

PRELIMINARY SITE SURVEY OF THE PUNKUYOQ RANGE, SOUTHERN PERU

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One of the earlier conquests by the Inca during the period of their extraordinary expansion (1438-1532) was the region of Vilcabamba, to the northwest of Cuzco. Pachacuti, as reported by Cobo (lib. 12, cap. XII; 1890-95, tomo III, pp. 159-161), met the rulers of the Vilcabamba area, who agreed on terms for the annexation of their territory to the incipient Inca empire. During the ensuing years, Vilcabamba became completely assimilated into the Inca administrative system, and was the object of great attention.¹ It was close to Cuzco, abundant in gold and silver, and it provided a buffer between the imperial city and both the rebellious Chancas and tropical forest tribes (Beauclerk, 1980, pp. 25-27). Certainly the density of the road network (Hemming, 1970, p. 16), the presence of major ceremonial and administrative centers at Chuquipalta and Rosas Pata, respectively, and the large, settled population and dense network of outposts on the Apurimac side of the Cordillera Vilcabamba all attest to intense Inca involvement in Vilcabamba for about 90 years prior to the Spanish conquest (Bonavia and Ravines, 1966).

Beginning during the period of Spanish conquest of the Inca empire (1532-1539), the Vilcabamba independent state survived for a generation (1539-1572), and it appears from both the archaeological and written records that building continued during this period. Vitcos (Rosas Pata?)² became, along with the tropical city of Vilcabamba (Espíritu Pampa?), the two principal seats of theocratic government. Vitcos certainly predated the Spanish conquest, because it was the established site to which Manco Inca fled, and upon which he built (Tito Cussi Yupangui, 1916, p. 82), expanding it to accommodate its new central role. Espíritu Pampa was almost certainly constructed during the independent state period, but likely upon an earlier site.

The present report on the Punkuyoq Mountain Range, which lies within the modern district of Vilcabamba, department of Cuzco, provides evidence that this small and peripheral part of Vilcabamba had an important and specifically ceremonial function during the independent state period. This was perhaps part of a larger attempt by the Inca to maintain the format of an empire within the confines of Vilcabamba. Evidence suggests that at least one site on the Punkuyoq Range, Inka Wasi, was built upon an earlier, and presumably also ceremonial, structure. That pre-Inca populations existed in the immediate area is apparent from the presence of a previously undescribed settlement located at Lump'u Moqo, to the south of Inka Wasi.

The Punkuyoq Mountain Range runs parallel to and north of the Vilcabamba River (figs. 1-3). Its highest portion, at the range's western extreme, is called Cerro Idma. The mountain has its base in tropical forest (1200-2400 m.), and rises quickly through high montane (2400-3400 m.) to dwarf forest (3400-4000 m.), to a zone (3300-4200 m.) of tussock grass, and ends in the bare granite of the range's highest peak, the Cerro Idma summit (4412 m.). Except for the Vilcabamba River valley bottom, the area is very sparsely inhabited.

Accompanying the following text are a number of maps and site plans. The illustration captions as well as the text give details concerning the structures at each site. Unless another source is noted, sites were visited by the author during

eight trips to the Punkuyoq Range between 1977 and 1980.³

Information Sources Concerning Punkuyoq

The Punkuyoq Range is sparsely populated, but it has not lacked for passers-by. Before the modern road reached Yupanqa from Chaullay in 1973, a trail connecting Quillabamba and Pillao (just downstream from Yupanqa) was heavily traveled. Some of the ruins cited as "reported," but which I have not personally located, were described to me by local residents who grazed cattle on the mountain or transported animals and agricultural goods across the range on a regular basis. A number of sites they report were too vaguely located or too imaginatively described to include here, but it is likely that more exist than are noted on figs. 2 and 3. I have been extremely conservative in including reported sites because some residents are prone to ascribe any unusual rock feature on Punkuyoq, particularly if it is squared, to the "Inca." Since the Punkuyoq Range is largely composed of granitic rocks (Bowman, 1916, pp. 234, 237), often fractured at right angles, and subsequently weathered (and thus rounded) along fracture lines, the resemblance to Inca stonework is sufficient to provoke many unfounded reports of ruins and roads.

Explorers have also contributed information on archaeological sites. Christian Bues, a German immigrant to Peru who reached Quillabamba in 1915, visited Punkuyoq during the late 1920s and reported three ruins and some roads, although the rough nature of the map on which these appear (in the Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad Nacional del Cuzco) makes the identification of their precise location impossible. From reports of older residents, it is certain he reached Inka Wasi (site 1), the principal site of the entire range, and his is apparently the first modern mention of it. Since a great deal of Bues' unpublished writing remains unavailable, more detailed information on this early visit to Inka Wasi may exist.

Three associates of Victor von Hagen, starting from the Vilcabamba River, in September of 1953 followed a broad stone trail to a two-story Inca structure located, by their report, on a saddle at 13,000 feet (Von Hagen, 1955, p. 113). Von Hagen calls these ruins "Puncuyoc." His description corresponds roughly to Inka Wasi, but differs in significant details, including the number of windows, the length of the building and width of the approach road, and the rock type used in the building's construction. If he did mean to describe the site of Inka Wasi, the discrepancies suggest either imprecise observations or subsequently garbled transcriptions. Von Hagen's conclusion that "these ruins could only be the ramparts of the main fortress-city of Vilcabamba" (1955, p. 113) is unfounded.

Gene Savoy's expeditions apparently took him along a trail through Punkuyoq Q'asa (*q'asa* = pass) to Quillabamba, as well as along a route to the west and northwest of Punkuyoq. On his map of Vilcabamba (Savoy, 1970, pp. 82-83), he shows two Inca roads (fig. 3, IV and V) and one ruin, near Punkuyoq Q'asa, but in the text of his book there is no discussion of his travels in the Punkuyoq Range. He was being guided by a copy of Bues' maps of the area, and thus may have placed archaeological information on his map that was not the result of his own observations. There is a stone-paved road along the high-altitude portion of route IV, but I have not followed it as it turns north and descends into the forest. Regarding road V, which connects the Vilcabamba River at Pillao to Punkuyoq Q'asa and then continues in the direction of Quillabamba, historical records indicate that in 1888 a stone trail was "constructed" precisely along the route of

Savoy's Inca road V (Bues, 1930). This may, in fact, have been a new roadway, as Bues suggests, but it is nonetheless possible, from the engineering characteristics of the route and the presence of a variety of ruins along its length (sites 5, 10, 11, 13), that the road is Inca or earlier, and was simply cleared of vegetation and reconstructed in 1888. In indirect support of this interpretation is a rock overhang, called Inka Machay, next to the route. An associated legend relates that the Inca spent a night there on his way to the jungle; presumably he was traveling along a road.

The single Punkuyoq ruin placed on Savoy's map is in the area of Punkuyoq Q'asa. I have searched repeatedly in the area indicated. If a site exists, I have not been able to find it, but I believe that such a site is very unlikely, given that the open terrain and vegetation make inspection quite unequivocal. I have come to suspect that either Savoy's Punkuyoq ruin refers to reported ruins in the forest farther downstream (site 10) or, more likely, Savoy means to indicate Inka Wasi, in which case it has been erroneously located on his map.

Two Peruvian ethnohistorians, Víctor Angles Vargas and Edmundo Guillén Guillén, have described the archaeology and history of Vilcabamba, and part of their attention has fallen to Punkuyoq. Unfortunately, although they mention the site, neither of these investigators has reached Inka Wasi. Angles Vargas, referring to the ruins of "Puncuyoc" (Inka Wasi) (Angles Vargas, 1978, p. 341), considers them to be a "communication post," which appears extremely unlikely given the number, nature, and distribution of the buildings. In an earlier book (1972), Angles Vargas refers to the ruins of Inka Wasi as storehouses, an even more remote possibility. Guillén Guillén locates Inka Wasi correctly, citing it on his map as an "important archaeological complex," but because he used an informant without visiting the site personally, he does not discuss it in his text (Guillén Guillén, 1979, p. 148).

The maps illustrating Hiram Bingham's 1912 and 1915 expeditions to Vilcabamba show that he traveled over the Punkuyoq route linking Lucma to Quillabamba in 1912 (Bingham, 1922, p. 132), and in 1915 retraveled the same route as well as the Idma Pampa route, around the west flank of Cerro Idma (Bingham, 1916, p. 434). On these maps, however, he does not indicate any archaeological sites, either along his routes or elsewhere in the Punkuyoq Range.

Since the mid-1970s the anthropologist Robert von Kaupp has been doing research on oral history in Vilcabamba, and in his travels he has come across a number of archaeological remains. Those that he has located in the Punkuyoq area have been included on figs. 2 and 3. None of them, although perfectly well documented, has yet been described in the archaeological literature of Vilcabamba.

Finally, troops of the Peruvian Armed Forces on more than one occasion have been on Punkuyoq, either engaging in the pursuit of guerrillas (early 1960s) or, in subsequent years, engaged in mock antiguerrilla maneuvers.⁴ According to local informants, the troops reached Inka Wasi, and they may have found other archaeological sites, but if so this information would be difficult to retrieve. An Armed Forces contour map of the entire Vilcabamba area is, in the Punkuyoq section, difficult to interpret and sometimes in serious error. At the location of Inka Wasi, the map gives the erroneous name "Inca Huaracana," which is, in fact, a different complex of ruins to the east of Lucma (fig. 4).

In summary, a great deal of information exists regarding the location of

Punkuyoq's archaeological remains, especially among local residents, but much of the published information is incomplete or inaccurate. The maps and site plans presented here are an attempt to locate and describe accurately what I was able to see myself (figs. 1-30), or what others have seen and described to me and which I am certain, or relatively certain, exist. On the general map, I have also included sites that are well known and well documented, among which are Inka Warak'ana, Rosas Pata, and Chuquipalta (Ñust'a Hisp'ana). Seeing these sites on the same map with the other ruins and roads permits a better reconstruction of the administrative, religious, and military complex that existed in pre- and post-Columbian Inca Vilcabamba, of which the Punkuyoq Range, it is argued here, formed an integral and specialized part.

Inka Wasi

Site description

Inka Wasi (fig. 5, 1a) is a complex of a dozen or more structures of various kinds, placed in a variety of topographical positions (figs. 5, 6). A ceremonial character is suggested for the site for the following reasons:

1. The architectural details of the main building are typical of ceremonial structures elsewhere: finely finished stonework, massive doorways (fig. 7), an abundance of niches (many human-sized), and stone rings (in 14 of the first floor niches).
2. Location: the main building straddles a narrow ridge on one of Punkuyoq's flanks (fig. 8). The site has no particular strategic advantages, but it is awesome for the size of the mountain at its back and the depth of the valley falling away below it (fig. 9).
3. A wide, carefully constructed road leads to the site and continues past Inka Wasi only as a much narrower path. Since we must assume the site to be the objective of the road, since the importance accorded the site by such a road could not follow from the site's small size or number of structures, and since such a grand road is unlikely to lead to storehouses, or a guard-house or signal station, we are led to infer a religious function for the complex.
4. The remains of a "bath" may be found below the small lake (fig. 5, 1h).
5. A cave formed by a large stone (fig. 5, 1i) has received elaborate attentions, including stone paving within the cave, a wall enclosure around its entryway, and an accompanying rectangular building, the whole reminiscent of known ceremonial sites such as Chuquipalta.

In the following discussion, the details of the Inka Wasi complex will be described, making references to each structure's identifying letter (found in figs. 5 and 6). I shall then consider the possible construction date of Inka Wasi, and offer evidence that this site was the oracle that Sayri Topa consulted in September of 1557, when he sought to decide if he would accept the Spanish invitation to leave Vilcabamba and return to Cuzco.

Main building (figs. 10-17)

The main building (figs. 4, 1a and 9) has four rooms, two on the first floor and two on the second. It is located at 3837 m. altitude, and oriented so that its two large doors face approximately east and west (293° W and 113° E). The east and west walls are slightly thicker in their upper part than at their base. The two large rooms on the lower floor have large niches in their walls (fig. 11). Each niche, in its center and about 70 cm. from the ground, had a stone ring; only 2 of these presently remain in the wall. These rings have the form shown in fig. 12.

The building has a total of 8 stone pegs that protrude from the outside walls of the lower story; each is 5 cm. in diameter and projects 40 cm. On the inside face of the main, west-facing door jamb, the remains of a red clay plaster layer can be seen; it appears that this plaster covered the entire inside wall of the room.

First floor

West room (fig. 11)

There are three niches in the south wall and three in the north wall. Each one measures 225 cm. in height, and is trapezoidal in form: 65 cm. wide at the top and 90 cm. at the base. In the west wall there are two windows plus one of the two large main doors (fig. 13). In the east wall there are four niches plus an internal window that opens through to the east room (fig. 12), though to reach the east room, one must go out the west door and around the outside of the building). The 4 niches in the east wall are 225 cm. in height, 110 cm. across at the base and 85 cm. across at the top.

East room (fig. 11)

This room has only four large niches, two in the south wall and two in the north wall. Each one measures 210 cm. in height, although this measurement, like the others involving the floor, is made difficult because of the accumulation of soil and vegetation inside the rooms. As in the west room, each niche originally had a stone ring protruding from the center of its recessed wall. The floor of the east room appears to be about 70 cm. lower than that of the west room. In the east wall there are two windows and a large door of the same proportions and relative position as in the west room.

Second floor

West room (figs. 14, 15)

In the central wall there are six small niches, two doors that open into the east room of the second floor, and two side doors that permit access to the outside.

East room (fig. 16)

In the central wall there are five small niches, the two doors that permit access to the west room, and two doorways in the north and south walls (fig. 17), which also form the side wall-supports for the roof. In this room, as in the west room of the second floor, there are 11 internal stone pegs bordering the roof edge, to which were attached the roof beams. (One of these pegs has fallen out of the northwest wall, and can be found on the terrace below.)

North and south lateral walls (fig. 17)

Each of these walls has nine external pegs plus one in the center at the apex, for securing the roof beams.

Retaining walls (fig. 18)

There are various retaining walls at Inka Wasi (fig. 6, 1b). They are found on the north, west (fig. 18), and south sides of the site. Those on the north side help form a small plaza at the level of the large flat rock (fig. 6, 1c) between Inka Wasi and two rectangular buildings (fig. 6, 1e and f). This flat rock is natural, but it appears to have been worked in order to perfect and level its surface.

Circular structures (fig. 6, 1d)

Actually somewhat oval in shape and joined one to the other, these two structures are about three meters in diameter.

Rectangular structure (fig. 6, 1e)

The walls currently extend 1-1.5 m. above the soil surface, and the structure measures about 4 × 8 m.

Small rectangular structure (fig. 6, 1f)

This is a diminutive building (approximately 1.5 × 2 m.), open on the south side. It is oriented to face precisely in the direction of Rosas Pata, and on clear days Rosas Pata is perfectly visible.

Small structure (fig. 5, 1g)

It is 1 × 1.5 m., and located along a small water course that empties from the pond; it resembles what are usually termed baths.

Pond (fig. 5, 1h)

At present this is a swampy, shallow pond, but given the sedimentation that must have occurred here in the 400 years since Inka Wasi was in use, it was almost certainly a small lake during Inca times, and may have had a role in the ceremonial function of the complex.

Bridge and road (fig. 5, 1i)

The stone supports for this bridge crossing remain intact, although the span over the stream is missing. The road passing over the bridge proceeds uphill to Inka Wasi, and downhill, following a mild contour, until it reaches the Chawpi Mayu, where it crosses via another bridge before continuing down the Chawpi Mayu (along its south bank) in the direction of modern Pillao. As this road nears Inka Wasi it is 1.5-2 m. wide, carefully stone-paved, and in places lined with large boulders (fig. 19). Below the bridge (fig. 5, 1i), the road is 1.5 m. wide or less.

Rectangular structure (fig. 5, 1j)

Located immediately adjacent to the road, this structure is about 3 × 5 m.;

its ruined walls are between 0.5 and 1.5 m. high, and there is a large hole in the center of the floor space, apparently the work of *huaqueros*.

Reported structure (fig. 5, 1k)

Although I have not seen them, various local residents have told me of ruins at the bottom of the waterfall that begins just below structure 1j.

Cave complex (fig. 5, 1l; 20)

A large stone, measuring 10 × 6 × 5 m. forms 2 (and perhaps 3) caves on its underside. The floor of one of these caves is stone-paved, and a square-cornered stone wall wraps around the boulder on its southwest side. In front of the principal cave can be found the base of the walls of a large rectangular structure, about 5 × 8 m., which uses part of the native, unmoved stone for its walls, a characteristic Inca practice.

Yuraq Rumi (= white rock; fig. 5, 1m)

A very unusual stone; it is large, white, and stands upright a short distance above the cave complex (1l). It commands modern ritual attention. There are reports of drill holes in part of the face of this rock. From Inka Wasi, the reflected image of Yuraq Rumi is visible in the pond (1h).

Road (fig. 6, 1n)

The wide, dramatic road that reaches Inka Wasi from the west changes character soon after passing by the two circular ruins on the east side of the ridge. A large rockslide, now covered with forest, makes it impossible to follow the precise route of the road for about 100 m. after the circular ruins, but subsequently the road can be followed with some difficulty up towards the ridge where Platform B (fig. 5, Site 3) is located. This section of roadway is narrow, usually less than a meter wide, and allows itself the liberties of going up and down slightly, or turning suddenly, which is uncharacteristic of larger Inca roads. Nearing the ridge on which Platform B is situated, I could no longer follow this road. Perhaps it went as far as Platform B, perhaps it went on to service other platforms or sites not yet identified, or perhaps, as an Idma resident told me, the small road goes to a cave near the ridge above.

Who built Inka Wasi?

It is likely that Manco Inca and perhaps Sayri Topa instructed that the present Inka Wasi be built. It is also possible that this ceremonial complex was constructed upon an earlier one occupying the same site.

Manco Inca, after the failure of his revolt against the Spaniards and his retreat to Vilcabamba, probably initiated a construction program. We know he built a residence for himself (Tito Cussi Yupangui, 1916, p. 82) and presumably likewise attended to his court and the priesthood. The defensive fortifications along the route to Vitcos and Vilcabamba mentioned by the chroniclers of the Spanish invasion (see Guillén Guillén, 1979) may also have been constructed at this time. After the first Spanish entry into Vilcabamba in 1539, Manco Inca had almost five quiet years to build while the European conquerors fought among themselves. If Manco Inca instructed that Inka Wasi be built, it is not clear

whether it was finished before his murder (1544) or during the rule of Sayri Topa (to 1557). That the complex was substantially complete by the end of Sayri Topa's reign is suggested by written evidence discussed below.

A small detail is responsible for the intriguing idea that Manco's Inka Wasi was built upon the site of an earlier, and presumably also ceremonial, structure. Many of the stones in the clay and stone upper portions of the second floor central wall appear to be carefully finished, but have been reused in their new, rough, setting; this apparently, was not an uncommon occurrence in provincial Inca structures (Arminda Gibaja de Valencia, personal communication, 1979).

Was Inka Wasi the oracle visited by Sayri Topa in 1557?

In Diego Fernández's *Historia del Perú* (Fernández de Palencia, 1963), an account is given of Sayri Topa during the period of his deliberations concerning the Crown's offer to abandon Vilcabamba and return to Cuzco. This chronicle reports that, in September 1557, Sayri Topa and his captains, priests, and attendants climbed a high mountain, made sacrifices at a holy place to be found there, and in the same day returned to their starting point, which was Vitcos.⁵

. . . the [Inca] captains placed great difficulty concerning the departure. They held many meetings and conferences on the matter until the day of Our Lady [probably Mary, the 12th] in September 1557, when all agreed to make sacrifice (according to their custom) to ask for a response from the Sun, the Earth, and the other *guacas* that they had. And so, on the morning of that day, having ordered that all should fast while the consultation lasted and that no fire should be lit, all the captains climbed a high mountain, and the Inca went with them, with his trumpets, taking with him and in front of him the priests, who are greatly respected and strictly obeyed. The priests then asked the Sun, the Earth, and the *guacas* to declare if the departure that the consultation was about would turn out well. When that was done and the omens had been read, the priests said that they had received from the Sun, the Earth, and the *guacas* the reply that the departure would be successful and fortunate, because all their questions had been answered with "yes," in contrast to the requests that they had made at other times when other governors had tried to arrange a departure.

After that the trumpets sounded to go down the mountain, and they all went with great joy. When they had gone down, all the captains called Juan Sierra and asked him where the viceroy had said that the Inca and his captains should go to give obedience to him in the King's name. (Fernández de Palencia, 1963, pp. 78-79)

No other details are given about the oracle or the route used to reach it. Nonetheless, positive identification seems to be possible. Within half a day from Rosas Pata there are only two known sites that are both high and of sufficient ceremonial stature to have merited Sayri Topa's visit: Inka Warak'ana and Inka Wasi. The latter is clearly more likely, in part because its location fits perfectly the description of a "high mountain" (*sierra alta*); Inka Warak'ana is only 200 m. above Lucma, while Inka Wasi rests on a ridge 1300 m. above the Vilcabamba

River at Yupanqa. Also, and in larger part, Inka Wasi is more likely because in form it resembles the ceremonial Chuquipalta, where sacrifices to the Earth, Sun, and Huacas were made, whereas Inka Warak'ana shares with Rosas Pata a residence and public display function, as evidenced by their very large courtyards, and absence of ceremonial native monoliths. If the Inca was, in fact, residing at Inka Warak'ana (see note 2), the most likely *sierra alta* within half a day's walk, and having appropriate archaeological sites, is again Cerro Idma and its Inka Wasi.

The religious character of the central Punkuyoq Range's Cerro Idma is also suggested by its place in contemporary local belief. The mountain receives in modern times enormous ritual attention from Vilcabamba residents. Coca offerings are constantly made to it, and in particular to Idma Qoya, a rock pinnacle on the east side of the mountain. Her history is known by everyone. She was a wife of the Inca, who was attempting to escape to the lowlands with a lover. The Inca, who was at the site of Inka Warak'ana at the time, used his sling to cast a stone at her just as she was passing over the ridge of the mountain. The stone, however, went astray, blasting open Punkuyoq Q'asa (fig. 21; *punkuyoq* = place of the door); the Qoya, nonetheless, turned immediately to stone. She remains a revered and powerful figure, qualities shared with the mountain mass on which her figure stands. For contemporary Vilcabamba residents there is, in fact, no place in their entire area as charged with power as is Cerro Idma and its Qoya.

The archaeological remains at Inka Wasi, with the wide access road and the ridge platforms nearby, suggest that reverence for Cerro Idma goes back at least to the sixteenth century. The mountain probably acquired particular importance when the Inca capital was established near it at Vitcos, and it is the best candidate for being the mountain to which Sayri Topa turned for advice.

Platforms

I have located four platforms on the flanks of Cerro Idma (sites 2, 3, 4, 5; fig. 22). In all cases they straddle a ridge, they have no evidence of stone walls protruding upwards from the flat, top surface of the platform, and they are made of worked, but not finely finished, stone. Though such platforms are sometimes regarded as signal outposts, it appears that these were, in fact, ceremonial sites. Similar platforms of Inca origin and ceremonial function have been found elsewhere (Alfredo Valencia Zegarra, personal communication, 1979). That these platforms did not function as signal stations is further suggested by their emersion in clouds during much of the year.

Platform A (site 2; fig. 23)

This platform is on a narrow ridge to the west of and almost directly opposite Inka Wasi, at 3820 m. It is small and about square (4 m. on each side), built in two stages or levels, and of fairly rough stonework.

Platform B (site 3; fig. 24)

This platform is on a broader ridge, above and to the northeast of Inka Wasi, in sight of it, and at 3965 m. altitude. It measures about 7 × 8 m., is constructed in two levels, and has well-finished, but not closely fitted, stonework. It is well preserved.

Platform C (site 4; fig. 25)

A platform located on the top ridge of Cerro Idma at 4350 m., a short distance from the mountain's summit. When I saw it, the platform was covered with snow, but it appears to be of one level, and measures 6 × 10 m. It is oriented towards the Idma Qoya side of the ridge, and has on its top surface a border of flat stones that project slightly from the edge.

Platform D (site 5; fig. 26)

A platform located at about 4025 m., above a lake, on a narrow north-south ridge, separated from the main Cerro Idma by the Palmayoq River. This is the most elaborate of the ridge platforms. It consists of 3 levels (on 2 sides), and measures approximately 8 × 14 m. at the base of the bottom level, and 5 × 10 m. at the top of the uppermost level. Idma Qoya is visible to the west, with a large lake far below and to the east. Like Platform C (site 4), flat rocks cover the top surface and overhang the edges. A large hole in the platform center, apparently the work of *huaqueros*, has destroyed part of the north-facing wall.

Lump'u Moqo

Cerro Idma is repleat with sites, but most of these appear to be of ceremonial function. The only settlement I have found in the area is located directly south of Inka Wasi, separated from Cerro Idma by the Chawpi Mayu. It is situated on the top of an isolated, rounded (*lump'u*) hill, called locally Lump'u Moqo (figs. 27, 28). The bases of 41 round structures, projecting 5-30 cm. above the soil surface (fig. 29), are visible along the top ridge. More structure foundations may be present, particularly in wooded areas. Below Lump'u Moqo, on a grassy pampa along the trail to Yupanqa, other round foundations are visible. These are all rather large, between 7 and 9 m. in diameter, and built of field stones. Most probably this site represents a settlement of pre-Inca origin, judging from the defensive location and the exclusive use of circular construction. Very similar settlements have been described for other pre-Inca, Ceja de Selva areas in Peru (Bonavia, 1964). Archaeological exploration will be needed to determine if this village formed part of the Vilcabamba that submitted to Pachacuti or, equally possible, if it predated the Inca's immediate predecessors in Vilcabamba.

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NOTES

¹The resulting settlements and infrastructure of the eastern portion of the Vilcabamba Range have been well described (Fejos, 1944), but the same may not be said for the western portion, where description has largely been limited to a few sites, especially Chuquipalta and Rosas Pata (e.g., Bingham, 1912; Savoy, 1970, p. 84 ff.).

²Although Bingham makes a case for modern Rosas Pata being Inca Vitcos, serious discrepancies between the site and its description by early chroniclers have prevented a consensus from developing regarding the location of Vitcos (Guillén Guillén, 1979). I would argue, based principally upon Ocampo's description of Vitcos being on a "*cerro altissimo*" and having "*una plaza de summa grandeza y llanura en la superficie*" (Ocampo Conejeros, 1923, p. 163), that this Vitcos may actually refer to Inka Warak'ana. While this site is not particularly high, in absolute terms (although its local relief is much greater than that of Rosas Pata), it seems high from below because its slopes are extremely steep and barren. Furthermore, the site has at its core an artificially flattened area (partly surrounded by a low rock border) of at least 2000 m.² The surviving structures are poorly preserved, and very little fine stonework is in evidence. This situation may result from the fine stones being used to construct the Lucma church (where Inca stones abound), at the foot of Inka Warak'ana mountain. Although a matter of great interest, whether Vitcos was Rosas Pata or Inka Warak'ana (or perhaps yet another site downstream) is of minor significance for the present study, since both the most likely sites are about the same traveling distance from Inka Wasi, and both would conform to Sayri Topa's starting place for his excursion to the oracle.

³I was fortunate in having company on many of these trips: William Denevan, across Punkuyoq Q'asa (6/77); Lawrence Fry and Grey Kroll, also across Punkuyoq Q'asa (12/78); Robert von Kaupp, to Inka Wasi, Idma Qoya, Punkuyoq Q'asa, and Quillabamba (9/79); and Lynn Hirschkind on separate trips to Inka Wasi (6/79), and eastward along the crest of the Punkuyoq Range, plus an inspection of the north and west flanks of Cerro Idma (5-6/80).

⁴Editors' note. As this article was in production, the author wrote to say that he had received a copy of Vincent Lee's recent book (Lee, 1985). He comments that Lee "went to Inka Wasi, making a map of the general area, plus a site plan of the ruins. There are other plans of Rosas Pata & Espiritu Pampa—all very competently done."

⁵This important place-fact is not stated directly in Fernández's account, but is clearly suggested. We are told that Diego Hernández and Juan Sierra, emissaries of the Crown, met the Inca, and from that same place Sayri Topa departed for the oracle. There is no indication that these Spaniards, or other emissaries (Diego de Ortíz and Fray Marcos excepted) peacefully reached the lowland city of Vilcabamba; the only other reasonable meeting place was Vitcos.

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KEY TO ILLUSTRATIONS

It should be noted that, on the site plans, architectural details are indicated schematically, and not necessarily precisely to scale (figs. 6, 20). Moreover, on the measured drawings (figs. 10, 14, 16, 17), the precise form of architectural features (e.g., doorways, niches) is not reproduced, and should be considered only approximate, although measurements are accurate.

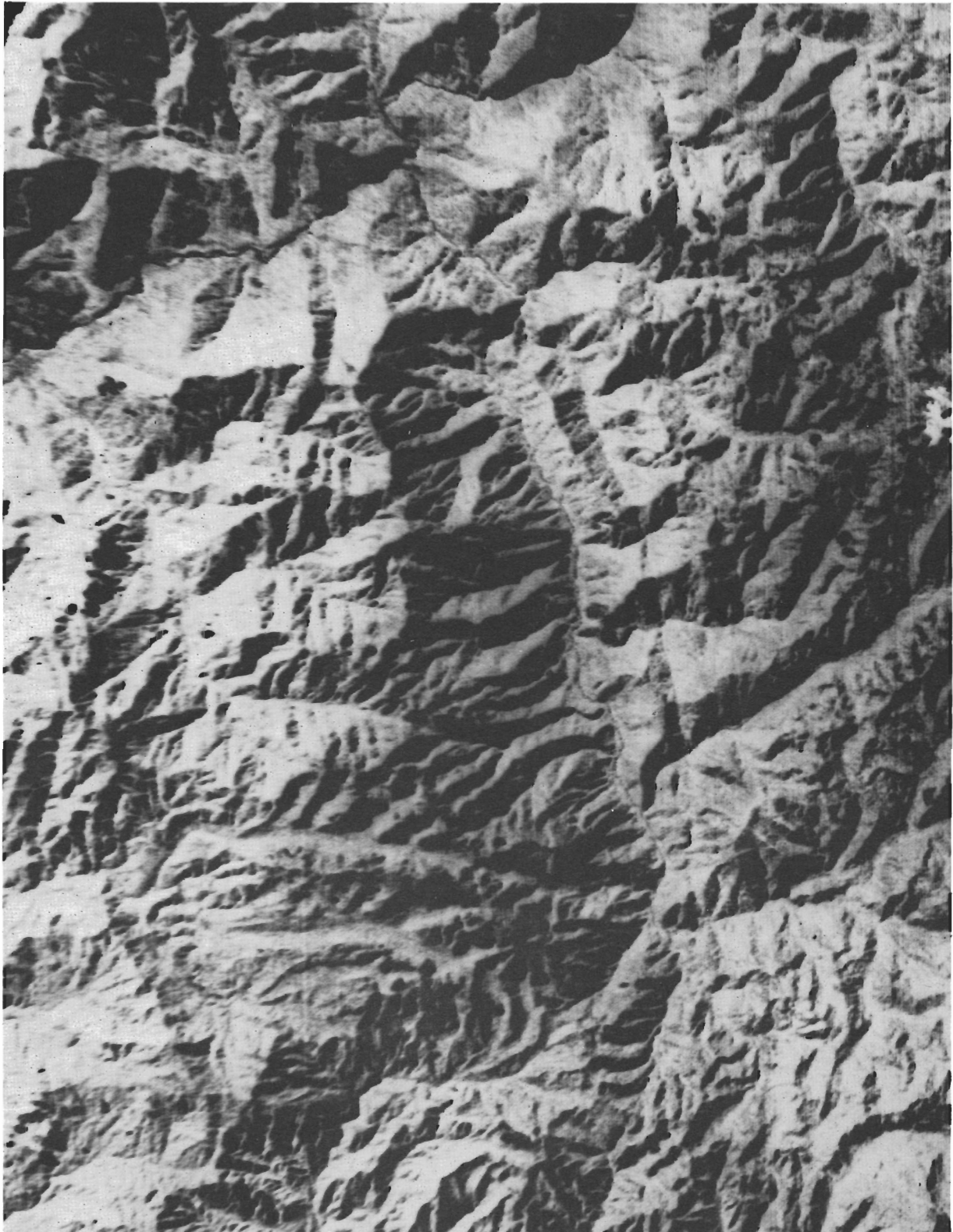


Fig. 1, satellite photo of the Punkuyoyq Range (courtesy NASA/ERTS).

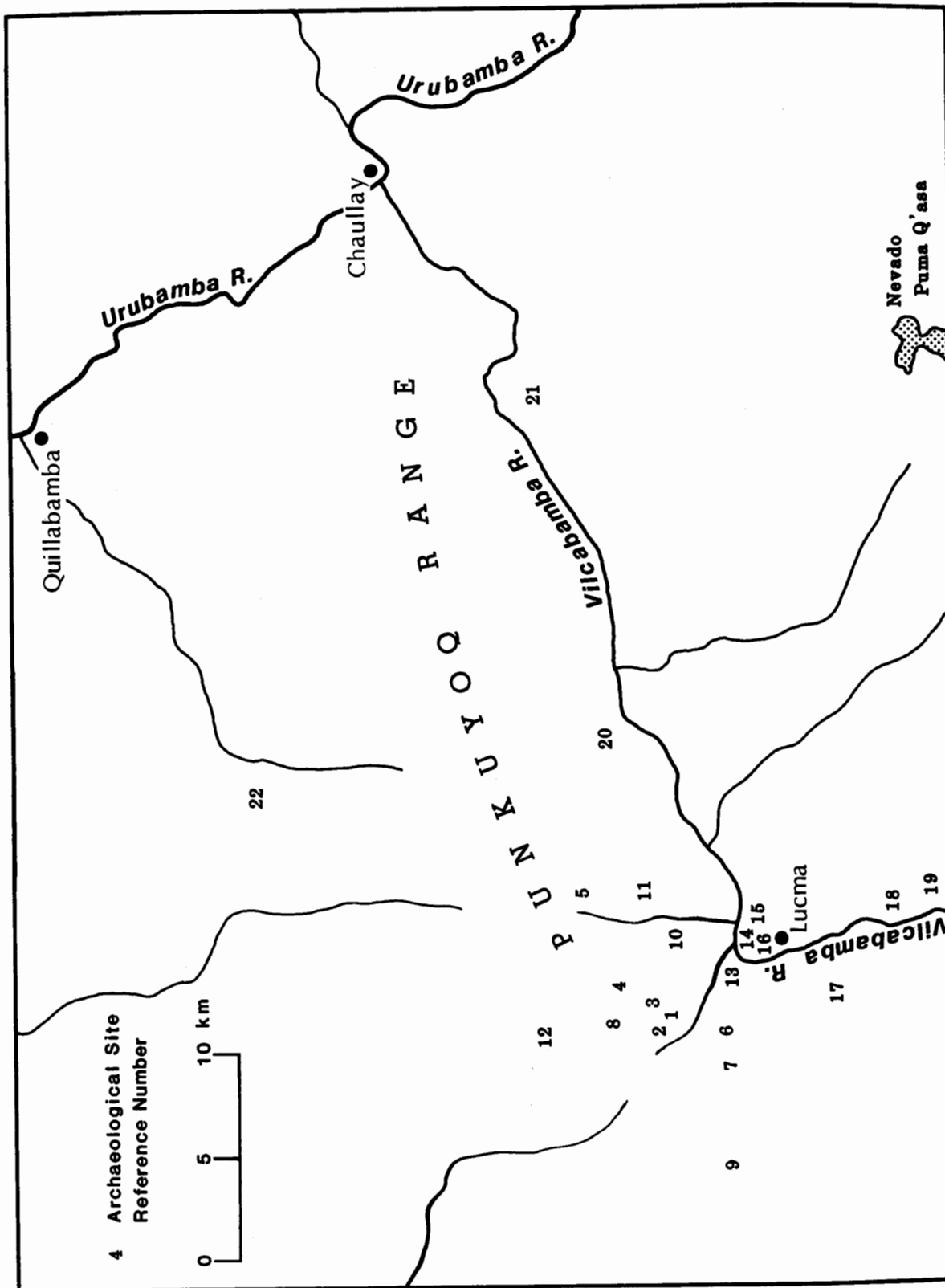


Fig. 2, distribution map of archaeological sites within the area shown in fig. 1.

KEY TO FIGURE 3: PUNKUYOQ RANGE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES

Structures

1. Inka Wasi (PO)
2. Platform A (PO)
3. Platform B (PO)
4. Platform C (PO)
5. Platform D (PO)
6. Lump'u Moqo (PO)
7. Circular structure (PO)
8. Characteristics unknown (Bues' map)
9. Circular structure (R)
10. Various structures in the forest (R)
11. Characteristics unknown (R)
12. Rectangular structure (Kaupp, 1978)
13. Carved stone of Pillao (PO and Bues' map)
14. Artificial river channel (Kaupp, 1979, and PO)
15. Inka Warak'ana (PO)
16. Inca bridge and Lucma (PO)
17. Various structures with tall walls (Kaupp, 1979)
18. Rosas Pata (PO)
19. Chuquipalta (Nust'a Hisp'ana) (PO)
20. Rectangular structure (R)
21. Various structures (Bues' map and Kaupp, 1980)
22. Various structures at "Tres Cruces" (R)

Roads

- I. Chaullay-Rosas Pata (PO)
- II. Pillao-Inka Wasi (PO)
- III. Chawpi Mayu-Idma Pampa (PO and Bues' map)
- IV. Chawpi Mayu-lowlands (Savoy, 1970)
- V. Pillao-Chuyapi (PO and Savoy, 1970)
- VI. Lucma-Vilcabamba (PO and Hemming, 1970)

Key

- (PO) = personal observation.
 (R) = reliably reported by local residents.
 (Bues' map) = map by Christian Bues in the Museo Arqueológico de la Universidad del Cuzco.
 (Kaupp, 1978-80) = personal communication from Robert von Kaupp.
 (Savoy, 1970) = published references listed in the bibliography.

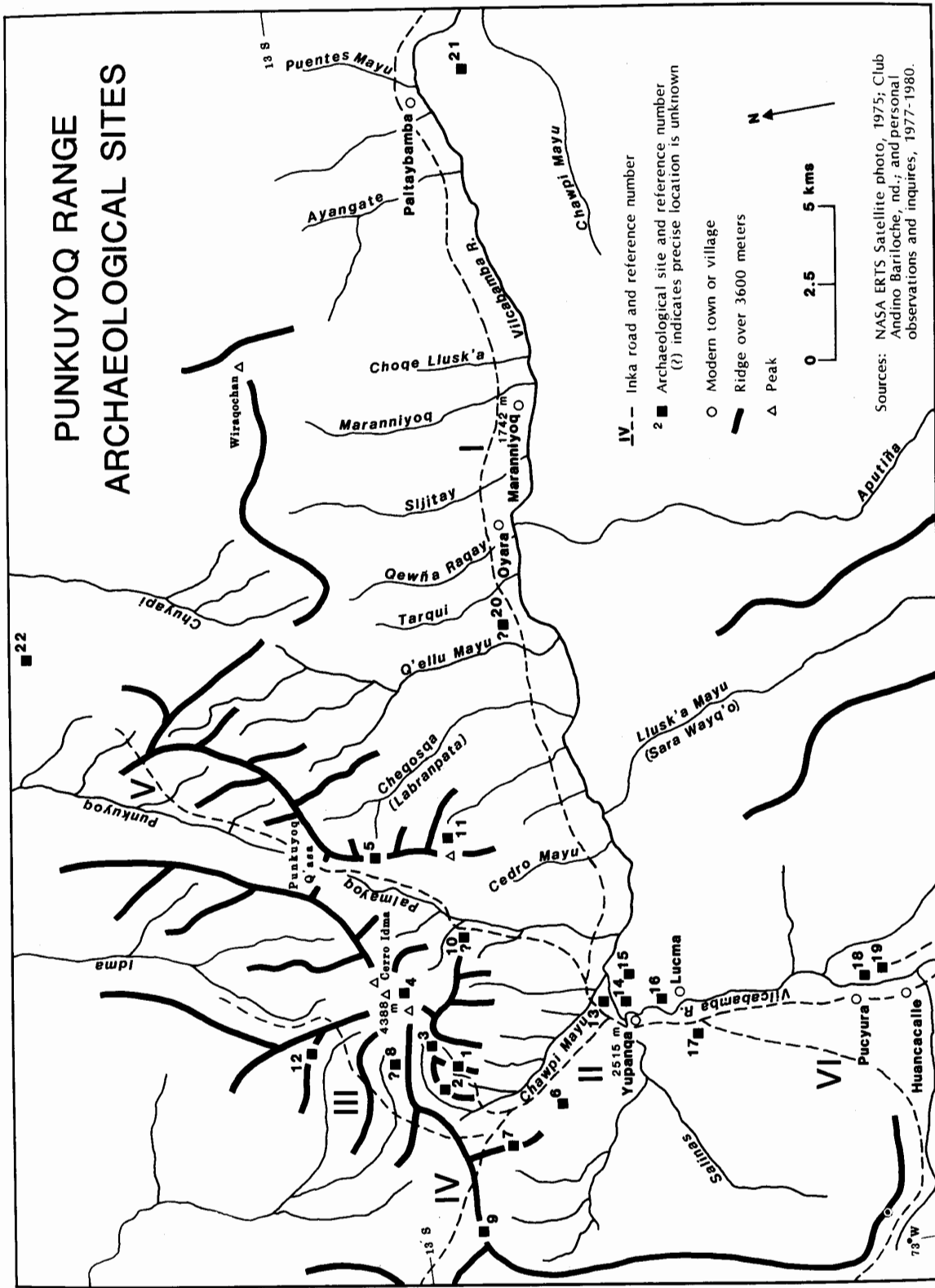


Fig. 3, Punkuyoq Range archaeological sites. See Key above.



Fig. 4, site of Inka Warak'ana (arrow) seen from Cerro Idma.

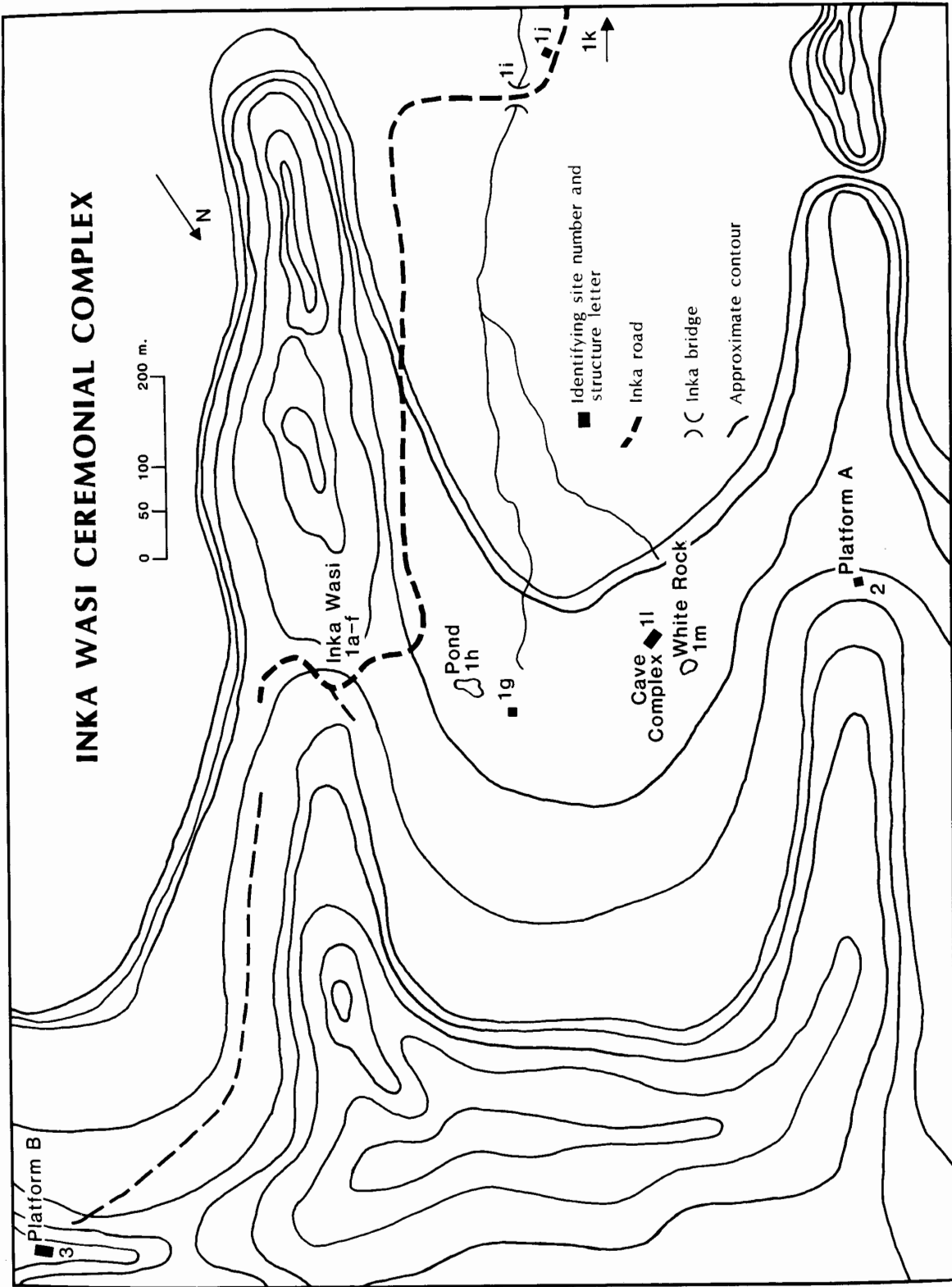


Fig. 5, Inka Wasi ceremonial complex.

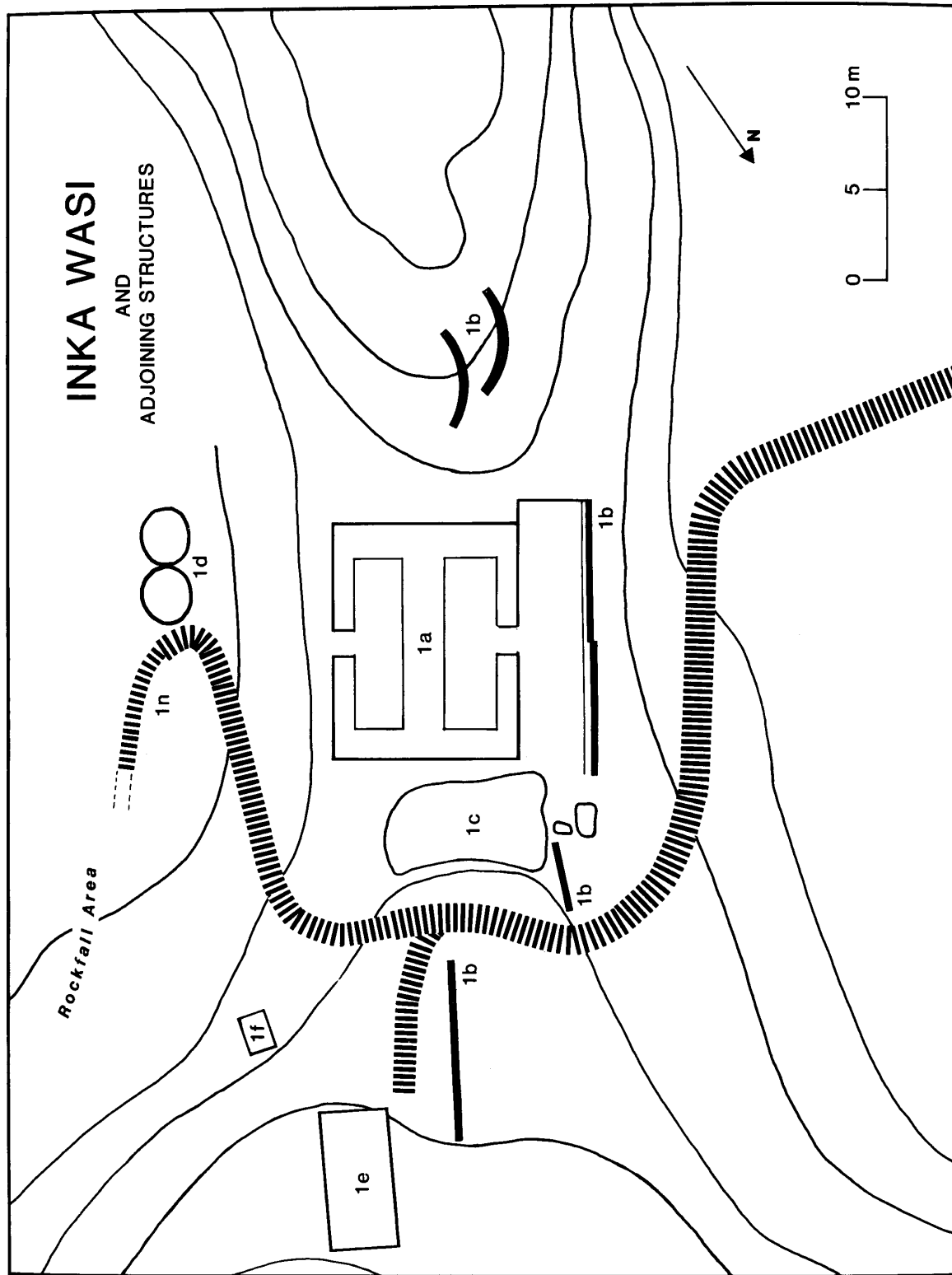


Fig. 6, Inka Wasi and adjoining structures. See Key to Illustrations.

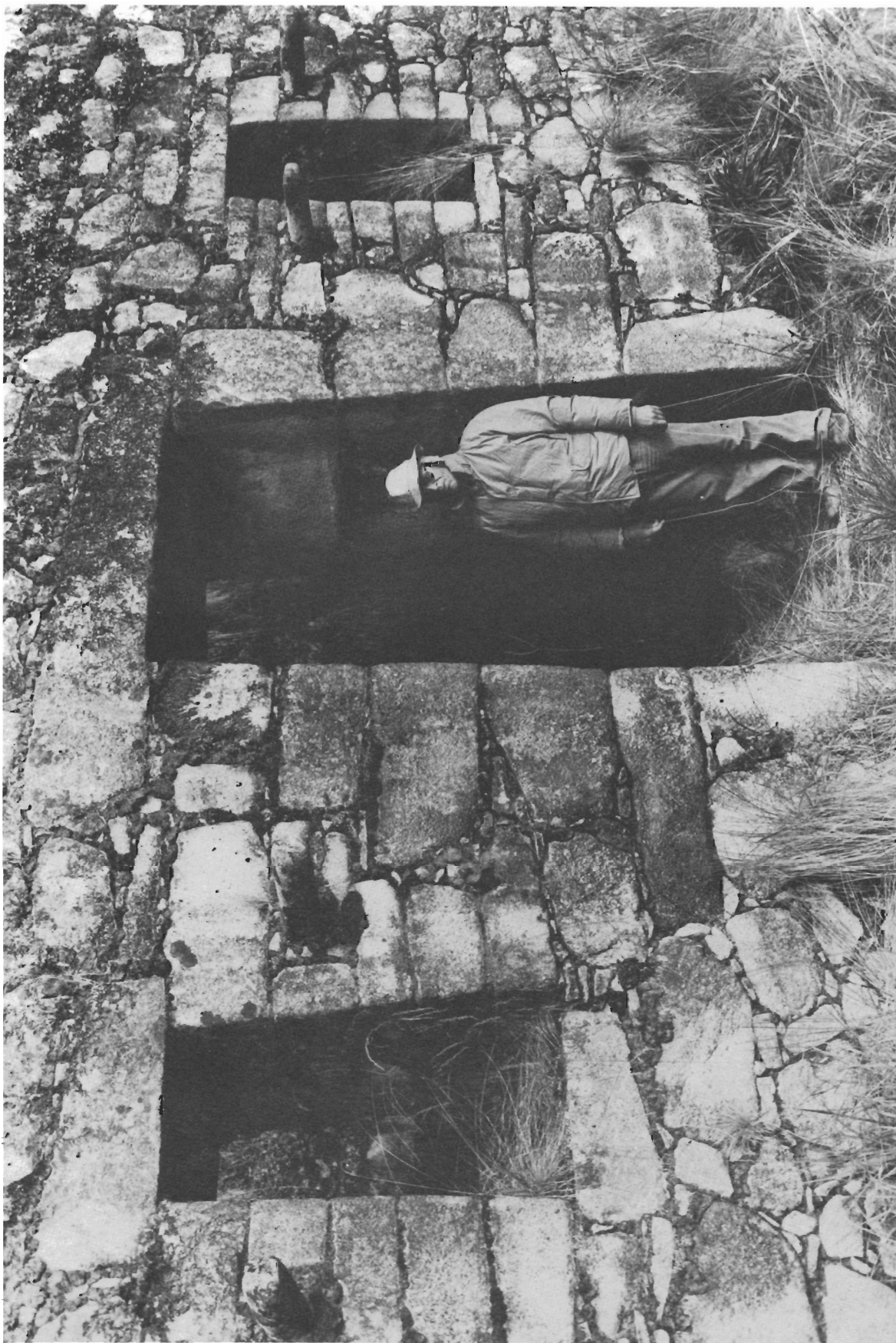


Fig. 7, west façade, Inka Wasi. Figure is Robert von Kaupp.



Fig. 8, Cerro Idma, southwest flank. Inka Wasi is indicated by arrow at right edge of photograph.

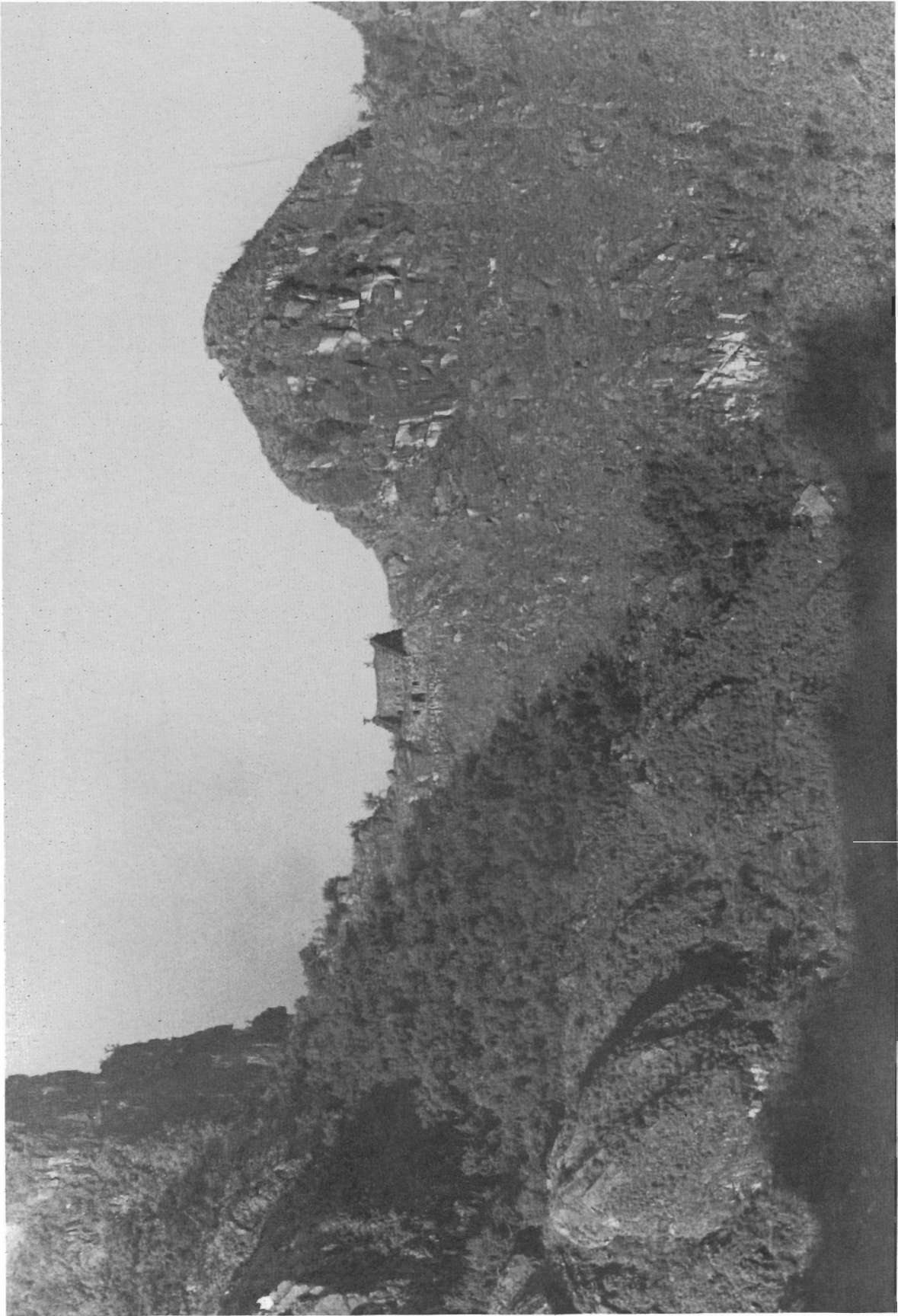


Fig. 9, Inka Wasi.

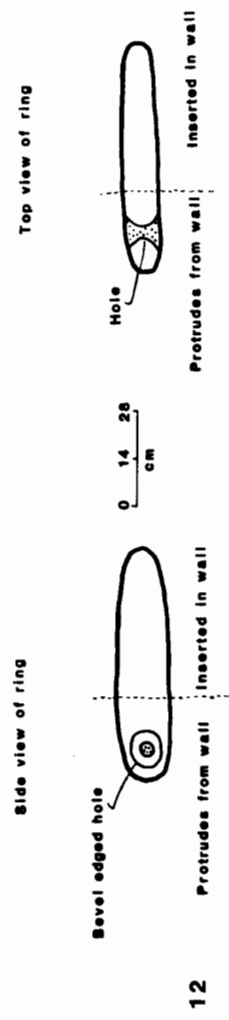
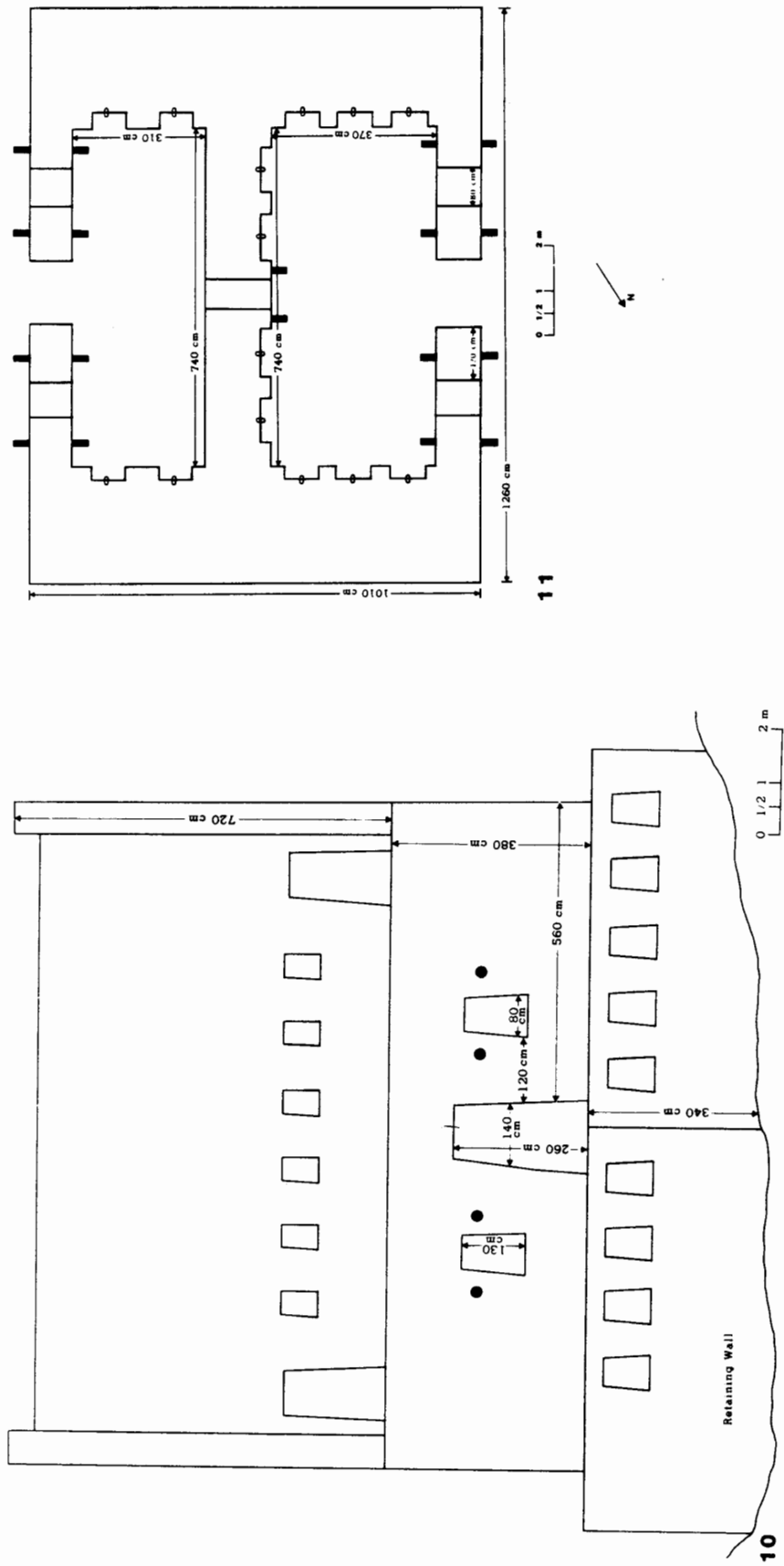
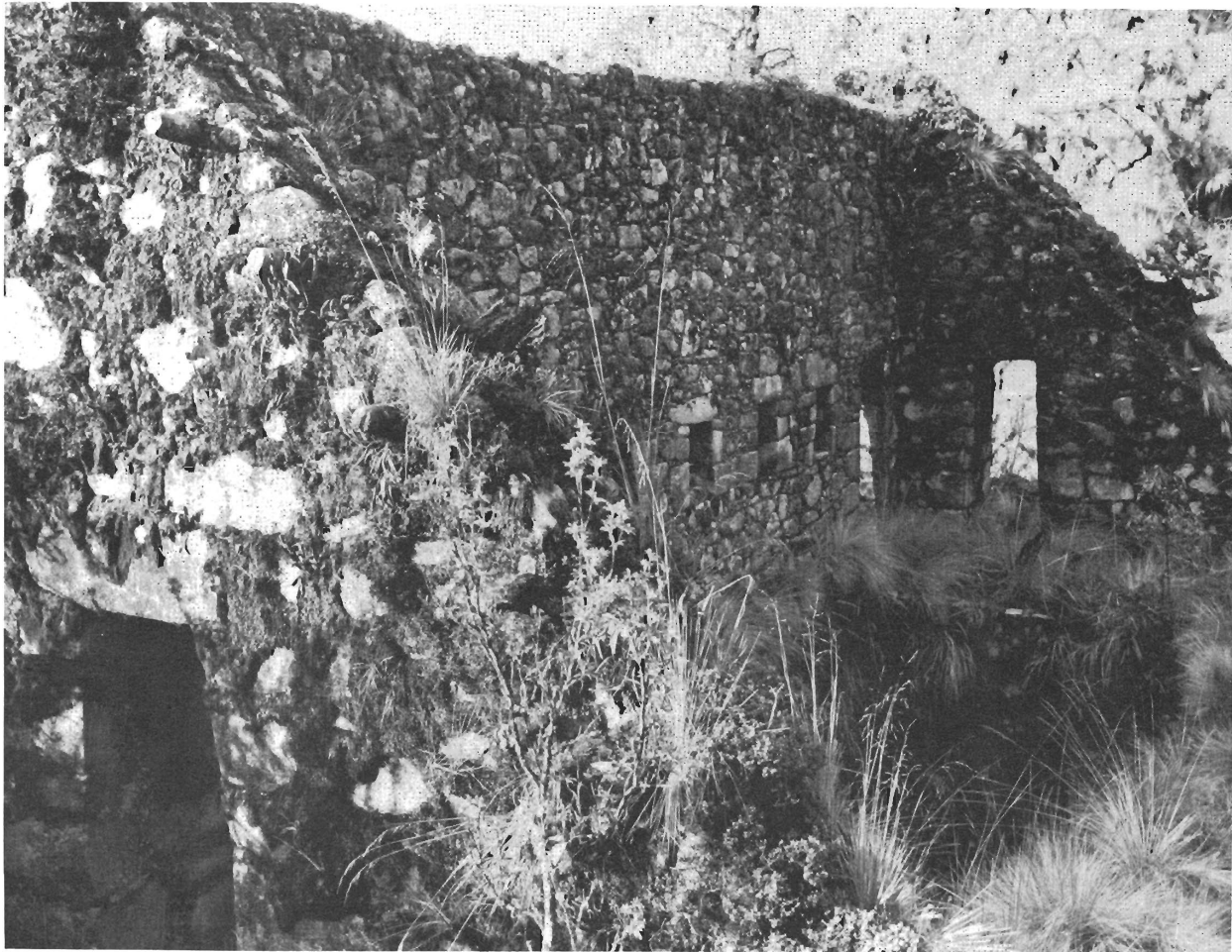
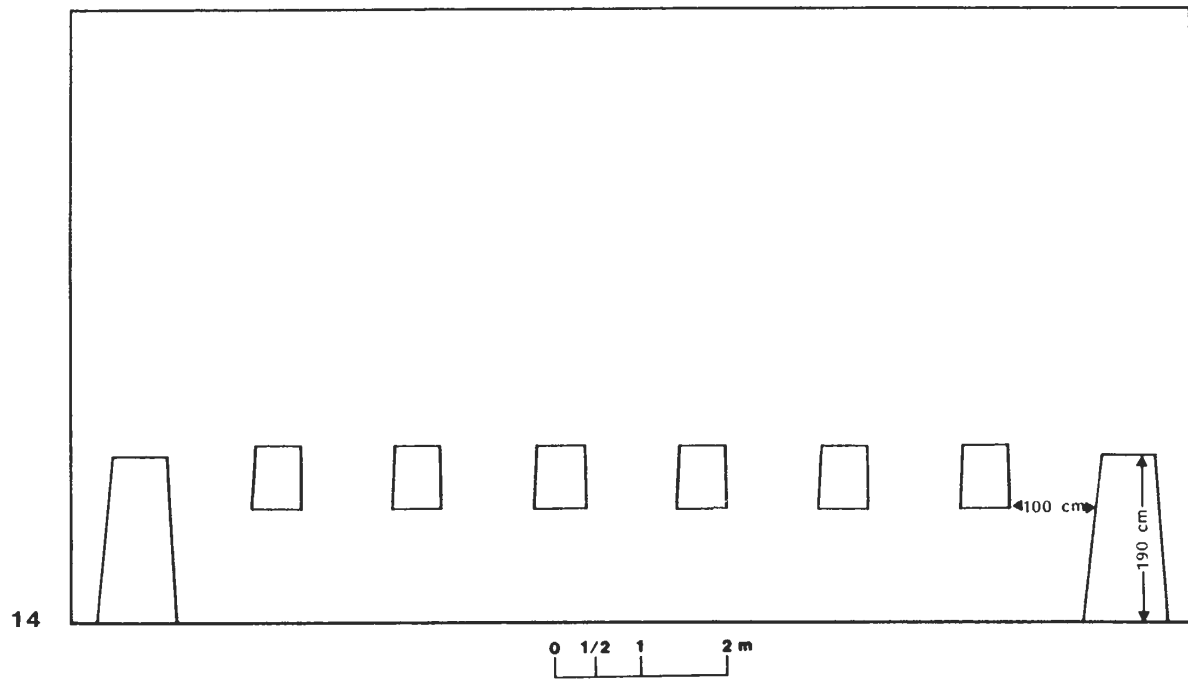


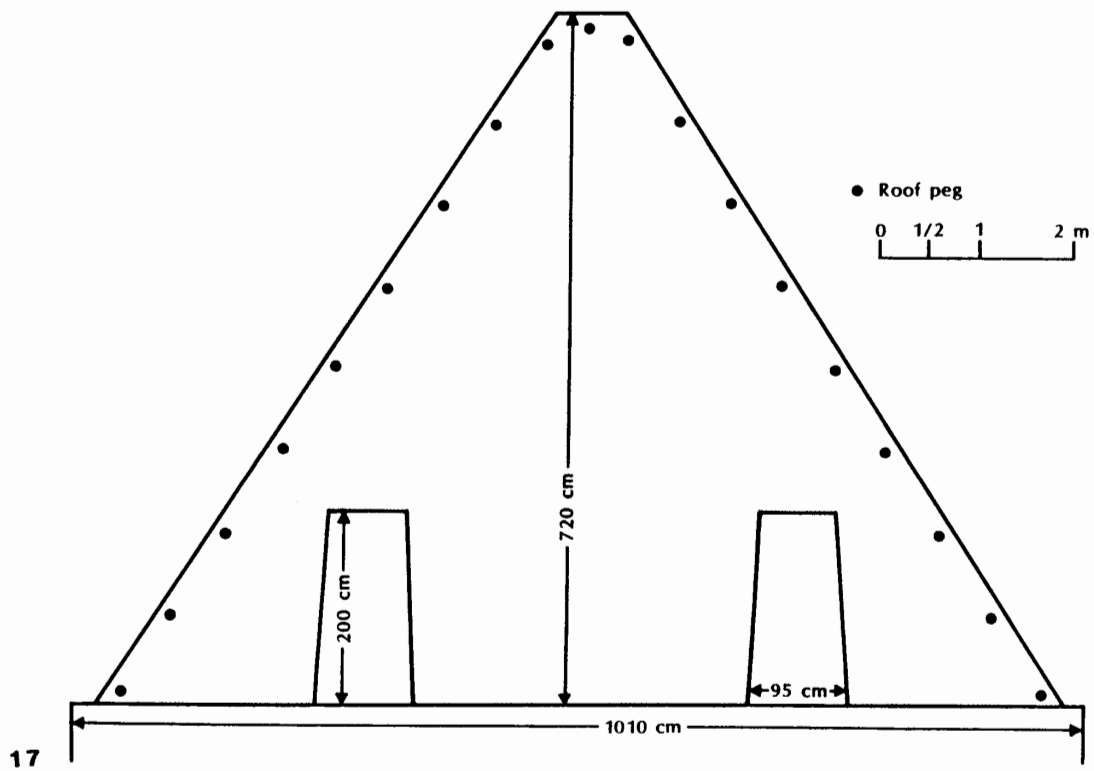
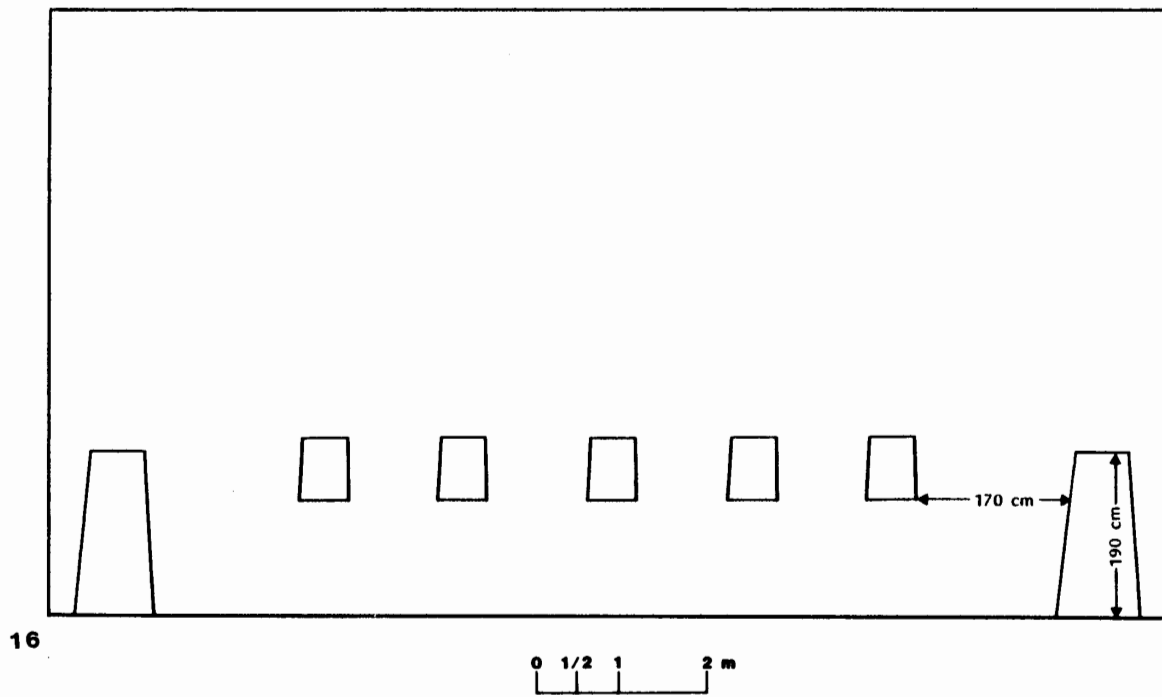
Fig. 10, Inka Wasi, west elevation; **fig. 11**, Inka Wasi, first floor, east and west rooms; **fig. 12**, stone rings found in large niches of the first floor, Inka Wasi. See Key to Illustrations.



Fig. 13, Inka Wasi, west doorway.



15
Inka Wasi. **Fig. 14**, second floor, central wall, west room; **fig. 15**, west room, second floor (first floor room in lower righthand corner of photograph).



Inka Wasi. **Fig. 16**, second floor, central wall, east room; **fig. 17**, second floor, south lateral wall.

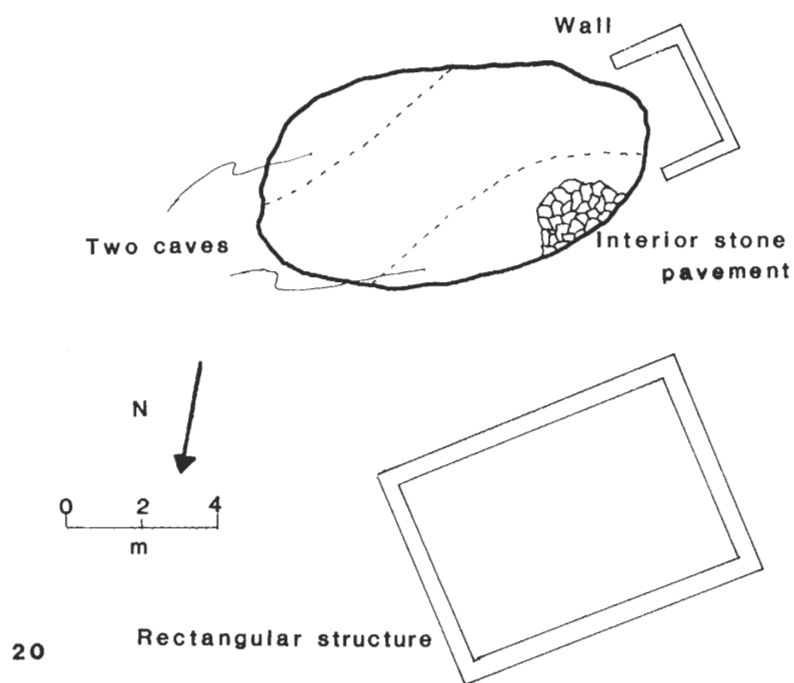


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Fig. 18, Inka Wasi, retaining wall forming terrace in front of main door on west side (figure is Robert von Kaupp); **fig. 19**, road leading to Inka Wasi.



21

Fig. 20, cave complex at Inka Wasi; **fig. 21**, Punkuyoq Q'asa, believed by residents to have been created when the Inca hurled a stone at his escaping wife.

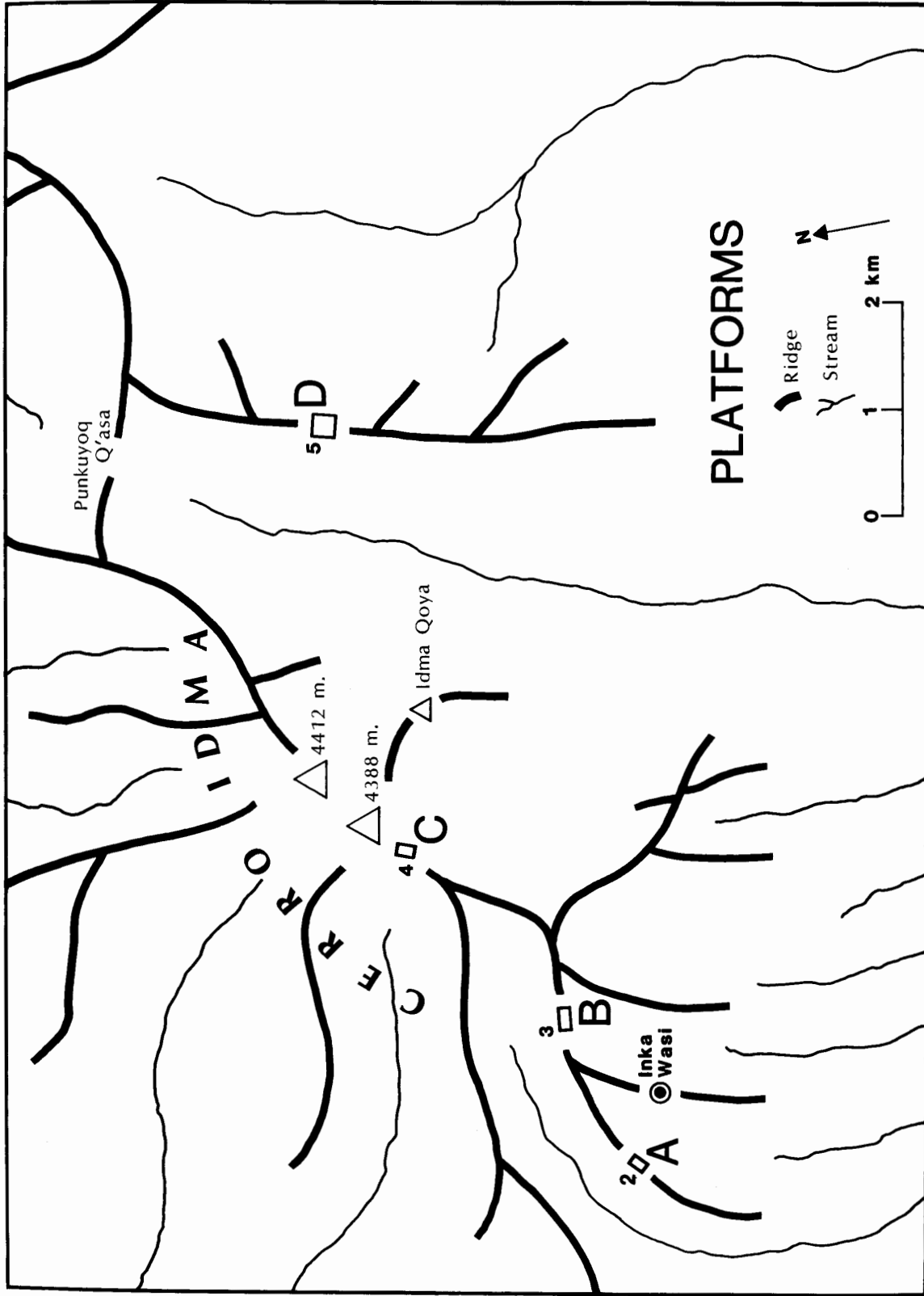


Fig. 22, platforms located on Cerro Idma.



23



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Fig 23, Platform A (site 2) from the southwest (Inka Wasi is located on the ridge at the right edge of the photograph; **fig. 24**, Platform B (site 3) from the north (the isolated rock to the left is unmodified).

**25****26**

Fig. 25, Platform C (site 4) from the southeast; **fig. 26**, Platform D (site 5) from the south (figure is Lynn Hirschkind).

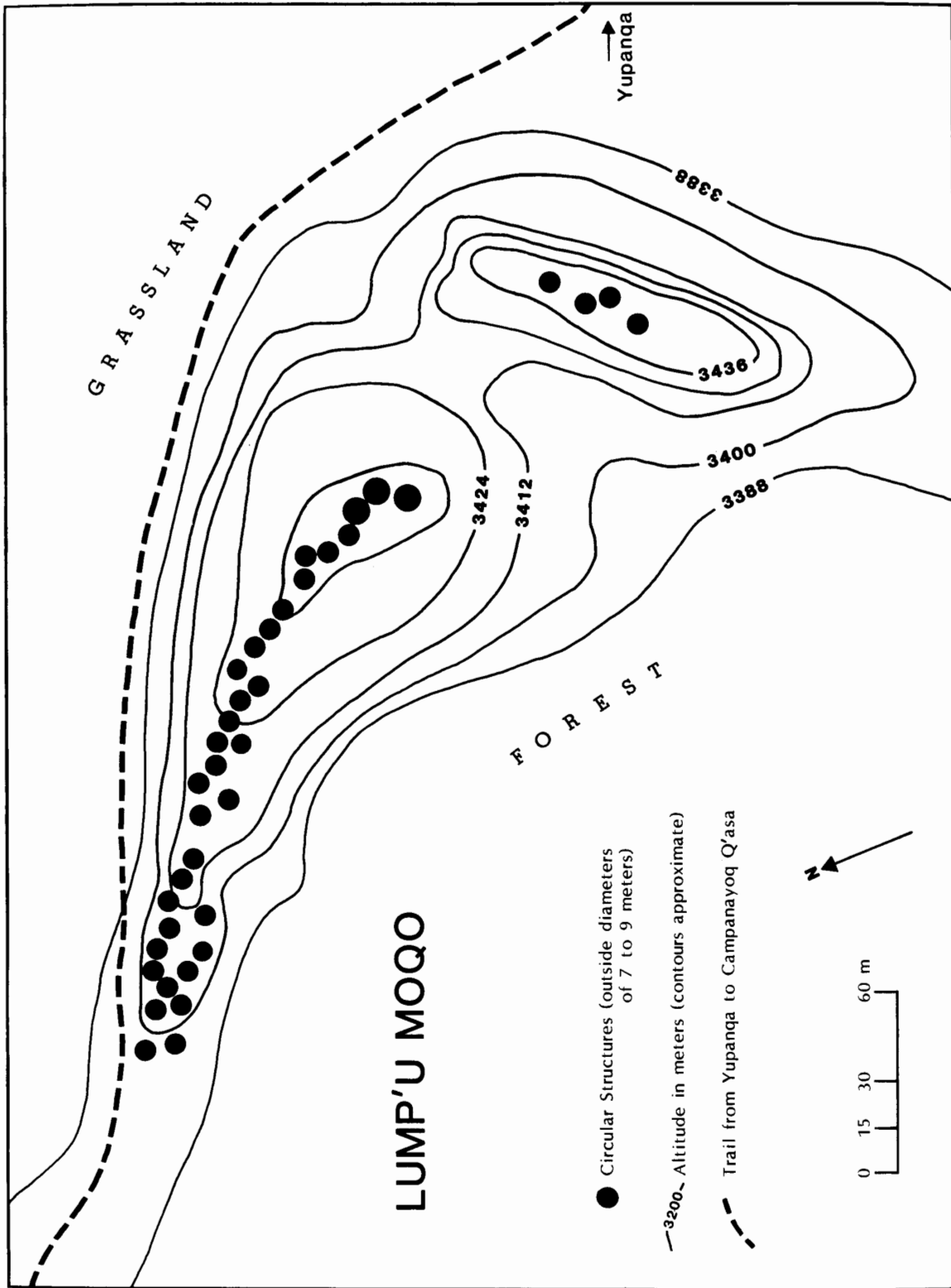


Fig. 27, Lump'u Moqo.



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Lump'u Moqo. **Fig. 28**, site from the west northwest; **fig. 29**, remains of circular structures.