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## Pachacamac in the Development of Andean Archaeology

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The Sanctuary of Pachacamac has been an enduring presence in Andean history. Early Spanish accounts portray the site as a center of wealth and prestige that played a key role in the dramatic events following the arrival of Spaniards in Peru, particularly in the capture of the Inca Atahualpa, and later the fall of the Inca Empire. These Spanish accounts, together with the striking monumentality of the site itself against the backdrop of the arid landscape of the Peruvian Central Coast, have captured the attention of scholars seeking to understand the pre-Hispanic past. Beginning in the sixteenth century, the site of Pachacamac was omnipresent in chronicles and descriptions of Peru.

The site has held a significant meaning for Andean archaeology at large: (1) Pachacamac played a pivotal role in the formation of current views about religion and ideology in pre-Hispanic times. Building on the ethnohistorical accounts, Pachacamac is envisaged as the archetypal pre-Columbian Andean sanctuary or shrine. The conceptual model of *sanctuary* and *oracle* was built in the classic pre-Hispanic historiography. (2) Pachacamac is meaningful for understanding chronology, trajectories, and time in Andean archaeology. The Pachacamac Sanctuary was an integrated part of the many early chronological sequences. Often, ceramics recovered from Pachacamac were part of the main Andean chronological sequences, such as the chronological sequence proposed by Rowe (1960) and later by Menzel (1964). (3) Pachacamac is the ultimate representation of the relationship between state, society, heritage, and population in Peru. In 1886, Max Uhle (1903; reprinted in Shimada 1991), a German scholar associated with several U.S. universities, started a large-scale project in the sanctuary that is believed by many to be the first stratigraphical and chronological excavation in Andean archaeology, and a landmark in the formation of archaeology as a scholarly discipline in the Andean region (for example, Rowe 1998; Schaedel 1993; Shimada 1991).

With the current controversy surrounding the construction of the new national museum inside the sanctuary, Pachacamac is still clearly a reflection of the changing conceptions of heritage and society, and the impact of current national discourses on the understanding of the ancient world.

## Pachacamac: Geography and Chronology

The site of Pachacamac lies close to the shore on the northwest edge of the Lurín Valley, in the middle of the Peruvian Central Coast. The Peruvian Central Coast is a territory of geopolitical importance with a long trajectory of human occupation. The powerful social formations around what today is the city of Lima were central to the development of the Andes for centuries before the Spanish occupation. Geographically, the Peruvian Central Coast is a narrow desert strip located between the western chain of the Andes and the Pacific Ocean. This desert strip, less than 30 km wide, is cut by the presence of a series of narrow valleys.

Here, we consider the Central Coast as a region with a long shared cultural trajectory that includes the terrain from Huaura Valley in the north to Cañete Valley in the south. The central part of this territory is formed by the confluence at the mouth of the Chillón and Rímac rivers which, along with the mouth of the Lurín River to the southeast and the Villa Swamp (between Rímac and Lurín), form a fertile strip in the middle of the desert.

Toward the highlands to the east, the area that we can identify as the “coast” corresponds to the two lower zones of the valleys of the Pacific basins. These two zones are known as the *yunga* (basically the alluvial fans of the valleys of the western slope) and the *chaupiyunga* (between the alluvial fans and approximately 1,000 m above sea level). Although these limits are only referential and have varied through history in relation to specific political and social situations, the area maintains a relative cultural consistency (Marcone 2019).

The earliest traces of human occupation on the Central Coast go back at least to the Early Preceramic Period (circa 10,000–6000 BCE). The material evidence of this occupation is limited to accumulations of lithic materials found in what appear to be seasonal camps. Among the sites found during this period, the Chivateros lithic quarry stands out at the mouth of the Chillón River. Similar materials to those recovered in this quarry appear along the entire Peruvian coast (Kaulicke and Dillehay 1999).

During the Middle Preceramic Period (circa 6000–2500 BCE), the first villages appeared, such as Paloma, located in the foothills to the north of Chilca Valley, an hour from the city of Lima (Quilter 1989, 1991). By the Late Preceramic Period (circa 2500–1800 BCE), the first monumental sites emerged on the Central Coast at El Paraiso and Buena Vista (Benfer et al. 2007). This gradual process of centralization of people extended to the Initial Period (circa 1800–850 BCE), when ceremonial centers dominated by the architectural form known as the U-shaped temple appeared (Burger 2014; Burger and Salazar in this volume). Between 900 BCE and 700 BCE these ceremonial centers fell into disuse, and by the beginning of the Early Horizon (850–200 BCE) the U-shaped centers were abandoned and population collapse is suspected (Marcone 2019).

By the end of the Early Horizon, a new ceramic tradition began to develop. These ceramics are best known as the “white-on-red” style. By the start of the Early Intermediate Period (circa 200 BCE–AD 900) the white-on-red style was partially replaced by a tricolor style using red, white, and black which became known as the Lima style, giving its name to the best-known culture in the region for the early periods (Córdova 2003; Kaulicke 2000). It is around this time that the first evidence of organized and formal architecture appeared at the site of Pachacamac (Shimada 1991).

The appearance of Lima culture features in the Central Coast is also related to the expansion of the agriculture frontier (Canziani 2007; Silva 1996) and the appearance of irrigation networks that, by the end of the Early Intermediate Period, allowed the emergence of a state-level, multivalley polity or polities in the region (Marcone in this volume; Shady 1988).

For some researchers, the emergence of this state-level society in the central area was an expression of local trajectories (for example, Marcone 2010a, 2010b; Shady 1982, 1988; Stumer 1954). For others, it was the byproduct of Middle Horizon, intrusive highland Wari presence in the region (Menzel 1964; Patterson 1966). At Pachacamac, at the end of the Early Intermediate Period, local Lima structures increased in size and monumentality and the site began to have a clear regional presence, as my own chapter in this volume explores. In line with this discussion, understanding the nature and tempo of the increased presence of the Lima culture at Pachacamac is key to understanding the cultural/political formation of Lima traditions and their interaction with the Wari. This revisioning of Lima-Wari interaction calls for rethinking the interpretation of Wari-style ceramics (for example, the

Pachacamac ceramic style) recovered in Pachacamac—although with deficient contextual information. These ceramics have been used to support the imperial presence of Wari at the site (see discussion in Kaulicke 2000) even though there are no buildings at Pachacamac that can be assigned without doubt to the Middle Horizon.

The absence of Middle Horizon buildings at Pachacamac is congruent with the abandonment of domestic sites at the valley, which indicates not only the collapse of political institutions but also a decline in population. This phenomenon seems to be related to a series of alternating periods of drought and intense rainfall due to the ENSO phenomenon. Toward the second half of the Middle Horizon, the presence of southern, Wari-like styles declined and an increase in regional stylistic variations at the valley level could suggest a political fragmentation of the area, in which small elite groups sponsored new symbols of power to legitimize their authority (Kaulicke 2000). However, recent discoveries in the area of Huarmey suggest that some of these new elites may have been more powerful than suspected and closely linked to southern groups (Giersz 2014). This political fragmentation continued until the shaping of a new political polity in the later periods, a coastal group known as the Ychsma (Eeckhout 2004: 412–413). Dating to the Late Intermediate Period (AD 1100–1470), this new sociopolitical development has been characterized based not on ceramics (as were earlier periods), but on colonial records and other written sources (that is, Albornoz 1967 [1582]; de la Calancha 1639; Castro y Morejón 1974 [1558]; Cobo 1990 [1653]). According to these sixteenth-century sources, at the time of the Inca Conquest of the Lurín Valley, the region was populated by the Ychsma (Patterson 1985; Soriano 2014).

María Rostworowski's deep study of ethnohistoric sources suggests that the social order of the Ychsma society was based mainly around the cult of Pachacamac (Rostworowski 1972, 1973, 1999, 2002). The Ychsma do not appear to have been subject to a centralized hegemonic power until the arrival of the Incas in the Late Horizon. The Incas transformed the area into a subordinate province (Cornejo 2000; Soriano 2014). The site saw an increase of Inca presence, and Pachacamac was taught as an example of coexistence of Inca and local practices (Cobo 1990 [1653]). However, Makowski (this volume) has a different view: he proposes that the Inca presence was older and more important in terms of imposition than what is usually proposed. He suggests that Pachacamac underwent an intense reconstruction in Inca times. In this idea, the site that we can see on the surface is basically an Inca

construction and not a local site with some Inca buildings. Other authors in this volume strongly disagree.

The open controversy existing in this volume between the articles of Makowski, Owens and Eeckhout, and Pozzi-Escot and Bernuy implies a challenge to the traditional understanding of the tempo and nature of the Inca expansion that could affect current ideas about Inca expansion at the pan-regional level.

### Pachacamac Layout and Its Principal Buildings: Is There a Long Continuous Occupation?

The image of the site we see today represents the most recent occupation of the site, right before its abandonment and with the later intrusion of the archaeologist. Based on this latest image, the site has been seen as consisting of three concentric rings of walls and in the middle a superposition of temples, one over the other, in an onion-like layering. This reading of the site has become the most popular narrative of its organization (Ravines 1996). The present volume challenges the idea of a long continuity and that this Late Period picture is projectable to the deeper past. For example, Shimada and his collaborators propose a completely different arrangement, even of the orientation of the site during the Early periods.

The traditional interpretation of Pachacamac is clearly influenced by our expectation of what a religious pilgrimage center should be, with controlled access to the main temples. This traditional reading divides the site into three main sectors, each of which represents a different level of access.

At the north and the northeast ends of the sanctuary, it is possible to identify two gateways that are linked with the Inca Road and are usually referred to as the Third Wall, although it is not a wall in the exact sense. This Third Wall is followed by an open space with little surface evidence of construction, although excavation in this area shows several transitory or temporary structures (Jiménez 2014).

After this first area, which supplies a more general access, comes an area composed of several buildings known as Pyramids with Ramp (PWRs), which are circumscribed by a second wall. These buildings are organized in two axes or main streets (Pozzi-Escot and Bernuy in this volume). The functions of these PWRs are still under debate. Some researchers propose that the PWRs belong to the Late Intermediate Period and are embassies of a sort for