

## THE RUINS AT TIAHUANACO.

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I cannot pretend to offer anything approximately comparable to the learned and elaborate works published on Tiahuanaco by Dr. Stuebel and Dr. Max Uhle<sup>1</sup>, or in any way analogous to E. J. Squier's brilliant descriptions.<sup>2</sup> Our stay at Tiahuanaco was limited to nineteen days, during which time I found myself sorely tried by the effects of altitude<sup>3</sup> and of the not over-salubrious climate. The prohibition, by the Bolivian Government, to excavate in or about the ruins, rendered all subsoil investigation impossible and our limited collections were obtained almost by way of contraband; through purchase from Indians, who mostly came at night to avoid the vigilance of the authorities. Hence surveying of the ruins, observations on the nature of the country and on Indian customs, fragments of folk-tales, and some data from ancient church-books, constituted the fruits of our activity there. A provisional Museum, destined to preserve the antiquities of Tiahuanaco, had been recently opened at that village, and we saw in the rudimentary collection a number of specimens illustrating the type of artefacts. The larger carved blocks which this little Museum contained, displayed the uncouth and angular style of sculpture peculiar to the well-known monoliths. The pottery found at Tiahuanaco shows three distinct types. One seems to be peculiar to the site, as nowhere else, as far as known, is it met with, except as intrusive specimens. It is supposed to be the work of the unknown people who built the edifices now in a condition of lamentable ruin, and who carved the

famous monoliths. The style of ornamentation, as can readily be seen, is original and while there may be, as Dr. Uhle stated to the writer, a trace of Tiahuanaco influence in ceramics of other points in Peru and Bolivia, it is so distinct and characteristic, that we may admit it as due to the inhabitants from a time of which only the dimmest traces of recollections have survived.

The characteristic Inca or Cuzco pottery comes next. Inca visits to Tiahuanaco took place probably in the fifteenth century and the specimens found are, in all likelihood, imported, and were not manufactured on the spot.

Finally there is a third class, which may be called Aymará, since it is identical with the vessels found everywhere in Aymará ruins, so-called "Chullpas," over the Puna, and was continued with modifications during historic times. That pottery may have been partly coeval with the oldest forms. We do not know if the Aymará then occupied the country or not. But it is certainly, in part, contemporaneous with the appearance of the Incas, and with the earlier times of Spanish domination. All these types are represented (or were in 1894), at the rudimentary Museum of which I speak.

Of metallic objects, especially in copper and bronze, there were at the Museum quite a number, and among these, T-shaped clamps. Textures and wooden cups presented little that was of special note, although we saw two Keros or sacrificial cups well painted and decorated with carvings in relief.<sup>4</sup> In short, the Museum was a fair beginning, if one takes into consideration the character of the people and the difficulties in the way of gathering and preserving relics of the past.

The situation of Tiahuanaco is peculiar. A long and not very wide valley descends towards the shores of Lake Titicaca. On the east, this valley is bordered by a crest dividing it from the plateau Puna. On the west runs a similar ridge culminating in a peak called Quimsa-Chata.<sup>5</sup> Hence Tiahuanaco lies in a trough that slopes very gently to the lake. The width of that trough varies, nowhere exceeding three miles. At the

village itself the trough comes to a sudden break or step. The stretch separating Tiahuanaco from the shores of the lake at Huaqui,<sup>6</sup> is wider than the valley higher up, and the sudden break at the pueblo has created the belief that the lake formerly extended as far. Hence one of the interpretations of the word "Tiahuanaco" rests on the assumption that it meant originally "dry shore," in Aymará. Monoliths, similar to those at Tiahuanaco, have been found by Dr. Max Uhle on or near the lake-shore at Uakullani; there exist some at Pilapi, four leagues from the ruins, and other partly sculptured stones are said to lie on the flanks of Quimsa-Chata.

This bears on the question of the origin of the rock out of which the monoliths are carved. The point has always been raised, how such enormous blocks could have been placed there. It was suggested that, many of them being andesite, the nearest point whence they could have been obtained was the peninsula of Copacavana. It has been overlooked, that a number of the carved blocks are of the permian sandstone cropping out at Tiahuanaco. This is not the case with the material of the great doorway and other large and small pieces, but the tallest column and many other sculptured pieces are of the reddish sandstone underlying the soil. Mr. Sundt, who is quite an authority on Bolivian geology and lithology, has suggested that the andesite blocks of Tiahuanaco are erratic.<sup>7</sup> This does away with part of the mystery. The existence of similar sculptures in other regions contiguous to the lake (as at Kalaki on the peninsula of Huata) and elsewhere on that same peninsula, was ignored or overlooked.

The general plan made by me of the surface ruins cannot be reproduced here. Excavations being prohibited, I could not penetrate the soil and secure more data on the original extent of architectural vestiges. The main question is, where were the *abodes* of the people that raised the monuments. Not a single construction has been found, indicating a house. Since

Tiahuanaco was first seen by the Spaniards no mention has been made of dwellings. And yet the church of Tiahuanaco, and many of the *actual* houses, are built of stones from the ruins, and when one asks for the place whence these blocks were taken, the usual reply is that they came from the surroundings of the main mounds. Trenches and grooves have been shown to us with the remark, that they had contained the foundations of smaller buildings that seemed to have been houses. The size and outline of these dugouts would indicate that the dwellings of the ancient people of Tiahuanaco were about of the dimensions and form of actual Indian houses on the Puna. The fact of the matter is, that attention has only been paid to the striking remains of Tiahuanaco, and the more modest features neglected, although the most important, because illustrative of the mode of living of the people. But since it has been so, it is well to cast a glance at the striking features and what they indicate.

Two eminences, certainly natural, attract attention at once. One is a mound, and by no means the only one in the vicinity; the narrow vale is dotted with such accumulations of reddish earth. The other is a gradual rise, with red permian rocks cropping out in a few places. The former is called Akka-pana, the latter, Puma-puncu. I do not venture to etymologize the name of the former, for if there has been a place in creation where etymologizing has run riot, it is Tiahuanaco, and I leave it to learned men to discuss words. Puma-Puncu has never had its meaning disputed, hence I simply adopt what everybody else says that is: that it means in Aymará the door or gate of the Puma, or cougar, or American panther.<sup>8</sup> It is impossible to surmise why it bears that name, for nothing in the aspect of the vestiges bears any relation to that animal. Nor does it seem certain that either of these names is original; they may have arisen during the early period of Spanish colonization. In parenthesis I would observe, that the Jesuit Father Bernabé Cobo, in his *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, from

the early part of the seventeenth century, states that the proper name for Tiahuanaco is Taypi-kala, or stone in the middle or center.<sup>9</sup> This designation is legitimately Indian, since it agrees with the Indian's habit of considering his pueblo as the middle of his known world.

The Mound of Akka-pana seems to have been, not merely surrounded, but even to a certain extent plated, with a wall of well dressed stones, parallelopipeds of andesite, fitted without binding-material. In the center of the mound is a depression similar to a deep excavation to the level of the surrounding plain. On its upper rim lie scattered blocks, carved and polished, that may have belonged to some courtyard or enclosure. Rows of similar blocks, of smaller size, stand to one side on the summit. But there is so little left, and what remains is so disconnected, that no conclusions are possible. Foundations of edifices are not visible. In a rent, descending towards the north, are what may be the two sides of a narrow channel encased by polished stones. A few large blocks, fairly cut and rubbed, lie scattered on the slopes.<sup>10</sup>

Along the northern base of Akka-pana are the great courtyards formed by huge prismatic stone pillars. In the outer of these courts stands the sculptured gateway. It was, time ago, rent by a thunderbolt. The tall statue which stands in the same courtyard and south of the gateway was placed upright in modern times. It was lying on the ground nearby. Afterwards, unfortunately, this monolith was used as a target by infantry soldiers, so that the face is considerably damaged.

Rows of erect stones, some rude, others cut in the form of prisms, seem to indicate the former existence of other enclosures more or less connected with the mound. Between Akka-pana and the village of Tiahuanaco are similar remains. Some of the blocks are very large. Southwest of Akka-pana, between it and the site called Puma-puncu, stands a rectangular gateway, apparently isolated. Not far from it lies prostrate, a group of curious monoliths representing uncouth human

figures, one of which measures not less than eighteen feet in length. One of its ends shows that it formerly stood upright. It is impossible to determine if this gateway and the monoliths occupy their original position.<sup>11</sup>

East, or rather east-north-east, from Akka-pana, is a group of huge slabs to which the Indians of Tiahuanaco give the name of Kalisasaya. The principal of these is approximately quadrangular with an artificial rectangular depression, into which lead diminutive steps. I refrain from giving a detailed description since this stone has been photographed frequently and since the late E. G. Squier has devoted some speculation as to its possible object. More elaborate yet are the very careful observations of Messrs. Stuebel and Uhle.<sup>12</sup> Rows of erect stones seem to be connected with this mysterious slab. It lies in a hollow and may still be in its original position.

The site called Puma-puncu is located south of the village and southwest of Akka-pana. Apparently, there is no connection between the two places, still we have traced vestiges of enclosures on the level between them. Both were evidently parts of one complex. Puma-puncu is a natural eminence, a gently sloping ridge. On its northern side lie several carved blocks of considerable thickness. But the main feature of Puma-puncu is the platform of stone ruthlessly shattered for the purpose of treasure-seeking. Its chief feature are the seats of stone cut in its surface and which have led to the popular belief that it was a place of justice. It seems that it was carved out of the rock *in situ*. Smaller carved prisms, but of andesite, in rows, are seen near and around it as well as on the hill itself. There is nothing about this monument or its surroundings, that gives a clue to its original purpose.<sup>13</sup>

Taking into account the area covered by all the vestiges about Tiahuanaco, to the furthest corner stone or isolated pillar; supposing besides, that this whole area was covered with dwellings, and allowing for each inhabitant the smallest possible space, we could not assign

to the original population a greater number than six thousand souls. But this rough guess has no value since we have no knowledge of the character of the buildings. That Tiahuanaco once was a settlement admits of no doubt. The mere fact that the oldest traditions mention a people who lived there and the manner in which that people became extinct, proves it. That the inhabitants disappeared previous to the fifteenth century seems equally certain. At least, if those who were found on the spot by the Inca tribe of Cuzco were their descendants, they no longer dwell in the ancient edifices, having modified their manner of living. Such changes were not unusual among sedentary Indians. I recall the Pimas of southern Arizona, who claim to have built and occupied the great edifices of Casa grande, Casa blanca and others along the lower Gila river, whereas their descendants, when first met with by whites, dwelt in circular huts like those inhabited by them to-day. At the time when the northern Pimas had relapsed into a more primitive style of living, their southern relatives, the Pimas of central Sonora, still preserved the solid architecture of large adobe buildings, and it is to the early reports on this southern branch and their abodes that we owe our knowledge of the purpose of the ancient buildings in Arizona.<sup>14</sup> Hence the fact that Tiahuanaco was in ruins when the Incas first visited it does not necessarily militate against a possibility of its builders having been ancestors of the Aymará Indians.

That there existed dwellings in former times is beyond doubt. That they are not mentioned by earlier visitors, from the sixteenth century for instance, is pardonable. The statues, huge slabs and portals monopolized their attention just as, even now, they absorb the attention of visitors. Nobody has inquired into the origin of the thousands of small prismatic blocks of andesite, quadrangular as well as polygonal, of which the walls of the church at Tiahuanaco are built and with which some of the narrow streets of that village are partly paved.

Much of this material has, also, entered into the construction of the actual dwellings. And these blocks were not cut lately, they were found in their present shape.<sup>15</sup> I was shown depressions rivalling, in size and contour, what would be the result, if ruins in the Cordillera were removed and only the foundations left. I was assured that from these depressions, which are at best two feet in depth, floors or pavements of small cut blocks like those mentioned were taken out. Hence I do not regard it as impossible that the plan and size of dwellings of the builders of Tiahuanaco might have been similar to that of ancient houses in the Bolivian Cordillera or on the peninsula of Huata.

Residents of places where ruins exist are always liberal in offering explanations. Every one nearly has some suggestion to make, and, in the course of time, what originally is a surmise assumes the shape of a fact. It is therefore with reluctance, to say the least, that I repeat explanations given us about "dwellings" of the builders of ancient Tiahuanaco. I was assured, for instance, that, while the floors of the houses were of cut stone, the buildings themselves were of adobe. The red soil of the valley makes a very tough adobe.

That soil is fertile, but permeated with water. Aside from several springs, some of which show vestiges of having been enclosed and provided with conduits of cut stone in ancient times, the surface of the ruins is dotted with pools that do not even disappear in the driest season. When it rains, many fields become swamps. The stream proper is not deep, and partakes of the nature of a mountain torrent. Channels of stone have been dug up in the fields around the main ruins and inside of ancient enclosures. There exists at La Paz a grooved slab, the groove forming an elbow. Such channels were not, at Tiahuanaco, needed for irrigation. They may have been intended for drainage.<sup>16</sup> I refer to what I have written, eleven years ago, on the so-called Baths of the Inca on the Island of Titicaca, where the drainage of the hills was collected in long troughs

behind the walls of Andenes, emptying into open conduits down the slope to the lake. At Tiahuanaco wherever the soil is dug to a comparatively small depth, water rises to the surface. The site of the present village lies higher than the ruins, hence is drier. But if it should be true, as nearly everybody asserts, that in former times the lake bathed the foot of the eminence on which the present village stands, it is possible that the people of old did not occupy that eminence, but used it as a natural rampart against possible encroachments of the lake.<sup>17</sup> It may be, therefore, that the stone floors had the object of securing dryness to ancient houses.

Why the old inhabitants of Tiahuanaco should have selected a site for residence that had the great disadvantage of being moist may be explained through the fact that, by settling on a higher level, agricultural possibilities would have been minimized. The valley narrows, and the climate becomes colder. The haciendas are not farms, but what might be termed "cattle ranches." Hence the original builders of Tiahuanaco descended as far as possible, down to the original limits of the lake.

There they struck a building material unique in its way. It is stated that on the height of Quimsa-chata, some ten or twelve miles to the southeast of Tiahuanaco, is found the andesite which composes a large proportion of the material used in the monuments of Tiahuanaco.<sup>18</sup> But there are, at the ruins, a number of blocks of portentous size, that are untouched; there are also a certain number touched by cutting. Either there has been a systematic importation of stone, on a scale equalling transportation of building material in modern times, and with means unknown, or else the material existed there already. The latter is the opinion of two persons, one of whom I have the honor of knowing intimately, whereas the other I merely know through his works. The former is my friend, Mr. Alexander L. Dun, and the latter, Mr. Sundt, a lithologist of distinction. The

sedentary American aborigine needs, for existence, comparatively little. He requires land of sufficient fertility to yield modest crops. He requires water, building material, and security from enemies. The chase and fishing need not be mentioned, for, with the lake nearby and the supply of meat afforded by the vicuña, and the llama as a domestic animal, these conditions were readily filled. At Tiahuanaco, the soil is fertile enough and the climate not too cold for raising indigenous staples: potatoes, quina, and oca. Maize cannot grow there, and flourishes at only a few places on the puna. But with the vegetables enumerated and with whatever meat indigenous animals gave, the Indian lived, even exceptionally well. Water there is in abundance and the lake afforded fishing. The building material could, of course, not be wood. But the erratic blocks spread over the locality and the slopes encasing the valley, induced the Indian to use them for erecting permanent shelters. In those altitudes, the first requisite was that man should be protected from cold. The tribe that settled at Tiahuanaco (for causes unknown) had only two materials at their disposal: adobe and stone. Of their use of adobe we have no evidence.

Since stone was used by preference at Tiahuanaco it must have been comparatively abundant. The supposition that it was shipped to the place from points on the lake, by a people who have not left any trace at those points, is very ingenious. But we have, nearer at hand, the fact that an abundance of erratic blocks are scattered over the site of the ruins and over the slopes encasing the valley, and that, furthermore, many of the blocks are carved out of the rock *in situ*. Hence the material was on the spot. To cut it and carve it was the only question.

Copper tools occur in relative abundance and to a lesser degree, implements of the accidental bronze found promiscuously through South American ruins. Either of these materials is hard enough to cut the stone used at Tiahuanaco. The smelting of copper was, as our finds

in other parts of the country prove, known among the Quichuas. There is one peculiarity in the Tiahuanaco ruins. The huge stones have, in many instances, been fastened together by copper clamps, T, or rather I shaped, and these clamps are cast! This shows not merely that the art of casting in rude moulds was known to the people, but it also denotes considerable ingenuity in architectural contrivances. To use metallic fastenings in stone work is rather exceptional among primitive people. Still, if the workmanship on the carved blocks is carefully examined it will be seen that the adjustment was approximate. In order to fasten together horizontal slabs, contact was not sufficient. The wall on the outside of Akkapana needed no clamps; mere superposition held it, but the horizontal fragments of enormous size at Puma-puncu had to be tied by something more ductile than stone, and less bulky. Hence copper (or bronze) were resorted to.<sup>19</sup> There are also holes drilled to a certain depth into many blocks; Mr. Squier has suggested that they were made to insert bars of copper destined to hold together vertical pieces. No such bars have been found as yet.<sup>20</sup>

In regard to the implements with which the erratic blocks as well as the rock *in situ* at Tiahuanaco were cut and carved, the finds of artefacts only reveal the existence of copper and bronze tools. We saw no stone hammers, but, as no excavations were permitted, we are not prepared to formulate any opinion. There must have been tools for breaking as well as for cutting, and it is more likely that the former were of stone than of the few sites, in Bolivia, where obsidian flakes and chips occur, but whatever artefacts we gathered or saw of that mineral were only arrowheads or occasional awls. Nothing larger came to our notice. The implements used for the elaborate sculptures and for cutting faces and angles of building stones, may therefore not have been of obsidian. That for the transport of large blocks, wooden rollers and levers were used, is presumable. We saw just as large blocks as any of those at Tiahuanaco,

scattered over the valley at the foot of the hill of Sillustani near Puna. These blocks, it was clearly seen, had been moved by means of ropes and levers. Whether the people of Tiahuanaco used ropes is not known, but we found and sent to the museum, from other parts of Bolivia, specimens of quite thick, though much decayed, roping.

I am informed by Mr. Alexander L. Dun that at a place called Huan-kollu, not far from Tiahuanaco, huge blocks of andesite are found and that there are traces of these blocks having been transported down hill by means of levers of wood.<sup>21</sup>

The occurrence of artefacts of obsidian is not limited to Tiahuanaco. A zone of obsidian finds extends from there as far north as the village of Pucarani, some eight leagues from La Paz and about four leagues from the port of Chililaya. The ancient name of the height overlooking that village was, according to Calancha, Quesca-Marca, signifying in Aymará: "village or place of flint," and thus called from the abundance of flint and obsidian fragments (including arrow heads) found there. Dr. Uhle collected quite a large number of arrow-heads on that site. In the first days of 1897 we went to the Hacienda of Santa Ana, distant four leagues from Pucarani, where the original settlement and stronghold of Pucarani probably stood.<sup>22</sup> It was our purpose to investigate that site first, then proceed to Pucarani and afterwards, following the traces of obsidian, reach Tiahuanaco, in order to find out where obsidian exists *in situ*. The Indians drove us away. All we noticed was that the slopes of the two heights overlooking the Hacienda, while abundantly covered with broken remains of stone implements, showed no trace of obsidian. Hence it would seem that the site of, or some site near, Pucarani is the northern terminus of the obsidian region. At Tiahuanaco proper we found no signs of natural occurrence of either obsidian or flint.

The Indians of the region called Pacajes (now a Province of the Department of La Paz) where Tiahuan-

aco is located, were probably the only ones in central and northern Bolivia who used the bow and the flint (or obsidian) tipped arrow.<sup>23</sup> It is perhaps a question whether the occurrence of the material naturally led to the manufacture of the implements and their use, or whether the art of chipping was imported. Strange it appears that neither arrow-shafts nor bows have been found as yet. The tall reed (*totora*) growing in Lake Titicaca, may have furnished the material for shafts and light spears, also for throwing-sticks. None of the latter have, to my knowledge, ever been found, which is not conclusive proof that they did not exist. The nearest timber on the east can be reached, from Puca-rani, in about two days, by steady walking. <sup>24</sup>Whether the builders of Tiahuanaco themselves chipped arrow-heads is uncertain, as these artefacts have almost invariably been picked up on the surface.

Flint implements are abundantly found on the northern coast of Chile.<sup>25</sup> We sent, from the vicinity of Arica, quite a number of flint-arrowheads and some flint-knives, dug up with well preserved skeletons. Cieza has preserved a tradition, according to which a tribe or band of Chilean Indians, in times of remotest antiquity, crossed the passes of the coast-range to the shores of Lake Titicaca.<sup>26</sup>

Carved monoliths exist elsewhere in the vicinity of the lake. They are not the heirloom of a particular tribe or people, but the natural outcome of a certain degree of culture, brought in contact with the proper material.

The monoliths at Kalaki and other points on the peninsula of Huata are very nearly as tall as those of Tiahuanaco. Their style is ruder, but not so angular. Those of Chavin de Huantar in central eastern Peru resemble, through their ornamentation, the Tiahuanaco art more closely; they seem like an intermediate between it and the sculptures of Copan and Palenque.<sup>27</sup> This is said with the very positive reserve that I do not intimate any relationship between peoples so very

remote from each other as the inhabitants of Chiapas and Honduras, Peru and Bolivia.

Of the interpretations of the carvings of Tiahuanaco, especially of those on the great doorway, I only wish to say that since we know nothing of their makers, I hold it absolutely idle to speculate on supposed symbols. We have no means of surmising even, whether those sculptures were intended to be symbolical. They may be reproductions of living beings, conventionalized, or imperfect. At the Museum of La Paz (one of the most interesting and attractive collections, although a heterogeneous agglomeration) there are a few specimens of stone-sculptures of animals purporting to have come from Tiahuanaco and which are not absolutely without resemblance to nature. Ancient Tiahuanaco pottery has heads of condors and of pumas or tigers vigorously executed and supposed to have been made by the people who carved the monoliths, but positive evidence we have not.<sup>28</sup>

Leaning against the outer walls of the church of Tiahuanaco, are two large statues, representing each, a sitting or squatting human form. They are so disfigured that it is impossible to appreciate their original degree of perfection. It is my impression that they are simply representations of people in their ancient costume. That costume, as well as the garments on the tall monolith at the foot of Akka-pana, appears like that described as worn by the Aymarás at the time of the conquest.<sup>29</sup>

One of the chief wonders of Tiahuanaco has always been the cutting and joining of the stone-work. But no attention has been paid to its imperfections. The edges and planes, the angles and faces, do not bear the test of the level and of the square. It is rule of thumb, patiently carried out, Indian fashion, and regardless of time. We have tested many specimens and found nowhere the perfection so loudly praised.<sup>30</sup> In that respect, the ruins of Tiahuanaco recall to a certain extent the ruins of Mitla, with their tall, round pillars, their

enormous lintels, and the walls plated with carefully rubbed flags neatly joined by superposition, but devoid of symmetry. The stone work of Tiahuanaco is by no means superior to that of Sillustani and Cuzco.

The nomenclature applied to the different parts of the ruins is absolutely valueless. Names like: "the fortress," "court or seat of Justice," "temple," etc., etc., have no meaning unless supported by original tradition. With Tiahuanaco we lack completely that support. The rows of stones, the great pillars, indicate enclosures, inferior in size to the enormous ones on the Peruvian coast. We miss, at Tiahuanaco, the rudiments of every reasonable basis even for conjecture. Tradition, as far as known, gives no clue to the purpose of edifices, the sad wreck of which we contemplate. That this wreck dates chiefly from times anterior to the Spanish conquest is a well-known fact.<sup>31</sup>

The traditions concerning these ruins only tends to indicate that they may be quite ancient for that part of South America. They are chiefly connected with myths of the creation of the human race, and in their present form include Christian, hence intrusive, elements.<sup>32</sup> These tales, it may be, gave rise to the name "taypi-kala" (stone of the middle or center) which was known in the seventeenth century as the Aymará name for the place. Tiahuanaco is a riddle which we must not despair of solving, but which at present defies the ingenuity of speculation.

We tried very hard to secure some ancient folklore from the Tiahuanaco Indians, but with very little result. Our ignorance of the Aymará language may be one of the reasons for that failure, but we know that many who are conversant with that idiom failed also. We secured some talk from an old man, but he was most unreliable. He told us that the large stones out of which the monoliths are made were originally lying on the slopes north of Tiahuanaco, and that the "Gentiles" kicked them down into the valley, without the aid of mechanical appliances. Once at the bottom, the "Gen-

"tiles" lifted them up by mere bodily strength, bruising their hands and bodies so that the blood used to stream down. These "Gentiles" were, according to him, precursors of the people who lived in the "Chullpas" or ruins scattered so profusely over the puna. The age when the "Gentiles" flourished was the age of God-Father and the "Gentiles" were destroyed by a flood, which destruction our informant called "Juicio-uma" or judgment of water or by water. Thereupon came the second age, that of the Chullpas: these people, when the sun appeared for the first time, stood on their heads, and for that reason their houses fell in and crushed them, and this is why the bodies in the "Chullpas" are all in a squatting posture. Informant also said that at the time of the "Gentiles" there was but one "Inca," but that when the Chullpas lived, there were a great number. The present age will end with the judgment of fire "Juicio-nina" and then will come the age of the Holy Ghost about which nothing is known. The Christian element in these stories is manifest. But the statement that the "Gentiles" and the "Chullpas" (who are the ancient Aymarás) were not contemporaneous, (if authentic) would indicate that the ancient people of Tiahuanaco were anterior to the "Chullpas" or that at least they were of a different stock. Some fragments of traditions which we secured from settlers do not even deserve to be mentioned.

I must yet mention a feature which we noticed at the village. We obtained several skulls. Some among them show the artificial deformity peculiar to older Aymará crania, namely: flattening of the forehead. This custom, limited to males, was in general use at the time of the conquest and it required severe edicts from the Viceroy, especially from Don Francisco de Toledo in the years between 1570 and 1575, to abolish it.<sup>33</sup> Hence artificial flattening was practiced by the Indians of Bolivia until the close of the sixteenth century, if not later. Now the village of Tiahuanaco rests, as we have seen ourselves, on a thin layer of ashes, human and

animal bones; also skulls! This layer is at a depth of from two to three feet beneath the surface, its thickness varying from a few inches to a foot and more, and the crania are deposited in it promiscuously. We could not hear of any artefacts having been met with, but this is no proof of their non-existence. Whether the skulls found in that layer are of the oldest inhabitants or not we could not determine.

The present Indians of Tiahuanaco and those whom the Spaniards found on the site are and were Aymarás. They spoke, and speak, what Bertonio has called the Pacajes dialect.<sup>34</sup> Some contend that it is the purest Aymará, but it might be very difficult to prove it, since we do not know where the original center of that stock must be looked for. In personal appearance they differ not from the Indians of the Puna, and their dress is the same. The men are usually of strong build, rather good sized, the women less prepossessing. In mode of living and degree of uncleanliness they are like the others, they are as unfriendly towards the whites, as hostile to progress as any others of the stock. Their respect for relics of the past is slight, but whenever a foreigner attempts to touch these, they oppose it while still eager to sell what they can gather of antiquities themselves, and not at all backwards in defacing or even destroying monuments. The same old man who told us the would-be folktales related, is engaged since many years in manufacturing troughs, mortars, and other articles out of the carved blocks strewn over the ruins. Many a sculptured stone has been cut up by him and the fragments turned into articles of husbandry, and none of the Indians take umbrage at it.<sup>35</sup> The Aymará harbor a superstition that the bones of the dead may penetrate their bodies whenever disturbed, and thus produce diseases and even death. But withal they do not hesitate to trample on these bones or to kick about and crush the skulls.

It was at Tiahuanaco that we obtained our first insight into the social organization and some of the

superstitions of the Aymarás. What follows, applies exclusively to that place and its surroundings.

I knew, a long time ago, that the Indians of Bolivia and Peru were divided into gentes or clans the name for which was "Ayllu," a word in use in the Aymará language as well as in the Quichua.<sup>36</sup> Originally, descent was in the female line.<sup>37</sup> When we inquired for the Ayllus of Tiahuanaco, the reply came that there were only two, Arasaya and Masaya. These two groups are geographically divided at the village. Masaya occupies the buildings south, Arasaya those north, of the central square, the dividing line going, ideally, through the center of the "Plaza" from east to west. This geographical division is (at Tiahuanaco) even indicated at church. We saw, when at mass, the principals of the two clusters, each with his staff of office, enter in procession: Masaya walking on the right or south, Arasaya on the left or north, and take their places in the same order on each side of the altar. After the ceremony they jointly escorted the priest to his home. But we were told also, that there were other Ayllus (and as many as ten) within the parish. This caused me to inquire for the church-books. The priest of Tiahuanaco, Reverend Father José María Escobari (now deceased) most kindly placed them at my disposal and I soon found out, what I already had suspected, that the two main clusters just named were not kins or clans, but *groups* of such, perhaps phratries. This is a very ancient arrangement and existed, among other places, at aboriginal Cuzco, where the river divided the inhabitants into two clusters, Hurin-suyu and Hanan-suyu, whereas there is every probability that the tribe was composed of at least thirteen clans, or Ayllus, localized; a certain number of them belonging, through their location, to one and the remainder to the other principal subdivision.

Although there are fragments of church-registers as far back as 1674, the contents of the books become of value only in 1694. Under date of January eighth of

that year, I found the entry: that the natives whose marriages (it was a marriage register) are consigned in the book, "will be found placed in their two groups (parcialidades) Hananzaia and Hurinzaia,"<sup>38</sup> hence the present division is an ancient one under a change of name. This is further proven by the appearance, in the same book, of Masaya and Arasaya, in 1710, in place of the former terms.<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, in the list of the Ayllus of Tiahuanaco, which I extracted from 1694 to 1728, after which year the clan is no longer mentioned, there is one Ayllu expressly assigned to Arazaia and three to Masaya. The total number of Ayllus mentioned as having belonged to Tiahuanaco is, up to 1728,<sup>40</sup> thirteen. Among these, several bear the names of well-known localities in Bolivia.

It results from this book, that intermarriage in the clan or Ayllu was already customary about two centuries after the conquest, that exogamous marriage was also frequent, and that marriages between members of distant villages took place. Not only that, but parties of distinct linguistical stocks intermarried also. Thus we find Quichuas wedded to Aymarás, Aymarás to Uros. Not less than forty-seven different villages, at least fifteen of which are Peruvian, are represented by parties who contracted matrimony at Tiahuanaco, either with members of some clan of that village or of another one.

The names of the clans are found repeated in different villages. The kin called Inca appears at Copacavana, at La Paz (Bolivia) at Juli, Caquiauri and Azángaro, in Pérù, Collana, simultaneously at La Paz in Bolivia, at Pucará and Puno, even at Paucar-colla, in Peru. The clans were then already scattering, as with Spanish rule there was greater liberty and security for the Indian to move hither and thither. In connection with this belongs a statement made to us at Tiahuanaco that, while the members of an Ayllu do not longer reside together, they still claim affiliation and, when travelling, they try as much as possible to quarter themselves

with members of their own clan. We subsequently observed this custom elsewhere in Bolivia.

The registers of baptisms were not obtainable. What we could ascertain in regard to the government of the clans is meagre and was not always corroborated at other places. I give here what relates strictly to Tiahuanaco. Each Allyu is autonomous. It elects annually its officers. We were assured, as on the Island of Titicaca, that the Alcalde was the chief officer and the Ilacata only second in rank. This seems to be the reverse in other sections. The Alcalde was described to us as an executive functionary, as the executor of justice and leader in case of warfare. The Ilacata, on the other hand, was mentioned as an administrative officer only. What the relations between the two clusters of Masaya and Arasaya and the Ayllus were, we could not find out at Tiahuanaco, as they were constantly confounded in the statements of our informants. We never succeeded in having the latter discriminate between the two kinds of groups, only it seemed to us that the former played a directive part in everything relating to church matters and, also, to public dances.

We witnessed the great dance on the feast of September 13th and 14th to which Mr. Squier has given a name of his own.<sup>41</sup> We saw then, for the first time, the head-dresses of ostrich-feathers (Suri) worn by the group of dancers called Sicuri,<sup>42</sup> we saw again the tiger-skins, called Kena-Kena or Kenacho<sup>43</sup> and other costumes, partly ancient and partly modern, of the signification of which we could not obtain any explanation. But we saw that, while these groups were represented on both sides of the square, north and south, there still was a division carefully kept up, Masaya remaining on the south, and Arasaya on the north, neither side trespassing on the others grounds. This seemed to indicate that, while the dancing clusters are indiscriminately composed of members of all the clans more or less, they observed a division into two main groups.

The dance was like all those we have seen since, namely, a disorderly crowd of more or less drunken people, the music consisted of panflutes of various sizes (frequently mentioned by older authors) of the well-known flat drums and of fifes, and while the dancers and many of the public sang in Aymará, the din was so fearful as to make it impossible to gather either sense or signification. Neither could we secure any information from outsiders. It was all one drunken orgie that lasted day and night for about five times twenty-four hours. On the fourth day the whole crowd resorted to the top of Akkapana, where they played after the fashion of children, buying fruit of each other, building toy-houses, and, above all, drinking hard. On the fifth day the Indians began to disperse and go back to their homes, but the village authorities kept up the noise by dancing in the plaza like Indians. The uproar created by such an Indian festival is such that nothing can be gathered concerning the signification of the performance; drunkenness is so general that hardly a sensible reply may be elicited on any topic. The curate retired to the innermost apartment of his dwelling in order to escape the ovations of his parish-children. He declared himself utterly disgusted at such indigenous performances, but powerless to repress them.

The particular feast was that of the "Exaltation of the Holy Cross." The Indians observe it, in a similar manner, over most of Bolivia. It is in honor of the day that they dance and sing and carouse. But the form of enjoyment antedates Spanish occupation. In order to correct gradually the customs of the aborigines and lead them into better channels, the church permitted modified ancient dances on its feast-days.<sup>44</sup> In this manner, it hoped to draw the Indians away from their primitive idolatrous practices. In course of time, the Indian share of celebration got the upper hand again. With the degeneracy of the clergy (an inevitable consequence of isolation and intermixture with Indian blood) these festivities retroceded to almost what they were

before Spanish colonization. It will be a very difficult task to modify or eradicate them. The great incentive is strong drink, to which they have been accustomed for untold centuries and which seems to be their only delight. Before the conquest, a fermented beverage, a highly intoxicating chicha, was consumed in excess on festive occasions,<sup>45</sup> and the fundamental idea in drinking is that of ceremonial offering.

Hence these dances present two sides. The church festival is a pretext. The dance itself is an ancient rite, and would be of great ethnological and even historical value, could the song be interpreted, and the decorative part of the performance, the costumes, explained. To this the character of the Aymará Indian is a serious obstacle. He will not speak.<sup>46</sup> What we could gather at Tiahuanaco is this. There exist, among the Indians, two kinds of organization, both of which have become modified through contact with civilization. One is the original social arrangement, represented by the Allyu or gens. The other is ancient also, not controlled by the clan, and represented by the two clusters of Masaya and Arasaya. They have yielded in a measure to rules and precepts of the church, but display their primitive character in the dances. Their true signification is still occult, and it may be that most of the performers no longer are aware of it.

We were informed at Tiahuanaco, that each group of dancers had its instructor "Irpa."<sup>47</sup> It was also stated that these Irpa were chosen for life. That rehearsals took place before the festival, we distinctly noticed, but could not penetrate to the places where the rehearsals were going on. It seemed to us also, from certain stealthy goings and comings among the Indians, that ceremonies of a religious nature accompanied these rehearsals, as among the Indians of the north.

The rites of Christian religion are looked upon by the Indians as an imported magic, beneficial for certain ends and aims, indifferent and even detrimental to others. Their ancient beliefs and practices are resorted

to exclusively in other cases, therefore there are a number of sorcerers at Tiahuanaco, the titles of which we learned, subsequently. Every disease is attributed to supernatural causes. Thus a particular sickness will be explained by assuming that some bone of the dead "chullpa" (or Indian who died during the time of paganism) penetrated the body. They believe in various sorts of illwinds. There is a "Pachaayre," or wind of God,<sup>48</sup> which causes disease. The "Santoayre," or bad wind, of the Saints has its noxious effects. There are few pictures of Saints in their houses. The Cutu-Cutu, or morning fog, is dreaded as due to evil spirits, the Anchancho plays a conspicuous part. As they hold certain rocks or large stones to be dangerous and attribute to them the power of swallowing children and even grown people, they are careful to sacrifice coca and alcohol (formerly it was chicha) to those fetiches. Such anthropophagous stones are already mentioned in the earliest traditions from Cuzo.<sup>49</sup> Father Escobari caused a black stone, of which the Indians were particularly afraid, to be removed. It cost him a deal of labor to induce the Indians to do it, and afterwards they sacrificed coca and liquor saying: "that it was done to appease Anchancho." Other demons are called Lari-Lari<sup>50</sup> and "Hinchu-Kañu."<sup>51</sup> They believe that the rainbow ("Curmi") is a spiritual being and an evil one, and do not allow their children to gaze at it, lest it produce an "ill wind." Innumerable, almost, are the animals of ill omen. The howling of dogs at night is ominous. The unfortunate owl, large as well as small, keeps up its bad reputation; so does the skunk. A little bird called Tiolas is charged, when flying past anybody, with taking away "the fat of the heart" and thus to cause that organ to shrink. Rain-making is a common practice. For that purpose the Indians of the valley (including those of Huaqui on the lake) go to the summit of a hill south of Tiahuanaco and offer coca, liquor and other objects which were not mentioned to us. Already, here we noticed the important part played by

coca in their religious rites. When a hailstorm approaches, the Indians run out and blow into large cow-horns, shouting at the same time: "pass on, pass on." These are customs from pre-Spanish times which the "extirpation of idolatry" (systematically instituted between 1607 and 1615) could not eradicate.<sup>52</sup> But there are practices with which the Christian element is mixed. Thus, they believe that children who die without baptism return into the body of the mother, causing it to swell. Against this supposed evil they employ the hostia and also use it as a remedy in other cases. We were told that the Indians invariably bury, with the body, food, drink in a clay vessel, and a broom to enable the soul to sweep its way to heaven, as it takes several days to get there. While the idea of assisting the soul with aliments to stand the journey, and the idea of that journey itself, are manifestly ancient,<sup>53</sup> the conception of heaven is a Christian importation. A most interesting example of mixture of Christian and pagan notions, are their practices when lightning strikes a house. "Santiago" (Saint James) has become to them a sort of patron or god of lightning. The origin of this belief may be looked for in the war-cry of the Spaniards, "Santiago," and the first impression caused by the use of firearms. Musketry and cannon appeared to the Indians as lightning and thunder, hence they assigned to the saint, to whom the Spaniards used to appeal loudly in battle, the office of master of electric discharges.<sup>54</sup> When, therefore, lightning strikes a house they believe that Santiago has stumbled or has made some mistake. The dwelling is forthwith abandoned by its inmates, doors and windows (if any) are draped in mourning. On the day following, twelve boys, personifying the twelve apostles, are given a meal in the house. After the meal, these boys are to go home without looking back and if any one of them should happen to do it, he will soon be struck by lightning himself. After they are gone, the owner of the house comes accompanied by his wife and a sorcerer. Inside of the dwelling that sorcerer joins

the hands of the pair, covers their heads with a black blanket (poncho) and offers a prayer to Pachacamac in behalf of the home. To this prayer the sorcerer himself answers in a changed tone of voice, explaining the lightning-stroke as a mistake, and promising that it shall never occur again. Tiahuanaco is a place where thunderbolts are rather frequent. Hardly a rainy season passes without some fatal accident caused by lightning, either at the village or in its vicinity.

The relations of the people (Indians) of Tiahuanaco to their neighbors in the north are by no means friendly. We were told that an ancient feud existed between the Indians of Omasuyos (the province to which Aygachi and other villages north of Tiahuanaco belong) and Pacajes within the boundaries of which Tiahuanaco is situated. Hostilities between neighboring clusters are so frequent in Bolivia, that I would not attempt to assign to them any historical importance.

We were also informed that when a new house is built, the members of the *Ayllu* to which the builder belongs assist him gratuitously, only he has to provide them with food and especially with an abundance of chicha or liquor.<sup>55</sup>

Tiahuanaco was the first place where we came in close contact with the Aymará Indians. We were not prepared, and could not be, for successful intercourse with these people. Our inquiries were not even understood by the better classes, nor even by the ecclesiastic authority, however much the priest endeavored to assist us in the most friendly manner. Our questionings about clanship, consanguinity and affinity, were entirely new, as nobody had heretofore attempted to secure information on points that even in scientific circles are not always sufficiently appreciated. With the Indians directly we could not converse. Hence the information given here is merely a picture of our earliest efforts in Bolivia. At Tiahuanaco we had to grope our way in the dark to find the outline of methods for approaching the Indian mind. It was our hope to be able to

return to Tiahuanaco and go over the ground again. This hope has been frustrated.

After a sojourn of nineteen days we returned to the city of La Paz with plans of the ruins, and some collections. Our experience in campaign work in Bolivia had begun, we knew at least some of its numerous difficulties.

#### NOTES.

<sup>1</sup> *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco im Hochlande des alten Peru.* A. Stuebel and Max Uhle, (Breslau, 1892, folio) a splendidly illustrated and equipped work.

<sup>2</sup> *Peru, Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas.* (1877. Chapters XV and XVI.)

<sup>3</sup> The altitude is about 15,000 feet.

<sup>4</sup> The antiquity of these wooden goblets or cups is often doubtful; it is certain, however, that some were used in pre-columbian times. Generally, the KEROS were of clay, more or less decorated, in color, in relief, or both.

<sup>5</sup> "Quimsa" is three, in Aymará as well as in Quichua. "Chata" I cannot determine in Aymará, and the few Quichua words that resemble it afford slender basis for etymology.

<sup>6</sup> The distance is only a few miles.

<sup>7</sup> My friend, the distinguished French geologist and paleontologist, A. Dereims, in his preliminary report on the geological exploration of Bolivia: *Informe (in Boletin de la Oficina nacional de Immigracion, Estadística y Propaganda Geográfica, Vol. III, La Paz 1903, page 327)* says that I hinted at the possibility of their having been brought from the shores of Titicaca at Tiquina. This is a misunderstanding, I stated the contrary.

<sup>8</sup> There was a "Puma-Puncu" at Cuzco, and it might be that the name was transferred to Tiahuanaco.

<sup>9</sup> *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Sevilla 1895, Vol. IV, page 65). "El nombre que tuvo este pueblo antes que fuese señorreado de los Incas, era Taypicala, tomado de la lengua Aymará, que es la materna de sus naturales, y quiere decir "la piedra de enmedio"; porque tenian por opinion los indios del Collao, que este pueblo estaba enmedio del Mundo, y que del salieron despues del Diluvio los que lo tornaron á poblar." A contemporary of Cobo, the Jesuit Anello Oliva, in his *Historia del Peru y Varones insignes en Santidad de la Compañía de Jesus*, (1651, but only published at Lima a few years ago) has another name for it,—Chucara. See later on.

<sup>10</sup> Pedro Gutierrez de Santa Clara: *Historia de las Guerras civiles del Peru y de otros sucesos de las Indias* (finished before 1603 but published

at Madrid in 1904-5-6) saw the ruins of Tiahuanaco about the same time as Cieza or perhaps a few years previous; he states: (Vol. III, Cap. LXI, p. 528) "En el pueblo de Tiaguanaco, que es en la prouincia de Atun Collao, estaua hecho vn estanco quadrado, en donde auia a la continua mucha agua, que despues quando yo lo vide estaua ya seco, y allí estaua vna estatua de piedra muy lisa, de altor de vn estado, el qual tenia vna ropa larga hasta los pies, y vn bulto como libro, que tenia en la mano izquierda, y en la derecha vn bordón; tenia mas vnas suelas por çapatos, abrochadas con dos correas por encima del empeyne, y vn medio capirote como de frayle, todo loqual estaua hecho de bulto, de vna piedra muy lisa, que parescia al natural, y deste dizen que hizo en estas prouincias muchas cosas muy buenas." Pedro de Cieza, *Primera Parte de la Crónica del Perú* (in Vedia's: *Historiadores primitivos de Indias*, Vol. II, Cap. CV, p. 446) gives a description of Tiahuanaco in which the mound of Akkapana seems to be referred to. He writes as follows on the subject:—"Tiaguanaco no es pueblo muy grande, pero es notado por los grandes edificios que tiene; que cierto son cosa notable y para ver. Cerca de los aposentos principales está un collado hecho á mano, armado sobre grandes cimientos de piedra." Cieza reports on the condition of the ruins about fifteen years after the arrival of the Spaniards at Cuzco (he saw them about 1549). After him, we have a description by Father Cobo S. J. who visited them more than once, the first time in 1610. (Vol. IV, p. 71). Of Akka-pana (he is the first, as far as I can find, who gives the name, at least in print) he says: *Historia del Nuevo Mundo* (Vol. IV, p. 67)—"A la parte oriental deste edificio, como cuatrocientos pasos, se ven unas ruinas de otro no menos grande y suntuoso; no se puede averiguar si era distinto del primero ó ambos eran uno, y su fábrica se continua por alguna parte, de que ya no queda rastro; á lo menos los indios lo llaman con distinto nombre, que es Acapana."

"Este es un terraplano de cuatro ó cinco estados en alto, que parece collado, fundado sobre grandes cimientos de piedra su forma es cuadrada y tiene á trechos como traveses ó cubos de fortaleza; cincuenta pies al Oriente dél ha quedado en pie una portada grande de solas tres piezas bien labradas, á cada lado la suya, y otra encima de ambas. No ha quedado desta fábrica más obra sobre la tierra que el terraplano y algunas piedras labradas que salen de los cimientos, por donde se muestra su forma y planta. Cerca deste terraplano está otro tambien cuadrado; dividelos una calle de cincuenta pies de ancho, y así parcee ser ambos una misma obra. Las paredes deste último edificio eran admirables, dado que ya está por tierra. De un pedazo de muralla que tolavía se conserva en pie por la buena diligencia y cuidado de un cura que hubo en Tiaguanaco, llamado Pedro de Castillo, que murió de mucha edad el año de mil y seiscientos y viente (hombre curioso y que tenía bien considerada la grandeza y antigüedad de los edificios, por los muchos años que fué cura del dicho pueblo) se puede sacar su labor y traza. Es pues esta muralla de piedras cuadradas sin mezcla y tan ajustadas unas con

otras, como ajustan dos maderos acepillados. Las piedras son de mediana grandeza y puestas á trechos otras muy grandes á modo de rafas; de suerte, que como en nuestros edificios de tapias ó adobes se suelen entremeter rafas de ladrillos de alto á bajo, así esta pared y muralla tiene á trechos, en lugar de rafas, unas piedras á manera de columnas cuadradas de tan excesiva grandeza, que sube cada una del cimiento hasta lo alto y remate de la pared, que es de tres ó cuatro estados, y no se sabe lo que dellas entra en la tierra en que están hincadas. Por los rastros que desta muralla se descubren, se echa de ver que era una gran cerca que, saliendo deste edificio último, corría hacia el Oriente y ocupaba un grande espacio. Aquí se hallan rastros de otra acequia de piedra como la primera, y esta parece venir de la Sierra que está enfrente y distante una legua." Several points in this description deserve particular attention. In the first place Cobo calls the mound a "terraplen" or platform. Next he speaks of another one divided from the first by a "street of fifty feet in width." This is the court north of the mound:—The first or largest Court measures, longitudinally, 424 and 422 feet, transversely (from north to south) 398 by 390. The pillars vary in height between eight and twelve feet and are grooved lengthwise, so that the ends of stones or slabs might have been fitted in. Squier has justly remarked: "they appear to have had a wall of rough stones built up between them, supporting a terre-plein of earth, about eight feet above the general level of the plain." The height indicated by Cobo for the wall which was still standing is greater than that of the pillars as they are now, for three to four "estados" or fathoms would be equal to from eighteen to twenty-four feet. Where Cobo actually measured, he indicates dimensions in Spanish feet of the period. What he says is plain: from pillar to pillar there was a wall well cut of stones fitted without cement, like those lining the lower portions of Akkapana. He states: "From the vestiges that are visible it can be seen it was a great circumvallation that, from this last Edifice, extended to the east and covered a great space." By "last Edifice" Cobo means the rectangle inside of the large court. At his time it was already "tumbled to the ground" and only one fragment remaining, from which the construction of the whole could be deduced. Hence, we may safely conclude it to have been a court, the approximate size of which is 200 by 150 feet. In it stood a building of which hardly a trace is left. The large carved gateway, about the figures on which so much has been written, was one of the entrances to the outer square and is in its original position. The gateway east of Akkapana, mentioned by Cobo, may have been the one now used as entrance to the cemetery and figured on pages 284-5 of Squier's *Peru*. It is certainly not the one figured by Squier, *Peru* (p. 283). The mention, by Cobo, of three parts, whereas all the gateways so far known are monolithic, makes it difficult to decide.

Between the description of Cieza and that of Cobo, in point of date, we have the notice which the priest Diego de Alcobaza gave, in writing, to Garcilasso de la Vega and the latter incorporated in the *Comentarios*

reales (Vol. I, Lib. III, Cap. I, folio 57). "En Tiahuanacu prouincia del Collao entre otras ay vna antiguala digna de inmortal memoria, está pegada á la laguna llamada por los Espafioles Chucuytu, cuyo nōbre proprio es Chuquiuitu, alli están vnos edificios grandissimos, entre las quales está vn patio quadrado de quinze braças á vna parte, y á otra con su cerca de mas de dos estados de alto, á vn lado del patio está vna sala de quaréta y cinco pies de largo, y veinte y cinco de ancho, cubierta á semejāça de las pieças cubiertas de paja, q̄ vuestra merced vió en la casa del Sol en esta ciudad del Cozco; el patio que tengo dicho con sus paredes y suelo, y la sala y su techumbre y cubierta, y las portadas, y vnbrales de dos puertas que la sala tiene, y otra puerta que tiene el patio, todo esto es de una sola pieça hecha, y labrada en vn peñasco, y las paredes del patio, y las de la sala son de tres quartas de vara de ancho, y el techo de la sala, por de fuera, parese de paja, aunque es de piedra, porque como los Yndios cubren sus casas con paja, porque semejassee esta á las otras peynarō la piedra, y la arrayaron para que pareciesse cubierta de paja. La laguna bate en vn lienzo de los del patio, los naturales dizan que aquella casa, y los demas edificios los tenian dedicados al hazedor del vniuerso. Tambien ay por alli cerca otra gran suma de piedras labradas en figuras de hombres, y mugeres, tan al natural que parece que están viuos, beuiédo con los vasos en las manos, otros sentados, otros en pie parados, otros que van pasando vn arroyo, que por entre aquellos edificios passa: otros estatuas están con sus criaturas en las faldas y regaço, otros las lleuan á cuestas, y otros de mil maneras. Dizen los Yndios presentes, que por grandes peccados que hizieron los de aquel tiempo, y porque apedrearon vn hombre que passó por aquella prouincia, fueron conuertidos en aquellas estatuas. Hasta aqui son palabras de Diego de Alcobaña, el qual en muchas prouincias de aquel reyno ha sido vicario, y predicador de los Yndios, que sus perlados lo han mudado de vnas partes á otras porque como mestizo natural del Cozco sabe mejor el lenguage de los Yndios, que otros no naturales de aquella tierra, y haze mas fruto."

Too little attention has been paid to this description. Some have even attempted to discredit it by insinuating that Alcobaza wrote from hearsay, and on the assumption that he was a Jesuit established at Juli, whence he could easily obtain information about Tiahuanaco. Alcobaza was a secular priest, and there is no reason why he should not have seen Tiahuanaco. His description contains some interesting statements. It is not clear where the buildings and courts are to be looked for which he mentions; but still less is it clear in the case of the description by Cieza. The main objection against Alcobaza seems to be that he speaks of the Lake as bathing one side of the buildings or Courts. It would lead to suppose that they stood in the vicinity of Puma-puncu. The seated figures of which Alcobaza speaks are not inventions of his, since the two statues now in front of the church of Tiahuanaco represent squatting Indians. A tall statue with a vase in hand stands to-day in the great court. In regard to the statement of the Lake approaching Tiahuanaco

so near that its waters bathed the ruins, while Cieza mentions the village of Huaqui as in existence at his time; I would observe, that the point on the shore, nearest to Tiahuanaco, is not Huaqui, but the outlet of the Tiahuanaco stream north of it. A former encroachment of Lake Titicaca would, therefore, have extended up the present course of the river, leaving Huaqui on the declivity to the right. The statues said by Alcobaza to represent women carrying babies on their backs may have disappeared, or his fancy misled him, just as, at this day, craving for symbolism leads investigators to see mythology everywhere.

To translate "estados" by "stories" in speaking of the height of a wall is rather strange. "Estado" is a fathom or, more or less, six feet. Hence, when Alcobaza estimates the height of the wall at "two estados" or twelve feet, it indicates that he was a sober observer.

Cobo states that Akka-pana rests on "great foundations of stone." He, as well as Cieza, mistook the wall along the base of the mound for foundations.

"Cobo speaks of courts near Puma-puncu and also of one running to the east from Akka-pana, of which few vestiges remain. But he is silent about the sculptured gate. Cieza, in *Primera Parte*, (p. 446) mentions monolithic gateways in general: "en otro lugar mas hacia el poniente deste edificio están otras mayores antigualas, porque hay muchas portadas grandes con sus quicios, umbrales y portaletes, todo de una sola piedra." He also treats of statues: "Mas adelante de este cerro están dos idolos de piedra del talle y figura humana, muy primeramente hechos y formadas las faiciones; tanto, que paresce que se hicieron por mano de grandes artifices ó maestros; son tan grandes, que parescen pequeños gigantes, y vese que tienen forma de vestimentas largas, diferenciadas de las que vemos á los naturales destas provincias; en las cabezas paresce tener su ornamento. Cerca destas estatuas de piedra está otro edificio, del cual la antigüedad suya y falta de letras es causa para que no se sepa que gentes hicieron tan grandes cimientos y fuerzas, y que tanto tiempo por ello ha pasado, porque de presente no se vé mas que una muralla muy bien obrada y que debe de haber mucho tiempo y edades que se hizo; algunas de las piedras están muy gastadas y consumidas, y en esta parte hay piedras tan grandes y crescidas, que causa admiracion pensar como, siendo de tanta grandeza, bastaron fuerzas humanas á las traer donde las vemos; y muchas destas piedras que digo, están labradas de diferentes maneras, y algunas dellas tienen forma de cuerpos de hombres, que debieron ser sus ídolos; junto á la muralla hay muchos huecos y concavidades debajo de tierra." Cieza mentions, in all, three human figures of large size. Up to this date six *very* tall statues are known, not counting the colossal head at the Museum of La Paz. One is erect, two are squatting, and three are lying on the ground, south of Akka-pana. I do not mention smaller ones at La Paz and at the "Museum" in Tiahuanaco.

<sup>12</sup> Peru, (page 287), Stuebel and Uhle, *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco.* (Plate 39, fig. 29.)

<sup>13</sup> Puma-puncu is possibly the site which Cieza *Primera Parte* (p. 446) describes as follows: "en otro lugar más hacia el poniente deste edificio están otras mayores antiguallas, porque hay muchas portadas grandes con sus quicios, umbrales y portales, todo de una sola piedra. Lo que yo mas noté cuando anduve mirando y escribiendo estas cosas fué, que destas portadas tan grandes salían otras mayores piedras, sobreque estaban formadas, de las cuales tenian algunas treinta pies en ancho, y de largo quince y mas, y de frente seis, y esto y la portada y sus quicios y umbrales era una sola piedra, . . ." In case this applies to Puma-puncu, the statue found there and figured in Stuebel and Uhle (*Ruinenstaette &c* Plate 31, fig. 2) is the one referred to by Cieza. We have from the pen of Cobo, a more precise description. *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (page 66, Vol. IV). "Lo principal de la fábrica se llama Puma-puncu, que es tanto como puerta de león; es un terrapleno ó mogote hecho á mano, de altura de dos estados, fundado sobre grandes y bien labradas piedras, que tienen forma de las losas, que nosotros ponemos sobre las sepulturas. Está el terrapleno puesto en cuadro, con los cuatro lienzos iguales, que cada uno tiene cien pasos de esquina á esquina; rematase en dos andenes de grandes losas, muy parejas u llanas; entre el primero y segundo andén hay un espacio como una grande grada de seis pies de ancho, y eso tiene menos el segundo cuerpo que el primero. La haz ó frente deste edificio es el lienzo que mira al Oriente y á otras grandes ruinas que luego diré. Deste lienzo delantero sale la obra con la misma altura y paredes de piedra, veinticuatro pies de ancho y sesenta de largo, formando á los lados dos ángulos; y este pedazo que sobresale del cuadro parece haber sido alguna gran pieza ó sala puesta en medio de la frente del edificio. Algo mas adentro de aquella parte que está sobresaliente, se vé entero el suelo enlosado de una muy capáz y suntuosa pieza, que debió ser el templó o la parte principal díl. Tiene de largo este enlosado ciento y cincuenta y cuatro pies, y de ancho cuarenta y seis; las losas son todas de extraña grandeza; yo las medí, y tiens la mayor treinta y dos pies de largo, diez y seis de ancho (p. 67) y de grueso ó canto seis; las otras son algo menores, unas de á treinta pies y otras de á menos, pero todas de rara grandeza; están tan lisas y llanas como una tabla bien acepillada, y con muchas labores y molduras por los lados. No hay al presente paredes levantadas sobre este enlosado; pero de las muchas piedras bien labradas que hay caídas al redondel, en que se ven pedazos de puertas y ventanas, se colige haber estado cercado de paredes muy curiosas. Solamente está en pie sobre la losa mayor una parte que mira al Oriente cavada en una gran piedra muy labrada, la cual piedra tiene de alto nueve pies y otros tantos de ancho, y el hueco de la puerta es de siete pies de largo, y el ancho en proporción. Cerca desta puerta está en pie una ventana que mira al Sur, toda de una sola piedra muy labrada."

"Por la frente deste edificio se descubren los cimientos de una cerca de piedra labrada, que, naciendo de las esquinas deste lienzo delantero, ocupa otro tanto espacio cuadrado como tiene el terrapleno y cimiento de toda la fábrica. Dentro desta cerca, como treinta pies de la frontera

del edificio, hacia la esquina del Sur, se ven los cimientos de dos piezas pequeñas cuadradas que se levantan del suelo tres pies, de piedras sillares muy polidas, las cuales tienen talle de ser estanques ó baños ó cimientos de algunas torres ó sepulturas. Por medio del edificio terraplenado, á nivel del suelo de fuera díl, atraviesa un acueducto de caños y tajeadas de piedra de maravillosa labor: es una acequia de poco mas dos palmos de ancho, y otro tanto de alto, de piedras cuadradas, bien labradas y ajustadas, que no les hace falta la mezcla; la piedra de encima tiene un encaje sobre las paredes de la dicha acequia, que sobresale de sus bordos un dedo, y eso entra en el hueco della.”

Both Cieza and Cobo agree in assigning to the Mound of Akka-pana as well as to Puma-puncu, an artificial origin. It is plain they are *natural*.

<sup>14</sup> Compare my: *Final Report of Investigations among the Indians of the southeastern United States*, (Part II, pp. 460 and 465).

<sup>15</sup> This is established by Cobo, *Historia* (Vol. IV, p. 71). “El segundo argumento que yo hallo de su antiguedad aún me hace mas fuerza, y es, la multitud de piedras labradas que hay debajo de la primera; porque es así, que ultra de las que se ven sobre la superficie, así de las que se han caído de los edificios como otras muy grandes que están apartadas dellos, pone admiración ver las que se sacan de debajo de la tierra y el modo como se hallan; porque estando como está el suelo de todo aquel campo, llano, parejo y cubierto de yerba, sin señal alguna de barrancas ni derrumbaderos, en cualquiera parte que caven la tierra por mas de media legua en torno de las ruinas sobredichas, á uno y dos estados de hondo se halla el suelo lleno destas piedras labradas, y entre ellas muy grandes y hermosas losas, que parece estar enterrada aqui alguna gran ciudad.”

<sup>16</sup> Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 67). “Por medio del edificio terraplenado, á nivel del suelo de fuera del, atraviesa un acueducto de caños y tajeadas de piedra de maravillosa labor: es una acequia de poco más de dos palmos de ancho y otro tanto de alto, de piedras cuadradas bien labradas y ajustadas, que no les hace falta la mezcla; la piedra de encima tiene un encaje sobre las paredes de la dicha acequia, que sobresale de sus bordos un dedo, y eso entra en el hueco della.” (p. 69.) “Aqui se hallan rastros de otra acequia de piedra como la primera, y ésta parece venir de la Sierra que está enfrente y distante una laguna.” The former was connected with Puma-puncu, the other with the great court north of Akka-pana.

<sup>17</sup> Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 71 and 72) mentions carved or cut stones found in the courts of houses of the village. It is singular that both he and Cieza allude to the ruins of edifices built by the Inca. They were still standing in 1610. Cobo: (p. 72). “La causa principal de tener los indios la veneración que tenian á este adoratorio, dabió ser su grande antigüedad. Adorábanlo los naturales desde tiempo inmemorial antes que fuesen conquistados de los Reyes del Cuzco, y lo mismo hicieron los dichos Reyes despues que fuéreron Señores desta provincia, que tuvieron por templo célebre el sobredicho edificio de Puma-puncu, y lo ilustraron y enriquecieron, acrecentando su ornato y el número de ministros y sacrificios; y edificaron junto á él palacios Reales en que dicen nació

Manco-capac, hijo de Guayna-capac, cuyas ruinas se ven hoy; y era edificio muy grande y de muchas piezas y apartamientos." These "Inca" buildings are also alluded to by Cieza. *Primera Parte* (p. 447). "Apartados destos edificios están los aposentos de los ingas y la casa donde nació Mango inga, hijo de Gaynacapa, y están junto á ellos dos sepulturas de los señores naturales deste pueblo, tan altas como torres anchas y esquinadas, las puertas al nascimiento del sol."

There are no traces left of these structures, on the surface at least. The architecture of the Inca is well known and resembles that of Tiahuanaco in many respects so much that there is a statement that the Inca imitated Tiahuanaco in their buildings at Cuzco. Cieza (p. 446). "porque yo hé oido afirmar á indios que los ingas hicieron los edificios grandes del Cuzco por la forma que viéron tener la muralla ó pared que se vé en este pueblo; y aun dicen más, que los primeros ingas platicaron de hacer su corte y asiento della en este Tiaguanaco."

<sup>18</sup> A. Dereims, *Informe* (p. 324). Cobo, *Historia* (IV, p. 69) mentions already the different kinds of stones used: "Son todas estas piedras de dos ó tres especies, unas amoladoras, rojas y blandas de labrar, y otras pardas ó cenicientas y muy duras." The description is very good for the period. He did not, however, notice that the red sand-rock is cropping out on the site of the ruins, still less that the andesite forms the height of Quimsa-chata.

<sup>19</sup> The I-shaped clamps are mentioned by Squier, from whose practiced eye they certainly could not escape. *Peru*, (p. 281). "Nearly all the blocks of stone scattered over the plain show the cuts made to receive what is called the I-clamp, and the round holes to receive the metal pins that were to retain the blocks in their places, vertically." It is not without interest to note how the grooves destined to receive the clamps were begun.

<sup>20</sup> Squier, *Ut supra*.

<sup>21</sup> "Huanca," in Aymará, is a large stone. Bertonio, *Vocabulario* (parte II, 146). "Huancacatatha" signifies to throw down blocks of stone one after another in succession. "Kollu," as well known, is a height.

<sup>22</sup> Fray Antonio de la Calancha, *Corónica moralizada* (Vol. I, Lib. IV, Cap. XIII, p. 865). "El lugar y asiento que oy se llama Pucarani donde está la Imágen de la soberana Reyna de los Angeles se llamó en su Antigüedad, i en los tiempos de sus Reyes Ingas Quescamarca, que quiere decir; asiento i lugar de pedernales, porque son muchos les que allí se crian,

No se apoyearon los Indios del fuego de los pedernales, porque no supieron de eslabón ni yesca; sacavan con dos palillos lunbre de ciertos árboles, cosa q oy vsan, pero aprovechávanse de los pedernales para sus flechas, poniélos en los remates, puntas i cabos, i eran tan agudos como navajas, i tan fuertes como azero, azian grandes daños en sus contrarios, i assi eran muy temidos, sâgraván con ellos adelgaçando tan afiladas lancetas, que con destreza azian aseguradas sangrias, no como vsan los Españoles, sino al modo de las vallestillas con que sangran los albeytares."

"Quatro leguas deste assiento de Quescamarca está la fortaleza en que se anparavan sus abitadores quando los Indios Pacaxes los affigian, eran mas el número, aunque no mayores en el ánimo. Llamavase esta fortaleza Pucarani; vivian familias de Indios por aquello; campos, sin pueblos ni reducciones, asta que los Castellanos fundaron de familias segregadas este pueblo, i por gusto de los Indios le llamaron Pucarani á devocion de su fortaleza, no queriendo se le quedase el nombre de Quescamarca primitivo nombre de su asiento." Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (Part I, folio 567) has: "Piedra aguda para tresquilar el ganado:—Chillisaa, Quesca." On fol. 365, Chillisaa Cala is called: black flint (obsidian) used for shearing.—Marca is settlement.

The probable identity of the heights and ruins at Santa Ana with the ancient Pucarana will be shown in another place.

<sup>23</sup> Besides Calancha, as above quoted, there is an older and positive statement, that the Pacajes Indians (Aymará) used bows and arrows in war. In the invaluable publication of Spanish documents from the sixteenth century (mostly), due to the late Don Marcos Jiménez de la Espada under the auspices of the Department of Fomento and entitled: *Relaciones geográficas de Indias* (Vol. II) there is an official report on pacajes from the year 1586 probably (p. 64). The writer states (p. 59): "Peleaban á pie con unas macanas á manera de hachas darmas, con algunas lanzas á manera de las nuestras, con arcos y flechas, con hondas y algunas rodelas traídas de las Yungas."

<sup>24</sup> *Relacion de la Provincia de los Pacajes*, (*supra*, also p. 62). "Las casas de los Caciques y tambos usaron largas y cuadradas, y la madera traian de los Yungas." If they could carry timbers from the depths of the Yungas valleys that lie nearly ten thousand feet lower than the Puna, they certainly might take along the wood for bows, also.

<sup>25</sup> Compare, Alonso de Ercilla y Zuñiga, *La Araucana*. (Edition of 1733. Parte primera, Canto Primero, fol. I, page 2.)

"Las Armas de ellos mas exercitadas,"  
 Son Picas, Alabardas, i Lançones,  
 Con otras puntas largas enhastadas,  
 De la faicion, i forma de punçones;  
 Hachas, Martillos, Mañas barreadas,  
 Dardos, Sargentas, flechas, i bastones.  
 Laços de fuertes mimbre, i Bejucos.  
 Tiros arrojadícos, i Trabucos."

*Relacion hecha por Pedro de Valdivia al Emperador, dandole cuenta de lo sucedido en el descubrimiento, conquista y poblacion de Chile y en su viaje al Peru.* October 15th 1550. (In *Documentos ineditos del Archivo de Indias*, Volume 4, pp. 51 and 53.) "Hiriéronme sesenta caballos y otros tantos cristianos, de flechazos é botes de lanza. . ."—"con mucha flecheria y lanzas á 20 é á 25 palmos." The fact of the use of bows and arrows by the ancient Chilians is therefore well established.

<sup>26</sup> *Segunda Parte de la Cronica del Peru*, (Madrid 1880, Cap. IV, p. 4). "Tambien cuentan lo que yo tengo escripto en la primera parte, que

en la isla de Titicaca, en los siglos pasados hobo unas gentes barbadas, blancas como nosotros, y que saliendo del valle de Coquimbo un capitán que habia por nombre Cari, allegó á donde agora es Chucuito, de donde, despues de haber hecho algunas nuevas poblaciones, pasó con su gente á la isla." But the story rests on very slender basis.

<sup>27</sup> Compare the Chavin slab with plates 10 and 31a, of the magnificent work of Stuebel and Uhle, *Die Ruinenstaette von Tiahuanaco*.

<sup>28</sup> On the supposition that the builders of Tiahuanaco were not Aymará Indians, we would have three types of pottery in the ruins: an oldest one, about which we know that it is not met anywhere else in Bolivia, except as intrusive specimens; Inca pottery, well known and very characteristic; the Aymará ware of the Puna, also abundantly known.

<sup>29</sup> I cannot find much difference between the garb on these statues and Aymará costume as described by older authors, although Cieza asserts the contrary. *Primera Parte de la Cronica*, (page 446), "y vese que tienen forma de vestimentas largas, diferenciadas de las que vemos á los naturales destas provincias; en las cabezas paresce tener su ornamento." The statues have *short* garments.

<sup>30</sup> We were careful to measure *all* the sides of each block, as well as of each carving on it. The work is not better than at Sillustani, the joining or fitting is even nicer at the latter place. This may be due to the fact that the buildings of Sillustani are of much more recent date, probably not older than the latter half of the fifteenth century. They are plainly Inca work.

<sup>31</sup> It is needless to quote documentary evidence in support. The structures at Tiahuanaco were abandoned and in ruins when the Spaniards first saw them.

<sup>32</sup> Inquiries into traditions and myths concerning the origin of the Peruvian Indians began at a very early date. Already Oviedo, *Historia general y natural de las Indias*, (Reprint by Amador de los Rios, Madrid, 1851, Vol. IV, Lib. XLVI, Cap. XVII, p. 223) gives a short account of traditions concerning the origin of the Inca tribe. The earliest mentions of Tiahuanaco so far published are (not counting Gutierrez de Santa Clara: See note 10) those from Cieza and Betanzos. I place Cieza first, not that he would be more reliable or his statements more valuable, but because he described the ruins from personal inspection. In the first part of his *Cronica del Peru*, (p. 446) he says: "Yo pregunté á los naturales, en presencia de Juan Vargas (que es él que sobre ellós tiene encomienda), si estos edificios se habian hecho en tiempo de los ingas, y riéronse desta pregunta, afirmando lo ya diho, que antes que ellos reinasen estaben hechos, mas que ellos no podian decir ni afirmar quien los hizo, mas de que oyérón á sus pasados que en una noche remaneciò hecho lo que allí se veía. Por esto, y por lo que tambien dicen haber visto en la isla de Titicaca hombres barbudos, y haber hecho el edificio de Vinac que semejantes gentes, digo que por ventura pudo ser que antes que los ingas mandasen debió de haber alguna gente de entendimiento en estos reinos, venida por alguna parte que no se sabe, los cuales harían estas

cosas, y siendo pocos, y los naturales tantos, serían muertos en las guerras." In his *Segunda Parte* (Cap. V, p. 7), he states: "los bultos grandes questán en el pueblo de Tiahuanacu, se tiene por fama que fué desde aquellos tiempos," thus assigning the most remote antiquity (for the region) to Tiahuanaco. Cieza admits that he required interpreters for communicating with the Indians. *Segunda Parte*, (Cap. I, p. 13) "y por hacerlo con más verdad vine al Cuzco, siendo en ella corregidor el capitán Juan de Sayavedra, donde hice juntar á Cayu Túpac, que es el que hay vivo de los descendientes de Huaina Capac . . . , y á otros de los orejones, . . . y con los mejores intérpretes y lenguas que se hallaron les pregunté, estos señores Incas qué gente era y de qué nación," Still his statements fairly agree with those of Betanzos, because traditions were fresher, even in the recollection of uninitiated ones. It is not out of place, in regard to Cieza and his merits, to recall the remark of Pedro Pizarro, *Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Peru* (1671, in *Documentos inéditos para la Historia de España*, Vol. 5, p. 356). "Esto dicen hacia Cieza en una corónica que ha querido hacer de oidas; y creo yo que muy poco de vista, porque en verdad yo no le conozco con ser uno de los primeros que en este reino entraron." Pedro Pizarro came to Peru with Francisco, and lived at Cuzco the remainder of his lifetime.

Juan de Betanzos was a resident of Cuzco and married to a woman from the Inca tribe. He was thoroughly acquainted with the Quichua language and one of the parties appointed by Vaca de Castro to examine and watch the Indians of whom information on the past of the Cuzco tribe was expected. "Discurso sobre la descendencia y Gobierno de los Ingas," from the year 1542, published by Jiménez de la Espada, in which no mention is made of Tiahuanaco. According to Calancha, (and others) Betanzos was also commissioned by the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza to conduct an investigation of Indian Antiquities, in 1550. *Corónica moralizada* (Vol. I, 1638, Lib. I, Cap. XIV, p. 92). "Juan de Vetanços que por orden del Virey don Antonio de Mendoza por los años de mil y quinientos i cincuenta hizo antiquisimas informaciones." The results of his inquiries are embodied in the: *Suma y Narracion de los Incas que los Indios llaman Capaccuna &c.* (finished 1551, and published Madrid, 1880, in the same volume as Cieza's second part). The text is, unfortunately, not complete. At the risk of being too prolix I give here what relates to Tiahuanaco (Cap. I and II). "En los tiempos antiguos, dicen ser la tierra é provincia del Perú escura, y que en ella no habia lumbre ni dia. Que habia en este tiempo cierta gente en ella, la cual gente tenia cierto Señor que la mandaba y á quien ella era subjeta. Del nombre desta gente y del Señor que la mandaba no se acuerdan. Y en estos tiempos que esta tierra era toda noche, dicen que salió de una laguna que es en esta tierra del Perú en la provincia que dicen de Collasuyu, un Señor que llamaron Con Tici Viracocha, el cual dicen haber sacado consigo cierto número de gentes, del cual número no se acuerdan. Y como este hubiese salido desta laguna, fuese de allí

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á un sitio ques junto á esta laguna, questá donde hoy dia es un pueblo que llaman Tiaguanaco, en esta provincia ya dicha del Collao; y como allí fuese él y los suyos, luego allí en improviso hizo el sol y el dia, y que al sol mandó que anduviese por el curso que anda; y luego dicen que hizo las estrellas y la luna. El cual Con Tici Viracocha, dicen haber salido otra vez ántes de aquella, y que en esta vez primera que salió, hizo el cielo y la tierra, y que todo lo dejó escuro; y que entonces hizo aquella gente que había en el tiempo de la escuridad ya dicha; y que esta gente le hizo cierto deservicio á este Viracocha, y como della estuviese enojado, tornó esta vez postrera y salió como antes había hecho, y á aquella gente primera y á su Señor, en castigo del enojo que le hicieron, hizolos que se tornasen piedra luego."

"Asi como salió y en aquella misma hora, como ya hemos dicho, dicen que hizo el sol y dia, y luna y estrellas; y que esto hecho, que en aquel asiento de Tiaguanaco, hizo de piedra cierta gente y manera de dechado de la gente que despues había de producir, haciéndolo en esta manera. Que hizo de piedra cierto número de gente y un principal que la gobernaba y señorreaba y muchas mujeres preñadas y otras paridas y que los niños tenian en cunas, segun su uso; todo lo cual ansí hecho de piedra, que lo apartaba á cierta parte; y que él luego hizo otra provincia allí en Tiaguanaco, formándolos de piedras en la manera ya dicha, y como los hobiese acabado de hacer, mandó á toda su gente que se partiesen todos los que él allí consigo tenia, dejando solos dos en su compañía, á los cuales dijo que mirasen aquellos bultos y los nombres que les había dado á cada género de aquellos, señalandoles y diciendoles, estos se llamarán los tales y saldrán de tal fuente en tal provincia, y poblarán en ella, y allí serán aumentados; y estos saldrán de tal cueva, y se nombrarán los fulanos, y poblarán en tal parte; y ansí como yo aqui los tengo pintados y hechos de piedras, ansí han de salir de las fuentes, ríos, y cuevas y cerros, &ca &ca &ca." (p. 5) "E como el Con Tici Virtcocha hobiese ya despachado esto, y ido en la manera ya dicha, dicen que los dos que allí quedaron con él en el pueblo de Tiaguanaco, que los envió asimismo á que llamasen y sacasen las gentes en la manera que ya habeis oido, . . . Y estos dos ansí despachados, dicen que él ansimismo se partió por el derecho hacia el Cuzco. . . ."

There is hardly any doubt that Betanzos obtained his information at first hand and partly, at least, when Indian lore was not yet influenced by contact. His version bears every mark of being authentic. The substance may be resumed as follows:

An earliest period of darkness, during which "heaven and earth" were created by a man. After this first creative act, the people he had made angered him, and he disappeared. At what place this first "creation" took place is not told. This tale of an obscure time is, to-day, believed by the Bolivian Amyará, who call it "Chamak-Tempu," Chamak meaning—"dark" or sinister. But it should not be lost sight of, that the earliest teaching, as well as those of all missionaries afterwards, tended to impress upon the Indian, that his primitive condition, from a

religious standpoint, was one of *mental obscurity*. Also must we recollect, that the tale of the world's creation, according to Mosaic tradition, begins with a period of obscurity. And this tale was told the natives at a very early time. It might be therefore, that already when Betanzos began his inquiries, some vague Christian notions had penetrated the Indian mind. I merely call attention to such *possibilities*.

Then the same man reappeared, from some part of the Lake of Titicaca, under the name of Con Tici Viracocha. He took revenge upon the first people by turning them into stones and went to Tiahuanaco, and there made the sun, moon and stars. After having created these at Tiahuanaco, the "Viracocha" (as I shall call him for the sake of brevity) made statues there in the shape of men, which statues became either models from which mankind was afterwards copied or were transported to the various places where they afterwards took life. If we compare this tale with the descriptions of stone-figures at Tiahuanaco, by Diego de Alcebaza, we cannot help suspecting that it might be an Indian "myth of observation."

But Betanzos also obtained from the Indians what they claimed to be a *personal description* of the "Viracocha." (Cap. II, p. 7.) "que preguntando á los Indios que qué figura tenia este Viracocha cuando así le vieron los antiguos, segun que ellos tenian noticia; y dijeronme que era un hombre alto de cuerpo y que tenia una vestidura blanca que le daba hasta los piés, y questa vestidura traia ceñida; é que traia el cabello corto y una corona hecha en la cabeza á manera de sacerdote; y que andaba destocado, y que traia en las manos cierta cosa que á ellos les parece el dia de hoy como estos breviarios que los sacerdotes traian en las manos. Y esta es la razon que yo desto tuve, segun que los Indios me dijeron. Y preguntéles cómo se llamaba aquella persona en cuyo lugar aquella piedra era puesta, y dijeronme que se llama Con Tici Viracocha Pachayachachic, que quiere decir en su lengua, Dios Hacedor del Mundo." This information, he asserts, to have obtained from the Indians at Cacha, where fairly preserved remains of Inca architecture exist to-day and where a stone-statue made in remembrance of Viracocha existed at the time Betanzos made these inquiries. He saw it and many other Spaniards also. I have no doubt that Betanzos heard this tale from the Indians directly and that it is no invention of his; but, although only about fifteen years had elapsed since the first contact of the aborigines with Europeans, the possibility is not excluded that the former may, in order to ingratiate themselves with the latter, have represented the Viracocha as an apostle (of whom they had been repeatedly told already) and in the garb of a dominican monk, as the white robe would suggest. Leaving this aside, I call attention to the fact that the tales preserved by Betanzos are but repeated, with slight variations, by all writers subsequent to him, and that the additions which they made, bear a post-Columbian stamp. This I shall endeavor to establish.

Garcilasso de la Vega in his *Comentarios reales*, (Vol. I) discriminates between specific Inca tradition and traditions of other Peruvian tribes.

According to him, the former make no mention of Tiahuanaco, whereas the people of the Collao (Aymará) and those of Cuntisuyu west of Cuzco: "dizen pues que cessadas las aguas se aparesció vn hombre en Tiahuanaco, que está al mediodia del Cozco, q fué tan poderoso que repartió el mundo en quarto partes, y las dio á quatro hombres que llamó Reyes." This is, in substance, also the account of Betanzos. According to Garcilasso, the tradition mentioning Tiahuanaco is a Colla, hence Aymará tradition.

Two years after Betanzos had completed his work, the *Real Cédula* of December 20th, 1553, was promulgated, by which the Prince Regent of Spain ordered the royal Audencia of Peru to report upon primitive customs of the Peruvian Indians. According to Father Joseph de Acosta, *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* (1608, Lib. VI, p. 429) Philip II subsequently commanded a close inquiry into the origin, religious rites and customs of the Inca, and the outcome as far as officially known, is contained in two publications. One is entitled, *Relacion de las Idolatrias de los Incas é Indios y de como se enterraban*, (*Documentos inédit; de Indias*, Vol. XXI, pp. 131 to 220). The other bears the title of: *Informaciones acerca del Señorío y Gobierno de los Ingas*. (In the same volume with the *Memorias* of Montesinos, Madrid 1882, pp. 177 to 259). Both were made under the auspices of Don Francisco de Toledo, and neither mentions Tiahuanaco. The last embodies exclusively the declarations of Quichua Indians, the former (as far as the atrocious misprints of Indian names permit judging) were also of Cuzco Indians or of natives from the north and west, without a single Aymará or Colla among them. Hence it seems at least very likely, that the Tiahuanaco traditions are specifically Aymará.

At the time when the above mentioned investigations were carried on (1570 to 1572) the secular priest, Cristóbal de Molina, was at Cuzco, and he improved his position and constant intercourse with the Indians for collecting their traditions and folklore. Twenty years had elapsed since Betanzos did the same, and we may expect some changes, at least in the wording, of the stories. The writings of Molina are known to us as yet only in the English translation by Markham under the title of: *The Fables and Rites of the Incas*, (In: *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Incas*, Hackluyt Society, 1875). Molina claims, as one of his chief sources "But in a house of the Sun called Poquen Cancha, which is near Cuzco, they had the life of each one of the Yncas, with the lands they conquered, painted with figures on certain boards, and also their origin. Among these paintings the following fable was represented." &c.—

In another place: *Aboriginal Myths and Traditions concerning the Island of Titicaca*, (*American Anthropologist*). I have alluded to the analogy of the myths gathered by Molina with those preserved by Betanzos. The difference between the two consists mainly in the first statements of the former: "In the life of Manco Capac, who was the first Ynca and from whom they began to be called children of the Sun and to

worship the Sun, they had a full account of the deluge. They say that all people and all created things perished in it, in as far as the water rose above all the highest mountains in the world. No living things survived except a man and a woman, who remained in a box, and when the waters subsided, the wind carried them to Huanaco (Tiahuanaco is meant), which will be over 70 leagues from Cuzco, a little more or less."

Betanzos neither mentions a deluge nor does he connect Manco Capac with Tiahuanaco, and Cieza as well as Garcilasso are silent on both points. Molina, according to Cobo, *Historia*, (Vol. III, p. 118) collected the statements of old Indians, from times anterior to the conquest: "Y poco despues (referring to the investigations by order of Toledo) en otra junta general de los Indios viejos que habian alcanzado el reinado del Inca Guayna Capac, que hizo en la misma cuidad del Cuzco Cristóbal de Molina, cura de la parroquia de Nuestra Señora de los Remedios del Hospital de los naturales, por mandado del Obispo D: Sebastian de Lartaum, se averiguó lo mismo, resultando della una copiosa relacion de los ritos y fábulas que en su gentilidad tenian los Indios perunaos. La cual conforma en todo lo sustancial con la del licencidao Polo, con la que se hizo por órden de Don Francisco Toledo, que ambas viniéron á mi poder y parece haberlas seguido el padre Joseph de Acosta en lo que escribió del gobierno de los Incas, y de sus idolatrias, en los libros V y VI de su Historia de Indias. Ultimamente, Garcilaso de la Vega, en la primera parte que sacó á luz de la republica de los Incas, no se aparta casi en nada delas sobredichas relaciones."

The report of Polo de Ondegardo exists in Manuscript at Lima, but in Volume 17 of *Documentos inéditos de Indias*, under the headings of: *Relacion de los Fundamentos acerca del notable daño qe resulta de no guardar á los Indios sus fueros*, and *De la Orden que los Yndios tenyan en diuidir los tributos e distribuirlos entre si*, both without signature but from the same date, June 26th, 1571, are probably from his pen also. On p. 9 he says that: "é avnque algunos quieren decir que vinieron de ottas partes á poblar allí; pero desto no hace mucho al caso, porque dizen que fué antes del Diluvio é traen allá ciertas ymaginaciones, como cosa tan antigua no ay para que parar en ello." It will be observed that according to the above, the oldest myths of the Indians refer to times *anterior* to the deluge, hence the latter was probably interpolated after the conquest. It seems likely that, after forty years of contact during which the church made strenuous efforts to inculcate into the mind of the Indians, not only precepts, but cosmogony and history, from the Bible, a part of these filtered into Indian tradition. If we eliminate the story of the deluge and the incident of Manco Capac, Molina tells us nothing, the substance of which is not already incorporated in the book of Betanzos.

The Jesuit Acosta, *Historia*, (Lib. I, Cap. 25, p. 82) is concise, but unusually discriminating for his time. He says: "Como quiera que sea, dizen los Indios, que con aquel su diluvio, se ahogaron todos los hombres, y cuentan, que de la gran laguna Titicaca, salió vn Viracocha, el qual hizo assiento en Tiaguanaco, donde se veen oy ruinas y pedaços, de

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edificios antiguos, y muy estraños, y que de allí vinieron al Cuzco, y assi tornó á multiplicarse el genero humano." Acosta came to Peru in 1569, and was sent to Cuzco as "visitor" of the Jesuit College of that city in 1571. He remained there until 1574, that is during the time of Toledo and Molina. His statement about the deluge is worthy of attention: "Ay entre ellos comunmente gran noticia, y mucha plática del diluvio, pero no se puede bié determinar, si el diluvio que estos refieren, es el uniuersal, que cuenta la diuina Escritura, ó si fué alguno otro diluvio, ó inundacion particular, de las regiones en que ellos morá: mas de que en aquestas tierras, hombres expertos dizan, que se veen señales claras, de auer auido alguna gran inundacion. Yo mas me llego al parecer, de los que sienten, que los rastros y señales que ay de diluvio, no son del de Noe, sino de alguno otro particular,"—The "signs" to which he alludes were fossils, mollusks, recognized at an early day as *marine shells*. The Indian uses fossils of a striking form as fetishes, and it may be that explanations of these (by Spaniards, especially by priests) as evidences of a flood, also made an impression upon the Indian mind.

It is superfluous to mention here any of those authors who, like Gomara and Herrera, could not write from personal acquaintance with South America. The Dominican Gregorio García however, resided for a number of years in Peru towards the end of the sixteenth century, and it is not immaterial that he accépts Betanzos without reserve. *Origen de los Indies de el Nuevo Mundo e Indias Occidentales*, (Edition of 1729, Lib. V, Cap. VII, pp. 330 and 331). He copies him almost literally.

Leading Spanish writers from the seventeenth century appear, with one exception, as expounders and expanders of Betanzos. The exception is the Jesuit, Anello Oliva, who came to Peru from Naples in 1597, remaining there the remainder of his life. He died at Lima in 1642. His book, *Historia del Perú y Varones insignes en Santidad de la Compañía de Jesús*, was concluded in 1631 and lately published at Lima. In it there is a statement (p. 38): "Luego diuidió el Reino en quatro partes que son las mismas en que el grar Huyustus antes que comenzara á reinar su padre Manco Capac lo auia repartido.....y passó á las partes de Tyyay' Vanaca por ver sus edificios que antiguamente llamaban Chucara, cuya antiguedad nadie supo determinatla. Mas solo que allí vivia el gran señor Huyustus que decian era Señor de todo el mundo." One of Oliva's chief informants was an Indian from Cochabamba (central Bolivia) bearing the Aymará name of Catari. The story does not conflict with Betanzos, there is even a decided resemblance with the performances of Viracocha at Tiahuanaco. But the name "Huyustus," if obtained from Indians, is neither Aymará nor Quichua.

The Quichua Indian, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, wrote, early in the seventeenth century, a *Relacion de Antigüedades deste Reyno del Peru*, published at Madrid in 1879 in a volume entitled: *Tres Relaciones de Antigüedades peruanas*. He was "natural de los pueblos de Hananguagua y Huringuai-Guacanchi de Orcasuyo, entre Canas y Canchis de Collasuyu," Collasuyu having formerly been

mostly occupied by Aymará Indians, it is not unlikely that Salcamayhua heard Aymará traditions. And *folklore* (he asserts) was his almost exclusive source. "Digo que emos oydo siendo niño noticias antiquisimos y las ystorias, barbarismos y fábulas del tiempo de las gentilidades, que es como se sigue, que entre los naturales á las cosas de los tiempos pasados siempre los suelen parlar."

Salcamayhua says nothing of a deluge. Neither does he mention an earliest period of obscurity. He begins with the world already created, but when evil spirits roamed over the earth and showed themselves to mankind. Then there appeared a bearded man, of middle height and with long hair, wearing a long shirt. He is said to have been of more than mature age, with grey hair, thin, and he carried a stick. This personage he calls (I omit the portentous complete name) Tonapa or Tarapaca but also Viracochan, &c. He preached to the natives, reprimanding them for their vicious habits; Salcamayhua therefore identifies him with the Apostle Saint Thomas. After many wanderings among the Aymarás and on the shores of Lake Titicaca, Tonapa came to Tiahuanaco which was then inhabited; "en donde le bió un pueblo llamado Tiyananaco, que en ella dizen que estaban la gente de aquel pueblo entendiendo en sus borracheras y bayles, adonde dicho Tunapa, á la despedida, lo han llegado, predicarles como solian hacer, el qual no fueron oydos; y dizen que de puro enojo les dijo, alzando los ojos al cielo en la lengua de aquella tierra. Y como se partió de aquel lugar, toda la gente quedaron baylando se quedó hechas piedras, combiertiendose, que hasta el dia de oy se echa de ber. Remito á los que han pasado por alli. "From Tiahuanaco he went to the Desaguadero and thence to the sea.

Betanzos does not mention the name Tunapa or Tonapa, but the story told by Salcamayhua about Tiahuanaco is the Viracocha tale under another name. Cieza, in mentioning Viracocha, also calls him Tuapaca. Tonapa is, therefore, only another designation for the Viracocha of Betanzos. We, ourselves, heard the story from a Quichua Indian of Azangaro in Peru, who called Tonapa "Juan Rubio"; and also from Aymará Indians of Sicasica in Bolivia. It is intimately connected with the yet mysterious cross of Carabuco on the eastern shores of Lake Titicaca.

About the time when Salcamayhua composed his *Relacion*, the tale of Tonapa appeared in the book of the Augustine Fray Alonso Ramos, *Historia del celebre y milagroso Santuario de la Ynsigne Ymagen de Nra Sra de Copacabana*. (Lima 1621.) (Cap. 27, 28, 29 and 30, Parte primera.) Ramos does not mention Tiahuanaco. His information may have come from several sources. In the first place from the Indians of the western shores of Titicaca, where Ramos was stationed for a long time at Copacavana; from Carabuco, where the mysterious cross had been exhumed about forty years previous to the publication of his book,— and from the investigations at Cuzco.

Subsequent writers of the Augustine order followed Ramos almost literally in regard to the Island of Titicaca, but the ponderous chronicles of Father Antonio de la Calancha contain considerable information on

Tiahuanaco. The first volume of the *Coronica moralizada del Orden de San Agustín en el Perú*, appeared in 1638: the second, *Coronica moralizada de la Provincia del Perú del orden de San Agustín Nuestro Padre*, (very rare) in 1651.<sup>1</sup> Both were printed at Lima. What Calancha claims to be Indian tradition about Tiahuanaco is contained in the first volume: (Lib. II, Cap. X, p. 566). "Decian los Indios—Que aviendo Dios criado el Mudo (que ellos llaman Pachayachachic, i quiere decir, el Maestro i Criador del mundo, i el Dios invisible) i en él los onbres le fueron menospreciando, porque los unos adorauan ríos, otros fuentes, mótes i peñascos, i los azian iguales á él en diuinidad; sentia mucho el Dios Pachayachachio semejante delito, i les castigava con rayos esta injuria. El castigo no enfrenava su iniquidad, i asi irritado del todo les arrojó tan gran aguacero, i tan inmēsa cantidad de agua, que aogó todos los ombres, de los quales se escaparon algunos (no culpados) permitiendole, Dios, que se subiesen en altissimos árboles, en coronas de las encumbrados montes, i se escondiesen en cuevas, i grutas de la tierra, de donde los sacó, quando el llover avia cesado, i les dió órden que poblasen la tierra, i fuesen dueños della, donde viviesen alegres i dichosos. Ellos agradecidos á las cuevas, montes, árboles i escondrijos, los tenian en grā veneracion, i les comenzarō sus ijos á adorar, aziédo á cada uno Idolo i guaca. E aqui el origen de tanta multitud de adoratorios i guacas; q̄ fue, el dezir q̄ cada familia q̄ á su progenitor anparó tal móte, árbol ó cueva, enterrádose donde estaba enterrado su primer progenitor. Bolvióse Su Dios á enojar, i convirtió á todos los maestros destos adoratorios en piedras duras, como á endurecidos, á quien rayos de fuego, ni grandes diluvios de agua avian enfrenado. Asta entonces no avia el Pachayachachic criado al Sol, la Luna i las ostrellas, i fuélas á criar al pueblo de Tiaguanaco, i á la laguna Titicaca de Chuchito. El Sol se fué luego al Indio Mangocapac, i le proijó é izo Rey, poniendole todas las insignias que usaron los Ingas &c. &c."

This is in substance the story told by Betanzos with the addition of the deluge and of Manco Capac. Calancha previously makes the following remark: "el Indio Mancocapac primero Rey del Peru era natural de Tiaguanaco ó de algú pobleuelo conjunto á él, era de corazon valeroso como veremos presto i al comenzar su señorío se debió de valer de introducir á los Indios, que aquel que le libró en las aguas i repartió los Reynos avia dado á sus antecesores el señorío destas tierras; porque si no se juntan así las palabras de la tradicion (dejado lo fabuloso de Tiaguanaco i de la piedra de Tanbo) ni era posible entonces navegar tan innumerables mares ni ir á fundar el primer pueblo á Tábo ni á Tiaguanaco. Este nōbre no lo tuvo el pueblo antes que tuviesen Reyes (here follows the well-known etymology of Tiahuanaco according to Garcilasso de la Vega).

" Calancha objects to the Viracocha tradition on the ground of the impossibility to cross seas and oceans, while it appears to him perfectly plausible that Tunupa was the apostle, St. Thomas. He makes him land somewhere in Brazil and thence, accompanied by a disciple called Taapac, travel through Paraguay and Bolivia to Tia-

huanaco. "Pasó el santo Predicador á Tiahuanaco, Provincia del Collao, que está al mediodia del Cuzco, donde yo é estado dos veces, muestra aver sido gran poblacion i tiene edificios de piedra con tanto primor asentadas, que sin mezcla, ni otto betun prometan perpetuidad. Aqui dicen los Indios que apareció el primer ombre saliendo de la laguna, i crió los demas onbres, i izo la creacion del sol i las Estrellas: repartiò el mundo entre quatro." At the same time he suggests a significative explanation. (Lib. I, Cap. XIV, p. 93). "Fábula como clausula de Papagayo, que cojiendo como media razon de uno, i un pedaço de otro forma un disparate, oyeron al primero que se multiplicó acá, que despues de echo todo el mundo, i criado Dios Sol, Luna i Estrellas, por pecados vino el Diluvio que dejó el Mundo echo Laguna, i della salió su progenitor á tierra i repartiò el Mundo entre sus tres hijos i poniendo lo ultimo al principio formaron su disparate que tan asentado estuvo en estos Indios. Aqui predicó el Decípulo santo, i solo se sabe que aviendoles predicado nuestra Fé i sus vicios sucedió lo que dicen dos Autores alegando al que lo escribe en estas palabras, En Tiaguano ay grandes antiguallas i entre ellas muchas figuras de onbres i mugeres, dicen los Indios presentes, que por grandes pecados que izieron los de aquél tiempo, i porque apedearon á un onbre que pasó por aquella Provincia, fueron convertidos en aquellas Estatuas."

By attributing the primary cause of the creation and deluge myths to the Apostle, Saint Thomas, Calancha tacitly admits that they are of Christian origin and subsequently incorporated in Indian lore. He also alludes to the stone-figures of Tiahuanaco as having given rise to the "myth of observation," that people were turned into stone at some remote period. Still we must not overlook the fact that at the time of Betanzos this tale of petrification was current among the Indians so that, while possibly an observation myth, it originated *prior* to the conquest, whereas the tale of the deluge is of post-Columbian introduction.

I close with the short statement of Cobo, *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, (Vol. IV, Cap. XIX, p. 65) "porque tenian por opinion los Indios del Collao, que este pueblo estaba en medio del Mundo, y que dél salieron despues del Diluvio los que lo tornaron á poblar."

It results from the above: 1. That Tiahuanaco was built and settled at such a remote period, that clear recollection of its builders is lost. They may have been Aymará, but there is no evidence of it as yet.

2. That the first settlement of Tiahuanaco, stood in some relation to the *Island of Titicaca*.

3. That the original traditions concerning Tiahuanaco are *Aymara*, not Quichua, folk-lore. These conclusions are not intended as final. They are a mere résumé of the material which I consider thus far presentable. Sources will come up that may modify them to a considerable extent. Besides, there are inklings pointing at the existence of data which would throw unexpected light upon aboriginal Indian tradition of Peru. But the time has not come yet to determine whether these indications rest on substantial foundations or not.

<sup>23</sup> *Ordenanzas del Peru.* (Edition of 1752, Vol. I, Lib. II, Tit. IX, Ordenanza VIII, folio 146.)

<sup>24</sup> P:Ludovico Bertonio, *Arte de la Lengua Aymara*, (Reprint by Platzmann, 1879, Original from 1603, p. 10, "Al Letor"). "En quanto á la primera destas tres cosas digo, que principalmente se enseña en esta arte la lengua Lupaca, la qual no es inferior á la Pacasa, que entre todas las lenguas Aymáricas tiene el primer lugar; y es mucho mas elegante, que todas las demás, que arriua hemos nombrado. La razon desto puede ser: porque ordinariamente hablan mejor la lengua materna los que están en los extremos. . . . como están los Pacases y Lupacas en medio de todas los Aymaraes."

<sup>25</sup> This seems already to have been the case at the time of E. G. Squier, *Peru*, (Chapter 3, pp. 302 and 303).

<sup>26</sup> It is needless to prove it. The fact is too well known. I would only call attention to the observation of Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (I, fol. 28) "mas proprio es Hatha." The word "Ayllu" may be originally Quichua gradually introduced among the Aymará by contact.

<sup>27</sup> *Ordenanzas del Peru*, (Vol. I, Lib. II, Tit. IX, fol. 145. Ordenanza II). "Primeramente, porq entre los Indios se acostumbra que quando la India de vn Ayllo, ó repartimiento se casa con Indio de otro repartimiento, ó Ayllo, y el marido se muere dexando hijos ó hijas los Caciques Principales cuya era la India antes que se casase la compelen á volver al repartimiento, y Ayllo adonde era antes, y llevar consigo los hijos que huvo del marido. Ordeno, y mando, que á India de vn Repartimiento, parcialidad, y Ayllo que se casase con Indio de otro, dexen los hijos que en ella huviere havido su marido en el repartimiento parcialidad, y Ayllo donde su padre era tributario, porque allí lo han de ser ellos, y ella se passe á su repartimiento, ó Ayllo, si sus Caziques, ó Principales la pidieren, dexándola estar algun tiempo con sus hijos hasta que el menor dellos sea de edad de ocho años para arriba, porque no les haga falta su ausencia al tiempo antes." This Ordinance had in view only the facilitation of tax-gathering, but it virtually broke up the rules of Indian descent in many places though not everywhere, as the following document shows. *Adjudicaciones de Indios en la Visita de Reducción general, en Huachico*, November 8th, 1608, (MSS. pertaining to the collection of Don Manuel Vicente Ballivian, La Paz). All the Indian children were adjudicated to the clans of their mothers and even to the villages if they had not been born at Huachico.

<sup>28</sup> *Libro de cassados que pertenece a este pueblo de Triaguanaco comienza a ocho de Henero de 1694 A<sup>o</sup>, siendo Cura propio Fr. Gabriel de Barcetta y Guillestegui.* "Los cassados naturales deste d<sup>ho</sup> pue<sup>o</sup> se hallarán puestos en sua dos parcia<sup>s</sup>, Hananzaia (f. 3) Hurinzaia." The custom, of the principals of the two divisions occupying distinct sides on ceremonial occasions, is already described by Joan de Matienzo, *Gobierno del Peru con todas las cosas pertenecientes a el y a su historia*, (MSS. Lenox, no date, but after 1559 and before 1570, Cap. 6, folio 19). "Los de la parcialidad de Anansaya se asientan á la mano izquierda en sus asientos

vajos que llaman Duos acada vno por su orden, é los de Vrinsaya ala mano izquierda tras su Cazique Prinzipal y los de Anansaya a la mano derecha tras su Curaca. . . ”

<sup>39</sup> MSS. *Ut supra*.—Mazaya and Arazaya are called “parcialidades” in 1710, and as such, plainly distinguished from the Allyu or clans. In 1586 Tiahuanaco is stated to have had about 800 tributary Indians: *Relacion de la Provincia de los Pacajes*, (In Vol. II of the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, p. 55). “Tiene ochocientos y tantos Indios tributarios, que solian estar en diez pueblos.” The latter is interesting, since it establishes that the Aymará who occupied the region at the time of the conquest, lived as scattered as elsewhere on the Bolivian Puna. The number of tributary Indians is given in 1596 (five years later) officially at 868. *Relacion de los Indios tributarios &c.* (*Documentos inéditos de Indias*, Vol. VI, p. 50.)

<sup>40</sup> I give the names of the clans of Tiahuanaco as they appear. The orthography varies in some cases and I cannot guarantee its correctness. Chambi (also Champi and Chanbi), Aparo (also Aparu), Lupi, Colliri, Achaca, Chiu, Calaoca, Guancolla (Achaca, Calacca and Guancolla are said to pertain to Hurinzaia), Guaraya, Caasa, (also Casa and Cassa), Tarqui, Achuta, and Cuipa. Chambi is ascribed to Arazaia.

<sup>41</sup> *Peru*, (p. 304). He calls it the Chuñu-feast. There is no such celebration. What Mr. Squier saw was simply the dances at Corpus Christi which are indeed pre-Columbian in character, but tolerated by the church with certain restrictions.

<sup>42</sup> “Sico” is the name of the flute played by the Sicuri, hence the name. Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (II, folio 316).

<sup>43</sup> *Vocabulario*, (II, Folio 288). “Quena Quena: Cosa muy agujerada.” (f. 289) “Qena Quena Pinollo. Flauta de caña.”

<sup>44</sup> The viceroy Don Francisco de Toledo already restricted the Indian festivities, *Ordenanzas del Peru*, (Lib. II, Tit. IX, Ord. IX, fol. 146). “Iten, mando, que los Indios é Indias comunes, ni Caziques, ni principales no hagen taquies, ni borracheras; y si algunos bayles quisieren hazer sea de dia, y en lugares, y fiestas públicas con licencia del Corregidor, y Sacerdote, á quien se encárge se la den con moderacion y con apercibimiento, que haciéndolo de otra manera, serán castigados.” The *Constituciones synodales del Arçobispado de los Reyes, en el Peru* (1613, reprint from 1722, Cap. VI, fol. 7) ordained: “Y para que con el favor de Nuestro Señor se quiten las ocasiones que por experiencia se han visto, que lo han sido para las dichas Ydolatrias, y el Demonio no prosiga en sus engaños, estarán advertidos de no consentir los vayles, cantares, ó taquies antiguos, en lengua materna ni General, y harán que se consuman los instrumentos que para ellos tienen, como son los tamborillos, cabeças de venados, antaras, y plumeria, y los demás que se hallaren, dexando solamente los atambores de que vsan en las danzas de la fiesta del Corpos Christi, y de otros sanctos y prohibarán las borracheras castigando álos que hallaren culpados en ellas, . . . ” A very stringent prohibition of the sale of new wine to Indians is contained in

the *Constituciones synodales* of 1656, (Reprint from 1722, fol. 51, Cap. 7). “Iten, por el grave y conocido daño o resulta á los Indios de llevarles algunos Curas, y algunos Corregidores vino nuevo á los pueblos de los dichos Indios, de darles fiada la botija de vino (que quando mucho á costado á veinte reales) por diez, ó doze pessoas, de que á resultado el acabamiento, y diminucion de los Indies, por ser como es, cosa muy cierta que los mas mueren de bever dicho vino y por fomentar las borracheras con su ocasion.”

The primitive Indian dances, that is the three principal ones, were easily made to coincide with the principal feasts of the church, as the Indians had no fixed days for them. In the *Carta partoral de Exortacion e Instruccion contra las Idolatrias de los Indios del Arçobispado de Lima*, (Lima 1649, fol. 43) there is the following statement by the author, Archbishop Villagomez: “Acabadas las confesiones en las fiestas solemnes, que suelen ser tres cada Son; la principal cerca del corpus, ó en ella misma que llaman Oncoymita, que es quandá aparecen las seite cabrillas, que llaman Oncoy, las quales adoran porque no se les sequen los maizes; la otra es al principio de las aguas por Nauidad, ó poco despues; y esta suele ser al trueno, y al rayo, porque embié lluuias; otra suele ser quandá cogen el maiz, que llaman Ayrihuamita porque baylan el Ayrihua.” These three Indian festivals so nearly coincide with Corpus Christi, Christmas, and Easter, that they could be performed under cover of the church celebration. This was soon discovered by the clergy. I refer, among others, to the following passage of the *Exortacion e Instruccion*, (folio 57). “15.—Si en las fiestas del Corpus Christia, ó en otras fiestas de la Iglesia, fingiendo los Indios que hacé fiestas de cristianos, an adorado, ó adoran occultamente á sus idolos, ó an hecho ó hacen otros ritos.”

<sup>44</sup> This fact is established by nearly all the sources of older date.

<sup>45</sup> Pedro Pizarro, *Relacion del descubrimiento y conquista de los reinos del Peru &c*, (In *Documentos par la Historia de España*, Vol. 5, p. 278). “Emborrachábanse muy á menudo, y estando borrachos todo lo que el demonio les traia á la voluntad hacian.” Also (p. 347). There is at this day, a dance, called Mimula, which is prohibited on account of its obscenity. We saw it twice, though only at night and in dark corners of the square or street.

<sup>46</sup> “Irpa” means to conduct. Our information in regard to the nature of the office is as yet contradictory and insufficient.

<sup>47</sup> It is easy to notice, that this word is post-Columbian, the second part of it being Spanish.

<sup>48</sup> Cieza, *Segunda Parte de la Crónica*, (Cap. VII, p. 26).

<sup>49</sup> Bertonio, *Vocabulario*, (II, f. 101) translates Lari Lari by “wild people.”

<sup>50</sup> Hinchu is ear in Aymará. Kafu means dirty.

<sup>51</sup> P. Pablo Joseph de Arriaga, S. J.—*Extirpacion de la Ydolatria del Pirv.* Lima 1621, (p. 3). The first investigation of an official character at Tiahuanaco was carried on about 1621 by Bartolomé de Dueñas.

Arriaga, *Extirpacion de la Ydolatria*, (Cap. IX, p. 53) "y mucho mas escribe de Tiahuanaco el Visitador Bart; de Dueñas q dexo, por no ser largo."

"Besides abundant documentary evidence there is the testimony of the graves themselves, where human remains are always accompanied by vessels for food and drink.

"This conception of Saint James (Santiago) as god of lightning, called forth special edicts from the higher clergy. It is mentioned in *Exortacion e Instrucion* (fol. 46). "De qualquier manera que sea, usurpan con grande supersticion el nombre de Santiago: y assi entre las demas constituciones que dexan los visitadores acabada la visita, es vna, que nadie se llame Santiago, sino Diego." (Idem, *Edicto*, f. 57). "26—Si an tenido, o tienen mucho tiempo de por bautizar á sus hijos siédo ya grandes, ó silos q ya están bautizados se an llamado, ó llamā con los nombres de sus huacas, ó con el del trueno, llamandose Curi, ó con el del rayo, llamandose Libiac, ó Santiago." This is taken in turn from Arriaga. *Extirpacion, &c.* (Cap. VI, p. 33). He suggests the same explanation attempted in the text.

"*Exortacion* (fol. 47). "En hacer sus casas tienen, como en todas las demas cosas, muchas supersticiones, combidando de ordinario á los de su ayllu. Rocian con chicha los cimientos, y sacrificandola para que no se caygan las paredes: y despues de hecha la casa, tambien la asperjan con la misma chicha." Ramos, *Historia* (Edition of 1870, I, p. 41). "Era costumbre mui comun entre estas jentes el juntar á los agoreros, para que despues de haber tomado su chicha, coca y otras necesidades designasen el lugar y la figura de la casa ó choza que pensaban hacer. Miraban al ayre, escuchaban pájaros, como aruspices, invocaban á sus lares ó al demonio, con cantares tristes, al son de tamboriles destemplados; y pronosticando el bueno ó mal suceso empézaban la construccion, poniendo á veces coca mascada en el cimiento, y sus asperjos de chicha. Concluida la obra, en que solian ayudarse, la festejaban con bailes, y convites conforme á sus alcances. . . Aún ahora no han acabado de perder esas abusiones al fabricar sus casitas." This was in 1621 and at Copacavana.

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