

**Project Title: Building the Inca Imperial Capital: Life and Labor in the Quarries of Cuzco (Peru)**

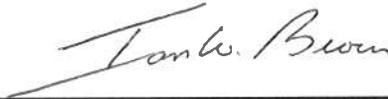
Submitted to the Social Sciences Division, College of Arts and Sciences, by:



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**Abstract:**

This proposal requests funds to support interdisciplinary historical and archaeological research on labor camps in Cuzco, the sacred capital of the Inca Empire (ca. AD 1400-1532). The project's objective is to examine the technological practices and living conditions of the people who worked in Cuzco's quarries and built its monuments. Since the Incas kept no written records, we know very little about how they drafted workers and constructed Cuzco. Archival research on sixteenth-century Spanish Colonial documents will reveal whether the Incas filled the labor camps by enlisting local workers or enslaving foreign ethnic groups. Archaeological fieldwork will analyze work areas and living quarters in the quarries to record the process of stone manufacture and gauge whether the workers maintained their cultural traditions as they labored for the Incas. The project will be the first historical and archaeological study of labor in an indigenous American empire. The success of the project will be measured by its product: a detailed account and analysis of the Inca labor camps. Because laborers in the Cuzco quarries built famous sites such as Machu Picchu, the research will interest both academic and popular audiences and enhance the reputation of the University of Alabama (UA). The project is a new direction for the applicant that will enrich his research and teaching by developing expertise in archival research. Furthermore, the project will yield novel insights into the Inca state, produce data essential for publications and external funding, and establish a foundation for further UA research in South America.

**Project Objectives:**

When the Spanish conquistadors reached the Inca imperial capital of Cuzco in 1533, they entered a world of stone. Marveling at palaces of towering green diorite rocks, streets of polished rose andesite stones, and shrines carved into sheer limestone outcrops, the Spanish wrote that Cuzco was grander than any city in the world (2, 8). In that moment, at the height of the Inca Empire, Cuzco's massive stones and elegant structures proclaimed that the Incas were gods who could shape the earth and tame nature.

Archaeologists, art historians, and engineers have long been captivated by Cuzco's stone architecture. Focusing on aesthetics and architectural design, they have interpreted the cultural significance of the city's colossal buildings and shrines (4, 5, 7). But the aesthetic qualities of these stones obscure the labor that made them, the technology that moved them, and the violence that laid Cuzco's foundation. To fully understand the function and meaning of ancient Cuzco, then, we must look beyond its stone facades and recover information about the labor and the laborers that built the city.

This project's objective is to document the daily lives, political struggles, and technological practices of workers in the Inca capital through a historical and archaeological study of labor camps in the quarries of San Sebastian, near Cuzco. The project will produce a list of the ethnic groups who constructed Cuzco, a historical account of how the Incas brought these groups to Cuzco, and an archaeological analysis of the workers' tools, shrines, and houses. A search of the archives in Cuzco identified six documents (3000 pages) on the labor camps that were written directly after the end of Inca rule (1533-1570). Preliminary fieldwork at San Sebastian discovered well-preserved cemeteries, work areas, and house blocks, indicating that a permanent labor force lived

and died in the quarries. Together, the documents and archaeological remains offer an extraordinary opportunity to examine labor conditions at the center of an ancient empire.

**Research Design and Methods:**

The organizing hypothesis of this project is that the Incas forced people to live in labor settlements and required them to adopt Inca customs and technological practices. To test this hypothesis, project members will work in the Peruvian archives to analyze land litigation documents in which workers declared their identity as they sought redress from Incas. If the documents reveal a high degree of ethnic variation among workers they would suggest that the Incas forcibly moved conquered people to the camps. A low degree of variation would suggest that the Incas chose specific people to work in the quarries to punish ethnic groups or employ recognized specialists. The study will also examine Spanish administrative documents that recorded the amount of workers and technological practices in specific camps. Dr. Kosiba and a Peruvian historian will find and translate documents in June and July 2014 then analyze them throughout 2014.

To complement the archival study, project members will measure architecture and collect artifacts at San Sebastian. They will examine work areas to document the tools that workers used to cut and move stone, the kinds of stones that the Incas chose, and the rituals in which workers placated their gods. Statistical analysis of architecture and artifacts will reveal whether the Incas required workers to reject their cultural traditions and adopt a new way of life by issuing them common quarters, shrines, and tools. Significant differences in house styles and adornments will expose whether individual workers sought to express their identity or enhance their status. Dr. Kosiba, a UA graduate student, and a Peruvian archaeologist will conduct the analysis in July 2014.

**Significance of the Research Project:**

This will be the first research project to focus on labor in an indigenous American empire. By studying labor camps, the project fills a gap in our knowledge of the Inca Empire and contributes to current scholarship on citizenship and slavery in the ancient world (3, 6). Scholars have argued that early empires, such as the Incas or Assyrians, controlled subjects and created citizens through forced labor (1, 4). These arguments, however, are only supported by vague sources: tax records, paintings on palace walls, or a king's boasts of conquest. Because we lack physical evidence and detailed descriptions of labor in most ancient empires, our understanding of these empires is largely derived only from elite claims about history, which are fragmentary and one-sided.

The success of the research will be demonstrated by its product: an account, unparalleled in its detail, of labor in the heart of the Inca Empire. The project also has an important professional development component. The applicant will become proficient in archival research methods, which are essential to research on Inca and Spanish colonialism. The project will also provide archaeological training and thesis data for a UA graduate student. Results will be published in *Ethnohistory* (a top-tier journal). Data from this project will inform a proposal to the National Science Foundation (NSF) for an interdisciplinary project that will include: excavations at the labor camp, further studies of archival documents, and geological and engineering analyses of Inca technology. The research will also help Dr. Kosiba to develop a new UA course, titled "Historical Archaeology." Finally, because Cuzco is a major tourist destination and a site of ongoing archaeological research, this project will appeal to academic and popular audiences at an international scale and thereby enhance the reputation of the University of Alabama.

**Budget Justification**

**Transportation**

Two airline tickets for travel in Peru from Lima to Cuzco (round-trip) @ \$200 400  
 Justification: *Dr. Kosiba has already purchased an international plane ticket for travel from Birmingham to Lima, Peru. He will need a round-trip ticket from Lima to Cuzco to visit both the Lima and the Cuzco archives. A graduate student will purchase her own international plane ticket and will accompany Dr. Kosiba to Cuzco.*

**Food and Lodging**

Apartment rental in Cuzco @ \$200 per month x 1 month 200  
 Apartment rental in Lima @ \$250 per month x 1 month 250  
 Food @ \$250 per month x 2 months 500  
 UA graduate student per diem @ \$15 a day for 20 days 300  
 Justification: *In Peru, Dr. Kosiba will rent an apartment in order to provide space for his research activities and security for his research materials. The UA graduate student will share the apartment in Cuzco. Secure apartments cost (at minimum) the prices quoted above. The monthly food budget reflects current costs for groceries in Peru.*

**Operating Expenses**

Photocopies, supplies, and other fees at the archives 1000  
 Justification: *Dr. Kosiba will make photocopies of documents in the archives so he can analyze them after leaving Peru. The current rate for photocopies is fifty cents (American) per page—the price is high because the documents are delicate and must be handled by the archivist. The project will require at least 2000 pages of photocopies.*

**Equipment**

Garmin 62stc Handheld Navigator (3.5GB, Altimeter, Memory card, Case) 460  
 Justification: *This precise GPS unit will be necessary to document features and architecture in the quarries and labor camps. After the project, the GPS will greatly contribute to graduate student research in the Department of Anthropology.*

**Personnel**

Peruvian professional historian—Jesús Galiano Blanco @ \$1000 per month x1 month 1000  
 Justification: *Dr. Kosiba will work with the esteemed Peruvian historian, Jesús Galiano Blanco, to gain expertise in archival document analysis—searching, transcribing, and translating sixteenth century Spanish documents.*

**Total** **\$4110**

**Proposed timeline for the project:**

June1 -July 10 2014	Find and transcribe archival documents
July 11-July 31 2014	Analyze the archaeological remains in the quarries
August-December 2014	Analyze the information from the documents

**References Cited:**

1. Alcock, S., D'Altroy, T., Morrison, K., and C. Sinopoli (Editors). 2009. *Empires: Perspectives from Archaeology and History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
2. Bauer, B. S. 2004. *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*. Austin: University of Texas Press.
3. Cooper, F. and A. Stoler (Editors). 1997. *Tensions of Empire: Colonial Cultures in a Bourgeois World*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
4. D'Altroy, T. 2002. *The Incas*. Malden: Blackwell.
5. Dean, C. 2010. *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*. Durham: Duke University Press.
6. Ellis, C. and R. Ginsburg (Editors). 2010. *Cabin, Quarter, Plantation: Architecture and Landscapes of North American Slavery*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
7. Niles, S. A. 1999. *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
8. Sancho, P. 1986. *La Relación de Pero Sancho*. Buenos Aires: Editorial Plus Ultra.

### **Report of the Outcome of Previous CARSCA grant (2012)**

In 2012, I was awarded a CARSCA grant for my project, “Archaeological Excavations and Architectural Mapping at an Ancient Ceremonial Center in the Heartland of the Inca Empire (Cuzco, Peru).” My proposal requested funds to support detailed architectural mapping, environmental analysis, and small-scale archaeological excavations at the site of Markas Sunay, an ancient religious center near the capital of the Inca Empire. I conducted the research over a four-month field season in Peru, from May until August 2013. The project generated: a peer-reviewed article within an edited volume that will be published in 2014, a section of my book manuscript, and grants from the National Geographic Society (\$17,100) and the Brennan Foundation (\$4900).

The project found that pre-Inca religious practice in Cuzco was distinct from the Inca state religion. My crew mapped Markas Sunay’s topography and architecture. We employed Geographic Information Systems (GIS) software to assemble a three-dimensional digital model of the site. Through careful analysis of this model, I found multiple procession routes that diverged from Markas Sunay’s entrance and led worshippers toward discrete clusters of tombs. The routes suggest that ancient Andean people did not experience the site as one group (as in a church setting). Rather, upon entering Markas Sunay, people ascended distinct pathways that directed them toward their mummified ancestors. This lineage-based ceremonial practice is different from the ceremonies that were held within the plazas of later Inca sites, such as Machu Picchu.

Two UA graduate students worked on this project. CARSCA funding provided for these students’ room and board costs, and consequently, offered them an opportunity to learn advanced archaeological field skills. The data from the project will frame the Master’s thesis of one of these graduate students. Moreover, the data from this project will benefit other UA students who, in my Geographic Information Systems seminar, will improve the three-dimensional model of Markas Sunay.

The research has generated original data for publication and presentations. I drew on this project to write a paper, titled “Of Blood and Soil: Tombs, Wak’a, and the Naturalization of Social Difference in the Inca Heartland.” The paper which will soon be published in an edited book, titled *The Archaeology of Wak’as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*, University Press of Colorado. I will present data from Markas Sunay at three international conferences: a symposium for a museum exhibit in Stuttgart, Germany (March, 2014); the Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology (April 2014); and an Inca conference in Lima, Peru (June 2014).

Furthermore, the success of the project at Markas Sunay helped me to gain external funding from the National Geographic Society, Committee for Research and Exploration (NGS-CRE). The project at Markas Sunay led me to reconsider the importance of religious conversion to Inca state formation and imperialism in the Cuzco region. Accordingly, I submitted a proposal to NGS-CRE for mapping and intensive excavations at Huanacauri, the principal Inca ancestor shrine in the Cuzco region. NGS-CRE and the Brennan Foundation awarded grants for excavations at Huanacauri.

CARSCA support helped me to plan these excavations and complete my research into on Inca religion. I am now heading in a new direction: historical and archaeological research on labor conditions in the Inca Empire. CARSCA funds would supply the necessary seed money to start this new project.

## PI Curriculum Vitae

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### RESEARCH ACTIVITIES:

Steve Kosiba is an anthropological archaeologist whose research focuses on the politics, labor, and religion in ancient empires, in particular the formation of the Inca polity in the Peruvian Andes. He has participated in numerous archaeological survey, excavation, and analysis projects in Peru, Bolivia, Florida, South Carolina, France, and Sweden. In recent publications and presentations, he documents how the Incas often conquered not only by force, but also by appropriating or redefining the religious and cultural practices through which local people engaged with sacred places, people and objects. He is currently finalizing a book manuscript on the rise of the Inca state.

### PUBLICATIONS CLOSELY RELATED TO THE PROJECT:

(In press) Kosiba, S. "Of Blood and Soil: Tombs, Wak'a, and the Naturalization of Social Difference in the Inka Heartland." In *The Archaeology of Wak'as: Explorations of the Sacred in the Pre-Columbian Andes*. T. Bray, Editor. University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

2013 Kosiba, S. and V. Galiano Blanco. "Construyendo un paisaje inka: La conversión de los centros ceremoniales y la constitución de la autoridad durante la formación del estado inkaiko (Cusco, Perú)." *Arqueología y Sociedad* 26:301-338.

2013 Kosiba, S. and A. Bauer. "Mapping the Political Landscape: Toward a GIS Analysis of Social and Environmental Difference" *Journal of Archaeological Method and Theory* 20(1): 61-101. (DOI)10.1007/s10816-011-9126z.

2012 Kosiba, S. "Emplacing Value, Cultivating Order: Places of Conversion and Practices of Subordination throughout Early Inka State Formation (Cusco, Perú)," In *Constructions of Value in the Ancient World*. G. Urton and J. Papadopoulos, Editors. Pp. 99-127. Cotsen Institute of Archaeology, Los Angeles.

2011 Kosiba, S. "The Politics of Locality: Pre-Inka Social Landscapes of the Cusco Region." In *The Archaeology of Politics: The Materiality of Political Practice and Action in the Past*. P. Johansen and A. Bauer, Editors. Pp. 114-150. Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle upon Tyne.

**OTHER PUBLICATIONS RELEVANT TO THE PROJECT:**

(In review) Kosiba, S. *Becoming Inca: Landscapes and Authority during Early Inca State Formation*. Book manuscript under contract with University Press of Colorado, Boulder.

2007 Kosiba, S., Tykot, R. and D. Carlsson. Stable Isotopes as Indicators of Change in the Food Procurement and Food Preference of Viking Age and Early Christian Populations on Gotland (Sweden). *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 26: 394-411.

**NO PRIOR EXTERNAL FUNDING FOR THIS PROJECT**

**SELECT FELLOWSHIPS, GRANTS AND AWARDS**

2013 National Geographic Society Committee for Research and Exploration Grant

2012 University of Alabama College Academy of Research, Scholarship, and Creative Activity (CARSCA) Grant

2012 University of Alabama Research Grants Committee (RGC) Grant

2008 National Science Foundation (NSF) Dissertation Improvement Grant

2007 University of Chicago Social Sciences Collegiate Division (SSCD) Writing Fellowship

2005 Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Abroad Fellowship

2001-2004 National Science Foundation Graduate Research Fellowship

**SELECT CONFERENCE PAPERS AND LECTURES**

2014 Kosiba, S. "By this Standard: The Materiality of Social Difference in the Inka Heartland." Paper to be presented at the 79<sup>th</sup> Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, Austin, TX.

2013 Kosiba, S. "A Recipe for Destruction: Food Offerings, Termination Rituals, and the Constitution of Authority throughout Inka State Formation (Cusco, Peru)," Paper presented at the 78<sup>th</sup> Meetings of the Society for American Archaeology, Honolulu, HI.

2013 Kosiba, S. "Construyendo un paisaje inka: La constitución de la autoridad durante la formación del Estado inkaiko (Cuzco, Perú)," Invited lecture, Paper presented at the Programa de Estudios Andinos, Facultad de Letras y Ciencias Humanas, Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima, Peru.