

协商下的城市景观： 秘鲁利马都市区的考古遗址与建成环境

The Negotiated Urban Landscape:

Archaeological Sites and the Creation of the Metropolis of Lima, Peru

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摘要 / 20世纪，发生在利马的城市扩张和现代化进程几乎不曾将这座城市数量众多的考古景观纳入考量，令这些场地在现代化的城市中缺乏鲜明的角色定位。本文旨在探索如何对这些场地进行设定和设计，使之成为有意义的、开放的、民主的城市和历史性空间，令其既属于过去，也属于现在。

关键词 / 利马；秘鲁；社会角色；公共空间；考古学

Abstract / The process of expansion and modernization of Lima during the 20th century mostly excluded the city's rich archaeological landscape, leaving these sites without a defined role in the modern city. This article asks how can these places be framed and designed as meaningful, open and democratic urban and historical places of both the past and present.

Key words / Lima; Peru; Social Actors; Public Space; Archaeology

利马市是一个拥有超过800万人口的现代化都市，其占地面积近3 000km²，包括三个峡谷、阿卡塔马沙漠、湿地和森林。在当地的地理特征和城市基础设施以及建筑中，可以看到许多浅褐色的山地，看上去并不现代，但也非自然所成。这些是利马市的考古遗址，被非正式地称为“瓦卡”（Huaca）。这些实体遗存是至少距今5 000年前——要早于16世纪征服者的到来——在当地修建的建筑和基础设施。现代的利马城于1535年由西班牙殖民者建立，并于20世纪逐渐发展成为一个大都市，当地的景观已在很多年前发生了翻天覆地的变化。

直到20世纪初，很多这样的历史景观一直属于农村地区，因而受到城市发展的影响也较小。与此同时，利马市位于内陆地区，被农业和工业种植园（当地称为“haciendas”，西班牙语哈辛达）、考古遗址，以及米拉弗洛雷斯、圣米戈尔和巴兰科等城镇所包围。从20世纪上半叶开始，利马市便不断修建连接周边城镇的道路，并实行了推动和促进城市发展的计划。然而，这些扩张和现代化的计划似乎将考古遗址，甚至许多历史建

筑视为破败之物，认为它们得为城市化“让步”，需要被拆除。尽管利马市中相当一部分的考古景观被损毁，变得残破不全，但亦有许多遗址却几乎未被城市化所波及，有的甚至被景观化、被保留了下来，并转变成了露天博物馆和开放公共空间。我们如何解读这些不同的考古遗址的迥异命运，以及它们在今天的城市中所扮演的不同角色？

1. 位于米拉弗洛雷斯区的布莱纳考古遗址（摄于1944年）。1944年时，利马城已然扩张到了该遗址周围。© Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional de la Fuerza Aérea del Perú
 2. 位于米拉弗洛雷斯区的布莱纳考古遗址（摄于2013年）。今天，不断扩张的利马城已经将该遗址紧紧包围。该遗址已经被部分修复、景观化，并被转变为了一个颇受当地人及游客喜欢的露天博物馆。布莱纳考古遗址还对一些本土动物进行了展示，并设有一座可食用植物园。© Rosabella Alvarez-Calderon Silva-Santisteban
1. The archaeological site of Pucllana, located in Miraflores, Lima (1944). By 1944, the city was already growing around the site. © Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional de la Fuerza Aérea del Perú
 2. The archaeological site of Pucllana, in Miraflores, Lima (2013). Today, the city fully surrounds the site, which has been partly restored, landscaped and converted into an open-air museum, popular with locals and tourists. The site also contains a selection of native animals and a small kitchen garden. © Rosabella Alvarez-Calderon Silva-Santisteban



The city of Lima is a modern metropolis with a population of over eight million people and which sprawls over an area just under three thousand square kilometers, encompassing three valleys, the desert, wetlands and forests. Among the geographical features and the city's infrastructure and buildings, it is possible to see many large beige-colored hills that do not look modern, yet are not the work of nature. These are the city's archaeological sites, known informally as huacas, the material remains of the buildings and infrastructure built and used by local societies over the span of at least five thousand years, before the arrival of the conquistadors in the 16th century. The modern city of Lima, founded by the Spanish in 1535 and converted into





3. 布莱纳考古遗址及其周边社区（摄于2013年）。© Rosabella Alvarez-Calderon Silva-Santisteban
4. 利马市圣米格尔镇在城市开发之前的乡村地貌，图中可以识别出马兰加考古遗址。尽管在图中不能被轻易辨出，但瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址也位于其中。© Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional de la Fuerza Aérea del Perú
3. The archaeological site of Pucllana and the surrounding neighbourhood (2013). © Rosabella Alvarez-Calderon Silva-Santisteban
4. The rural lands around the town of San Miguel in Lima before urban development, showing the archaeological complex of Maranga. Although not visible in this image, the Huantinamarca site is located in this area. © Servicio Aerofotográfico Nacional de la Fuerza Aérea del Perú

造成这些考古遗址截然不同的命运的是各城市区域开发所采取的不同方式，以及在此过程中决定了城市和考古遗址形态的各种社会角色（包括那些拥有社会自主权的个人与团体，他们在不同方面和程度上影响并控制着城市的发展）。20世纪，利马的城市扩张不是自然的、不可避免的、无计划的，最终的城市形态是由有意识、有条不紊实施的行动和决定所决定的，其中扮演重要角色的包括考古学家（他们是城市考古遗址保护的倡导者）、房地产和土地开发商、地方政府，以及国家。因而利马的城市形态与利马城中考古遗址的命运，是谈判、冲突、妥协与和解的结果，国家在其中既是斡旋者和城市考古遗址保护者，同时也是城市化的推动者。

如上所述，新的城市规划几乎将利马的考古遗址排除在考量外，以至于在一些地图中，现代城市及其基础设施都叠加在现有的考古遗址上，就好像它们是可以被牺牲的。一些种植园所有者在国家的支持下，对其拥有的土地进行开发，在这些地区中，考古遗址，尤其是小型遗址，将很可能无法幸存——主要是因为这些所有者拥有能够将许多遗址夷为平地的资源、物流和权力。在米拉弗洛雷斯、圣伊西德罗、圣博尔哈和马格达莱纳等地区，大部分的考古遗址都规模巨大，且具有重要意义。在这些地区中，像布拉纳、瓦拉玛卡和瓦安蒂纳瓦

卡等考古遗址，今天都成为了著名的露天博物馆和城市地标，它们是因为那些呼吁对城市考古遗址进行保护和保留的重要倡导者的积极干预才得以幸存下来的。20世纪下半叶，考古学家、国家和地方政府经过通力合作，对位于米拉弗洛雷斯区的布拉纳考古遗址进行了修复，并成功地将之转变为了露天博物馆。^{[1][2]}然而，这些努力仍不足以使这些考古遗址完全融入周围的城市。

在随后的岁月里，随着利马的城市扩张，考古遗址保护政策发生了转变，因为我们不能再一面呼吁对其进行保护，而一面又将它们与周边城市的联系切断。我们面临的一个主要挑战是，如何超越“考古遗址作为博物馆”的模式，而转变为一种新的模式：通过对考古遗址进行设定和设计，在令它们成为灵活的、开放的、具有意义的城市场所的同时，也使它们的新用途和新功能不损害其完整性。

近年来，考古学家、保护倡导者、国家及地方政府，甚至开发商通过项目合作，提出了将考古遗址与城市相整合的新途径，位于圣米格尔区的瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址就是其中的一个著名案例。瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址主要由一座大型夯土（墙）建筑，在经历建造、重建和改造几个阶段后，于在印加社会占据了中央海岸（公元1476~1532年）时期形成了其最终形式。该考古遗址的开发模式与利马大多数考古遗址不同，是因为20世纪50年代时，它曾被用作太平洋国际博览会的大型露天会展中心用地，当时其周边地区仍基本上属于农村地区。这一大型的私有空间有效地充当了缓冲带，使得这一考古遗址未受到该地区所发生的密集的城市发展的影响，并“隐藏在众目睽睽之下”达数十年之久^[3]。这在很大程度上归功于太平洋国际博览会的所有者及创办者——瑞典企业家哥斯塔·莱特斯滕，他曾设想将考古遗址作为演出的舞台^[4]。该博览会于2000年初被拆除，而当时对考古遗址的认知和价值评估的方式已经发生了显著改变，简单地摧毁考古场地成为了一种被摒弃的做法。

2009年，瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址作为一个住宅综合体项目的一部分，开始了它的转型。^①据考古学家路易斯·费利佩·维拉科塔称（其为Arkeo Andes S.A.C公司负责人，该公司负责瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址改造项目），该遗址周边地区原本将被开发为大规模的保障性住房，瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址将转变为一个以考古遗址本身为中心的公园^②。维拉科塔和他的团队提出了一项

① 瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址项目由秘鲁文化部授权并监管。

② 源自本文作者与路易斯·费利佩·维拉科塔的私人交流。

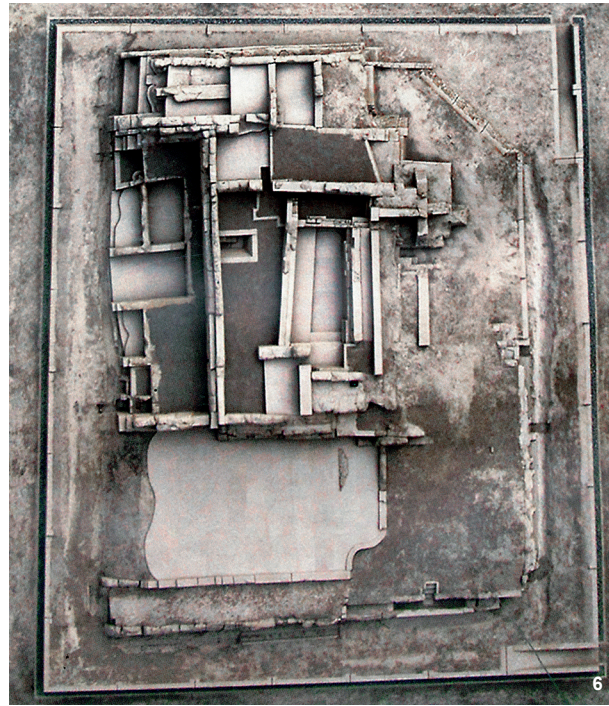
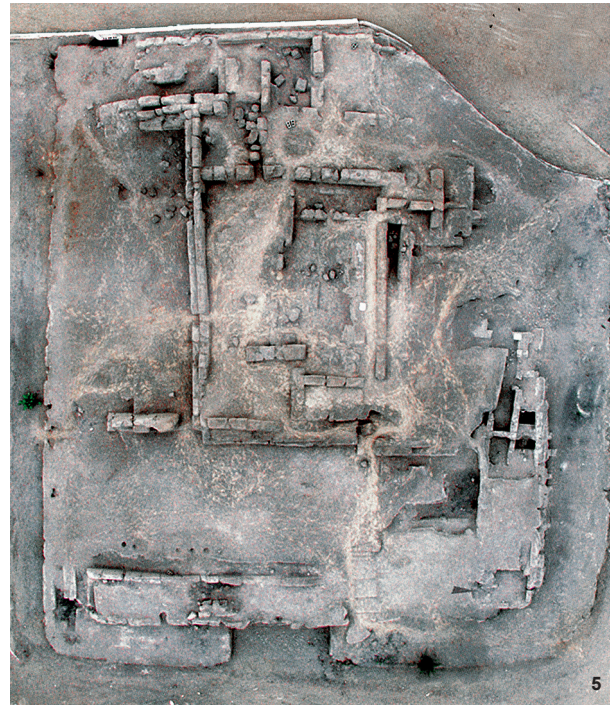
a metropolis during the 20th century, was developed over a landscape that had already been profoundly transformed many years before.

Until the early 20th century, much of this historical landscape had been rural and had thus remained relatively unaffected by urban development. At this time, the city of Lima stood inland, surrounded by agricultural and industrial plantations known as haciendas, archaeological sites, and towns like Miraflores, San Miguel, and Barranco. Starting in the early decades of the 20th century, plans were made to construct major avenues that would connect Lima with nearby towns, as well as to promote and catalyze urban development. However, these plans for expansion and modernization seemed to perceive archaeological sites and even many historical buildings as disruptions that had to be removed in order to urbanize the land. Even though this meant that a significant part of the city's archaeological landscape was destroyed or mutilated, many other sites were left mostly untouched, and some have even been landscaped,

conserved, and converted into open-air museums and open, public spaces. How can we explain the different fates of archaeological sites, and the different roles they play in the city today?

These vastly different fates can be explained by the ways different areas of the city developed, and who were the social actors (individuals and groups that have different agendas, as well as agency, which means they have varying degrees of influence and control over the development of the city) making decisions regarding the shape of the city and its huacas, involved in the process. During the 20th century, the growth of Lima was not natural, inevitable, or unplanned, but was the result of the actions and decisions consciously and deliberately made by the city's social actors, most notably archaeologists, people acting as advocates for the preservation of the city's archaeological sites, real-estate and land developers, local governments, and the State. The shape of Lima, and the fate of its archaeological sites, was thus negotiated, a result of





设计方案：不仅要在遗址周围建立一个公共公园，还要进行一项完整的研究项目，包括测绘、考古发掘、出于实验目的对遗址发现保留与建档、成果发表，并在遗址周围制作详细的、经久耐用的海报，以为游客提供更多的信息——这些信息不只关于瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址及其历史，同时也会展示相关研究和保护过程，以及所取得的成果。该项目旨在从两个方面在考古遗址与该地区的未来居民之间建立积极联系：第一，该住宅综合体命名为“瓦卡公园”（西班牙语Parques de la Huaca），从而将古代遗址作为新建社区的中心与基石。该命名的目的是想强调考古遗址作为城市的一部分、作为一种开放空间——而非仅是一片遗存——应该得到人们的重视。第二，所有迁入公寓楼的新居民都会被发放一份有关瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址出版物的精简的电子读物，这一举措的初衷是，随着他们对遗址了解的增多，他们也会对遗址愈发重视^③。

瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址项目展示了考古学家不仅仅是利马考古遗产的倡导者、研究者及保护者，他们也是谈判者，同其他利益方进行协商，使考古遗址以露天博物馆、记录历史的物质遗产、开放和公共空间的身份出现在现代城市中。尽管考古学家的责任和城市倡议者的

愿望往往旨在尽可能多地对考古遗址进行保护，而且我们也深知保护一个已经被城市发展所包围的考古遗址的最好办法是不要将其封锁起来、与周边环境隔离，因为这样只会在遗址和人民之间设立屏障，使二者的距离更远。将瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址与住宅综合体，以及公园之类的公共空间相整合的策略反映了一个事实：在现代城市中，利马的考古遗址在不损害自身完整性的同时，必须具有一定的、有助于实现凯文·林奇所说的“好的城市形态”（使城市生活更舒适的品质）的作用与功能^④。在利马这座城市中，开放的、公共的社区空间和绿地不仅稀少，且分布不均，而考古遗址却拥有扮演这一城市角色的潜能。LAF

注释：

本文的较完整版本曾以西班牙语发表于《胡安·冈瑟竞赛：利马历史研究》一书中，该书由利马市政府编撰，于2014年出版。

1. 瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址改造项目初期景象 © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
2. 瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址经过测绘、发掘与保护后的景象 © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
3. The archaeological site of Huantinamarca at the beginning of the project. © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
4. The archaeological site of Huantinamarca after mapping, excavation and conservation. © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project

③ 更多“瓦卡公园”住宅综合体项目的信息，请访问<http://www.parquesdelahuaca.com.pe/>。

conflict, compromise and conciliation, with the State acting as a mediator and protector of the city's archaeological sites, while simultaneously acting as a promoter of urbanization.

As mentioned above, the new plans for the city mostly excluded Lima's archaeological sites, to the point that in some maps, the modern city and its infrastructure is layered over existing huacas, as if they were expendable. In areas in where hacienda landowners developed their lands with the support of the State, archaeological sites, particularly small sites, were less likely to survive — mainly because these landowners had the resources, logistics and power to be able to demolish many sites in order to clear the land. This was the case in districts like Miraflores, San Isidro, San Borja and Magdalena, where most of the archaeological sites that remain are large and monumental in scale. In these areas, huacas like Pucllana, Huallamarca and Huantinamarca, which today are well-known open-air museums and urban landmarks, were saved due to the active intervention of key actors who advocated for the protection and preservation of the city's huacas. During the second half of the 20th

century, collaborations between archaeologists, the State and local governments resulted in the restoration and successful conversion into open-air museums of sites like Pucllana, located in the district of Miraflores^{[1][2]}. However, these efforts were still insufficient as the sites were not fully integrated into the surrounding city.

In later years and as Lima grew, the strategy for conserving archaeological sites has shifted, since it is no longer sufficient just to advocate for their protection while keeping them disconnected from the surrounding city. One of the main challenges lies in how to move beyond the “huaca as a museum” paradigm, into a new model that frames and designs archaeological sites as flexible, open, and meaningful urban places, but with new uses and new functions that do not compromise nor distort their integrity.

In recent years, projects involving a collaboration of archaeologists, advocates, the State, local governments, and even developers have proposed new approaches to integrate archaeological sites to the city, a notable example being the case of the site of Huantinamarca, located in the



7. 瓦安蒂纳瓦卡考古遗址的“瓦卡公园”住宅综合体鸟瞰图，该项目被利马市圣米格尔区紧紧环绕 © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
7. View of the archaeological site of Huantinamarca the Parques de la Huaca housing complex surrounded by the district of San Miguel, Lima. © Erik Makera, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project

district of San Miguel. Huantinamarca consists mainly of a large packed earth (tapia) building that was built, remodeled and transformed in several stages, acquiring its final form during the time the Inca society occupied the central coast (1476 ~ 1532). This site developed differently from most archaeological sites in Lima due to the fact that during the 1950's it was integrated into the large open-air convention center known as the Feria Internacional del Pacífico (International Fair of the Pacific), while the surrounding area was still mostly rural. This large private space effectively acted as a buffer protecting the site from the intense urban development that took place in the area, and allowed it to “hide in plain sight” for several decades^[3]. This development was due in no small part to the vision of the owner and founder of the Feria, Swedish entrepreneur Gosta Lettersten, who had the vision of using the archaeological site as a stage for performances^[4]. By the time the Feria was dismantled in the early 2000's, the way archaeological sites were perceived and valued had changed significantly, and simply demolishing the site was no longer an option.

The transformation of Huantinamarca started in 2009 as part of a housing complex project.^① According to archaeologist Luis Felipe Villacorta, director of Arkeo Andes S.A.C (archaeological consulting firm in charge of the Huantinamarca project), the area around the site was originally going to be developed into large-scale affordable housing, Huantinamarca converted into a park, with the

site itself in the centre^②. Villacorta and his team proposed an intervention that involved not just creating a public park around the site, but also a complete research project involving mapping, archaeological excavations, a laboratory season for conserving and curating the findings, publishing the results, and creating detailed, weather-proof posters around the sites to give visitors more information not just on Huantinamarca and its history, but also about the research and conservation processes and efforts. There were two important aspects of the project that were designed to create a positive relationship between the archaeological site and the future residents of the area: first, the residential complex was called “Parques de la Huaca” (a name in Spanish which associated the term ‘huaca’ with the more positive terms “gardens” and “parks”), thus placing the ancient site as the center and cornerstone of the new community. In this way, the name aimed to emphasize the archaeological site, not so much as a ruin, than as a place that people could value, as part of the city, and as an open space. Second, all the new residents who moved into the apartment buildings were given an abridged digital version of the publication on Huantinamarca, based on the idea that if they knew more about the site they would value it more^{③[5]}.

The Huantinamarca project shows archaeologists not just as advocates, researchers and protectors of the Lima's archaeological heritage, but also as actors who negotiate the role of archaeological sites in the modern city as open-air

① The Huantinamarca Archaeological Project was authorized and supervised by the Ministry of Culture of Peru.

② Source from a personal communication with Luis Felipe Villacorta and the author.

③ Please visit <http://www.parquesdelahuaca.com.pe/> for more information about the “Parques de la Huaca” multifamily housing complex project.



museums, as material remains of the past, and as open and public spaces, with other interested parties. Even though the duty of archaeologists and the desire of urban advocates often lies in aiming to preserve as many sites as possible, it is also true that the best way to preserve an archaeological site that is already surrounded by urban development is not to cordon it off and isolate it from the neighborhood, since this only creates a barrier and more distance between the site and people. The urban design strategy used to integrate Huantinamarca with a residential complex and a public space like a park acknowledges the fact that archaeological sites in Lima must have a role, a function in the modern city that does not go against its own integrity, but that can contribute to what Kevin Lynch describes as “good city form”, the qualities that make city life more amenable^[4]. In Lima, a city where open, public, community spaces and green spaces are scarce and unevenly distributed, huacas have the potential to fulfill this necessary urban role. **LAF**



8. 被景观化了的瓦安蒂娜瓦卡考古遗址，其成为了利马市一个新建开放空间的中心 © Martin del Carpio Perla, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
9. 设立在瓦安蒂娜瓦卡考古遗址周围的教育展板展示了相关的研究、保护及建档过程 © Martin del Carpio Perla, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
8. The archaeological site of Huantinamarca was landscaped, as the centre piece of a new open space in the city. © Martin del Carpio Perla, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project
9. Educational panels describing the research, conservation and curation process were set up around the Huantinamarca site. © Martin del Carpio Perla, Huantinamarca Archaeological Project

NOTE

A longer version of this article has been published in Spanish in the book *Concurso Juan Gunther: Investigaciones Históricas Sobre Lima*. Municipalidad Metropolitana de Lima, 2014. (*Juan Gunther Competition: Historical Research on the City of Lima*. Metropolitan Municipality of Lima, 2014.)

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