

FEASTS AND OFFERINGS IN ARCOPATA, CUSCO

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INTRODUCTION

Inca society developed an intricate system of spiritual relationships with its gods, huacas, and ancestors. In tackling it, scholars generally turn to the information provided by chroniclers such as Cristóbal de Albornoz 1967 [c. 1582], Pablo Joseph Arriaga 1999 [1621], Juan de Betanzos 1999 [c. 1551], Pedro Cieza de León 1967 [1553], Bernabé Cobo 1956 [1653], Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala 1993 [c. 1615], Cristóbal de Molina el Cusqueño 2008 [c. 1576], Pedro Pizarro 1978 [1571], and Juan Polo de Ondegardo 1978 [1571], among others, who mention fiestas and the offerings, rites, and paraphernalia that were part of these ceremonial feasts. This historical information presents difficulties as soon as it is analyzed because of the natural biases of every chronicler, and because it is incomplete and contradictory. Fortunately, archaeology provides another source of information.

The archaeological record for the Inca horizon allows us to separate, as independent activities, offerings, which are part of rituals, and feasts, which also are part of the rituals. In general, feasts occurred separately and were of short duration. They were activities which are almost intangible, and are difficult to see in the archaeological record, especially when they accompanied an offering.

Reciprocity is one of the most relevant characteristics of Andean thinking. This has come into play at all levels of society since the

earliest times, both between a *curaca* or ethnic leader, and his people, as well as between the people and their gods. Reciprocity consists of offering or presenting something in order to request something in exchange. Nevertheless, the ceremony does not end with the presentation of, or request for, a gift. In the southern Andes of Peru, the ethnographic record allows us to assert that feasting, or get-togethers over food, with both guests and gods, continues to be practiced. Examples are the maize harvest fiesta and ritual in Yucay, Cusco Department (Roca 2005:200), the herding ritual at Ñawin Pukio in the district of Pampachiri, Andahuaylas Department (Espinoza 2002:59), and the offerings to Pachamama and to Lake Moyalla at Puquio in the Lucanas province of Ayacucho Department (Valiente 1986:92-93).

The feast is a meeting which gathers together a large number of people, possibly connected through kinship and/or community ties, with some special intention linking the organizers and those invited. This intention can be social, political, economic, or environmental in nature. These events cannot be explained in isolation from the contexts in which they take place. Generally archaeology recovers material offerings, but elements of feasts that are difficult to recognize are lost.

In the Andean region, in defining a feast, archeological work has generally taken into account the analysis of the remains of the fiesta (food and drink) associated with public architecture (Ikehara and Shibata 2005; Makowski *et*

al. 2005; McEwan *et al.* 2005; Vega-Centeno 2005). This is not very different from what has been accomplished by the professional archaeologists of the National Institute of Culture (now the Ministry of Culture), who have excavated large areas of sites with public architecture, such as the principal huacas found to the northeast of Cusco between Saqsayhuaman and San Sebastián. Paradoxically they only reported offerings (Erminia Esenarro at Ñustapaqana [2008]; Merida Farfán Berrio at Chincana Grande [2002]; Luis Guevara Carazas at Laqo [2008]; Jorge Guillen Naveros at Salonnioq [2009]; Sabino Quispe Serrano at Muyukmarka-Saqsayhuaman [2005]; Ismael Uscachi Santos at Huaca Pachakuti [2009], and Freddy Zegarra Salas at Chuspiyoc and Wayllarcocha [2008]). Because of this, one can suppose that in this research recording information about offerings has been privileged, while evidence of feasts has been given less importance. Perhaps this is because evidence of feasts is scant and requires a detailed and extremely careful analysis of evidence collected during excavation. Often such evidence is not found in well-stratified contexts. It is interesting that Lisbeth Rodríguez Mendoza (2004), as a result of her excavations at Huaca Balcón del Diablo, reported grains of maize, bone splinters, traces of ash, and remains of carbonized wood. Likewise, Miriam Aráoz Silva (2011) reported that at Huaca Pachatosa camelid bones were found within a dense ash lens. This evidence in context suggests possible feasts associated with architecture.

The events at Arcopata are not associated with public architecture. Nevertheless, this place is not isolated. It is within the Inca city of Cusco. Analysis of the events that took place there is made on the basis of the remains of feasting.

EVIDENCE OF FEASTS AT ARCOPATA

The aim of this paper is to understand how these rites and feasts were conducted. I employ archaeological techniques in the analysis of the paraphernalia of an Inca offering and its associated feast. I base my work on the remains of a series of feasts encountered during 2005 excavations in Cusco's historic center at a site that is four hundred meters from Aukaypata, the main plaza of Inca Cusco.

Excavations were conducted between the present day Arcopata Avenue and Concepción Street (Figures 1, 2) in a small space preserved from destruction by an old brickyard. The purpose of the excavations was to recover all the physical evidence that remained buried in this plot of ground, before the planned construction of a hotel and shopping center. This context enables us to understand, albeit only partially, the social relations which developed during the course of a feast. Our understanding is limited because we do not have information on how the offering ritual was performed.

The space in question is delineated by an andesite Inca perimeter wall running along Arcopata Avenue. The upper part of this location is divided into several rooms. The earliest known record of the site is a 1643 hand painted plan, now in the Archivo Arzobisbal in Lima, commissioned by Father Gaspar de Villagra, seven years before the great Cusco earthquake of 1650 (Figure 3). It was made in connection with litigation over the boundaries separating the Parish of Santa Ana and the Hospital de los Naturales (Indian Hospital; today the orphanage and nuns' residence of San Pedro Church; Rowe 1989). In this illustration the space under discussion appears as it does today, that is, without buildings, and corresponding to a slope, running from the Santa Ana Church to Arcopata Avenue, which belonged to the parish of Santa Ana. According to John Rowe (*ibid.*) the

majority of people living in this area were Cañaris and Chachapoyas.

There are references to the existence of the Huaca Marcatampu, which belonged to the Capac Ayllu, one hundred and fifty meters to the north of the feasting site, in what is now Santa Ana parish (Rowe 2003:198, 218). Huaca Marcatampu was one of the most important shrines in the area (Albornoz 1967 [c. 1582], see Duviols 1967:26; Cobo 1956 [1653]: Book 13, Chapter XIII, page 26). Sources indicate that it was a rock face in the Carmenca neighborhood of Cusco.

Research has allowed me to determine that offerings and feasts took place at Arcopata. These included at least four great events, as well as other smaller ones that appear in the archaeological record, (Figure 4) even though they were of very short duration. In general these events are associated with the gathering together of large groups of people in a place where they ate and drank as part of celebrations.

Event 1. Two units were excavated, Unit S3E3, with horizontal dimensions of four by three meters, and Unit E3 with horizontal dimensions of two by three meters. This permitted identification of the oldest event at the site, evidence for which was found at a depth of three meters (datum 00) on the south profile of Unit S3E3, but which appears at a depth of 0.80 meters on the north profile, because the brickyard that functioned until the mid-1970s truncated it. The remains of this event consist of an elongated deposit (Layer XIV) over the natural soil, approximately one meter wide and three and a half meters long, oriented east-west (Figures 4-6). The components have, as their principal element, the skull of an adult male, facing north, and associated with several fragments of camelid mandibles and potsherds. Towards the east there appeared four upside down bases of pedestaled ollas associated with fragments of

mollusc shell and an intentional burning of alder (*Alnus acuminata*) and molle (*Schinus molle*) wood (Rojas 2009: Sample 03-B) as well as queuña (*Polylepis* sp.) wood (Bertoni 2011a: Sample 6).

Analysis of the material found indicated that there were parts of three camelid mandibles present, one of a llama (*Lama glama*), and two of alpaca (*Lama pacos*)¹. These were associated with a large quantity of malacological material including 427 fragments of scallop (*Argopecten purpuratus*) shell which made up 71.55 percent of the total number of shell fragments, and clam (*Gari solida*) shell fragments which made up 10.32 percent of the shell fragments recovered.

Of the 182 potsherds found, 68.11 percent are Inca decorated ceramics, and 31.89 percent are domestic (undecorated) wares (Table 1). Due to their ritual use, decorated plates and bowls represent 9.89 percent of the total ceramics recovered. Domestic ollas and jugs (*cántaros*) make up 10.99 percent of the ceramics. Pedestaled ollas compose 4.40 percent. The last two categories show traces of having been exposed to fire during the event. Among other paraphernalia are two spindle whorls (*piruros*), one made of bone and the other of stone, the latter found in a broken state. Canine vertebrae were also discovered.

Event 2. A fill of semi-compact earth (Layer XIII) was deliberately placed over the remains of Event 1. Later a second event occurred which did not disturb the layers below it, which leads one to suppose that it occurred in the open air. The deposit associated with this event (Layer XII) consists of loose earth and gravel with fragments of alder (*Alnus acuminata*), molle, and

¹ The identification of the camelid mandibles was made by comparison with osteological remains of camelids in the Natural History Museum of the National University of San Antonio Abad, Cusco.

queuña charcoal (Bertoni 2011a: Sample 8). In contrast to the first event, the remains of the second event do not reveal the placement of its material components. Potsherds, camelid bones, and *rukis* (weaving tool used to adjust weft tension) were found without any apparent order. Ninety-seven potsherds were recovered. Of these, decorated ceramics constitute 63.93 percent, while domestic wares make up 36.07 percent. Decorated plates and bowls are 7.22 percent of the assemblage. Jugs, flasks (*jarras*), and decorated aryballos are 11.34 percent, and pedestaled ollas 4.12 percent. According to the analysis of camelid mandibles found associated with Event 2, the remains of three alpacas were present as well as four *rukis* made from camelid bones.

Above the remains of the second event was a succession of cultural strata (Layers VII, XI, IX) that appear to have been later, unintentional fill that could have been produced by the removal of soil from adjacent areas.

Event 3. Immediately following the deposition of the fill, two more events occurred. Remains of these are found one right above the other, suggesting that a very short time passed between these events. The events can be separated one from the other because the ceramics associated with them are distinct from each other.

Evidence of Event 3 (Layer VII) covered an area of about 1 meter by 0.90 meters. Towards the north side it was cut by the extraction of material for the brickyard. The stratum representing Event 3 is composed of loose earth with charcoal, ash, and gravel. A large amount of alder, kiswar (*Buddleia* spp.), and bundles of ichu (*Stipa* sp.) grass were burnt.² Six alpaca and

two vicuña mandibles were identified, associated with 118 potsherds. Of these, 70.35 percent are decorated and 29.65 percent are domestic wares. Compared with the earlier events, the percentage of plates and decorated bowls is higher, rising to 14.39 percent. Domestic ollas formed 7.63 percent of the assemblage. Pedestaled ollas were 6.78 percent. In addition, one bone spindle whorl, two *pincullos* (flutes; see González Holguín 1989 [1608]:286), one bone spoon reused as a pendant, one spondylus bead, rodent bones, two cervid antlers, one anthropomorphic stone head, and one clay *illa*,³ probably meant to represent a camelid, were found.

Event 4. The stratum representing the last event (Layer VI) was the largest, in terms of extent appearing in the excavation unit (Figure 7). It was found above Event 3. This stratum is loose earth with ash, alder, and kiswar charcoal, leaves of grass (*Poaceas*)⁴ and bamboo (*Chusquea* sp., locally called *kurkur*). No apparent order is present, but there are separate areas of combustion. The central part revealed a larger quantity of ash and twenty-five corncobs between 3.5

² The analysis of biological material was performed in the Physical-Chemical Laboratory of the National Institute of Culture, Cusco (see Rojas 2009).

³ González Holguín defines *Ylla [illa]* as “La piedra vezar grande, o notable como vn hueuo, o mayor, que la trayan consigo por abusion ser ricos y venturosos” (González Holguín 1989:366). Translation: “The customary large or unusual stone, like an egg, or bigger, that is carried on one’s person in the hope of becoming rich or successful.” In the twentieth century these talismans have been defined thusly: “Las illa son pequeñas esculturas que representan alpacas, llamas . . . son de piedra, por lo general de cuarcita, basalto, granito . . . Algunas son piedras de formas naturales que recuerdan ciertos animales o a las que se han modificado ligeramente para hacerlas semejantes a los animales que simbolizan” (Flores Ochoa 1977:216). Translation: “Illas are small figurines that represent alpacas, llamas . . . they are made of stone, generally quartzite, basalt, granite . . . Some are stones in their natural form that are reminiscent of particular animals, or which have been slightly modified to make them like the animals they symbolize.”

⁴ Bertoni (2011a: Samples 1-4); Rojas (2009: Samples 01-A, 01-B, 02-D, 02-H).

and 5 centimeters in length, possibly of highland origin, to judge from the arrangement of their rows and the fact that they were shucked while still fresh (Bertoni 2011a: Sample 7). Also found were six fragments of pyrolyzed coca (*Erythroxylum* sp.) fruits or seeds, and a single pyrolyzed quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*) seed (Bertoni 2011a: Samples 2, 7). The largest quantity of broken ceramics, 837 sherds, were found in this stratum. Of this, 73.01 percent are decorated and 26.99 percent pertain to domestic wares. Decorated plates and bowls are 10.39 percent of the assemblage. Flasks, aryballos, and jugs represent 12.18 percent of the ceramics recovered. Pedestaled ollas make 4.90 percent and three fragments representing human heads were found.

ANALYSIS OF THE FEASTS

Can the events whose traces have been described be feasts, or evidence for a cult of the dead? This is a question that I hope to answer on the basis of the archaeological material recovered. We can think of feasts as gatherings, generally recurring ones, of large numbers of people, who renew the ties of kinship, affinity, or territory. Feasts can mobilize labor, cooperative relations, and alliances. They can create political power and seek favors, among other purposes (Hayden 2001:29-30), as well as reaffirm the cosmic order, and the social order of the community (Cummins 2004:72). The feast revolves around the maintenance, reaffirmation, or creation of social relations and can have a certain degree of ritualism. The motivations of a human group who organize a feast can be diverse. In general evidence for these do not remain in the archaeological record, and so cannot be reconstructed. The analysis of archaeological material lets us approximate the pattern of consumption in these feasts and the social relations reflected in it.

The human cranium found among the remains of the first event leads to the question: is its mere presence sufficient to indicate that it is part of the cult of the dead, or of the ancestors? The material evidence present does not allow us to confirm the existence of such a cult. Not all individuals, after their deaths, become ancestors of the human social group. The reuse of bones from burials has been seen in various contexts, such as at Tipón (Delgado 1998) where a human cranium was reused within an Inca offering. Patrick Carmichael (1994:84) in the context of a study of Nasca iconography, observes that the remains of a small percentage of the population ended up as trophy heads, and as headless bodies, and may have been seen as a reference to collective ancestors. The skull at Arcopata is clearly part of a predecessor, but we lack sufficient data to make the claim that it is proof of any particular cult.

Sea shells figured in Events 1 and 4. There are references in historical accounts that springs and other water sources thought to be huacas were offered broken and ground shells (c.f. Cobo 1956 [1653]: book 1, chapter XIII, pages 27, 28-29, 31, 33, 36, 39, 42, 44). Could these shells be *mullu*? Undoubtedly it is an error to suppose that *mullu* is only spondylus shell. The term *mullu* has a larger semantic field than simply spondylus (Blower 2000). We may suppose that the shells encountered in the deposits relating to Event 1 did not have the same ritual importance as spondylus. This bivalve was traded from the Gulf of Guayaquil (Marcos 2002:27, figure 6). It was used in rites in Inca times, apparently mainly in state-sponsored ceremonies.

During excavations in the Inca Plaza of Aukaypata, Cusco, National Institute of Culture archaeologists found a camelid figurine made of spondylus (Fernández 2003:176-177). Occurrences of spondylus have been reported for the archaeological park of Saqsayhuaman. These

include a spondylus valve discovered in association with a ceremonial knife at Ñustapaqana (Esenarro 2008). At Muyukmarka, also within the park, fragments of spondylus have been found (Quispe 2005:38, 41, 54), while at the Huaca de Laqo, spondylus beads are associated with primary and secondary burials (Guevara 2008:70-75). At Salonniyoq, part of Saqsayhuaman's Temple of the Moon, small llama figurines were discovered (Guillen 2009:61). Likewise, in the excavations which I conducted with archaeologist Miriam Aráoz at the Huaca Pachatosa in the Mesa Redonda neighborhood of Cusco, we found a spondylus shell associated with an Inca fountain incorporating springs and canals (Aráoz 2011:21).

Bivalves other than spondylus were used in Inca rites and ceremonies at less important huacas. In the San Blas neighborhood of Cusco other sea shells were found in association with a stone idol with serpents in high relief (Delgado 2005:14). This difference in usage may be due to the fact that the availability of spondylus was not always guaranteed. What can be stated is that various sea shells shared the same uses as spondylus, but did not have the same importance, and we can consider these also to be *mullu*. On the other hand, it is premature to suppose that the shells found at Arcopata were employed exclusively in a water cult. Sea shells brought from the Peruvian coast constitute an important element associated with fertility, the agricultural cycle, the abundance of water, and planting. Because the Inca state was clearly agrarian, its rites were related to the production of food and the water supply. For these reasons, it would be hasty to consider, *a priori*, that marine shells were used for a specific type of rite, without associations with architectural elements such as canals, springs, and fountains.

The later events under discussion here have characteristics similar to the first event, including offerings burnt with alder, *kiswar*, molle,

queuña charcoal, or straw. All show that some degree of incineration was a first step in these fiestas or renovation ceremonies. It appears that this was the most common method by which supernatural beings perceived the essence of the articles offered (Kuznar 2001:44). Smoke was the medium by which the gods received a sacrifice (Gundermann 1985:182).

Twenty-five maize cobs, between three and five centimeters long, were found among the evidence of the last event, as well as approximately twenty grains of pyrolyzed maize, both loose and stuck together, probably of the Sacharata variety (Rojas 2009: Sample 02-F). The cobs, analyzed by the biologist Gabriela Bertoni (2011a), show that the corn was shucked when the cobs were still fresh. That is, it is probable that the grains were first cooked in order to be eaten, and later the cobs were used as part of the offering. Alternately, the corn was shucked while fresh and the cobs thrown away as part of the ritual. Pyrolyzed coca seeds were found to be part of the burnt offering. References in historical documents mention and clearly describe certain rites at particular fiestas in which, as part of the offering, maize, coca, and wax were burnt (los Agustinos de Huamachuco 1992 [1560-61]:30; Arriaga 1999 [1621]:53; Betanzos 1999 [1551]:65; Cobo 1956 [1653]: book 13, chapter XII, p. 104; Guaman Poma de Ayala 1993 [c. 1615]: 202-205; Molina 2008 [c. 1576]:105). Archaeobotanical data from excavations at the Inca fountain Huaca Pachotosa indicates burnt offerings there of alder wood and coca (Bertoni 2011b).

The incineration of offerings in rites called *despachos* in Spanish is a recurrent practice in the central and southern Peruvian sierra that has continued into the present (Espinoza (1996: 218, 2002:61, 64-70; Van Kessel 2004:32-34). The use of maize in offerings in the form of cobs or ground maize has been described for puna herders during the twentieth century (Espinoza

1996:226-229, 2002:66; Murra 2002:145; Roca 2005:193; Tomoeda 1988:232).

Coca was important in Inca ceremonial activities. It was designated for use in particular rites. Nevertheless, it appears that coca use was not tightly related to social status, at least at the coastal sites of Puruchuco and Huaquerones (Murphy and Boza 2012:183). Coca fields were, however, under the control of the Inca state. During the colonial period restrictions were relaxed and usage became widespread (Cummins 2004:292). Coca use was extended and increased, but its importance as a ritual element has persisted up to the present in the ceremonies of the people of the high Andes.

After the incineration of the *despacho* (or its censening) various actions can occur, such as the breaking of vessels and the deposition of parts of them, depending upon the type of objects involved. Pedestaled ollas were present at all the events and show signs of having been used only once, during the ritual and, curiously, only parts of their bases and rims have been found. From aryballos only the necks and rims have been recovered. This is also true for Structure D of Tunsucancha, a minor tambo in the central Peruvian highlands. There Craig Morris found three aryballos necks, apparently without their corresponding bodies.⁵ In reports of archaeological research on the Inca it is sometimes noted that fragments of ceramics or other materials are found (Guillen 2008:102; Quispe 2005; Rosa 2008:77-79; Valencia 1970:161-165), although it is usually not stated if these accumulations of broken ceramics were parts of ceremonies. It is possible that we are seeing traces of ceremonies, or part of feasts that have not been previously identified. The act of breaking vases could be

understood as an act of sacrifice, the end of the ritual, and the beginning of renewal (Kaulicke 2005:399).

Some of the fragmentary remains of the events under discussion show traces of having been exposed to fire before their breakage, e.g., some of the pastes of the fragments are burnt. Others do not have indications of having been exposed to fire (Figure 8). Some domestic ollas with polychrome decoration show use-wear on their bases. Others were repaired during their period of use and later parts of them were employed in these events (Figure 9).

The analysis of ceramic material leads us to suggest several hypotheses. One is that the used vessels could have been broken *in situ* in the area where the feast took place, and parts of them left there. Alternatively, they could have been brought already broken from the participants' houses, or from other contexts. Both of these possibilities could have occurred at these events. Ninety percent of the covers of ollas with strap handles from Event 4 were found as fragments and show traces of having been broken in the center with a perforator. During archaeological excavations in Sacsayhuaman, Alfredo Valencia (1970:161-165) found a group of broken figurines, but he did not find all the pieces. This appears to reflect a practice widespread since pre-Inca times. McEwan *et al.* (2005:273), in the context of excavations at Late Intermediate Period Huacas 1 and 2 at Choquepukio, suggest the ritual breakage of vessels performed to cover the huacas. Earlier, at the Wari site of Cerro Baúl, a ritual consisted of breaking ceramic vessels on the floor of the gallery (Williams and Isla 2002:93). At Cahua-chi's Cerro Blanco, a Nasca site, offerings were made of intentionally broken polychrome ceramics (Llanos 2010: 41).

⁵ John Victor Murra Archive, Junius Bird Laboratory of South American Archaeology, Anthropology Division, American Museum of Natural History, Roll 160, photo 13. I thank Monica Barnes for locating this photo.

Forms of Cusco Inca ceramics as described by Bingham (1915), Pardo (1939a, 1939b),

Rowe (1944), and, later, by Julien (2004) have been encountered in all the events at Arcopata, in general in the same proportions, except for Event 3 which yielded a higher proportion of decorated plates and bowls than the other events, but this difference in percentage could be due to chance, and not have ritual implications. Rowe (1944:47-49) classified Inca ceramics by design elements as Cuzco Polychrome A and B, and into Cuzco Red and White. For all the events at Arcopata, these ceramic types do not occur in markedly different percentages. Because of this it is premature to make any kind of chronological inferences on the basis of ceramics.

Some types of Inca ceramics were produced in the Peru-Bolivian Altiplano region. For example, the Sillustani style was made in the Titicaca Basin, and Pacajes style pottery was made in the Tiwanaku region (Bauer 1999:31). These, along with Urcusuyu Polychrome ceramics, also from the Altiplano (Rowe 1944:49), were imported into Cusco. These styles appeared in archaeological remains of the feasting events at Arcopata, and give us important chronological information. The only sherd of Sillustani style comes from a bowl from Event 4. A Pacajes bowl sherd is also assigned to Event 4. Two Urcusuyu style aryballos neck shreds and the base of a bowl were left by Event 4, and an Urcusuyu style plate sherd belongs to Event 2.

Although it is known that Sillustani, Pacajes, and Urcusuyu style ceramics come from the Altiplano, their distributions have been little studied. It is common in Cusco excavations to find sherds of these styles. The Incas incorporated altiplano populations as an important part of their nexus, and these people were part of the *mitimaes* (colonists) that the Inca established in various places, such as the Capina Valley of Tacna. *Mitimaes* from the altiplano introduced new ceramic forms into what is now northern Chile (Daueisberg 1985:62-63). Their designs,

such as the small black llamas on a red background characteristic of the Pacajes style, and the white kaolin ceramics of the Sillustani style, are common in northern Chile. It is probable that these styles are found in different regions because they were brought by *mitimaes*, or because they arrived through trade. This suggests that these styles correspond to the last part of the Inca hegemony, as seen by their presence in Event 4 at Arcopata.

Associated with Event 4 is a greater proliferation of ceramic designs in comparison with the other events, including a sherd from a black vase imported from the north coast (Figure 10). This north coast style sherd is not the first to be found in a Cusco Valley Inca context. Luis Valcarcel reported a Chimú vase found at Saqsayhuaman (Julien 2004:68, figure 10). Sabino Quispe Serrano found Chimú body, base, and rims sherds during excavations in the Muyukmarka sector of Saqsayhuaman (Quispe 2005).

The ceramic forms present at Arcopata indicate some form of food consumption during the four events. However, the objects in question did not have just one use. They could have had several, depending on domestic or ceremonial activities. Luis A. Pardo (1939a, 1939b) suggested a ceramic classification using the Quechua forms of their names. Later, Albert Meyers (1975), basing himself on material from Saqsayhuaman, offered a morphological classification into fourteen types. Tamara Bray attempted to identify certain types of vases with types of food, for example, associating Bingham's Form 1 (aryballos) with the distribution of chicha, and Form 13 (shallow plate or bowl) with the consumption of meat. As for the pedestaled olla (Form 10), Bray (2003:20) indicates that it was used for the cooking or heating of grains of maize, or of a stew. In relation to the Inca provinces (Bray 2004:366) this claim cannot be supported, because finds of this type of olla in archaeological contexts are more

closely associated with offerings or rites (Aráoz 2010; Ceruti 2003:118; Delgado 1998). Generally it is not found in domestic contexts, or is found in lower proportions. Associated with the events discussed in this paper, sherds and bases of pedestaled ollas are found as parts of offerings, and not as cooking or serving vessels.

The analysis of vessel forms shows that in the four events the percentage of domestic ceramics found is in the range of thirty to thirty-five percent, being mainly ollas, flasks, jugs, and objects used to prepare or transport food. Decorated ceramics range between sixty-five and seventy percent of the total assemblages, and consist mainly of bowls, aryballos, flasks, and jugs. Some forms, like bowls and plates, were used for serving, while the aryballos, flasks, and jugs were probably used to transport chicha or some other beverage. It should be made clear that the use of ceramic forms for one type of food or drink does not limit its other uses. For example, large globular jugs (*urpus*), Meyers' Forms 8 and 9, are vessels used both to store food and to prepare drinks.

A portion of the decorated ceramics from the four events retains homogeneous patterns in its forms and designs, a mark of the standardization of Inca ceramic production. D'Altroy *et al.* (1994:410) suggest that the morphological and decorative characteristics of pottery carry an ideological message and, because of this, pieces are similar so that they can be used appropriately in ceremonies and fiestas. We can, therefore, think that vessels produced by the state were used exclusively in state-sponsored activities. However, D'Altroy *et al.* (*ibid.*: 300) question whether all the state ceramic production was used in government contexts. With this in mind, it appears that the production and distribution of some ceramics such as plates, bowls, aryballos, and pedestaled ollas were conducted by the state. This would include those produced in Cusco as well as those im-

ported from other regions. The evidence of the base and body sherd of a vessel or vessels brought from the north coast poses various questions. Were these part of merchandise brought by the state, the product of exchange, or a product brought by people from the north coast who lived in this part of Cusco? All these questions pose working hypotheses that future archaeological research in the Cusco area may support, refine, or disprove. What remains clear is that the north coast sherds are associated with the last event, that is, the most recent one in terms of chronology.

Also associated with this last event are three painted sherds with high relief representing human faces with two lines painted horizontally across the face from ear to ear, across the middle of the nose, from which vertical lines run (Figure 11). These correspond to the Cuzco Polychrome Figured type (Rowe 1944:48), or Form 1c (Julien 2004:8). Similar vessels appear from both the Late Intermediate Period and the Late Horizon (Cornejo 2003: figures 1-6). Percy Bonnett Medina (2003:139) encountered a vessel neck with the face of a woman with tear drops in a disturbed context at Saqsayhuaman and Jorge Naveros Guillen (2008: unnumbered photo) encountered two fragments with human faces in one of the structures at Inkiltambo that he considers to have been storehouses. Juan de Betanzos (1999 [c. 1551]: 49) mentions that the Inca made certain lines on the faces of temple priests with the blood of camelids. Likewise, Polo de Ondegardo (1978 [1571]:8) states that during important funerals the face of the dead person was painted with the blood of children in a line from ear to ear. Cobo (1956 [1653]: book 13, chapter XXI, page 100) makes a similar statement. Could the painted faces represent Inca priests? Could they be elements that tell us that we are looking at a state sponsored activity?

The citations in the preceding paragraph refer to personages within the Inca hierarchy

with certain attributes. The ceramic representations may indicate the presence of these personages in the ceremony at Arcopata. Alternately, they may simply have been used as elements of prestige.

Also encountered at Arcopata was a considerable number of weaving implements, such as *piruros*, *rukis* (Figure 12), and *pallanas* (tools used to separate threads during weaving), some *pincullos*, a copper *tupu* (woman's shawl or dress pin), shell and bone beads, and pendants. These were not gathered together at the point of the incineration because they do not show traces of exposure to fire and they were deposited without apparent order during the events. Being high value personal items used daily, they may have been gifts to the participants at the ceremony, who, in turn, left them as offerings, but this is a difficult claim to substantiate with archaeological evidence. What we do have is a reference to the use of these objects in rites and ceremonies in the *Relación de los Agustinos de Huamachuco* (1992 [1560-1561]:23) and in Arriaga's *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Pirú* (1999 [1621]:81).

These objects could also indicate the sex of the participants, but only by supposing *a priori* that they belonged to women. However, Miguel Cornejo (2003:189), in a study of Inca weavers in the province of Pachacamac, at the archaeological site of Santa Cruz, observed that there were three times the number of female weavers as male ones. This would demonstrate that these objects do not necessarily belong to women, but that some of them could have been offerings made by men.

The ceremony did not end with the burning of aromatic substances (the *despacho*), or with the breakage or placement of parts of ceramic vessels. The get-together was a fundamental part of the ceremony and from all the events we have a great quantity of camelid bones with

evidence of their meat having been consumed. The evidence recovered from the four events corresponds to 65.5 percent alpaca, 20.69 percent llama, and 13.79 percent vicuña. The determination of the quantity of camelids associated with each event was made on the basis of the mandibles of these animals. Generally only one side was present. Only in ten percent of the cases were complete mandibles present. The number of vertebrae, sacrum, ribs, humeri, radius, and ulnas of these animals were found in low percentages, varying from fifteen to twenty percent of the total number of camelid bones recovered.

From the analysis of camelid bones found it emerges that not all the meat consumed at these fiestas was sacrificed at the place where the celebrations were held and that about thirty percent was brought in, probably by the sponsors, or by the guests, to judge from the types of fractures of the ribs, scapulae, pelvises, and vertebrae. These have the cuts and longitudinal fissures produced by straight cuts, made perpendicular to the long axes of the bones, when the bones were dry. If part of the meat was brought in the form of dried meat, we can suppose that the guests brought pieces of jerky and other food from their homes. Cobo (1956 [1653]:206) states that during fiestas people brought their own food. Not everybody ate the same thing, and they invited each other to eat what they brought. This is a custom that still exists in the Andean high sierra.

We also know that the large bones like the femurs, the humeri, and the tibias were broken when they were fresh to extract their marrow. These bones show traces of direct blows, probably with a mano, hammer, or chopper, which made sharp, oblique cuts at obtuse angles.

The bone remains from the feasts were placed on top of the remains of the burnt offering, which indicates that their meat was eaten at

the same place. Van Kessel and Llanque Chana (2004:48), in a work on the blood sacrifice (wilancha)⁶ of the pastoral community of Jatukachi in Peru's Puno Department, indicate that bones are collected after the meal in order to be burned with coca and delivered to Pachamama (Ch'akanaka Pasayaña), which indicates that the remains of the food from the feast continue to play a part in the ritual.

The consumption of food at each of the events at Arcopata allows us to state that feasts were held here with consumption of food and, consequently, of beverages which have remained in the archaeological record in the form of large jugs (*cántaros* or *urpus*) and tumblers. *Aqha* (maize beer or chicha) was the most important element of these feasts and was drunk from *queros* and *aquillas* (gold vessels; Cummins 2004:70). These feasts incorporated a high degree of ritualism as seen by the elements described above. Fiestas of this type may have been related to renovation ceremonies, to the cohesion of community ties, perhaps to family relationships, or perhaps were tied to an *ayllu* (Andean kin group) with a particular geographic area. The events show us that they were not static in either their structure or in their components. We can see that the associated paraphernalia is not necessarily similar, but some details reoccurred at all the events. Nevertheless, we do not know how much time passed between one event and another, or if the events were parts of larger events that could have occurred in nearby or adjacent spaces.

For example, 140 meters from Arcopata, in the same general area, is a portable huaca,⁷ a rather formless stone, fifty-three centimeters long and twenty-three centimeters at its base, and with its top end forming a curve. This was buried or hidden with associated paraphernalia including a broken stone bowl, a pedestaled olla closed with a stone, and a ceramic flask lying to the east. All of these are associated with a little burnt organic material (Figure 13). Frank Meddens and colleagues (2010:180) found three similar stones in a pit sunk into the *ushnu* platform of a site known as Ingapirca (also called Waminan) in Ayacucho Region. The context is somewhat like that of Arcopata. Under the floor of a small building in a residential zone of Huánuco Pampa Craig Morris found a stone-filled tube leading to a reservoir containing two grinding stones (Morris and Thompson 1985: plates 45, 46). Portable sacred stones can represent a huaca, and also, mythical ancestors who have been converted to stone (Meddens *et al.* 2010: 183).

There are no traces of activities related to fiestas or the consumption of food near the portable huaca. We can ask if this offering, or burial of this huaca, had an associated feast that took place somewhere else. I am not suggesting that the fiesta that may have been given at the burial of this huaca necessarily took place at Arcopata. Nevertheless, there is the possibility

⁶ Wilancha (Aymara, literally "blood sacrifice", from "wila", blood) is the offering of a white camelid or sheep (never a black one), preferably young (two, three, or four years old), made in honor of Andean gods such as Pachamama or the Jilaratas.

⁷ "Las huacas móviles que tienen, no solo todos los pueblos sino también todos los ayllus y parcialidades que por pequeños que sean . . ." (Arriaga 1999 [1621]:80). Translation: "Not only all the communities, but also all the *ayllus* and moieties, however small, had portable huacas." "Otras huacas hay móviles, que son ordinarias, y las que van nombradas en cada pueblo, que se les ha quitado y quemado. De ordinario son de piedra y las más veces sin figura ninguna" (Arriaga 1999 [1621]:30). Translation: "Among other huacas that have been removed and burnt are the portable ones, which are ordinary and which have names in each community. Usually they are made of stone and usually without any carving whatsoever . . ."

that there had been a feast for this huaca or *huanca*,⁸ celebrated at some other place. Similar practices are found in the ethnographic literature. For example, anthropologist Hector Espinoza Martínez (2002:69) describes that in the herding rites of the community of Qashqacha,⁹ after concluding the ritual in the corral of the animals' owner, the owner goes to his residence, accompanied by his guests and family members, to share lunch. The archaeological record includes finds of Inca offerings without evidence of feasting (Delgado 1998; Paredes 2003; Valencia 1970). Espinoza (personal communication, 2011) states that where offerings to the Andean gods are made, people never eat. They just drink or meet (*t'inkay*)¹⁰ as a ritual act. Therefore, in Inca times offering feasts may have included various interaction spaces, and when we do not find evidence of the two events, the offering and the feast, adjacent to one another, the archaeological record does not allow us to place them temporally and spatially, and we may be separating two events that may have been part of the same ceremony.

Feasts have two types of participants, hosts and guests (Hayden 2001). For the Andean

region there are references to feasts in public spaces (Ikehara and Shibata 2005; Janusek 2005; Vega-Centeno 2005) during which agreements are made between the host and the guests to obtain labor for public works. It appears that in the Inca state, guests were honored with the intention of obtaining labor for state-sponsored construction projects. At Arcopata we do not have evidence of this relationship between organizers and those invited. We may be seeing the practice of a smaller, or communal organization in which the participation is more horizontal and one cannot perceive differences between the hosts and the guests.

Inca offerings are varied and share similar characteristics, but are not completely equal to each other. Various contexts have been encountered in Cusco as mentioned by Bauer (1987-89); Delgado (1998, 2007), Paredes (2003), and Rosa (2008) as well as during archeological research performed by the Cusco division of the National Institute of Culture (now the Ministry of culture). Therefore, to try to make generalizations on the basis of this single context could lead us into error.

CONCLUSIONS

The complex of offerings and feasts found at Arcopata allows us to visualize one of the many ways that Inca ceremonies in Cusco were organized and accomplished. The archaeological materials from each event give us information about the rituals, offerings, and food consumption, and, therefore, about the feasts as a whole.

The first event was an offering with unique characteristics, such as the use of human bones associated with a feast. The three subsequent events were rituals that included the burning of aromatic substances, and similar ritual elements such as the consumption of camelid meat, and probably maize, other products, and beverages. The incinerations are documentation and proof

⁸ “. . . huanca llaman una piedra larga que suelen poner empinada en sus chacaras, y la llaman también chacrayoc, que es el señor de la chacara, porque piensan que aquella chacara fue de aquella huaca, y que tiene a su cargo su aumento, y como a tal la reverencian y especialmente en tiempo de las sementeras le ofrecen sus sacrificios” (Arriaga 1999 [1621]:37) Translation: “. . . They call *huanca* a large stone which may be standing in their fields, and also call it *chacrayoc*, that is, is the lord of the field, because they think that this field belongs to that *huaca*, and that it is in charge of its increase, and as such they bow down to it, and, especially in the time of planting, offer it their sacrifices.”

⁹ The community of Qashqacha is in the District of Pampachiri, Andahuaylas Province, Apurímac Region.

¹⁰ The Quechua word “*t'inkay*” means to toast by spraying drink as an offering.

that the burning of aromatic substances with domestic products like maize cobs and coca was a common practice that has been mentioned in historic documents, and has remained in the archaeological register as an important part of ritual, and as a means of communication between the participants at the ceremony and their gods.

The various elements that make up the events help us to understand these as interactions in a type of context that cannot be generalized with others. The sea shells, maize, coca, bone remains, and personal objects cannot be considered individually, apart from the whole. Therefore, it is logical to think that the feasts at Arcopata were associated with important ceremonies which the archaeological register could not place at a particular point in time.

The participants at these events were not just guests who took part in the ceremony and partook of the feast. They were also active participants who brought food and personal items to make up part of the goods which were later used in the ceremony. This analysis, on the basis of archaeological material, of the feasts at Arcopata does not attempt to generalize from them to other events, offerings, ceremonies, and fiestas. It simply posits that this was one form of understanding and organizing a ceremony and a fiesta. There may exist diverse modes not yet found in the archaeological register.

Translated from the Spanish by Monica Barnes.

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Events	Decorated Ceramics																	Domestic Ceramics											Total %																									
	Large Plates	Fuentes/Platters		Bowls (Form 13)		Plates with bird-shaped handles		Jarras/Flasks (Forms 2, 3, 4, 5)		Aryballos (Form 1)		Cántaros Urpus/Pitchers or jugs		Cántaros/Pitchers (Forms 6, 7)		Ollas (Form 11)		Lids		Handles		Body sherds		Bases		Necks		Discs		Vessels with human face		Re-used sherds		Bowls (Form 13)		Ollas (Form 11)		Ollas with conical base (Form 9)		Cántaros Urpus/jugs (Form 8)		Cántaros/jugs (Forms 6, 7)		Pedestaled Ollas		Lids		Handles		Body Sherds		Necks		Bases
Event 1				8.79	1.1	1.65	2.75	1.1	4.95	1.1	1.1	6.04	31.3	3.3	2.2	0.55		2.2	0.55	4.4	0.55	0.55	5.49	4.4	0.55	9.89	3.86	0.55	1.1	100																								
Event 2				7.22		3.09	1.03	1.03	6.19	1.03	2.06	7.22	25.8	4.12	3.09			2.06		6.19			3.09	4.12	1.03	7.2	5.15	4.12	5.15	100																								
Event 3	2.54	0.85	11	0.84	3.39	0.85	2.54	2.54	2.54	0.85	5.08	29.6	2.54	3.4	0.85		0.9		7.63			1.69	6.78	1.69	5.9	2.54	0.85	2.54	100																									
Event 4	1.31	0.48	8.6	0.48	1.55	2.03	1.79	6.81	3.11	1.79	10.4	27.3	2.39	2.74	1.08	0.36	0.84	1.19	4.18		0.6	2.15	4.9	1.43	7.29	2.62	0.72	1.91	100																									

Forms as described in Meyers (1975)

Table 1: Percentages of ceramic forms associated with the feasting events at Arcopata, Cusco.



Figure 1: Satellite image of the historic center of Cusco taken in 2011.
The research area falls within the white circle (photo courtesy of Google Earth).

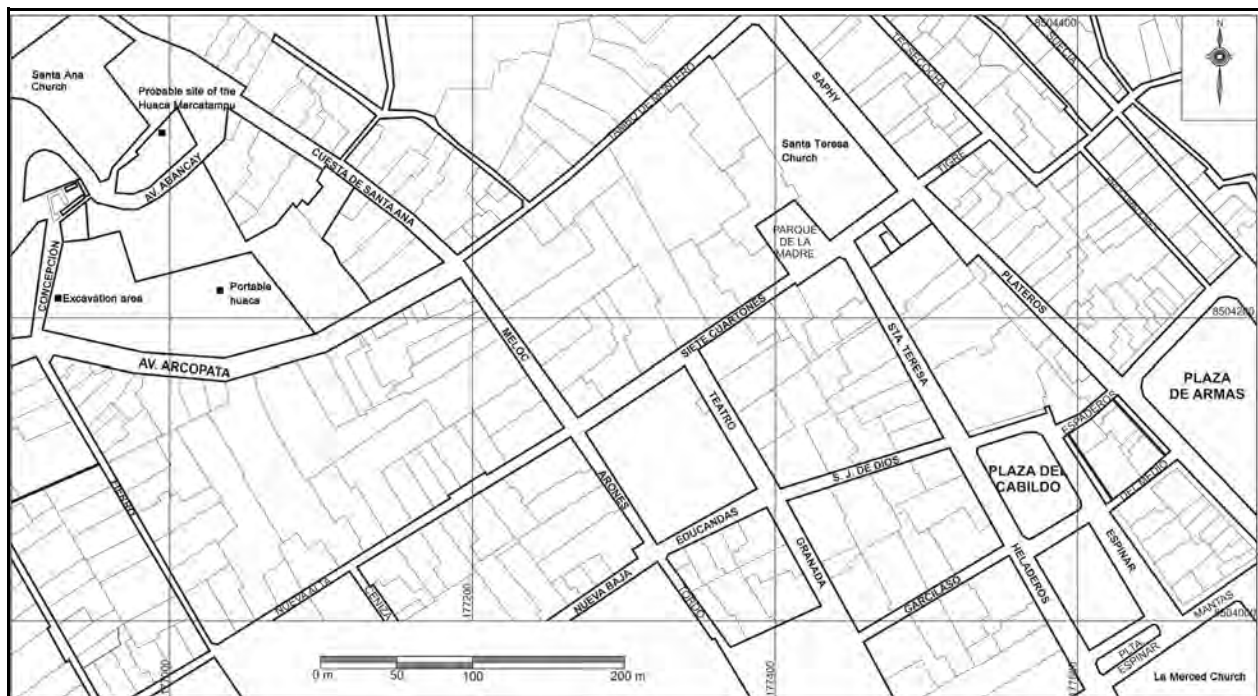


Figure 2: Partial plan of Cusco showing location of the Arcopata excavation.



Figure 3: Detail of painted plan commissioned by Father Gaspar de Villagra in 1643 (after Rowe 1989).
(1) Site of feasting complex; (2) site of the portable huaca; (3) Probable site of the Marcatampu huaca.

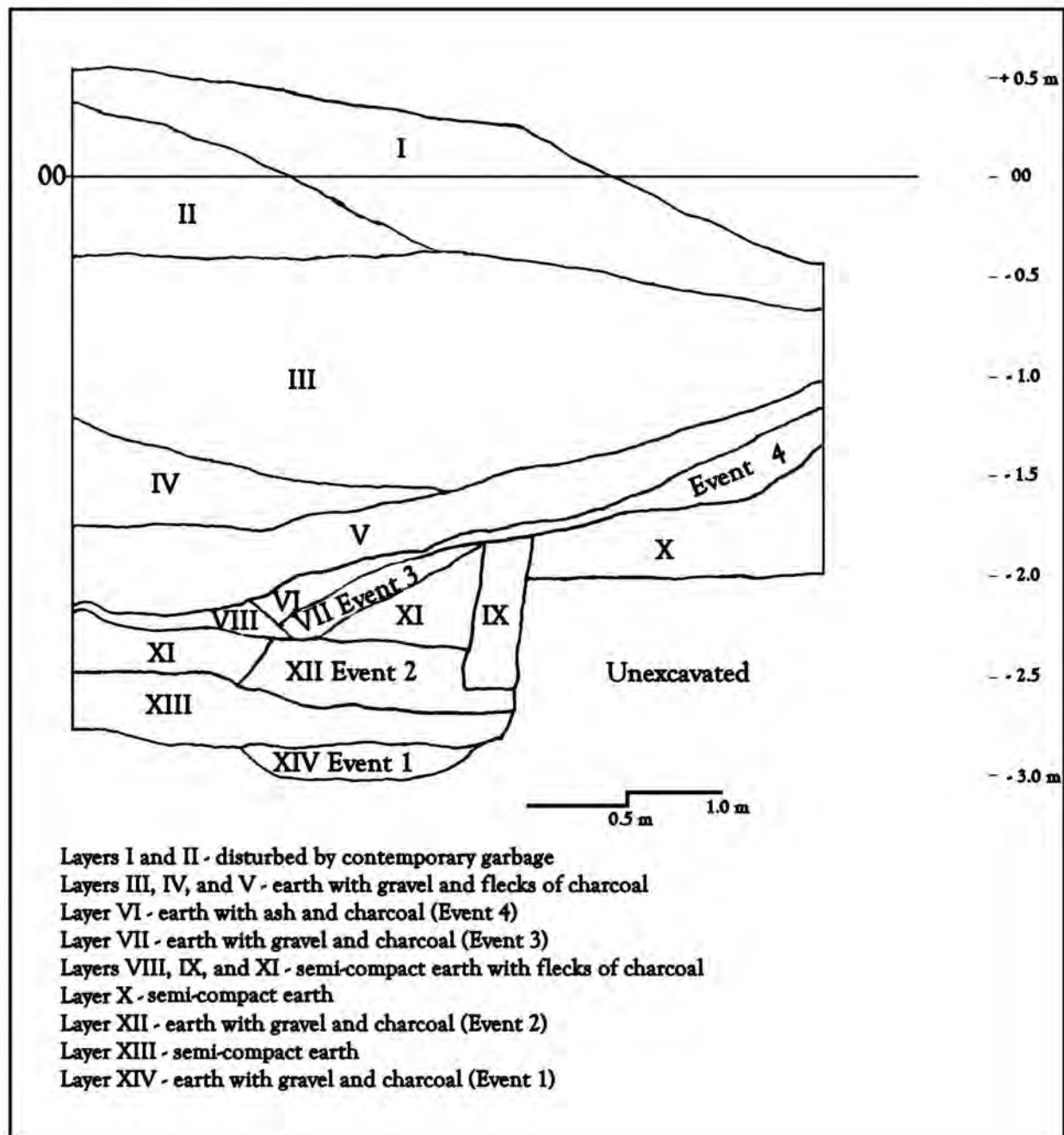


Figure 4: South profile of excavation unit S3E3, Arcopata.



Figure 5: Archaeological remains of the first event. Towards the extreme north is a human cranium (A) associated with camelid mandible fragments (C) and ceramic sherds, as well as the bases of four pedestaled ollas (B).



Figure 6: Detail of the mollusc material (B) and the remains of the burning from the first event with flecks of charcoal and an overturned pedestal base olla (A).

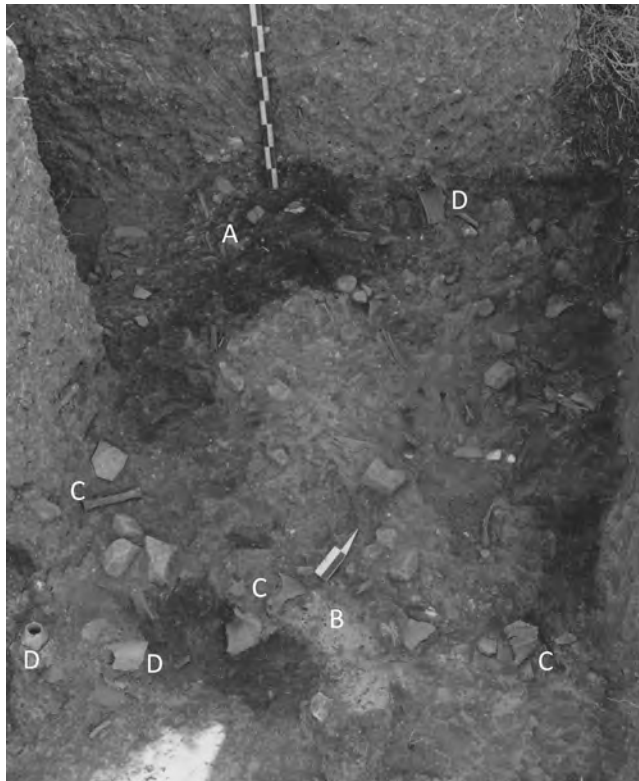


Figure 7: Stratum representing Event 4 showing evidence of intentional burning of organic material; (A) earth with charcoal, (B) ashes, (C) remains of camelid bones including mandibles, and (D) associated ceramic sherds.



Figure 8: Plates with geometric decoration. The edges of the appendages of sherd A have been exposed to fire; Sherds B-D do not have traces of exposure to fire.

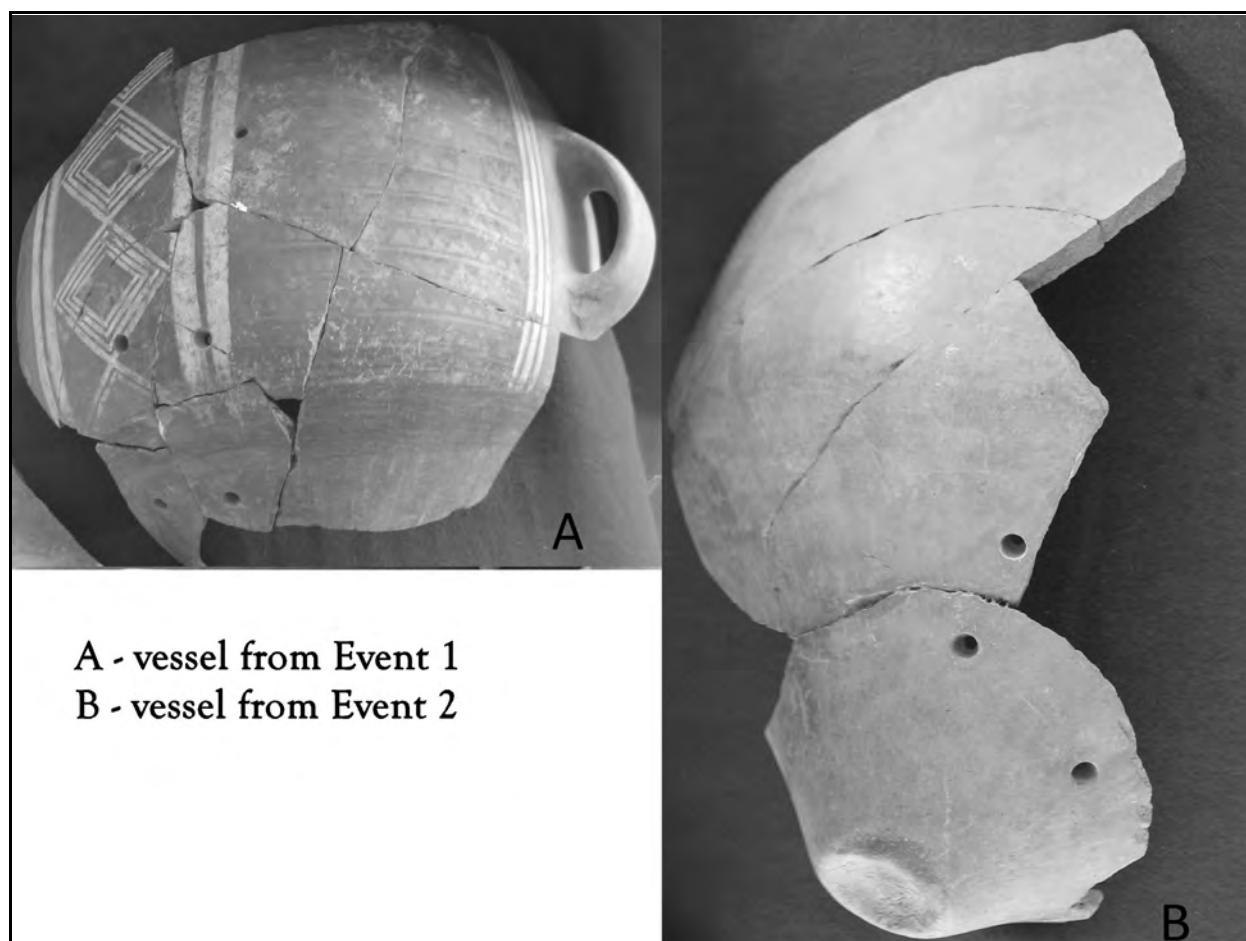


Figure 9: Vessels repaired during their useful lives. Note the perforations that were used to repair the vessels, probably with cords of straw or leather. (A) globular vessel with only part of the body preserved, (B) at the base of this vessel there is wear resulting from the vessel having rested on the ground.



Figure 10: Ceramic imported from Peru's north coast.



Figure 11: human faces, perhaps intended to represent Inca priests, on the necks of aryballos.



Figure 12: Rukis found at Arcopata.

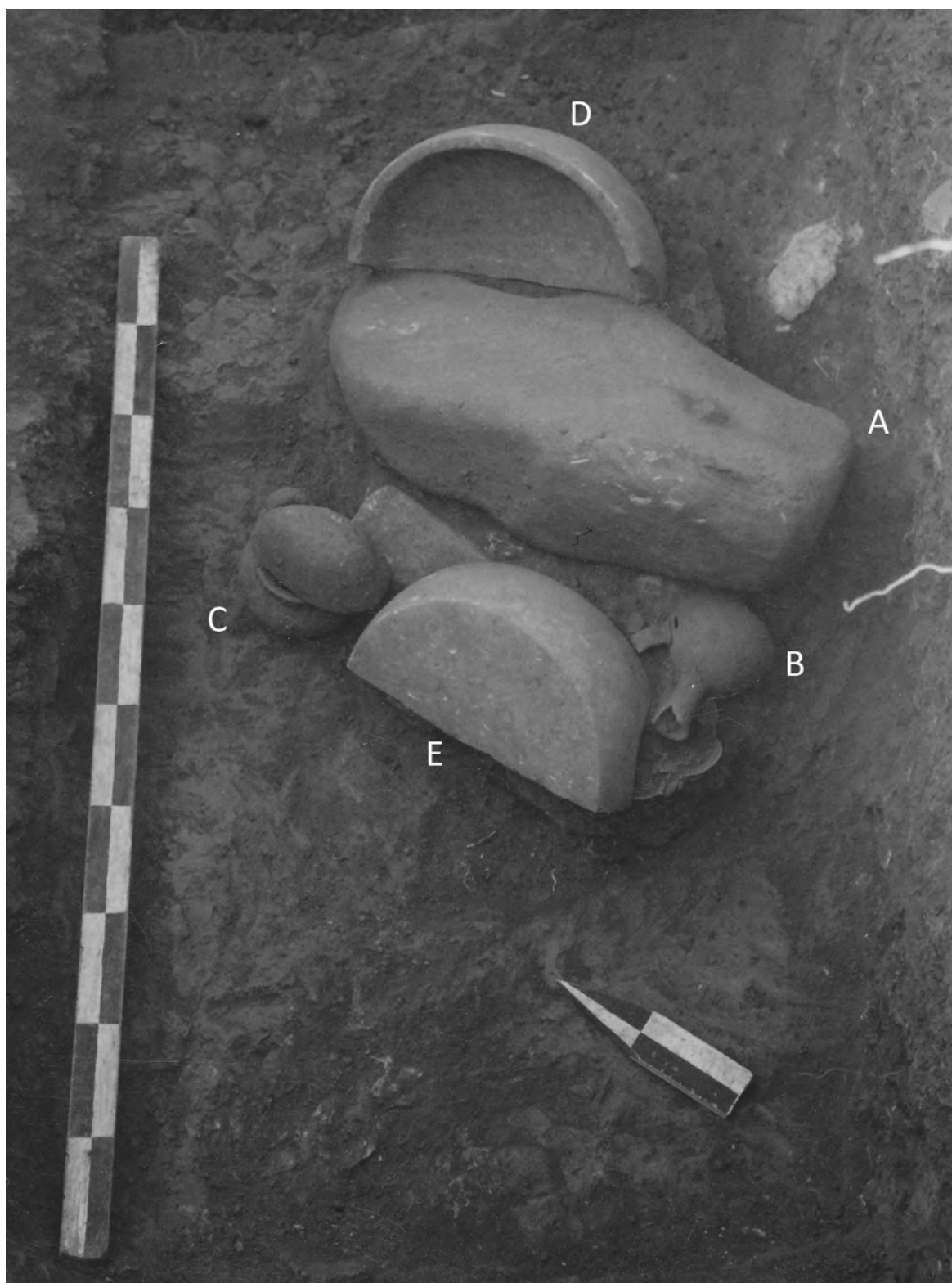


Figure 13: The portable huaca. The huaca is the stone which is the central element (A), associated with a flask (B), a covered pedestaled olla (C), and a broken green diorite basin with one half placed upside down (D, E).