of those invaded and for the Crown it was a way to make more profit (Duviols 2008). At the beginning of the conquest, the Spanish were looking for treasures and looting ancestors' tombs, and the thirst for gold inspired them as they 'burned the living and dug up the dead' (Lissón 1943, I: no. 3, 63 in Ramos 2010: 63; Cobo 1653: 251). So as Ramos (2010) wisely asked: 'How could the Andeans maintain some control over the sacred? And how could the Spaniards appropriate it?' The conquest of death and the adoption of new customs concerning death were crucial for the Spanish missionary project (Ramos 2010: 61). It was Fray Domingo Santo Tomás who first wrote to the King in 1540 explaining that Lima's Indians were dying without appropriate burials (Ramos 2010: 133). Three documents (one non-dated, one 1541 and another 1571) in the AGI, also mentioned Prehispanic burial of dead bodies and idolatries in the Andes.¹²² In 1545, the Archbishop of Lima Jerónimo de Loayza wrote that tombs and *guacas* should be searched for, destroyed and consecrated to the new faith (Ramos 2010:66).

In order to help with the evangelisation, council documents were created in order to give guidelines for the conversion of native populations. They paid

¹²⁰ These gestures 'were only invented as signs of grief by people who did not believe in the resurrection, but instead believed the soul died with the body' (Eire 1995: 153).

¹²¹ The Castilian conquest of the Canary Islands set many patterns in the mode of conquest, colonisation, evangelisation and economic organisation of the Spanish (Gosden 2004, Phillips Jr. and Phillips 1991: 33).

¹²² Patronato, 192, N.2, R.14; Lima, 566, L.4, F.268/28-10-1541/Real Cedúla and AHN/Diversos, 25, Doc.10/06-1571-08-1571.

particular attention to the relationship between Andean societies, their ancestors, death and mortuary customs. Different elements were considered, more information was gathered on the question of the tombs and Prehispanic rituals, explaining the importance of the body and the individual in the Christian faith in order to eradicate the old customs (Ramos 2010: 62).

The instruction of Loayza continued with the First Council of Lima in 1551, with the destruction of old places of ‘superstitions’ to keep the new converted Indians away from the old customs. This document also stipulated that Indians should be buried in the floors of their churches and that old graves should be abolished (Gose 2008: 124). In the case of disinterment, the bodies should be incinerated (Ramos 2010: 67). It also mentioned that mourning was not allowed for more than a day and that they had to make sure of the identity of the deceased by uncovering the face. This was done to ensure that they did not practice the *pacaricuc* rite or disinterment (Ramos 2010: 79).¹²³ One of the main problems that the Church had with mortuary practices in Spain was in relation to non-intercessory gesturing at times of mourning.

In contrast to the First Council, the Second Council of Lima in 1567, Constitution 113 agreed with the ideas of Las Casas on the inviolability of local population’s graves, even if they were those of unbelievers. However, this was rarely complied with, and Juan de Matienzo was one of the detractors (Ramos 2010: 67). Moreover, this Second Council explained how priests should attend the dying, mentioning the difficulties that they may have. Parish priests should not allow anyone to put cooked food on the tombs, to avoid encouraging the idea of feeding the dead.¹²⁴ A decree was made around that date in order to allow only wax, wine and bread on tombs during the feast days of the living and dead. Duviols saw this as an attempt at religious intentions transfer (Duviols 2008: 119).¹²⁵ This was possibly done to comply with the Catholic faith but also in order to attract more new Christians to this faith.

The Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, was committed to destroying the pagan tombs in order to erase idolatries, and also in order to bring more money into the

¹²³ See further information on this point in 5.2.1 of this chapter.

¹²⁴ See further information in Chapter 3.

¹²⁵ By ‘religious intentions transfer’ Duviols explained the Church strategy. It is no longer a question of bringing the food to the dead to feed him, but to celebrate the Body of Christ and resurrection. There is a transfer of the same religious practice but with another function and meaning given to it.

Royal Treasury (Ramos 2010: 69).¹²⁶ The *reducción* system created by Toledo in 1570 implies that burials were church burials. Gose underlines the fact that church burials were supposed to be the norm, as by their cost, they consolidated the importance of the church. There are some reports that also show the occasional existence of outdoor graveyards in some Andean villages (see Gose 2003: 153 and 2008: 139), perhaps, this difference was made in order to differentiate the new Christians from the unbelievers, but also probably to divide the poor from the rich. This organisation can be seen in a 1799 plan of the Church of San Juan de Cochabamba, in Ancash (AAL, Leg. 3, Exp. 36.). Even if this drawing represents the Church at a later period from the Toledo one, we can clearly observe two areas of burials. One was located at the entrance of the church and probably inside called *cementerio*, and one outside called *Campo Santo* with an ossuary next to it (See Fig. 6.1). The excavation made in the church of San Francisco de Mangas also revealed the presence of burials at the entrance as well as inside the church, and the presence of an ossuary next to the church (see Chapter 5).

An undated document (AGI, Patronato, 171, N.2, R.11) from Isidro Sanchez de la Mota, defined the reform of the indios' customs in order to put them into practice in all regions of Peru. Even though this document is undated, it seems to suggest it was written after the Toledo reforms on idolatries but during his viceroyalty. Sanchez de la Mota presented the problems found in the *doctrinas* and how to remedy them (for example, indoctrinate children so that they grow up with the Christian faith). The text presents two behaviours happening with mortuary practices. One where Indians buried their people in *guacas*, and another specifying that they also started to bury their dead in the Church. However, the manner of Church burials was criticised by Sanchez de la Mota. It seems that mortuary rites were not done strictly according to the Catholic faith if the priest was not there and some pagan customs were still followed which were considered proof of damage, idolatry and sin among the Andean people. He complained that they did not give last sacraments, ring the bells and that they treated the body of the dead like a dead horse.

¹²⁶ On their arrival the Spaniards discovered that the mummies of the Incas were buried with jewels and adornments. From this, destroying pagan tombs became a pretext to search for gold, silver or any other kind of precious materials (Ramos 2010: 62).

(...)Entierranse en sus Guacas que son sepulcros gentilicos y a modo de aquella ley. Y algunas vezes por ausencia del cura los entierran en la yglesia de la misma manera.

Que muchos mueren desesperadamente y los entierran en la yglesia y hazen dezir misas por ellos dizen que mueren de su muerte natural, lo qual hazen por (vida ?) de cumplimiento.

Y otros mueren sin baptismo y muchos sin administrarles los sacramentos, porque el cura no puede acudir a todo, ni le ban a llamar ni dan noticia de la necesidad que dello hay para esto ni otro ningun Sacramento de la yglesia.

Si el cura esta ausente nunca (tanen ? sonar ?) campana para la doctrina xpriana (christiana).

Que los llevan a enterra a la yglesia atados a un palo como llevan un cavallo muero a(p ?)echarlo del pueblo.

Toman la bulla de la sancta cruzada y can a los demas(?) obras del (virtu) contra su voluntad llevandolos por fuera.(...)' (AGI, Patronato, 171, N.2, R.11).

The ordinances of the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo of 6 November 1575 described the proper manner of death and burial.¹²⁷ Dying Indians had to make testaments in the manner of the Spaniards ‘setting aside property not only for their children, but also for pious bequests and suffrage for their souls. Toledo even provided a standardized form for such testaments (Gose 2003: 152). In 1580 he again denounced Andean mortuary idolatries:

(...) these Indians had as a very celebrated religious observance among themselves the adoration of the dead from whom they directly descended, ignoring the first cause of their creation as they did in all their other opinions, and thus they had their tombs by the roads, distant and separated from the towns, and in other places inside of them, and in others in their very houses, for in this they had different customs, and to avoid this said damage, I order and command that each magistrate ensure that in his district all the tower tombs be knocked down, and that a large pit be dug into which all of the bones of those who died as pagans be mixed together, and that special care be taken henceforth to gather the intelligence necessary to discover whether any

¹²⁷ See ordinances XV and XXIX in Appendix A.

of the baptized are buried outside of the church, with the priest and the judge helping each other in such an important matter, and that they take great caution in the doors of the temples since they remove and take them (the baptized dead) from the sepulchres at night when they are authorities and important people for said effect (clandestine burial), and they kill some women and Indian men saying that they will serve them in the other life.’ (Quote taken in Gose 2003: 153).

Finally, in the Third Council of Lima in 1585, more detailed instructions were given in order to convert people to new funerary rites. There was a sermon explaining the extreme unction and two documents were produced, explaining how to die well: a long and detailed one and a smaller one in case of emergency (Ramos 2010: 81).¹²⁸

The problem of disinterment had already been mentioned during the second Council of Lima (1567);¹²⁹ the 1636 Synodal Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Lima reconsidered the problem and asked the curates in charge to punish those guilty of these abuses. Ten years later, the situation had not changed greatly. The edict from the Archbishop Don Pedro de Villagómez on 25 November 1647, commanded the *visitadors* of idolatries to investigate ‘If they have carried, or carry the bodies of deceased Christian Indians to the burial places which they call Machais, where are their Malquis and they have unearthed them from the church by robbing the said bodies of Christian Indians’ (Bandelier 1904: 217).

Thus, the Church had to ensure that the new converted populations behaved as proper Christians. However, various documents reveal the difficulty of the task. Despite the different laws and new organisation (*reducciones* system and three campaigns of idolatries) introduced to move people away from their sacred place thereby erasing the old funerary customs, continuity of the old practices was visible in some areas of the Andes.¹³⁰ In the next section, we will observe the case study of the Ancash region: What are the testimonies on the subject? What can they tell us about mortuary practices in the area?

¹²⁸ Inspired by the *Ars Moriendi*. See chapter 3 and Ramos 2010: 82-83 for more detailed descriptions of these documents. See the *Confesionario para los curas de Indio* of José de Acosta 1583 in Appendix A.

¹²⁹ See also 6.2.1 in this chapter.

¹³⁰ A lot of scholars assume that the campaigns were not over by the 1670s and that they persisted well into the 18th century (Duviols 1972, 2003, 2008; Griffiths 1996; Mills 1997). MacCormack argues that 1660 is a ‘suitable termination date’ (MacCormack 1991).

6.2 Death and idolatries in the Ancash highlands

The previous section highlights that pagan mortuary practices were one of the main idolatrous practices that the Colonial Church was fighting. Not only did Andean people still bury their dead in their ancestors' tombs they also removed those bodies buried inside the Church to re-inter them in the old burials. This was a problem across the whole Viceroyalty (Arriaga 1621: 35, Villagómez 1649: 47). However, because this thesis focuses on the region of Ancash this point will only be discussed in relation to documents associated with this area, with a view to seeing the impact of idolatries in the area, and learning more about Prehispanic mortuary practices, their mortuary monuments and their relationship to their dead. The AGI documents from the Visits against idolatries in the region of Ancash show that there was a substantial problem of continuity of customs and idolatries until at least the 17th century.

The first document (AGI, Lima 328, 1614-1619) was written about the first campaign against idolatries, and presents the region as a main area of continually following pagan customs. The 1614 document, written by the Archbishop Lobo Guerrero, asked Juan Delgado to revisit all the villages visited at the beginning of the campaign in Conchucos and Huaylas, and do whatever he felt necessary to really eradicate the 'pagan' customs. In 1619, the Jesuit Juan Delgado (priest of San Sebastian de Guaraz) was chosen to revisit the region and he went to Huaylas and Conchucos to extirpate the idolatry in the region.¹³¹

However, another document (Lima, 262, N.11/1675) recompiled the information from the priest Bernardo Barreto de Castro, of the reduction of Huaraz called San Sebastian de Guaras (1668). He was a Jesuit, but also worked in Conchucos (1664) and in San Pablo de con tapa(r/v)aco in Guaylas. From this document, it is evident that even though the area had already been inspected at least twice for idolatries, they had to choose another *visitador general* of idolatries in 1673, for a third campaign because there was still a problem of continuity of customs and idolatry in the region of Huaylas. Thus, Barreto de Castro, was sent to the region to re-extirpate idolatry. Indeed, according to the document there were still people in the region who did not fear God and freely practiced idolatries and witchcraft. Orders and guidelines were given to the priests in order to evangelise people properly, and they had to apply these instructions in order to make people see their mistakes and bring them back to the true faith. Each year the senior priest had to send reports of

¹³¹ The main cities mentioned in the documents can be found in Fig. 6.2.

the customs practiced in their *doctrina* to the Archbishop of Lima, for example if the Indians were praying honestly and setting a good example. They also had to punish the Indians for their idolatries and witchcraft, superstitions and drunkenness. They had to send the witches and practitioners of rites to their Provisor who would put them where they could not do harm or influence the other Indians in their villages.¹³²

‘(...) Por quanto se me a dado noticia que en la doctrina de Guaraz y sus anexos ai muchas personas que con poco temor de (Dios) y en menos precio demuestra sancta fee catholica usan de muchos generos de abusos de Idolatrias y supersticiones que desagradan a la divina magestad a que no puedo asistir personalmente como quisiera a la correccion de tales acesos por tanto y para que tengan a castigo combiniente semejantes deh tos rreconociendo las buernas partes calidad y suficiencia del Bachiller Don Bernardo Barreto de Castro curas de la Doctrina de Guaras y concelo del servicio de nuestro señor acudira al rreparo y rremedio de dichas ydolatrias le nombro y elijo por jueez de ella por lo que toca a dicha doctrina de Guaraz (f57) y sus anexos y para que pueda hacer a los que fuexen culpados causas y darles las penas que conforme a los delitos corresponde sustanciando las y sentenciandolas como allar e por derecho y si de sus sentencias o autes se interpusiene apelacion por alguna de las partes para antemi les concedera la apelacion dandoles para ellos el rrecaudo necesario llevando en todo el fin de la enmendade los complices en semejantes delitos y sacarlos de los errores en que viven que para todo ello le cometo mis vévés plenariamente sin limitacion alguna con facultad de servir censura ligar y absolver de ellas y para ynbocar el auxilios del braco seglar si conbienexe nombrar notario ante quien autuar y otros minitros y antes de usar de esta comision ha hacete y haga el juramento de fidelidad acostumbrado.(...)’ (AGI, Lima 262, N.11, 1675).

So it is clear that idolatries in the Ancash region were still a major problem until at least the end of the 17th century. Further analysis of the documents related to mortuary practices and burials in the region raised more questions: What can they tell us about the types of Prehispanic tombs they had in the area? What did they used to do when someone died in the family? What are the visible changes with the

¹³² See sentence of the *Causa de ydolatrias contra los yndios ydolatras echiseros de los aillos de Chamas y Nanis deste pueblo de señor de Mangas* (AAL, Leg. V: 1) in Appendix A.

evangelisation of the population?

6.2.1 Mortuary practices and burials in the Ancash highlands

1. Burials

The most well known documents are mentioned by Pierre Duviols (2003) but I also have been able to study them in the AGI. These document the visits of Bernardo de Noboa in Cajatambo (AGI, Lima 333, 1664/1666) in 1664 and also tell of information presented to him in 1666 by Master Juan Gonzales, curate of San Juan de Pararín and its annexes in the Huaylas province. These are the only known ethnohistorical documents describing, in detail, the Prehispanic tombs in the Cajatambo region in the 17th century.

‘se descubrieron siete machayes de christianos todos los cuerpos reconocidos por sus camachicos padres, matrés hermanos y parientes slapicados de sangre las puertas y piedras con que se cerraban y todos échos de piedra debaxo de piedras muy grandes todas pintadas de almagre offrendados de llamas cuyes callanas de barro en // que quemaban, sebo coca, maiz , cuyes, yncenzio con que los insensaban y otros ocho machayes de cuerpos de Yndios gentiles y tambien esperjados de sangre que parecia hacerle los mismos sacrificios a los mesmos christianos se hallaron mucha criaturas de muy poca hedad y del dicho pueblo por notiçia que tubo (...)y essa era a modo de bobeda echa de piedras.’¹³³ (AGI, Lima 333, 1664).

‘y en medio tres sepulcros pircados con piedras y en el medio abrieron y cauraron y manifestaron al ydolo llamado aucatama que hera vn cuerpo de difunto gentil al qual adorauan los yndios de este aylo ananis por ser su primer progenitor conquistador y fundador de aquel pueblo y en los dos sepulcros que estauan a los dos lados los abrieron y cauraron y manifestaron quatro ydolos malquis llamados porontambo, Cunqueis Cajas, Pariasca, que por dichos ynterpretes dijeron ser hijos del dicho malqui llamado aucatama y a los lados de dichos malquis en vnas bentanillas amodo de Capillitas manifestaron quatro ydolos conopas vno de forma de persona de piedra llamado/(...)’ (AGI, Lima 333, 1666).

¹³³ See entire Lima 333 document in Duviols 2003: 693.

In the 1664 text and other documents of the visits made by Bernardo de Noboa in Cajatambo (Duviols 2003), Prehispanic tombs are called *machayes*, for which there are two different descriptions. Firstly, they are defined as tombs made of small stones under really large stones, all painted with red ochre. In the second description, tombs are made using stones but in vault form.¹³⁴ Finally, the 1666 document describes the three sepulchres with *pirca* (stone wall) and sometimes with openings in the form of small chapels. If we compare these descriptions with the archaeological analysis of the tombs in the Ancash highlands from Chapter 5, we can conclude that, what they called *machayes* would be Type B tombs (TB3 or TB4). However, the first description specifies the use of a construction made of small rocks under large rocks, which would be more like a Type C tomb. It is also interesting to see that the descriptions point out the fact that these tombs are all painted with red ochre. Archaeological surveys (Herrera 2005, Ibarra 2003, Lane 2006) reveal that numerous amounts of Type B/C tombs with traces of red ochre have been found in Ancash. Nevertheless, the two other descriptions of the tombs, seems to associate more with the Type A tombs of this database. Indeed, Type A tombs have false-vault roofs, sometimes niches/openings inside and *pirca* walls, which are characteristic of Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands of LIP onwards. However, if we translate the term '*bóveda*' to cave, then the tomb description would be more similar to a Type C tomb (tomb under natural bedrock but with external wall construction defining the tomb). In his visit to Recuay in 1622, Hernández Príncipe mentioned that he found mummies buried in '*soterrados*' and '*bóveda*'. One of the '*soterrado*' (or underground burials) was described as a round pit where they were hiding their *huacas* during a time of war. This would be the equivalent of Type D1 burial in this database.

(...)Y cabando más un depósito se halló un soterrado a manera de pozo redondo, donde parece escondían las huacas en tiempo de sus antiguas guerras (...).' (Hernández Príncipe 1622 in Duviols 2003: 762).

The visits of Hernández Príncipe to the region also reveals that, with the fear of the extirpation of idolatries people tried to bury the dead in less visible places such as Type B tombs and D graves. This practice also appears to have taken place during Prehispanic conflicts (see previous quote). The documents also show that the tombs

¹³⁴ According to the dictionary definition *bóveda* could also be translated as cave.

and graves were hidden by vegetation and livestock were allowed to graze in the area.

Recuay, Aylo Caquimarca, Huaylas, Cajatambo province

'(...) Los cuales gentiles se hallaron en esta ocasión en soterrados y bóvedas que con mucho secreto se habían hecho de miedo del padre fray Pedro Cano que venía quemando las huacas y de manera que encima destes soterrados pacían las bestias (...)'. (Hernández Príncipe 1622 in Duviols 2003: 761).

Pueblo Viejo de Urcon, Ocros, Cajatambo province

'Todos estos gentiles referidos tronco bizagüelo, agüelos, padres y tíos de los caciques y gobernadores don Pedro Ventura, estaban en el pueblo viejo de Urcon, dentro una fortaleza antigua, en bóvedas y soterrados; tan argamasados y abrojos, que sobre los entierros habían sembrado a sabiendas, que parecía imposible topar con ellos (...)'. (Hernández Príncipe 1621 in Duviols 2003: 735).

These documents confirm the archaeological analysis made in Chapter 5, showing the use of Types A, B, C and D tombs in the Ancash highlands until the Colonial period. Archaeological evidence suggests that the last associated age available for the use of Type A tombs was 1640. In that case this document would push forward the use of Prehispanic tombs in the region until (1666) the late 17th century.

A 1675 document from the last campaign against idolatries of the Jesuits, describes in detail *machayes* and their ancestors in the Province of Ocros, next to the village of San Miguel de Aquia (in the actual Province of Bolognesi in the Conchucos area (see Fig. 6.2)). The particularity of these tombs is that they have several carved Andean symbols of the sun, moon and a 'demon'. Section 6.4 of this Chapter will highlight that, at death, the deceased had to join the *pacarinas* of their ancestors, where the sun and the moon were created. This could suggest that these petroglyphs symbolically represented the land of the dead that the deceased had to reach, linking the tomb, the dead and the *pacarina*.

'(...) Pasamos al Pueblo de San miguel de Aquia, / q. esta fundado en Puna reña, y en sus contornos / hallamos vna cueba sobre simismo Pueblo / donde estaban, vn sol, vna luna, vn Demonio con sus / puntas, vn rostro humano, y una culebra, todo / gravado con propiedad en peña viua. Borrose, / y picose

todo, y en la entrada del Machay, sobre el / mesmos monte q. es muy alto, y aspero se puso vna / Santa Cruz (...).' (Polia 1999: 539 Document 59, Año 1675).

It is interesting to compare this use of these petroglyphs with the study of Rivet (2013) in the North of Argentina. Rivet discovered that the populations of the Atacama area in Argentina used the representation of Christian petroglyphs (crosses and chapels) on the façade of their *chullpas* (Rivet 2013). The most relevant aspect of Rivet's research is that her area of study was not properly evangelised and there were no historical documents found covering the region before the 18th century.

Comparing these two examples show two types of acculturation in mortuary practices are visible. Both of them show Prehispanic tombs still in use until the late colonial period. However, for Ancash the important repression against idolatries seems to have reinforced old practices and rituals, with no signs of Christianisation being added to their old customs, instead it was the Church itself that put crosses on the 'pagan' tombs during its campaigns of repression. In north Argentina, there was an appropriation of the new customs by the populations with a better acculturation and integration of the new faith. This will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 7, especially the different notions of acculturation, syncretism and religious appropriation in the Andes.

2. Mortuary practices: Disinterments and *Pacaricuc* rite

The texts describing Bernardo de Noboa's visits to the tombs also mention the behaviours that people had towards their dead in Ancash area.¹³⁵ The documents reveal that the people in this region still venerated their ancestors in their old tombs, and brought offerings to them such as coca leaves, maize and guinea pigs.¹³⁶ In the 1666 document, for example, the dead bodies are named *malqui* idols, and venerated in order to bring fertility to the maize and potato fields, future money and clothing.¹³⁷ The 1675 document in Ocos, published by Polia, goes further and explains how the

¹³⁵ This includes the villages of Cajatambo. As seen in Chapter 1, Cajatambo and Huaylas were part of the same Jurisdiction. Ancash and Cajatambo are now two different regions, but in past they were part of the same one, and this is the reason why the villages of Cajatambo are included in this thesis.

¹³⁶ See also others for Conchucos: Document 34. Año 1619 in Polia 1999: 440 and for the Cajatambo area: Document 54. Años 1662-63 in Polia 1999: 504.

Lau (2013: 151) suggests that during Spanish colonial period only native animals and products were considered to be appropriate for the ancestors, whereas livestock brought by the Spanish (e.g., pig, chicken, sheep) were prohibited as offerings to the dead.

¹³⁷ Chapter 3 mentions the meaning of *mallqui* and their role for Prehispanic populations. See also AAL, Leg. V: 1 in Duviols 2003 about the offerings to the *mallquis* in Mangas.

mallqui they found was the main ancestor of the community and how they venerated him.

‘manifesto tres sepulcros de piedras como amañera de Bobeda en que estaban tres ydolos malquis llamados //Pisca guara rratas ytalpas que heran cuerpos gentiles y en dicho sepulcro estaban nuebes ydolos conopas quatro de forma y manera de Carneritos de la Sierra para aumentos de Carneros de la Sierra y otro de hechura del namacorca de maiz para el aumento de mais y tres del chura de papas para el aumento de papas y lho larguito llamado guacanqui para tener ventura en tener dineros y bestidos’ (AGI, Lima 333, 1666).

‘(...) En este mesmo monte, bien que a distançia / muy larga, estaba en el coraçon de el en vn / Nicho defendido de la nieue, y del agua, vna ar/maçon entero de alguno a quien miraban como / a su primer Progenitos, y hacedor, proque algunos / destos desdichados, vivian peruisadidos, a que / no desçendian de Adan, sino que cada Ayllo / tubo su primer Padre, de quien proçeden, a quien / llaman camaquen o Mallqui, y a ese adoran, y haçen fiesta pro Corpus, y Pascua de resureçion / todos los años. / Este esqueleto estaba sentado, y con las manos / que descansaban sobre las rodillas, detenia la / cabeça o calabera, estando la mitad de ella / poblada por un lado de cabello, sin que le faltase / diente, ni muela ni coyuntura alguna. A sus / pies tenia sacrificada (entre otras cosas) vna criatura / q. segun pareçio auia poco q. la auian ofreçido, / porque estaba entera, y las telitas dela calabera / muy fescas, y ella ensangrentada, y enlas ençias de / abajo, dos dienteçitos.(...)’ (Polia 1999: 539-540 Document 59, Año 1675).

The 1664 document also points out that, not only did Andean people continue to give offerings to their ancestors, but they also disinterred them in order to put them back in their ‘right’ place for the good of the community. The document reveals that there were only a few bodies buried in the church, and that they had been moved out to the ancestors’ tombs and only put back in the church again for the visit of the extirpator. It was the flexed position of the body characteristics of the Prehispanic mummies’ bundles that proved the transfer of the bodies from one place to another to the priest.

'(...)y avierto la dicha Yglesia del dicho pueblo no se hallaron enterrados mas que quatro cuerpos y esos recononosidos haven los buelto de los machayes en que estaban a las yglesia con las emoitaxas que tenia y tener juntos los pies y las manos con el rostro y esta sentados con que no ocupan yna bara de sepoltura y essa era amodo de bobeda echa de piedras (...) no se hallaron mas de cinco cuerpos que parecieron haverse sacado de los machayes y traydose a la dicha yglesia' (AGI, Lima 333, 1664).

Many testimonies describe this behaviour in the Andes.¹³⁸ The first document mentioning it in the Ancash area was *Num 338. Carta de Fr. Francisco de la Cruz a S.M. que sean castigados los indios y espanoles con arreglo a los delitos que cometieren. Conveniencia de enviar Inquisicion que evite los delitos de idolatria, con mano firme. Que los frailes doctrineros no asistan solos a sus doctrinas, sino con companeros, como esta prevenido. Conveniencia de enviar Teatinos para la conversion por el gran fruto que hacen, etc. 1566- 25 Enero- Los Reyes.* (A de Lima. 313), published by Lissón and Chávez (1943), and also mentioned in Gose (2008). In this text, a parish priest reports of a clandestine disinterment in 1566 in Huaylas. An inspection made a year later (1567) in the northern Peruvian highlands showed that the practice had become widespread (Gose, 2008: 140).

'se descubrio en un valle que llaman de Guailas que avia mas de doscientos sacerdotes dogmatizadores que de secreto tenian a todos los yndios pervertidos aunque estaban bautizados y en peresencia de los frayles se mostravan christianos y sacaban de noche los cuerpos muertos de las yglesias y los llevaban a cuevas o sierras donde tenian sus ydolos y les hallaron mas de dos mill ydolos que tenian escondidos en diversos lugares y hazian sobre esto otras grandes offensas a nuestro señor. Y con se resto publico no se ha hecho otro castigo mas de que los frayles que alli estan los açotaron como por otros defectos lo suelen hazer y de tener en poco estos dehctos y no auer castigado los que se hazen y publican vienen ellos a no tenerlo en nada y a cometerlo muy de ordenario.' (A Lima 313, 25 January 1566).

¹³⁸ Section 6.1 highlights that disinterment was a continuous and difficult problem for the Church to eradicate.

The book of Mario Polia (1999) recompiles some of the Jesuits' *cartas annuas* (annual letters) between 1571 and 1752. In these archival documents, there are descriptions of funerary practices from the 17th century in the Ancash region. It can be observed that, as Gose (2008) suggests, the disinterment practice was widespread and was still common in the 17th century. This can also be seen in the 1664 document of Bernardo de Noboa's visit to the region.

Document 33 is a 1618 report of the visits done by the Jesuits in Huaylas, Conchucos and Cajatambo areas. In the Ocos and Lampas Province in the *Corregimiento* of Cajatambo, people continued to practice their old mortuary customs, despite the fact that the curate tried to eradicate them by burning the bodies of the ancestors of the community.¹³⁹

In this text, the incomprehension for Andean people of the new funerary rites imposed by the church is obvious, and why they decided to go against it. In Chapter 3, the importance of the preservation of the dead body in Prehispanic communities was discussed and it is reinforced by this document, in which it is explained that for them, putting dead bodies under the earth would crush and hurt them, and in that sense their ancestors could not be at peace and be part of the community.¹⁴⁰ In 1618, it was found that 35 *mallquis* and 478 bodies had been taken from church burials to get them back to their Prehispanic tombs (Polia 1999: 427).

' (...)En vna de estas doctrinas auia sacado el cura / muchas Huacas, y cuerpos gentiles, y quemadolos, y los indios fuera de / auer encubierto otros muchos, auian cogido las cenizas, y las adoraban / conla misma veneracion que antes, tienen muy enel alma las tradiciones / de sus biejos, y vna deellas es que los cuerpos delos difuntos, q. estan en la iglesia//(fol.388v) estan atormentados debajo de la tierra, y aesta causa ponen gran solicitud en / hurtalos de ella, y lleballos al lugar de sus Huaca, que llaman zamai huasi, que / quiere dezir lugar de descanso, y es ridiculo lo que eneste genero paso a vna buena / vieja simple con su cura a quien pedia con gran instancia que despues de muerta la llevassen / ala sepultura de sus maiores, y no consintiesse la enterrassen enla iglesia, porque siendo/ tan bieja corria peligro que con la asada, y piso la quebrassen la cabeza, y que le / doleria

¹³⁹ This practice is also mentioned in the Visits of Bernardo de Noboa (AGI, Lima 333, 1664), see later in this section.

¹⁴⁰ This is also argued for others areas of Peru in Doyle's (1988) thesis and the analysis of AAL documents as well as Polia 1999: 125.

mucho, porque no podria sufrir semejantes golpes por su poca fuerza. y por ser esta/ persuacion comun se buscaron y hallaron quatro cientos y setenta y ocho cuerpos de indios / bautizados, que auian hurtado dela iglessia, y lleuado a sus entierros que son vnas /cuevas o bovedas grandes devajo de tierra. Donde los ponen sentados, las rodillas juntas conla voca, y las manos enla mejilla. Alli les offrescen diuersas vezes al / año Coca, que es vna oja de ciertos matorrales quelos indios traen de ordinario chu/pando el sumo, cebo de carneros dela tierra Cuies, y conejos delos indios vollos de / masa de mais chicha, y mas cosas semejantes, que es el ordinario sacrificio, y pre=/guntados, que por que sacan estos cuerpos dizen que por amor, y compacion queles / tienen, y assi vbo iglessia enque no auia quedado cuerpo ninguno (...).’ (Documento 33. 1618 in Polia 1999: 419 and Duviols 2003: 723).

In the same document, but in another part of the Cajatambo area, they faced the same problem of corpse robbery:

‘(...)Prosiguieron su via, y en solo vn / pueblo no de mucha gente toparon cien cuerpo de xp.anos escondidos enuna bobe/da al modo ya se ha dicho, delos quales los 50. eran hurtados de la Yglesia / y los 40. auian escondido sin dar noticia deellos a su cura, ni en su enfermedad, ni en / su muerte. (...) que han sacado son mas de / docientas, y mas de dos mil las conopas, y un numero sin numero de malchis / y cuerpos xp.anos (...).’ (Documento 33. 1618 in Polia 1999: 436).

Document 32, from 1617, is about the visits against idolatries in the *Corregimiento* of Cajatambo and the mission in the Huaylas region. As previously documented, populations of the area continued to worship the *mallquis* and hid the dead bodies to protect them and be able to adore them. In this document we also learn that the visits made in the region seem to have had an impact on other populations in the area.

For example, it seems that when the Jesuits arrived in Pira, it was easier for them to make people talk about their idolatries. According to them, the inhabitants of Pira heard the news of what had happened in Huaras, and thus thought that if they helped them to discover the idols and places of idolatries they would be forgiven easily. In that way the Jesuits discovered that in Pira people were still worshipping

the *mallquis*. The Jesuits decided to take all the mummies and burn them all. As Ramos (2010: 49) suggests, local populations believe that ‘when the bodies are destroyed by fire so are the souls’. It was already known during Inca times that the destruction of the ancestor’s bodies of an enemy community was the worst humiliation that could be committed against a lineage and the honour of the kinship of the group (Ramos 2010: 52). Christianity used that element of punishing the enemies, destroying the most precious link in their community in order to erase all memory of them.¹⁴¹ In that sense, Spaniards thought that with the destruction of the bodies into ashes, they would erase all memory of idolatries worshipped with the dead in the community.

(...) Tambien supimos de vn gran aposento lleno de cuerpos muestos de sus / antespasados, aque pusimos fuego, porque uniuersalm.te adoran los indios a estos, que llaman / malqui. (...) (Polia 1999: 409, Doc 32, 1617).

(...) Todos estos mallquis y huacas y difuntos bautizados se llevaron al pueblo y en una junta de todos los pueblos convecinos, haciéndose un tablado en la plaza y una hoguera a vista, y habiendo predicado y hecho la plática conveniente, se iban echando uno a uno al fuego, y se recogieron las cenizas y echaron ocultamente con las huacas quemadas desmenuzadas, sin que los indios lo viesan. (Hernández Príncipe 1621 in Duviols 2003: 742).

However, different documents from the 17th century in Ancash, indicate that, despite the destruction of the mummy bundles of their ancestors, people still worshipped their ashes and used them as an essential part of their community:

Provinces of Ocos y Lampas in the *Corregimiento* of Cajatambo

(...) causa hallaron los P.es en muchos pueblos de aquella comarca Huacas lla-/madas hurau, que dezian ser hijas de vna que estaba en otro llamado S. Pedro / de hacas, que es la de todas las aventuras la qual quemo vn P.e de / S.to Domingo, que antiguam.te anduuo sacando Huacas, y mallquis porestá

¹⁴¹ Ramos (2010: 262) suggests that punishment by fire is mentioned in the Bible and Old Testament and was used for its purifying effects in medieval Christian Europe. She states that it was the cruellest mode of execution and was used in Europe for the most serious crimes and sins (Ramos 2010: 50). As mentioned in chapter 3, in Christian medieval Europe the body had to be buried in the ground in order that it could be resurrected at the Last Judgment. ‘God has created each person in His image and likeness, and therefore the body is good and should be returned to the earth at death (Gn 3:19). It is only in 1963-64 that cremation was accepted as an appropriate form of disposal by the Catholic Church (Davies and Mates 2005: xx).

tierra / y aora solo adoraban vn pedaço que los de aquel tiempo escondieron, y las / cenizas delos guesos que quemó.(...)' (Document 33. Año 1618 in Polia 1999: 421).

Llamallin, Conchucos province

'(...) No dejan la tierra pues de ella se aprovechan tan / mal que aun las zenizas de los difuntos q. en sus entrañas escondieron las sacan para / sus hechisos (...)' (Document 43. Año 1637-1638 in Polia 1999: 471).

Santo Domingo de Guasta, Cajatambo

'(...) Enla mitad de la plaza deste Pueblo auia / una peña grande, y enella una Cruz, pero en el / Centro de dicha peña, estaban las zenizas / de un indio antiguo, a quien el D. or Avendaño / siendo Viss. or de la idolatria, quemó porque lo / adoraban //(...)De este indio quemado / guardaban como pudieran vna reliquia de un / gran santo (...)' (Document 59. Año 1675 in Polia 1999: 537).

San Geronimo de Copa, Cajatambo

'(...)Y por los dichos ynterpretes dijo que heran hijos dichos malquis del ydolo malqui llamado guaman quile que el señor Canonigo Doctor Alonso Osorio siendo Visitador saco y quemó y a todos // los dichos ydolos y malquis el susso dicho con los de su aylo los mochauan. (...)' (AGI, Lima 333, 1664 in Duviols 2003: 706).

'(...)// como medio quarto de legua en el sitio llamado chochi manifesto dos cuebas y en ellas mostro çeniças de guesos de difunto quemado y por dicha ynterpretaçion dijo que aquellas çeniças heran del malqui llamado Carco yanac que hera el primer fundador del aylo copa que saco y quemó en la plaça el señor Visita[do]r Osorio y sus çeniças boluieron al dicho sitio (...)' (AGI, Lima 333, 1664 in Duviols 2003: 706).

Apart from the food and drink offerings given to the ancestors, one specific ceremony took place immediately after death, the *pacaricuc* rite. These ceremonies have been mentioned for the Andes in various documents (Alvarez 1588, Arriaga 1621: 35, Hernández Príncipe 2003 [1622]: 770, Guamán Poma de Ayala 1615: 298,

Villagómez 1649: 46) and are usually related to disinterments.¹⁴² Two documents from the *Cartas Annuas* of the Jesuits describe these rites (Doc. 28, fol. 38, 1613, Huaraz and Doc. 32, fol. 58, 1617, prov. Huaylas). In the region of Huaylas they practiced the *pacaricuc* rite that consisted of five nights of mourning (including processions and a feast), then they washed the clothes of the dead in the river. They also performed the mantic rite of spreading the ashes on the floor in order to see if the deceased visited the house.¹⁴³ Doyle (1988) also mentions that during the ceremony they used to keep nails and hairs from the deceased, in order to use them in other celebrations (Doyle 1988: 201).¹⁴⁴

(...)Despues/de auerle enterrado comiençan aquella noche primera el pararicu,¹⁴⁵ que es juntarse las sinco/noches siguientes todos los parientes en casa del difunto allorarle, sientanse en rueda al re/dedor de la lumbre, ponen a coçer en vna olla mais blanco, y pedaços de carne, y para esta/lumbre trae cada vno su poso de leña, y mientras se saçona la olla juegan a la pichca, que/ es un juego al modo de la taba por suertes. Saçonada la olla comen, y luego todo con bor=/donçillos salen a la media noche por el pueblo, y llorando visitan los lugares, adonde el/difunto solia yr de ordinario, haziendo memoria de lo que en cadavno solia hazer. V.g. aqui se emborracho, aqui cayó, aqui hizo esto, o aquello, etc.

La quinta noche lleuan la ropa toda al rio, porque no tenga que voluer el difunto, / y al salire de la casa echan mucha çeniza çernida por toda ella, para que si voluiere//(fol.58v) dexé estampadas las pisadas, y conesto se acaban los llantos, y morturio (sic).’ (Documento 32. Año 1617 en Polia 1999: 407).

These documents show us that idolatries constituted a major problem in Ancash and that Prehispanic mortuary practices were still in use in some parts of the region until the end of the 17th century. However, other documents also show that in Ancash some people wanted to be buried in the Church. Section 3 will show two

¹⁴² For more information and description of the document AAL II- 6-7, see Doyle (1988).

¹⁴³ Mantic: ‘Of or relating to divination or prophecy; prophetic’ (O.E.D). The spreading of the ashes is done in order that should the deceased visit the house they would leave footprints on the floor.

¹⁴⁴ The hairs had a particular importance after death, not only in celebrations but also in the rite of passage to the afterlife (see 6.4 of this chapter).

¹⁴⁵ Mario Polia transcribed the document using the term *pararicu*, however Arriaga (1621), Poma de Ayala (1615), and Villagómez (1649) use the term *pacaricuc*. (See also Chapter 5 Doyle’s thesis (1988)).

elements, a description in more detail of why it was important in Christianity to be buried inside the Church, next to the altar the most sacred place of it; and also the price that people paid in order to increase the chances of a saintly resurrection, and how this influenced the regional evangelisation of Andean people.

6.3 The Cost of burials in Colonial Peru a break into Evangelisation?

Part of the difficulty in the Evangelisation of the New World was that Europeans differed greatly from the Andeans in their religious vision. A new concept introduced with Christianisation was that, as an act of faith, we needed to pay in order to be closer to God. As we will see, such an idea was really difficult to understand for populations where currency was not part of their economic system, much less of their religious system.

The theme of paying as an act of faith was one of the great political matters in the Evangelisation of 16th century Peru. One of the main questions for the Church was, should Andean people engage in tithing? Different religious orders were against it, especially the Dominicans. However, others such as the Archbishop Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo argued that they should do it (Decree 21, Synodal Constitutions 1592).¹⁴⁶ The majority argued that Indians should not pay the tithe, as they might think that they have to pay to be Christian. A document from the Archivo General de las Indias (AGI, Patronato 188, Lib 37) in León Gómez (1995), presents different testimonies of how Indians should pay the tithe.

The *licenciado* Diego Pacheco says for example: “*Se comienzan ahora a atraer y anuestra santa fe y tiene este testigo por inconveniente que piensan que le cuesta dinero ser cristianos*”.

Another example is the one of Diego Pineda who says: “*Sería justo que los indios no pagasen ni se les pidiese diezmos por algunos año y tiempo lo primero. Viendo y entendiendo que los indios que son cristianos se les hazen pagar diezmo rehusaran volverse cristianos. Lo comprobé por experiencia en la provincia de los Chachapoyas y aún que se hubiesen vuelto cristianos viendo que les hazen pagar diezmos aconsejarían a otros indios, sus deudos y amigos que no se volviesen cristianos.(...)*”.

¹⁴⁶ “Nos don Toribio Alfonso Mogrovejo (...) Bien sabéis y debéis saber la precisa obligación que los fieles cristianos tienen conforme a derecho pagar los diezmos enteramente y los trabajos espirituales, corporales y temporales que se siguen de lo contrario...” (Transcription from León Gómez 1995: 249).

Thus, this document not only revealed that this way of acting brought to the newly converted, a corrupted image of the new religion and God, but also paying the tithe brought difficulty in the evangelisation of the Indians. This was not only a 16th century matter, but continued until the 17th century. At that time Indians had to pay the tithe, as part of being a good Christian, but they also had to pay a certain amount of money each year in order to have a space to be buried in the Church and have a good death. Thus the European economic image of the Church did not disappear or adapted through time. On the contrary, it was prominent during the evangelisation and for the inclusion of the ‘new’ mortuary practices that newly converted Indians should follow as good Christians.

As seen in the previous chapter, the few archaeological studies on colonial transformations on mortuary practices tend to emphasize the successful evangelisation of Andean populations, with natives being buried in a Church (See Klaus 2001). This aspect is mainly emphasised by the historical documents. Numerous documents describe how a good Christian should be buried (see Section 6.1), and also that natives were asking to be buried in the Church. Indeed, as a good Christian and in order to avoid spending time in purgatory, people had to have spent a good life and also a good death.¹⁴⁷ Thus, the closer people were buried to the main altar, important relics or the baptismal font, the better chance their soul had to be saved. This also permitted Christians to distinguish themselves from Jews or Muslims (Gose 2008: 126).

The cost of burials in 16th -17th century Catholic Europe was closely related to the concept of purgatory. The economic system had a strong impact on the cost of burials in Colonial Peru. If people needed a good death to avoid time in purgatory, in paying for mass, prayers and offerings, the living could help their own souls, or those of their beloved, to pass through purgatory. One of the main acts as a good Christian was the use of the system of indulgences in order to erase their present or future sins.¹⁴⁸ Fogelman (2004) suggests that these acts involved a buy-sale system, which degenerated with such excesses that the Church could not accept it (Trent Council 1563). However, this did not erase the fear of purgatory that people had. Different rites were necessary to facilitate the way out from purgatory, such as baptism,

¹⁴⁷ See more information on Purgatory in Section 5.5 and Chapter 3, about the art of dying well in Medieval Catholic Europe.

¹⁴⁸ Indulgence: ‘Remission of the temporal punishment in purgatory still due for sins after absolution. The unrestricted sale of indulgences by pardoners was a widespread abuse during the later Middle Ages in Europe’(O.E.D).

confession of the sins, repentance, to write a will and the extreme unction. Fogelman says that, in Buenos Aires colonial doctors were obliged to tell their patients about the risks of death and the necessity to fulfil their Christian obligations, under penalty of fines for the doctors (Fogelman 2004: 14). A Christian needed to write a will if he wanted to be buried in consecrated ground and achieve salvation (Ramos 2010: 116).

Section 6.1 showed that Viceroy Toledo imposed the writing of wills on the Indians in 1575. Eire (1995) defines it as the passport to the afterlife. Normally, the writing of the will would be done when the subject was still in good health, in order to be conscious of their possessions and to whom they should be given. In the 17th century will of María Alva Pacha Vieja de la *doctrina* de la Asunción de Matahuasi in Huaylas Ancash, there are more details of the different specifics asked for by people in order to save their soul: Grave space, habit to wear,¹⁴⁹ funeral ceremony and soul salvation. (AAL, Leg 2. XXII, Fs 14):

‘En el nombre de la Santissima trinidad. Padre hijo y espiertitu Sancto santo tres personas y un solo dios verdadero sepan quantos esta carta de testamento. Viexen como yo Ma. Alva pacha vieja natural del pueblo de San G(eronimo) de tunan y recidente eneste pueblo de la asumpcion de nuestra señora de mataguaci estando enfferma pero en mi acuerdo y entendimiento y creyendo el miserio de la Santissima trinidad y pro restando de vivir y morir y deseando proner mi anima en la carrera de Salvacion y tomando Salvacion y para ello por mi abogada a la virgen madre de dios sin pecado original otorga y ordeno este mi testamento en la maneras y forma lo ssiguiente. Primeramente encomiendo mi anima a dios nuestro señor que mecrio y remedio por su preciosso y sangre y pacion. Y ytenido primeramente a que el dia si dios si ffuera servido de llevarme (demayore?) slepre te vida que mi cuerpo se sepultado de la iglesia lesedicho puesto dondesta sepultura de mi marido mdo un patacondelimosna para la yglesia y asi lo mando y declaro. I pla y ytenmdo y pido nuestro padre cura deste dicho pueblo para que Upd onerle un avito de San Francisco enterarme con ello la limosna dara y pagara de mis bienes y asi lo mando. Y ytenmando y Ruego a nuestro padre cura deste dicho pueblo para que el dia de mi ffallesimiento que venga a la casa y morada y se digan tres possas

¹⁴⁹ In the 16th century people could choose the way to be dressed: in a linen shroud, a habit from a religious order or a confraternity tunic. See Eire (1995) for more details on this topic.

hasta llegar a la iglesia el dia si ffuese ora de missa diga por mi anima missa de cuerpo pressente otro dia ssiguiente la lismona por el ffuneral y asi por el dicho avito a mis hijas anu Bernalda y catalina Sussana mi nieto P° quispiis dara y pagara para bien de mi alma y asi lo mando y declaro. 12 pta (Fs 14 v) Para anima y yten delcaro que tengo en poder trepatacone y espara mi anima. 3 pta y ytenmas que tenga un pares de topas de Plata que son quatro con los tipques para mi anima.'

We can observe in this will the different main elements cited above in order to have a good death and burial:

- The structure and organisation of the will, with the opening phrase introducing the sacramental character of the will: 'In the name of the Holy Trinity' similar to the 16th century documents in Spain.¹⁵⁰

- The fact that she is sick but still aware of what she is doing in order to write this will.

- She is placing her soul on the road to salvation '*carrera de salvación*' and to the Virgen.¹⁵¹ She repeats at least 5 times that it is for her soul (prayers, mass, etc.), to ensure its safe passage to the afterlife. Indeed, the law required that arrangements be made for the soul (Eire 1995: 169).

- She is asking, and paying, to be buried next to her husband in the Church, with the Franciscan habit.¹⁵² The importance of the habit was usually that St. Francis may serve as the advocate in front of God in order to save the soul. In a sense, wearing a habit helped to have preferential treatment in the afterlife.

- She is also paying the priest to come to the house to organise the procession from the house to the church, say prayers and a mass in order to save her soul. In her cortege to go to the church, she asked for three receptions (*possas*). These were pauses made on the way to the church during which, a response would be intoned by the clergy (Eire 1995: 125). Since the Trent Council, the mass was also essential for a perfect burial. Having no mass almost certainly meant no salvation (Eire 1995: 170).

The testator, as in this example, usually arranged all the details of their own funeral and the redistribution of their belongings. It was considered an exercise to

¹⁵⁰ See Ramos 2010: 121-122 for complementary information on the wills structure.

¹⁵¹ This concept of salvation and the relation to the Virgen is studied in more detail in Fogelman 2004.

¹⁵² Franciscan habit was the most popular habit in 16th century Madrid, and in all regions of Spain in the 17-18th centuries. It also provided a steady income for the religious orders as the article could only be obtained directly from them (Eire 1995: 105-108).

experience and thereafter, while they were still alive, a duty and matter of conscience (Eire 1995: 37).

Nevertheless, in the Andes, numerous documents of complaint suggest that priests were using the fear of death, the weakness of the person at the moment of their death, and the legitimisation of possession,¹⁵³ to make people write their last wills leaving all their possessions to the Church. A 1675 document about the Ancash region (AGI, Lima 262, N.11, 1675) reveals that some priests made people write their wills during confession in order for the priest to inherit their belongings after their death. However, the Church was aware of these abuses and issued instructions to the clergy; Ramos (2010) presents as examples Lobo Guerrero and Arias de Ugarte instructions (1987 (1613)) (Ramos 2010: 280).

The documents studied throughout this research record the visits made to the Ancash region when any complaints against the priest were made. The Church would send someone to interrogate various people on the behaviour of the priest in order to verify the achievements of their curates who had been sent to evangelise the communities. We can take three testimonies as examples of the Ancash region. A document from the *doctrina* of Santiago de Guayan, Huaylas, Ancash in 1646 (AAL, Leg 2. VIII, Fs 5 v):

‘y quando se muere algún Yndio o Yndia ba a su cassa y lo trae a enterar con susoprelis [sobrepelis] crus y todo lo necesario sin llevar les mas plata de la que cada uno le quiere dar (...)’.

The second document is from the same year in the *doctrina* de San Juan Bautista in Pomabamba, Ancash, the complaint is against the priest Esteban de Aguilar (AAL, Leg 2. XIII, Fs 4):

‘Testimonio de Antonio Martines natural de todesillas en castilla la vieja y asistente en el asiento de colpa ‘(...)Y no avisto que el dicho cura se halle en ningún testamento que los Yndios hacen y quando se muere alguno ba con su sobrepelis y crus atraerlos a enterrar sin llevarles mas derechos de los dispuestos por arancel,(...)’

In this last abstract, it is said that the name of the priest cannot be found in any will and that when people died he would bury them without taking more money than the amount agreed. The third document is also from 1646: from the *doctrina* de San Luis

¹⁵³ The legitimisation of possession was to give wealth to someone else in order to go to heaven.

de Huari in Conchucos. The complaint is made against the priest Francisco de Mendoza (AAL, Leg 2. XIV, Fs 5v-6):

'(...)Y no avisto ni sabido se le aya muerto ninguno sin cofesion ni criaturas sin el Sancto Baptismo y de ordinario visita las estancias que son a su cargo y quando tienen necesidad les da el Sancto oleo y los ayuda a buenmorir = y no avisto se halle aningun testamento de Yndios por que a su voluntad queda dejar (Fs 6) las misas que quieren y murriendose los trae a enterar yendo por ellos con su sobrepelis y crus sin por ellos llevar la mas de lo ordinario y las ofrendas de entre ano rrasibello que cada uno le da de su voluntad (...)'.

Here the witness Don Juan Ayquipo, a native and mayor of this village, says that there was no one who died without confession; that when it is needed the priest gives them the Sacramental Oil and helps them to die well; and finally it mentions that he is not in any will and when someone died he buried them with a sobrepelis and cross without taking more from them than usual.

This was not the case for San Juan de Cochabambas in 1641. The Leg 10, 1641, Fs.73, in the AAL described the situation in the town in 1641. The priest of that area was accused of not being in his *doctrina*. Thus, people there were living as barbarians, dying without confessions, the Indians themselves were burying their dead, and when the priest came back months later he asked for the money from the burials, between 20 and 30 pesos each. In this case the Indians refused to pay so he hit them.

'(...)digo que don sebastian correa manrique ponce de león cura de el dicho pueblo no assiste en el a sus obligaciones viviendo los dichos yndios como barbaros sin tener quien les administre los santos sacramentos muriéndose muchos sin confesion que los entierran los mesmos yndios y quando buelbe al dicho pueblo al cavo de quatro o seis meses y otras veçes mas y menos pide quenta de los entierros y cobra a veynte y treinta pesos, y sino se los pagan aporrea los yndios lo qual es causa de quese aussinten de el dicho pueblo para cuyo remedio(...)'. (AAL,Leg 10, 1641, F.7).

Testimonies agreed with the culpability of the priest in leaving the place without a replacement or, if there was a replacement he did not stay long because the priest was not paying him. They also agreed with the charge for the death of people without confessions and proper Catholic burial (they listed the names of the

deceased), and the fact that when the priest came back, he ordered the Indians to give him the money from the rights of the burials on pain of being kicked:

‘ (...)quel dicho cura no asistido en el porque unas beces a estado en la sierra y otras en guaura y otras en la ciudad de los rreyes sin dejar ynterin que algunas (F.11 V) que lo adejado luego se an ydo porque dicho cura no les apagado ypor esta rracon acudo omisión en acudir el suso dicho a la administración de los santos sacramentos y asi anestado todos los naturales sin doctrina ni ensenanca y ha visto este t° que sean muerto muchas personas naturales del dicho pueblo sin confesión como fueron bartolome colloc alcalde mayor y su padraastro llamado Juan colloc. y madalena Llicris. catalina aguan. Santiago camallin. Martin guari y su yjo lorencio Julca y alo chinchas martin pincho. Ysavel carua y su yja mariatata. Martin ayna. Y Juana yndia forastera que murió tan bien sin confinsion en el canejo llamado cagua y tambien allí murió sin la dicha confesión Ju° nosario yndio domingo anco y su hermano domingo colloc herdo guaranga y otros que no se acuerda y aninguno de todos los susodichos no a enterrado porque otros naturales los enterrava y quando benia de la sierra o de otras partes el dicho cura don Sebastian correa cobraba derechos de los entierros a los naturales no debiendolos llevar y tambien cobraba (Fs.12) de los forasteros de los que tenían plata a beynte pesos y a quince y a deciseys y a los que no la tenían quitaba a sus herederos caballos y yeguas y a otros suato y luego se yva y no decía misa aunque cobrava de los dichos difuntos lo que tiene dicho y que esto es la verdad.(...)’. (AAL, Leg 10, 1641, Fs.11-12).

This disorder continued until 1799 (See Fig. 6.1 showing the drawing of San Juan de Cochas church in section 6.1). The document going accompanying this drawing reveals the poor state of the Church until its reconstruction. The priest sent there at the time defined the place as being in a ‘miserable state’, only being made of straw, without specific places to bury the dead. He decided to reconstruct it with better materials and with specific sacred areas to bury the dead with a cemetery and *Campo Santo*. These abuses and problems in San Juan de Cochas reveal the essential role of the place and cost of burials and the changes in mortuary customs over communities.

During this research, documents have revealed that the crucial problem for new Christians in the Andes was of being buried in a Church or not. Indeed, it

appears that it was not only due to ideological differences, representation and meanings of death that Andean people continued with their old customs, but it was also due to the cost of being a good Catholic. It has been observed that getting a place in a Church was expensive, but other documents have emphasised this issue and the difficulties of getting one. As examples, here are two requests made in Ancash: one in 1647 from San Ildefonso de Choque Recuay and the other in 1661 from Huaraz. It can be observed in the description from these documents, the preferences in the placement of the tomb inside the church. In 16th century Spain there was a specific hierarchy for sacred space. The choicest spots to be buried in were next to the main altar, in the main chapel, to the right of the choir or next to the holy water font, so that many worshippers would cross over the grave, thereby getting recognition, prayers and some holy water for those next to the font (Eire 1995:100). From these two documents, the aim is to observe what the requests were from the people living in 17th century Ancash, if it differed from what we had in European contexts, and to try to understand this process in the Andes. The first document, (AAL, Leg 2, Exp. 18, 1647, Fs1) is a request made by Hernando Yllan in 1647, for him and his heirs:

'Autos de assiento y sepoltura en la iglesia del Pueblo de Requay de Hernando yllan y sus herederos.
Hernando Yllan vecino y morador del pueblo de san Ildiphonco de Choque, Recuay parezco ante Vss por mi petición y digo que yo pretendo se me señalen dos sepolturas unidas y juntas que hagan entrambas un assiento en la Iglesia Parroquial del dicho pueblo de Recuay de dos baras de ancho ambas y dos de largo que el largo dellas sea desde las Rexas que estanpuestas al canto y esquina del arco toral para afuera de la capilla mayor del dicho arco y las dos baras de ancho desde el lado dela epistola del altar de nuestra señora del Rossario que las dichas dos sepolturas y assiento vienen a tener las dichas dos baras de ancho y de de largo en quadrangulo fuera de la Rexa de la capilla mayor y las dichas sepolturas y assiento andeser y seme an de assignas parami y mi Padra mi mujer e hijos y decendientes que de mi y dellos vinieren perpetuamente y offrezco delimosna a la dicha Iglesia por lo susso dicho luego de contado cien pesos de a ocho reales y mas offrezco que cada vez que se abricre y rompiese alguna de las dichas sepolturas dare de limosna a la dicha Iglesia un peso de a ocho Reales por reconocimiento =

(...)mesmo me obligo acubrir con cera y pan las dichas sepolturas en cada un ano en la octava de la commemoracion de los difuntos (Fs 1 V) enteniendo alguno o algunos enterrados en ella attento alo qual y a lo que mas hace en favor de mi intento que para conseguirle lo pido como mejor debo y quedo y ante todas cosas suplico a Vsm supla qualcurer defecto que aya en este pedimiento. ' (AAL, Leg 2, Exp. 18, 1647, Fs1).

In this first paragraph, Hernando Yllan asked for two tombs next to each other, outside the main chapel and next to the altar of the Virgen of Rosario for him, his wife, children and the children of his children. He paid '100 pesos de a 8 reales'¹⁵⁴ for them, and for every time they had to open the tomb, he also gave an additional 'one peso de a ocho reales'. Every year he had to bring bread and wax to the tombs for the commemoration of the dead.¹⁵⁵ Failure to do any one of these things could result in losing the burial space. It is notable that the claimant was following European tradition in choosing his burial space. The social status of Hernando Yllan enabled him to request a specific advantageous place in the Church for him and his family, paying what was customary to save his soul.

In the second document of 1661, the Archbishop of Lima, Don Pedro de Villagómez, officially gave to Don Juan Martinez de la Ciguenas the right to be buried in the main chapel of the Huaraz Church (AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 1, 1661, Fs 1):

'En la ciudad de los Reyes en Diez y nueve días del mes de enero de mil y seiscientos y sesenta y un anos el Illustrissimo y Rmo señor Doctor don Pº de Villagomez nuestro señor Arcobispo de Lima del consejo del Rey nuestro Señor Cristo aviendo visto la licencia que el licenciado don Jacinto Tafur

¹⁵⁴ *Reales* were silver currency, rarely used by the poor. Examples of salaries paid in *pesos de a 8 reales* to Indians for one year of work in Chácaras (Arequipa Valley), from 1596-1657 shows that they received between 12 to 30 pesos per year. Added to this they received per month a load of food such as maize and two pesos to buy meat. (Contreras 2009: 611). The price of some products in *pesos de a 8 reales* for Potosí in 1603 also varied: wine (10 pesos), cow (7 pesos), maize (5 pesos), sugar (8 pesos), coca (6 pesos), slave (250 pesos), wax (130 pesos) (Contreras 2009: 609). León Gomez (2002) also mention salaries between 36 to 40 pesos for people working in textile production in Huanuco.

¹⁵⁵ In a comparative analysis of mortuary practices in Guadalajara and the Basque country (Spain) on the use of the tablet to put the wax on the tombs (during the 16th century onwards), José Ramón López de los Mozos described the purpose of such customs (López de los Mozos 1980).

The night before All Saints day is the transition between autumn and winter, this moment was considered as the one when the souls of dead would come back to get warm with their loved ones. The votive bread and fire (representation of the fire of the house and life) were there to replace the pagan custom of leaving food on the tombs. The wax left on the tomb had to be replaced on All Saints day each year. It represented the heat of the family's love giving light to the dead and helping him on his way to the afterlife. This wax was used all year long during any liturgic celebration. On All Saints day the priest purified the bread and the tomb with another symbol of life: water (López de los Mozos 1980: 351).

concedio a Juan Martinez de las ciguenas siendo cura y vicario del Pueblo de San Sebastian de Guaraz en la Provinzia de guaylas. Para que el susodicho y su muger e hijos y sucesores pudiesen tener el uso de una sepoltura en la yglesia parroquial del dicho Pueblo de guaraz en la capilla mayor debaxo del Primer Arco en esta pegado a ella o el lado de el angelio según se contiene en el auto del dicho vicario, dixo que en su conformidad y atendiendo aque el susodicho assido y es bien (Hecgor?) de la dicha yglesia y alas limosnas que adado para su fabrica, aprueba y confirma la dicha sepoltura, para que pueda usar della el dicho Ju^o Martinez de las ciguenas y su muger e hijos y sus sesores en todos los casso y cosas que conformeaderujo es permitido, y en cargo a los curas del dicho pueblo le an paren y defiendan y no consienta o nienger desposeydo de las sepolturas sin ser primero oydo y porfuero y derechos vencido, conqueaya de ser obligado el susodicho y sus herederos a cubrir la dicha sepoltura con ofrenda de Pan, vino y cera los días de la commemoracion de los difuntos pena de perder el derecho del dicho asiento y sepoltura y sin perjuicio del que la dicha yglesia tiene por costumbre en quanto al (r)onpimiento de la dicha sepoltura y assi lo proveyó mando y firmo. ' (AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 1, 1661, Fs 1).

As in the previous document, the tomb was attributed to the whole family including the wife, children and heirs. In this case, it was requested to have the tomb in the main chapel, under the first arch. There is no mention of how much he paid for it, but it seems that this family might have been more influential, or of higher status than the first one, as they had their tomb inside the main chapel. Moreover they were also obliged to bring bread, wine and wax on All Saints day.¹⁵⁶ In both cases, because they paid for their tomb emplacement, they cannot be deprived of it unless they fail to comply with their obligations (offerings, etc.). However, burial sites were never technically 'sold' by the Church to anyone (Eire 1995: 98), so the amount of money that people had to pay to have a burial site was considered to be an act of charity, in order to pay for the sins of the deceased and not a purchase per se. Nevertheless, the concept of a single individual burial for each individual did not exist at that time, and the testator usually requested to be buried with their relatives. Thus, as one entire family usually occupied a single grave, they tended to exercise

¹⁵⁶ The compromise between Andean customs of feeding the dead and Catholic offerings to the dead necessary in the concept of Purgatory was also developed in Chapter 3.

property rights over it, regardless of what the canon law proscribed (Eire 1995: 101).

As Ramos (2010) points out, the choice of the grave was an act of special significance. ‘Graves express a network of bonds with a rank of individuals and institutions, crystallized in a single place.’ (Ramos 2010: 129). Thus, we can assume that these preferences and these places were highly coveted for a good Christian, and sometimes brought illegality and disputes into a community. Due to the large demand and the limited space available in Madrid, an illegal black market in burial plots existed with families selling their grave location to others for very expensive amounts (Eire 1995: 98).

In this study of the Ancash documents, such an extreme example has not been found. Nevertheless, two documents found at the Archivo Arzobispal de Lima (AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 5, 1664 and AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 12, 1673-74), present the fight of one family over 10 years against a woman in the village of Huaraz in order to retrieve a grave in the Church that their father had paid for before his death. In these documents the heirs were fighting for the right of possession over the place that their father bequeathed to his descendants. The family’s right of possession was expressed in the same way as the two preceding documents. If the canon law normally forbade this right of possession, these documents do not mention it and, on the contrary, argue that someone who pays for its *rights* cannot be dispossessed from their tomb location unless they do not pay or comply with their spiritual duties.

The first document informs us that the family had this tomb in front of the altar of the Virgen of Rosario for 30 years; it was where their parents were buried, and where they continue to pay ‘*four pesos de a nueve*’ each time they open the tomb. However, the priest in charge of the church at that time died, and the new one asked for ‘*100 pesos*’ for each person buried there.

‘ (...) *y con su muerte se perdieron como es notorio y agora el lisenziado Jose Laureano de mena como cura y vicario y mayordomo de la dicha yglesia nos pertubar en la dicha posesión disiendo que le emos depagar por cada uno que se enterrarre en dicho entierro sien pesos y no consientiend que no sentemos en el dicho asiento en perjuisio nuestro (...)*’ (AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 5, 1664).¹⁵⁷

The priest is using the situation in his favour in order to get more money from the family. Thus, this document is another example of abuse after death due to the

¹⁵⁷ See documents in Appendix A.

economic system.

Ten years later, in another document, the Osorio family was still trying to get their burial back. Again they pledged that they had had this burial in the Virgen of Rosario Chapel for eighty years. This time, they had been deprived of the burial by the curate of the Province Juan de Castromonte, friend of the *visitador general* Don Francisco Garavito de Leon, in order to give it to Francisca Sanchez. After ten years, the family was not able to get the burial back, because the new priest in charge of the church sold it to someone else.

‘(...) Desimos que como parece de los rrecaudos y provision que presentamos tenemos posecion de mas de ochenta anos aesta parte en la Yglesia del pueblo de guaras de un asiento y sepultura que ubieron nuestros ante pasados en la capilla de nuestra señora del rosario del lado de la epistola, y paresse que Francisca Sanches vecina de dicho pueblo sea querido introducir en el, alentada del favor del Licenciado Juan de Castromonte vicario de dicha provincia por ser amigo de dos sacerdotes hermanos del suco dicha grangiando todos la voluntad del doctor Don Francisco Garavito de Leon Visitador General deste Arcobispado el qual nos a desposeído de dicho asiento y sepultura sin atender a la posecion en que estábamos y provision despachada que no avido persona alguna que quiera notificarla a las personas que emos señalado (...)’ (AAL, Leg 3, Exp. 12, 1673-1674).

This is a perfect example of the difficulty that people faced in order to get a prestigious burial in a church, and the price they had to pay in order to keep their possession. The ecclesiastical laws always argued the fact that no economic profit was made behind the salvation of Christian souls but we cannot deny the income made from these practices.

Looking further into this question, research done on credit in Late Colonial Peru, focused on *Censos, Escrituras and Imposiciones* (See Quiroz 1994) reveals that usurers could have theoretically risked losing the right to the sacraments and Christian burial. By 1750 ecclesiastical institutions were relying on *censos* as a secure income and they dominated the traditional mortgage credit supply. This point underlines the importance of the religion but also how mortuary practices might have been a strategic element in colonial economic organisation. Thus, like the tithe, the price for being buried in a Church was an element of that political and economic

system. However, most of the time the price was too high for the majority of the population. Two interesting documents from the AGI (Lima 567 Lib 8. F.352 v and Lima 301) give more information on burial rights. Lima 567 is a document from 19th June 1558 written in Valladolid by the Princess for the Archbishop of Lima (and also Bishop of Cuzco and Quito), which reveals that Indians were scandalized by the price of the rights to be buried in monasteries. The document demonstrates that in some parts they asked for six *pesos* in other seven or four, and thus in the end most of them were buried in the field, so that they did not have to pay.

‘(...) Nos se ha hecho Relacion que los clerigos que rresiden en esa tierra llevan grandes derechos a los indios que se entierran en monasterios de lo qual diz que los naturales se han escandalizado y escandalizan mucho por que en partes iz que les llevan en 6 pesos y en otras a 7 y a 4 y que muchos se entierran en el campo por no tener que pagar (...)’. (Lima 567 Lib 8. F.352).

The same problem was still present during the 17th century, the second document published by Lissón Chaves, is a letter dated 15th April 1611, from the Archbishop of Lima Lobo Guerrero, on burials in monasteries and their rights. This letter reveals that two years before it was written, people still had to pay double in order to be buried in the convents. This meant that relatively few people were buried in the convents, as it restricted to rich and powerful people with the poorest buried in the churches. For those who could not pay, religious people refused to bury them. This was completely against ecclesiastic law, which states that a burial place should be available in consecrated ground to all deserving Christians (Eire 1995: 98).

‘En ellos se vera como en el tiempo de tres anos se han enterrado en las quatro parroquias que hay en esta Ciudad mil y quinientos y cincuenta y dos difuntos y en los conventos un mil cuatrocientos sesenta y siete, y he de advertir a V.M. que en los dichos conventos se entierran de ordinario gente rica y poderosa y en las parroquias, los mas pobres y a los que lo son tanto que no tienen que pagar, los entierran de valde sin llevarles nada, y los religiosos a los tales no los quieren enterrar, y lo mismo me han informado que pasa en las diocesis de mis sufraganeos y las capellanias y aniversarios todos se hacen y fundan en los conventos de frailes y en las iglesias parroquiales muy poca o ninguna.’

Y demas de que se entierran en los conventos la gente mas rica es grande el aprovechamiento de los Religiosos porque

- Los dominicos llevan de los di[as] del Recevimiento del diffuncto Vigilia y missa de Cuevo presentemente Treynta Ps^o de nueve Reales cada persona. Y de las honrras doze.

- Los Agustinos llevan del Recebimiento Vigilia y missa de cuerpo presentemente treynta peso de las honrras Veynte.

- Los Mercenario llevan de Rescevimiento Vigilia y missa Veynte y quatro peso y de las honrras doze.

- Los franciscos llevan menos que son del Rescenimiento Vigilia y Missa diez y seis peso de la Honrras doze.’ (AGI, Lima 301).

It is interesting to observe that the 17th century documents about the price of tombs in the Ancash region show much higher prices compared to those in the 16th and early 17th century documents. Spanish clergy and Crown were perfectly aware that the high price people had to pay to have a tomb could be a problem in the evangelisation and abolition of pagan customs such as mortuary practices. Nevertheless the problem continued to persist through the years.

The French historian, Jacques Le Goff (1981), talks about an *arithmetic of the indulgences* in Medieval Europe and Fogleman (2004) goes further and talks about the *economy of Salvation* in Colonial Argentina. I totally agree with these concepts, and I think they should also be used to describe the phenomenon created around death in Colonial Peru. Death ritual expressed socioeconomic realities and salvation of the soul related to property (Eire 1995: 250). The documents described emphasize the fact that people had to pay to be buried, to be saved and finally be a good Christian. Obtaining a burial place was a family affair, almost certainly a competition to get the better location, where families would have paid a lot to keep the grave site as their personal property, for them and their descendants. Moreover, the material economy accumulating prayers, mass, indulgences, being part of a brotherhood (*cofradia*) was necessary in order to reduce spiritual debt and save their soul.¹⁵⁸ The more pious the bequests made the better. These became a commodity in the spiritual marketplace. For Eire (1995: 250) the materiality of death rites was part of their essence and structure.

¹⁵⁸ The confraternities ensured the person involved in what should have been a charitable task as a good Christian, i.e., to bury the dead, had to have proper funeral and have intercessory prayers for which a fee had to be paid (Eire 1995: 134). See also Ramos 2010: 109.

In this sense, only a small part of the population was able to be prepared to have a good Christian death and to be buried as such. The same problem was evident in 17th century Spain. Eire's (1995) case study of parishes in Madrid, reveals that it was common to bury the poor in outdoor cemeteries rather than in churches. In Colonial Peru, the poorest could not be part of a brotherhood in order to pay for prayers, to have the best and richer interment and get a place inside the church. In 16th century Peru, Christian burial was usually denied to the poorest. However, the poor were necessary in the salvation of the rich. The presence of the poor, or an orphan, at someone's funeral showed the status of the deceased and that he was affluent enough to engage in charity (Eire 1995: 144). In order to be good Christians and help their own souls in front of God, the rich were obliged to help the poorest as an act of charity (paying to give mass, food, interment for the poor, construction of hospitals). The necessity of providing alms was reinforced by the Council of Trent (Eire 1995: 233). Nevertheless, this economic system of the spiritual had a different impact in the Andes compared to Catholic Europe. Whereas this custom permitted relief for the poor of the cities of Spain, in the Andes it segregated a great part of the Andean populations, and thus created a void between the new faith and Andean people, which continued until the 18th century. This difference is evident in an early 18th century document found in the Archives of Huacho (AAH, Leg 3.2, 1704), which presents the rights for burials in the village of Santa Maria de Supe in the *doctrina* of San Juan Bautista de Cochabamba. Here two kinds of interments are described: one qualified as Major and the other one as Minor. For each of them the price, the type of burial, and the prayers that they were allowed to perform were defined.

Entierros Mayores

Del yndio forastero que se entierra en la Yglesia parroquial del curato donde tiene su domicilio se dara de limosna por los derechos de la Crus nuebe pesos de a ocho Reales, con obligacion de desirle el Cura una Missa resada, pero si la parte viniese a poner tunba y belas para que se cante, la debe decir cantada y con vigilia el dicho cura y esto se entiende en los entierros Mayores, en los quales fuera de los derechos de la Crus se le de un tan vential Cura los del doble de Campanas que son siete Reales, y es voluntario el pedirse capa y necesario y si se pidiese se darán por las Capadoce Reales y por el ynsensario quatro Reales y sino se quisiere pedir, se hara el entierro sin capa ni ynsensario.

Entierros Menores

La limosna de los entierros Menores de los dichos Yndios forasteros si fuese cuerpo que no pudiese ir en almoada que passa de cinco anos en la Ygleçia parroquial del curato o su sementerio a de ser de tres pesos y tres Reales, sin obligacion de desir Missa pero con la de hir diciendo por las calle una Vigilia resada sin haçer el entierro hasta acavarla.

Y en los entierros Menores de los niños hijos de Yndios hasta la hedad de cinco anos será la limosna de dos peso (Fs.15v) y dos Reales.’ (AAH, Leg 3.2, 1704).

One of the probable failures of this European Catholic system in some areas of the Andes is its direct application on communities, which had a completely different understanding of the act of faith. With the number of idolatries in relation to mortuary practices being more important in regional areas such as Ancash, its impact on the populations would have been different compared to the capital. Indeed, we have to keep in mind that Lima (Spanish capital) and Cuzco (Inca capital) were big cities where the early mix in populations implied a greater number of people having the money to pay to be part of the Christian system, save their souls and pay for their funerary rites.

Death and mortuary practices played a major role in the evangelisation. However, the economic system behind the Christian salvation not only changed the social image of the deceased, but also reinforced the gap between different ideologies around death in the Andes. The public image that Andean communities had of their dead (reciprocity between the ancestors and the living) tends to disappear with the inception of the Catholic Faith. Catholic tradition follows an individual, private vision of the dead exhibiting their social status through death. Despite this, the Christian dead still needed people to save their souls through prayers. The physical presence of the dead was no longer of primary importance for the community. With this system, the Church itself indirectly promoted idolatry and that is probably one of the reasons why there are still testimonies of Prehispanic mortuary practices and disinterments until the early 18th century in the Ancash region.

6.4 Evangelisation: a game of words

The first colonial aim of the Spaniards was to convert people to the new faith and give them notions of the occidental life in order to make them work (Glave 2013: 31). The problem of the language differences and translation had a strong impact on the evangelisation of the New World.¹⁵⁹ It was the first obstacle that prevented the transmission of the new faith and the comprehension of it by Andean people. At this point we will look at how language played an important role in the inclusion of new mortuary practices in the Andes.

At the beginning of the colonial period, there was no desire to eradicate native languages, on the contrary a lot of Spanish people started to study them in more detail. However, it was essential for the good of their souls that Indians learned Spanish. For the Crown and the Church, Spanish was used to educate Indians for political and administrative purposes, whereas native languages were used for evangelisation (Charles 2010: 45). On 29 December 1545 (AGI Lima 300), the Archbishop of Lima ordered that all Indian children had to learn Spanish. This was followed by the legalisation from the King to teach Spanish to all the Indians (AGI Indef 432). However, these reforms had little impact in reality as there was no real willingness on the part of the Indians to learn it and the Spanish neglected its teaching. In 1588, Bartolomé Álvarez mentioned that in the remote area of the highlands people refused to speak Spanish even if they knew how (Charles 2010: 25). Nonetheless, the Second Council of Lima (1567) noted that the language barriers had an impact on the attention that the priests had to give to the dying. It was unacceptable for a priest to administer confession without understanding the penitent, and a deadly sin for those who administered confession to a dying person without knowing the language (Ramos 2010: 81). Thus, a specific role of general interpreter was created in order to reduce this linguistic gap, facilitate the administration of the last rites, and the creation of legal documents, such as the writing of the wills. However, Ramos (2010) raised the issue of having a general language interpreter when different Quechua-dialects and languages were spoken in the different regions of the Peruvian Andes (Ramos 2010: 120).¹⁶⁰ As MacCormack says, ‘the nature of translation, of what can be translated and how, depends on the translator’s estimation of the relationship between the original and the target

¹⁵⁹ See also Boone and Urton 2011.

¹⁶⁰ On the question about the *Lengua General* of Colonial Peru see Itier 2011.

language and also of the relationship between the cultures in which the languages in question were spoken, this being an issue that was considered repeatedly in the course of the sixteenth century ‘(MacCormack 2007: 171). As mentioned in Chapter 3 of this thesis, native interpreters had a central role in the evangelisation of the Andes. However, decrees instructed clergymen to learn native languages in order to avoid excessive reliance on native interpreters (Charles 2010: 45). A 1618 document from Polia’s study of Jesuit letters, gives a description of the situation in the area of Conchucos at that time. According to the Jesuits, there were not many Andean people speaking Spanish and fewer Spanish speaking the mother tongue of the people in the area.

‘(...) gente tosca, y mal cultivada, ha///ssi por sauer poco de la lengua g.(eneral)l, como por / no auer quien sepa la suya materna, a que se llega el auer enella (por auer buena / disposicion). muchos obrages, a que los indios acuden con no pequeño daño de sus / hasenduelas, y mayor de sus almas, pues a titulo de obrage, lo hordinario no oyen / doctrina y estan tan agenos delas cosas del Christiano, como si estuuieran en su / antigua gentilidad, (...)’(Documento 33, Año 1618 in Polia 1999: 428).

This problem of language differences became increasingly important for the Church as it sought to increase the number of conversions to the new faith. As Sabine Hyland (2011: 32) mentions the Peruvian Church councils (1580) allowed ‘Andeans to maintain their language and to publish religious texts in Quechua, but to keep most theological terms in Spanish’. During the Third Council of Lima in 1582, the Archbishop Mogrovero decided to create a ‘unified Spanish-Quechua-Ayamara catechism, confession manual and sermon collection’ (Charles 2010: 22).¹⁶¹ Two Jesuits with two different views about the principles of translation were placed to work on its creation: José de Acosta and Blas Valera. José de Acosta was influenced by Polo de Ondegardo, who advocated that native religious terms should be avoided and replaced by Spanish ones. According to Acosta catechism could not be taught using pre-Christian religious terminology as they were synonymous with false religion and idolatrous beliefs. The use of Spanish was, according to him, the only way to eradicate old beliefs and customs (Hyland 2003: 65). Valera on the other hand, completely disagreed with Acosta’s opinion. Blas Valera followed the work of

¹⁶¹ This resulted in the translation in a trilingual format of the *Doctrina christiana* (1584), *Confessionario* (1585), and *Tercero catecismo* (1585) (Charles 2010: 46).

the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás. Both clerics believed that the complexity of the Quechua language was equivalent to Latin or Castilian and therefore provided proof of the civilised nature of the people who spoke it (Hyland 2003, 2010: 30).

The Spanish brought new concepts with the evangelisation. As Hyland (2003: 128) points out: ‘In the late sixteenth century there was a growing belief among Europeans and colonial theologians that native languages possessed no words that were equivalent to basic Christian concepts, such as ‘God’, ‘angel’, ‘church’, ‘chastity’, and so on.’ The belief that religious vocabulary did not exist in native languages and that Christian theology was difficult for the populations to understand fuelled perceptions regarding their inferiority. Valera and other Jesuits, such as Anello Oliva disagreed with this and argued that religious terms existed in Quechua and Aymara that could be used for teaching Christian doctrine. Valera adopted such Aymara terms in his translation of the catechism (Hyland 2011: 31). These divergent opinions regarding translation exposed the internal fissure within the Church concerning the definition of Andean Christianity. Thus from the 17th century the linguistic politics changed, and as Glave (2013) defined it, it was then important for Spanish to dominate indigenous languages. 1770 became a key date as Spanish became obligatory and other languages prohibited (Glave 2013: 32). From that moment, Spanish became a ‘weapon’ against the ‘threat’ of native languages that should be eradicated as other idolatries had been in the past. As the previous examples show, the election of the right language between Spanish and indigenous languages for teaching Christian doctrine was a central problem for the whole Church. This issue revealed the internal division of the Church between the supporters of a more syncretic form of Andean Christianity and those who wanted a pure imposition of the Spanish language in order to eliminate pagan beliefs and customs.

A detailed look at some of the colonial dictionaries shows these two different approaches to the translation of religious terms and how word definitions changed through time. Colonial Spanish linguists tried to create a standardize Quechua suitable for the doctrine and ‘cleanse the languages of their alleged impurities in order to separate native Andeans from the harmful traditions of an autochthonous

past' (Charles 2010: 47).¹⁶² This was based on Quechua spoken in the Cuzco area, the regional languages (also known as the language of Chinchaysuyu) north of Huamanga were considered as illegitimate for teaching Christian doctrine. The lack of precise terminology for ideas such as the holy sacraments implied the introduction of Spanish words in the Quechua text (Charles 2010: 47). A word like soul, *alma* in Spanish, will have no Quechua translation in 18th century dictionaries, for example, in Juan de Figueredo's Vocabulary (1754), '*alma = anima, alma*' (Figueredo 1754: 156; Hernández Astete 2012: 129).¹⁶³ He used the Latin and Spanish words for soul as the "Quechua" translation of soul. This terminology was already used in the Huarochirí Manuscript, and was evident in the 1647 will (AAL, Leg 2. XXII, Fs 14) in Ancash, cited in section 6.2 of this chapter. However, in his 16th century dictionary, Domingo de Santo Tomás, defined *alma* (from which we live) as: *camaquenc, songo, çamaynin* (Domingo Santo Tomás 1560: 40).¹⁶⁴ Fray Domingo tried to make new Christian's concepts accessible to Andean Christians from their own culture (MacCormack 2007: 182). This cultural opening that was evident in the first years of the political linguistics of the Spanish evangelisation changed a century later. These changes reflect not only the two stages in the evangelisation of Andean people, but also the complexity of the Church organisation around the evangelisation of the Andes. It also represents the first major attempt by the Spanish to eradicate Andean concepts and impose Christians ones, and get an irremediable religious acculturation. However, such transformations in languages also resulted in part of its disappearance. As Taylor (1974) suggests, this prevented us from knowing the Quechua term used to designate the soul of the dead in Prehispanic times, for example Duviols (1978) studied these possible definitions of the soul for Prehispanic populations. In his article he clearly mentions that he gave some suggestions and that he did not want to generalise a concept for societies where the cult of the ancestors had a main role. So if we had to give a definition of the soul of the dead, we could use the term *camaquen* suggested by Duviols. To illustrate his point he used the example of the *camaquen* still present after the destruction of the *mallquis* in the persecution against idolatries in the Cajatambo area (Duviols 1978: 134).

¹⁶² See Durston's (2007) discussion on the transformation of pre-conquest Quechua in a modified and standardised colonial missionary Quechua by the Spanish Church.

¹⁶³ See Durston (2007) about the use of Christian versus native words for religious equivalencies of important doctrinal terms.

¹⁶⁴ For further information see *Camay, Camac et Camasca dans le manuscrit quechua de Huarochirí* (Taylor 1974) and *Camaquen, upani: un concept animiste des ancies Péruviens* (Duviols 1978).

‘Los ydolos llamados Yana Colca y Carua Colca sacados y quemados porque Hernando Chaupis Condor maestro de ydolatria domatisador me desia que el camaquen destos ydolos aunque los quemaron estaban vibos’ (Hacas, 1656, f. 90 in Duviols 1978:134).

As John Charles (2010: 42) notes, the problem for the Spanish was ‘how to employ its language together with an already dominant regional language as tools of administrative and religious conquest.’ In that sense, words thus played a strategic role of great importance in the Christianisation of the Andean people. Durston (2007: 3) defined Christian writing in Quechua as ‘one of the front lines of Spanish colonialism in the Andes.’ Charles (Charles 2010: 24) also follows this definition mentioning that the primacy of writing as an instrument of colonialism was recognised by Andean populations through catechesis. From the 17th century they used them to introduce new ideas, and also to try to erase old superstitions. In a sense the use of native languages was ascribed to traditional, cultural practices that kept Andean people in vice and idolatries, without getting the true meaning of the Catholic faith (Glave 2013: 32). They thought that if they changed the words remembering some ‘pagan’ superstitions or behaviours they would make people forget about it. To come back to the topic of mortuary practices, the example evident in Ludovico Bertonio’s dictionary (1612) clearly illustrated this argument. In his Aymara dictionary he specifically put in the definition of ‘Day of the dead’ a new word so that the word ‘does not smell of superstition.’

‘Día de los muertos = Amaya manq’aña uru. Asi lo llaman ellos, pero es menester quitarles esta costumbre diciendoles que le llamen Purgatorionkiri animanakataki jump’at’ña uru, o de otra manera que no huelga a superstición’. (Bertonio 1612: 149).

He replaced the word ‘*amaya*’ meaning dead body (See Table 4.2, Chapter 4) with the Latin word *Purgatorius*. He not only integrated here a new word ‘purgatory’ but also a new concept. Indeed, Section 6.3 of this chapter highlighted the central place of purgatory in the art of dying well. Purgatory is the place, or state of temporary purification for those who died in a state of grace. It is the place where the dead has to erase his sins before entering the places of eternal felicity (Le Goff 1981, Ariès 1983), and it is thanks to the prayers of the living that the dead can leave purgatory (Williams 2003). According to Ramos (2010), it seems that the concept of

Purgatory was the easiest one to instill in the communities, in contrast to the one of immortality of the soul and the resurrection (Ramos 2010: 87).

It is interesting to look closer at how Prehispanic beliefs regarding the journey of the dead were described in colonial documents. Chapter 4 mentions the use of the term *Zamayhuaci* by Arriaga as the resting place of the dead. Thus, like the Christians they believed in an eternal life. According to different testimonies, the souls had to suffer over one year before going on their journey to reach their eternal peace (*upaimarca* or *Zamayhuaci* for Arriaga) (Taylor 1980:6).¹⁶⁵ We have to agree that this period is really similar to the time that Christian souls have to spend in purgatory before going to heaven. The tradition says that they go back to their mythical place of origins (*pacarinas*). Two documents from the *Cartas Annuas* of the Jesuits published by Polia (1999) mention the journey of the dead (doc 30 and 32) and can be compared to the documents on the Ancash region.¹⁶⁶ For the Ancash highlands, more precisely in the Recuay area, the tradition says that the dead go to find their ancestors in the Elysian Fields.¹⁶⁷ It is interesting to point out that Hernández Príncipe used that word. In ancient Greek, Elysion meant the place hit by the lightning and, thus for the ancient Greeks and occidental Christians it is the place in Hell where virtuous people rest after their death. However, the dead in Andean communities were supposed to go to join their *pacarinas*, at their *upaimarca* de Titicaca and Yaramarca, place of birth of the Sun and Lliviac ('Lightning') the absolute ancestors (Taylor 1980: 6). So, it is interesting to observe this similarity in two different testimonies. If we come back to the testimony of Hernández Príncipe in Recuay, we will see that the next part of the text shows another similarity to Greek mythology. In the highlands, 'to arrive at the place of their ancestors, the dead were helped by big dogs, to cross a bridge made of hair, that they call *Huarrcuchaca*, *Acchahaca Acchahuaru*, *Sipacpanca* (Hernández Príncipe in Duviols 2003: 771)'. As seen in Section 6.2, hair had an important place in mortuary practices. The burned offerings of hair (one year after the death and *pacaricuc* rite), were supposed to help the deceased in his final stage of crossing the bridge to join his *pacarina* (Doyle 1988 and Polia 1999: 98). A 1656 document (AAL) mentions that in San Francisco de Otuco, *doctrina* de San Pedro de Hacas in Cajatambo, people offered llama blood to the dead on the third day after death in order to help him cross the bridge (Polia

¹⁶⁵ Between the *pacaricuc* rite and the first anniversary (Doyle 1988).

¹⁶⁶ See Polia's documents in Appendix A.

¹⁶⁷ See *Visita de Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe a Recuay (1622)* in Duviols 2003: 770-771.

1999: 97).

In Greek mythology the soul of the dead had to cross the River Styx on the small boat of Charon, where a dog with three heads (Cerbère) guarded the entrance to the Underworld to prevent the dead escaping. The symbolism of the bridge and its crossing is usually associated, in religion and mythology, with the crossing of the dead in order to arrive at the resting place. In Medieval Christian Europe, coming back to the notion of purgatory, it was also necessary to cross a bridge to avoid Hell and go to Heaven (Salvador 2008, 2012). Thus, this analogy between the Andean tradition and the Christian belief of purgatory and its crossing are concepts easier to represent visually in Christian iconography (for example the Indian parish of Andahuaylillas in Cuzco (Ramos 2010: 88)) and thus for the populations to identify themselves. This chapter revealed the importance of purgatory and its impact on the changes in mortuary practices in the Andes. It seems that the use of the concept of purgatory evolved over time. In Section 6.1 of this chapter evidence is presented of the different documents that appeared over a long passage of time that discuss how to die as a Good Christian. However, a certain caution is evident in the use of purgatory in these earlier documents. This is due to advice for the clergy from the Trent Council, on how to address the multitudes avoiding subtle topics in order not to encourage old superstitions (Martínez Gil 1993 in Ramos 2010: 272). Nevertheless, our previous discussion on the association of purgatory and Andean tradition, is emphasised with the sermon on death or the Four Last Things. This text mentioned in the *Doctrina Christiana* 1585, explained the theme of purgatory, linking it to existing Andean beliefs (Ramos 2010: 85).

Finally, the other word, which played an important role in erasing old mortuary practices, is the term *zupay*, which the Spanish used to refer to the Devil. In the book *Catecismo Mayor* in the *Doctrina Cristiana*, published in Lima in 1584, the bad angels or demons that work for the Devil are described using the word *çupay*.

‘los q(ue) llamamos Demonios o Diablos (chay mana alli Angelcunactam çupay ninchic in quechua and vca yanca Angelcúnapi çupayu Diablo sutini in Amayara).’ (Lima 1584: 33).

We can also observe that they have no word in Quechua or Aymara to define an angel. A useful study of the evolution of this term has been made by Gerald Taylor (1980), who associates the term *supay* with the idea of death, for example: *supapaay* = to die (Taylor 1980: 5). Álvarez (1588) suggested that Andean deities

and the dead were the same thing. According to him, ancestors receiving sacrifices were called *çupay* instead of *amaya* and that through the dead the Devil will appear (Gose 2008: 142). We have seen in this chapter and Chapter 3 that, the cult of the dead was necessary in the life of Andean communities. As Taylor clearly suggests, its pervasiveness ensured that it became one of the main pagan traditions to eradicate for the Spanish. The different vision of the Church transformed this notion of ancestors. It represented a reciprocal relationship with the living for Andean people and it became the representation of bad souls condemned on earth for their sins for the Christians (Taylor 1980: 6). For the Spanish, ‘living’ ancestors were associated with the devil, and all people continuing pagan mortuary customs were doomed.¹⁶⁸

At the beginning of the period of colonisation the cultural interest in the native languages of the Andes attracted the Spaniards. However, in 16th century Peru, divergent opinions about the ‘theology of translation’ were evident. One strand followed a more syncretic form of Andean Christianity and included native languages in the catechism. The other strand excluded native languages completely in the evangelisation of the people. From the 17th century, changes and transformations in languages were considered necessary to facilitate the conversion of the new Christians. The King of Spain at that time saw the imposition of the Spanish language as the only language to be used to ‘bring people to the new faith, made them love the nation of their conquerors, disinter idolatry and avoid that they get lost in the Babel tower due to the diversity of languages’ (Glave 2013: 33). This linguistic strategy, which tried to eradicate native languages and impose a new one with new concepts and ideologies, was a way to acculturate people to new beliefs and customs, such as mortuary practices. However, differences in the impact of this linguistic strategy are visible between the coast and the highlands. During the 17th century it is clear that the majority of the populations spoke Spanish on the coast whereas in the highlands ignorance of the language persisted (Charles 2010: 25). Catechism literal translation created by the Church had a limited regional practicality, it was often meaningless to local audiences in the highlands and native assistants could use alternatives (Charles 2010: 58). Native speakers of Quechua such as Fray Diego de Molina, the parish priest Juan de Castromonte and the extirpator of idolatries Fernando de Avendaño suggested creating a new standard that integrated the linguistics of the highlands in order to have more impact on local

¹⁶⁸ In Chapter 2, mention was made of the fact that it was believed that the devil could take the soul of someone at death.

populations (Charles 2010: 64).

In conclusion, mortuary practices became a main part of the evangelisation process in the Andes. However, this was not an easy task, the Church not only had to inculcate new concepts, such as death and relationship to the dead, but also new rites and practices. The Spaniards took the language barrier as a spiritual weapon to change and eradicate old beliefs, rites and customs surrounding death. Nevertheless, these changes in the language could not explain the payment that was expected in order to be part of this new faith and be a good Christian. The difficulty in the eradication of what the Church called a major 'idolatry' was not only due to the difficulty of understanding this new ideology, but also because of the price it took to perform Christianity, and to be buried as a new Christian. It seems that in the Ancash highlands there was not a unique behaviour when it was a question of practising new mortuary customs or not. As Gose suggests (2008), three positions are evident in the Andean community (Gose 2008: 145). In the case of the Ancash highlands, different documents in the area reveal that Prehispanic mortuary practices still existed in the region until the end of the 17th century. People removed their dead from the church, continued their offerings and mourning period of five days. This contrasts prominently with other documents from the 17th century, which show that people who feared for the salvation of their soul after death asked to be buried in a church as a Christian. In my opinion there was a problem of transmission between the Church and Andean people, and therefore comprehension differed between areas or groups. Some accepted the new faith, others may not have understood at all, and finally there were those who selected bits from both. The discussion in the next chapter will try to elucidate this by comparing two sources of data (archaeology and ethnohistory) to show the level at which Andean people materialised, and appropriated the new ideology in their mortuary customs.

VII

Social Impact of Colonialism on Mortuary Practices in the Ancash Highlands: An Archeo-Historical Synthesis

Understanding historical archaeology presents some difficulties. Combining two disciplines can lead to certain criticism, as academics tend to focus mainly on one discipline or data set (archaeology or ethnohistory) (Deetz 1991). This creates a strong barrier between disciplines, which can sometimes be difficult to bridge (Wilkie 2006). Even though it is true that each speciality has its own training, strengths and methods that must be respected, it is necessary to get an interdisciplinary approach to research whenever possible. As Deagan (1991: 102) writes:

‘historical archaeology offers perhaps the only multidisciplinary articulation and integration of evidence from the material-cultural, natural, intellectual, and social worlds, both in the present and the past.’

Historical archaeology provides physical evidence to compare with documentary historical sources (Deetz 1991, Deagan 1991, Duviols 2008, Salomon 2000, Wilkie 2006). This is also the case for colonial archaeology, in order to get a broader and more complete context of the imposition of a colonial society; we should use the full capacity of each discipline together (Deagan 1991, Deetz 1991, Gosden 2004). Numerous scholars of the Americas (Duviols 2008, Salomon 2000) encourage inter-disciplinarity in research, as being necessary in understanding important factors of the process of colonisation (economic, cultural or demographic).

This thesis looks at two colonisations of the same area, the interactions, continuities and changes due to colonial confrontations. It focuses on two separate colonial processes, each of them having their own characteristics.

As mentioned in Chapter 6, this thesis does not reveal new information on the Spanish colonialism of Peru, as many significant studies have already been published (Doyle 1988; Duviols 2003, 2008; Estenssoro 2003; Gose 2003; Mills 1997; Ramos 2010). Instead, it tries to understand what happened to the communities living in a specific region of the Andes – Ancash highlands – at that time, and how colonial impact might have changed some aspects of their customs.

This chapter, will present, how the interdisciplinarity of historical archaeology is essential to understanding the social history of Andean people in the Ancash highlands before and after the Spanish conquest. Furthermore, the differences between the Inca and the Spanish colonisation in the Andes will be discussed, and the social impact that these two colonisations had on mortuary practices in Ancash will be investigated. How did the ancestors' relationship with the living change under colonial conditions? How mortuary monuments can be seen not just as social memory, but also as an identity marker of acculturation or resistance, how landscape appropriation played an important role in the continuity of mortuary practices in the Andes, and how Andean people integrated foreign elements within their own structures.

7.1 Doing Historical Archaeology in the Andes: archaeology of culture, contact and colonialism

Historical archaeology is often defined as the study of the material remains of societies with written records (Funari *et al.* 1999, Hicks and Beaudry 2006). However, with the work and influence of James Deetz (1977) it is usually associated with the notion of European expansion and the study of the colonisation of the New World post-AD 1492 (Hall and Silliman 2006). Thus, historical archaeology in the case of the Americas often studies the boundary with a pre-literate and pre-colonial European past. It is the study of the consequences of colonialism, the mechanisms of domination and resistance, the commodification of the material world, the political, economic organisation and cultural exchanges (Dielter 2010, Lawrence and Sheperd 2006, Orser 1996). The close relationship between historical and colonial archaeology in the Andes, is intricately related to notions of power and identity. This interest in power relationships expressed with terms such as domination and resistance, coloniser and colonised has been a central focus in recent decades for archaeology (Funari *et al.* 1999: 11). As has been often argued by scholars (Gose 2008, Lawrence and Sheperd 2006, Wachtel 1971), the study of Latin-American colonisation has focused on a Eurocentric vision of it. It was in the 1970s-1980s, that this perspective began to change, trying to define '*lo andino*' and creating debate among scholars when it comes to using colonial or postcolonial theories in their approaches (Jamieson 2005, Murra 1984, Starn 1991). However, defining such a concept is part of the complexity of the notion of colonial encounters. This should

not be, oversimplified behind a rigid boundary of ‘the colonisers’ and ‘the colonised’ or concepts of ‘domination’ and ‘resistance’ (Alcock 2005, Gosden 2004, Gose 2008, Rogers 2005, Stein 2005, Schreiber 2005). As Lightfoot (2005: 209) writes:

‘The technological superiority of colonists is typically assumed, a factor that is seen to promote their economic, political, and military control over indigenous people.’

The social process of colonialism should be an equally shared history between European and Non-European societies where Non-European societies are incorporated as active agents within history (Gosden 2004, Schreiber 2005, Stein 2005, Wolf 1982: 385). Various scholars (Dietler 1998, Gasco 2005, Gosden 2004, Stein 1998, Schreiber 2005) highlight the fact that the use of world-system models in archaeology (and colonial encounters) tends to focus on the core/periphery relationships, overemphasising the role of the core over the periphery with drastic opposition such as dominant/dependent, active/passive. As Schreiber (2005: 240) suggests it is not usual for local communities to welcome control by an alien group, however there can be cooperation or resistance, such response varies from place to place or even within a single society.

I agree with such statements and in my opinion there is a need to develop an approach to Spanish colonisation in the Andes that integrates both European and indigenous visions. Thus, scholars who are studying the colonial period do not have to judge the positive or negative aspects of colonisation. Instead, they have to analyse the data in order to identify the extent to which cross-fertilisation of beliefs, ideas and practices have occurred between the cultures in contact. (Martiarena 2010: 44). As Gasco (2005) suggests, European colonialism in the Americas varied depending on differing factors (objectives of the colonisers, the populations encountered) and should not be seen as a fixed entity.

Finally, it has to be kept in mind that colonialism in the Central Andes is not synonymous with European colonisation. As has been said previously, this thesis not only focuses on the Spanish colonisation, but also on the Inca one, of the Ancash highlands. The notions of colonialism, military expansions, and imperialism are also applicable to the Incas and this chapter will show that they share some of the same features as the European expansion in the Americas.

Cultural Contact and resistance

The phenomenon of colonisation initiates the cultural contact and conjunction of two or more groups that have autonomous cultural systems. Even though the Spanish colonised the Andes with the same general scheme for the whole area, it must be kept in mind that each region is unique, has its own history and reacted in its own way to Spanish colonialism. Thus the colonial impact on populations can differ from one area to another creating regional diversity within the same colonised territory. The regional approach of mortuary practices in Ancash during the Inca and Spanish colonialism will help to understand this process better.

In the case of the Spanish colonialism, and as Stern (1993) argues, it was at a regional/local level that we could really observe the confrontations between Europeans and Indians and the creation of a new kind of society in the Americas. One of the main questions of this thesis is what are the consequences of the Inca and Spanish colonisations on mortuary practices for the people living in the Ancash highlands, and thus what are the consequences for the colonisers and the local groups?

Jane Lydon (2006) studied cultural process, change and human identity, looking at the tension between culture and historical transformation in Pacific/European encounters. She asked relevant questions useful to this study: What keeps societies together? How do they change? How do they define each other in the process of cultural contact? Indigenous, local societies change in the course of cultural process. Sahlins demonstrates how every practical change is a cultural reproduction. 'The more things remained the same, the more they changed' (Sahlins 1981, 1985: 142).¹⁶⁹

In the case of the Andes, populations were not able to suppress the new structure brought with the colonisation of the area, this being visible with the Incas or the Spanish. However, it is this resistance and adaptation to the system that challenged their colonial structures (Stern 1993). Thus, we can ask to what degree power is attributed to the colonisers? As Thomas (1999: 274-275) defined it, it is the possible coloniser's inefficiency that empowered and encouraged indigenous resistance. There had been strong resistance among the regional communities of the Andes against the Inca colonisation. Chapter 2 showed that this was particularly the

¹⁶⁹ Mills (1997: 5) also suggests that 'Andean religious patterns retained their significance because they changed.'

case for the Ancash region (De la Vega 1609). In order to get rid of that imperial system the people from the area allied with the Spanish against the Inca Empire.

It will be shown, later in this chapter that this was also the case with the Spanish colonisation. Andean people were not able to set aside that new imposed system. However, the continuity of some customs, such as mortuary practices, brought cultural changes in Andean societies while still challenging the colonial structure. This could not only be interpreted as simply an equation of oppression and resistance, but this continuity in practices could be the effect of the inefficiency of the Spanish to penetrate into the deep Andes.

In a sense, populations under colonial domination by an expansionist state will develop a new sense of identity and unity against it (Sillar and Dean 2002: 209). However cultural contact and colonialism are not synonymous with resistance. Rather they imply a changing process. Thus, is it appropriate to use such concepts as ‘globalisation’, creolisation, cultural assimilation or acculturation of the native groups into the imposed colonial system?

Cultural assimilation, creolisation, acculturation and ‘globalisation’

One of the issues brought with colonisation is the ‘relationship between the local and the global, and the hybrid cultures and identities which have been created in the context of rapidly expanding (and contracting) political and economic systems’ (Funari *et al.* 1999: 14, Lawrence and Sheperd 2006, VanValkenburgh 2013).

The notion of acculturation was created at the end of the 19th century in the British ethnological literature to define all the phenomena of interaction resulting from the contact of two cultures. A basic assumption in this model is that acculturation obliged the dominated group to adopt the cultural traits of the dominant one (Cusick 1998, Deagan 1998, Rogers 2005, Wachtel 1971).

Even if colonisation implies local communities may adapt to new ways of life and customs, care should be taken of the ‘black or white’ interpretation that often comes from it. Wachtel’s opinion (1971) on the use of the term ‘acculturation’ points out the inequality of power between the two entities, one being stronger than the other and thus giving a more Eurocentric value to the terminology. So, even if there is an adoption of new cultural traits that does not mean a complete assimilation of it (Wachtel 1971: 25). Thus, when studying colonial contact, we have to understand the

result of that changing process – syncretism, assimilation, rejection – and analyse the different degrees of acculturation (Deagan 1998, Wachtel 1971: 26). A group already aware of the challenges brought by alien alteration of their system will tend to be more resistant to the external changes; and on the contrary an unbalanced group is more likely to change in acculturation (Barnett *et al.* 1954: 977).

As pointed out earlier in this chapter, critical vision on the empirical and the apparent tendencies towards the processes of cultural homogenisation is necessary. The actual use of terms such as ‘Globalisation’ and ‘Europeanisation’ in the study of colonial empires, are to be coined with extreme caution. This thesis revealed that local identity construction under a colonial agent is a long process of change and incorporation. It is not a quick and direct transition due to the subordination and acceptance of the new dominant culture over another, but more a result of transculturation (Arguedas 1975, Deagan 1998, Hernandez 2002).¹⁷⁰ In the case of the Andes, scholars are aware that colonial encounters did not begin with the European contact (D’Altroy 2005, Gosden 2004, Stein 2005, Wernke 2007). As Wernke suggests (2007: 130), Andean local people’s engagement with the Inca imperial system had already prepared them to interpret and respond to Spanish colonialism. In the Ancash highlands the colonial/imperial systems were already used by the Incas in the region, pre-colonial people often continued to live in relative isolation following the Inca and Spanish colonisation.¹⁷¹

Finally, the term creolisation is usually used by historical archaeologists working in Spanish and Caribbean colonies, to define ‘the creation of new groups and identities in Colonial situations’ (Dawdy 2000, Lawrence and Shepherd 2006, Webster 2001).¹⁷² Webster (2001: 218) defines the process of creolisation as a ‘resistant’ adaptation, from which emerges mixed colonial cultures. Creolisation had a particular importance in religion; Brandon (1993: 38) argues that the ideal of indigenous elites differed from the one of the non-elites. The elite will adopt the ideal imposed by the Spanish, whereas the non-elite will make their own selection from the aspects from Spanish Catholicism. This difference between elite and non-

¹⁷⁰ By transculturation I refer to the process whereby transition occurs from one culture to another. It does not consist of acculturation or deculturation rather it merges these concepts and additionally allows for the creation of new cultural phenomena.

¹⁷¹ By relative isolation I refer to the fact that, in the Ancash region, some areas were difficult to access and thus separated from the main colonial centres. This tends to show that, despite colonial presence, changes are less visible in such areas compared to main cities (i.e., low Inca presence inland, centrality next to the road system and main regional centres; villages difficult to access and evangelise during Spanish Colonial times).

¹⁷² See also Deagan 1973, 1996.

elites or rich and poor, is visible in the changes of mortuary practices during the Spanish Colonial Period in the Ancash highlands. The evidence from this research tends to show that wealthy people were looking to fulfill the Catholic ideal, by following the instructions of the Church, and by being buried in the faith (i.e, making a will, being a member of a confraternity, paying for prayers and giving alms for the poor). This also included the correct physical disposal of the body as prescribed by Catholic doctrine.

Poor people generally did not have the money to be buried in the church. Documents of the region tend to show a high price had to be paid to get a burial that the majority of the population living in small villages could not afford, and so they would bury their dead in the fields. The minimal use of the few hospitals in the region is also evidence of social disparity and the role of local agency in the Spanish Colonial system.¹⁷³ As Stein (2005: 28) argues, the concepts of transculturation, creolisation and hybridity emphasise the role of local agency in colonial encounters and our way of understanding the cultural meanings of the selective appropriation or fusion between material cultures in a colonial context. In the following sections these different aspects will be observed through the case study of the Ancash highlands and how mortuary practices played a key role in these two colonisations.

7.2 Monuments: markers of resistance and social memory

Mortuary practices include both spiritual and physical actions and representations. They are closely linked with the notions of identity and social memory. The notions of identity, memory and landscape are three concepts that cannot be studied separately. The construction of social memory has always been a central element in the life of past societies. It included the creation of links with the ancestors, or a mythological antiquity and involved the (re)interpretation of history, monuments and landscapes (Knapp and Ashmore 1999, Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 3, Yoffee 2007: 4). This is particularly evident during social change. In order to deal with changing sociocultural and political circumstances people had to make choices and adapt. To do so they had to see which part of their past they could accommodate in the creation of new identities and which ones they could reject, exploiting the ambiguities of

¹⁷³ It was mentioned in Chapter 3 that hospitals were a way for the rich (by giving money to their construction) to help their soul get through purgatory (through prayers and acts of charity towards the poor). To be rich was considered as a major sin for the Catholic Church and thus the rich needed to be charitable throughout life to get their soul released from purgatory.

inherited forms (Wolf 1990). Thus, identities are transformed through the use and alteration of certain spaces or objects as ‘strategies of forgetting’ or ‘acts of remembering’ (Yoffee 2007: 3). As Yoffee (2007) suggests, it is through the study of identity, memory and landscape that we can get a better understanding of how and why things change as an active and on-going process of the adoption or rejection of new ideas during sociocultural restructuring and not see them as inevitable outcomes.

Social memory is usually associated with the notion of individual or community identity, which can be used by elite groups (e.g., the Incas), but also in the service of resistance (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 3). Connerton (1989) distinguished two types of social memory: *inscribed memory* involving monuments, representations, texts and *embodied memory* involving bodily rituals and behaviours.¹⁷⁴ We will see one of each type of memory in the next sections, the inscribed one with mortuary monuments and the embodied one with mortuary practices and ancestor veneration in the North-Central Andes.

7.2.1 The dead: the social memory of Andean community

Social memory is an on-going process that cannot be transmitted without modification, reuse, forgetting or including new meanings (Küchler 1993). Commemorative practices in the Andes were embedded within the social and physical landscape, grouping living and dead communities. Structuralist approaches such as Lévi-Strauss (1949, 1958) assert that kinship, reciprocity and duality are important elements in the organisation of a society. These three principles are important elements to understand the structure of Prehispanic Andean society and have been used by different scholars in the Andes (Murra 1955, 1986; Platt 1986; Wachtel 1966, 1971, 1990; Zuidema 1964, 1973, 2005). In Chapter 3, the main importance of death, mortuary practices and ancestors in the organisation of Andean societies was discussed.

It was mentioned that, in Andean societies, kinship bonds defined people’s identity as part of a family or a community family, and the basic kin unit is the *ayllu*. Stern (1993) defines the *ayllu* as an endogamous lineage, which claimed descent from the same ancestor (Stern 1993: 6). This ‘brothers’ relationship allowed the extension of social boundaries between kin groups. Such inclusion of different *ayllus*

¹⁷⁴ See also for the Andes: Hastorf 2003; Isbell 1997; Janusek 2004; Lau 2002, 2008, 2011; Nielsen 2008.

in extended *ayllu* lineages defined the boundaries of a group or community, but also defined its identity and means of survival (Stern 1993: 6). The positioning of mortuary monuments in the Late Intermediate Period sites of the Conchucos area shows such inclusion of the ancestors in the community as the identity and a territorial marker between groups (Mantha 2004, 2009, 2010; Ibarra 2003).

Indubitably, the dead were a central part of each living community in the Andes, not only necessary to the good cycle of life, but also to maintain the overall organisation of the group.¹⁷⁵ Mortuary practices and ancestors were essential in the construction of the social memory of the group. This inclusion of the dead in the life of the living, induced the use of the past in the past – people in the past shared memories of their ancestors– and that past was embodying Andean culture in such a way that people were surrounded by its materiality (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003, Williams 2003).

Connerton (1989: 7) suggests that social memory recollection was present in two sectors of social activities: *commemorative ceremonies* and *bodily practices*. In the Andes, feasting and related mortuary rituals constitute commemorative ceremonies, while the ritual devotions directed toward the cult of the mummies of the ancestors constitute a set of bodily practices, for both the participants and the recipient. Like in Ancient Egypt, death in the Andes was not considered to be the end of one's effectiveness on earth. The dead were powerful beings who could intervene, in a good or a bad way, in the world of the living (Meskell 2003: 39). It is this interaction between the dead and the living, which not only refers to short-term practices over a few generations, but also a long-term one with commemoration. The mummified body constituted the material substance that kept the spiritual element of the deceased, invoking their presence in contemporary affairs. They were part of living memory, and according to how the living took care of the deceased, their perceived actions could have a positive or negative impact on their life. By venerating the dead, a ritual memory exercise was accomplished, and festive offerings, performances and feasting were acts of commemoration and remembrance (Meskell 2003: 46).¹⁷⁶ Rituals and commemorative ceremonies constitute and shape a communal memory (Connerton 1989: 61). Ancestral embodiments allowed people to interact directly with their forbearers (De Leonardis and Lau 2004, Isbell 1997, Lau 2008, Nielsen 2008: 212). The cult of the dead, and ancestor veneration, were

¹⁷⁵ See also Chapters 2 and 3 and Salomon 1995.

¹⁷⁶ For more information on feasting and ancestor veneration in the Andes see also Lau 2002.

not only popular but also powerful, due to that constant fear of, and affection for the deceased. In the Andes, ceremonies and celebrations involving the dead and the whole community were crucial for the social organisation of the group. This is especially evident in the social organisation of the Inca Empire, where these ceremonies symbolised the continuity of the state. Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615) described the month of November as the ‘feast of the dead’ where he made accounts of the public events that involved ancestor mummies (not only funerals) and the living. For example, the *Inti Raimi*, or maize harvest celebration in Cuzco, where the mummies were a symbol of fertility, cycle of life and rebirth. During these eight or nine days of celebration, the mummies were brought out to be venerated and celebrated, in order to initiate the ploughing of the land for the next planting (Isbell 1997: 46).

However, this is a Pan-Andean tradition, and many testimonies attest to such rituals occurring at least twice a year in Peruvian regions for the same reasons (Doyle 1988, Spalding 2008: 283). In the Cordillera Negra region of the Ancash Highlands, archaeological surveys revealed the association of Type A tombs and corrals, a practice still prevalent today and which dates back to at least the Late Intermediate Period (1100-1450) (Lane and Herrera 2005: 117). This inter-generational relationship between the dead and the living and the necessity to preserve the bodies of the dead was necessary in the socio-political stability and continuity of the group.

With Spanish evangelisation, such ceremonies and celebrations for the dead were considered as pagan and immoral, and one of the major problems encountered in such ceremonies was drunkenness.¹⁷⁷ The Spanish accounts emphasise the importance of sharing food and drink with the ancestors. As Meskell (2003) explains for Ancient Egypt, the consumption of alcoholic beverages, usually in excess provided a way to be able to be in contact with deities or ancestors.¹⁷⁸ In the act of remembering we need a concrete image within the mind, and it is created by the imagination (Meskell 2003: 48). External stimuli such as singing, dancing or drinking on such social occasions enhance memory, turning the mythical past into a present living experience (Meskell 2003). Behind these performative and embodied behaviours is the reflection of, what Connerton (1989) called, a bodily social memory.

¹⁷⁷ See for example the *Pacaricuc* rite in Chapter 6.

¹⁷⁸ See also Dietler 2006, Hayden 2009.

Indeed, funerals and celebrations are transitional moments of remembering, emotional expression, feasting, social interaction and religious communication (Fowler 2004, Meskell 2003). Hayden (2009: 37) suggests that feasts attract people, generate a feeling of social closeness and are thus a way to show the different alliances of the group. Such social relationships between groups are evident in Doyle's description (1988: 147) of the celebrations held in the Central Andes (17th-18th centuries) at the beginning and end of the agricultural cycle (*Pocoimita and Caruamita*). During five days of fasting each *ayllus* had to bring offerings to the *mallquis*, after a period of purification, five days of feasting began with an all night vigil in honor of the *mallquis*, including dancing and singing. The celebration included the consumption of *chicha* and offerings to the ancestors (black guinea pigs, as well as corn and potatoes). Doyle points out the fact that during the vigil (*vecochina*) there was a competition during the celebration to determine which *ayllu* or group could remain awake the longest and show superiority in their adorations to the ancestors (Doyle 1988: 164).¹⁷⁹ Hayden (2009: 37) also argues that due to the emotional weakness people can have during funerals, feasts and drunkenness are not only meant to transform grief but also to achieve ulterior, political motives.¹⁸⁰ Finally, as Gell (1998: 223) states, ancestral 'shrines, tombs, memorials, ossuaries, sacred sites; all have to do with the extension of personhood beyond the confines of the biological life'. Fowler (2004: 79) discusses the notion of personhood and death, defining death as a 'shift in the personhood of the deceased and those they left behind'. He argues that mortuary practices and rituals are transformation acts, in order for the dead to be reintegrated into society. He writes that 'mortuary practice is only intelligible within the context of other social activity and general patterns of personhood, so that the death of a western individual is intelligible in a different way to the death of a Melanesian individual.' (Fowler 2004: 81). The relationship between the living and the dead is constituted of an exchange system, from the day of the mortuary ritual to the following feasts and celebrations in honour of the deceased, creating a common identity (Fowler 2004: 85). By applying Fowler's (2004) arguments in the Andes, it can be said that it is through rituals and celebrations that the dead person is transformed into an ancestral image, spirit or other subset of the

¹⁷⁹ See (AAL, II-11: 8r-8v) in Doyle 1988. It also has to be mentioned that the ritual had Christian characteristics associated with it.

¹⁸⁰ See also section 3.3. in Chapter 3.

community and is dispersed into the social and material world.¹⁸¹ Thus, coming back to Gell's statement, shrines, sacred sites and tombs were the media through which the dead in the Andes were remembered and were part of the living.

The notion of ancestors, an empirical power given to the dead?

As mentioned in Chapter 3 (section 3.3), the ancient use of Type A tombs by communities well before the Incas in the Ancash highlands makes us think about what is the meaning of an ancestor. How many ancestors does a community have? As Nielsen (2008) argues, except for the important public Incas' commemorations, historical accounts do not pay much attention to the variability in ancestor cults across the Andes and how this practice started (Nielsen 2008: 214).

It is an extremely difficulty to define the concept of ancestors in the Andes. The notion of ancestors is embedded into the animist nature of the Andean religion (Duviols 1979, Lane 2011b). It can be related to *mallquis* (mummified body), *huacas* or deities (Lane 2011b).¹⁸² The notion of *mallqui* is also discussed in Doyle's thesis (1988). She asks if the term *mallqui* only referred to a sacred ancestor, or was used for any mummified body (Doyle 1988: 95). The *huancas*, seen in Chapter 2 (section 2.3.2), were the monolithic double of the *mallquis* and venerated as a *huaca* by the Incas (Duviols 1979). All of them were considered as ancestors and had different powers over the communities: fertility, warfare and sacralisation of the political power.¹⁸³

However, our European definition of ancestor is mainly associated with the dead only.¹⁸⁴ In Andean archaeology, there is also a tendency of focusing the notion of ancestors only on the dead. In Salomon (1995), there is a similar definition of what we can find in a regular dictionary today; it is Meyer Fortes's (1965) definition which is used: 'An ancestor is a named dead forebear who has living descendants of a designated genealogical class representing his continued structural relevance. In ancestor worship such an ancestor receives ritual service and tendency directed specifically to him by the proper class of his descendants' (Fortes 1965: 124). As

¹⁸¹ See also Lau 2002, 2008, 2012, 2013.

¹⁸² *Huaca* is a term 'that denotes a spirit or deity revealed as an object, feature, or happening such as mummy bundles, trees and naturally occurring free-standing rocks or outcrops, as well as mountains, hills, rivers, springs and literally all manner of physical manifestations, including rain, hail, lightning, thunder and wind.' (Lane 2011: 573).

¹⁸³ This is particularly evident with the Inca Empire see later on in this chapter.

¹⁸⁴ Ancestor is a person typically one more remote than a grandparent, from whom one is descended, a forebear (O.E.D).

mentioned in Chapter 2 for Peter Kaulicke (2001: 27) there is no ‘universal’ concept valid for all society; the ancestor is defined by a society and not all the dead are ancestors. They have particularity to have the power of ‘speech’ and oracular strength (Lane 2011b, Lau 2013, Salomon 1995, Spalding 2008, Taylor 1974).¹⁸⁵ For Nielsen (2008: 210), ancestor cults are: ‘religious practices that allow the continued participation of deceased individuals in the affairs of the living’.

Thus, there is ambiguity surrounding how scholars interpret what an ancestor is in the Andes. Some have used it as a specificity due to the complexity of the Andean religion (Duviols 1979, Isbell 1997, Kaulicke 2001, Lane 2011b, Lau 2013) and others as a generality like the current definition in the dictionary (Doyle 1988, Mantha 2004, Nielsen 2008). The case analysis of the Ancash highlands mortuary practices made in this thesis permits discussion of this notion of ‘ancestor’ in later paragraphs.

James Whitley (2002: 119) argues that there are too many ancestors in recent archaeological interpretation, that they are used as an ‘explanation of choice for a whole range of archaeological phenomena’. Is it because there is not a proper definition for it that some scholars use ‘ancestors’ to divide different types of dead, while others use it as a general term to refer to the dead? Whitley (2002: 125) suggests that more distinction between the different types of ancestors should be made. Then should ancestor veneration be completely distinguished from mortuary ritual or the general consideration of the dead? This is a problematic issue in the Andes, however, depending on the definition being used the outcome of the argument can be different.

Isbell (1997) really focused on the relationship between the *ayllu* organisation with the ancestors’ mummies and these with the *chullpas*. With such interpretation he gives what Kaulicke (2001) calls a ‘democratic’ definition of the ancestors instead of the specificity of being an ancestor.¹⁸⁶ After the analysis done in this thesis for the Ancash highlands, it seems that we have to be careful in only making an ancestors/*chullpas* association if we use the term ancestor to mean a sacred or special dead. This would mean that each *chullpa* represented one *ayllu* of the community. Then in communities where we can observe more than 50 *chullpas*, as is the case in some Ancash settlements, there would be more than 50 ancestors for one community

¹⁸⁵ Mummies could acquire ‘alive-ness’ or *camac* (Lane 2011: 575).

¹⁸⁶ Kaulicke (2001: 27) argues that there is no ‘democratic’ definition of the ancestor. He refers to the fact that not all dead are considered to be an ancestor by a community.

(even if not all the tombs were used at the same period or abandoned). In that case, the concept of ancestor would completely lose its prestigious and separated superiority over the common dead. Concurrently, Doyle (1988: 96) demonstrates the special status of the *mallqui* by the non-consistent use of the term in ethnohistorical documents. Furthermore, she argues that usually *mallqui* were described as being buried with ‘bodies’ of family members. These bodies could not acquire the same status just from being part of the family because this would mean that if members of each generation became a *mallqui*, then their number would have been constantly growing (Doyle 1988: 97).

I agree with Doyle, each ayllu had one *mallqui* or main ancestor, however not every *chullpa* had an ancestor (or sacred dead) in it. In the southern part of the Inca Empire, *chullpas* were usually tombs reserved for the elite (D’Altroy 2002, Hyslop 1990, Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005). Thus Isbell’s argument might be a good interpretation for the use of *chullpas* in the south of Peru during Inca times. The Incas had a specific use for the *chullpas* and they gave the highest importance to the political role of the *mallquis*.¹⁸⁷

However, in a broader and regional view, I would argue that Ancash *chullpas* have a completely different history to the one that we found in the south of Peru. Indeed, if only ancestors (special dead as defined by Kaulicke) were buried in *chullpas*, Isbell’s argument could not work for various reasons. The first is the problem of the number of ancestors that a community would have. Also the archaeological analysis made in this thesis revealed that there is no specific use of Type A tombs for only the local elite. Thus in my opinion, in Ancash, Type A tombs were used by the whole community to bury any kind of dead (children are also found in Type A tombs). The sacred dead were probably buried in the same tombs as the ordinary dead. In some sites, there are tombs that stand out from the rest and are distinguished by their size or decoration, I hypothesise that these tombs functioned to highlight the status of the people buried in them, and would have been recognised by the community as being the burial of a sacred dead person. However, this practice cannot be generalised.

Mantha (2004) hypothesised that multi-storey buildings might have been mortuary structures made in order to keep the ancestor mummy bundles. He distinguishes three types of ancestors according to their place of commemoration; the

¹⁸⁷ See Chapter 3.

ones common to the whole community (in the multi-storey buildings), the ones of each *ayllu* (in tombs), the ones of each family (in the house). Following his statement, considering ancestors as specific dead, the high number of mortuary structures and multi-storey buildings on that site suggests there will be, too many ancestors for only one community, as in Isbell's argument. Nevertheless, it seems that Mantha considered all dead as ancestors in his division of ancestors (community, *ayllu*, family). I think that if the term is used as a general term to define all kinds of dead, then it is a pertinent division in order to distinguish, in more detail, the types of 'mortuary' ancestors that Andean communities could have had. I believe that it is fair to use the term ancestor for all the dead, as I think that it was the dead itself that had an important relationship with the living.

Nevertheless, it is necessary to dissociate the different types of ancestors, such as sacred or main ones like the *mallquis*, community, *ayllu* and family representatives, as Mantha suggests. However, it seems to me that by their size (between three to twelve metres high) multi-storey buildings were not mortuary structures *per se*. This thesis showed that Type A tombs were mainly used to bury the dead in the Conchucos area. The formal analysis of Type A tombs from this area shows that they were usually small-medium sized structures with small entrances. In that case, it would seem that there was an external relationship between the ancestors and the living, the living not being able to practice any ritual inside the tomb.

Moreover, ethnohistorical documents highlight the fact that these ceremonies were held by religious members in charge of the tomb (Doyle 1988, Spalding 2008). It could be hypothesised that, during such socio-cultural ceremonies, multi-storey buildings were used in order to keep the mummy bundles of the special dead in order for the community to venerate them on special occasions and they were brought back to their tombs afterwards. The notion of personhood, seen earlier in this chapter has to be kept in mind when we look at the Andes (Lau 2012, 2013). As Nielsen argues, the same ancestors could have numerous material referents, which could include idols, but also have more than one sepulcher or monuments in order to be visible in different places and contexts simultaneously (Nielsen 2008: 212).

The notion of 'ancestors' should not be used too vaguely. This study of the Ancash highlands reveals that during the Late Intermediate Period, the dead were important to the communities. However, there was no presence of a specific 'elite' class with special mortuary treatments like the ones observed in the Inca society.

There are few differences between the tombs construction that could really prove that some dead were more important than others. For the Ancash highlands, there is little archaeological evidence that suggests that Type A tombs only held those dead considered to be more important than the dead buried in another type of tomb, as suggested by Duviols (1979). According to Duviols the common dead were buried in caves (*machay*), whereas the important ones like the *curacas*, were put in above-ground tombs (*chullpas or amay*) (Duviols 1979: 22). Finally, as mentioned in Chapter 4, the term *machay* was usually used at that time to describe any type of Prehispanic tomb (Doyle 1988), including all those described here.

The ethnohistorical documents do not differentiate the type of ancestors; all the dead and mummy bundles mentioned in the case of disinterments were considered as ancestors, only the *mallquis* are considered to be more sacred. Doyle (1988: 241) also mentions that all dead deposited in tombs became part of the category of forefathers and were honoured at different times of the year. In that sense they were not sacred ancestors like the *mallqui*, but were still part of the ‘ancestors’ world. Moreover, the ‘idolatrous’ practices mentioned in these documents also refer to offerings and feasting made to the dead in general, or the recent death of a relative.

What the archaeological analysis done in this thesis shows is that four main types of tomb were used to bury the dead in the Ancash highlands from the LIP until Spanish colonial times (18th century). Type A tombs were not only used to keep ‘ancestor’ mummies as Isbell suggested, but were a communal way to bury the dead. This does not exclude the fact that that some of them were probably more important and considered as the main/specific ‘ancestors’ of the group (*mallqui*) due to the power and importance of the dead in Prehispanic Andean societies. This difference could have been defined by better visibility of the tomb, better finishing and material construction. However, this study points out that it is death and the dead themselves, which were of main importance in the socio-political and cultural organisation of the communities living in the Ancash highlands, as Lau (2012) notes communities living in the area did not abandon any of their dead. As Nielsen (2008) argues, ancestor veneration does not always support hierarchy, and they are present in societies with different levels of inequality (Nielsen 2008: 210).

It is probable that the notion of main ancestors called *mallquis* has been emphasised with the empirical and hierarchical organisation of the Inca society. This would emphasise the importance of such dead above another supporting the natural

and eternal power of the main ancestors. In order to establish an economic and political order it was necessary to challenge these dominant forms of social memory (Nielsen 2008: 212). Due to the strong similarity between both religions (Inca and locals), and the short duration of the Inca Empire, there are no particular changes evident in tomb construction in the Ancash highlands. Type A tombs did not have unique use of the tombs for only specific dead or ancestors, as was the case in the capital and in the southern region of the Empire (D'Altroy 2002, Hyslop 1990, Nielsen 2008).

The dead played a central role in the social organisation of Andean communities, defining the different communities one to another, answering the need of the living. The possession of the mummified body of an important political, religious figure from the group constituted a powerful religious act that could often be exploited by the lineage or community owning it, but it is the commemoration and the relationship with the 'grandparents' as a whole which was also important.¹⁸⁸

Ancestor veneration was part of the whole animistic Andean religion, including the central role of the dead/living relationship which included the specific ancestors but also the dead in general. They should be thought of as a way of placing the memory of the dead at the centre of power negotiations, with results that can be diverse and historically contingent (Nielsen 2008: 210). It seems that with the Inca colonisation and the imperial organisation, the dead had more hierarchical importance and social power, representing not only a community, but a whole Empire. The Inca Empire was led by privileged elites as a result of military conquests and incorporation politics (Isbell 1997: 58). In this stratified society with differences in rank, power and wealth, mummy bundles of the Incas rulers were not only essential for stability, fertility and cosmology of the empire organisation, but were also a powerful political tool to legitimise the rule of the empire.¹⁸⁹ According to Zuidema (1990), the mummy bundles of the Incas were the image of Cuzco's social organisation. Basically they represented the same concepts of solidarity and group identity that already existed in regional group organisation and mortuary practices before the Inca colonisation. However, there is a stronger importance of hierarchy associated to it, related to the fact that the Incas not only ruled one group,

¹⁸⁸ The dead are usually referred to as '*abuelitos*'= grandparents, in colonial and historic times (Lau 2013, Salomon 1995, Walter 2006).

¹⁸⁹ The Inca Pachacuti is considered to be the one who innovated, institutionalised the cult of the dead expressed in the creation of the Sun Temple, and estates for each royal ancestor to legitimise social differences (Dillehay 1995).

but were also the symbol of domination over hundreds of small communities in the whole empire.

Nowadays Andean people still venerate their ancestors, and have a relationship with their *awilos* (grandparents) watching out for them and helping them in everyday life.¹⁹⁰ In Mangas, people going up to the *cerro San Cristóbal* always bring some offerings to their ancestors (Rojas Runciman 2010: 36). In Acopalca or Yacya (Conchucos) for example, in case of bad meteorological conditions, the community organises a ritual to ask the ‘grandparents’ for their help (Venturoli 2011: 257). In that case, there are the ‘grandparents’ who bring warmth and the ones who bring rain.¹⁹¹ The ritual is only done with the ‘people who know’ and who have a specific dialogue and relationship with supernatural forces. The ritual needs to have the right words and gestures, but also the right tombs to look at. Venturoli (2011) explains that the only way to know the specificity of each awilu is to try, according to each site and tomb. This is according to the time of the year in which the awilu was born, so if you take out the skull and the rain comes then the grandparent was born during the rainy season (Venturoli 2011: 259). This continuity in such practices by some specific members of the community shows a collective dialogue inside the community but also the necessary relationships not only with ‘sacred ancestors’ but between the living and their dead. Despite all the colonisations, it is not the notion of main ancestors that finally prevails, but the fact that death and the dead are part of the on-going and changing process of social memory of past and present Andean communities.

7.2.2 Mortuary practices and monuments as acts of resistance

Monuments are usually seen as elements that imitate natural forms, or were built on them to symbolise the natural extension of culture from nature (Dillehay 2007: 76). Tilley (1994) argues that people give special cosmological, mythical powers and meanings to places. Space is an active force of social composition and construction (cultural, material, symbolic), which is structured by historical changes, memories and identities (Dillehay 2007:76). Places and landscapes are embedded in

¹⁹⁰ There is sometimes mixed feelings towards the ancestors. In Tupicocha (Huarochiri) people are at the same time grateful and scared that the ‘grandparents’ might want to hurt them (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011: 58)

¹⁹¹ In the Cordillera Negra such customs were also recorded through interviews (Kevin Lane pers. comm 2014).

social and individual times of memory; it is a process set from things and spatial encounters (Dielter 1998, Holtorf 2006, Knapp and Ashmore 1998, Tilley 1994: 27). In the Andes, special purpose and meaning are associated with monuments and sacred landscapes, and this spatial localisation is a symbolism of trans-generational continuity (Lane 2011b, Doyle 1988, Duviols 1972, Gose 2008). It is a relationship that includes memory, identity, ideology, social interaction and political complexity, through their rituals and their knowledge about spaces, places and environment (Holtorf and Williams 2006, Ingold 1993, Knapp and Ashmore 1999, Williams 2003). It is through their culture that people can define their sacred space (Lane 2001).

Furthermore, in the Andes the body of the deceased was essential to ensure someone's eternal presence in this world. This close relationship between the living and the dead is also evident in the presence of the mummy bundles inside the house, facilitating the contact between the two worlds, mutual protection and the care of their memory (Silverman 2002, Gillespie 2002). Ethnohistorical documents and archaeological evidence (e.g., Mantha 2004, 2010) show such behaviour in the Ancash highlands from at least the Late Intermediate Period until Late Horizon or Spanish Colonial times.¹⁹² However, Ramos (2010) points out that during political conflict, such behaviour could be viewed with mistrust. Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615) explained how the Incas permitted their subjects to continue using their respective funerary customs, but they prohibited kin from keeping the bodies of their dead relatives in their houses.¹⁹³ Ramos presents it as a central and expanding state trying to find a way to contain the power of regional groups (Ramos 2010: 20). There are few doubts about the political and religious importance of the mummies in the Prehispanic Andes (Isbell 1997, MacCormack 1991, Ramos 2010). In the case of the Ancash highlands, such practices reinforced the social identity of the groups living there. Each family sharing their habitational space with their dead indicated a common memory, origin and identity.

This close relationship between the living and the dead is also evident in the close distribution of the mortuary monuments, in between the habitational areas or just next to them. This is particularly true in Ancash from the LIP in the Conchucos area.¹⁹⁴ However, this is not the case in the whole region. In the Cordillera Negra,

¹⁹² See Cobo 1653.

¹⁹³ See quote in section 4.3.1 of Chapter 4.

¹⁹⁴ See Chapter 5 sites of Rapayán area, Marcajirca.

there is an important use of Type B (caves, under boulder tombs), C (under natural bedrock with external walls defining the tombs) and D (underground tombs) outside the habitational area; and in Huaylas, the analysis shows that Type A tombs are grouped in areas separate from the living.

The difference in the spatial organisation of the mortuary monuments in the Ancash highlands (Huaylas, Cordillera Negra versus Conchucos), and this diversity in mortuary practices might reveal a difference in cultural identity and also in its social structure. As previously mentioned, with the difference in the religious system between the Inca capital and its regions, there are also more variations in the mortuary practices that defined the identity of the groups living in the region. The cultural variability and the continuity in practices evident in the whole region may derive from the difficulty of colonisation of the region by the Incas or the Spanish.

Places of memory keep the past in the present but also link the present to the past (Meskell 2003:36). Human social engagement with landscape ensures that places, meanings and memory are closely related (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 5). It is a process of creation, modification and movement in a spatial milieu reinforcing social relationships and ideas (Bourdieu 1972, Foucault 1975, Giddens 1984), and also studied in archaeology (e.g., Bender 1993, Edmonds 1999, Gosden 1994, Miller 1984, Thomas 1996, Tilley 1994).

Historical archaeologists study the role of space in power relationships, as 'putting someone in their place' (Pauls 2006: 66). If there are no places there are no spaces (Tilley 1994: 15); Tilley (1994) and Pauls (2006) explain the different meanings of space and place. Personal and cultural identity is linked with place, place being more meaningful and a memory marker to the beholder compared to the notion of space (Pauls 2006: 66, Tilley 1994: 15). As Tilley (1994) suggests, the identification of specific topographical elements, site, etc., is essential in the creation and maintenance of their identity (Tilley 1994: 18). In small-scale societies, the main aspects of spatial domination are usually related to age, gender, kin and lineage (Tilley 1994: 26). This is the case for the Andes.

In the context of colonisation, it is the question of 'capture' of spaces and places that is important. For example, spaces are always centred in relation to human agency, and as a mode of resistance, cultural spaces are usually mobilised, appropriating specific aspects of material culture in order to control the

representation of identity to themselves and others (Hall 1999, Ingold 1993, Knapp and Ashmore 1999, Lydon 1999, Scott 2009, Tilley 1994). It is the specificity of place that is essential to understand its significance. Space depends on that social relationship of who and how it is experienced (Ingold 1993). As Tilley (1994: 27) argues, it is the capacity to control access to and influence specific locales for action that is an essential element of the operation of power as domination. Knapp and Ashmore (1999) underline the fact that conquest usually involves the destruction of socio-historical markers in the landscape. The extirpation of the idolatry system in the Andes was a way to destroy previous links between the communities and their past.

Through material culture, economic, religious and social systems are represented for the family, community and generation. In the case of the Andes it can be argued that landscape helped the native populations to perpetuate their customs facing the Spanish conquest. The power of place and their landscape comes from their everyday lives and individual encounters which give meaning, assurance, a feeling of belonging and familiarity to people (Tilley 1994: 26).

Monuments

Monuments are humanly created locales in a landscape, which have some 'power', even if it is only partially visible today (Moore 1996, 2005). As Tilley (1994: 73) argues, through the architectural form that is given to the landscape there is a need to capture and control it. Thus, it is important that the monuments create a visual contrast in the landscape. In that sense, they served as landmarks, orientation points and identity markers in the landscape. This is the reason why massive constructions are built to create an, 'indelible and permanent impact on the landscape' (Tilley 1994: 142). Tombs are symbolic markers and real components of political actuality, forming a principal means of acquiring and demonstrating power (Parker Pearson 2003: 193). Death is engraved in the landscape, forming a fixed point in time and space for future generations. As Parker Pearson (2003) argues, death is never over, because the meaning of death and of its memory, whether enhanced or not by a monument, will forever be reworked.¹⁹⁵ In addition, tombs are the representation of the house of the dead or not just somewhere to put the dead bodies; they legitimise and extend the hegemonic order (Parker Pearson 2003: 196).

¹⁹⁵ Ingold (1993: 162) also considers that the landscape is permanently under construction.

Tombs are a durable marker and permit the dead to be omnipresent in the landscape and in the everyday life of the community (De Leonardis and Lau 2004, Lane 2006). They are the ancestors' embodiment: guarding the fields, promoting fertility, bringing prosperity, representing the group before outsiders, defending the community and its territory, etc. (Nielsen 2008: 220).

In this analysis, it has been possible to differentiate types of tomb for the Ancash highlands. There are differences in their architectural morphology; however, they are all structured and repetitive in the whole region, with a strong relationship to some characteristics of the landscape. It has not been possible to do an extensive analysis of the tombs intervisibility on the landscape. However, Type A tombs tend to be either located to be intervisible with each other, or positioned in relation to specific features of the natural landscape. In the Cordillera Negra, Type A tombs tend to be situated near to natural features such as rivers or sources of water. It is interesting to note the connection with water as a resource but also as a symbolic reference. Kaulicke (2013) suggests that water, rocks and tombs are usually interconnected, symbols of commemoration they are the links between the world of the living and the dead (Kaulicke 2013: 394). We also have to keep in mind that ancestors are seen to be the centre of each group, and that these tombs could also have been 'territorial' demarcation between communities (protecting the fields, irrigation canals) (Herrera 2005, Lau 2002, Mantha 2010).

In the Cordillera Negra, there is also a prominent carved rock on the site of Kipia (possibly a *huaca*), whose carved lines represent the three mountains visible directly behind the rock (See Fig. 5.62). The presence of carved holes, offerings, libation canals around and above the structure suggest a strong relationship between the community living there and their landscape (See Fig. 5.63) (Lane and Luján 2009: 46). Kaulicke defines such rocks, usually situated near caves, as 'instruments of mediation and communication between mortals and supernatural beings' (Kaulicke 2013: 394). In the case of Kipia, this rock is situated in between the habitational area and the mortuary area of the site, with the presence of two Type B (tombs situated under or inside natural cavities/stone) next to it (See Fig. 7.1 and 7.2).

In the case of Type B and C tombs, the rock outcrops or boulders make the monuments visible and invisible at the same time. The natural rocks act as prominent visible markers in the landscape, helping to locate the monuments, but the

monuments themselves cannot be seen. Ethnohistorical documents seen in Chapter 6 mentioned the use of such tombs and the different sources (animals, plants) used as a way to hide them from Spanish eyes.¹⁹⁶ Also, the difficulty to access such places compared to built tombs such as Type A, might suggest their ritual liminality and cultural change due to political transformations.¹⁹⁷

The general analysis of these tombs in the Ancash highlands also revealed different patterns, depending on the area studied from LIP to Colonial times. For example, human built monuments are mainly used in the Conchucos and Huaylas area, whereas, tombs under rock outcrops, boulders or cist tombs are more common in the Cordillera Negra. This may be due to archaeological conservation and the quality of the data sample. Tombs in the Cordillera Negra seem to have a strong relationship with predominant landscape features. Conchucos and Huaylas (where Type A is more common) emphasised landscape connections (for example with the entrance orientation to a dominant focal point in the landscape), and the intervisibility of the tombs. There is a will to make the tombs visible. The studies made by Valverde (2008) in the Cordillera Blanca over three different sites (Queushu, Collpacatac and Oqtawain) and the one of Acosta (2011) in Pueblo Viejo, reveal that the visibility and spatial distribution of the tombs are closely related to different aspects of the landscape, such as: form of the mountains or the presence of an irrigation ditch for instance. In the visual importance of the monuments, in Collpacatac the above-ground structures create circles or lines in the landscape (Valverde 2008). Acosta also observes horizontal and vertical alignment of the tombs on the site of Pueblo Viejo, which can reveal the possible different associations between mortuary and ceremonial communities. Mantha (2004, 2009) observes in Rapayán the presence of above-ground tombs directly placed, or closely attached, to walls. By their size, position and distribution, the tombs are visual markers. They represent territorial strategies not only between the communities but also in the community itself (Acosta 2011: 53).¹⁹⁸

¹⁹⁶ The document also mentions that the use of underground tombs was also a way to protect their *huacas* during conflicts before the Spanish arrival.

¹⁹⁷ In Van Gennep's *Rites of Passage* (1960) the second stage are *liminal rites* or rites of transition. This period of transition is an in-between area, between the sacred and profane. Such hidden tombs could have been the representation of both sacred (for Andean people) and profane (for the Spanish) with Spanish colonisation.

¹⁹⁸ The distribution of above-ground mortuary structures as a territorial and social marker in the landscape has been largely studied in the Andes, to name a few: DeLeornadis and Lau 2004, Herrera 2005, Lau 2002, 2011 and Mantha 2009.

Moreover, it seems that in the Cordillera Negra and Huaylas areas, there was continuity in use of the same areas of the landscape and monuments. Ancestral connections between the living and the past were embodied in the Andean landscape. Populations created landscapes and gave specific meanings and significance, appropriating it with the construction and use of tombs (Ucko and Layton 1999). The tombs physically symbolised this dead/living relationship, creating permanent markers and visual connections in the landscape (Holtorf and Williams 2006). The superimposed construction of tombs above previous ones reflects the importance of the landscape by its appropriation and continuity in use through time and generations (Holtorf and Williams 2006, Lau 2011, 2012). The intergenerational continuity of mortuary practices and monuments, anchor and capture that ancestral power with the landscape. In the case of some areas of the Ancash highlands it can be observed that, even when communities were moved elsewhere with Spanish resettlements, Prehispanic tombs were used as place of memory. The symbolic positioning of the tombs in the landscape fixed the individual with a particular place, meaning and cosmovision. Holtorf and Williams (2006: 240) argue in a case study of commemorative significance about churches and graveyards in England, that the relative isolation from villages of the place of commemoration (church or cemetery) implied that the body was brought a long distance to its burial. In that case, not only the place of worship but also the paths connecting the church to the villages created memories and identities for the communities living there.

This interpretation could be used in the Andes, firstly in Prehispanic times during the Late Intermediate Period in Huaylas and the Cordillera Negra where the funerary sectors were usually situated far away from settlements, but had a strong connection with their landscape. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, this same interpretation could also be applied to the continuity of Prehispanic mortuary practices during Spanish colonial times. Memory was embodied in the landscape. People experienced landscape through the commemorative interaction they had with it, such as the procession of the corpse for funerals or specific ceremonies (De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006, Ingold 2000, Meskell 2003, Tilley 1994). Such practices prevented the disappearance of the ritual and cultural significance of places (Holtorf and Williams 2006). Tombs were landmarks and time-marks, marking the importance of the ancestors in the social organisation of Prehispanic Andean groups (Chapman 1997).

7.3 Religious landscape appropriation and the evangelisation of the New World

At the time of the Spanish colonisation, the Spanish understood the cultural importance of the landscape and monuments, and the problem that they might be in the process of evangelisation of the populations. That is the reason why cultural appropriation was necessary, to erase the ancestral relations and power in the landscape, and all the symbolism behind mortuary monuments.

As Funari (1999) underlines, each context of colonialism has similarities and differences, which makes it important to have a comparative framework in order to understand each historical situation. The studies of Kirch (1992) and Sahlins (1992) on changes in the social and physical landscapes of Hawaii during colonisation, made it clear that the native cultural schema mediated, resisted and changed the colonialist enterprise (Pauls 2006: 68). The structuralist analysis of spatial organisation (Bourdieu 1960, Deetz 1977, Griaule 1948, Jackson 1953), argues that architectural monuments represent the people and cultures that build them. The building embodies a symbolic power with cultural ideals and imposes order on the physical space in which the community lives (Ingold 1993).

The notions of power, memory and practices are interdependent; this means that with significant political changes there will always be transformations of the collective representation of the past (De Cunzo and Ernstein 2006, Nielsen 2008). Colonisation had an important impact on the importance of the landscape and its social significance (Rogers 2005). In the previous point, it was highlighted that for native populations, tombs objectified ancestral power in the landscape; the cultural space and places were used as an act of resistance. As Nielsen (2008: 210) notes, the disappearance of ‘animated objects, beings or features’ can have an irreversible effect of social amnesia. This materiality of memory was necessarily a question of capture, control and appropriation for the colonisers (Mills 1997). Indeed, the erasure of traditional landscapes was inherent to the colonial endeavour, and the political act of forgetting (Pauls 2006: 77). In the case of Peru, it was the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo (1569-1581) who decided to build a strong and effective colonial state (Andrien 1991). He brought the division and grouping of populations into different administrative centres called *reducciones* in order to get more working labour and

evangelise the populations more easily.¹⁹⁹ This imposition of new socio-political organisation, with new settlements and rituals following the European Spanish model, was a way to impose the Spanish hegemony, ‘civilise’ and dominate Andean populations under Spanish colonial power (Abercrombie 1990: 98, Mills 1997: 270, Scott 2009: 69, Robles Mendoza 2006: 106).

‘The Catholic basilicas were seldom built over Roman temples, even though pre-Roman hallowed ground often kept religious importance by being honoured with Catholic chapels’ (Mierse 1999). The experience in the Americas replicates this pattern, using previous native sacred sites to the advantage of the Catholic faith (Funari 2006: 212). Indeed, the emotional charge behind such places increases the necessity of their appropriation and transformation (Van Dyke and Alcock 2003: 6). This created what Holtorf and Williams (2006) define as accumulative landscapes. The three most relevant examples from this database, which illustrate this argument, are the sites of Kipia, Marcajirca and the church of San Francisco de Mangas.

As described earlier, Kipia was occupied through both the Inca and Spanish Colonial periods. The importance of the Prehispanic ceremonial area and *huanca* created an interaction between the landscape and community. However, it is obvious at this site, that the Spanish tried to reappropriate and transform the place by the construction of the chapel above the same geological platform giving it another religious significance (Lane and Luján 2009: 52). This is also evident in the Conchucos area on the site of Marcajirca with the Spanish appropriation of the religious importance of the *apu* Llamoc. The Church of San Francisco de Mangas was constructed above a *pacarina*, the mythical lagoon of ‘mangashcocha’. The Spanish finished draining it to construct two churches, the major one being San Francisco de Mangas (Burgos and Navarro 2013).

In these examples we have a historically layered landscape, with visible aspects from the past but also inspiring an ongoing system of activities (Frankfurter 1998). In the case of Prehispanic Kipia, the *huanca* was made for people to look at the landscape and interact with the outside world. The Spanish changed the landscape, with the construction of the chapel so the landscape could not be seen anymore and the cult was enclosed within the sacred place of the chapel (Kevin Lane pers. comm 2014). This mutual interaction between people and landscape, even if there are no direct acts of cultural memory (from the Spanish), constitutes an

¹⁹⁹ See Zuloaga 2012 for more information on the *reducción* system in the Huaylas area of the Ancash highlands.

embodied response and a hybrid form of commemorative practice (Meskell 2003: 50). The placing of the cross and the churches were supposed to symbolise a new 'permanent' landscape (physically and spiritually). Such places with pagan associations became another holy place within new cultural parameters, removing meaning from their original context.

However, in the case of the Andes, in the long-term, the spatial organisation, original meaning and identity of the places retained their importance, even if the cultural difference was real (i.e., the continuity in practices even with the campaigns against idolatries). As Scott (2009: 163) argues, even if the Spanish changed Andean peoples relationship with their landscape (i.e., *reducciones*, repression against idolatry) the local communities continued to shape their landscape modifying the colonial spatial trajectories (i.e., returns to old habitational sites outside the reductions, continuity in prohibited spiritual practices). She suggests that colonial landscapes were a part of continuous modification by 'negotiation'. This implies not only a dualistic opposition of domination and resistance but a recognition that all parties were proactive agents in shaping colonial landscape (Scott 2009: 165).

7.4 Burial, cultural assimilation, memory and conquest: an Andean regional case

As mentioned in the Introduction (section 1.2), colonial encounters are part of a process that varies through time (Alcock 2005, Dielter 1998, Gosden 2004, Schreiber 2005). It should not be assumed that asymmetrical relations or structures of power, visible at a later stage, were part of early phases of colonial interaction (Dielter 1998). Schreiber (2005: 237) argues that imperial motivations varied spatially and temporally and that 'archaeological data can provide evidence of multiple agendas, even within a single region'.²⁰⁰ The analysis of the archaeological data for the Ancash highlands assesses such arguments. The study of mortuary practices regionally permitted a more balanced vision of such colonial interaction, focusing more on the importance of local agency in such colonial encounters.

In the case of the Inca colonisation, the data shows there is no emphasis between the dominance of the core Inca system towards the periphery. Two main aspects can also be observed for both colonial processes. Firstly, there were

²⁰⁰ See also D'Altroy 2005, Gasco 2005, Lightfoot 2005 and Schreiber 2005.

differences in social and cultural interaction between earlier and later stages of colonial encounters. Secondly, local agency varied spatially and temporally.

Inca colonialism in the Ancash highlands

The ethnic groups living in the Ancash highlands before the Inca colonisation had their own social organisations and were united via kinship and reciprocity relationships. Even though such groups were segregated as much as possible from one to another in their inclusion into the empire, the Inca Empire could not be culturally homogenous (D'Altroy 2002, 2005; Lane 2011a; Schreiber 2005; Wernke 2007). It stayed a multi-ethnic territory with a nuclear centre in Cuzco. The Incas and regional groups shared a common cultural milieu: an analogous form of remembering where tombs and the dead were key symbols of power for all Andean communities (Gosden 2004). *Mallquis* and ancestors were an important source of social control, especially in the Inca system. However, at the beginning of this chapter stated that cultural customs in Cuzco differed from the regional ones during the Inca domination. The short amount of time of Inca dominance did not suffice to inculcate the new religion and customs coming from the capital to the whole Empire. This begs the question, how did the Inca's socio-political organisation deal with such a situation? Was there any sort of assimilation or insertion?

The situation differs widely between the different provinces of the Empire. Nielsen (2008) notes the violent attitude of the Incas toward local ancestor veneration in the southern Andes. Defining the visible destruction of above-ground tombs and their contents as a 'forgetting campaign', employed by the Incas during the expansion of their Empire (Nielsen 2008: 227). Destroying the foundation of the political autonomy and territorial rights of the communities in the southern Andes was a way to impose new power relations and collective representations. The cultural transformation was not only done with erasure of ancestral images, but also in the creation of a new past, where the Incas occupied the higher political authority and ownership of the land due to their direct lineage from the Sun. With the erection of state shrines devoted to the Sun on the top of the mountains, the community *mallquis* and their living descendants were under the Inca and their forefather Sun authority (Nielsen 2008: 227).

Hyslop (1990) also notes that among the Lupaqa of Lake Titicaca, the elite of the community adopted new mortuary practices with Inca ceramic offerings and

used rectangular above-ground tombs with cut-stone ashlar masonry (Cuzco-style), characteristic of fine Inca architecture.²⁰¹ The use of ‘*chulpas*’, or Type A tombs, were associated with the burial of important local individuals during the Inca domination and represented the relationship between this local elite and the Inca state (Hyslop 1990: 248). In the case of the Upper Mantaro Valley, there is an assimilation of new elements from the Inca colonisation (Inca and Imperial style vessel, metal goods) but also continuity in the use of local objects in their mortuary practices (D’Altroy 2002: 195).

In comparison Ancash presents notable differences, although Hernández Príncipe (1621) pointed out that Inca did have a major impact on practices and ‘colonisation’.²⁰² Archaeologically there are few visible regional alterations in mortuary practices. There are no elements of the tomb masonry that imply that there were changes due to Inca influence, in contrast to the change to typical Inca masonry (cut-stone ashlar masonry) in the southern Andes (See D’altroy 2002, Kessili and Pärssinen 2005, Nielsen 2008).²⁰³ There is little visible evidence of destruction of regional tombs and/or construction of new ones. This also suggests that Type A tombs were not used in Ancash as a symbolic representation of the relationship between the locals and the Imperial state, neither it was necessarily associated with a form of burial for a local elite (except maybe in the Cordillera Negra). Different reasons might be suggested for such behaviour, such as, the short amount of time of the colonisation of the area or, perhaps, the importance of other changes in the local communities before the religious one (focusing more on economic aspects). Finally, Ancash might have been a rougher geographical zone and more difficult to access, compared to the tombs situated in the Altiplano area.

Nevertheless, it still seems that after the difficult colonisation of the region, the Incas had a stronger influence on the local occupations of the sites situated in the Conchucos area, compared to the Huaylas and Cordillera Negra zones. This heightened evidence of Inca presence might be due to the closer proximity of the Conchucos area to the regional administrative centre of Huánucopampa and to the existence of the Inca Road system through the area.²⁰⁴ The zone was also an

²⁰¹ Above-ground round structures (‘*chulpas*’) were used in the area prior to the Incas, with the Inca domination the style changed, but round ones continued to be built (Hyslop 1990: 248).

²⁰² See *Visita de Rodrigo Hernández Príncipe* at Ocros (1621) and Recuay (1622) in Duviols (2003).

²⁰³ The use of cut-stone masonry is rare in the provinces of the Inca Empire (D’Altroy 2002: 241).

²⁰⁴ Chapter 5 discussed the role of the *Qhapaq Ñan* in the Conchucos area. Its late construction (around 30 years after the integration to the Empire) could have implied difficulty for the Incas in

important area for its mines and textile production,²⁰⁵ and Huánucopampa was the largest provincial centre in the *Tawantinsuyu* and one of the six ‘New Cuzcos’ built in the image of the capital (D’altroy 2005: 287). This would support the hypothesis of Mantha (2004) that Rapayán region was part of the Huánuco province during Inca times (Mantha 2004: 26). However, if a more important Inca influence is visible in the Conchucos area compared to Huaylas, this does not mean that they had a stronger impact on the population of the area. On the contrary, as this analysis shows and, as other scholars suggest, Conchucos did not lose its autonomy with the Inca colonisation (Herrera 2005, 2006; Mantha 2004, 2009).

Herrera (2005) suggests that Inca pottery was rarely displaced far from the Inca road system, and that both local and imported pottery were related to a specific landscape juncture and mortuary practices, creating a common sacred geography (Herrera 2005: 132). Mantha (2009) confirms that hypothesis, arguing that the Inca presence in other settlements away from the road system and the regional centres is evidenced by only 1% to 2% of Inca ceramics, and with an absence of Inca architecture (Mantha 2009: 162). This analysis corroborates Herrera’s (2005, 2006) and Mantha’s (2004, 2009) hypotheses that the Conchucos area was ruled indirectly by the Incas from their provincial centres, and that they did not have much contact with the local population and a low impact on them. D’Altroy (2005: 270) argues that Inca colonists had to keep their traditional clothing and language, but also had a restricted interaction with local populations. Morris (1972) observed and argued that the lack of cemeteries in Inca provincial centres was probably due to the fact that the Incas considered their presence there as temporary. Furthermore, ancestors were part of the kinship relations and identity for the whole community. As a result Inca people who died in the regional centres were probably brought back to their place of origin to be buried (D’altroy 2002, 2005).

Nonetheless, as Schreiber (2005) would argue, the evidence from this thesis shows that the strategy of expansion, organisation and colonisation of the Inca Empire seems to have been different and had a different impact according to the region of study.

imposing their rules in the area. However, the construction emphasised the relationship between Conchucos and its regional centre, Huánucopampa.

²⁰⁵ See León Gómez (1995) and D’altroy (2002, 2005) about Inca’s colonies of artisans.

Spanish colonialism in the Ancash highlands

As mentioned in Chapter 6, the conquest and colonisation, by the Spanish, of the Americas are closely linked with the European historical context in the 14th and 15th centuries. The Catholic Church had major problems with the repression of heathen rites, in 15th-16th century Spain with Muslim and Jewish groups (Eire 1995, Gosden 2004, Phillips Jr. and Phillips 1991).²⁰⁶ As Janine Gasco (2005) argues, the centrality of the religious ideology and the administrative structures that the Spanish imposed on the New World was very similar to the strategies of reconquest of the Iberian territory from the Muslims (Gasco 2005: 69-108). The Muslims, like the indigenous people living in the Americas, were the ‘others’, the non-Christians. A key example to help to understand that process is the transformation of Santiago Matamoros in Spain to Santiago Mataindios in the Americas (Hernández 2007).

In Spain, the cult to Santiago was critical in the Catholic faith; from the pacifist apostle he became Santiago Matamoros, helping Christianity in its war against the Muslims.²⁰⁷ In the case of the Americas, he appeared three times in battles during the Conquest, becoming a help to convert the ‘others’ to Christianity. Thus, in the Conquest of the Americas, Santiago Matamoros became Santiago Mataindios, in order to convert people to Christianity and erase idolatry (Hernández 2007, Flood 2013).

A concrete example of such a strategy is visible in the Ancash highlands. As discussed earlier, the Spanish occupation of the site of Kipia aimed to appropriate and transform its religious landscape. Indeed, the Spanish built a chapel dedicated to Santiago Mataindios over the Prehispanic *huaca* related to the lightning deity (Libiac or Illapa), creating a syncretic association between them (Lane 2009, 2011).²⁰⁸ Libiac (God of thunder-lightning) was one of the main deities venerated in the Central Highlands, and is commonly mentioned in documents on idolatries of the Ancash/Cajatambo area (Rostworowski 2007: 52).²⁰⁹ The documents also reveal the importance of *mallquis* in celebration dedicated to Libiac. There is little doubt that

²⁰⁶ It must be remembered that, from its earliest days, Christianity had to deal with such problems in Rome itself, when it became the main religion of the Empire (MacCormack 1991).

²⁰⁷ He is the patron saint of Spain and is represented with a black beard and riding a white horse.

²⁰⁸ Chapter 5 discussed the function of the *huacas* in the cosmological landscape between the living and the dead. Illapa is also considered to be the venerated body of the ancestors (Kaulicke 2013: 397). In Guamán Poma de Ayala's Drawing 112, the deceased Inca is called *Inca Yllapa aya* (See Fig.4.3). Inti-Illapa was the deity to whom to address for rain (Rowe 1946: 294-5; D'Altroy 2002: 149).

²⁰⁹ See AGI, Lima, 801; AAL, Idolatrías, Leg. VI, Exp.10, 1656, fol.4v; AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 11, Exp.I, 1642, fol.196 and Hernández Príncipe documents about Santa María Magdalena and Recuay idolatries in Duviols 2003. See Burga 1988 about myths in Mangas, Ocros, Otuco and Pimachi.

the presence of the chapel and effigy of Santiago on that site was a way to introduce the new faith, and the new image of protection in Andean communities.²¹⁰

Moreover, Guamán Poma de Ayala (1615) also notes the powerful association between Illapa and Santiago, with the fact that the Incas considered the apparition of Santiago on his white horse, as lightning on earth. Santiago Mataindios' effigy is today situated in the Church of Pamparomas village, as a symbol of Christianity and also as a symbol of transculturation (See Fig. 7.3). There are also 20th century paintings visible at the back of the altar, representing the result of the Spanish Evangelisation in the area. These elements identify a rupture between the images and the Spanish evangelisation, where Andean populations preferred to keep part of their culture through the centuries, changing some aspects and integrating elements of the new one.

This syncretism between the old and the new can also be seen in a painting in which Jesus is represented with Andean traits, wearing local clothes and coming from the mountains to meet the Andean populations, and also other Prehispanic elements, such as carved stones (See Fig. 7.4 to 7.6). Local populations created a new identity to the effigies or Christian images. They made them become one of them, a member of the community that they could easily identify with, in order to recompose their own identity.

Peter Gose's analysis of Spanish colonialism in the Andes in his 2008 book really focused on an important aspect of Andean organisation that should be taken into consideration when trying to understand the possible changes in mortuary practices with the colonisation impact, namely Andean society was based on kinship, group cohesion and obligation. Gose (2008) suggests that the shifting of political relationships was the main element for change in the cultural aspects of Andean society due to the importance of social cohesion and organisation for Andean people (Martirena 2010: 14).

Chapter 5 described two different behaviours around mortuary practices: on the one hand, the continuity in worshipping the ancestors, and on the other hand the adoption of the customs around death. The early years of the Spanish conquest saw an important movement of opposition (*Taqui Onqoy*) in southern Peru against the colonisation and the early extirpation of idolatry. They believed that Spanish

²¹⁰ See more particularly AAL, Capítulos, Leg. 11, Exp.I, 1642, fol.196 in Appendix A.

colonisation brought an internal crisis in the relationship with the ancestors.²¹¹ Andean communities believed that they were inflicted with mortal diseases because some of their people left the ancestors for the new god of the Spaniards. The only remedy to cure that breakdown was to restore the cults and sacrifices to their ancestors (Gose 2008: 109-110). The Spanish quickly understood the importance of mortuary practices and ancestors in the well-being and organisation of Andean societies. For the Spanish, death and mortuary practices had an essential role in the colonisation and evangelisation of the New World. In contrast to Inca colonisation, death was used by the Spaniards as an element of cultural assimilation to new practices and as a system of cultural and social erasure of old customs and organisation.

Chapter 6 also revealed that linguistic acculturation and myth appropriation were the main elements used by the Spanish to understand the Andean culture. The Spanish also inculcated new concepts, ideology and customs and eradicated the old customs. The language barrier was a disruption into the evangelisation. The Spanish knew that they needed to change it as Andean people were strongly attached to their myths of origins, the ancestor veneration, and that they usually used them to change local understanding, such as the course of disease or the absence of rain. However, two different opinions about the 'theology of translation' divided the Church; those who followed a syncretic Andean Christianity as an aim and those who considered native languages as a memory marker for idolatries. Also it must be kept in mind that myth and ancestor veneration are also linked to landscape appropriation in the Andes. Andean people had a strong relationship with their landscape.²¹² In the Andes, it was the ancestors who maintained the fertility of the land and stimulated the natural increase of species, created the world and interacted with it (Isbell 1997, Kaulicke 2000, Lau 2008). Landscape was a visual reminder of myths and provided permanent markers, which ensured their significance for the populations living and experiencing it (Tilley 1994: 59). Myth and ancestors were not only embodied in the 'natural' landforms, they were embodied in the form of ancestral stones or monuments dotting the landscape.²¹³

²¹¹ See for more information on the subject: Duviols 2008, Gose 2008, Mills 1997, Stern 1993, Wachtel 1990.

²¹² Similar to the Aboriginal concept of landscape in Australia, people in the Andes lived their day-to-day experience through their ancestral past, being emotionally bound to their land (Tilley 1994).

²¹³ See *huanacas* in Chapter 2 and in the ancestors' discussion in this chapter.

‘Both land and language are equally symbolic resources drawn to foster correct social behaviour and values’ (Tilley 1994: 33). During colonisation, the Spanish had to change two elements; firstly, the local language, to be able to adapt the narrative to their own values and significances, and secondly, they had to transform the places, landscapes and their monuments.

Places recalled past events and had specific and powerful significance for the people living there. As Tilley (1994: 54) writes ‘The identities of individuals are constructed in and through the material remains of ancestral transformations linking them to previous generations and their contemporaries, a world in which every prominent feature is associated with a mythological event’. It was the myths and the rituals that constructed the Andean landscape and also gave meaning to the world and place in which people lived. The Catholic Church could not provide the solutions given previously by the *huacas* or ancestors for the fears and problems of everyday life of the Andean people (Spalding 2008: 288). The Spanish tried to introduce a completely new culture in order to erase the indigenous past, beliefs and customs and give them a new identity. Through the changes due to this colonial encounter Andean people created their own identity where syncretism and transculturation helped them to survive and keep their old beliefs alive (Flood 2013).

In conclusion, it can be said that conquest and colonisation are parts of a long process, which in itself makes the trauma continue through time. Two types of colonial behaviour can be observed in the Ancash highlands: The Inca one, integrating the regional customs as part of the Empire without challenging the principles on which they are based (colonialism with a shared cultural milieu), and the European one, violently imposing a culture that was totally foreign to the local populations (*Terra nullius*) (Gosden 2004).

These two phenomena brought different consequences on the practices in the region (Wachtel 1990: 135). The Inca inclusion of regional communities in the Empire meant their subordination to a centralised administration. Culturally, however, different levels of development are evident between mortuary practices in Ancash and the south of Peru, near to the capital of the Empire.²¹⁴ The regional communities in Ancash were more autonomous than expected with Inca colonisation. However, the second colonisation by the Spanish could be described as Gosden (2004) writes, a

²¹⁴ Indeed, as seen in Chapter 5, Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands had no particular features of Inca influence, however, in the south-east of Peru, around the Cuzco area and Titicaca lake, Type A tombs are really specific to Inca architecture and identity (See Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005).

terra nullius form of colonialism. The Church organisation played an important role in the evangelisation of the Andes, and of the Ancash region. In Ancash there is a clear division between regular and secular clergy. The strong presence of the Dominicans and Mercedarians (who generally accepted native traditions within Andean Christianity) opposed to the secular clergy could be a reason why there was a disparity in the continuity of Prehispanic customs throughout the region. This opposition might have been used by local populations as a strategic way to setback the fight against idolatry.²¹⁵ Moreover, the place of native literates was also a problematic issue for the Church and should not be omitted. The role of native assistants and native fiscales also played a central role on the impact of the evangelisation of the region. A further study on the subject would help to shed more light on the issue. However, the study of the ethnohistorical documents in this thesis (Chapter 6) reveals numerous native grievances towards the administration of some parishes of the area. As Charles (2010: 175) points out, with the visits of idolatries the Indians not only learned the rules that applied to parishioners but also the ones that applied to priests: ‘Andean litigants reversed the situation, taking the criticisms that the clergy unleashed against native parishioners and directing the same criticisms against Catholic priests’ (Charles 2010: 179). These internal conflicts within the Church had a strong impact on the evangelisation of the Andes, it divided the Church between divergent missionary strategies and permitted Andean communities to challenge Spanish colonialism. Such instability in the process of evangelisation of the area probably favored the continuity in the use of Prehispanic mortuary practices in some areas of the Ancash highlands.

Spanish colonialism led to major changes in the social structure of the communities, trying to erase the balanced and reciprocal relationship that Andean people had with their ancestors. Nevertheless, even though this loss of culture made the social structure unbalanced and unilateral, there was not a complete severance and the logic of the old system remained. Fragments of the ancestral memory inscribed in the landscape were still in the minds of the people in the area that included partial regional continuity in practices (Wachtel 1990: 415). This was the case for ‘idolatry’ practices in the region until at least the late 17th century. Also, tombs continued to be important for the representation of ancestors and keeping their pasts alive.

²¹⁵ See the example mentioned in Charles 2010: 170 about Conchucos.

Furthermore, the study of mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands and the changes brought by the Spanish colonisation show a juxtaposition of two religious systems. There was a different acculturation according to the status in society of the person (rich or poor) and their geographical situation. There was not the same impact on the adoption of the new funerary rites between the capital and the Ancash highlands, or between the main Spanish cities of the region compared to remote villages. As Wachtel defines it, the Ancash highlands were at the head of a 'disacculturation' without a true acculturation of mortuary practices during the Spanish colonisation (Wachtel 1990: 241).²¹⁶ In this cultural confrontation Andean populations tried to reject this hegemony while reproducing it; and thus resistance was necessarily part of the change (Abercrombie 1990: 99).

Finally it has to be remembered, and as Gosden (2004: 25) argues, such classification of types of colonialism does not mean that there was no change or only one form of colonial encounter. Colonialism in the Andes was not a unilateral process of erasure. Such changes and instability in the colonisation and evangelisation process in the highlands shows that it consisted of many exchanges between both sides, which had the outcome of reconstructing new identity (Martirena 2010: 21). There is a system of 'double articulation' where each side needed the other to define itself (Abercrombie 1990).

²¹⁶ The term disacculturation means the loss of cultural traits.

VIII

Conclusions

Prehispanic burials and mortuary practices in the Andes varied from one period to another, from region to region but also within the same region (Lyon 1995, Murphy *et al.* 2010). This great variety and complexity are usually forgotten in the study of Andean mortuary practices. When mortuary practices in the Andes are described there is a tendency for writers to focus on major periods or relevant ethnohistorical examples and apply them as a generality. The impulse to forget the cultural variability of the Andean region and to generalise a problem that is more complex and essential in the construction of the social identity and memory of a group is therefore problematic. Ethnohistorical documents are geographically and temporally limited, and it is necessary to go further than the simple description of the Inca ancestor veneration, by also considering evidence gathered from common burials.

This specific study of the Ancash highlands, presents mortuary and burial practices in a more nuanced and complex way, resituating it as part of a whole system, which is located at the centre of Andean society. The study of changes in the architectural form of the tombs allowed me to identify the changes in mortuary practices over the *longue durée*. The importance of the dead for the living in the Andes is reasserted, and how this interaction is related to monuments, landscape, cultural identity, and the collective memory of a group is made clear (see Chapter 7). Another significant result of this research was the production of another view of colonialism within the region (by the Incas and the Spanish) through death. Again, this was achieved by going beyond the basic description of Prehispanic mortuary practices, in order to perceive and reconstitute them as a whole cultural process, which could be affected and transformed by colonialism. Through the regional case study developed in this thesis, it has been possible to problematize different aspects and notions of Inca and Spanish colonialism. This analysis revealed that these two sequential colonial encounters were, in effect, very different processes that had distinct repercussions on the mortuary practices of the region.

8.1 Mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands from the Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440) until the end of the 18th century

As a result of this study's interdisciplinary approach, I was able to combine archaeological data with the archaeological analysis of almost 1000 tombs over 132 sites distributed all over the highlands. This in turn, led me to construct the first detailed database and develop and define a new typology for the tombs in the Ancash highlands: Type A (quadrangular stone-built above-ground tomb), Type B (tomb situated under or inside natural cavity or boulder), Type C (above-ground tomb situated under natural bedrock with wall constructions defining it), Type D (underground tomb).²¹⁷

Due to the variability of tomb use, this study mainly focused on Type A tombs from the Late Intermediate Period until the 18th century. This analysis demonstrates a diachronic evolution of Type A tombs in the Ancash highlands which can be sub-divided into three identifiable periods: the Early Middle Horizon (AD 700-900), the Late Middle Horizon beginning of the Late Intermediate Period (approx. AD 800-900) and the Late Intermediate Period onwards (AD 900-1536). The first constructions of Type A tombs are from the Middle Horizon (**Early MH-TYPA-CH1** and **Early MH-TYPA-CH2**).

- **Early MH-TYPA-CH1**: These tombs are characterised by their large size, generally grouped together next to the residential sector of the site. They are usually above a platform, have multiple storeys, entrances and rooms. The evidence shows that these tombs can only be found in the Huaylas area.

Another similar type of tomb was also used during the same period:

- **Early MH-TYPA-CH2**, tombs of this type share the same masonry as the first group but are usually smaller with only one storey, chamber and entrance.

These characteristics point to a more transitional style of tomb (probably around the end of Middle Horizon, beginning of Late Intermediate Period (AD 900):

- **Late MH-LIP-TYPA-CH**: are similar to Early MH-TYPA-CH2 except that they have no platform and a different type of masonry and entrance.

This variability is also a regional marker in the sense that in Huaylas it seems that there was a continuous relationship with the sacred landscape that is characterised by

²¹⁷ Each of them have their own subtypes see Chapter 5.

the reuse of previous mortuary monuments. In the Conchucos area such monuments only appeared around the Late Intermediate Period. Such results are based on the fact that little has been published on Middle Horizon sites in Conchucos, and that scholars have not yet clearly defined a way to differentiate Middle Horizon to Late Intermediate Period material. Thus, the classification of Type A tombs as LIP and their emergence in Conchucos only from the LIP could be challenged with future research on the topic.

Three types of Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440) tombs are visible in the Conchucos area:

- **LIP-TYPA-CC1**: These are small-medium sized above-ground structures of quadrangular groundplan. They only have one storey, chamber and entrance, a gable roof and no platform.
- **LIP-TYPA-CC2**: These are similar to the ones described above, except that they are multi-storey buildings with protruding slabs defining each level.
- **LIP-TYPA-CC3**: The last type has better finished masonry. They are multi-storey above-ground structures with gable roof and protruding slabs.

Even though this study is mainly focused on the analysis of Type A tombs, this research and the material found in the tombs underline the fact that they were not the only type of tombs used in the region from the Late Intermediate Period (AD 900) until Colonial times (AD 1533). Underground tombs (Type B3-B4 and D1) did not disappear with the emergence of Type A tombs but were still used until Colonial times. Numerous Spanish colonial testimonies describe Type B tombs as being one of the main types used before the Spanish arrival (AD 1533). This analysis suggests that Type C were used from late Middle Horizon-Late Intermediate Period. (AD 900-1440). Archaeological and ethnohistorical evidence suggests that, despite the fact that new mortuary customs were introduced with Spanish colonialisation (i.e., Catholic burial), Types A, B, C and D1 continued to be used during the Spanish Colonial period.

With this database it was possible to identify five important changes:

1. The changes in Type A tomb constructions from the Middle Horizon until Colonial times.
2. The changes in dead/living relationships between Middle Horizon and the Late Intermediate Period.

3. The different types of tombs used in the Ancash highlands from the Late Intermediate Period until Colonial times.
4. Regional variability of tomb use and characteristics, hinting at specific local practices.
5. The impact of the Inca and Spanish colonisation on the mortuary practices of the region.

The formal analysis of the tombs used during the Middle Horizon and those used during later periods revealed changes in the relationship between the living and the dead. The characteristics of Early Type A tombs, including their size (more than one-storey from 1.5m to 7m high), internal disposition (more than one chamber), setting and orientation, tend to suggest a more direct relationship between the living and the dead. The living had to physically interact with the dead as a regenerating experience (i.e., getting into the tomb crouching, darkness) (Lau 2012, 2013).

During the Late Intermediate Period, the formal changes in Type A tombs suggest a more restricted access. The area of the tomb (3m² to 11 m²), their size (from 0.6m to 1.5m), size of the entrance and the presence of only one chamber indicate that the tombs became smaller compared to MH. This made it physically more difficult to interact with the dead within the tomb. Interaction was therefore restricted to external contact and the dead engaged with the living community through their presence and participation at ceremonies, feasts and processions. Late Intermediate Period Type A tombs suggest that there was a strong relationship with features of the landscape, which were also used as placemarkers. This indicates that the dead were needed to help and protect the living (i.e., boundary markers, bringing fertility and vital resources). In that sense, it seems that early Type A tombs implied a more internal and physical relationship (with interaction taking place inside the tomb) between the living and the dead, whereas later Type A tombs are expressive of an external interaction between the living, the dead and the landscape (Herrera 2005, Lau 2012, Mantha 2009). Despite the Inca colonisation (AD 1460) of the area mortuary practices retained their regional and local character.

The two successive colonisations of the Ancash highlands differ from one another. This is mainly due to the fact that the Inca system was relatively similar to that of the communities they conquered whereas the Spanish arrival in the Andes saw the introduction of a new socio-political organisation, religious system and

beliefs. Thus, these two distinct types of colonialisation did not have the same impact on Andean communities and their customs.

The Ancash highlands was always a rebellious region during the Inca colonisation and as a result was assimilated relatively late into the Empire. The study of tomb use in the Ancash highlands from the Late Intermediate Period (AD 900-1440) until the Late Horizon (AD 1440-1536) did not reveal specific characteristics in mortuary architecture that would suggest particular Inca influence. This was probably due to the fact that Type A tombs, even if they were architecturally completely different from the ones in Ancash, were also one of the main mortuary monuments used to bury the dead in the capital of the Empire and its environs. Thus, due to the late integration of Ancash into the Empire (AD 1460), and the similarity in burial practices and tombs, I have argued that the Incas did not see changes in mortuary practices as a priority in their colonial project. However, as Lane (2011) suggests, this does not mean that there was no Inca presence in the area. The presence of Inca ceramics in some of the tombs confirms that there was interaction.²¹⁸ This leads me to agree with Lane (2011) that instead of no presence at all, there were different degrees of colonial influence at different times in different regional areas. Being part of, or next to strategic, regional centres such as (Huánuco Pampa), or in areas close to the Imperial Inca capital (Nielsen 2008), resulted in many types of impact on the population, which remain archaeologically evident. In this case, evidence clearly shows that the sites and the architectural features of Type A tombs situated in the Conchucos area (close to Huánucopampa) received more influence from the Incas compared to those in Huaylas or Cordillera Negra area. This would corroborate Mantha's (2004) hypothesis that Rapayán's region (Conchucos) was probably part of the Huánuco province during Inca times. Even if we cannot rule out Inca occupation of the area, it appears that no explicit Inca masonry was used to build mortuary monuments. This analysis did not find any drastic changes of the mortuary monuments, as was the case in the southern region of the Empire (Hyslop 1990, Nielsen 2008). In my view, the Inca exerted more influence over the area next to the capital, Cuzco, and in sectors closer to the major administrative centres.

In conclusion, it is possible to say that there is little evidence that, with Inca colonisation, populations changed or developed an Inca identity through their mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands. It does not appear that Type A tombs

²¹⁸ See database in Appendix C.

were only used for the elite, as in the southern part of Peru (D'Altroy 2002, Hyslop 1990, Kesseli and Pärssinen 2005). However, this does not rule out the possibility that other colonial strategies, such as the Inca road system, the importance of the region for their mines and textile production were used to integrate these regional populations into the Imperial system. Ancash was ruled indirectly by the Incas through their regional centres. This method of colonisation implies that they had less interaction with the interior heartlands of the region (Herrera 2006, Mantha 2004).

One of the stated purposes of the Spanish conquest of the Americas was the evangelisation of its populations, but the Catholic Church encountered some difficulties in attaining this objective at the beginning of the conquest. The lack of organisation of the Church and its absence of unity resulted in the pace of evangelisation being slower than expected. In Chapter 3, I argued that there was a strong division between the regular and secular clergy in the ways they converted local populations to the new faith. Other difficulties such as the language barrier, the landscape, the absence of hospitals, priests or the money needed for burial as a good Christian, had an important impact on how Andean populations changed their mortuary practices. In the case of the Ancash highlands, two responses to evangelisation are evident. There is a possible resistance and a strong continuity of old mortuary practices. Archaeological evidence revealed the use of Type A tombs until at least the 17th century. Ethnohistorical documents (17th century) also confirm that there was continuity in the use of Prehispanic tombs (Types A, B, C, D1) related with the practice of clandestine disinterment. The *pacaricuc* rite also continued to be widely celebrated in the region during the 17th century.²¹⁹ A second response can be detected in documents (17th-18th century) and archaeological evidence (Kipia, San Francisco de Mangas), which reveal that people converted to the new faith and wanted to be buried in consecrated ground. The colonial burials excavated in the region reveal a transculturation in practices; adopting new mortuary customs but still retaining Prehispanic features (e.g., orientation of the tombs, presence of offering pits in Kipia's burials). Nevertheless, this analysis reveals that Spanish colonialism in the Andes was more than a straightforward situation of coloniser and colonised, domination and resistance, core and periphery relationship. It was a long process, where people from both communities adapted and made choices. The results of this research enable me to hypothesise that such different behaviours towards mortuary

²¹⁹ See Table 3.5 and Chapter 5.

practices might be due to a difference in social status. Instead of a complete rejection of the new customs, evidence shows that the poor, even if they wanted to be buried as Christians, were not able to afford the price of the burial or to be part of a confraternity. The absence and low usage of hospitals in the region compared to main cities such as Lima, affected the impact of the evangelisation in the area and the number of people dying as converted Catholics. Furthermore, the survival of the *ayllus* during the 16th and 17th centuries and close kinship relationships between the families and their dead probably contributed to the continuity of Prehispanic mortuary customs more or less syncretically. As a result, I agree with Griffiths (1999: 1) when he says that Christianity and native American religious interaction have to be seen as a reciprocal exchange rather than unilateral imposition of uncompromising, all conquering and all-transforming monotheism.

This research project has benefitted from access to, and scrutiny of, separate data, which illuminates different and, at times, contradictory visions of history and cultural practices. A key part of this research is related to the concept of colonialism and changes in practice and organisation due to the intrusion of an external agent. In Chapter 2, I posed the question; do we have to see colonialism as an assimilative process or a juxtaposition of two entities?

This thesis expands our understanding of how colonialism and evangelisation of the New World have changed some aspects of cultures in contact sociologically and ideologically. It addresses the question of identity, social memory and change due to colonialism. Changes in mortuary practices were part of the religious syncretism evident in the Andes during the Christianisation of Peru.

For example, Kipia in the Cordillera Negra, where people replaced one of their gods called Llibiac with the image of Santiago Mataindios (discussed in Chapter 7), highlight the ‘superficial’ effect of the evangelisation, which persisted at least until the second half of the 17th century, and the resistance of the local communities. For Andean people, the rejection of the idols by the church was to renounce all the elements that gave meaning to the universe: gods, sacred places and mummies of the ancestors. These cultural elements were necessary for cosmological balance and the well-being of Andean communities. Thus, it was not a rejection of Christianity in general, but a reaction to the fact that the new faith and customs brought by the Spanish were not able to provide the same functions and meaning in people’s lives, leaving them without answers.

This thesis also highlights the continued importance of the mortuary monuments and their visibility in the landscape, which played an essential role in the colonisation of the area. The communities had a strong relationship between the landscape, their dead and their customs. For the Spanish it was a way to change the local culture through landscape appropriation. The Spanish replaced pagan markers by Catholic symbols, in other words, changing the form in order to change or erase the meaning of the place. However, even if the meaning changed through time and these tombs were no longer used for their original religious purpose, they appear to have been respected by the communities as living memorials and as links with their ancestors.

These different conclusions support what Nancy Farriss (1984) stresses regarding the Maya society under Spanish colonial rule. She suggests that the arrival of Christianity in the Americas was not a drastic change from one religion to another, or the superimposition of the new religion on a pagan base, it was more of a mutual exchange, where the two religions were not two different entities but a more complex system of similarities and interaction (Farriss 1984: 295).²²⁰

In conclusion, the study of these two colonial case studies in the Ancash highlands makes clear that colonialism is not necessarily a destructive process but facilitates the regeneration and remembrance of others. The importance of individual choice and agency in the social trajectories of the colonial process must also be stressed. ‘Native cultural logics and perceptions of events play an essential role in how interactions have been structured’ (Rogers 2005: 30). The population living in the Ancash highlands did not drastically change their mortuary customs with their integration into the Inca Empire or with the advent of Spanish evangelisation. In the same way as the Incas, the Spanish used acculturation to secure regional stability, thus preventing and destroying rebellious movements. However, such a colonial strategy, depended upon keeping some of the structures and logic of the old system, and as a result, the Andean populations were able to save part of their social memory and identity. Over the course of approximately 250 years (1533-1799) Spanish colonialism evolved from an authoritarian top-down model in the beginning, to an enculturated hybrid system that incorporated elements of indigenous cultural practices and processes. Cultural adaptations and processual changes also occurred over the same period within Ancash communities. The result was that both

²²⁰ For the Andes see: Mills 1997.

communities were shaped by their interactions with one another. This research should not be restricted to the Andean context. Theories that adopt a pluralistic approach to colonial power, colonial encounters and cross-cultural interactions are applicable worldwide (Gose 2008, MacCormack 1991). The contribution and complementarity of the different disciplines – such as ethnohistory, anthropology and archaeology – are necessary for a true understanding of social history. Each colonial encounter is situated within a specific historical context and circumstances, which change the present day perceptions of their impact.

8.2 Recommendations for further research

The research conducted during this project has made me reconsider which aspects should be discussed in this thesis and which should be kept for further studies on the subject.

This first substantial database on formal and material aspects of mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands was created to provide a starting point for future research relating to the tombs of the region and their use from AD 1000 to 1799. This has enabled the identification of gaps requiring future research. New sites are constantly being reported, and new data will add to my dataset presented here. Despite the fact that many of the tombs have been looted, it would be useful to excavate selected sites in order to complete this database. Also, as mentioned in the introduction of this thesis, archaeological excavations of church cemeteries are rare in Peru. However, studies like the one carried out in the Church of San Francisco de Mangas, in Ancash or by Klaus (2008, 2011) in the Lambayeque valley, reveal important results on the mortuary practices and cultural adaptation of the communities affected by Spanish colonialism. The colonial church of Pimachi still standing today would be an interesting church to excavate for its colonial burials. On one of the side of the church part of the colonial cemetery is still visible. Furthermore historical documents of the visits of Pimachi in 1656 by the extirpator of idolatries Bernardo de Noboa mention the problem of disinterment until at least mid- 17th century (Robles Mendoza 2006: 129).

Furthermore, the distribution of Type A tombs according to their elevation and ecological zones in the different areas of the region seems to have some cultural significance that should be looked at in further detail. It would also be interesting to include the study of tomb distribution and landscape relationship of the different sites

of the region, and see if a difference in either time or the region of occupation can be observed. This study of the highlands could also be extended with a study of the region that includes the coast of Ancash. It would be useful to observe the local differences in mortuary practices between the coast and the highlands, and if the effects of the different episodes of Inca and Spanish colonisation were similar to those in the highlands. D'Altroy (2002: 253) suggests that there was a strong Chimú resistance against the Inca occupation. According to D'Altroy (2002) and Franklin Pease (1991:106) there were no major Inca centres built on the north coast, and these administrative centres were situated in the highlands. This suggests that there was probably an indirect administration of the area, similar to that in the Ancash highlands. Recent research on the coast of Ancash suggests the presence of 'hybrid' Chimú-Inca tombs (Navarro and Helmer 2014). Baltasar Jaime Martínez Compañón's (1780) study and drawings, give useful insights of the presence of 'hybrid' Chimú- Spanish Colonial tombs on the coast of Trujillo. He also described the use of *chullpa*, or above-ground mortuary monument, in the mortuary practices of Trujillo highlands with a representation of a Chimú artefact (Fig. 8.1) (Cabello Carro 2003: 31).

The study of ethnohistorical documents could also be extended in two ways: firstly by studying the material preserved in the Archbishopric Archives of Huaraz (not yet opened to the public); and also with a more focused study of the *protocolos notariales* of specific cities of the region, such as Huaraz or Caraz.

Finally, if we look at other regions of Peru, there are numerous documents and archaeological remains showing the survival of Prehispanic mortuary practices during colonial times in the coastal zone. A fuller view of the region could be generated as a result of conducting future cross-disciplinary archaeo-ethnohistorical studies which take the coast as a focus. This would include the archival documents excluded from the case study in this thesis and mentioning the coast of Ancash.

I will conclude by stating that this first regional study of mortuary practices in the Ancash highlands from AD 1000 to 1799 enabled me to get a broader vision of how Andean communities transformed and adapted their customs during colonial encounters. This thesis describes a more complex situation that differed from just adopting or rejecting a version of new mortuary practices that resulted from colonial contact. This thesis also suggests that the adoption or rejection of new customs could be the result of the development of a more stratified urban society during colonial

times where the poor were not exposed to some of the new ideas and practices. The creation of *cofradías*, hospitals and new mortuary customs were probably functioning well in the main cities where a larger Spanish presence existed. The Spanish colonial system promoted individualism in urban centres whereas in local regional areas notions of kinship and a collective approach towards death were still predominant. This thesis has shown that mortuary practices, and mentalities around death, evolved and adapted through time in spite of, and as a result of, interactions with others in colonial contexts. Nevertheless, mortuary practices were a political, social and identity marker that had a central role for Andean communities in the *longue durée*.

Glossary

The following non-English terms appear in the text. They are words of Spanish or Quechua origins. Spellings may diverge from some other books. Definitions here are my own or have been taken from the glossary of Kenneth Mills' (KM) book: *Idolatry and Its Enemies*, Kevin Lane (2006) (KL) or they are my own translation of my reading of Nathan Wachtel (1990) (NW) and Pierre Duviols (2008) (PD).

<i>Amay:</i>	architectural burial (PD).
<i>Apu:</i>	lord, also god or 'spirit', often reverential term of address for a high mountain peak (KM).
<i>Audiencia:</i>	regional governing body and court, consisting of judges and a president; also refers to this court's territorial jurisdiction.
<i>Ayllu:</i>	a localised social group of extended kin (KM).
<i>Cacicazgo:</i>	office of <i>cacique</i> (KM).
<i>Campo Santo:</i>	burial-ground or cemetery.
<i>Cementerio:</i>	cemetery.
<i>Chicha:</i>	maize beer.
<i>Chullpa:</i>	above-ground tomb, megalithic graves, with 'houses' aspect. Also found under <i>chulpa</i> .
<i>Cofradía:</i>	religious brotherhood.
<i>Concilio:</i>	the Council orders were created to organise the Church in the New World and standardize criteria and texts to expand the true faith.
<i>Corregidor:</i>	a district administrator appointed by the Spanish Crown (KM).

<i>Corregimiento:</i>	a district (within larger <i>audiencia</i>) under a <i>corregidor</i> .
<i>Curaca:</i>	native lord of non-Inca Andean people; in colonial times a regional Andean governor, playing an intermediary role between Spanish authorities and native Andeans. <i>Curaca</i> was often used interchangeably with <i>cacique</i> (KM).
<i>Doctrina:</i>	a parish.
<i>Encomendero:</i>	Spaniard to whom a group, or groups, of Indians have been ‘entrusted.’ He might demand manual labour and tribute from the Indians, theoretically in exchange for payment, protection, and religious instruction (KM).
<i>Encomienda:</i>	a grant of labour and tribute rights from the Crown to an <i>encomendero</i> over specified groups of Indians (KM).
<i>Guaranga:</i>	Inca decimal division signifying ideally 1000 households. In practice few <i>guarangas</i> were ever 1000 households (KL).
<i>Hacienda:</i>	a large landed estate, in which ranching and farming normally occurs.
<i>Huaca:</i>	a local or regional sacred place and divinity; often but not exclusively, an ancestor being and “founder” in the surrounding landscape, regularly nourished with offerings and given reverence, whose deeds and histories make sense of a region and are recounted by the people who are his or her progeny (KM). Also found under <i>guaca</i> .
<i>Idolatría:</i>	‘idolatry’; refers especially to surviving prehispanic beliefs and practices, but often to all suspect Andean religion and culture, including alleged perversions of Christianity (KM).

<i>Instrucción:</i>	first legislative text concerning the Extirpation created in 1545 (PD).
<i>Intendencia:</i>	Spanish administrative unit introduced with the Bourbon Reforms (18 th century).
<i>Janca:</i>	zone situated above 4,800 masl with low temperatures and lack of oxygen, makes it unsuitable for habitation.
<i>Machay:</i>	cave grave. Nomination usually used in historical documents to refer to a tomb. Also found under <i>machays</i> , <i>machayes</i> or <i>machais</i> .
<i>Mallqui:</i>	an ancestor whose body has been mummified; a god of regional significance, and like the <i>huaca</i> , regularly nourished with offerings and commemorative, festive attention (KM). Also found under <i>malqui</i> .
<i>Mitma:</i>	military colony resettled from one region to another (PD).
<i>Pacaricuc:</i>	ceremony for the dead which takes place immediately after death and last five days.
<i>Pacarina:</i>	place of origin and to which one returns, venerated by native Andeans (KM).
<i>Pachaca:</i>	term often used interchangeably with <i>ayllu</i> .
<i>Partido:</i>	part of an <i>intendencia</i> .
<i>Protocolos notariales:</i>	notarial register.
<i>Pucullo:</i>	underground, single chambered, stone-lined tomb.
<i>Puna:</i>	the highest habitable eco-zone before the snowline and is a traditional pastoralist area (KL).

<i>Purucaya:</i>	one-month ceremony performed one year after the death of the Inca.
<i>Qhapaq Ñan:</i>	Inca road system.
<i>Quechua:</i>	the last major cultivation zone, predominantly crops, important for bean, maize and potato agriculture (KL).
<i>Real Cedúla:</i>	document with orders and information sent by the King to the Spanish in the New World.
<i>Reducción:</i>	a forced resettlement of native Andean groups in colonial times (KM).
<i>Suni:</i>	a mixed economy transitional area, between the agricultural quechua and the pastoralist alpine tundra, that characterises the highest zone of the Cordillera Negra (KL).
<i>Supay:</i>	Andean force or “spirit” with both good and evil properties, sometimes described as a flying soul of a relative. Appropriated by some Spanish missionaries and lexicographers as a gloss for the Christian idea of the Devil (KM).
<i>Tambo:</i>	station to rest during a journey, usually situated on the Inca road.
<i>Taqi Onqoy:</i>	a native religious movement in the south-central Andes in the 1560s, the dancing messengers of which travelled in search of adherents, with a message foretelling the end of Spanish Christian domination (KM).
<i>Tawantinsuyu:</i>	name of the Inca Empire.
<i>Virreynato:</i>	territorial entity, being part of the Spanish Empire in Americas.

<i>Visita general:</i>	administrative tour of inspection (secular or religious) (KM).
<i>Visita de idolatría:</i>	a trial or investigation of colonial Andean religion conducted by a Catholic priest with the commission of <i>visitador general de idolatría</i> (KM).
<i>Visitador:</i>	an inspector and judge of idolatry; an extirpator; a Catholic priest specially commissioned as an ecclesiastical investigator of ‘suspect’ Andean religion (KM).
<i>Wanka/pachilla:</i>	big slabs, regularity in the positioning, use of <i>pachillas</i> in between.
<i>Zamay:</i>	also found under <i>samay</i> . Place where the dead rest, or waiting place for the dead.

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