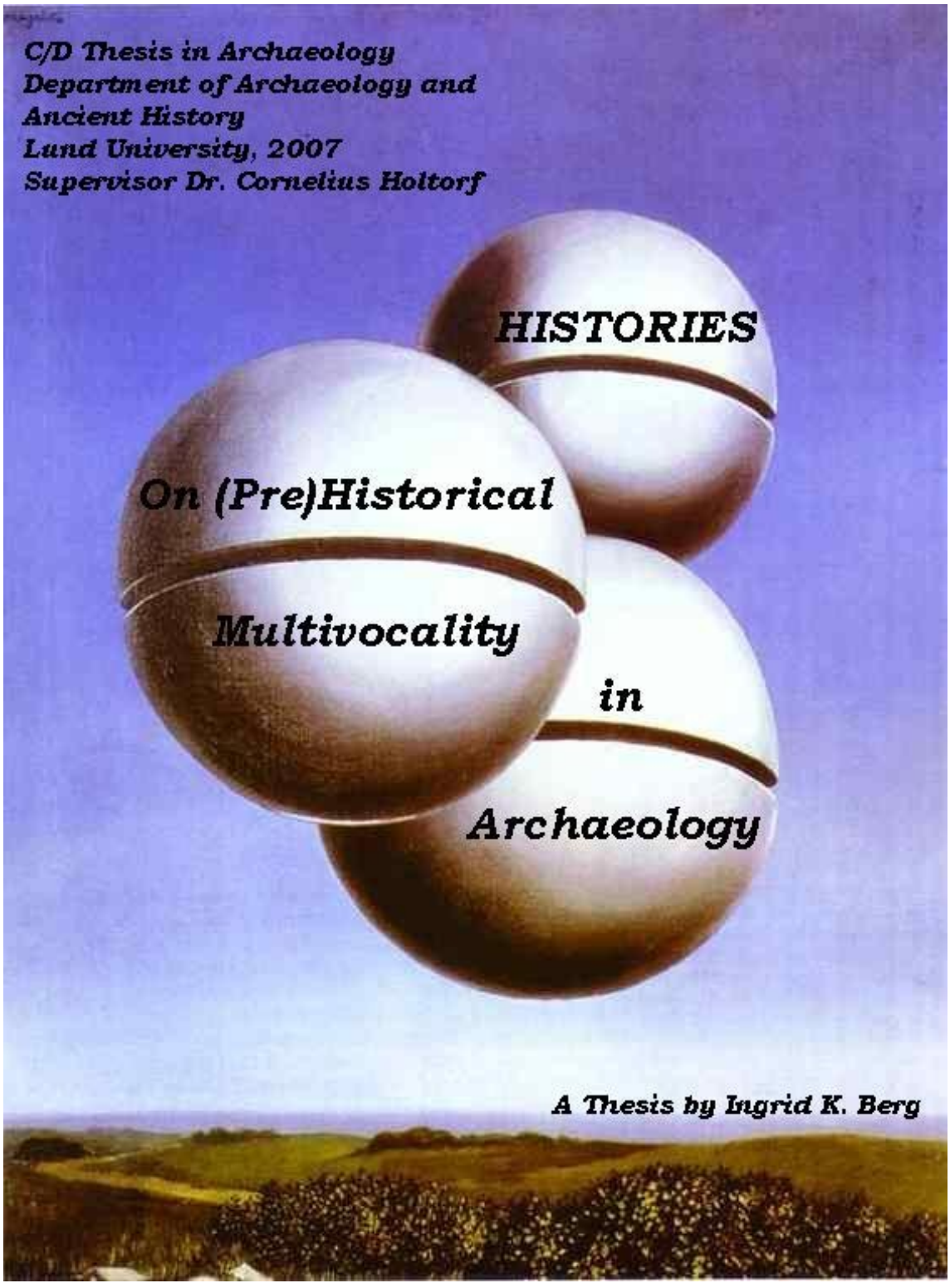


*C/D Thesis in Archaeology
Department of Archaeology and
Ancient History
Lund University, 2007
Supervisor Dr. Cornelius Holtorf*

The background of the cover is a landscape with rolling green hills and a blue sky. Three large, overlapping, metallic-looking spheres are positioned in the center. The text is arranged across these spheres: 'HISTORIES' is on the top sphere, 'On (Pre)Historical' is on the middle-left sphere, 'Multivocality' is on the middle-left sphere below the previous line, 'in' is on the middle-right sphere, and 'Archaeology' is on the bottom sphere.

HISTORIES
On (Pre)Historical
Multivocality
in
Archaeology

A Thesis by Ingrid K. Berg

Repara o quanto de histórias trago em mim.

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And finally... this thesis is dedicated to my parents, Göran and Birgitta. I am truly standing on the shoulders of giants.

Lund, November 2006.

Ingrid K. Berg.

The quote on the previous page comes from the back of a pack of sugar from a small café in Évora, Portugal. It translates into “Look how many (his)stories I have inside of me.”

Abstract

This thesis explores the concept of (pre)historical multivocality, i.e. the inclusion of past interpretations and past meanings of the archaeological site under investigation into the present day archaeological process. (Pre)historical multivocality is a flexible concept suitable for use on many archaeological sites and aims at eliminating some of the bias towards only including present-day voices in the concept of multivocality. Through interpretative essays based on archaeological material and oral and written sources, past voices are created and variations of meaning throughout history are heard at the Wari and Inca sites of Tenehaha and Collota in the Cotahuasi valley of Peru. By taking into consideration material from many different time periods, a clear discontinuity of meanings can be found.

Esta tesis examina el concepto de multivocalidad (pré)histórica, i.e. la inclusión de las interpretaciones pasadas y los significados pasados del sitio arqueológico que está sobre investigación, en el proceso de arqueología en el día de hoy. La multivocalidad (pré)histórica es un concepto flexible que se puede aplicar al trabajo en varios sitios arqueológicos, tratando de eliminar algunos de los prejuicios para no solo incluir las voces de hoy en el concepto de multivocalidad. Voces del pasado son creadas en ensayos interpretativos basadas en material arqueológico y en las fuentes orales y escritas. Las variaciones en el significado histórico se hacen escuchar en los sitios Wari y Inca de Tenehaha y Collota en el valle de Cotahuasi en el Perú. Cuando se toma en consideración materiales de varias épocas diferentes, una discontinuación de significado histórico se presenta.

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1. Introduction

With the emergence of interpretative and reflexive approaches to archaeology through the reaction against the processual archaeology (or New Archaeology) of the 1960s and 1970s, the desire for the inclusion of other voices in the archaeological process was born. This was and still is a conscious step toward creating *reflexivity* within archaeology, i.e. dissolving the rigorous praxis and constraints of the interpretative process that followed the science-oriented New Archaeology (i.e. the separation between excavation and interpretation) and realizing and accepting that interpretation occurs at all stages of archaeological work (Hodder 1999:99 ff.) Multivocality became an “it-word” used for whenever other people besides archaeologists were incorporated into the interpretation of prehistory and history, whether through community archaeology, internet forums etc, or when the role and voice of the archaeologist as a person were emphasized.

The project at Çatalhöyük directed by Ian Hodder became a crown jewel for a more reflexive approach to archaeology (Hodder: 2000). In the field, archaeologists started documenting events, reactions and feelings of the team during the excavation process in order to gain a more complete documentation on how we interpret material remains and events of the past. Various groups of people were included in the process of interpretation and their voices are heard on the web page and in publications. All this was done in an effort to reduce the superior roles of the archaeologists as the sole interpreters of history in the archaeological process and to make all voices that speak of the past more or less included. One example of how the individual archaeologists can be heard is the Leskernick excavations directed by Barbara Bender, Sue Hamilton and Christopher Tilley, where participants were encouraged to make journal entries that were later published on the internet (see “Bibliography” for Leskernick home page).

The concept of multivocality has up until now always focused on listening to different voices *in the present*. Various people have been consulted to discuss issues regarding a particular site, time period or artefact from their point of view as citizens of the world *today*. But is it not possible to also allow voices from people living in the past to speak up regarding their own history or regarding the history of the site that is under investigation? This is where the concept of historical or prehistorical multivocality comes into play. It becomes a way of

dealing with archaeology not only from the view-point of the living but also from interpreting a site through the voices of its former inter-actors.

2. Aim

Through using multivocal approaches to archaeology, archaeologists are able to achieve a broader picture of the site under investigation from the view-point of the people alive today. Their voices are legitimized and included in the reports and final publications, as in the example at Catalhöyük (Hodder, 2000). However, there is a bias towards only including these present-day interpretations while ignoring those of people that have lived throughout history. In order to achieve the broad and varied picture of the past that modern archaeologists are searching for, it is important to include these voices in the interpretative process. I have labelled my attempt at doing so *(pre)historical multivocality*, since it can be used to include voices from people from both prehistorical and historical periods.

The main goals of this thesis are to define the concept of (pre)historical multivocality and to study its use in the interpretations of an archaeological site in Peru. My research questions are:

- How can prehistorical and historical periods be included in the concept multivocality?
- How can (pre)historical multivocality be incorporated into the excavatory and interpretative process of the PACO project in Peru?

3. Method and Material

In defining the concept of (pre)historical multivocality, I have consulted various publications, both in print and on the web, on post-processual and interpretative archaeology. In the discussion part of the thesis I have also used an article on social systems and collective subjectivity, areas traditionally belonging to the field of sociology.

I have taken part in an archaeological field project in Peru during two months in the summer of 2006. The project will be referred to as PACO (Proyecto Arqueológico de Collota) and is directed by Dr. Justin Jennings and Licensed Archaeologist Willy Yopez Alvarez. All data from the 2006 field season was made available to me and I was allowed to conduct some of

my own research at the site depending on how hectic the schedule turned out to be. I also had the opportunity to interview a local farmer at the site.

My aim is to see how (pre)historical multivocality can be incorporated into this project. This will be done by using archaeological material from the site in order to create voices for those who have interacted with the site throughout history. In the spirit of an interpretative approach to the study of the past, these past people may be given voices through my own interpretation of how they may have viewed the past. The interpretations are made in three steps; first, an interpretative essay gives life to the people interacting with the site, second, an in depth look at the archaeological material is presented and third, a discussion on the meaning of the site in association with the people in the essays and their state of mind while interacting with the site is presented. Another example of this type of work can be found in *Ancestral Geographies of the Neolithic. Landscapes, monuments and memory* by Mark Edmonds in which he interprets how the Neolithic people may have viewed their world in the form of interpretative essays based on archaeological material.

4. A Critique of Sources.

In my thesis, I use archaeological material from the Collota and Tenehaha sites in the Cotahuasi valley in Peru in order to apply the (pre)historical multivocality perspective to the site. The reason for choosing this site was simple; I had been given the amazing opportunity to free access to all the field data, pictures, documentation, finds etc. from the 2006 field season by Dr. Jennings and Mr. Yopez Alvarez. The site is also well suited for my approach since there are finds from many different time periods among the Wari and Inca ruins. The area of Cotahuasi has been relatively neglected by the archaeological community, the PACO field project is one of the first to tackle this remote part of Peru, and I find it interesting to have the opportunity to present an alternative and complementary approach to the interpretation of the history of the region, which have tended to focus on the prehistorical periods leading up to the Spanish conquest of the valley in 1534.

The archaeological finds mentioned in the paper are of course only a fraction of the finds documented by the PACO crew over the 2005-2006 field seasons. I have carefully chosen the Wari and Inca material best suited to high-light the specific features discussed in the paper. For a more detailed account of the Wari and Inca remains at the site, I refer to future

publications by Dr. Jennings and Mr. Yopez Alvarez. Only materials from the 2006 field season are present in the paper, since this was the only data that was made available to me.

It is important to point out that the PACO project does not aim to document all material from the site. Archaeologists only documented the Wari and Inca remains (and the one Early Colonial pot sherd), the modern finds were simply discarded during the 2005 field season. In 2006, I documented the modern remains. This documentation was made using the limited time and resources available to me at the time. A more detailed account and study of some of the finds (dating of the cow manure or profiling the looter's pit) may have given additional information to the analysis part of the thesis. All modern remains on the surface and below the ground were documented but in writing this thesis, a selection was made regarding which finds would be included in the essays. I have chosen material that I felt was in some way evocative and symbolic of a certain aspect or a certain story that I wished to highlight.

In order to capture a spirit of the time and place in the essays, various publications on the region or on Peru in general were used. Very little has been written on the Cotahuasi valley, thus some generalizations have been applied out of necessity. These derive from sources on the Peruvian highlands in general. Most of the books and articles regarding this matter can be found in the Lund University library system or on JStor. For access to the unpublished dissertation by Dr. Jennings from 2002 entitled "*Prehistoric Imperialism and Cultural Development in the Cotahuasi Valley, Peru*", I refer to the web site of the Department of Anthropology at University of California at Santa Barbara in the U.S. www.anth.ucsb.edu.

Other publications used in the thesis deal with the issue of post-processual archaeology and collective subjectivity. A great deal has been written on the subject and due to lack of space and time, I have had to restrict myself to those articles and books that are most relevant to the subject at hand. My search words for these publications have been *interpretative archaeology*, *multivocality*, *collective subjectivity* and *reflexivity*. The books and articles are all available from the Lund University library system and JStor.

The interview with Señor Jorge Solis was made over two afternoons in late July of 2006. Señor Solis has great knowledge of the area and has lived at the site of Tehehaha for eight years and has spent all his life in the near by town of Visve. Since my skills in Spanish and Quechua leave much to be desired, an interpreter was used to translate the stories of Señor

Solis into more feasible Spanish. The translator also wrote down most of what was said. I admit that some information may have got lost due to language misunderstandings. I have tried to only use information that I feel that I have understood correctly from these interviews.

5. The Traditional Uses of Multivocality – Previous Research and Theoretical Background.

“It is my opinion that in the present historical moment of global information capitalism and postcolonialism, a dialogue between diverse perspectives on the past is needed in a morally and politically aware archaeology. We live in a plural and multivocal world.”
(Hodder, 1999:160-161).

Multivocality is part of the post-processual theoretical complex that evolved out of a number of reactions to the New Archaeology of the 1960s and 1970s. I call it a *theoretical complex* since it is constituted of many different ideas, theories, view-points and traditions. I like to compare the post-processual archaeologies to Inca-style bricks where all the bricks are not traditionally (in the Western sense) square shaped in order to fit together to make a wall (in this analogy, the wall represents the “theoretical complex”), but individually shaped with many different angles.



Fig.1. Inca wall used as an analogy for the structure of post-processualism.

What many of the approaches featured within the post-processual theoretical complex have in common is summarized in Johnson's chapter on post-processual archaeologies:

- “The data are always theory-laden.
- Interpretations are always hermeneutic.
- We reject the opposition between material and ideal.
- We need to look at thoughts and values in the past.
- The individual is active.
- Material culture is like a text.
- We have to look at context.
- Interpreting the past is always a political act.”

(Johnson, 1999:102-108).

The attempts to be reflexive and use multivocality to achieve a higher degree of this reflexivity stem from the notion that archaeology is an interpretative process. According to Julian Thomas, the New Archaeology has more characteristics of “a unitary project”, since the search for the one truth of the past through a certain science and methodology is emphasized (Thomas 2000:1). Johnson refers to archaeologies influenced by post-processualism as “interpretative archaeologies” to escape the constraints of the label post-processualism which would refer only to the reaction against the truth-searching approach described above (Johnson, 1999:101). One can argue, however, as Tilley does (who coined the term “interpretative archaeology”), that there are no interpretative archaeologies and that “if it did [...], there would have to be such a thing as non-interpretative archaeology. All archaeologies are interpretative. It is just that some texts appear to claim otherwise.” (Tilley, 1993:4). Some of the main archaeologists working within this complex are Ian Hodder, Michael Shanks, Christopher Tilley and Julian Thomas, to name a few.

Hodder and Shanks define the main aspects of interpretative archaeology as follows:

- The individual interpreter should be focused on and he or she should “not so much hide behind rules and procedures predefined elsewhere”. The key word is taking *responsibility* for the interpretations.
- Archaeological interpretations are *constructed* from the material remains.
- Archaeology deals with *meanings*, all aspects of the archaeological process are interpretive and meaningful.

- “Interpretations of the social are less concerned with causal accounts [...] than with *understanding or making sense of things* which never were certain or sure.”
- Interpretation is *multivocal*, numerous interpretations of the same thing is to be expected.
- “Interpretation is thereby a creative but none the less critical attention and response to the interests, needs and desires of different constituencies [...]”

(Hodder and Shanks 1995:5)

The definition of multivocality is the inclusion of a larger number of voices in the archaeological process, whether in the field, in post-fieldwork analyses, or through consultation of outsiders at various stages of interpretation. Multivocality can serve as a medium for taking into consideration different interpretations of the past. Hodder tends to focus on the political correctness of using multivocal approaches in archaeology; he expresses these ideas in the quote in the beginning of this chapter. In the U.S., Native American and other groups that are involved and directly affected by archaeological work on federal land have the right to participate in the decision making according to Section 106 of the National Historic Preservation Act (Berggren and Hodder 2003:428).

Hodder maintains that reflexive approaches to archaeology (in which the concept of multivocality can be incorporated) have highly scientific advantages as well. Multivocality can be seen as an objective approach in that the wide range of perspectives offered through multivocality can be used to “adjust general views to the particularities of the information being discovered.” (Hodder 1999:128). Reflexive archaeology is, according to Berggren and Hodder, “better science. It does not make false claims about finding what one expects to find or about imposing standardized methods.” It is also better archaeology in that it is “more socially responsible and so more sustainable over time.” (Berggren and Hodder 2003:431).

In my opinion, the aim of multivocality is *not to produce a more objective archaeology*, but to encourage multiple interpretations of the past and dismiss the notion that there is one truth to what went on in history and prehistory. In a way, multivocality *embraces the ideas* that evolve from the pre-understanding of an individual, whether this person is an archaeologist or not.

Multivocality fits into the idea of a more open, reflexive, interpretative and less science-oriented archaeology. I will give a couple of examples on how researchers have used multivocality in their projects in search of a more reflexive archaeology.

5.1 “Different teams produce different Çatalhöyüks”

(Hodder, 2000:10)

The Çatalhöyük project in Turkey is the crown-jewel in reflexive and post-processual archaeology put into practice. Directed by Ian Hodder, the excavations at the famous Neolithic site were reopened in 1993 and have received world wide attention for their innovative approaches to traditional archaeological fieldwork. By including a number of different groups of people in the archaeological process at various stages of excavation, multivocality is being put into practice. The internet is used to “allow interaction with international, educated and networked groups” (Hodder, 2000:10). The local community is engaged in the project through either physically taking part in excavations or visiting museums, public show-cases of the site and other events. They are also encouraged to participate in the mediation of the site through various enterprises, such as setting up shops. By inviting Goddess groups (i.e. modern groups that practice various forms of worship of female entities, such as Mother Earth), to take part in interpreting the possible religious cult at the site and allowing them to worship at the site, the past is linked to the present. The different archaeologists working at the site are encouraged to give their interpretations of the different parts of the excavation through field diaries published on internet web sites and various publications (Hodder, 2000: 3-10). The Çatalhöyük project has received massive media coverage when compared to other archaeological excavations, both in Turkey and around the world (Hodder 2000:4). It is also one of the most well-funded projects to date. A number of sponsors have invested money into the project and they are featured on the project’s official website and are allowed to hold press conferences at the site. Hodder mentions one major credit card company (VISA) that has invested in the project after being seduced by the theory that the origin of the credit card may have been the obsidian that was exchanged at the site (Hodder 2000:4).

5.2 Collaboration in African-American Archaeology.

The Levi Jordan Plantation Web Site Project in Brazoria, Texas has been constructed around archaeological excavations that have been under way for sixteen years at a plantation site outside a local, rural community. In 1992, a web site was set up in order to facilitate the debate surrounding the archaeological interpretations of the site between archaeologists on one hand and descendants of both the slaves and the patrons that once inhabited the site on the other. The aim of the website is, according to Carol McDavid who serves as a public archaeologist in the project, to allow the descendants “to conduct critical dialogues with archaeologists, with each other, with people elsewhere – and with ‘the past’.” (McDavid, 2002:304). This is one example of how new technology can play an important role in allowing different voices to be heard in the archaeological process. The multivocal atmosphere that the web site was meant to create did however not serve its purpose according to McDavid: “... the authority of being part of a ‘scientific’ discipline – was simply too embedded in visitors’ minds for them to contest the findings of that discipline.” (McDavid, 2002:311). McDavid mentions several different explanations to why the website failed to generate the response and dialogue that she was looking for. One of these may be that the people involved with the project considered themselves as already working in a multivocal atmosphere where different ideas and view-points were encouraged. Another reason may have been that the visitors of the site already took for granted that different people see the past through different eyes or that multivocality had simply not been their goal – some people prefer to be handed *one truth* rather than a multiple of choices (McDavid, 2002:311).

6. What is (Pre)Historical Multivocality?

Multivocality has become an important process for recognizing different voices that speak of the past. Various groups have been incorporated in the archaeological process in the spirit of creating a more politically correct archaeology. In my opinion, this has been extremely beneficial for interpreting the past since all interpretations, no matter how scientific and objective they claim to be, are part of a creative and subjective developmental process in the mind of the individual and his or her community. If more voices are included, it creates a broader picture of the site in question. One common critique of the idea of multivocality and of post-processualism’s claim that there is no definite past “truth” and therefore we should listen to all voices, is that this would allow for “UFO enthusiasts and Nazi archaeology” to put

forward their ideas of the past and to be legitimized in the same way as conventional archaeological interpretations (Thomas 2000:4). But how do archaeologists avoid the use of the past and of history for specific agendas by various interest groups in a manipulative way? Can this be done? These questions are raised by the participants of the Lampeter Archaeology Workshop, a group of archaeologists interested in questions of relativism and “the politics of the past”. I agree with their argument that these issues cannot be avoided and if archaeology wishes to remain an open and reflexive discipline, there are those who will try to manipulate the past for their own interest, but that archaeologists have the ability to “[...] point out their preferred methods, standards and interpretations” and “[...] attempt to persuade (a moral and political choice), make different histories available to various people, and critically discuss why and how they do what they do.”(LAW 1998:45). I wish to add that archaeologists have the *responsibility* of doing so since they are still the academic “authorities” working with interpreting the past and presenting it to the public, no matter how open and inclusive they try to be.

Even though the role of multivocality has many benefits to the archaeological process, I see a gap in the attempt of multivocality to create a broad picture of the past. It tends to exclude prehistorical and historical voices in interpreting the past. A bias towards modern voices is apparent even though archaeologists from time to time tend to include written historical sources in interpreting the past. However, these historical interpretations of the past are rarely legitimized and focused on as a part of the concept of multivocality. This is where the concept of (pre)historical multivocality fits in. *Just as multivocality represents multiple interpretations of the past in the present, (pre)historical multivocality represents multiple interpretations of the past in the past.*

(Pre)historical multivocality can thus be defined as using material remains and/or written sources, legends and stories from a site in order to make sense of the interpretations of different people in the past of the archaeological features studied in the present. All these historical voices are legitimized and considered as part of the interpretative process in the same manner that present-day voices are heard and taken into consideration through the concept of multivocality. If there is a lack of written sources that directly give a voice to the people studied, (pre)historical multivocality may be achieved through interpretative archaeology (see “Method and Material” above).

One might also say that there is a bias within archaeology towards including only voices from the people that were present at the site during the particular time period studied and this excludes people that interacted with the site throughout history. The life-history approach, that is the main research focus of Dr. Holtorf in the Monte da Igreja project in Portugal, attempts to avoid this bias by including all material remains of all time periods in creating the life-history of a Neolithic megalith. The project focuses on *the site itself* and its uses and re-uses throughout history (Holtorf, 2002). (Pre)historical multivocality will serve as a complement to this approach by focusing on *the people* that created the material remains collected at the site and how the *meaning* of the site can be interpreted through their voices.

It is important to remember that (pre)historical multivocality (in being a part of the post-processual theoretical complex) does not intend to reduce the subjectivity of the interpretative process. It is still the archaeologist who interprets and uses these past voices. It is important to remember that, in order to achieve a more diverse scheme of past voices in archaeological interpretations, a present-day multivocal approach may be applied since it adds yet another dimension of voices to the interpretation (for more on this matter, see “*A Univocal Approach to (Pre)Historical Multivocality*” in the Discussion part of the thesis).

It is also important to define the time-boundaries of (pre)historical multivocality. Can for example different research traditions in archaeology be considered as part of historical multivocality? Throughout the history of archaeological research, people have expressed opinions on the past and I can see that these voices can be included as part of the concept. For me, within the boundaries of this paper, (pre)historical multivocality will focus on the voices of people in the past who deposited archaeological remains at the site in question and the data from local legends and stories of people who have interacted with the site still told by the present day population of the Cotahuasi valley.

(Pre)historical multivocality is meant to be flexible. The aim of this paper is not to set up any standard rules for how archaeologists should work with this concept or on which sites it should or should not be applied. I intend to test my concept on one archaeological site to determine the different aspects of interpretation that (pre)historical multivocality can bring to this particular project and then end with a discussion of my own methods for doing so and its costs and benefits.

7. Excavating Imperialism – The Collota Project.

The site of Collota is located in the Cotahuasi valley approximately 380 km north of the city of Arequipa in southern Peru. At a depth of approximately 3,500 m the valley is one of the deepest in the world. The PACO project is directed by Dr. Justin Jennings and Licensed Archaeologist Willy Yepez Alvarez. The site actually consists of two separate excavation areas, *Collota* and *Tenehaha*, which are both situated on an immense plain covering 200 hectares less than 100 m above the Cotahuasi River. Both sites have visible remains of domestic architecture; Collota consists of two rectangular enclosures separated by an oval platform-like structure. Tenehaha is located 800 m to the west of Collota and consists of one rectangular enclosure, ca 30 x 40 m (Jennings & Yepez Alvarez, 2001:148-149). At the present stage it appears that Collota is essentially an Inca settlement and Tenehaha is an earlier Wari settlement (Jennings, pers. comm.). Scattered across the plateau are funerary mounds with rectangular, stone lined tombs.

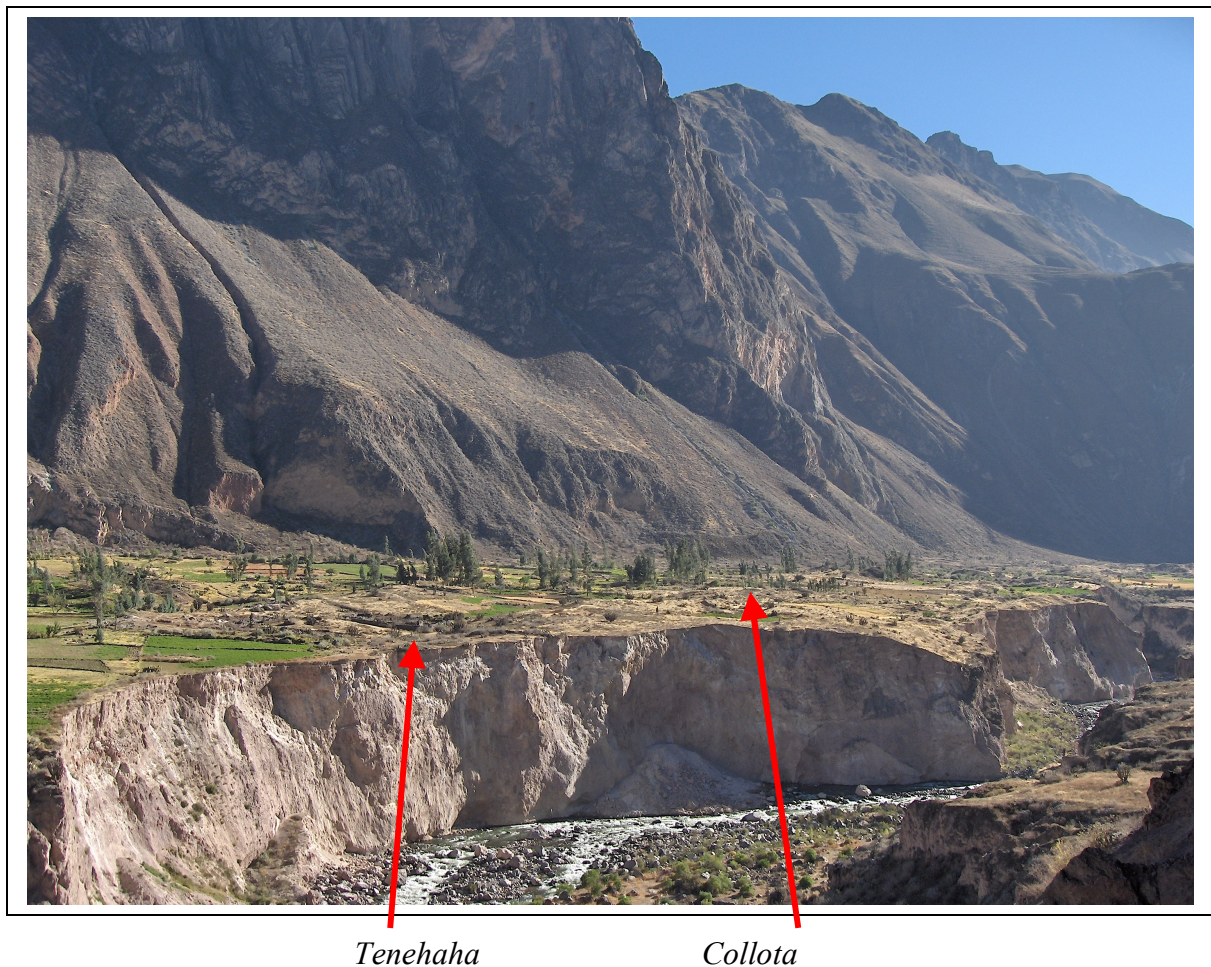


Fig 2. The position of the two sites on the plateau.

The goal of the project, which started excavations in July of 2005, is to evaluate the degree of imperialistic influence from the Wari culture that can be detected through the archaeological material at the site. Judging from the analyses of diagnostic ceramic sherds collected in the surface investigations undertaken during the 2000 field season, the site of Tenehaha were most likely built during the Middle Horizon (A.D 750-1000). During this time period, the Wari Empire is believed to have dominated most of southern Peru. According to Schreiber, the Wari Empire may have practised what she has named a “mosaic of control”, where stately flexibility and the situation of the individual town or valley to be conquered played a bigger part than an immovable scheme of conquest (Schreiber, 1992). The aim of the Collota project is to study how and to which extent the Wari imperial control over the Cotahuasi valley was executed (Jennings & Yopez Alvarez, 2001).

During the 2005 and 2006 field excavation seasons, a number a Inca style ceramic sherds indicate that the site of Collota may date from the Late Horizon, commonly known as the Inca period (i.e 1476-1534) or the Early Colonial period following the Spanish conquest (i.e. after 1534). Two funerary mounds have been excavated and both date from the Wari period, judging by the Wari-style funerary vessels found in the tombs.



Fig 3. Funerary vessel with Wari design.



Fig 4. Stone lined tomb.

The archaeological excavations at Collota and Tenehaha are only the latest interactions with the site throughout history. The following chapters explore the other people who have created the dynamics of the Collota plateau. The chapters are organized chronologically.

8. Cacahuasi – A Farmer’s Tale.

September 1989:

“*I*t was all his! His own land! Señor X thought as he hurried his five cows along the dirt road along the river. Down below, the water roared, cutting through the cliffs as it had done for millions of years, slowly turning a wide stretched plain into the deepest valley in the world. But millions of years of geological formations did not interest Señor X, at least not today. For the past couple of months since the land reform he had been busy organizing his newly aquired plot of land. It was modest, sure, and it wasn't really his own private land (he shared it with his ayllu or kin group) but it would be enough to sustain his family for at least some time which was more than most people in the valley could hope for. Many tried moving away, gather some money and go to Arequipa or Lima, big cities were unemployment was a big problem, but Señor X would never move away from here. His family had ties and connections in the valley for generations, as far back as anyone could remember. He would never leave. Especially not now.

After about 15 minutes of walking from the bridge, he reached the enclosure where he had kept his cows for the past couple of months. The structure was small, but since he only had a few cows this was not really a problem. And it had one great benefit, it was already standing when he arrived! There were many similar enclosures scattered across the plain, people used to live there in ancient times. How this could have been done without the canal he could not quite figure out. Perhaps they did not farm... nor keep cattle? Fortunately, this enclosure was on his land and close to the road. He knew of people who would tear some of the structures down and reuse the stones to build new enclosures for there animals. He saw no need for this, besides it was bad luck to destroy the homes of the ancestors. Their spirits would haunt him.

Eventually, he had managed to get all the cows into the enclosure. He walked over to the big metal barrel holding water which stood in the corner and filled a couple of buckets with water. Carrying the buckets, he walked over to the other side of the enclosure and poured the water into the newly dug small canal which stretched along the wall. The cows immediately started drinking, exhausted from walking across the plain in the hot Peruvian sun. Señor X walked out of the enclosure, making sure that he trapped the cows inside using some old wooden branches. As he began his walk home he looked up at the Solimana and thanked the mountain God for his good fortune.

8.1 The Archaeology of “Cacahuasi – A farmer’s tale”.

Area 26, known as “Cacahuasi”, Spanish and Quechua for “Valley of poop”, became one interesting aspect of the re-use of an Inca enclosure in Collota. The nick name is a spin-off of the valley’s name Cotahuasi and the area received this name from the prevalence of densely packed cow manure in the superficial strata. Situated inside a walled enclosure (probably a domestic structure) close to the modern day dirt road leading past Collota and Tenehaha, the enclosure is located near modern day fenced pasture fields for cattle and llamas.



Previous entrance to the enclosure?

Fig 5. “Cacahuasi” seen from modern day road.

Area 26 consists of a 3x3 m trench located in the north-west corner of the structure. The aim of the investigation, which was carried out by Dr. Justin Jennings and Archaeology student Diego Durand during the field season of 2006, was to understand the use and date of the structure. The walls are unusually well preserved and consistent with Wari and Inca local style architecture (Jennings, pers. comm.), but part of the east wall consists of looser stone rubble. This wall is directly facing the modern day road and therefore, it can be presumed that this part of the building may have housed an entrance (see Fig. 5.). This was also the only possible entrance and exit for the archaeologists during work.

Once the superficial vegetation and shrub had been removed, a very compact layer of animal manure was discovered. The layer was thick and densely packed, indicating a relatively long term presence of animals in the enclosure. On the profile drawing made by Diego Durand, the layer of animal manure is labelled Nivel II in Appendix 2. The excavations undertaken in

similar enclosures in Collota usually revealed one or several very superficial and thin floor levels with ceramic sherds and animal bones from both large camelids (probably llamas or alpacas) and small rodents (probably *cuy* or guinea pig). The same was expected from the “Cacahuasi” enclosure but the trampling of animals seems to have interrupted and destroyed these floor levels. Few artefacts were recovered, most of which were domestic plain-ware and one sherd of local Late Horizon (Inca) style. This sherd together with the local Late Horizon architecture indicate a Late Horizon construction of the building.



Fig. 6. Domestic plain-ware.



Fig. 7. Local style Late Horizon sherd.

A canal running along the eastern and western walls was named Feature B-C and is clearly visible both on the drawn plan and profile of the area and on the photos (see Appendix 1 and 2 and Fig. 8). This canal is most likely constructed and used after the Inca occupation of the structure since this feature is unknown to Inca architecture in the area. The canal has been dug through the presumed floor levels (marked Nivel IV in Appendix 1.), indicating a later construction and no artefacts were associated with this feature. In combination with the layers of animal manure in the superficial strata, this canal may have been used for holding water for the animals kept within the enclosure.



Fig. 8. The canal.

In the south-east corner of the structure, a metal lid from a large barrel was found leaning against the wall. The lid was covered in rust but seemed otherwise intact.



Fig. 9. Metal lid from Cacahuasi.

Around the edges of the lid, there were six holes approximately 15 mm in diameter (two of which are visible in Fig.9). These holes indicate that the lid had been fastened onto a barrel of some sort, probably a container for gasoline or oil. Similar containers are used today by the present-day population of Cotahuasi, and often reused after its original content had been consumed (personal observation).

It is difficult to give a precise date for the re-use of the Late Horizon structure. One possibility would have been to date the cow manure and perhaps also to look at the pollen content of the manure in order to establish during which seasons the cows were present at the site. Unfortunately, this was not possible to achieve due to lack of time and resources. According to Señor Jorge Soils, a local farmer who has lived at the site of Tenehaha for eight years and spent all his life in the nearby village of Visve, the plateau on which the two sites are located was abandoned for a very long time due to irrigation problems. In 1989, a canal was built from the town of Taurisma, some 2-3 km away. This facilitated the irrigation of the plateau and allowed the use of the land for pastoralization and farming (Solis, pers.comm., Trawick, 2003:45). According to Señor Soils, this was the first time in modern history that people were able to use this land for agricultural purposes. It is therefore likely that the re-use of the Cacahuasi enclosure dates from shortly after this canal was built.

8.2 Cacaahuasi as a Symbol – Class Conflicts and Water Disputes.

The Cotahuasi valley is one of the poorest regions in Peru but one of the richest in regards to the cultural diversity within the local population. Today the valley is occupied by the *campesinos*, indigenous people descendant from the pre-colonial population of the Andes who primarily speak Quechua, the language of the Inca. This group forms a peasant class distinct from the Spanish speaking elite families who claim descent from Spanish and other foreign settlers. Then there is the *gente mestiza*, people of mixed cultural heritage who speak primarily Spanish but still belong to the peasant class. In the 1940 census, 66 percent of the population of Cotahuasi identified themselves as *campesinos*, or indigenous people (Trawick 2003:155). The three groups often live within the same village, creating a melting pot for class conflict and can be seen as a direct reflection of the old way of life in the Spanish haciendas (large estates that controlled land), where indigenous people and colonists lived together in a defined space (Trawick 2003:6). The plateau where the two archaeological sites of Collota and Tenehaha are located did belong to a hacienda associated with the village of Cotahuasi itself. According to a map published in Paul Trawick's dissertation, the area was the property of the Cascahuilca hacienda (Trawick 2003:154). The hacienda system developed out of the Spanish *mita*, or taxation system.

The *mita* forced the indigenous population to surrender some of their production of food stuff, wool etc to the Spanish crown. In Cotahuasi, there were many mines used for extracting gold and other metals and as part of their *mita* duties, the indigenous people were forced to work in these mines. The haciendas served three functions according to Trawick; growing food for the owners of the hacienda, growing surplus food for sale to the local *mita* labourers that worked in the gold mines and most importantly, growing alfalfa for feeding the mules that carried export products out of the valley (Trawick 2003:54).



Fig. 10. Alfalfa field on the Collota plateau.

These haciendas, the first of which appeared in the beginning of the 17th century, were owned and operated by Spanish settlers whose descendants up until this day remain some of the wealthiest and most influential families in Cotahuasi. The hacienda system meant that a large portion of the land which had previously belonged to either the local population or had been the personal property of the Inca (this land was known as “land of the sun” and produced food for the Inca elite) now became legal private property of individual families.

The haciendas also had exclusive rights to the main water supplies. Even though the Water Code of 1902 established that the Andean highlands should have two distinct water supply systems; one known as *agua de las haciendas* (water for the haciendas) and one known as *agua de las comunidades* (water for the community), the complicated legal codes made it almost impossible for small indigenous land owners and their ayllu groups to own right to the water. The ayllu system is a traditional kin group system dating back at least to Inca times. D’Altroy defines the ayllu as a “localized descent group, varying in inclusiveness, frequently subdivided into moieties, lineages, or both.” (D’Altroy 2002:326). The codes stated that the owner of the land on which the spring source of the water supply could be found was the primary owner of the water and as the water descended down slope (most of the springs are located on the puna, wide stretches of high altitude grass lands, at approx. 5000 m above sea level) the right to use it belongs to the individual land owners at various altitudes as long as it was sufficient. For the poorer local population, this meant that they were often left *sin agua propia* (without their own water), making land use of places which are difficult to irrigate, like the Collota plateau, impossible (Trawick 2003:160-161).

In 1988, a land reform took place in the valley. Señor Marcial Leyva Peres, one of the most powerful individuals in Cotahuasi during the 1980’s, was granted access to the Collota plateau. He intended to use the area for the grazing of *chivos*, a deer like animal common in the Peruvian highlands. The local people of the district of Huaynacotas protested against this man’s takeover of the plateau and managed to gain the right to use the plateau at their leisure (Solis 2006, pers. comm.). With the help from the Peruvian government, a canal was built in 1989 from the nearby town of Taurisma and the land could finally be used for agriculture on a relatively large scale. During the construction of the canal, an old canal dating from Inca times was discovered close to the visible remains of the Collota complex. (Trawick 2003:45). The plateau was divided into sections or *fronteras*, where each section was maintained for seven years by one ayllu group. These allyu groups formed an agricultural organisation where

they work together to maintain the canal and make the most of the relatively limited resources of useful land that the plateau offers. The ayllu system is a reminiscent of the prehistorical societies of the Andes and is basically a cultural division of the population into kin groups (Dobyns and Doughty 1976:50). In Cotahuasi, as well as in other remote parts of the Peruvian highlands, the ayllu system is very much a reality even today.

For the farmer in *A Farmer's Tale*, the site of Collota, a part of which became his property, meant more than just the ancestral history of the site. Not only is it a reminder of “ancient times” when cultivation and use of the land was somehow possible but also it became a symbol for freedom and economic stability in the present. After centuries of oppression by the hacienda system and an unequal division of water resources, the people of Cotahuasi took matters into their own hands and were granted access to land that they rightly felt belonged to them. The ruins became perhaps a reminder of “easier” times, when the ancestors cultivated and used the land before the Spanish arrived. The re-use of Cacahuasi as an enclosure for animals (as we seen from the archaeological record) can be seen as a conscious attempt to reclaim land that had been lost and/or abandoned for centuries. In a way, the re-use becomes a bridge between the past and the present, between the Inca and the farmer.

The enclosure has practical aspects as well. The farmer does not need to build an enclosure for his animals using stones from the Collota site, the enclosure is already standing. He is aware of the dangers of using stones from the old buildings from the local legends told in the area. Some people in Cotahuasi are vary of approaching the site, especially at night, since they believe that ancestral spirits and ghosts haunt the site and will harm you if you attempt to steal artefacts or dismantle the structures (Solis, pers. comment). Many people still use the stones for new constructions, out of financial necessity and convenience.



Fig. 11. Stones from a Tenehaha structure used to build a modern pig sty.

9. The Burning Llama.

1996, very late at night:

Darkness had already descended upon the Collota plateau as Marco made his way through the shrub, stumbling over rocks and broken pieces of cacti. He already had several little round jumping cacti stuck to his rubber shoes but the amounts of Pisco in his system made it tolerable. "I should have stopped drinking hours ago... NEVER AGAIN", he thought.

All of a sudden an overwhelming feeling of nausea crept through his system. Leaning against the wall of the old ruin, he vomited several times. In his state of fatigue and confusion, the darkness seemed to surround him everywhere. He began to panic a little even though he had walked down the path many times. He began walking faster until his shoe got caught on a rock and he fell helplessly to the ground. Swearing as he tried to get himself off the ground he saw a twinkle of a light coming from a distance. He stood up and stumbled towards the light which seemed to become brighter and brighter as he got closer to it. And there, in the corner of one of the old ruins he saw it. **THE BURNING LLAMA!!** The flames rose to the sky in an almost surreal pattern of colors, red, orange, blue and green and formed the distinct shape of a llama. Marco rubbed his eyes in amazement over the sight. He knew of the legends, of course, but he never expected to be one of the chosen ones. Gold!!! He would be rich!! Really, really rich!! He head was spinning, he felt dizzy but his mind felt all of a sudden as clear as a day. In the light of the burning llama, he took off his coat and slowly approached the fire. It was necessary to trap the gold as soon as possible before the spirits changed their minds. He placed the coat over the fire which immediately went out, leaving him in darkness again. As he walked out of the ruin and onto the path he was sober and happy. "Just have to remember to bring a shovel tomorrow", he thought.

9. A New Future.

1988, late evening:

"Hurry up!! Consuela! We don't have all night!" His voice was high pitched and full of excitement. She was already walking as fast as she could and the amount of stuff she was carrying in a bundle on her back would have been enough to slow anyone down. Her heavy skirts in brightly colored fabric made a swishing sound as she moved through the brush.

Diego was already at the location which he had carefully picked last week. The story of the man from Pampamarca who had made a fortune selling old ceramic pots in Lima and now lived a care free life in the U.S. had twisted Diego's head around completely. It had been all he could talk about for the last couple of months. He had walked around the ancient ruins of the plateau every chance he got, marking possible location to dig. This would be their only chance he had proclaimed when he told her about his plans. A chance for a new life, a better life with money and security. She tried sharing his enthusiasm, but something just felt wrong. In her youth, she had been to Collota many times with school. They had talked about history, about the ancestors who had lived their life here, about the Spanish who took their culture away and forced people into slavery and a new way of life. Somehow, she thought that it wasn't right stealing the only things left from these people. At least, Diego had been hesitant to dig too close to the tombs.

Diego had already started digging a hole in the corner of an old building, not far from the path. She saw him turn over a couple of pieces of ceramic, swearing over their unpreserved state. He continued digging down but nothing surfaced, only a couple of old animal bones and ugly pot sherds. "Nothing!" he yelled. She hid a smile by covering her mouth with one hand.

9.1 The Archaeology of “ The Burning Llama” and “A New Future”.

At the end of the excavation season of 2006 a small unit (1x 2 m) was positioned in a structure close to the main path along the river (see Appendix 3). The trench was named Area 30 and its main focus was to determine the use and date of the enclosure. The area was excavated during three days in late July 2006 by me.



Fig. 12. Looter’s pit in Area 30.

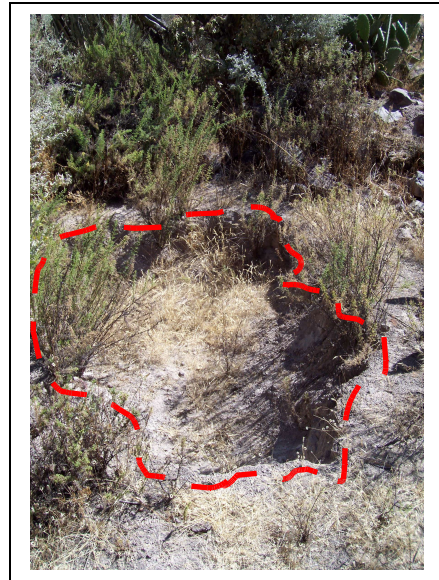


Fig. 13. The extension of the pit.

In the west corner of the same enclosure in which area 30 is situated, I discovered a pit partially covered by vegetation. The pit was approximately 2.8 x 2.6 m wide and 0.5 m in depth. This pit looked much like the looter’s pits that that been discovered in association with the tomb area which was excavated in 2005. These pits, however, were not documented during the 2005 field season. The pit is located approximately 20 m from the modern day path leading up to some small farm cottages further west on the plateau.

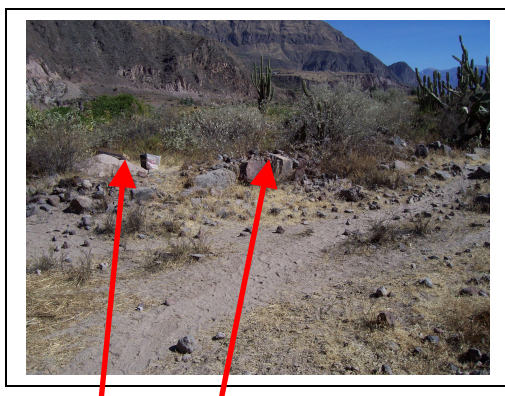


Fig. 14. Area 30 and looter’s pit seen from path.

Area 30

Looter’s pit

In association with the pit, small sherds of plain-ware ceramics were found as well as a couple of pieces of animal bones. An appropriate assumption would be that these finds were dug up during the process of looting the area. The finds from the excavated trench show signs of an original Wari occupation of the structure. An indication of the possible use of the structure in Wari times is the discovery of a bone shuttle used for weaving textiles.

9.2. Justification and Remorse – Gold and Greed.

According to Señor Solis, there are many local stories surrounding the site, legends that have been told for generations. One of the most frequent stories in Cotahuasi deals with the issue of tapados, hidden treasures of gold under ground near historical sites. At Collota, one story tells of a Spaniard who shortly after the conquest of the valley in 1534 was accused of stealing a large amount of gold from the local Indians of the town of Pampamarca. The Indians took the opportunity to rebel against the Spanish and the accused Spaniard fled from his residence in Alca to Cotahuasi. The Indians came close to catching him near Collota, but he managed to burn the only bridge across the Cotahuasi river. He ended up staying at the site of Collota for quite some time and legend has it that he buried all the stolen gold in various deposits across the plain (Solis, pers. comment)

The possibility of finding these tapados is very real to the people of Cotahuasi. The treasures are not seen as inanimate objects but living entities with a will and agenda of their own. Legend has it that the location of the tapado will be revealed at night or late afternoon by a llama shaped flame rising from the ground. This flame is caused by a gas, the *antimony*, which is believed to be produced by the gold. The fire represents luck and is not revealed to everyone, only a selected few will ever see the flame. If you are one of the chosen ones, you will have to sacrifice a piece of personal clothing by putting it over the fire. This will prevent the gold from wandering away (Solis, pers. comm.) Andean people believe that the tapados are impermanent, i.e. they move around under ground and have to be trapped. After you have trapped the gold, you have to wait for the following night and come back to perform a Pago ritual before digging out the gold. The Pago (which means ‘payment’ in Spanish) is a ritual in which certain objects such as maize, llama fat, coca leaves and *chicha* (maize alcohol) are burnt in a fire as a payment to Mother Earth. This Mother Earth, or *Pachamama* in Quechua, is a fertility goddess descendant from at least Inca times (Late Horizon) and was commonly worshiped at a stone altar placed in the middle of the field to ensure good crops (D’Altroy

2002:149). The Pago is performed whenever intrusion is made on the land by digging, plowing etc. Before the excavations at Collota and Tenehaha, the PACO team performed this ceremony to ask for permission to dig at the site.



Fig. 15. Willy Yopez Alvarez prepares the Pago.

The stories of tapados and hidden treasures on archaeological sites are not exclusive to Peru. In many other areas of the world, archaeological sites are shrouded in mystery. In Portugal, megaliths are associated with tales of Arabic princesses hiding gold in the tombs (Oliviera, 2001) and in Scandinavia, there are tales of “dragon-gold” and giants and trolls living in Bronze Age mounds and other visible archaeological features.

Systematic looting is a huge problem in Peru despite several attempts by the government to put an end to the theft of cultural material. According to the web page of Roger Atwood, a freelance writer from Washington D.C, the more systematic looting of sites in Peru took off in 1987 after the discovery of the burial complex of Sipán (Atwood, 2004). The local people who discovered the site looted it extensively, selling artefacts of gold, silver and turquoise to foreign art traders. After an intervention by the local police, archaeological excavations replaced the looters but the case received huge national and international attention, inspiring poor people in the county side to search for their own treasures. Roger Atwood followed a professional looter, or *huaquero*, while he looted a site outside Lima in 2004. According to the looter, a well preserved prehistorical textile can bring in as much as 1,000 U.S. dollars on the black market, making looting extremely profitable for poor people. The average daily salary for a person in Cotahuasi is currently approximately 10 Nuevo Soles or 3 U.S dollars.

The looters call themselves huaqueros from the Quechua word *huaca*, meaning “any place, object or person worshipped as a deity” (Buchanan and Hamilton, 1996:316-317). Tombs and other visible prehistorical archaeological remains are today known as “huacas” as well.

Most of the looted items are sold to art dealers and collectors in Europe, the U.S. and Chile. To prevent the illegal trade of objects, most countries have signed the act known as Article 9 of the 1970 UNESCO Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property. In 1997, the U.S. government passed import restrictions on archaeological artefacts dating from 12,000 B.C. to A.D. 1532 (see U.S. government web page).

For people in Cotahuasi, the tales of individuals finding treasures and thereby gaining economic wealth and status are very real. Stories of looting and selling archaeological artefacts are available from early childhood and serve as sources of inspiration. The legends, such as the legend of the burning llama serve as *legitimizations* of the act of looting. Being able to see the burning llama is an indication of *ownership* of the gold that lies beneath the ground and creates a sense of *justification* to the act itself. The gold, as a living entity, has chosen *you*, not the other way around. The fact that the gold wanders underground and chooses to appear at certain times to certain people may very well stem from the notion of property and treasure as something impermanent that can be taken from you at any given time. Throughout prehistory and history, the people of Cotahuasi have seen their land and possessions being taken from them, by the elite, by the Inca and by the Spanish colonialists.

Other stories tell of the dangers of disrespecting the ancestors by desecrating especially tombs but also domestic structures. According to Señor Solis, a common perception of the dangers of looting tombs comes from the idea that the bones of the dead will cause harm to a person who dig them up. Small microscopic pieces of bone will enter the bloodstream of the person and penetrate the heart, causing painful death (Solis, pers. comm.). This may explain why the tomb mound close to Area 30 had not been looted. The looter in Roger Atwood’s account believes that the huaca that he is looting is alive and will close up if the looter shows too much greed (Atwood, web page)

There is a duality in the feelings towards looting seen in Cotahuasi as well as in other areas of Peru. On the one hand, the looters in my essays see the site as a sort of economic treasure

chest, a resource available to them, justified either by legends or economic reality of modern day politics. On the other hand, there is an awareness of the desecration of the past, of the ancestors and of the forbidden (both morally and legally) act of looting.

10. Land of the Sun.

Dry season, under the rule of the sixth Inca Capac Yupanqui:

Being the supervisor of the construction and being from Cuzco, the capital, people around him seemed to think that he knew the Inca personally. At first, this had annoyed him and he had tried to dismiss the direct link between him and the God for some time, but now he had realized the potential. By portraying himself as closer to the Inca than he really was, the Kunti workers paid more attention to his orders and the open resistance to the building of the new site had been slightly less vocal and hostile.

As he walked past the platform that was being raised between the two house complexes, he felt happy. Construction was nearly complete and he was expecting his family to arrive from Cuzco any day now. Some of the structures had already been initiated. Llama bones and pottery had been placed underneath the floor to ensure the prosperity of the house.

The site was loud and full of activity. Stone masons were chopping away at the large rocks, putting the finishing touches to the walls and enclosures. Compared to the masons he was used to working with in Cuzco, they were amateurs. The blocks were irregular and mortar had to be used to fit the stones together. "That's what happens when you use local masons", he thought. But then again, the site had to be up and running soon. The new canal that would be used for irrigating the plateau was ready. This land would be used for growing the Inca's crops as part of the Kunti mita duties. Word from Maukallacta revealed the Inca's wish to deal with the uprisings as soon as possible and get the mita functional.

At first, he had wished to use the houses to the west of the higher grounds, but the supervisors in Maukallacta said no. Even though building a completely new site would take longer, it did send a clear signal to the Kuntis of the new order and the absolute power of the Inca. Sacrifices had been made to the gods and they had revealed the intentions of Solimana to establish the new site. He had forbidden the workers to go to the old houses. It would upset the mountain god and they would be forced to give many pagos in return. Since the order was made, no one had dared go there. "Must be my connection with the Inca", he thought smiling ironically as he went on his duties.

phenomenon can be seen in the Wari houses in Tenehaha, indicating a continuation of certain ritual practices over time.



Fig. 17. Ceramic deposit in Area 22.



Fig. 18. Pit with animal bones and ceramic.

10.2 Inca Politics and the Mighty Solimana – The Intentional Non Re-Use of Tenehaha

After the collapse of the Wari Empire and the end of what archaeologists call the Middle Horizon, there seems to be a continuity of trade networks and power in the Cotahuasi valley. The period leading up to the intrusion of the Inca Empire is known as the Late Intermediate Period as is characterized by a continuation of the political and economic structure that the Wari influence left behind (Jennings pers. comm.; Trawick 2003:42). According to the Spanish chronicles, the people that inhabited the Cotahuasi valley and the neighbouring valleys of Majes and Colca were known as the Kuntis and had great power in the southern parts of Peru during this time. (Trawick 2003:42). During the reign of the fifth Inca, Mayta Capac, an attempt was made to subdue the Kuntis and include the Cotahuasi valley in the Inca Empire. The Inca army entered the valley from the highlands to the east but the inhabitants rallied together and managed to defend the high passes leading to the valley. After two months of resistance, the Kuntis were defeated after losing a battle outside the town and ritual centre of Ancient Alca (Garcilaso de la Vega [1609], 1966:152-153). Ancient Alca is a six hectare site located on a ledge overlooking the modern district capital of Alca, approximately 60 km up the river from the Collota plateau. There was a Wari presence at the site seen in the ceramic material, but after the Wari collapse and before the Inca intrusion the site doubled in size. There are three D-shaped structures at the site, a shape that is typical of Wari ritual complexes. This may be an indication of the continuation of Wari traits as indicators of importance and status during the Late Intermediate Period (Jennings, 2003:443-444).

Even though the Kuntis had been incorporated into the Inca Empire during the reign of Mayta Capac, they did not feel the implications of Inca rule until after the second rebellion. This rebellion took place in the time of Mayta Capac's son Inca Capac Yupanqui. The Kuntis gathered a large force and marched on Cuzco, the Inca capital. The Inca army pushed the army back into Cotahuasi where they were defeated once and for all (Cieza de León, [1553] 1959:199-200). As a reaction to the resistance, the Incas built an administrative centre at Maukallacta further up the river on a high ledge and another centre at Cahuana above Alca (Trawick, 2003:43). The site of Maukallacta shows clear evidence of Inca imperial architecture with trapezoidal niches and doors and fitted stones as well as platforms and above ground tombs.



Fig. 19. The Inca administrative centre of Maukallacta.

Another consequence of the second rebellion was the introduction of the mita, or taxation system. According to historical documents, the Incas divided all land into three parts; land of the state, land of the sun (or religion) and land of the community (D'Altroy, 2002:263). Since the Inca himself was the supreme ruler (i.e. the state) and was considered the personification of the sun, the Incas effectively controlled the majority of the land in their vast empire. Soon after the Incas took control of an area, this division was made and workers brought in to ensure the steady supply of maize and other produce. *Mitmaqunas* (name for the Inca colonists sent to a valley from Cuzco) were brought in to control and organize the lands

(D'Altroy, 2003:273). Some evidence point to the fact that the Collota plateau may have been used as a "land of the sun" according to Trawick. During the construction of the canal in 1989, a number of Late Horizon sherds were found by the local workers. This is the earliest evidence of a canal construction on the plateau and the area was probably not used for large scale agriculture before the Incas arrived. The Incas would have preferred to position the production of the produce for the sun and the state in an area which had not been previously exploited, thus avoiding taking land from the local ayllus (this land could then make up the communal land) (Trawick, 2003:46).

There is a spectacular view from the site of Collota. It is surrounded by high mountain peaks and in the distance, the mighty snow capped peak of Solimana. To the Incas (and probably to earlier populations as well) the snow capped peaks were important huacas, holy places where the mountain deities resided. These deities are referred to as *apu* which translates to "great lord or superior judge" (D'Altroy, 2003:325). Solimana was one of the most important apus in the Inca Empire according to the Spanish chronicles (de Molina [1553], 1989:443).

The Collota domestic complex can then be seen as a small administrative centre which controlled the production of produce for the Inca. Located on previously unexploited (in an agricultural sense) land under the supervision of mitmaqunas from Cuzco and the higher supervision of the great apu Solimana, the site may have functioned as a ritual place as well as a place of economic importance. Cotahuasi was in the navel of Kuntisuyu (named after the Kuntis), one of the four quarters that made up the Inca empire. The Inca empire was named Tawantinsuyu in Quechua, the name meaning "land of the four quarters", with Cusco in the centre. This is a clear indication of the importance that Collota must have had during the Late Horizon.

But why did not the Incas re-use the existing Wari structures of Tenehaha? One possible explanation could be that the structures were in use by the Kuntis during the initial occupation of the valley. It is not possible to see a clear distinction in the archaeological material at Tenehaha between Wari and Late Intermediate Period ceramics. There are no signs of a Late Horizon occupation of the site. In fact, Late Horizon ceramics are not even present in the surface scatter at Tenehaha. By building a new site at Collota, only 800 meters away, the Incas made a statement of the new rule both to the local population and to the apu of

Solimana. The two sites were kept separate and Tenehaha was abandoned.

11. The Color of Change.

A.D. 1540, early morning:

The coughing had returned and this time even worse than last time. It felt as though her lungs would explode with every breath and the fever raging through her body had made her weak. It was difficult walking from her house to the potter's work shop. She walked by men cutting and carrying stones for the new wall, people in motion everywhere, some familiar to her, others were new and foreign. The wall was coming along quickly. Now there was only one entrance to the whole complex, forcing her to walk around the terraces and platforms and through the patios to reach her destination. Her legs felt heavy and her stomach ached, like small cramps spreading through her intestines, making her stop and close her eyes for a second. She took a deep breath and continued on her way. "Cannot show that I'm unwell", she thought, feeling a sting of anxiety grip her heart. After the death of her parents and her son, people were acting strange around her. They all knew of people dying after rages of fever, spots on their bodies, the horrible coughing that would echo through the towns further up the valley that now looked like ghost towns. "We are all dying", she thought. "The Gods have turned their backs on us".

Finally she arrived at the potter's work shop, a small room in the central patio where Allichac made his beautiful ware. As she walked through the opening, he looked up and greeted her with a big smile. His eyes sparkled with excitement. "Collana! Happy to see you!", he said. "You look pale... is something the matter?" She smiled vaguely and shook her head. He was the last person she wanted to shy away from her. He had given her the opportunity to work with him since she was a child, recognizing her skills as an artist. No illness in the world could keep her away from the colors and brushes she had learned to love more than anything. "I have a surprise for you", Allichac said and brought out a small pot of paint from a wooden box.

She stared in amazement at what she saw in the pot. Beautiful as the sky itself, the dark blue paint dripped from the brush as she dipped it into the color over and over again. She dipped her finger in the paint, rubbing it on her hands, feeling the texture of the liquid. It was the most beautiful color she had ever seen, blue as the sky, blue as the pretty flowers that she

used to pick as a child. “Where did you get this?” she asked. Allichac pointed to one of the foreigners standing in the group of men talking outside the work shop. “I traded five of the pots that you made last week for some of the blue powder”, he said. “I thought you would like it”.

Collana took a plate from the pile of pots and plates still to be decorated and found herself a spot on the floor. She spread her big skirts on the dirt floor, positioned the plate between her legs and went to work. Her stomach hurt and she was sweating. First she used dark red color to paint finely shaped triangles around the rim of the plate. Then she carefully dipped her finest brush into the blue paint. Hesitating for a moment, she tried to decide on what to paint. Then, slowly, she spread the paint in a perfect circle, using the brush to make it into a diamond. She made thin strips of blue around the diamond and lowered the brush. She loved the organised, neat, geometric patterns she had learnt to draw over the years. It was a tradition that went far back. She coughed and covered her mouth so Allichac wouldn't hear her. She heard the strange voices louder and louder through her feverish state. Looking at the plate, she thought that, with this new color, the design looked oddly enough very familiar yet completely new and strange.

11.1 The Archaeology of “The Color of Change”.

Before the domestic complex of Collota was excavated during the 2005 and 2006 field seasons, the site was believed to be of Wari origin, just as Tenehaha 800 m to the west. A number of Late Horizon (Inca) diagnostic sherds were found during the 2005 field season and the date of the domestic complex is now said to be of the Late Horizon (Jennings, pers. comment) Area 28 (Appendix 5) was excavated during the 2006 field season by Diego Durand. The 1 x 2 m trench was situated inside one of the structures, along the eastern wall.



Fig. 20. Unit 1 (top) and Unit 2 of Area 28. Superficial level.

One sherd of typical Late Horizon local style was found in the superficial strata of Unit 1 (Fig. 20). The sherd probably belongs to a large plate and has characteristic triangle geometric design in a band along the rim as well as large triangles (or possible diamonds) on the top of the plate. The back of the sherd (or bottom of the plate) is undecorated. These geometric patterns are characteristic for Inca ceramics and are distinct from the Wari “cell like” square patterns with small faces and S-shaped lines (Stone Miller, 1995:215).



Fig. 21. Early Colonial sherd from Area 28.

What makes this sherd unique is the blue color used on the large triangle (or diamond). Blue pigment was unknown to the Andean population until the Spanish Conquest which makes the date of the sherd post 1532 when the Spanish entered Peru, bringing the new technology with them (Yepez Alvarez, pers. comm.) The conquest of the Cotahuasi valley by the Spanish did not take place until two years later in 1534. Even though it is technically possible for blue color pigment to have entered the valley through trade before the Spanish people physically entered the valley, it seems more likely that the introduction was made after the conquest. The design used for the pottery is as previously mentioned, of a local Late Horizon style and nothing in the design indicates a strong colonial influence. The ware has not been glazed, another technique introduced by the Spanish.

On the site plan of Collota (see Appendix 4), it can be seen that a wall was constructed around the site, effectively restricting access to Patio I-V. According to Willy Yepez Alvarez, this is a common trait of early colonial Spanish attempts to close off important Inca sites in order to achieve a more effective control of access to the buildings (Yepez Alvarez, pers. comm.). The construction of the wall may be relatively dated to the time period between A.D. 1534, when the Spanish entered the valley, and A.D. 1572 when the *reducciones* under Viceroy Francisco Toledo forcibly relocated people from the old Inca settlements throughout Peru. During the *reducciones*, the modern pueblos of Cotahuasi, Pampamarca, Taurisma and Alca were built and settled by people from the old Late Horizon towns (Trawick 2003:49) probably also from the site of Collota. The superficial position of the colonial pot sherd may indicate a late date for the deposition of the sherd, as supposed to a deeper location in one of the following floor levels, which would indicate a slightly earlier date of the sherd. The floor levels underneath were intact (see Appendix 6).

11.2. Collota in Transition.

For the people living at Collota, the intrusion of the Spanish in A.D. 1534 would have been another in a series of change in the valley. As mentioned in Chapter 10, the intrusion of the Inca in the Valley occurred during the reign of the fifth Inca, Mayta Capac, less than a century before the Spanish invasion. The difference this time around is that it would see the end of the occupation of the plateau for centuries and the decline of the native population due to diseases and hard labour. The population of Peru has been estimated to approximately 9 million people in A.D. 1530 and within a time period of only ninety years, the population had

declined by 90 per cent, to approximately 600, 000 people (Trawick 2003: 48-49). New diseases such as influenza, small pox and measles in combination with the transformation of the mita system (see Chapters 8 and 10) into a form of slave labour in mines and quarries were the worst culprits in this rapid population decline. In Cotahuasi, the same population decline is clearly visible in the Spanish records from the time. In 1572, the first inventory of the population was made and the population was estimated to approximately 3, 000 individuals. By 1621, the population had declined to only 1, 266 people, a decline of more than 50 per cent (Trawick 2003:51).

Very little archaeological material has survived from the Early Colonial period in Collota and none have been found in Tenehaha. The only evidence of Spanish technology and influences is the wall enclosing the site and the single pot sherd described in Chapter 11.1. It is certainly possible that some of the other material are of an Early Colonial date, but lack any obvious colonial influences by keeping the local Late Horizon style. This may be seen as a form of passive resistance and lack of enthusiasm for emulating all esthetics of Spanish art. There is, however, an interest in some aspects of Spanish technology in the archaeological material. The blue color pigment used to paint the traditional Inca design can be seen as a want for certain aspects of the new life while wanting to preserve other parts as they were before the intrusion. This mix of traits is typical to the early stages of conquest.

12. The Essays – Creating Archaeological “Fiction”?

“For ved at skrive kan man lære.”

(Lyngstrøm et al. 2004:7)

When I was 14 years old and still in Junior High School, my History teacher gave the class an assignment in which we had to write a creative essay based on what we had learned about Ancient Athens during the Classical era. We had to create a plot and characters that would fit both the state of mind of people at the time (i.e. the emergence of democracy, slaves vs. the “free citizen”, war with other peoples etc.) and the world surrounding them (i.e. the art and architecture and other tangible, now archaeological, features). The reason for making this assignment as part of his class was that he wanted us to use our creativity in order to make history fun and exciting and put ourselves in the world of the Ancient Athenians – he wanted

us to *envision* what life could have been like in the past. The same technique of essay writing was also used by Dr. Eva Andersson, my lecturer during my first semester of Archaeology at Lund University in 2003. In our take home exam, she had us write an essay on what life may have been like at Skateholm, a Scanian hunter-gatherer community, during the Mesolithic, based on the archaeological material found during the excavations. Essays or “creative” writing on archaeological time periods and sites are frequent in popular literature today. Some of the most famous books settled in historical or prehistorical settings are Jean M. Auel’s series *Clan of the Cave Bear* and Swedish author Jan Guillou’s books on Arn, the Swedish member of the Knight’s Templar.

When I started thinking of possible ways to present the voices of the people who have left traces on the Collota plateau during history, the essay form immediately came to mind. There are many reasons for why I believe this method of writing to be appropriate to my approach to (pre)historical multivocality. Lyngstrøm argues in the foreword to a collection of archaeological essays published by the SAXO- Institute at Copenhagen University, Denmark, that the essay, in contrast to other archaeological writing, aims at solving a *problem* rather than simply bring describing what has already been found (Lyngstrøm, 2000:7). In my essays, I explore feelings and actions surrounding the deposition of or interaction with an archaeological feature, instead of simply describing the deposition or interaction itself.

Another reason for the choice of essays in my thesis is my conscious attempt to *humanize* the past. Instead of simply describing the archaeological material from the various post-Wari time periods, the creation of characters or actors makes history come alive, both to me and to the readers. By allowing individuals to interact with the archaeology, the past becomes populated and relatable.

Are the essays archaeological *fiction*? Yes, they are, but they also represent a *different way of writing interpretations* of the site. They are based on archaeological material and oral and written sources, just like all academic rapports, books and papers published in the field of archaeology. The characters or actors in the essays are fictional, but represent a larger community of people (see Chapter 13 below).

13. Actors in a System – Collective Subjectivity.

“Archaeology is not a personal endeavour, but rather a *communal* practice: a collective ‘seeing’ and ‘reading’” (Evans, 1989:447).

“[...] *collective causality should be seen as universally the property of social systems.*” (Domingues, 2000:234)

As I have mentioned above, my thesis takes on an interpretive approach to archaeology. In my essays, I give possible interpretations of how the people who have left traces at the Collota site may have viewed the site in *their* present. In order to achieve a, from my point of view, *possible* idea of how the traces they left behind acted as symbols of their view of their past and present, it became important for me to try to capture a sense of the time in which they lived.

Each and every one of us is colored by a spirit of *collective subjectivity*. We are taught certain belief systems, values, emotions and ideas of right and wrong by the society and culture we grow up in. These traits may be disguised as subjective thoughts, but they belong to a larger community of like-minded individuals who form a collective, on which the individual can be more or less dependent. These values etc. are subjective in a collective sense, since they are shared by a majority of the individuals within the group (or collective). The size and extension of this group may vary within the present. The collective may be the society as a whole, the community or the social strata of the people in question. Collective subjectivity is a term used in Sociology to describe the relationship between individuals and their larger system or society. According to Domingues, the individuals are *causally* active, i.e. “they exert their *external efficient causality*” and at the same time they are faced with “a static, *conditioning causality*, which can be seen in more or less deterministic terms, as both constraining and/or enabling. Individual actors are thus causally conditioned by society, which exerts in this way also a sort of *internal efficient causality*.” (Domingues, 2000:233-234). In other words, we are as individuals active parts of the cause-effect relationships within the system, but we are at the same time conditioned by the collective subjectivity of the society as a whole. Some reactions and feelings can be seen as “natural” or “logical” reactions to events within the system (we are taught these reactions within our collective) and

may thus be generalized from the individual to the collective as a whole which is experiencing the same event.

In the attempt to create my view of the (pre)historical multivocality approach in archaeology, I use the notion of collective subjectivity, in the way described above, to envision a possible *state of mind* or a possible *symbolic approach* to the site in the actors in my essays. The actors are in a sense embodying possible reactions and feelings towards the site and towards the past, which were shared *within their collective*. My interpretation of how this idea of the visible remains from the Collota site acted as symbols for traits and emotions shared by the individual actor and their collective, is based on the literature and interviews which was made available to me. The usage of essays as part of this attempt to create past voices is a suitable method in describing the collective subjectivity of the actors. Essays or narratives in general are, according to Evans, “appropriate to express the collective voice and archaeology of communities. Williams [the author of “Black Mountain”, a fictive book describing life in a Welsh valley during prehistory] believed that in a ‘composition of voices’ lay ‘the larger music of a longer history’.” (Evans 1993:420).

By using the idea of collective subjectivity to envision a sense of the various time periods from which my essays stem, I very much use my own collectively infused subjectivity as well as the subjectivity from the collectives of the authors of my literature and the person whom I have interviewed. It is not possible, and certainly not the aim of my (pre)historical multivocality approach, to search for some sort of objective answer to past feelings.

14. A Univocal Approach to (Pre)Historical Multivocality.

“History does not influence me; I influence it.”

- Willem de Kooning.

As archaeologists, we are responsible for some of the interpretations that are presented in publications, documentaries and other media about how life was like in the past. We do influence history in a very direct sense. This does not mean, however, that we should always take the “safe” route and refrain from being creative when we study the past, as some members of the community have expressed (see Chapter 6). If we wish to create an interesting archaeology, not only for the academic community but for the general public as

well, it is vital to try paths that have not been treaded before and explore new grounds. That is how archaeology as a subject moves forward and new ideas are allowed to flourish. Since it is impossible for us to actually travel back in time and check the validity of our interpretations (and besides... the account of the validity would vary anyway depending on *who* made the journey back in time), I believe that it is important (and unavoidable) to embrace the individual interpretations of the archaeologists willing to study a certain phenomenon or time period.

In my thesis I have taken on a *univocal* approach to (pre)historical multivocality. I am the only author of the essays and they are my own, personal interpretations of the material. I have consulted publications and spoken to others on the matter, but the main thesis can very well be said to be univocal. I am a Caucasian woman in my mid 20's, raised in Sweden in a middle class academic family. I am a social liberal who takes interest in the individual as a focus of my research. This is probably colored by my upbringing during the 1980's and 1990's political focus on individualism and personal freedom. These inevitable traits are impossible for me to remove and it is important for the reader of my research to be aware of where my voice comes from. My voice inevitably influences the tone of the essays as well as how the material is selected and interpreted.

Most of our archaeological interpretations are, in fact, univocal, unless we make a conscious decision to include people that belong to, perhaps, a different collective into our research in order to create a multivocal approach to (pre)historical multivocality (see "collective subjectivity" above). I would have preferred to include other voices besides my own by having a number of people from different social backgrounds, gender, age and geographical areas write the essays, but unfortunately this could not be made in practice within the boundaries of this paper.

15. Conclusions.

To return to the questions posed at the beginning of my thesis: how did I include historical periods in the concept of multivocality and how has this inclusion been made in practice in the archaeological excavatory and interpretative processes on the Collota plateau? The process of including (pre)historical multivocality in the PACO project began in the field. By actively searching for material from different time periods post-dating the Wari and

documenting these features, I have built a database for my research. To create voices for some of the people who have interacted with the site throughout history, I have written essays in order to humanize the past and allow the individual behind the material to be heard. By using the sociological concept of collective subjectivity, the meaning of the site throughout history, expressed by the actors in my essays could be applied to a larger group of people belonging to the same collective as the actor.

(Pre)historical multivocality becomes a way of dealing with questions often neglected by the archaeological community which tends to focus on one simple and specific time period or phenomenon. Some of these questions raised by (pre)historical multivocality and which my approach tries to answer are:

- How have people interacted with the site throughout prehistory and history up until today?
- How is/are this/these interaction(s) visible in the archaeological material?
- How have these people viewed the site and what type of symbolic value can be applied to the site throughout prehistory and history?
- Are there temporal or spatial differences in the interactions and interpretations, i.e. a *continuous or discontinuous change through time* or *change and variation within a specific time frame*?

What conclusions can be drawn from the material at the sites of Collota and Tenehaha based on the questions posed above? In order to assemble the data analysed in the essays, I have composed a table (Fig. 22).

<u>Actor(s)</u>	<u>Time frame</u>	<u>Arch. material</u>	<u>Oral/written sources</u>	<u>Meaning/interpretation</u>
PACO team	2005-2006	Refilled trenches, excavation material left at site.	Publications from the project.	Work place. The site as a container of knowledge of the past. Understanding the Wari imperialism.
Señor X	1989 (?)	Re-use of Cacahuasi (canal, lid, manure)	Water disputes and class struggle. Ethnographic study.	Personal freedom and ownership. Practical re-use of old building.
Consuela and Diego	1988 (?)	Looter's pit	Stories of looting. Legends of tombs.	Economic gain and a new future. Hesitation towards desecrating the ancestors.
Marco	1996 (?)	Looter's pit	Legends of gold tapados.	Being chosen for greatness. Financial gain.
Collana	Early Inca Colonial time, ca.1534-1572	Inca colonial pot sherd. Wall around Collota.	Accounts of Colonialism and effects of Spanish intrusion.	Excitement over new technology, yet ambivalence towards change. Fear for the future.
Mitmaqkuna	Late Horizon (Inca). 6th Inca Capac Yupanqui	Collota location and architecture. Late Horizon ceramics.	Early written Spanish sources.	Conscious decision not to re-use the old Wari site. Collota seen as "land of the sun".

Fig.22. Table of (pre)historical multivocality at the sites of Collota and Tenehaha.

Column 1 presents the actors in my essays, including the PACO team., the most recent actors on the sites. Column 2 gives a time frame for the deposition of the archaeological material by the actors. The archaeological materials used in the essays are listed in Column 3 and the oral and/or written sources used to interpret the material are listed in Column 4. Column 5 briefly describes the possible symbolic interpretations and feelings towards the site expressed by the actors.

I have chosen to structure the essays in a chronological fashion in this thesis in order to study the change over time. The archaeological material shows that the site may have been abandoned during a very long time period (see Fig.22). There are no visible signs of human interaction from the early colonial period until the late 1980's, making it difficult to produce any interpretations of the meaning and use of the site during this time based on the lack of

material remains. One possible reason for abandoning the site altogether is the upheaval of the political structure that administered the irrigation of the site after the Spanish conquest (Trawick, 2003:46). The “land of the sun” was no longer a necessity.

One conclusion that can be drawn from the use of (pre)historical multivocality at this particular site is the *discontinuity* and *interruption* of the meanings of the site over time (that can be seen in the archaeological material, that is). There is a clear distinction to be drawn between the time periods closely following the decline of Tenehaha and the rise of Collota and the more “modern” time periods. For the people interacting with the sites during the Late Horizon and Early Colonial time periods, the site represented a turning away from the old and familiar, yet preserving some of the traditional features. Through a conscious act of *not* re-using the Wari domestic complex, yet copying the local architectural style of Tenehaha, the Inca elite distanced themselves from the past, yet embraced certain aspects of it. The use of the blue color pigment in local Late Horizon ceramic design during the Early Colonial era can be seen as an embracement of some aspects of the new technology available, yet keeping to traditional designs in a time of crisis for the population. During the Modern era following the re-use of the Collota plateau for agriculture, the site took on different meanings. It has become both a representation of a mythical past, a place of stories and legends of treasure embodied by the visible architecture and tombs scattered across the plateau and an arena for financial profit in the present, seen in the struggle for ownership of land and the looting of ancient artefacts for profit.

(Pre)historical multivocality enables me to create a broader picture of the site, both in terms of the material taken into consideration during fieldwork and the interpretations made in the post-fieldwork process. It creates awareness that the PACO project is only one link in a long series of interpretations of the site throughout history (see Fig. 22). Archaeology as a science and a profession has only been around for a very small part of history, but this does not mean that we are the first to apply meaning and action to the sites that we are studying. The sites are dynamic entities, constantly being re-evaluated and interpreted by numerous people, both in the past and in the present. Both multivocality and (pre)historical multivocality aim to actively listen to and include these other voices, thereby creating a more active and interesting archaeology.

And as for future voices, how will they sound and how will they speak of the site...?

16. Suggestions for Future Research.

The concept of (pre)historical multivocality is a good way of including past interpretations of the site and it has the great advantage of being a flexible method. The flexibility makes it possible to apply to many different sites from many different time periods. It does create a broader picture of the site, material or phenomenon in question and can be included in most projects. Here in Scandinavia, some interesting research possibilities would be looking at Iron Age grave fields, Bronze Age tombs or Viking Age Run stones and their surroundings from a (pre)historical multivocality perspective, to name a few possibilities.

If the aim of modern archaeology is to be reflexive and open, historical meaning and historical interpretations of the past should not be ignored, but should be actively sought out and brought to light. By including (pre)historical multivocality in an archaeological project, both in the field and during post-fieldwork write-up, a more varied picture of various pasts is created. A great possibility for those archaeologists who wish to study continuation or change of any phenomenon through time.

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Figures.

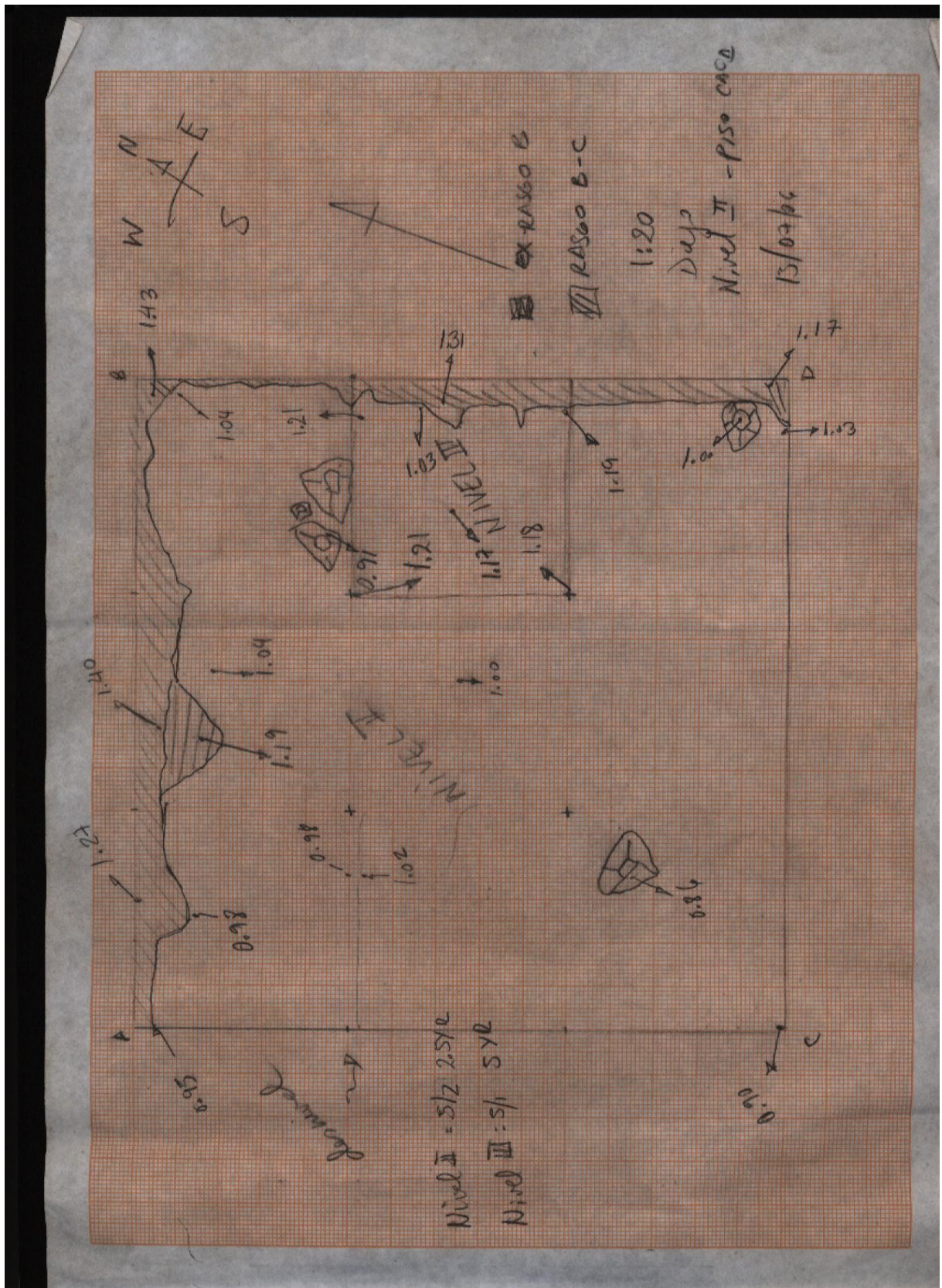
The figures not listed were photographed by me.

Fig 1: www.madriver.com/users/rtw2vt/peru/slideshow/peru3.jpg

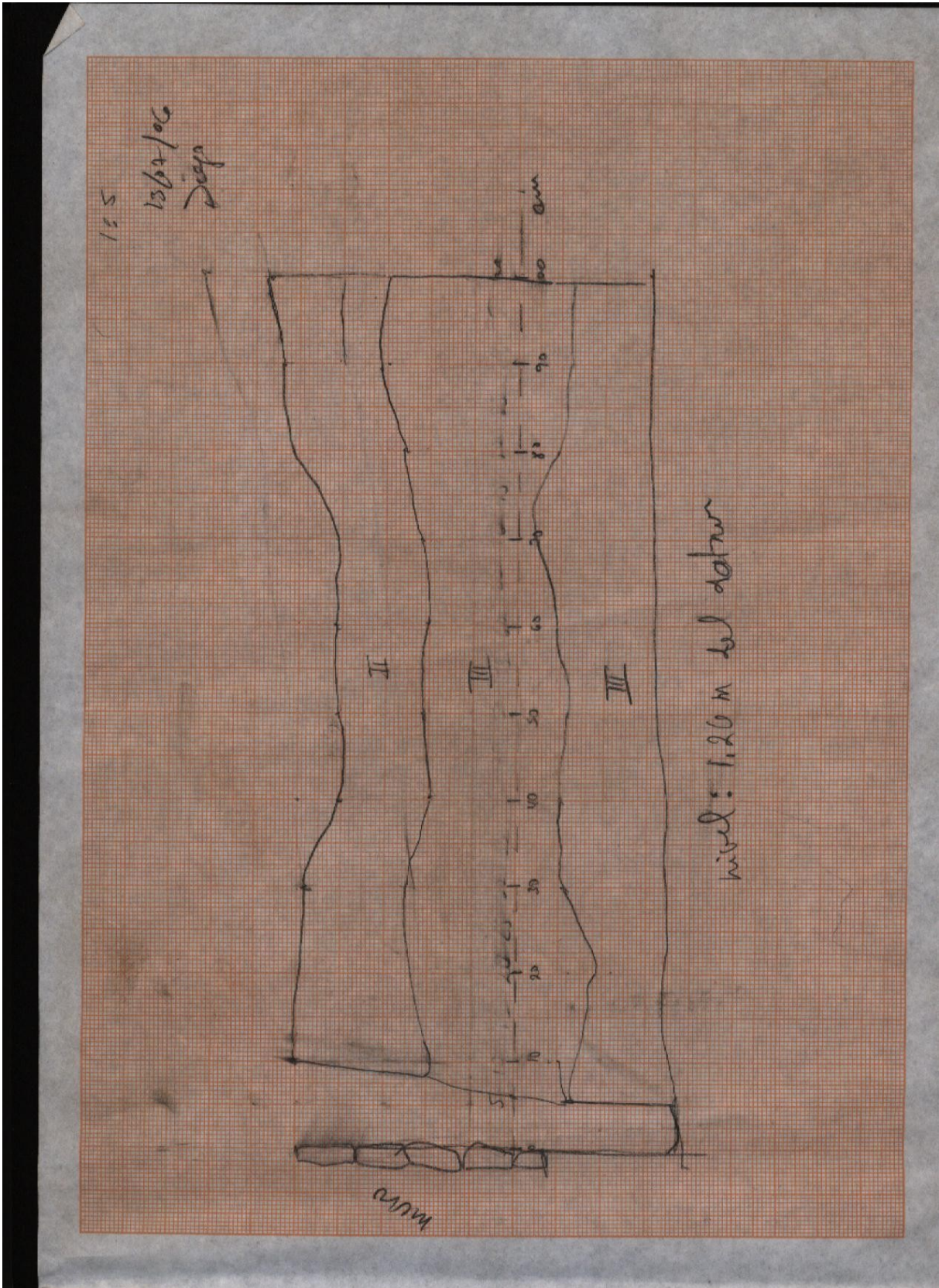
Fig. 3: Courtesy of Elina Alvarado Sanchez

Fig. 20: Courtesy of Diego Durand.

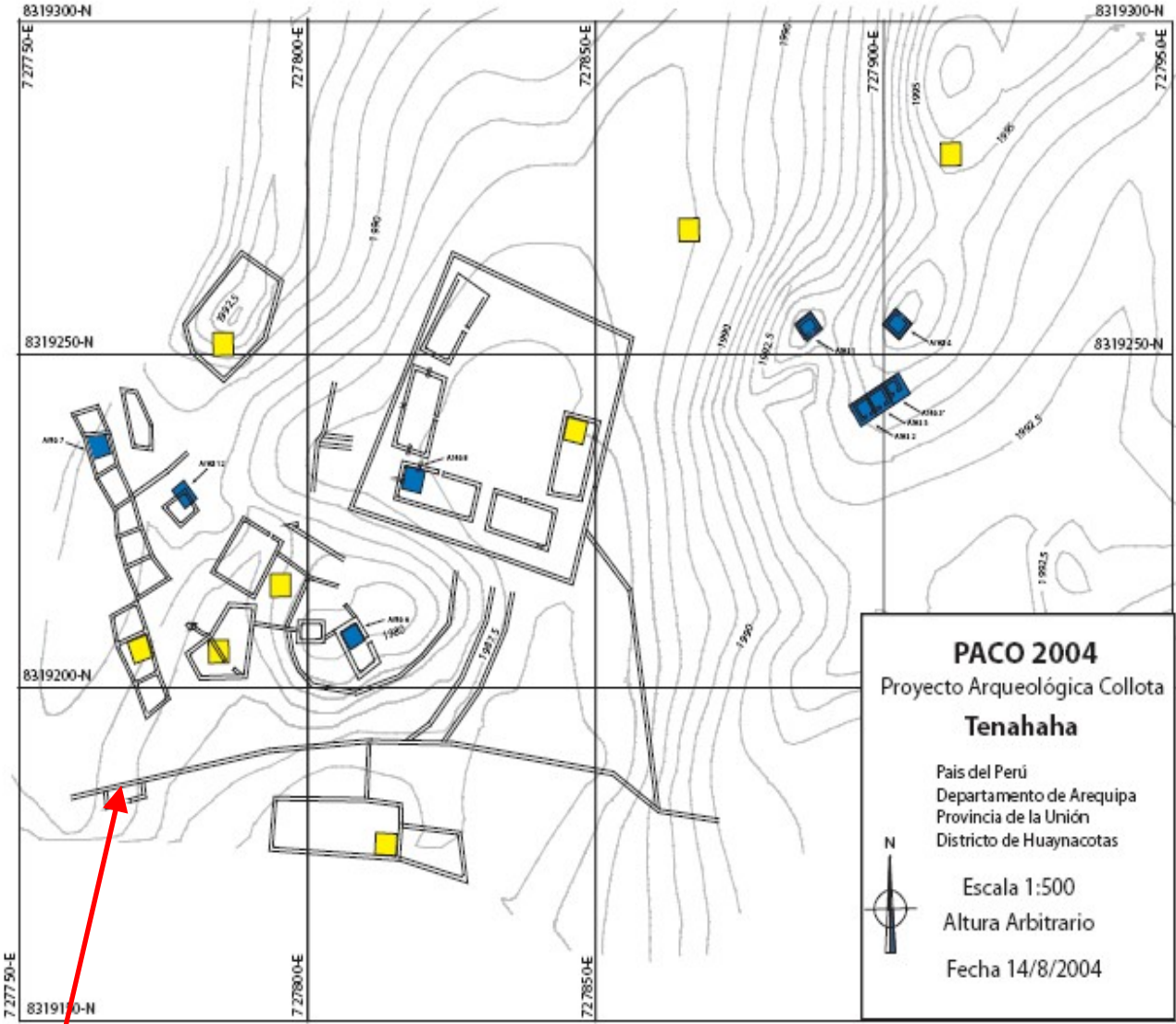
Front page shows "The Voice of the Winds" by René Magritte.



Appendix 1. Area 26. Note the canal marked as “Rasgo B-C” (Durand 2006)

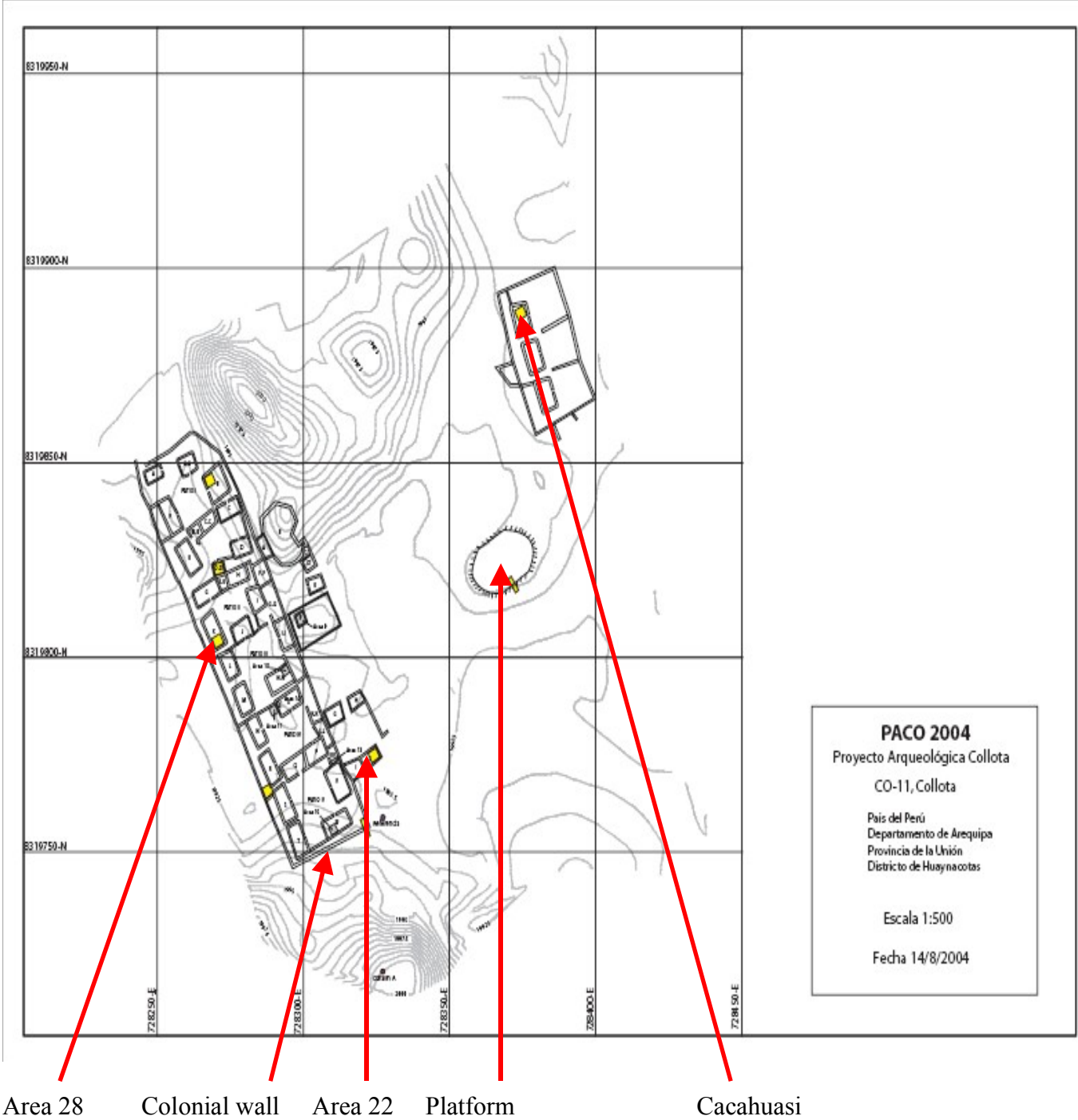


Appendix 2. Area 26. Profile Drawing. (Durant 2006).

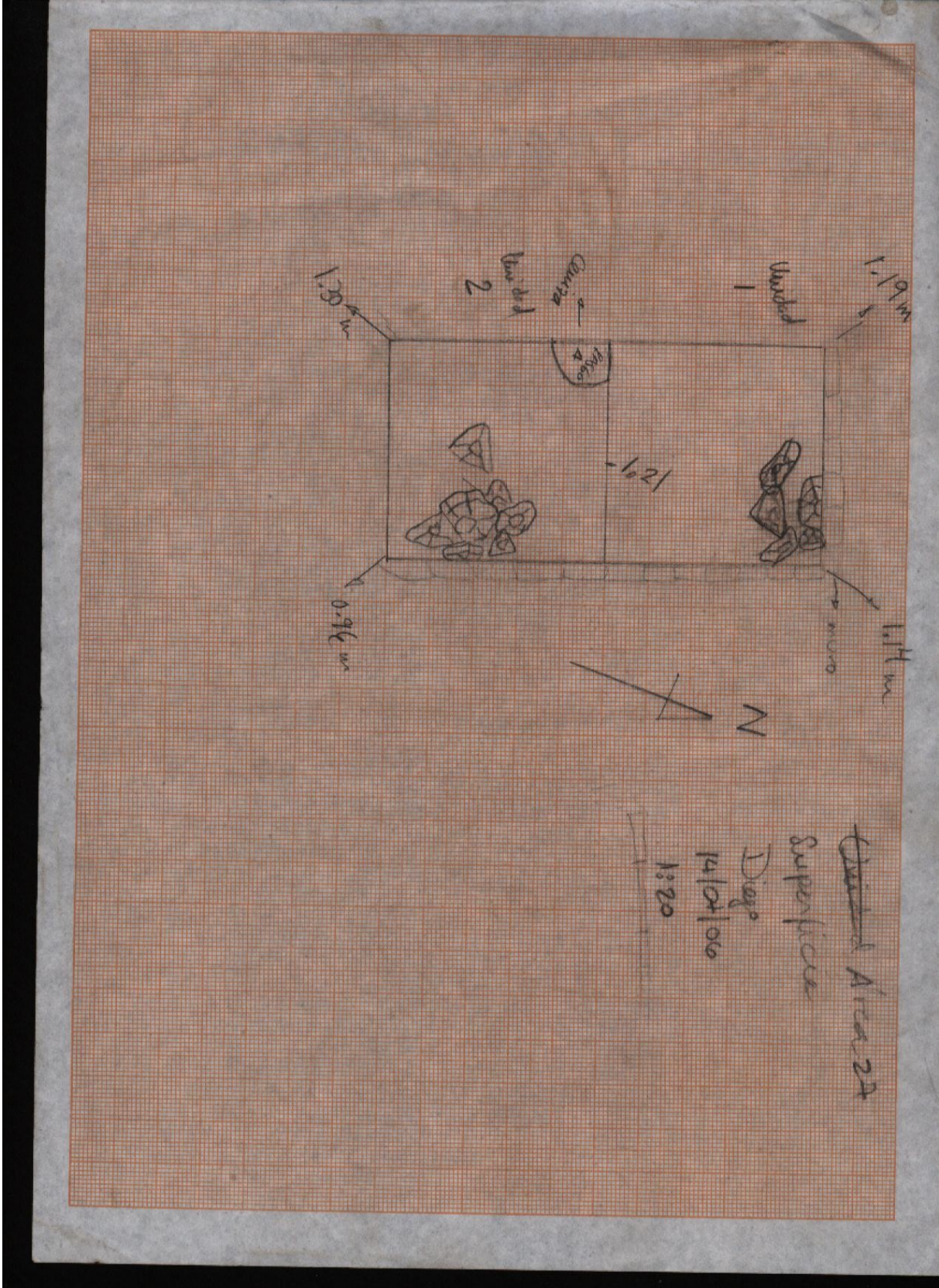


Area 30

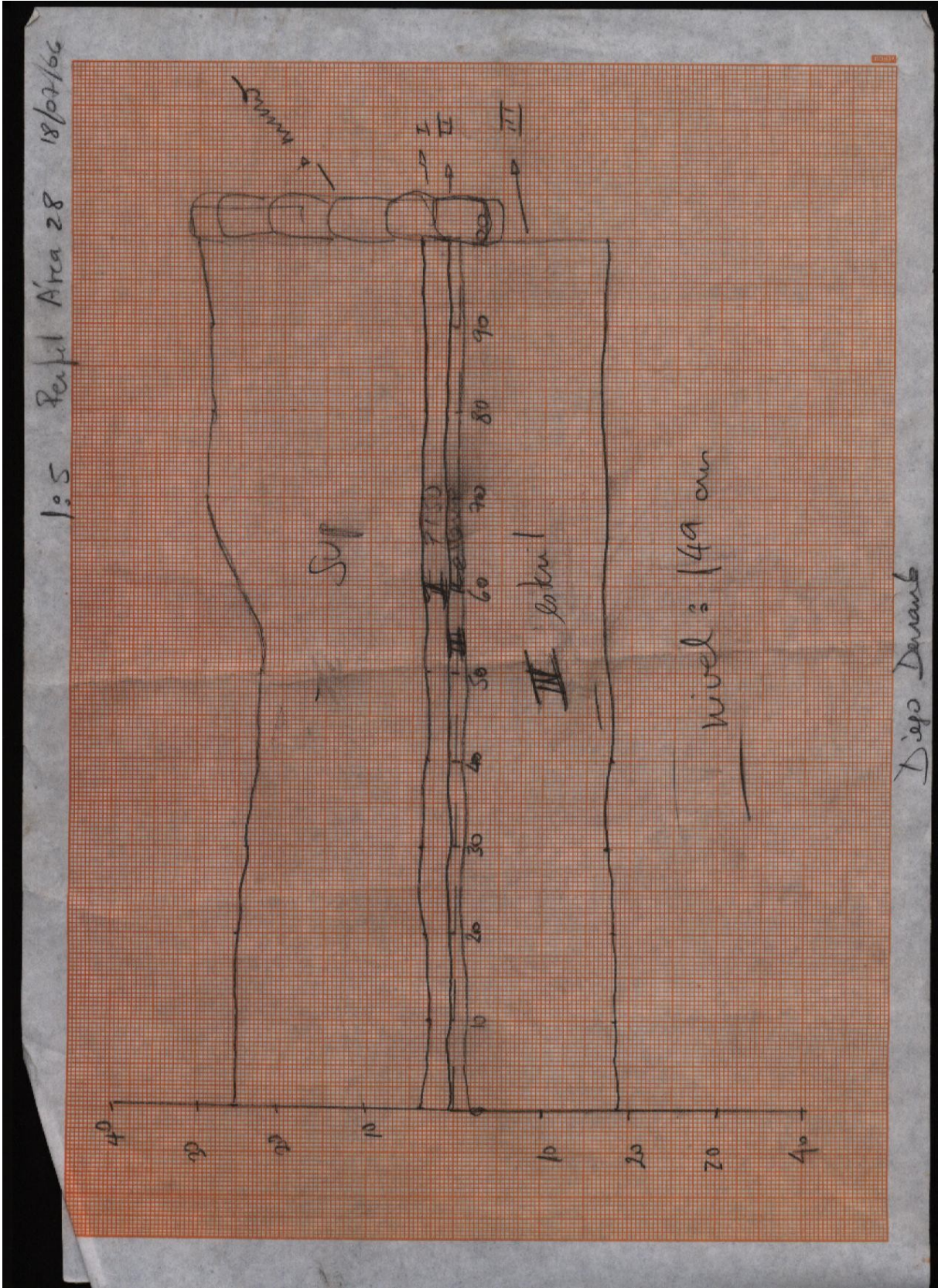
Appendix 3. Site plan of Tenehaha. (Jennings 2004)



Appendix 4. Site plan of Collota. (Jennings 2004)



Appendix 5. Area 28. Superficial level where the Colonial sherd was found (Durand 2006). Please note: Unfortunately the drawing was marked Area 27 by mistake. The drawing does portray Area 28.



Appendix 6. Profile drawing of Area 28. Please note intact floor level approximately 20 cm below the superficial strata (labelled “PISO”). (Durand 2006).

