

Revolutions in the (pre)history of the Andes?

Origins, resettlements, demography, language, ecology

From Cuzco to Tucumán — from the fall of Tiwanaku to the boom of Potosí



An Interdisciplinary Symposium

Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú

Thursday 27th & Friday 28th June, 2024

Event 10 in the series: A Cross-Disciplinary Prehistory for the Andes

<https://paulheggarty.info/symposia>

Conveners: Paul Heggarty (PUCP), Francisco Hernández Astete (PUCP),
David Beresford-Jones (Cambridge), Adrian Pearce (UCL)

Rationale

Over the last decade or more, multiple pillars of what we knew — or *thought* we knew — about the Andean past have been shaken to their foundations. From radiocarbon to ancient DNA to linguistics, new methodologies, analyses and hypotheses have challenged a whole string of old certainties. Together they would have us rewrite Andean (pre)history — from Cuzco to Tucumán and from the fall of Tiwanaku to the boom of Potosí — as follows.

Panacas did not exist¹². The Rowe chronology of the Incas needs to be abandoned^{3,4,5,6}. Tawantinsuyu spread to the Altiplano decades earlier, and before it spread northwards, not after^{4,7}. From Tiwanaku to Potosí, continuity and change — in culture, language and demography — need radically rethinking. The ‘Aymara kingdoms’ did not speak Aymara⁸. Rather, the early Incas did⁹, and it was not until *they* spread southwards that Aymara finally reached the Altiplano⁸. Quechua in Bolivia, meanwhile, dates mostly just to colonial times¹⁰, brought not by the Incas but by the Potosí mining *mit’a*¹¹. Classifying Quechua as a ‘family tree’ is the wrong model for what actually happened in the Andean past⁸, and of no historical value¹². Torero’s hypothesis for tracing the prehistories of Quechua and Aymara in the archaeological record, from Chincha¹³ to Ayacucho¹⁴ to Ecuador¹⁵, should be abandoned in almost every respect⁸.

Each of these challenges would represent a revolution in itself. Together, across all these different disciplines, they call for a wholesale rethinking, a working-through of the repercussions not just within each discipline, but between them all.

Yet while the case for dismantling the old paradigm can seem convincing, there is no consensus on the various new hypotheses that would replace it. Indeed, do the complementary data-sets and methods of the different disciplines provide independent, ‘multi-proxy’ support for the revolutions, and cohere into a single new paradigm — or do they risk simply “building on each other’s myths”?¹⁶ Some of the revolutions claim greater roles for ecology in shaping their new vision of the past — but were Andean societies slaves to their natural context, or masters of it?

It is high time for a meeting of minds across the disciplines to assess where we all now stand, and to try to establish the outlines of any new paradigm. This task makes for the obvious, essential next step in the cross-disciplinary endeavour towards a coherent, holistic understanding of the Andean past, and the theme for a new event in the long-running series of interdisciplinary symposia to that end, since 2008 (see <https://paulheggarty.info/symposia>).

Although daunting, the task can viably be focused: on the fairly narrow span of time and geographical space where these challenges converge. They concern either the Incas, or just the few centuries immediately before and after their Empire. And they concern principally the highlands, from Ayacucho and Cuzco southwards as far as Cochabamba and Potosí.

Format: Small-Group Symposium — and interactions with PUCP researchers

The symposium is a small group format of c. 20 invited participants, aimed specifically at fostering interaction and constructive discussion between the disciplines on the symposium themes. There are no long, single-discipline research papers, but multiple, invited short summaries on the same focused topic, to give the perspective from one discipline for the benefit of all the others. The symposium will be bilingual; all participation can be in either English or Spanish.

A further objective is to foment interaction between PUCP researchers and international specialists in the history and prehistory of southern Peru, in archaeology, languages and genetics. As well as the contribution of PUCP participants in the symposium itself, from all disciplines, the PUCP will host lunches and dinners aim to provide further opportunities for interaction with PUCP researchers. On the day immediately before the symposium, the PUCP will also host a public talk on one of the symposium themes (session 6) by one of our invited international participants.

References

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12. Itier, C. *Palabras clave de la sociedad y la cultura incas*. (Instituto Francés de Estudios Andinos, Lima, 2023). <https://www.ifea.org.pe/libreria/travaux/371>
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15. Itier, C. Difusión lingüística y Estado: el caso del quechua en las épocas inca y colonial. in *The Oxford Guide to the Languages of the Central Andes* (ed. Urban, M.) (Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2024).
16. Renfrew, C. *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. (Jonathan Cape, London, 1987).

Symposium Programme

Session	starts	Ends	Duration	Mini-talks	
DAY 1: THURSDAY 27TH JUNE					
0	09:00	09:15	15'		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Welcome [Francisco Hernández and Paul Heggarty, PUCP]
	09:15	09:40	25		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Rationale, scope and nature of this symposium. Introducing all participants.
Session 1: A Time of Revolutions? Overview and Repercussions					
1a	09:40	10:40	60'		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Overview perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Linguistics: <i>three</i> languages of the Incas, and revolutions in the language prehistory of the Andes. – Archaeology: summary of key data and questions in Qullasuyu, from the LIP to the Incas. – History: demographic ‘revolution’ in the early colonial period — especially through the mining <i>mit’a</i>. – Genetics: how might DNA, ancient and modern, help inform on origins and demographic revolutions?
1b	10:40	11:00	20'		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 1b: Overviews: Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.
	11:00	11:30	30'		COFFEE BREAK
Session 2: What if there were no Panacas?					
2a	11:30	12:30	60'		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ No such thing as panacas? Perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – History: how the chroniclers actually used the word <i>panaca</i> — and how historians have (mis)read it. – Linguistics: reconsidering the word <i>panaca</i>. what did it really mean — in which language? – Archaeology: if there were no panacas, what changes for Tawantinsuyu and the role of women? – Genetics: what prospects for contrasting female and male ancestries in the Inca empire?
	12:30	14:00	1h30'		LUNCH (at PUCP)
2b	14:00	15:00	60'		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 2b: No Panacas? Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.

Session 3: Reconsidering deep Inca origins in Titicaca				
3a	15:00	16:00	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Linguistics: the case for Puquina in Tiwanaku, the Qullas, and the 'particular language of the Incas'. – Ethnohistory: reconsidering accounts of Inca mythohistory, in the light of the Puquina data. – Archaeology: evidence for and against a Tiwanaku – Inca connection and migration. – Genetics: what prospects for any DNA signal of Tiwanaku or 'Inca' ancestry?
	16:00	16:30	30'	COFFEE BREAK
3b	16:30	17:30	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 3b. Deep Inca origins: Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.
	18:00	19:30	1h30'	PUCP RECEPTION and informal discussions with PUCP researchers
	20:00	22:00	2h	DINNER — at El Bolivariano restaurant: https://elbolivariano.com

Session	starts	Ends	Duration	
DAY 2: FRIDAY 28 TH JUNE				
				Session 4: (So) What if the Incas spread earlier, and southwards first?
4a	09:00	10:00	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Archaeology: the new radiocarbon evidence for an earlier Inca expansion — for and against. – Ethnohistory: reconsidering the chronicles in the light of the radiocarbon evidence. – Linguistics: a better explanation for how and when Aymara reached the Altiplano: the early Incas? – Genetics: can ancestry shifts in aDNA identify and date significant migration into the Altiplano?
4b	10:00	11:00	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 4b. Incas earlier? Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.
	11:00	11:30	30'	COFFEE BREAK

Session 5: Revolutionising Quechua: Inca impacts

5a	11:30	12:30	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Linguistics: revolutionary new claims on how the Incas reshaped the Quechua family (and created all 'Quechua II'), through resettlements and 'language policy' (by elevation and ecology?). How linguistics infers contrasting scenarios for the scale and origins of demographic turnover in Ecuador, Ayacucho, Bolivia, and Cuzco itself. – Archaeology: do archaeological data fit or deny the new demographic scenarios and impacts claimed from linguistics? – (Ethno)History: do the chronicles support the new demographic scenarios and impacts? – Genetics: can DNA, ancient and modern, corroborate or challenge the new demographic scenarios?
	12:30	14:00	1h30'	LUNCH (at PUCP)
5b	14:00	15:00	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 5b: Quechua and Incas: Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.
<h2 style="margin: 0;">Session 6: Not the Incas, but Potosí: Demographic Revolution in Bolivia?</h2>				
6a	15:00	16:00	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Perspectives from each discipline. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> – Linguistics: the case for why Quechua in Bolivia is colonial — i.e. from Potosí, not from the Incas. – Archaeology: patterns in Inca resettlements, Cochabamba farmers <i>vs.</i> frontier garrisons, etc.. – History: brief population history of Bolivia, from the great dying to Potosí. Scale of Potosí's demographic impact. How colonial <i>mit'a</i> policies shaped who came, died, stayed, or moved on. How heavily was the rest of Bolivia 'repopulated' by trickledown out of Potosí, in which regions? – Genetics: DNA on the scale of Potosí's demographic revolution — and how to look back before it?
	16:00	16:30	30'	COFFEE BREAK
6b	16:30	17:30	60'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ 6b. Potosí and Quechua: Cross-disciplinary doubts and clarifications, challenges and discussion.
7	17:30	17:45	15'	<h2 style="margin: 0;">Session 7: Brief discussion on publication options</h2>
	18:00	19:15	1h15'	DRINKS and informal discussions with PUCP researchers — at Antigua Taberna Quierolo https://antiguatabernaquierolo.com
	19:30	21:30	2h	DINNER — at Museo Larco restaurant: https://cafe.museolarco.org

Invited Participants

Participation in the symposium is by invitation by the organising committee, in line with several criteria. Firstly, on a practical level it is not possible to invite all known specialists on all themes, both for financial reasons and because the group must be kept small enough to ensure meaningful interdisciplinary interaction. To that end it is also essential to keep a balance between the different disciplines (in practice there tend to be many more researchers in the archaeology of the southern Andes than in other disciplines). So we target our invitations to ensure at least one specialist in each of the precise topics covered, who is thus also called upon to cover and represent not just their own view, but that of the field as a whole, including counter-proposals. Together, the invitees thus cover all themes in the regions and time-periods specific to the symposium. This means, for instance, that we need expertise in the Late Intermediate Period, and interactions between the Titicaca basin and Cuzco region, in both directions. Obviously, we also need expertise in each of the specific claims for ‘revolutions’, such as: the new radiocarbon claims for earlier expansion of the Incas; each of the new hypotheses for language prehistory covered here; colonial censuses, mining drafts, and demography, in particular the impact of Potosí; and in both modern and ancient DNA, including both the potential and limitations of research in human population genetics given the limited genetic differentiation among the populations of the target regions of the southern Andes. Since much of the symposium concerns the Incas, our participants include specialists in the Incas, and the interpretation of the colonial chronicles of Inca (mytho)histories, from the complementary perspectives of history, archaeology and linguistics. Finally, we invite researchers with special experience in the challenges and potential of cross-disciplinary work in the Andes, particularly co-authors, co-editors and conveners of previous events in this series – and, as appropriate, even occasional guest (star) participants, on special recommendation.

Participants

Given the short notice at which this symposium was confirmed, we are most grateful for everyone’s flexibility and interest. We now have pretty much precisely the desired quorum and scale of event to best promote the interdisciplinary interaction that is our prime objective. We have 19 participants present in Lima, plus a few guests for whom we’ve had special and very well justified requests to join us. A few other invitees unfortunately cannot attend in person, but will or may be able to participate through recorded short summary talks and/or *remotely* for appropriate sessions. We may also be joined by other PUCP professors with a direct interest in our themes.

History: Inca and Colonial

D’Altroy, Terence	Columbia, USA	https://anthropology.columbia.edu/content/terence-n-daltroy
Hernández, Francisco	PUCP, Lima	https://profiles.ucl.ac.uk/58656
Pearce, Adrian	UCL, London	https://profiles.ucl.ac.uk/58656
Zagalsky, Paula	CONICET, Buenos Aires	https://deerlab.academia.edu/PaulaCZagalsky

Itier, César	INALCO, Paris	http://www.inalco.fr/enseignant-chercheur/cesar-itier
Lane, Kris	Tulane, USA	https://liberalarts.tulane.edu/history/people/faculty-staff-name/kris-e-lane

Genetics

Fehren-Schmitz, Lars	UCSC, USA	https://anthro.ucsc.edu/faculty/index.php?uid=lfehrens
Fujita, Ricardo	USMP, Lima	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Ricardo-Fujita
Sandoval, José	USMP, Lima	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Jose-Sandoval-Sandoval
Barbieri, Chiara	Cagliari, Italy	http://www.chiarabarbieri.com

Linguistics

Cerrón-Palomino, Rodolfo	PUCP, Lima	https://www.pucp.edu.pe/profesor/rodolfo-cerron-palomino
Heggarty, Paul	PUCP, Lima	https://eva-mpg.academia.edu/PaulHeggarty
Pierrard, Alexis	Bonn, Germany	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Alexis-Pierrard-2

Archaeology

Alconini, Sonia	Virginia, USA	https://anthropology.as.virginia.edu/people/sonia-alconini
Arkush, Elizabeth	Pittsburgh, USA	https://www.anthropology.pitt.edu/people/elizabeth-arkush
Bauer, Brian	Illinois (Chicago), USA	https://anth.uic.edu/profiles/bauer-brian-s
Beresford-Jones, David	Cambridge, UK	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/David-Beresford-Jones
Kaulicke, Peter	PUCP, Lima	https://www.pucp.edu.pe/profesor/peter-kaulicke-roermann
Marsh, Erik	Mendoza, Argentina	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Erik-Marsh
Nesbitt, Jason	Tulane, USA	https://liberalarts.tulane.edu/anthropology/people/faculty-staff/jason-s-nesbitt
Ogburn, Dennis	Charlotte, USA	https://pages.charlotte.edu/dennis-ogburn/
Pärssinen, Martti	Helsinki, Finland	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Martti-Parssinen/research
Lane, Kevin	Buenos Aires, Argentina	https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Kevin-Lane-2
Sillar, Bill	UCL, London	https://www.ucl.ac.uk/archaeology/people/bill-sillar-professor-archaeology-and-technology-society

Guests

Sergio Cangahuala Castro	PUCP, Lima	https://facultad.pucp.edu.pe/generales-letras/alumno/sergio-luis-cangahuala-castro/sergio-luis-cangahuala-castro2
Carlos Contreras Carranza	PUCP, Lima	https://www.pucp.edu.pe/profesor/carlos-contreras-carranza
Karla Paola Patroni Castillo	UCSC, USA	https://anthro.ucsc.edu/graduate/grad-directory-pagetest.php?uid=kpatroni
Peter Frost	Cuzco	https://www.nationalgeographic.com/expeditions/experts/peter-frost

Practicalities in Lima

To/from Lima Airport

Unfortunately we can't cover taxis or other transport to and from airports – administratively through the PUCP it's counter-productive for us to even try. There are official taxi offices in the airport, including [Taxi Green](https://taxigreen.com.pe), (<https://taxigreen.com.pe>) which has flat rates to Miraflores, for example (and now its own app) – I think about S./ 55 currently – or if you use a taxi-hailing app (see below) and have internet access, fares will be lower.

If you wonder about the [airport express bus](https://www.airportexpresslima.com), (<https://www.airportexpresslima.com>) to various points in Miraflores, it's cheap (US\$6) and has wifi, but be aware that it departs only once an hour.

Hotel

We are staying at the Hotel Señorial in Miraflores (<https://senorial.com>), one of the PUCP's regular venues for its guests, where several of us stay regularly. Our breakfast is included, the wifi is fine, and the hotel is built around a garden in its courtyard, a nice place to sit and chat. Be aware, though, that the weather will be cool (14-19°C), so you may want to pack clothing a little warmer than you might have thought.

If you're staying on longer in Lima for your own purposes, beyond the three nights we can cover for the symposium, then the Hotel Señorial may well allow you to stay on at the PUCP's negotiated discounted corporate rate.

Weather

In late June you can expect Lima to be cool and damp, unfortunately. There is likely to be thick cloud, little sunshine, if any, and temperatures between a low of 14°C and a high of 19°C (unless we hit lucky).

Locations Map

I've set up this Google map of [locations mentioned here or in the programme](https://maps.app.goo.gl/wTcrQLLC8HCRm2qy9): <https://maps.app.goo.gl/wTcrQLLC8HCRm2qy9>

PUCP Campus: Symposium Venue and Wifi Access

From the hotel we'll be picked up by a minibus to take us straight to the PUCP for the symposium itself. This should also avoid the complex security to get into the campus!

The symposium itself will be in Aula B-100 in the Complejo de Innovación Académica:

<https://maps.app.goo.gl/S4pBMWnWQBvFz9>

This is very close to the **Inca road** that runs through the PUCP campus, along its southern edge.

To my knowledge the PUCP does not offer eduroam, unfortunately. We will arrange internet access by vouchers. More information here once this is arranged.

Money

In Lima, you can pay by bank card for most things nowadays. You can withdraw cash (in soles or US\$) from almost any ATM, but they almost always take an additional fee of \$5-\$12, and limit you to withdrawing \$200 or so at a time. If you change cash, current rates at exchange offices in Miraflores (see locations map) are about S./ 3.72 to the **US\$** and 4.10 to the **€**. (Curiously, the rate for euros is regularly actually *better* than the interbank rate.)

Extremely popular in Peru nowadays are payment apps like Yape or Plin, but you seem to need a Peruvian bank account to use them. To check current interbank rates for soles:

\$ to soles: <https://www.google.com/finance/quote/USD-PEN?window=5D> € to soles: <https://www.google.com/finance/quote/EUR-PEN?window=5D>

Phone & SIM cards

Rates for using your home phone in Peru can be steep (mine costs €1 per minute just to receive calls, for instance). There is a stand at Lima airport arrivals that sells Peruvian SIM cards for tourists. Or as an example of the main local networks, the BiTel office at Larco 534 in Miraflores near our hotel (see our map) sells SIM cards for S./ 40 for 200 GB for a month.

Local transport and Taxis

Traffic in Lima was never great, and at **peak times** — roughly 7:30-10am and 4:30-9pm, or until later on weekends — can still feature long journeys at a crawl. When not too busy, though, the main arteries like the Circuito de Playas/Costa Verde can be fast. Between the airport and Miraflores, where our hotel is, can take about 35 minutes at best, but an hour or more at peak times.

Between our hotel (Hotel Señorial in Miraflores), the PUCP and the dinner venues we'll arrange transport as a group. When you need to get around Lima on your own, you'll presumably use **taxis**, since costs are so reasonable, and there are plenty of options, especially with **taxi-hailing apps** that you can download in advance and are very easy to use. Locals use these also for more security, since journeys are tracked and remembered by the app, you can see the driver's identity, licence plate number and rating (I generally go with drivers who already have a few thousand rides, and ratings of 4 to 5 stars out of 5 — almost all drivers anyway).

InDrive is the app most widely used by Limeños (and in many other cities in Peru). So it has the most drivers, and you will generally see dozens of drivers available near you on the app's built-in map. It rarely takes more than a couple of minutes to find one. You can usually pay only in soles cash, however. The app proposes a base fare, and you'd have a hard time negotiating a better one on the street anyway. Outside peak times, most drivers will go with that base fare. At peak times you may need to up your offer from the base rate by a few soles. <https://play.google.com/store/apps/details?id=sinet.startup.inDriver>

Cabify is a more upmarket alternative, and you can set it up to pay automatically by PayPal, for example. Rates are generally about 25% more than InDrive, plus surcharges at peak hours and for the airport. That also means that Cabify has not so many drivers, so at some times you may need to wait a couple more minutes than with InDrive. In practice Cabify seems to set a slightly higher bar in car quality than InDrive, too. <https://cabify.com>