



## On the Threshold of the *Huaca* Sanctuaries of Sound in the Ancient Andean World

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THE EXTRAORDINARY RELEVANCE OF THE sonic-aural dimension in the ancient Andean system of religious beliefs and practices has only recently begun to be discerned. Perhaps the first to grasp its real significance was Constance Classen, who in one of the essays gathered in *Worlds of Sense* (1993:106) posited, though in very general terms, that the ancient people of the Andes had to live “in a world set into motion by sound.” Later, Claudette Columbus, in a seminal essay titled “Soundscapes in Andean Context” (2004), drew attention to the profound semiotic implications of sound in pre-Hispanic ritual practices and how the latter could condense and encode a vast and coherent system of meanings, beliefs, and collective representations. Likewise, Jeremy Moore (2005:149), examining the dynamics of pre-Hispanic processions and also on the basis of ethnographic analogies, proposed that the “audial domain” could represent an essential component of them. For her part, Mónica Gudemos (2008:116–118, 133–134), in studying the choreographic-musical sequences of the rituals of

the major annual Inka festivals, not only recognized that sound fulfilled a preponderant ritual role in those ceremonial occasions but also noticed that one of the most common and striking characteristics of ancient Andean ceremonial spaces was their location on sites with some natural sound source or particular architectural or structural features that were meant to give out or amplify sound, such as canals through which water runs loudly. Along this same line, in my essay “La voz de la huaca” (2016), I settled that the Andean religion at the time of the Inkas was indeed a system of beliefs and ritual practices of a strongly aural nature, focused on sensing and interpreting certain sounds, regarded as extra-human voices, of the universe surrounding humanity. Actually, I highlighted that in the ancient Andean world the attribute that distinguished things and places infused with life-force (*camac*), and therefore considered living sacred entities (*huacas* [*wak'a*]), was essentially sound and that the Andean places of cult were thought of primarily as spaces where one could hear the voices of

the gods. Established in strategic sites and carefully conditioned to elevate the perception of sounds of nature or others produced through different systems and devices, and to offer intense auditive experiences, these shrines represent the most perfect and generalized case of aural spaces and structures created by an ancient society (Curatola Petrocchi 2016:303–304, also 2015:115). In this chapter, I mean to show how the configuration of some Inka sites of worship concurred with particular stories and traditions in which deities manifested themselves and spoke to humans, or perhaps vice versa, as certain Inka stories expressed specific oracular practices that took place in sanctuaries specially prepared to hear the god’s “voice.”

### The Sanctuary of the Four Talking Fountains

In his two chronicles, the *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes ingas del Piru* (Galvin Manuscript, ca. 1590) and the *Historia general del Perú* (1613), the Mercedarian friar Martín de Murúa twice recounted, with slight variations, the forbidden and tragic love story of Chuquillanto, a young and beautiful girl, “ñusta daughter of the Sun”<sup>1</sup>—an Inka noble devoted to the service of the Sun God and belonging to an important category of state servants named *acllacuna*, the “chosen women”<sup>2</sup>—and a shepherd called Acuytapia, who tended a flock of white llamas reserved for the sun cult (Murúa [1613] 1987:329–337, chaps. 91–92, [1590] 2004a:244–250, [1590] 2004b:fols. 144–147v). The story tells how the two lovers were petrified and turned into two large pillars of rock on top of Pitusiray Mountain, close to Calca, in the Yucay Valley.<sup>3</sup> In his illustrated chronicle, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala ([1615] 1980:1:93 [113], 160 [183 (185)], 243 [268 (270)], 248 [275 (277)]) pointed out this mountain—illustrating it and its two tapered peaks with accuracy—as a major oracular *huaca* in Antisuyu. Likewise, Guaman Poma probably also made the five watercolor illustrations that accompany the text of the story of Chuquillanto and Acuytapia in the Galvin Manuscript of Murúa’s ([1590] 2004b:fols. 145v, 146,

146v, 147, 147v) chronicle, despite suggestions that two of them could have been the work of another hand (Trever 2011:52). Whoever the author may be, the two drawings illustrate the central episode in which Chuquillanto—conscientiously following the instructions given to her in dreams by a nightingale (*ch’eqollo*)<sup>4</sup>—sings, in the middle of the night, lying at the center of four fountains of “crystal-clear fresh water” in the sun sanctuary where she lives (Figure 9.1). Chuquillanto softly sings the words “micuc usutu cuyuc utussi cusin” (the plowman who eats the moving *utussi* [totora reed?] is happy), and the four fountains rapidly reply in turn, repeating the same lyrics. As suggested by the nightingale, the young girl interprets the quick reply of the fountains as a good omen and an encouragement to continue her relationship with Acuytapia. The story tells how the water of each of the fountain-baths, in which the *aclla* of the sanctuary performed their ablutions, ran in the direction of one of the four *suyus*, that is, the four macro-regions that formed the Inka empire. Even the name of each fountain is specified: *silla puquio* (fountain of pebbles)<sup>5</sup> was the Chinchaysuyu fountain; *llullucha puquio* (fountain of the confervae)<sup>6</sup> that of Collasuyu; *oqhoruru puquio* (fountain of the watercress)<sup>7</sup> of Contisuyu; and *chiclla puquio* (fountain of the frogs)<sup>8</sup> of Antisuyu. In the first of Murúa’s chronicles—that of 1590 (2004a:249, fol. 145)—it is specified that every *aclla* at the site bathed only in the fountain corresponding to the *suyu* of which she was a native. As for the sacred fountains, it is said that when the shepherd Acuytapia, who was in the field tending to the Sun God’s flock, first saw Chuquillanto coming toward him with another *aclla* and addressing him, he at first believed that those two beautiful creatures were the embodiment of “some of the four crystal-clear fountains celebrated throughout the highlands” (Murúa [1590] 2004a:247–248, fol. 144).

The belief that water can speak is an ancient and widespread one in the Andean tradition. I should recall in this regard the testimony given by the *yatiri* (Aymara healer) from Toconce, a small village in Antofagasta, Chile, who told anthropologist Victoria Castro (1988:117) that the ancestors



figure 9.1  
 Martín de Murúa,  
*Historia del origen, y  
 genealogía real de los reyes  
 ingas del Piru*, fol. 145v, 1590.

“spoke with water; they spoke with the earth, with water, with the air,” as well as the more categorical and revealing statement made by a peasant from Huarochirí, in the highland of Lima, when questioned by Frank Salomon about the nature and essence of Pariacaca, the paramount local deity, who was identified with a high snow-covered peak and whom historical sources from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries describe as a powerful oracle in Inka times. The Huarochirian peasant replied to Salomon’s question with these precise words: “Pariacaca is the sound water makes in the stream

in winter. By listening to it, you can tell whether it will be a good year for crops” (Salomon and Niño-Murcia 2011:232). The belief that Andean deities can manifest themselves and “speak” through water is fully consistent with the Andean notion of *sami*, which Catherine Allen studied in the small community of Soncco, about 60 km northeast of Cuzco, and which clearly has the same connotations as the ancient notion of *camac*, the “animating force” that Gerald Taylor (1974–1976) and Frank Salomon (1991:16) unraveled thanks to their philological analysis of the Quechua Huarochirí

manuscript (1609), as well as the colonial Quechua dictionaries. Allen (2002:33, 36), in fact, not only explains *sami* as an “animating essence” but also recalls how, in the Sonquinos’ system of beliefs and representations, “rivers and streams provide a tangible manifestation of the *sami*’s flow.” In addition, the term *sami* corresponds to what the Aymara shepherds of the Macha area, in the province of Chayanta, northern Potosi, call *animu*. Ethnomusicologist Henry Stobart (2006:27), who spent extended periods with them, posits that the Machas use the term to refer to “the animating quality or essence of living things,” which in their conception is consubstantial not only to the beings of the animal kingdom but also to phenomena of nature like the mountains and certain rocks. In addition, Stobart (2006:27–30, 2007) points out that the word *animu* is also used to indicate all forms of sound. This establishes a clear semantic connection between “sound” and “animating energy” and indicates that for Andeans sound traditionally constitutes the primary manifestation of every being endowed with life. The notion of *animu* has also been thoroughly analyzed by Xavier Ricard Lanata (2007:77–90), based on his observations among the Quechua-speaking shepherds of the Ausangate massif, in the Cuzco region. According to this people, the animating force—or “essence in act” (*esencia en acto*), as Ricard (2007:82–83) prefers to define the term *animu*—would be distributed, as a kind of emanation, by the *apus* (lords, sacred mountains) that manifest themselves and make their voices heard to shamans only through the sound of the wind. Similarly, Carolyn Dean (2011:30) emphasizes, in a seminal study of the aesthetics and symbolic dimension of Inka fountains, how the sound of water, along with the movement and the reflection of light on the water itself, gave an impression of animateness—an effect that was intentionally sought by those who built these hydraulic works. Likewise, Mónica Gudemos (2008:133–134) notes how many ancient Andean ceremonial spaces are characterized precisely by their locations that are endowed with some natural source of sound or by having works such as canals or ducts meant to give out sound when water flows or drafts go through.

In fact, as Jeanette Sherbondy (1982:74, 1992:60) and other scholars have pointed out, many *huacas* (deity-shrines) in the Cuzco *ceque* system are represented precisely by springs, fountains, baths, and canals, or by rocks and structures that were close to watercourses or hydraulic works (Bauer 1998:23; Bray 2013:166).

It, thus, comes as no surprise that in one of the idolatry trials held in 1662 by the extirpator Bernardo de Noboa, one of the most sacred sites of the people of San Pedro de Mangas in the colonial province of Cajatambo (central-northern highlands of Peru) was a spring called Rimay Puquio (Spring that Speaks), located not too far from the village. The community’s Indian priests headed there in procession on certain ceremonial occasions, accompanied by young women—in the document described as “virgin or single women”—playing drums (*tinyas*) and carrying pitchers full of *chicha*. In the spring, the priests made sacrifices, burned offerings, and called upon the deity of the place as “the owner of the *puquio*” and “the mother who raises water.” This extra-human entity appeared and spoke with them under the guise of a woman “of such great height”—we read in the deposition given by one of the Indian women summoned to confess in the trial—“that she competed with the big mountain adjacent to the said town of Mangas” (Duvols 2003:600, 612, 619).<sup>9</sup>

As for the “single” or “virgin” women who took part in the oracular rituals of the Mangas community, they clearly correspond, *mutatis mutandis*, to the “daughters of the Sun,” that is, the *acllacuna* of the Inka empire mentioned in the tale of Chuquillanto related by Murúa. In light of the historical and ethnographic information provided, the story told by Murúa, with its four fountains that spoke to an *aclla*, turns out to be fully consistent with the system of Andean collective representations and ritual practices. But this is not all. The fact is that when in both his texts and in a drawing of the Galvin manuscript Murúa ([1613] 1987:331–332, [1590] 2004a:249, fols. 144v–145, [1590] 2004b:fol. 145v) indicates the existence of a shrine “with large and sumptuous palaces of the Sun, many rooms superbly built” and above all with four fountains,



*figure 9.2*  
A satellite view of Chachabamba. Courtesy of Google Earth.

each one located on each of the four cardinal directions, this was not a mere legend or a figment of the chronicler's fantasy, but instead a precise reference to specific sacred Inka sites, as is proven by the sanctuary of Chachabamba. This site lies on the left bank of the Vilcanota River, 5 km away as the crow flies from the Inka citadel of Machu Picchu and about 40 km away from the section of this same river that is known as the Yucay Valley. Chachabamba was first located and studied in 1940 by the Wenner Gren Scientific Expedition to Hispanic America led by Paul Fejos (1944:37–41).<sup>10</sup> The site is at present being jointly studied and excavated by Peru's Ministry of Culture and the Centre for Andean Studies of the University of Warsaw in Cuzco, headed by Mariusz Ziolkowski.<sup>11</sup>

Chachabamba lies at a crossroad and close to where a brook, known as Chachabamba or Santa Rita, running down the mountain from south to west of the site, flows into the Vilcanota River (Figure 9.2). Therefore, the sanctuary of Chachabamba lies on what in the Andes is known as a *tinku*—a Quechua term that indicates “the union of two things” (Holguín [1608] 1952:342)<sup>12</sup>—just like the Coricancha, the great Inka oracular temple in Cuzco dedicated to the Sun God, or the

ancient sanctuary of Chavín de Huántar (first millennium BCE), which, according to archaeological evidence and documentary sources,<sup>13</sup> was also a major oracle. That Chachabamba was a place of worship is clearly indicated by the small temple of the *huaca*-boulder that was the main structure at the site (Figures 9.3 and 9.4). Built atop a large boulder that dominates the Vilcanota riverbank and with the very same rock, polished and carved, protruding inside and taking up almost all of its inner area, this structure is conceptually similar to other major sacred Inka buildings that enclose outcrops, like the Temple of the Sun (the so-called Torreón) of Machu Picchu, the Intiwatana in Pisac, or the House of the Rock at Caquia Xaquixaguana (now known as Huchuy Qosqo). However, it should be noted that unlike the latter, the southern side of the small temple at Chachabamba is completely open, facing a plaza with restricted access that is delimited on its three other sides by as many buildings. On its frontal side, facing the plaza, the sacred boulder has a large seat and a small four-step stairway exquisitely carved, following a formal pattern that is fully analogous to that of the “ceremonial stone” found near the so-called Watchman's Hut at Machu Picchu (Figure 9.5) and the “carved stone

*figure 9.3*

The front (south side) of the *huaca*-boulder temple at Chachabamba.

Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.4*

The back (north and west sides) of the *huaca*-boulder temple at Chachabamba.

Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



with steps” at Saywite (Dean 2010:pl. 6). Another large seat is carved on the opposite (north) side of the stone facing the Vilcanota River. This is a key part of the site. The strong, ceaseless sound of the river roaring thunderously a few meters below the

boulder is heard throughout all of the shrine, thus giving rise to a highly emotional aural experience. For those in the plaza, it is as if the sound were coming from within the sacred rock itself. Yet the most striking characteristic of the archaeological site of



figure 9.5  
 The ceremonial stone near the Watchman's Hut at Machu Picchu. Photograph courtesy of Donato Amado.

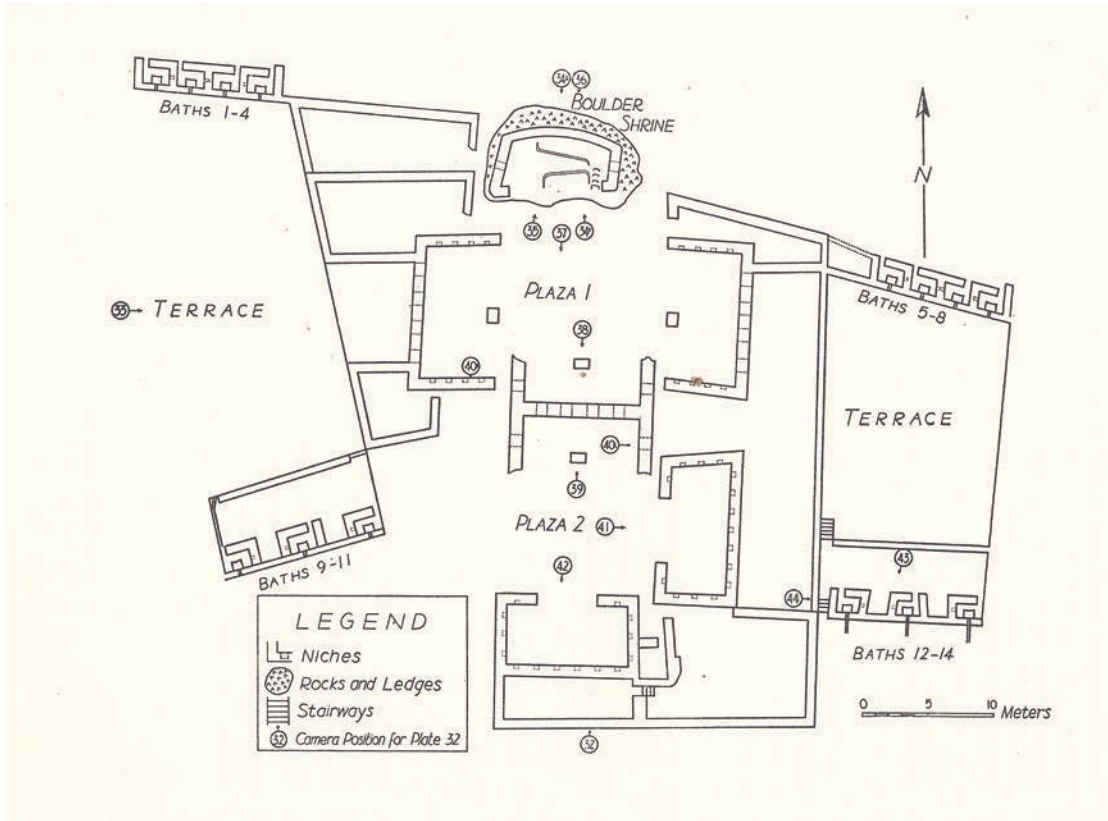


figure 9.6  
 A plan of Chachabamba. Reprinted from Fejos 1944:38, by permission of the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc., New York.

*figure 9.7*  
Drone photography  
of Chachabamba.  
Courtesy of the Dirección  
Desconcentrada de Cultura  
de Cusco, Ministerio de  
Cultura, Peru.



Chachabamba, which somehow connects it with the tale of Chuquillanto, is that it has four sets of baths on its corners: two rows of four bath-fountains on its northeastern and northwestern corners, and two rows of three bath-fountains on its southeastern and southwestern corners, according to a fully

symmetrical pattern (Figures 9.6–9.8). The supply of water in these baths was ensured by a complex, branching hydraulic system that was fed by a stone canal that derived the water from the brook south of the site. Chachabamba shows that shrines like the one described in the tale of Chuquillanto and



*figure 9.8*

Bath-fountains on Chachabamba's southwestern corner. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.

Acuytapia, with the four “talking” fountains, actually existed in the Inka world. This, therefore, suggests that in the ancient Andes the ontological and epistemological dualism separating the world of the senses from the world of ideas, which was so deeply ingrained in the Western tradition from Plato to Descartes, did not exist.

### The Sanctuary of the Speaking Sun Fountain

Perhaps the most famed “talking” fountain of the Inka world was that of Susurpuquio, where, according to the Inka traditions surrounding the rise of their empire, the Sun God appeared to the prince Inca Yupanqui, who would shortly thereafter become ruler under the name of Pachacuti. At Susurpuquio, the Sun announced the future power

and glory that awaited Inca Yupanqui and urged the prince to render the cult that was due to him. This event marked the beginning of Inka expansion and, historiographically speaking, can be considered the watershed that separates the legendary history of the first eight Cuzco rulers from that of the final members of the dynasty, emperors of Tahuantinsuyu and “children of the Sun,” whose life and feats were recorded in song, *quipus* (knotted-string record devices), painted boards, and other data-recording media. The apparition of the Sun at Susurpuquio is related by the chroniclers Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa ([1572] 2001:87, chap. 27) and Cristóbal de Molina ([ca. 1574] 2008:21–22), as well as by the Jesuit priest Bernabé Cobo ([1653] 1964:2:78–79, bk. 12, chap. 12). However, all the latter did was repeat what had already been said by Molina, who achieved a deep knowledge of the history and religion of the Inkas, as well as their language,

during the many years he was the parish priest of the Hospital de Naturales in Cuzco. The *Fábulas y ritos de los Incas*, which Molina wrote around 1574, is, in fact, the more detailed account of the myth of the Sun's apparition at Susurpuquio. Molina ([ca. 1574] 2011:17) says the Sun called Pachacuti "from within the spring," saying, "Come here, son, do not be frightened: because I am the Sun, your father, and I know that you will conquer many nations. Take very great care to worship me and remember me in your sacrifices." Once again, we see that the deity, in this case the Sun God himself, appears and speaks to humans through a spring or a fountain.

Susurpuquio apparently simply means "a flowing spring" (Calvo Pérez 2008:21). In a well-known paper on "the image of the Sun and the Susurpuquio *huaca*," Tom Zuidema (1974–1976:204, 213–214) posited that this *huaca* must have been located in Callachaca, a royal estate appanage of Prince Amaru Tupa, the son of Pachacuti and brother to Tupa Yupanqui. Callachaca is located on a hill on the left side of the Huatanay Valley, less than 4 km as the crow flies east of Huacaypata, the main plaza of Cuzco (Niles 1987:15–21). Zuidema came to this conclusion on the basis of a laconic and obscure reference made by Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui, an Indian nobleman from the province of Canas and Canchis and author of a history of the Inka kings written around 1613 in a quite convoluted Andean Spanish. Pachacuti relates that on the eve of the decisive battle against the Chanca people about to attack Cuzco, the future Inca Pachacuti, who had apparently been headed toward Yuncaypampa (possibly the modern-day village of Yuncaypata), decided instead to turn back to Cuzco "even before arriving at Callachaca." On a hillock close to Lucri, he "had a vision of a young man, who announced his victory over the invaders" (Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua [ca. 1613] 1993:217, fol. 18). Lucri (Lucrepata) is a place close to the city, less than 1 km east of Huacaypata, and therefore relatively distant from Callachaca. Despite that, both Zuidema (1974–1976:213) and Brian Bauer (1998:86–87) believe that Susurpuquio may have been the spring in Callachaca known as Susumarca, due also to a slight assonance of their names. Susumarca

is mentioned as the eighth *huaca* on the fifth Antisuyu *ceque* (line) in the *Relación de los adoratorios huacas del Cuzco*, a very detailed account of the sacred places around the capital of the Inkas that was written around 1559, quite probably by the *corregidor* Polo de Ondegardo,<sup>14</sup> and inserted in full by Father Bernabé Cobo in his mid-seventeenth-century chronicle *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* ([1653] 1964:2:177, bk. 13, chap. 14).

Unlike Callachaca, the site of Lucri, mentioned by Pachacuti, is in the vicinity of the center of the ancient city of Cuzco. Father Molina states that Inca Yupanqui had a vision while he was going to visit his father, Inca Viracocha, at Caquia Xaquixaguana, a major Inka settlement some 18 km as the crow flies north of Cuzco above Calca. It should be pointed out, however, that Molina does not make the slightest reference to the Chanca war. He presents the story as the foundational myth of the empire and of the Sun cult. In other words, if we abide by Molina's account, the spring of Susurpuquio must have been somewhere along the road that led from Cuzco to Caquia Xaquixaguana, the initial stretch of which corresponds to the first Antisuyu *ceque*. As reported by the *Relación de los adoratorios huacas del Cuzco*, this *ceque* began at Coricancha. It first went across Rimac Pampa ("the plain, the flat space that speaks") and then passed through the ravine of Patallacta, where there was a sacred fountain called Pacha "in which the Inca washed himself on a given time," as well as another one called Corcorchaca, to which ground shells were offered. Next, the road passed near Amaru Marcahuasi, which was the house of Amaru Tupa, the brother of Tupa Yupanqui. According to the 1559 account, the following *huaca* on the first Antisuyu *ceque* was Tipucpuquio, a warm-water fountain Bauer identified as a spring close to the community of Huaylla Cocha, and next came another sacred fountain called Quinuapuquio, which had two "springs-water dispensers" and in all likelihood is the monumental fountain nowadays known as Tambomachay. As a matter of fact, Tambomachay was originally the name of another sacred place close by, where Inca Pachacuti used to stay whenever he went hunting and which probably is the



figure 9.9

A satellite view of the archaeological site at Chuspiyoq. Courtesy of Google Earth.

site currently called Pucapucara (Bauer 1998:76–77; Cobo [1653] 1964:2:175, bk. 13, chap. 14). It is, thus, clear that there were many “*huaca*-fountains” along the Antisuyu road, but not one called Susurpuquio, the extraordinary importance this one had in Inka history and religious ideology notwithstanding.

Still, between the *huacas* of Amaru Marcahuasi and Tambomachay (Pucapucara) is an archaeological site not yet studied, which has certain features that suggest it may well have been the celebrated place where the Sun God appeared before Pachacuti, foretelling the rise of the empire and establishing his cult among the Inka. It is an Inka architectural complex of a clearly ceremonial nature located in the ravine of Chuspiyoq (Place of the Flies), less than 3 km to the northeast of Coricancha (Figure 9.9).<sup>15</sup> The site is distinguished by a huge and quite special rock formation with a high protuberance on its frontal-upper part (Figure 9.10) and a large, meticulously carved, rectangular-shaped concavity on its frontal-lower part (Figure 9.11), quite similar to that of many other sacred stones (*huacas*), like that of Incallacta, located in a deep ravine of restricted access northwest of the site and associated with a

waterfall (Figure 9.12). The concavity evokes the shelter of Titicala, the sacred rock in the sanctuary of the island of Titicaca, or of the Sun, from which, according to Inka belief, the Sun first emerged (Figure 9.13; Ramos Gavilán [1621] 1988:116, 124, chaps. 17 and 19; cf. Bauer and Stanish 2001:196–202). Titicala had an oracular character, as was noted by the first Spaniards, Diego de Agüero and Pedro Martín de Moguer, who explored the Inka province of Collao. Pedro Sancho ([1534] 1606:344), the secretary of conquistador Francisco Pizarro who recorded their testimony, wrote in his 1534 *Relación para Su Magestad* that the inhabitants of the Lake Titicaca plateau “went to make their offerings and sacrifices to a large stone called Thichicasa that is on an island, *where or because the devil hides there and speaks to them.*”<sup>16</sup>

The rock at Chuspiyoq is related to, and fully integrated with, a sophisticated hydraulic system with canals, fountains, and even a pond that was created by a big stone dam that was built some 210 m down the ravine. The rock is on the northernmost end of this small artificial lake that—if the site really had a symbolic or formal correspondence



*figure 9.10*  
The sacred rock at Chuspiyoq. Photograph courtesy of Donato Amado.



*figure 9.11*  
The rectangular-shaped concavity of the sacred rock at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.12*  
The sacred stone at Incallacta, Bolivia. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.13*  
Titicala, the sacred rock on the island of the Sun. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.

*figure 9.14*  
The stone dam of  
the artificial lake  
at Chuspiyoq.  
Photograph by Marco  
Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.15*  
The ceremonial  
platform, the western  
canal, and the  
crevice of the sacred  
rock at Chuspiyoq.  
Photograph by Marco  
Curatola Petrocchi.



with the oracular shrine of Titicaca—may have been a representation of Lake Titicaca itself (Figure 9.14). The sacredness of the Chuspiyoq rock is highlighted by the fact of its being situated at the *tinku* (meeting) of two stone canals. One of these canals runs from east to southeast and passes its last section at the foot of the aforementioned “rectangular-shaped concavity.” The other canal, which had its water flow controlled by means of a kind of

fountain-bath-slucice on well-carved stone blocks, goes along the upper west part of the rock formation, alongside the base of a platform that seems to have been a true *ushnu* (Inka sacred platform for ritual performance; Figure 9.15). Then the canal comes down from west to southwest of the rock, significantly increasing its gradient. In this latest section, its bed is fully stepped and is flanked on its right side by a stone staircase (Figure 9.16). The



*figure 9.16*

The stepped canal and the staircase of the sacred rock at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.

canal ends in a fountain that empties its waters into the pond close to the southernmost part of the rock, on the same spot where the east-south-east canal also drains away. A monumental fountain lies just a few meters away, at the center of the pond's northern shore. It is formed by a large stone-slab backdrop and an unusually wide basin on finely worked stone blocks and empties directly into the pond (Figure 9.17). Behind the fountain and in front of the "rectangular-shaped concavity" on the sacred rock is a courtyard with restricted access. A big rectangular, prismatic, altarlike stone overlooks the courtyard; it leans toward the enclosure's northern side and is aligned with the fountain (Figure 9.18). East of the altar, the courtyard is delimited on its northern and eastern sides by niched structures like those found in major Inka religious centers consecrated to the Sun, like

Pacarictambo (Maukallaqta) and Pachacamac. They are also similar to Pachacuti's mausoleum at Patallacta (modern-day Kenko) and above all to the shrines of Aqchabay (modern-day Quillarumiyoc, in the Ancahuasi district in Anta, Cuzco; Bauer and Barrionuevo Orosco 1998:77) and Tipón (in the Oropesa district in Quispicanchi, Cuzco), which have many structural and functional similarities with Chuspiyoq. Immediately behind the east niched wall, in the shelter of the slope of the ravine, is another canal that flows into the pond, precisely in front of the point where the two canals on the sacred rock pour their water in the same basin. It should also be noted that the sacred rock at Chuspiyoq has a long, deep, and narrow transverse fracture that partially separates it from the slope to which it belongs and on which the aforementioned ceremonial platform rests (see Figure



*figure 9.17*

The monumental fountain and the ceremonial courtyard with niched walls at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.18*

The prismatic stone altar at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.19*

The crevice of the sacred rock at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.

9.15). The crevice is so narrow that only one person at a time can pass through it (Figure 9.19). It is, in fact, almost invisible unless one passes in front of its entrance, which is at the upper end of the stone staircase flanking the canal to the west of the rock. This does not seem to be a mere coincidence and suggests that the staircase was especially made for someone who had to climb it and “disappear” into the rocks; or vice versa, for someone who had to come out of the crack and walk down to the pond, someone who had to make his appearance as if out of nowhere in some highly dramatic ritual performance. On the opposite side—the boulder’s eastern side—the crack ends just in front of the prismatic stone altar (Figure 9.20).

Finally, it is worth pointing out what may actually be no more than a simple curiosity or coincidence: when seen from the altar stone—that is, from the east—the upper part of the big sacred rock appears to be an impressive human head in profile that points northward and is looking upward (Figure 9.20). Depictions of stones that end in a human head and which were major *huacas* can be found in three of Guaman Poma’s drawings: one in the Galvin manuscript (Murúa [1590] 2004b:fol. 96v) and two in the *Nueva crónica y buen gobierno* (Guaman Poma de Ayala [1615] 1980:1:235 [261 (263)], 242 [268 (270)]); Figure 9.21). One of these drawings, showing the “idols and *huacas* of Antisuyo,” includes two stone pillars with human heads atop Pitusiray, which is



*figure 9.20*

The east side of the sacred rock at Chuspiyoq. Photograph by Marco Curatola Petrocchi.

precisely the mountain connected with the tale of Acuytapia and Chuquillanto. Lisa Trever posits that the depiction of stone idols with certain anthropomorphic traits in Guaman Poma is probably due to late medieval Christian imagery. However, this does not seem to be true in the case of these three drawings, whose iconography has no correspondence to the European tradition, or in the case of another illustration of the Galvin manuscript that represents a talking stone with human eyes very similar to the prismatic stone altar at Chuspiyoq (Murúa [1590] 2004b:fol. 37v). We should also bear in mind that in the Andes there is an ancient and widespread belief that rocks can be a metamorphic state of both humans and animals (Dean 2015:224; Duviols 1978), whose original traits an attentive observer can distinguish in the stone. And as Trever (2011:42) herself points out, “seeing figures in stone *huacas* was, and remains, part of a process of visual imagination and active engagement between object and viewer.”

Clearly, the sacred stone of Chuspiyoq demanded a strong aural and visual commitment of those who approached it; this enabled it to provide an extraordinary sensorial, emotional, mnemonic, and imaginative experience in which the physical and the ontological were indissolubly fused.

Some significant aspects of the sanctuary at Chuspiyoq—a shrine located along the path where the rise of Tahuantinsuyu was foretold to Pachacuti and that was symbolically related to the place where the Sun first came out; a site with architectural elements and features typical of the most sacred religious centers in the empire, like Pacarictambo, the origin place of the Inkas that according to Bauer (1992:122) could be an oracle, or Pachacamac, the pan-Andean sanctuary whose oracular god was believed to be the forefather of all *huacas* (Curatola Petrocchi 2011, 2016:278–281); a large rock in an unusual and intriguing shape, in full accordance with all the formal characteristics of many primary



figure 9.21  
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala,  
*El primer nueva corónica y  
buen gobierno*, 261 [263], 1615.  
Courtesy of the Royal Danish  
Library (GKS 2232 4°).

Inka *huacas*; an aural holy place, provided with a monumental fountain, a canal with a stepped bed and regulated water flow, and a whole complex hydraulic system capable of giving out different sounds; a ceremonial space where ritual performances entailing the sudden disappearance or apparition of some personage took place—suggest that the Chuspiyoq sanctuary may well have been Susurpuquio, the famed spring where the Sun spoke to Inca Pachacuti and foretold the rise of the empire. If that was the case, the Inkas should congregate there to evoke and relive in a dramatic way that extraordinary founding event of their glorious history as masters of the Andes and of their identity

as chosen people of the Sun God. And if it was not so, it must still have been an important *huaca* the Inkas approached in order to listen to, and possibly even see, some powerful extra-human being.

### Sanctuaries of Sound

As I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, shrines of a strong aural nature—such as those of Chachabamba and Chuspiyoq—were quite common in the Andes and represent a long-standing religious tradition. In most of them, the sound of rushing water was a primary component, being

regarded as the voice of the deity itself, which the local priests had the capability to understand. Thus, the oracle of Catequil in Huamachuco (northern Peruvian highlands) and various sites related to it in modern-day Ecuador, where its cult was widespread by Inca Huayna Capac (ca. 1493–1527), are all characterized by the presence of springs and fountains where water flows “with an exceptional force”—in the words of John Topic, Theresa Topic, and Alfredo Melly (2002:326)—and, therefore, in a very loud way. For their part, Helaine Silverman and Donald Proulx (2002:212), based on precise ethnographic observations they made in Usaca, a community in the lower Nazca Valley (southern coast of Peru) that has numerous underground watercourses, concluded that the deities of the ancient Nazca (third–sixth centuries CE) must have constantly demonstrated their presence and omnipotence through the sound that the rushing subterranean waters give out, which in many places is perceived as a “roar” that comes out of the earth.

In regard to sanctuaries characterized specifically by sound architectural structures, many northern Peru highland ceremonial centers of the Early Horizon (first millennium BCE) have inside their buildings elaborate stone conduits for ritual manipulations of water flow, like the stepped canal in the interior of one of the platforms at the site of Huacaloma, in the Cajamarca Valley, in which the descending water must have produced a resounding gurgling (Moseley 1985:49, 1992:143; Silva Santisteban 2001:38; Terada and Onuki 1985:209). However, the case better studied and more emblematic is that of Chavín de Huantar, the great oracular U-shaped sanctuary situated at the confluence of two streams in the upper Conchucos Valley. Its templar structures contain underground drains, as well as different sets of corridors, small chambers, and air ducts, that constitute true boxes of resonance for any sound produced inside the complex, including the gurgle of rushing water in the drainage system (see Lumbreras, Gonzáles, and Lietaer 1976). Archaeoacoustic studies carried out in the galleries and ducts of the Old Temple—that is, the *sanctum sanctorum*, where the monumental image of a god with feline features known as El Lanzón,

or the Great Image (Weismantel, this volume), is located—indicate that the whole building was rigorously planned to create, both inside and in the sunken circular plaza immediately outside, phantasmagoric acoustic effects directly related to the oracular activity (Kolar 2012, 2013).

The Akapana, the imposing stepped pyramid that dominates the grand ceremonial center of Tiwanaku (first millennium BCE), near the southern shores of Lake Titicaca, seems to have had analogous characteristics. Like Chavín, Tiwanaku was a holy place and a major long-distance pilgrimage destination. In addition, the iconographic evidence, such as the representation of the Staff God, seems to indicate that there could have been some cultic correspondence between the two sacred centers (Rowe 1962:21). Alan Kolata has suggested that the complex hydraulic system of the Akapana, the most sacred building at Tiwanaku, must have produced significant sound effects. His excavations of the structure revealed the presence of a “sophisticated and monumental system of interconnected surface and subterranean drainage ducts” of finely crafted stones (Kolata 1993:111–116, 2003:184). This hydraulic system drained the large amount of water that fell during the rainy season, from December to March, and accumulated in the enormous sunken patio on the summit of Akapana, from where it was discharged from terrace to terrace in the form of cascades through canals that were both open and underground. Kolata (1993:109, 2003:187) considers Akapana to have represented a sacred mountain with its springs and torrents running down its sides and claims the water must have given out an intense and vibrating roar that made the entire structure shake as it flowed down and along the canals inside the pyramid. This is fully consistent with William Isbell (2013) and Alexei Vranich’s interpretation of the nature of Tiwanaku (Isbell and Vranich 2004:172–175, 181). According to these scholars, Tiwanaku was above all an oracular center, intentionally endowed with an extraordinary spectacularity. Its siting, spatial organization, and monumental facilities permanently being refurbished and renovated, along with its landscape, dominated by the snow-capped peaks of Illimani,

the sacred mountain par excellence of the local Aymara populations (Reinhard 1987:43–45), essentially sought to instill an intensely emotive and mystical experience in the many pilgrims who visited the place. And what more astounding and shattering experience could these pilgrims have had than hearing at the climax of their approach to the oracular deity of the site its roaring voice rising from the very entrails of Akapana.

### The Sanctuaries of the Whistling Serpent

Moving from the macro to the micro, the production of sound related to templar structures can also be observed in the Moche whistling ceramic vessels depicting architecture. Whistling vessels were produced by different ancient cultures of the North Coast of Peru, like the Vicús (second century BCE–sixth century CE), the Virú-Gallinazo (second century BCE–seventh century CE), and the Moche (third–eighth centuries CE). These vessels, which have a resonating chamber and one or two whistles, can produce sound—depending on their shape—when blown into from the outside, that is, when an individual is puffing directly into them, or from the inside by oscillation of the liquid inside. In the latter case, pouring water or some other liquid into the vessels, which often have a double chamber, creates a pocket of air that is then compressed by liquid displaced when the vessel is tilted. In this way, the air is pushed out through the whistle, which emits a high-pitched and lengthy sound. It has been verified that this whistling can have intense psycho-acoustic effects. In fact, as stated by Daniel Statnekov (1987:27–63) and Don Wright (1992), the sounds made by whistling vessels, which are characterized by low-frequency differential tones, bring about a remarkable increase in auditive sensibility and may cause visual or auditory hallucinations in the form of human and animal voices (Pérez de Arce 2004:29). It is possible that the *cántaros* (pitcher) *huacas* referred to in mid-seventeenth-century records of idolatries for the colonial province of Cajatambo (central-northern highlands of Peru), which “spoke” when

a spurt of water from a fountain flowed into them, belonged to this same class of objects (Curatola Petrocchi 2016:289). As stated previously, many whistling vessels represent architectural structures. Juliet Wiersema (2010:74, 2015:137) suggests that because they emit sound, or “speak,” the Moche must have considered them to be “animated.” Moreover, this scholar believes that these vessels were mimetic representations of real architectural structures, which due to their sound effects were thought of as the abodes of powerful extra-human entities.

The pottery studied and published by Wiersema (2010:275, fig. 2.37, 2015:135, figs. 5.26–5.27) includes a modeled ochre-and-cream-painted Moche IV vessel (MNAAAHP C-54615) with an elegant architectural structure atop its body (Figures 9.22 and 9.23). This structure consists of a single-chamber quadrangular building with a gabled roof adorned with a double step-shaped comb. Wiersema (2011:176, 182, 186, 188, 2015:106–118) describes it as “of the enclosed gabled type” and identifies it as a small-scale representation of the restricted-access chapel of primary ritual importance that arose on top of Moche pyramid complexes (*huacas*) and in which blood offerings and sacrifices were carried out. In the case of this Moche IV vessel, the chapel represents the *sanctum sanctorum* of a step pyramid. In fact, as Wiersema (2011:168, 188, 2015:106–108) has pointed out by means of a comparative analysis of analogous architectural ceramic models, the ochre and cream line-bands that run around the lower section of the vessel’s body are an artistic convention for representing terraces, while the fourteen-stepped motives that are repeated around the upper half of the body represent the stairs leading to the most sacred part of the Moche *huacas*; in this specific case, they evince the absolute sacredness of the space they delimit. Therefore, the Moche vessel represents a step pyramid with a small temple on its summit that has a single frontal access point and walls decorated with three wide reddish parallel bands. The whistling mechanism of the vessel is hidden inside this scale model temple, which, acting as a resonance chamber, makes it seem as if the sound is coming from its interior.

*figure 9.22*  
Moche IV architectural  
whistling vessel. Museo  
Nacional de Arqueología,  
Antropología e Historia del  
Perú C-54615. Photograph by  
Marco Curatola Petrocchi.



*figure 9.23*  
Detail of the Moche IV  
architectural whistling  
vessel of Figure 9.22.  
Museo Nacional  
de Arqueología,  
Antropología e Historia  
del Perú C-54615.  
Photograph by Marco  
Curatola Petrocchi.





*figure 9.24*  
The tropical rattlesnake *Crotalus durissus*. Photograph courtesy of Boris Klusmeyer.

A giant feline-headed serpent modeled in high relief lies on the floor around the temple. The creature, which slithers around the entire structure, has an enormous body covered with colored spots and a terrifying feline head with raised and open lips, apparently growling and grinding its teeth. Its snout lies on the threshold of the small temple's doorway, as if the monstrous serpent were about to slither inside. The very specific form of the rhomboid-shaped spots of its body and the way its tail is depicted—darker, thinner, and sharply bent in relation to the rest of the body—suggest that it is *Crotalus durissus*, a venomous pit viper more commonly known as a South American or tropical rattlesnake (Figure 9.24). This is a serpent of mostly nocturnal habits whose dark tail has a series of horny rings, the “rattles,” that collide with each other and give out a sound vaguely similar to castanets when the animal slithers.

The association of the feline-headed serpent with the stepped-crest temple atop a stepped pyramid on the Moche whistling vessel is not fortuitous, since an analogous scene is found on other Moche architectural vessels that show the animal dwelling inside, as if the temple was its abode. In some cases, the serpentlike monster peeps out of the door of the small temple (Wiersema 2011:180–181, fig. 184 [Museo Amano 469], fig. 185 [Museo Larco, MLo02901]), while in others it is shown slithering over the roof (Wiersema 2011:186–187, fig. 191

[Museo Larco, MLo02904], fig. 192 [Museo Larco, MLo02903]).

The scene of a sacred place to which access is restricted and in which bloody sacrifices take place, where a threatening and terrifying serpent appears at night and inside which a whistle is heard, as is shown and even “modulated” by the Moche whistling bottle I have described, has a striking resemblance to the ritual of consultation with the oracle of Pachacamac, as it was reported by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century chroniclers. One of them is don Pedro de la Gasca, the president of the Lima Audiencia (high court), who visited Pachacamac in the late 1540s, when the sanctuary still retained some of its past magnificence. In a short account written to Emperor Charles V and his court, Gasca ([1551–1553] 1998:30–31) relates how the Indians claimed that when they consulted Pachacamac the god usually appeared as a terrible and savage animal, like a serpent or a feline, often looking very angry and requiring offerings and human and animal sacrifices in order to placate his wrath.<sup>17</sup> Further details on the oracular rite that took place at Pachacamac are provided by the Jesuit José de Acosta in his *Historia natural y moral de las Indias*, published in 1590. Acosta is a particularly reliable chronicler. His data on Andean religion derive both from diligent field observations and from oral and written reports by great experts in Inka history and Andean society, like the aforementioned Polo de Ondegardo and Cristóbal de

Molina. In regard to the Pachacamac shrine, Acosta ([1590] 2008:168, bk. 5, chap. 12) states that he knew from a trustworthy source that in ancient times “the demon used to speak” and “to give answers” there, and on some occasions he appeared in the shape of “a colorful serpent.”<sup>18</sup> The chronicler also describes, albeit briefly, the rite of consultation of the deity. He claims this usually took place at night. The priests would enter the *sanctum sanctorum* walking backward and then ask their questions with their backs turned toward the Pachacamac idol and with their bodies and heads leaning toward the ground. Then they waited for a response from the god, who finally manifested himself with a hair-raising and hideous “whistle” or “shriek.”<sup>19</sup> Analogous information regarding the way the oracular rites unfolded, specifically referring to Cuzco, is found in the *Historia del célebre santuario de Nuestra Señora de Copacabana*, published in 1621 by Friar Alonso Ramos Gavilán. Ramos Gavilán acquired an extensive knowledge of Andean religion during the many years he spent carrying out pastoral duties in different places in the southern Peruvian highlands and in the high Titicaca plateau. He uses almost the same words as Acosta does regarding Pachacamac to say that in Cuzco the Andean priests consulted the *huacas* in the early hours of the night, bowed and with their backs facing the sacred oracular images, which usually answered by giving out some sort of terrifying whistle. And when speaking specifically of Coricancha, where this kind of ritual took place regularly, Ramos Gavilán explains that the deities who dwelled there, that is, Punchao (Young Sun) and Pachayachachic (Viracocha-Pachacamac), sometimes appeared in the shape of a multicolor serpent, just like Acosta claims Pachacamac often did.<sup>20</sup> Friar Antonio de la Calancha later emphasized the same topic in the first volume of his monumental *Corónica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, which was published in 1638. Although Calancha was a relatively late chronicler, who followed Acosta and Ramos on this point, his chronicle provides the most detailed account of all regarding the oracle of Pachacamac. As a matter of fact, it includes all of the information gathered by the Augustinian order, which was in charge of



*figure 9.25*

The idol of Pachacamac with figures of felines and feline-headed serpents. Museo de sitio de Pachacamac. Ministerio de Cultura, Peru. Photograph courtesy of Daniele Giannoni.

the Pachacamac parish during the second half of sixteenth century. Calancha says that the priests of Pachacamac, the Sun, Viracocha, and the other major Andean deities all used to consult their gods when night fell and that the latter answered them with a “whistle.”<sup>21</sup>

Finally, it is worth pointing out that the figures of the feline-headed serpents and the felines carved in bas-relief on the famous wooden idol (Figure 9.25) that was found in 1938 by Alberto Giesecke in the upper terrace of the so-called Painted Temple—that is, the temple of Pachacamac (Paredes Botoni 1985:79–80)—could easily have been representations of the snake and feline mentioned in Pedro de la Gasca’s account or of the “colorful serpent” referred to by José de Acosta, in which guise Pachacamac showed himself to his priests. In effect, if the idol is an image of the Pachacamac god, as the historical sources<sup>22</sup> and its very own location indicate, it is very likely that the theriomorphic figures found lengthwise on the wooden stick are representations of the shape in which the deity manifested himself in his temple. Iconologically, both in its appearance and context, the feline-headed serpent of the Pachacamac whistling oracle is the same monstrous serpentlike being that dwelled in the whistling temple of the Moche IV architectural vessels.

### Concluding Remarks

The similarity between the ritual of consulting the Pachacamac god described by the chroniclers and the scene represented on the Moche whistling architectural vessel is both surprising and cogent, and it indicates the existence of a long Andean oracular tradition of the central and northern Peruvian coast, at least from the Early Intermediate Period to the Late Horizon, according to which the deities used to reveal themselves and express their will in the most hidden part of their shrines through particular high-pitched sounds. Similarly, the Inka sanctuaries in which the voices of the gods materialized through the sound of rushing water seem to be the last link in an equally or more ancient

highlands oracular tradition, with antecedents in Tiwanaku, Nazca, and possibly Chavín. What is evident is that the sacred places of the ancient Andean world must emit some kind of sound, conceived as the voice of the divinity living there: a “voice” that all people approaching the threshold of the sanctuary could hear but whose “language” only the high priests of the deity could understand and translate into words comprehensible to the faithful. It was that “voice,” that sound loaded with esoteric meanings and cultural significance, that defined the animateness and, therefore, the sacredness of a rock or any other object or place and differentiated it from simple inanimate matter.

In the essay “Vita” of the Einaudi *Enciclopedia*, the biologist Antoine Danchin (1982:1146) points out how in the collective imagination of Western society any entity’s “living” status has been traditionally recognized by two characteristics: the capacity for movement and reproduction. Since ancient Greece, according to Danchin, “movement” would have been the indicator par excellence for fixing the difference between inanimate matter and living beings, that is, those endowed with a motor-element that gives them life. The data and evidence gathered in the present study confirm what I posed in “La voz de la huaca” (Curatola Petrocchi 2016) and demonstrate that, unlike Western tradition, in the pre-Hispanic Andes the attribute that characterized entities endowed with life force (*camac*) was fundamentally sound.

Certainly, the Inka, the last and most highly developed sociopolitical formation in the ancient Andean world, were the ones who created the greatest number of sanctuaries of a markedly aural nature. Chuspiyoq and Chachabamba are just two of the many shrines that the lords of Cuzco built in the imperial heartland, to which they devoted vast resources, and where they used all of their craftsmanship in stonework and in managing water, as well as their inimitable architectural landscaping skill. These sacred sites, wherein the sonic-aural elements vivified, strengthened, and charged the visual elements with meaning, gave their visitors an intense and direct sensorial experience of the empire’s majesty, its mythical past, and its

historical memory that was both emotive and cognitive. It was through these shrines that the Inka transformed their capital city, its environs, and the whole nuclear area of Tahuantinsuyu into a type of mega-Holy Land, one where the Sun God and the *huacas* continuously manifested their presence

and expressed their will by making their voices heard—voices that had normative, performative, and authority-legitimizing roles on a scale that was probably even greater than that of the sacred texts of many ancient Mediterranean and Near Eastern societies (cf. Curatola Petrocchi 2008).

#### NOTES

- 1 “*Ñusta*. Princesa, o señora de sangre yllustre” (González Holguín 1952:264).
- 2 “*Acllacuna*. Las mujeres religiosas que estauan en recogimiento escogidas para el seruicio de su Dios el Sol” (González Holguín 1952:15).
- 3 For analytical studies on the tale of Chuquillanto and Acoytapia, see Alberti 1985 and Dedenbach-Salazar 1990.
- 4 “*Chheccollo* Ruiseñor. *Checcolloy runa*. El veloz apresurado en hablar” (González Holguín 1952:106).
- 5 In the 1590 chronicle of Murúa it is written “*Siclla puquio* que significa fuente de guijos” (Murúa 2004b:249, f. 145r). Probably the correct word is *silla*, since in the vocabulary of Domingo de Santo Tomás (1951:350) it is found “*sillarumi*, cascajo” and in the one of González Holguín the same term is translated as “China piedrecillas menudas” (1952:326), while *siklla* has another meaning, being a “planta campestre de muy hermosa flor azul” (Lira and Mejía 2008:448). In the 1613 text of Murúa the same fountain is called “*Sulla puquio*,” glossed as “fuente de guijas” (1987:332, chap. XCI). Sabine Dedenbach-Salazar (1990), based on the entry “*Sulla sulla*. Rocío” of the vocabulary of González Holguín (1952:331) has proposed as translation “fuente del rocío,” but it is probable that the word *sulla* was a mere error of the scribe and the original word was *silla*.
- 6 “*Lulluchha*. Ouas de los charcos” (González Holguín 1952:218).
- 7 In the Murúa text of 1590 it is written *Ocoruru puquio* (2004b:249), while in that of 1613 *Ocorura puquio* (1987:332, chap. XCI). “*Oqhorúru*, y más comúnmente *oqorúru*, *m. Bot.* Berro, género de plantas crucíferas que se desarrollan en lugares muy húmedos” (Lira and Mejía 2008:297).
- 8 In the Murúa chronicle of 1590 it is written *Chuclla puquio* (2004b:249), while in that of 1613 *Siclla puquio* (1987:332, chap. XCI). “Rana, animal terrestre: *checlla* [*Chiqlla*], o *hampato* [*hampatu*]” (Domingo de Santo Tomás 1951:196; 2013:2:655).
- 9 Causa de ydolatría contra los yndios ydolatras echiseros del pueblo de señor San Francisco de Mangas, 9 de agosto-21 de octubre de 1662 (Archivo Arzobispal de Lima, legajo V, expediente 2, ff. 30v, 52, 58v-59). Duviols 2003:577-656. See in particular pp. 597-598, 612-613, 619, 645-646, and 654.
- 10 The site of Chachabamba is mentioned also by Rowe (1946:222, 228), Angles Vargas (1988:3:220-229) and Hyslop (1990:124-125).
- 11 I am deeply grateful to Dominika Sieczkowska, codirector of the excavations at Chachabamba, for having pointed out the existence of this site to me, during the Interdisciplinary Seminar Pisac 2016 (Centro Académico Valentín Paniagua, Pisac, July 5-9).
- 12 “*Tincuc mayu*, junta de dos rios” (Anonymous 1951:84); “*Tinku*: Unión, encuentro, junta, juntura de dos cosas” (Lira and Mejía 2008:495).
- 13 Two early seventeenth-century sources describe—on the basis of local oral traditions—the sanctuary of Chavín as an oracular centre. One is the *Compendio y descripción de la Indias Occidentales* (1628), of the Carmelite Vázquez de Espinosa (1969:332-333, second part, bk. IV, chap. 54, n° 1732), and the other is the account of the mission that the Jesuits Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, Luis de Teruel, and Ignacio López made to the provinces of Ocos and Lampas, in the *corregimiento* of Cajatambo, in 1618 (*Letras annuas de la Provincia del Perú*) (Duviols 2003:725).
- 14 Magistrate representing the Spanish crown.

- 15 I am very grateful to the historian Donato Amado Gonzáles, from the Dirección Desconcentrada de Cultura de Cusco, Ministerio de Cultura del Perú, for showing me the Chuspiyoq sanctuary in July 2014.
- 16 “In mezzo desto [lago] sono due isolette piccole, nell’una delle quali è una moschea, & casa del Sole, la quale è tenuta in gran venerazione, & in essa vanno a fare le loro offerte, & sacrificij in una grande piedra, che è nell’isola, che la chiamano Thichicasa, doue, ò perche il Diavolo vi si nasconde, & gli parla, ò per costume antico, come gli è, ò per altro, che non si è mai chiarito, la tengono tutti quelli della prouincia in grande stima, & gli offeriscono oro, & argento, & altre cose. Vi sono meglio di seicento Indiani al servitio di questo luogo, & più di mille done, che fanno Chicca per gettare sopra quella pietra Thichicasa” (Sancho 1606 [1534]:344). The original text, in Spanish, of the Sancho chronicle has been lost. Fortunately, there remains the Italian translation published in 1606, in the third volume of the monumental collection of travel accounts compiled by the Veneto native geographer and humanist Giovanni Battista Ramusio (1485–1557).
- 17 “Pachacama parecía en diversas figuras de animales y ordinariamente en los más feos y bravos, como son serpientes y tigres, y respondía a los que les preguntaban mostrando muchas veces estar enojado y que se había de desenjar con sacrificios y, así, le sacrificaban sangre humana y otros animales” (Gasca 1998:31 [n. 33]).
- 18 “En este templo hay relación cierta que hablaba visiblemente el demonio, y daba respuestas desde su oráculo, y que a tiempo vían una culebra muy pintada” (Acosta 2008:168, bk. V, chap. 12).
- 19 “Ordinariamente era de noche, y [los ministros hechiceros] entraban las espaldas vueltas al ídolo— andando hacia atrás: y doblando el cuerpo e inclinando la cabeza poníanse en una postura fea, y así consultaban. La respuesta de ordinario era una manera de silvo temeroso, o con un chillido que les ponía horror” (Acosta 2008:168, Bk. V, Chap. 12). The Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, possibly based on Acosta, repeats that “los sacerdotes y el rey entraban en su [of Pachacamac] templo a adorarle, las espaldas al ídolo (y también al salir) para quitar la ocasión de alzar los ojos a él” (Garcilaso 1991:1:394, bk. VI, chap. XXXI).
- 20 “Pagáuales el demonio a estos bárbaros del Pirú sus sacrificios, sólo con hablarles, que en el templo que avía en el Cuzco dava respuestas, y les hablaba visiblemente, y a tiempos le vían en forma de una culebra muy pintada. El modo que tenía de consultar a las guacas los Indios era, que a primera noche entraban las espaldas vueltas al Idolo, agobiando el cuerpo hacía tras, inclinando la cabeza y aassi le consultavan la respuesta que el demonio les dava, era de ordinario una manwera de silvo temeroso [. . .] En esta casa del Sol en el Cuzco, tenía un Idolo llamado Punchao, en forma de un Sol [. . .] Este era el Dios principal de los Incas, en cuyo servicio se esmeraban, y en el del Idolo llamado Pachayachachic (que es como si dixéramos el hazedor del cielo)” (Ramos Gavilán 1988:166–167, bk. I, chap. XXVII).
- 21 “El modo de consultar dudas, o pedir respuestas los Sacerdotes en casos futuros o mercedes presentes, era entrar a prima noche vueltas las espaldas al ídolo, agobiando el cuerpo. Respondía con un silvo temeroso, i decía razones confusas, todas encaminadas a muertes o estragos de los Indios, vaticinio cruel i señorío infame” (Calancha 1974–1982:3:839, bk. II, chap. XI).
- 22 “Y así entramos con ella en una cueva muy pequeña, tosca, sin niguna labor; y en medio estaba un madero hincado en la tierra con una figura de hombre hecha en la cabeza de él” (Estete [?] 1968:383).  
 “Por todas las calles deste pueblo y a las puertas principales dél, y a la redonda desta casa, hay muchos ídolos de palo, y los adoran a imitación de su diablo” (Estete 1985:137).

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