FOUR PARTS TOGETHER, OR SHAPING SHAPELESSNESS: THE CULTURAL POETICS OF INKA SPATIAL PRACTICE

by

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Abstract

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This dissertation investigates the shaping of highland Andean culture through *spatial practice*—the phrase that theorist Henri Lefebvre used to describe how a society produces, reproduces, and extends its own idea of space for its own ends. The inquiry focuses on four select paradigms of spatial practice: defining the cultural poetics of spatial practice as a structural and semiotic methodology; analyzing pre-Columbian Inka (Inca; ca. 13th-16th c.) architectonic (sculptural) stone forms; interpreting spatial paradigms in the seventeenth-century manuscript of Peruvian chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala; and re-defining the "active surface" of contemporary Cuzco (Cusco), Peru, the ancient capital of the Inka. By centralizing spatial practice in successive temporal thresholds and various material mediums, this project creates an interpretive model for diachronic cultural analysis as a social, historical, and representational concern.

After establishing that Inka spatial practice is rooted in a concept of replicating and transforming centers, the dissertation examines aspects of centeredness in Guaman Poma's manuscript, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (ca. 1615) (*The First New Chronicle and*

Good Government). The 398 line drawings of this key document codify colonial spatial practice as a socio-cultural mechanism of change, resistance, and imagination for its singular author-artist. Analysis of its thirty-eight city images underscores the role of architecture and urbanism in the flux of contestation, resistance, and subversive transformation.

By concluding with a survey of the active surface of today's Cuzco, identified by its veneering, performances, processions, and virtually constructed ideas of Inkaness, I argue that the reproduction of contemporary spatial practice is both a formal reflection and a critical aberration of historically established centering principles. As such, Cuzco is a distinct *heterotopia*, to borrow the language of Michel Foucault, meaning liminal, interstitial, simultaneously mythic and real, a web of relations manipulating manifestations of past, present, and future. The consequence, then, is that there is now no mythology of originality in the Inka heartland, and only the originality of mythology remains. This means that the cultural identity invested in the center-based spatial practice is now re-invested in a surface veneer, relegated there as a contingent, reconstructed, fantastical idea of *Inkaness*.

PREFACE

I was motivated by at least three things to do this study: the Andean mountains, the Inka[1] (Inca) and their indigenous descendants and their visual culture, and the shaping of the landscape around them over time. I was intrigued by the conscious and creative manufacture of space as a material element in how the Inka construed, produced, and constructed culture, and that this took a particular shape and structure of its own. I was interested in the idea of space manifest in collective cultural identity and its facility bridging the climactic moment of European contact. And I was curious about the reproduction of these historical ideas about space in the present (archi-)cultural economy. I subsequently employ a narrative refrain—*the long dénouement of contact*—to stand in for the socio-cultural transformations over successive generations and into the present, because the consequences of contact, examined through a lens of space and spatial practice, are still present and unfolding. This is not to say that everything between then and now has been incorporated into the strategy of seeing proposed herein; that would be too messy and far too great a task. Instead, this study selectively examines poignant moments in the life an idea (centeredness) that is itself rooted in the collective making of Inka culture, and traces it forward, not comprehensively but selectively, in order to arrive again where it began: in the mountains at the center, which is Cuzco.

The title takes its cues in three distinct elements. "Four Parts Together" references the Quechua (Keshwa, Quichua) name for the Inka empire, *Tahuantinsuyu* (Tawantinsuyu), which refers to the empire's internal structural organization and means just that—region or land of four

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1. The term Inka is used throughout to refer to the Quechua-speaking peoples of the Andes (Quechua being the indigenous language of the Inka) as well as, more generally, the Inka empire itself. To this extent, "Inka" refers to collective ethnic identity. Where necessary, more specific attributions are stated.

quarters. But it also doubles for the four-chapter structure of the dissertation itself. That it happened this way was not the original intention, but it struck me as a fortuitous and meaningful fit. “Shaping Shapelessness” refers to what I consider a deep, crucial, and determining cultural imperative behind the making of empire—that is, what should it look like in order to best avoid archetypal, not to mention social and political, chaos. The final part, which follows that binding colon so favored in academia, refers to both methodology and theory, whereby “poetics” is understood in a structural sense and “spatial practice” refers to culture formation as a constituent web of semiotic relations. This is how the material is construed and analyzed. This is how the story takes shape and is told.

Also, a note on orthography. Due to the confusing complexities of spelling native Quechua words, most of which have been sifted through colonial and modern Spanish, there is little consistency or agreement on correct spelling. Subsequently, there are many variations for individual words in the scholarly literature. For example, Cuzco, the Inka capital, has been Cusco and Q’osq’o, and Inka has been Inga and Inca. I have elected to spell native words according to common practice for spelling in English with less reliance on Spanish pronunciation. Familiar alternate spellings are provided in parentheses. Nevertheless, for many words, especially site names, there is little agreement on what is the correct spelling. During fieldwork, I tried to annotate my notes with the current spellings as determined by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura, whose ubiquitous blue signs record the names of archaeological sites, and use these. All errors or omissions are my own.

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To my family and my friends.
To “the motivator,” who shall soon have a name.
To the Inka.
To high mountains and cold nights.
And to everything in-between.

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4.36 Hotel La Casa Escondida, detail of wall veneer, Pumacurco Road, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.37 Stone veneer detail of embedded mountain icon, T-shirt shop "Andean Expressions," Choquechaqa 506, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

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4.39 Stone veneer wall with embedded icons, T-shirt shop "Andean Expressions," Choquechaqa 506, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.40 Façade veneer, MarcoPost, avenidas El Sol and Garcilaso, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.41 Façade veneer, detail. MarcoPost, avenidas El Sol and Garcilaso, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

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4.49 Detail, compound entrance adjacent to Laqo emphasizing jigsaw effect and protrusions, June 2010. Photo by author.

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4.51 Detail, compound entrance adjacent to Laqo de-emphasizing jigsaw effect, June 2010. Photo by author.

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4.54 Detail of entrance, Pachacutec monument, Avenida El Sol, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.55. Monument to Mama Occlo and Manco Capac, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.56 Hospital Antonio Lorena, Plazoleta Bolen, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.57 Detail of Tiwanaku motif, Hospital Antonio Lorena, Plazoleta Bolen, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

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2010. Photo by author.

4.59 Entrance, children's amusement park, Urpicha, Avenida El Sol, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by Author.

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4.64 Fabricated Inti Raymi *usnu*, Plaza de Armas, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.65 Construction detail, fabricated Inti Raymi *usnu*, Plaza de Armas, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.66 Inti Raymi, Pachacutec impersonator entering the Plaza de Armas, Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

4.67 Inti Raymi *Usnu* reconstructed at Saqsaywaman. Cuzco, Peru, June 2010. Photo by author.

C.1 Inka site of Vitcos, Vilcabamba region, Peru, with descending, converging mountain ridges in the middleground beyond the ruins, July 2010. Photo by author.

C.2 View from the Inka site of Vitcos, Vilcabamba region, Peru, with converging mountain ridges descending to a stream, July 2010. Photo by author.

C.3 View from Saqsaywaman over Cuzco with descending ridges and Mt. Ausangate in the distance, June 2010. Photo by author.

INTRODUCTION: FOUR PARTS TOGETHER, OR SHAPING SHAPELESSNESS

> For making detours and going by sideroads, nothing is more convenient than the essay form. One can take off in almost any direction, certain that if the thing does not work out one can turn back and start over in some other with only moderate cost in time and disappointment…Wanderings into yet smaller sideroads and wider detours does little harm, for progress is not expected to be relentlessly forward anyway, but winding and improvisational, coming out where it comes out. And when there is nothing more to say on the subject at the moment, or perhaps altogether, the matter can simply be dropped. "Works are not finished," as Valéry said, "they are abandoned."
>
> —Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge*

Subject and Background

Centered at Cuzco, Peru, the Inka empire (fig. I.1) existed as a cultural construction and a cultural production-in-progress,[1] always transforming and transformative, moving through organization, aggregation, expansion, and contact in the brief, yet wonderfully productive, period from the 13th century to 1532.[2] Architecture and architectonic[3] (sculptural, stone) practice were

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1. Anthropologist Setha Low distinguishes between "construction" and "production" of place as follows: construction is the phenomenological and symbolic experience of space, whereas production is the "physical creation of the material setting." See Setha Low, "Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica, *American Ethnologist* 23 (1986), 861. In order to avoid the awkward neologism "production-construction"—because much of what I will be discussing considers the physical construction of space, its symbolic resonance, and the experience of space—I will use the much simpler "making." I will use it in its dynamic, transformational sense of sense of both production and construction, but also of doing, preparation, performance, causing to become something, and the process of being made. These directly reflect the OED definition. See "making, n.1" OED Online. December 2011. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/112669?rskey= 9ifTXr&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed February 9, 2012).

2. Dating the Inka remains somewhat speculative. The dates here refer largely to the Inka imperial period, which is thought to have begun with expansion beyond the Cuzco Valley sometime in the 13th century. It should be noted that the ascension of the ninth Inka ruler, Pachacuti, in 1438, is a common reference point for aggressive Inka expansion, so the period 1438-1532 merits special mention. Just as there is confusion per the origin dates of the Inka so too is there debate about defining the "end," or the "beginning of the end," of the empire, so to

the Inkas' primary material signature, as judged by scale, and stood as a sign or index, to use the semiotic terminology, of many things: ethnic identity, presencing, history, mythology, daily and ritual life, labor, religion, and empire writ large—in a word: Culture.[4] The signs remain, just as presence remains, albeit often in ruins or defaced, to say nothing of the populations of tourists slowly grinding down stone with their shoes and boots. However, following contact, conquest, colonialism and its long dénouement through the colonial and Republican periods and right into the present, Inka architectonics remained front and center in the matter of shaping and reshaping visual and material culture. Foremost among the issues is the play of space over time in that process—its making, its representation, its return.

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speak. This project assumes 1532 (15 November 1532 to be exact) because that is when Hernando Pizarro, brother to the Spanish expedition leader and later governor Francisco Pizarro, alongside Hernando de Soto, engaged the Inka ruler Atahualpa in the plaza at Cajamarca, Peru. The next day, 16 November 1532, the Spanish captured Atahualpa. This is an early date and it is chosen as much for its symbolic resonance: the meeting, the capture, and what is, with the benefit retrospect, the irreversibility of the moment. Though dated, one of the best, and most readable, blow-by-blow accounts of the initial days of the conquest is John Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas* (San Diego: Harvest Books, 1970).

3. "Architectonic" refers to the more plastic examples of Inka stone sculpting, or marking. Specific examples will be discussed in Chapter 2. The word itself generally refers to things pertaining to architecture and suited or serviceable for the construction of buildings; more broadly, it refers to construction itself. Yet it also pertains to the systematization of knowledge. I use it in both senses. See "architectonic, adj. and n." OED Online. December 2011. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/ 10398?redirectedFrom=architectonic (accessed January 19, 2012). Unless otherwise noted I will use "architectonics" in reference to both architecture and sculpted stone forms.

4. "Presencing" in the Heideggerian sense of the word, where "being signifies the same as presencing," such that "out of presencing, presence speaks of the present," whereby "being is determined as presence through time." For this definition see the chapter, "Time and Being," in Martin Heidegger, *On Time and Being*, trans. Joan Stambaugh (Harper and Row: New York, 1972), 2.

The model here favors the complexity of totality and wholeness in the practice of space realized over time, or "spatial practice," to borrow cultural theorist Henri Lefebvre's phrase.[5] In *The Production of Space*, Lefebvre discusses a conceptual triad upon which his discussion of space rests. The three elements are "spatial practice," "representations of space," and "representational spaces." He defines "spatial practice" specifically as that

> which embraces production and reproduction, and the particular locations and spatial sets characteristic of each social formation. Spatial practice ensures continuity and some degree of cohesion. In terms of social space, and of each member of a given society's relationship to that space, this cohesion implies a guaranteed level of *competence* and a specific level of *performance.*[6]

He goes on to say that "the spatial practice of a society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space."[7] Everything that I am interested in with regard to the Inka is here: how they made space, the necessity of an audience to perform the meaning of space, the manner in which space is reproduced and mimicked, how it is represented, and finally, down the road, how it is "secreted," or extended, and, importantly, how it returns and is returned to or forgotten.[8]

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5. See Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* [1974] (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).

6. Ibid., 33.

7. Ibid., 38.

8. Literary scholar Tom Conley describes Lefebvre's "spatial practice" as the manner in which "every society 'secretes' or produces its own sense of extension, potentiality, and movement." I take this to be applicable across temporal thresholds. See Lawrence D. Kritzman, ed., *The Columbia History of Twentieth-Century French Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 575. The matter of the "secretions" over time is thereby analogous to "being" over time.

It is this last idea that I am particularly enchanted by and which gave rise to the scope and structure of this project—that of “secretions,” which I have interpreted boadly to include the manifest presence and performative return, subsequent to contact and threshed out over centuries, of Inka-based imagery, architecture, and architectonics, in order to negotiate social and cultural transformations. It may be, however, that only the *idea* of particular peformed “Inka” space is cohesive across time; as such, this project examines Inka space in case studies of the idea in stone, ink, and contemporary urban and virtual environments. Similarly, “society” is understood according to principles of connection, participation, and, importantly, relations and systems of relations, more so than in its sense of political confederation, even though the extension to a politcs of centeredness (the core idea) are readily apparent. That is another project.

Inka spatial practice thus derives its particular foundational qualities (and contexts or frames) from the Inka’s making of specific architectonic spaces, which are referred to here as *small-spaces* (Chapter 2). These spaces are best understood as both an architecture and phenomenology of space, incorporating custom and perhaps an ordered whole; *small-spaces* are, at the least, a reflection of the shape of an imagined collective self extended over the landscape, and at most a mechanism that structures collective being-ness. Where scholars, especially historians, have typically favored the analysis of culture in and through time, the focus of this analysis into the shape of Inka culture derives and extends itself in spatial terms as one that happens across space. Ultimately then, this is to ask how space, as it comes to be defined through architectonic practice, becomes a sign not just of prehispanic polities or Inka ethnicity but of something larger, a kind of extra-temporal cultural totality—call it *Inkaness*—that is as evanescent today, albeit transformed, as it was in the first quarter of the sixteenth century. In

essence, this is about *essence.*[9] The Inka vitalized space, and in return space vitalized the Inka. The specific manner in which the project advances is outlined below in the chapter overview.

Aims

This project aims, in the first place, to analyze Inka-made space prior to European contact as a cultural construct based in the principle of centeredness. It analyzes Inka culture in its broadest, trans-historical sense, through the lens of cultural poetics (see chapter 1), which, for shorthand purposes here, combines aspects of structuralism and semiotics in order to understand the shape of culture.

Using this lens, the project creates a baseline level for the diachronic analysis of lithic, spatial forms by analyzing and interpreting *small-spaces* as the making of centeredness across the imperial landscape (see chapter 2).

Next, it analyzes the break down and transformation of the idea of centeredness during the early colonial period as a consequence of contact and conquest (see chapter 3). The focus of this analysis is centered in the early-seventeenth-century line drawings of Peruvian chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala (ca.1535-after 1616).

Finally, it aims to catalog, analyze, and interpret various contemporary surface iterations (veneers, virtual realities, advertising, exchanges) whereby spatial practice, tied to its imperial past, reasserts itself in the present cultural economy (see chapter 4).

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9. *Essence* here refers to a fundamental Inka cultural-aesthetic principle and is connected to the Quechua term *camay*, meaning, in effect, essence, with aspects of energy, of giving life and form to, of being generative and vitalizing. See Frank Salomon, "Introductory Essay: The Huarochirí Manuscript," in *The Huarochirí Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion*, ed. and trans. Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, written ca. 1608 (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 16.

Project Rationale

Why think about space, the making of space, and the role of space in making culture over time in this manner? It seems strange to consider that the literature on the prehispanic Late Horizon Andes, as well as the Americas in general, spends a great deal of time referencing transformative practices and mechanisms but rarely provides the structure through which transformation happens, that is, beyond iconography and architecture.[10] There is ample discussion of shamanism, shamanistic practice, axis mundis, and world trees, and there are museum vitrines with masks and tools that suggest transformative principles, but rarely is transformation broken down in terms of mechanistic space or applied as a controlling structure of culture.[11] For the examination of such shape, the project builds on Lawrence Sullivan's magisterial *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions*, which goes some distance to redefining the structure of culture as a transformative practice, above and

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10. Andean cultural development and periodization is typically divided into periods labeled Intermediate and Horizon. Intermediate periods are marked by regional cultural fluorescences (such as Moche, Nasca, Paracas, Chimor) whereas Horizon periods are loosely imperial, or pan-Andean, in extent (such as Chavín, Wari, Tiwanaku, and Inka). The Late Horizon was dominated by the Inka. This periodization was first proposed by John Howland Rowe and is still commonly used. See John Howland Rowe, "Cultural Unity and Diversification in Peruvian Archaeology," in *Men and Cultures: Selected Papers of the Fifth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences*, Philadelphia, September 1-9, 1956, 627-631.

11. Some have argued that contextualizing the art of Mesoamerica as shamanistic is often a fail-safe position that avoids a critical consideration of materialist and political explanations. Nor is this to overlook the fine work done on, say, Native North American art of the Southwest and Northwest Coast. On the overuse of shamanism in Mesoamerica see Cecelia F. Klein, Eulogio Guzmán, Elisa C. Mandell and Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "The Role of Shamanism in Mesoamerican Art: A Reassessment," *Current Anthropology* 43, no. 3 (June 2002): 383-419.

beyond religion or ritualistic commitment, in the South American imagination.[12] For example, on the primacy of myth in the study of human culture, he says,

> Myth does not simply denote a species of narrative; literary or oral genres are only symptoms of myth. Myth is the imagination beholding its own reality and plumbing the sources of its own creativity as it relates to creativity in every form (plant and planetary life, animal fertility, intelligence, art). Myth reveals the sacred foundations and religious character of the imagination. Mythic symbols signify the possibility, variety, and meaning of cultural imagery. Myths are paradigmatic expressions of human culture; as significations that reveal the nature of significance, they make effective metastatements about imaginal existence.[13]

I would be comfortable transposing this notion of myth directly into the types of spaces examined in chapter 2 and then transport it forward, as I am not sure that these *small-spaces* can be better defined than "metastatements about imaginal existence," implying that the form they take is an extension of the imagination, that the imagination is at heart mythic, and that the shape of the myth corresponds directly to what *Inkaness* looks lke. Nevertheless, a formal explication of those spaces remains necessary. They need a vocabulary to define them and a context within which to be understood, as in some ways *small-spaces* reflect the very essence not only of how the Inka proposed their world should look, but also what the Inka thought of themselves as a collective presence.

Subsequently, what happened to those qualities of the "imaginal existence" in the context of space, which is really the same as asking what happened to the social and structural being of the Inka? And what role did space, and changing ideas about space, play in the reshaping of Andean culture during the colonial period? What role, if any, did the re-making of centeredness

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12. Lawrence Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum: An Orientation to Meaning in South American Religions* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1988).

13. Ibid., 22.

play in the ongoing (re-) construction of Andean culture? These are the fundamental questions examined in chapter three. By focusing its analysis of space and structure in the seminal representations of Guaman Poma, this chapter presents a necessary examination of colonial spatial practice filtered through his city images, which comprise a subtle visual, unspoken, yet bitter critique of colonial society when read against his line drawings representing social action and interaction.

And chapter 4 brings the analysis of transformations in center-based spatial practice up to date by cataloging and interpreting a variety of contemporary, Inka-themed constructions and productions. The reason for examining Inka spatial practice alongside trans-historical Inka visuality is to see the Inka imagination made and performed in the landscape, to see how this imaginal landscape is negotiated by the iconic figure of Guman Poma, and to see how contemporary civic identity is playing out as a restrictive negotiation of historico-cultural visual idioms.

Previous Literature

The Inka left no alphabetic texts, and the importance of the Spanish chroniclers, though complicated and contested, cannot be underestimated.[14] As this project attempts to derive a model for culture as seen through its spatial practice, one that has accumulated and refracted and

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14. For an important overview of colonial sources analyzing the historians of conquest and colonization, see Kathleen Ross, "Historians of the Conquest and Colonization of the New World: 1550-160," in *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature. Volume I, Discovery to Modernism*, edited by Roberto González Echevarría, and Enrique Pupo-Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 101-142. A solid, recent overview of Spanish chronicles specific to Inca architecture and ritual is found in Stella Elise Nair, *Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa Inka to the Spanish Occupation* (PhD diss., UC-Berkeley, 2003).

extended over time, that has transgressed thresholds of conquest, that has resolved itself over the long trajectory of colonial and post-colonial conditions, and continues in the present, it owes a great debt to many works in many fields. As its core lies in architectonic space in the prehispanic Andes, the works of authors examining Inka rocks have been fundamental in shaping the discourse on space. For example, Carolyn Dean's recent work, *The Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, is of primary importance. In this work, she attempts to reconcile Inka visuality "as it is revealed in rocks themselves," in later colonial accounts, and in contemporary ethnographic studies.[15] Among this work's many benefits to students of the Inka is its careful and lucid unpacking of Quechua (the indigenous language of the Inka) words and concepts that are fundamental to deciphering the way the Inka thought about stone, which is, simply put, far outside the typical Western purview.

Other important discussions of carved rocks include César Paternosto's *The Stone and the Thread: The Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, the bulk of which is an analysis of the development of Inka stonework, tracking its progression over the course of the nearly one hundred year Inka imperial period. Paternosto himself is an artist, and one of the strengths of the work is its careful attention to the tectonic principles of both technique and form. A similar work is the unpublished doctoral dissertation by Maarten Van de Guchte, *"Carving the World": Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape*, which examines the meaning and significance of rock outcrops in the vicinity of Cuzco. Brian Bauer's work on Inka *huacas* (wakas), or sacred things, such as *Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cuzco Ceque System*, naturally overlaps with Van de Guchte's work. Bauer's work methodically describes, maps, photographs, and provides archaeological

15. Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 19.

documentation (whenever possible) for a majority of the extant *huacas* in the Cuzco valley. And John Hemming's and Edward Ranney's *Monuments of the Inca* offers a clear and balanced, if brief, examination of a number of important Inka rock sites, doing well to convey, through text and accompanying photographs, the grandeur of the selected sites, most of which are in or near the Cuzco Valley.[16]

The scholarship specific to Inka architecture is a natural complement to studies of Inka rocks. It has examined, nearly in total, the Cuzco area or Inka royal estates, underscoring a context of power and/or history. To a certain extent it has focused on Inka architecture in the context of self-fashioning, or how the Inkas constructed (and therefore projected) an image of their own identity—always imperial and royal—via an architectural signature.[17] This is a crucial discussion in the literature. Given that the Inka imperial signature was signed in stone—in various permutations: as sculpted rock, as raw rock integrated into architecture, as unmodified rock forms, as ashlar stone masonry—the literature is also rich in discussions of masonry typology and characteristics.

Important resources on these topics include the seminal study by Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies of Inka urban and architectural forms, *Inka Architecture*. Architectural historian

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16. See César Paternosto's *The Stone and the Thread: The Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, trans. Esther Allen (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), originally published as *Piedra abstracta: la escultura inca, una visión contemporánea* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1989); Maarten J. D. Van de Guchte, *"Carving the World": Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape* (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990); Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cuzco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998); John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010).

17. The concept of "self-fashioning" was originally applied to Renaissance identity construction in Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980).

Jean-Pierre Protzen's magnificently illustrated discussion of architecture, construction technology, and construction episodes in *Inka Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo* is a model for anyone interested in prehispanic architecture. Architectural historian Stella Nair's doctoral dissertation, *Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa Inka to the Spanish Occupation*, is an important analysis of an Inka royal estate that cuts across the temporal threshold of the conquest and examines material and visual culture in terms of articulating, reinforcing, and responding to authority and identity. Susan Niles' account of the Inka ruler Huayna Capac's estate in *The Shape of Inka History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* analyzes royal architecture in terms of memorials and monuments that in turn shaped and defined Inka "history." Ann Kendall's *Aspects of Inka Architecture: Description, Function, and Chronology*, suggests the presence or absence of certain architectural features that acted as identifiers of imperial reigns and periods.[18] And among the more necessary texts for understanding how the Inka shaped and connected settlements across space are two of John Hyslop's works—*Inka Settlement Planning* and *The Inka Road System*. The scope of this project borrows from and builds on the examples provided in many of these works, zeroing in on stone and rock and the making of space as a cultural construct. Where

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18. Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inka Architecture*. Trans. Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inka Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stella Elise Nair (2003), see footnote 12; Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inka History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999); Ann Kendall, *Aspects of Inka Architecture: Description, Function, and Chronology*, BAR international series, 242 (Oxford, England: BAR, 1985); *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) and *The Inka Road System* (Orlando: Academic Press, 1984). These sources comprise literature specific to the analysis of architecture and construction focused on specific constructions, estates, and sites. There is, of course, a large pool of secondary sources that must also be referenced and expanded upon in the course of the dissertation.

the scope of the project subsequently transcends temporal thresholds, that literature is divulged in the relevant chapter. I've chosen to focus above on the literature of the Inka because the project is grounded in that particular cultural fluorescence and spins outward from there.

Research Undertaken

The foundation of this project is fieldwork undertaken throughout the Andes in Inka-controlled territory. The primary objective of the fieldwork—summer 2004, July 2008, June-July 2010—was, broadly speaking, to conduct a general survey of archaeological sites associated with the Inka empire in order to develop a first-hand, phenomenological awareness of the Inka built environment through analyzing the relationship of architecture and landscape. More specifically, the focus of each project was as follows. In the summer of 2004 I traveled to Peru to undertake primary research at Inka-era sites in and around the Inka heartland—Cuzco, the Cuzco Valley, and the so-called Sacred Valley along the Urubamba river, which runs north to the Inka sites of Pisac and Chinchero and northwest to Ollantaytambo and Machu Picchu—all of which lies within what would have been a three-day walk from the capital. The results of this field trip were initially incorporated into my Master's thesis, "An Aesthetic of Stone and Water: How the Inka Proposed Their World Should Look,"[19] which examined the historic, symbolic, and mythical foundations, and the aesthetic effects, that underscored the use of water and stone in architecture and site design.

In 2008, I conducted a general survey of Inka archaeological sites located at the northern periphery of the former empire. I examined sites throughout Ecuador including but not limited to

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19. Jeremy James George, "An Aesthetic of Stone and Water: How the Inka Proposed Their World Should Look" (Master's thesis, City College of New York, CUNY, 2004).

Tombebamba (Tumipampa), Ingapirca, Caranqui, Quitaloma, and extant ruins in Quito. In addition to examining and comparing Inka architecture at the imperial periphery with previously catalogued sites from the heartland, I created a visual database of each site's diagnostic features as well as, when allowed, a database of Inka objects in national and regional museums.

In 2010, I conducted a general survey of archaeological sites associated with the Neo-Inka state in the Vilcabamba region of Peru, focusing on extant architectural remains at the site of Vitcos. Also in 2010, I re-examined Inka-era sites in and around Cuzco and the surrounding heartland, including sites personally familiar to me from previous fieldwork, like Saqsaywaman, Qenqo, Laqo, Pisac, Tambo Machay, and Ollantaytambo, as well as sites I had not yet researched, such as Cusilluchayoq, Chinchero, Moray, a section of the Qhapaq Nan (Royal Highway), Urubamba, Raqchi, and Pachacamac. Lastly, in 2010, I spent a good deal of time documenting what I refer to as "the active surface" of Cuzco, a vibrant locus of change and process, wherein the nature of history, relations of power, and historical identity are changing, challenged, and reshaped. The bulk of this research is reflected in chapters two and four of this dissertation. Further, the research undertaken in 2008 and 2010 was made possible through the Graduate Center's Doctoral Student Research grant.

The primary method of investigation was intensive visual examination and analysis and photographic documentation of extant archaeological remains for Inka and related sites and their environmental matrices. Subsequent analysis relied on a review of material in museum displays, supported by photographs of sites, landscape, and contemporary material culture and objects. Onsite research is an imperative in Inka studies. By experiencing, evaluating, and documenting the relationship of natural and cultural forms—that is, the manufactured landscape and its relations to the natural landscape, I was able to clarify a number of instances whereby I propose a

specific refinement to the idea of Inka spatial practice, one that ultimately resides in and reflects the desire for centeredness.

Subsequent archival research was conducted primarily in North American museums and libraries and museum libraries, through my own personal library, through the generous comings-and-goings of Interlibrary loan, and the itinerant connections suggested in the bibliographies of favored secondary sources. There is an inherent, associative intertextuality about doing research this way, and it facilitated my desire to establish a quiet scholarly dialogue as well as to uncover and connect, and thereby flesh out, a broad contextual understanding of Inka spatial practice as a cultural mechanism relayed over time. The research therefore reflects a generous overview of primary and secondary sources specific to the Inka, the early colonial era, contemporary Cuzco, and the theoretical foundation underscoring this project in order to support my analysis and interpretation of the structure of spatial practice.

Chapter Overview

Chapter 1, "Defining Cultural Poetics in the Inka Universe," proposes the theoretical foundation underscoring the analysis of "Inka" spatial practice in the subsequent three chapters.[20] This chapter introduces the primary theoretical lens—Cultural Poetics, which is largely a matter of structure—through which the interpretation is filtered. The chapter adopts an idea of cultural

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20. Inka is in quotes here simply to reinforce that the scope of the dissertation extends well-beyond the historical and temporal threshold of indigenous Inka culture in the pre-Columbian period in order to examine the expression and extension of Inka forms over time via reflections, reiterations, reconstructions, and adaptations based. Hence, Inka here is a multivalent term referring to culture-before-European-contact, transformations of idiosyncratic Inka vibrancy during the long dénouement of colonialism, and the pro-active restoration of its tropes in the twentieth century. The measure taken, then, is of the idea of *Inkaness* in three discrete, albeit isolated, chapters, as the following chapter overview submits.

poetics rooted in what ethnographer Clifford Geertz defines as a "significative system,"[21] meaning that culture is essentially a semiotic system, encoded with signs, which are then interpreted for their meaning. As such, understanding the nature of Inka culture through their spatial practice is best approached when the constitutive elements of their building vocabulary—stone, water, space—are taken as signs and held in relation to each other, deconstructed, and reconsidered (if not resolved). Navigating in this fashion between what are opposed and antithetical, yet complementary, material elements creates a kind of narrative tension just as it offers a sense of structure, or poetics. The chapter contextualizes the structure of Inka spatial culture within complementary frames of discourse based in two Quechua concepts, *tinku* and *pachacuti*, which can be quickly glossed as convergence and reversal, respectively. The chapter then discusses the antecedents of cultural poetics as a disciplined tool for analysis as well as the origin of the term in order to establish why it is a useful way of seeing the Inka. Ultimately, however, it is too remote a task to synthesize anything that resembles a complete picture of ancient culture, in part because cultures are socially constructed systems but also because, in the Inka's case, the usual written sources are absent.[22]

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21. Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 3.

22. This is not to deny the Inka the legitimacy of multiple "texts" so much as it is to say we have a long way to go in understanding Inka "literariness." The Inka used the *quipu* (*khipu*) as a device for recording numbers and other information. It is a length of colored, twisted, and knotted yarn pendant cords suspended from a main length of string. It acted as a mnemonic device or recording system, mainly recording numerical data. Color, direction of ply, and knots and the relation of knots all recorded information. The ongoing debate is whether or not, or to what extent, the *quipu* was able to record narrative or even poetry. The literature on the *quipu* is growing. A solid but by no means conclusive introduction is accessible in Marcia Ascher and Robert Ascher, *Code of the Quipu* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002); Jeffrey Quilter and Gary Urton, eds., *Narrative Threads: Accounting and Recounting in Andean Khipu* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2002); Gary Urton, *Signs of the Inca Khipu* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2003).

In Chapter 2, "Micro </> Macro: On the Cultural Poetics of Centeredness in Inka Architectonic Space," I examine space as a signature element in prehispanic Inka architectonic (sculpted, sculptural) practice. This chapter analyzes *small-spaces*—the term itself is adopted here for constructions without toponyms—comprised of physically opposed, structurally mediated, and ultimately complementary passages of marked landscape elements. Working with basic elemental materials of stone, water, and space, the Inka constructed hybrid natural-cultural landscape spaces that embody metaphorical principles of transformation. In choosing stone and water as the elemental units of both buildings and culture (via myth, symbol, ritual), the Inkas essentially chose oppositional material categories deeply rooted in the landscape and in environmental cyclicality; their aesthetic qualities encompass the balance of Inka vision and imagination. Although scholars have formally analyzed the use of stone and water in Inka architecture, less has been done with regard to the architectonic relations of stone, water, and space as a coherent unit that shaped the broader Inka cultural poetic. The chapter examines and interprets a small sample of small-spaces located in the Inka heartland and transposes its interpretation of their efficacy as an empire-wide principle. It does so in the context of the imperial practice of ritual sacrifice, edges and borders, and the practice of centeredness in other media, such as textiles. The analysis then examines the metaphor of transformation as a structural principle by referencing the post-colonial critique of culture that theorist Homi Bhabha introduced in his *The Location of Culture*, specifically the trope that culture is *beyond*, that it is *in-between*, adapting this contemporary theoretical model as one that is uniquely analogous to the Inka's own conception, and making, of the space of culture.[23]

In Chapter 3, "Toward the New City: Reading Into the Center of Guaman Poma's

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23. See Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 1-4.

Drawings," I examine the making of space in colonial representations of social engagement, architecture, and urban form in the full-page line drawings in Peruvian chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's 1615 *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. This chapter contextualizes contact, conquest, and culture transformation through Guaman Poma's ideas about the nature of Andean spatial practice, indicating through his use of space the radical alteration in the prehispanic practice of centeredness. It analyzes in depth a triad of image types focusing on the expression of (and at) the center: his maps, including his *Mapamundi* and *Pontifical World*; images of social contact between European and Andean figures; and his city images. It contextualizes the images in reference to a number of theoretical constructs, some of which build upon previously established ideas. These concepts include split representation, embedded iconicity, *pachacuti,* and simultaneity and mimicry. An extensive examination of Guaman Poma's constructed center that transposes his social criticism into urban form and cosmological identity reveals a critical attitude toward the role of space in the new cities of the colonial area. A close analysis of the images, read in the context of Inka spatial organization and social transformation, provides a unique, colonial-era perspective on the idea of architecture, landscape, and city in the Andes.

The fourth and final chapter, "The Active Surface of Things: Veneers, Virtuality, and Performances—A Street Level View of Contemporary Cuzco, Peru," examines the pervasive reliance upon "Inka/Inca"-based imagery that is (re-)writing *Inkaness* onto the surface of the city. Taking a phenomenological approach, this chapter catalogues, analyzes, and interprets Inka and Pan-Andean imagery in a variety of visual passages: as a veneer over the presentational surface of buildings on the streets of Cuzco, as a recurrent advertising strategy in order to "sell" modern Peru or to sell products in relation to the historical Andes, in popular web-based photographic databases that "mark" and "tag" images with Inka-based identifiers, in a visual dialogue based in

tourism and travel imagery that happens across and in-between physical space and virtual space, and in the contemporary performance of the solstice festival Inti Raymi that re-imagines the past in the present.

And the final section, the Conclusion, considers the application of cultural poetics to an examination of spatial practice and evaluates it as a model for seeing and interpreting culture over time. In order to do so, it follows the process it set out in the first place, which is to return to the center. The signs of the sytem are placed in the context of "expressions of human purpose," which is how Clifford Geertz puts talk about art.[24] And the signs of centeredness, its destructuration and replacement, and its return at the surface, are ideationally connected, to be understood as a meaningful repertoire of documents. There is hardly a better example than Inka architectonics of the fact that cultural signs extend well beyond their initial intention.

24. See Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," in *Local Knowledge*, 96.

CHAPTER 1

DEFINING CULTURAL POETICS OF “INKA” SPATIAL PRACTICE FROM THE PRE-COLUMBIAN TO THE MODERN

Buildings, like poems and rituals, realize culture.
—Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*

“…everything is man-and-woman [*tukuy ima qhariwarmi*],” meaning that the essential structure of the universe is complementary opposition.
—Carolyn Dean, “The Inca Married the Earth…”[1]

On Cultural Poetics

This chapter presents an overview of the theoretical model at the heart of this project, cultural poetics, which is used as a way to understand the structure of culture, the shape of order over time, and the contingencies, connections, and extensions of spatial practice. Perhaps the most important thing to know is that cultural poetics is about unifying cultural structures; to an extent, it assumes that structure *is* culture and, conversely, that culture *is* structure. In neither direction is the relation between structure and culture final and total, but when considering the manner in which Inka culture, architectonics, and systems of representation are in effect inextricable one-from-the-other, self-identifying, and self-reflexive, cultural poetics offers a practical frame for considering not only the shape or space of culture but also what that culture

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1. The epigraph is taken from, respectively: Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 17; and the embedded quote is from anthropologist Tristin Platt, as quoted in Carolyn Dean, “The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place,” *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 3 (9 September 2007): 502. Dean’s article examines the joint, or conjunction, between Inka stonemasonry and the modified form of its rock “bed” as indicative of the Inka concept of *tinku* (*tinkuy*), which is the Quechua (and related Aymara) concept that expresses the relationship of two things coming together, such as a confluence of rivers. It may express a resolution of tension in nature/culture, order/chaos, and male/female dualities through the “marriage” of stone to rock.

is, or looks like, across time. As such, cultural poetics is a field of study that borrows from, and grows out of, multiple disciplines, including structural linguistics, structural anthropology, social history, aesthetics, and literary theory. The model has been adopted here because it has been effectively used to analyze communicative acts in pre-Columbian Mesoamerican art and architecture in Rex Koontz, Kathryn Reese-Taylor, and Annabeth Headrick's *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica*,[2] though such an approach has not yet been attempted for the pre-Columbian Andes. As the authors indicate, cultural poetics explores "the meanings of places on the landscape…as conveyed through symbols, signs, and images" and interprets "places, or monuments, by means of ritual performances on or around them."[3] As such, it offers a profitable model for the analysis of Inka architectonics and spatial practice.[4]

While this is not the place for a comprehensive theoretical analysis of the overlapping discourses that contribute to cultural poetics, an overview of the primary contributing elements,

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2. Rex Koontz, Kathryn Reese-Taylor, and Annabeth Headrick, *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001).

3. "Foreword," *Landscape and Power*, xix.

4. One significant objection to this application is that it sounds monolithic; to the extent that this is a problem the assumption herein is that nothing is, in fact, monolithic (suggesting *perfected*). Everything, especially in empires, is subject to inertia, breakdown, subversion, revolt, dysfunction. If one thinks about it in terms of *force* and *counterforce*, the politics of empire suggests, at the least, an inclination toward the perfected monolithic enterprise in the form of a brutally efficient hierarchy with an ever-present, and variably effective, opposition. This attainment of perfection is never the case. For example, the anthropologist Charles Stanish, in drawing a comparison between the pre-Inka Andean polity centered at Tiwanaku (c. 100 CE-1100 CE) to that of England's Charles I (using the monarch's reign as an example of singular hegemonic authority, if ever there was one), noted that in 1369 Charles I leveled a diktat upon the cities of England to clean themselves of filth. The order was disobeyed for twenty years. Stanish's point was that hierarchy is messy. The same must be assumed for the Inka. Charles Stanish, "Tiwanaku in the Middle Horizon" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies, Berkeley, CA, January 8, 2010).

followed by a discussion of its origins, is nevertheless necessary. This is important because it significantly determines the way-of-thinking and way-of-seeing presented in this dissertation. According to Koontz and Reese-Taylor's essay, "The Cultural Poetics of Power and Space in Ancient Mesoamerica,"[5] the roots of cultural poetics are in Roman Jakobson's linguistic theory and anthropologist Claude Lévi-Strauss's structural analysis of myth. Jakobson, for his part, was initially aligned with Russian formalism and subsequently with the Prague Linguistic Circle before arriving in New York, where he entered an influential circle of intellectuals that included Lévi-Strauss. His own linguistic theory is based in the groundbreaking work of linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, whose analysis "established that the special symbol systems of the natural languages are systems based on differences," therein establishing the basic elements "of structural linguistics and of structuralism more generally."[6] Based on difference, meaning in Structuralism is henceforth derived from understanding the relation between elements. For both Saussure and Jakobson, of course, these elements are speech elements, which Saussure referred to as *emes*—"phonemes" for the basic unit of speech and "morphemes" for the basic unit of grammar. Understanding the basic unit, and then being able to distinguish one basic unit from the next, in effect establishes the codes of meaning. Between one and the next lies the difference; meaning is in differences between language (or objects/things), and therefore should be considered as much a spatial referent as a linguistic one.

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5. Rex Koontz and Kathryn Reese-Taylor, "The Cultural Poetics of Power and Space in Ancient Mesoamerica," in *Landscape and Power in Ancient Mesoamerica* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2001), 1-19.

6. David H. Richter, ed., *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 848.

The important thing here is that Saussure established language as a sign system. Because the system is based on difference, the necessity of parameters, or categories, or rules, became paramount in order to understand the context *within which* difference establishes meaning.[7] The establishment of parameters in effect set the structure of language, and with the structure of language set it became possible to consider the structure of meaning. Jakobson's own work focuses on *constrastive structures*, which David H. Richter defines simply enough as "minimal pairs separated by differences."[8] With respect to language and meaning Jakobson's "minimal pairs" function in the same manner as Saussure's linguistic system—as signs—where both ultimately suggest that acts of communication are best understood through the study of the difference *between* these signs. Though Jakobson was initially dealing only with verbal, or "poetic," structures, he eventually stated that poetic features are just as well served by the theory of signs, or semiotics, which opened his analysis beyond verbal and written discourse to visual representation. To extend the discussion to the project at hand, the "poetic" is the act, and the act is the architectonic form, and the difference (space) between the architectonic units, not to mention the difference between the material and aesthetic properties of marked stone and unmarked stone, or between stone and water, which is only to further neglect the properties of representation, is the space of meaning. This space thereby defines where meaning is located,

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7. It is relevant to ask here whether these parameters, or categories, or rules are stable. In and of themselves I suspect they are reasonably stable; once the terms are set the analysis takes place within the possibilities they offer. This is not to deny that other terms are equally valid, but given different terms the nature of the inquiry is inherently different—no less valid, just different. Nor is this to say that the results of these two independent categorical inquiries need be exclusive; we can assume that read together they might offer a rich and effective analysis.

8. Richter, *The Critical Tradition*, 850.

where communication occurs, and ultimately, where the cultural poetic (the structure of culture) of Inka spatial practice resides.

According to Koontz, Reese-Taylor, and Headrick, Jakobson further suggested that semiotics "has embedded within it a poetics," therein indicating "form and meaning were inextricably linked."[9] Jakobson is suggesting that semiotics holds within itself an inherent structural form; if we take "poetics" to be broadly analogous to "structure," then the system of forms, by definition, has a structure—and, further, to understand structure, returning to Saussure, simply means recognizing the relation *and* the differences between them (constitutive elements). Beyond suggesting that poetics and semiotics are linked, he was also indicating that they were interchangeable. In doing so, Jakobson solidified semiotic analysis as a critical tool to understanding visual codes. He was also indicating that meaning, ultimately cultural meaning, could be derived from this analysis of forms. The second half of the 20th century, then, saw semiotics dissolve the distinction between literary and non-literary works, therein allowing that semiotics could be equally applied to a *visual* system of discourse. With the door open to visual discourse, it became possible to discuss *visual culture* as the relation of poetics, or forms, embedded within a semiotic system.[10] Once the analogy is extended, it means that architectonic forms can be considered constitutive elements in the construction of culture and cultural meaning. The critical point is that Jakobson dissolved a distinction between word and image

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9. Koontz, Reese-Taylor, Headrick, "Foreward," 2.

10. For a useful overview of poetics, semiotics, and linguistic theory, see Alex Preminger and T. V. F Brogan, eds, *The Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993).

based on paired structures and their differences. Furthermore, he suggested these structures were embedded cultural traits and represented a deep knowledge that Lévi-Strauss then sought to access through his study of myths.

For Lévi-Strauss, meaning in myth is structured the same way as language, as a network of relations between basic units as opposed to the individual units themselves. For Lévi-Strauss, following Sausure's discussion of "emes," the basic unit of myth is a "mytheme." In his essay "The Structural Analysis of Myth," Lévi-Strauss analyzes individual constituent elements in the myth of Oedipus in order to extrapolate its meaning as a system of language.[11] In doing so, Lévi-Strauss says, "the true constitutive units of a myth are not the isolated relations but *bundles of such relations*, and it is only as bundles that these relations can be put to use and combined so as to produce a meaning."[12] The key to Lévi-Strauss's analysis, and subsequently to its application in the field of cultural poetics, is centered on the notion that meaning is a consequence of the relation between elements, the way elements are ordered, and ultimately how this order is "read." His addition of "bundles" to relations indicates a broader field of relative comparison, a more expansive and complicated understanding of what constitutes meaning and how meaning is constructed.[13] That is, decoding myth through structural analysis, just as one decodes language,

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11. Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," in David H. Richter, ed., *The Critical Tradition: Classic Texts and Contemporary Trends* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1989), 869-877.

12. Ibid, 872.

13. It also anticipates the post-structuralist critique of structuralism. With "bundles," the idea of a center is deconstructed, and the place from which relations are understood is understood to be less structured and less concrete.

is to arrive at "the general and particular laws by which structures work."[14] In his own words, Lévi-Strauss registers the process as follows:

> To sum up the discussion at this point, we have so far made the following claims: (1) If there is a meaning to be found in mythology, it cannot reside in the isolated elements which enter into the composition of a myth, but only in the way those elements are combined. (2) Although myth belongs to the same category as language, being, as a matter of fact, only part of it, language in myth exhibits specific properties. (3) Those properties are only to be found *above* the ordinary linguistic level, that is, they exhibit more complex features than those which are to be found in any other kind of linguistic expression.[15]

Just as myth is but a part of language, language too, obviously, is but a part of culture. The "complex features" Lévi-Strauss speaks of, ever impossible to pin down in total, nevertheless comprise properties that supersede the individual *eme* and reside *above* language and are henceforth structural, resembling the deeper structures *from which* the power of myth and language extend and *within which* the power of myth reflects the deeply embedded codes of culture. In terms of communication, Lévi-Strauss is indicating that there are laws above and beyond the instance, which, if transposable, help define culture as well as meaning in culture. In other words, if there are structures that make language and myth mean something in the deeper realm of existence, transcending, in effect, time and space, then it seems to make sense that there are analogous structures to define culture itself. This is what cultural poetics is getting to—the laws, or structures that, once decoded, thereafter begin to resemble the broader structure of society. It is in this instance that one can reasonably replace "myth" with "culture" and arrive at a

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14. Eric Fermie, *Art History and Its Critical Methods: A Critical Anthology* (London: Phaidon, 1995), 352.

15. Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology*, trans. Claire Jacobson and Brooke Grundfest Schoepf (New York: Anchor Books, 1967), 206.

similar conclusion—that there are inherent structures (laws) in culture that can be decoded. By extension, the argument holds that one can similarly derive cultural meaning through decoding architectonic (as well as architectural) relations and bundles of relations in space, and that in understanding the relation between them, we in effect are understanding the meaning of that culture's spatial practice.[16] The same then holds for representations, if one assumes that representations are constituent to similar basic units, similar structures, and similar relations between structures.

Ultimately, however, it was anthropologist Clifford Geertz, building on Jakobson's linguistic theory and Levi-Strauss's structuralism, who established cultural poetics as a method to elicit meaning from a cultural act. For Geertz, culture is a semiotic system whose poetics (structures) are to be understood as encoded relations—communicative, aesthetic, performed, socially understood; cultural poetics, for Geertz, is a frame of meaning within which "man" lives his life. This is not to say the frame is monolithic, unalterable, or otherwise irremediable, so much as it is to say it is present, structurally transcendent, and yet apparently present. If anything, it is flexible. For Geertz, the concept of culture he espouses

> is essentially a semiotic one. Believing, with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun, I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of laws but an interpretive one in search of meaning. It is explication I am after, construing social expressions on their surface enigmatical."[17]

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16. Does it not make sense to propose within this framework a new term—say, "arch-eme," to suggest the basic architectonic unit within a series of related constituent elements that, in the case of the Inka, defines spatial practice and in turn forms culture?

17. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), 5. Geertz is best known for doing ethnography as "thick description," which he describes as finding the meaning behind the social action of "winking." The wink itself is "thin," but everything that lies behind it and its symbolic import is "thick." See his essay "Thick Description: Toward an Interpretive Theory of Culture," in *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 3-32.

Following Saussure and Jakobson, who registered that poetics resides within semiotics, the meaning of culture as well as the meaning of the acts of culture can thereby be examined in the same manner. As an interpreter of culture through its signs—signs which are socially produced and constructed—Geertz construes anthropology (ethnography) as a semiotic concept of culture.[18] He describes *doing ethnography* in a wonderfully pedestrian phrase that corresponds with the analytic philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein's sense of the same—that is, as finding one's feet among strangers in strange places. The suggestion is that in the communication between (spatially, in-between) strangers, there is always a natural disequilibrium, a dis-centeredness interpreting and understanding another's speech, which extends naturally to culture. The product of the engagement between strangers, not unlike the act of translation, is in the nature of being, the hoped-for "enlargement of the universe of human discourse,"[19] even while subject to the vagaries of translational distancing. Geertz goes on to argue for the interpretation of culture as a semiotic concept that, because it is essentially "interworked systems of construable signs (what, ignoring provincial usages, I would call symbols)" is not "a power, something to which social events, behaviors, institutions, or processes can be causally attributed; it is a context, something within which they can be intelligibly—that is, thickly—described."[20] For Geertz, signs comprise culture in the manner of "context," or the aforementioned "webs of significance," which altogether bears a strong resemblance to Lévi-Strauss's "bundles of relations," such that, once

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18. Geertz, *Interpretation*, 13.

19. Ibid.

20. Ibid.

applied to the social construction and production of space, hence culture, they begin to define a cultural poetics of space.

In turn, to return for a moment to the broader topic at hand, by examining the cultural poetics of Inka architectonics through the lens of signs and their context in the landscape, through the relations of such bundles and webs—and thereafter extending the discussion to representations of architecture and architectonic forms following contact—this project will produce a temporal and cultural cross-section that examines Inka spatial practice, to again borrow Henri Lefebvre's phrase. The project draws a direct line between "extensions," "webs of significance," and "relations" and "bundles of relations" by examining Inka architectonic forms from their physical presence, or place, in the landscape through their various representations in Guaman Poma's early colonial-era line drawings as well as through contemporary mediations in the broader context of urbanism, travel and tourism, and virtual constructions and performances of *Inkaness*, therein better defining Inka spatial practice in its temporal, spatial, and material dimensions.

Cultural Poetics: Origins of the Term

The term itself, "cultural poetics," is a derivative coinage based in the work of the Renaissance and New Historicist literary scholar Stephen Greenblatt.[21] The term "cultural poetics" is a turn of phrase from Greenblatt's "the poetics of culture," which he defines as the

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21. New Historicism is chiefly used in literary criticism as a form of cultural analysis that examines the ways a cultural product interacts with and participates in its historical context. See "new historicism, n." OED Online. December 2011. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/255176?redirectedFrom=new%20historicism (accessed January 20, 2012). For an overview, see H. Aram Veeser, ed. *The New Historicism* (New York: Routledge, 1989).

"study of the collective making of distinct cultural practices and inquiry into the relations among these practices."[22] In turn, Greenblatt traces the origin of the term "cultural poetics" to Soviet semiotician and cultural historian Iurii M. Lotman, who argued that beginning in the eighteenth-century daily life in Russia took on rules that were based on patterns that govern literary texts and were experienced as aesthetic forms. According to Lotman, Peter the Great issued a book designed to inculcate proper collective social behavior based on a European model; in doing so he was inverting Russian norms, and subsequently the inversion became the norm, or at least was considered contingent upon the norm. As such, following the codes established in the book, Lotman argues that behavior was perceived as a semiotic system in which "everyday behavior became a set of signs for everyday behavior" and that "daily life acquired the characteristics of the theater."[23] Life itself became a condition subject to perceived difference, and difference was tied closely to the growing perception of one's own life as theater—that is, life, increasingly so, comprised a system of codes within which society acted out its everyday behavior. Life became a metacondition, or metastatement, of its own existence. Adhering to the codes of Peter the Great's book, a critical distinction between "natural" and "theatrical" life developed.

According to Lotman, one recognized, and existed within, the conditions of both natural and theatrical life and could also choose which mode, depending on the situation, to exist within. Eventually, the learned behavior developed into a *style of behavior* and took on its own aesthetic appearance, further emphasizing the theatrical nature of daily life. This notion of an aesthetic and

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22. Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), *5*; see also Iurii M. Lotman, "The Poetics of Everyday Behavior in Eighteenth-Century Russian Culture" in Alexander D. and Alice Stoen Nakhimovsky, eds. *The Semiotics of Russian Cultural History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1985), 67-94.

23. Ibid., 70

stylized theatrically lived life, in effect the idea of performance in everyday life, is fundamental not only to New Historicism but also to cultural poetics. This is not to say this was a socially plural condition for Soviet society of the day (he is referring largely to the aristocratic class), although Lotman is careful to mention that commoners perceptions of themselves in relation to the aristocracy and their perceptions of the aristocrats themselves adhered to the codes of theater. The suggestion here, then, is that similar conditions existed in the Inka empire, at least in a superficial way, whereby civic and ritual spaces were made for theater and theatrical life. In turn space becomes, at the micro level, about the performance of small and connective rituals, and at the macro level, about the spectacle of state. To partake was on the one hand to live, and on the other to act.

It may seem strange to begin a consideration of Inka architectonics with a brief discussion of Soviet semiotics, but the heart of this critique is based in the paradigm discussed by Lotman and later Greenblatt, and common ground, in a methodological sense, is found in the phrases "collective making" and "relations among these practices." This analysis is grounded in these earlier considerations of performed spaces that reinforce the cultural structure and the structure of culture. A similarity of practical intent is found in Clifford Geertz and Claude Lévi-Strauss. Even at this basic level the familiarity between semiotics, Lévi-Strauss's structuralism, Geertz's interpretive anthropology, and Greenblat's New Historicism becomes apparent. For their part, Reese-Taylor, and Koontz suggest that the New Historicists best exemplify the cultural poetic approach because they view texts as sites of circulation of cultural energy.[24] Both

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24. Greenblatt uses *energy* as it is derived from the Greek *energīa*, with origins in rhetoric rather than physics, in which case it refers to "vigorous expression and species of metaphor which calls up a mental picture of something "acting" or moving"—and is thus social and historical. For Greenblatt on "energy" and its social and historical meaning, see

energy and circulation are important terms in this context. Energy, with its origins in rhetoric, implies a direct link to speech, and henceforth to linguistic analysis and its structures, while circulation implies use, the valence of participatory space, and ultimately the transference of power/knowledge between participants in a common, and commonly understood, system.

According to literary theorist H. Aram Veeser, circulation "involves not just money and knowledge but also… the 'possession' of social assets as evanescent as taste in home furnishings or as enduring as masculinity. Their point [that is, New Historicists] is that such social advantages circulate as a form of material currency…."[25] The language of New Historicism relies heavily on a vocabulary of the marketplace, of exchange and negotiation—hence, of a social universe—to suggest that once it is raised to a field of inquiry in-and-of-itself, like cultural poetics, it crosses disciplinary boundaries separating history, anthropology, art, politics, literature, and economics. In that regard it is, as suggested above, inclusive rather than exclusive. For Greenblatt, just as it is for Geertz and, ultimately, as it is here, what bears examination in any text, just as with any examination of space and spatial practice, is the collective and communicative nature of an aesthetic production; what it comes to mean, internally and externally, resides primarily within it but is subject to an exchange, thereafter being socially understood and socially determined, above and beyond, and in-between, the text itself and the audience or participants.

Shakespearean Negotiations, 5. For the definition of "energy" in reference to rhetoric and the metaphor see "energy, n." OED Online. December 2011. Oxford University Press. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/62088?rskey=s9OIck&result=1&isAdvanced=false (accessed January 20, 2012).

25. Veeser, *The New Historicism*, xiv.

Veeser goes on to mention five key assumptions that appear among practitioners of New Historicism. These are worth mentioning in full because, as practice rather that doctrine, they emerge at the core of cultural poetics as well. Veeser notes them as follows:

> 1. that every expressive act is embedded in a network of material practices; 2. that every act of unmasking, critique, and opposition uses the tools it condemns and risks falling prey to the practice it exposes; 3. that literary and non-literary "texts" circulate inseparably; 4. that no discourse, imaginative or archival, gives access to unchanging truths nor expresses inalterable human nature; 5. finally… that a critical method and a language to describe culture under capitalism participate in the economy they describe.[26]

Though it again might seem strange to adapt, in part, a critical discourse that initially examined the circulation of material and ideas in Renaissance theatre under emergent capitalist conditions, with a few substitutions, namely "empire" for "capitalism," its utility becomes plain enough. This is not to say that the material conditions of Renaissance England and the late prehispanic Andes are in any way correlative, though it is to suggest that the method and language to describe and interpret the structure of culture is expressed materially, is self-reflexive and circulatory, and is unique in their own conditions.

The methodological effectiveness of cultural poetics is centered in the analysis of (built, representational) space finding meaning through use, structure, relations, and difference. Its effectiveness revolves around the ideas of aggregation, circulation, and exchange. Applied to the Inka, this paradigm is best approached by extending the field of analysis beyond urban space to consider landscape as well. It accepts that space is created, organized, and reflective of deep cultural forms. It also accepts that space is activated and finds meaning in the manner in which it is used, what rituals define that space and how the space has been created, ultimately, to reflect the inner core of the culture itself. It accepts that space, and its shaping, is a metastatement

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26. Veeser, *The New Historicism*, xi.

reflecting a deep, interior, and collective expression. The same questions are then asked of other media participating in the same idea of centeredness beyond the threshold of contact and conquest to include line drawings, veneers, performances, architectures of travel and tourism, and the virtual tagging and naming of vernacular photography.

Insofar as these comprise unique instances within a broader paradigm of collective identity, cultural poetics resonates with art critic Meyer Schapiro's famous take on style as a "system of forms with a quality and a meaningful expression through which the personality of the artist and the broad outlook of the group are visible…."[27] To what extent, then, does cultural poetics reveal shaping space to be analogous to the broad outlook of the Inka? Schapiro continues, saying style is also "a vehicle of expression within the group, communicating and fixing certain values of religious, social, and moral life through the emotional suggestiveness of forms," altogether indicating that aesthetic tropes reflect the inner form of collective thinking and feeling.[28]

What Remains: *Essence*

The case with Inka architectonics today is that it exists in rather degraded form, essentially in ruins, its condition a consequence of competing and often contradictory influences and impulses: conquest, de-construction, abandonment, time, re-construction, adaptation, appropriation, tectonics, tourism. Examining it here means examining a complex and often contradictory field of *ideas* to which it gives form and which shape it. Yet witnessing the forms

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27. See Meyer Schapiro, "Style," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. by Donald Preziosi (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 143.

28. Ibid.

in situ, one sees first that Inka architectonic forms are embedded, simultaneously emergent and convergent in the landscape.[29] Each is (meant to be seen as) a kind of natural growth, like a tree, just as it is a cultural manifestation, like an empire; each looks natural but is also read as cultural. At the least, as we see it today and as it must have been recognized then, Inka architectonics is a display of extraordinarily sensitive, typically complementary and enhancing, often evocative (in the communicative sense), site-consciousness. To that end the Inka were master landscape artists that any modernist land artist, from Robert Smithson to Richard Long to Michael Heizer, might acknowledge as a model community of earth-sculptors and land-aesthetes.

It is also the case with Inka architectonics that it gives form to the visible and the invisible. How so? It gives form to visible lived space, ritual space, and spaces of movement (for example, "highways")—places that were physical, took shape, and tied to the Inka in the sense that marked landscape interventions were a sign of presence and presencing. But it also gives form to something more narratively concrete, as anthropologist Susan Niles suggests, in that historical events and "claims based on military victory, encounters with gods, and deeds carried out by their kings"[30] were encoded in the myth and history of stone. Niles is referring specifically to royal architecture, though I think some of those same concerns reside elsewhere, as residue in more mundane architectonic forms, such as modified rocks, because some of those concerns and contingencies are located in the nature of stone itself. Niles is also indicating that elite architecture functioned, in effect, as a text, as a readable entity, as a sign of culture inscribed

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29. And sometimes they are "married" to the earth, in the words of Carolyn Dean, whereby rock outcrops integrated into masonry are viewed as places of union, blur the borders between nature and culture and, and serve as powerful reminders of Inka imperial presence. See Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth," *The Art Bulletin*, 502-518.

30. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, xvii.

with specific narrative histories—histories that comprised, until 1532, until the irreducibility of Spanish contact, a complex amalgamation of past, present, and future historical enterprise.[31] She says, in effect, that Inka architecture entwined signs of specific royalty and their deeds, encoded space with tangible and intangible marks of myth and mytho-history, and referenced the natural and the supernatural. Its relation to landscape similarly comprised, as anthropologists James Brady and Wendy Ashmore suggested for Maya landscapes, a "nearly seamless extension of

31. The project assumes 1532 as a critical moment in time, not an end but perhaps the beginning of the end. It does so hesitatingly, though with a certain pleasure. The pleasure derives in the fact that choosing this date means that contact and capture are located spatially in what is a contested architectural-spatial form: the plaza—an indigenous form as well as the form that is adopted by the Spanish as the urban plan of conquest. That is, space was an active agent in the plan of assault. Nevertheless, the project takes this date hesitatingly because *initial* contact in South America had happened as early as 1522, when Pascual de Andagoya ascended the San Juan River in Colombia; or 1525-1527, when the Inka Atahualpa is believed to have first heard about "bearded strangers" on the coast; or 1527, when Bartolomé Ruiz worked his way south to the Ecuadoran coast and captured a handful of native Indians before returning to Panama with news of the rich lands to the south; or 27 December 1530, when Pizarro's third voyage landed at Tumbez, Ecuador, and he began a slow march into the empire; or 15 November 1533, when Pizarro's expedition enters Cuzco; or December 1533, following Manco Inka's coronation; or 23 March 1534, with the foundation of the Spanish municipality by Pizarro. That's as far as I would be willing to take it, and, really, any of these dates would suffice depending on the argument and its inclination. Undoubtedly, though undocumented, some notion of a "presence" was established in these earlier forays. For instance, what was made of the disappearance of those boys? It is not difficult to imagine an unknown, and un-recorded, witness to the kidnapping. It is even less difficult to imagine word sifting slowly south detailing these strangers, lest word had not already been disseminated from the Spanish arrival in Mexico years earlier. Was word in the air? We can only assume as much. Assuming otherwise assumes a vacuum, an extraordinary lack of participatory living on the part of native Andeans. Of course, the reality of any path or any chronology of dissemination is not recorded, at least not in a form that has been repeated with certainty. And what of the advance of European diseases, which advanced ahead of Pizzaro, were the strange and insidious maladies recognized as foreign and otherworldly? On the invasion and initial contact see, for example, Terrence D'Altroy, *Incas: The Peoples of America* (Malden, Mass: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), 311-312. On Inka dating and chronology, many still follow archaeologist John H. Rowe, the pre-eminent Inka scholar of the 20th century, who established the standard chronology in his seminal article, "Inka Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, ed. Julian Steward, Bulletin 143, vol. 2 (Washington, D.C.: Bureau of American Ethnology, 1944), 183-330.

worldview, manifest in domestic, civic, and wider spatial scales."[32] Thus, Inka architectonics, like Inka architecture, is the presencing (as an active and activating principle) of things seen and unseen, of ideas and concepts that are constitutive elements of culture manifest in stone. Some rocks are just rocks, but the marked and transformed examples, which are located empire-wide, acted as powerful reminders of Inka centrality and power.[33]

One imagines that to live within the Inka built environment at both the hyper-local and the imperial scales, or to move through built spaces, or to witness them from the outside, tested an individual's ability, through memory and his own imaginal creativity, through participatory and active living, to engage not only in collective social behavior but social behavior ultimately determined by the aesthetics of empire. Unquestionably, Inka architectonics was a sign of empire.[34] Alongside architecture, it was the pre-eminent material sign of the Inka, such that to be

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32. James E. Brady and Wendy Ashmore, "Mountains, Caves, Water: Ideational Landscapes of the Ancient Maya," in *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 126. For an instructive analysis of the "seam" between Inka masonry and rock outcrops in terms of the nature/culture paradigm, see again Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth," 502-518.

33. For the analysis of an analogous paradigm whereby masonry building blocks were transported from the Cuzco region to the periphery in Ecuador in order to transfer the sanctity of the Inka imperial project, see Dennis Ogburn, "Power in Stone: The Long-Distance Movement of Building Blocks in the Inca Empire," *Ethnohistory* 51, no. 1 (Winter, 2004), 101-135.

34. The literature on empires is vast. For a discussion of the Inka as a "primary empire" see Terence N. D'Altroy and Katharina Schreiber, "Andean Empires," in *Andean Archaeology*, ed. Helaine Silverman, (Malden: Blackwell Publishing, 2004), 257-270; for a more specific discussion examining the role of architecture in empire see Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*; for a discussion of architecture and landscape within an imperial structure see Susan Niles "Inca Architecture and the Sacred Landscape," in *The Ancient Americas: Art from the Sacred Landscapes*, ed. Richard Townsend (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1992), 347-357; for two views on the growth of empire, and the role of Cuzco and the construction and production of urban space in the imperial framework, see Brian S. Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004), and R. Alan Covey, *How the Incas Built Their Heartland* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005).

amid or between or to pass by or through the forms themselves, not only royal buildings but also sculpted rock, was, in a sense, to be in the presence of the Inka, if only momentarily and in gesture, though for some I imagine it might even have meant *becoming* Inka. At the least the engagement between person and form linked a specific dialogue to a particular space, a communication that is defined by the material object itself and is read, so to speak, as a palimpsest of encoded signs that reference many things including, but not limited to: corporeality, in-corporeality, identity, liminality, social order, and transformation. To the extent that participatory and collective experience determines social reality, life in relation to and in contact with the aesthetic authority of the empire meant living in a realm of communication, where the message was inscribed with the *essence* of the Inka empire itself. In a word—stone. As a relation—Inka : Stone. As threads in a web of contingencies—Inka : Stone : Space : Culture.

Thus, to experience the imperial statement in the form of architectonics was to confront a constituent element within a totality that is Inkaness, but it was also to encounter Inkaness in a manner of signs—signs that presumed knowledge, that were encoded by and were interpreted as the mythical and origin(al) structures of Inka identity. As Niles says, "Places, objects, and actions become manifestations of history…The performance of a ritual or action, the viewing of a work of architecture, or the experience of an important place serves to confirm the truth of the narrative and to validate its historical claim."[35] In this context of historical narrative, with its close association to "story," and hence to the metaphor of "reading" culture, we might also consider simultaneously that the religious historian Mircea Eliade said "true stories" are true because they are sacred, and they are sacred because they are stories of origin, creation, and

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35. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, 44.

heroes continuously returned to, repeated, and re-enacted through the power of rites.[36] Return and re-enactment mean, in this case, to be present at the beginning, to be in the place or realm of the gods or ancestors when the definitive structures of the universe were set in place. Subsequent performances of this origin(al) moment, for the Inka, as acted out in space and in specific locations, typically at *huacas* (waka) or in temples, and almost always in relation to, or directly incorporating, or enacted upon, or set within a framework of rock or masonry architecture, thereby became signs of imperial control.[37] In return, the world became animate with Inka imaginal metastatements; historical as well as metaphysical principals were "written," as it were, in the landscape and in the structures. Stone embodied these principles. In other words, inscribed

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36. See Mircea Eliade, *Myth and Reality*, trans. William R. Trask (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1968), 5-34.

37. Maarten van de Guuchte defines *huaca* as "a material object or location which received ritual attention, and the "force" which inhabited that object or location." See Maarten van de Guuchte, "The Inca Cognition of Landscape: Archaeology, Ethnohistory, and the Aesthetic of Alterity," in Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp, eds. *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives*, 149-166. For a description of Inka rituals performed at specific huacas see Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990). More generally, anthropologist Frank Salomon suggests that a *huaca* could be anything that was given special attention through veneration. See Frank Salomon, Introduction, *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, 14-19. The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega conveys the importance of *huacas* when he describes them as … "a sacred place"… "a sacred thing" such as… idols, rocks, great stones, or trees which the enemy [Devil] entered to make the people believe he was a god. They also gave the name *huaca* to things they offered to the Sun, such as figures of men [figurines and statues], birds, and animals made of silver, gold or wood… *Huaca* is applied to any temple, large or small, to the sepulchers set up in fields and to the corners in their houses where the Devil spoke to their priests… They use the same word *huaca*… to very high hills that stand above the rest as high towers stand above ordinary houses, to steep mountain slopes… All these things and others like them were called *huaca*, not because they were considered gods and therefore worthy of adoration, but because of their special superiority over other common run of things… they were regarded and treated with veneration and respect." See Garcilaso de la Vega, "El Inca," *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru* [1609], Parts I–II, trans. H. V. Livermore, forward by A. J. Toynbee. (Austin & London: University of Texas Press, 1966), 76-77.

by primordial myth, Inka architectonics validated the authority, as well as the narrative, of the empire, doing so through transformative properties that further encode the deep signs of Inka social order.

Pachacuti: Architectonics in a World Turned Upside Down

Inka architectonic forms were made and organized within a broader collective aesthetic tied to notions of completion and certainty: the certainty of cultural survival, a future certain to be dominated by the Inka, an inevitable and certain presence across the Andes. It is unclear whether any empire has ever considered otherwise; all the mechanisms of state are pointed toward success and not failure. The Inka were no different. In order to explicate their imperial program, the Inka devised an architectural system—hybrid though it may have been as a unique vocabulary—that linked certainty to material, and material to history, and that conceived history as the accumulations of myth in and out of time.[38] At the same time, the architectonic landscape was a form of completion for the myths themselves, their material manifestation, their presence and their efficacy.

The Inka found its architectonic forms in the landscape, located them in forms often already *pressed* into and convergent with the landscape. Such was the veracity of the aesthetic of completeness that this relationship between landscape and architectonic certainty defined Inka

38. On Inka masonry techniques and whether or not, or to what extent, Inka architecture is an original or borrowed manifestation, see Jean-Pierre Protzen, "Inca Architecture," in *The Inca World: The Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, ed. Laura Laurencich Minelli (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992); and Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella Nair, "Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills? A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 2 (1997): 146-167.

spatial practice. The viability of this certainty proved, of course, to be limited, because at a crucial moment of civic fragility, with the empire teetering on the edge of collapse due to the civil war between the would-be successors Atahualpa and Huascar, the Spanish arrived again, this time face-to-face with the Inka Atahualpa, at Cajamarca, Peru.[39] Following contact with the Spanish, the Inka enterprise underwent a massive social rupture, undergoing what is referred to in Quechua as *pachacuti*, which translates loosely as upheaval, or the world turning upside down, "the termination of an established order whether past, present, or future...."[40] This term is particularly instructive with respect to understanding not only the structure of Inka culture but also to understanding its long dénouement as an indigenous enterprise and the rise of new social and material forms throughout the colonial and later periods. All subsequent analysis of Inka architectonics, representations of Inka architecture and cities, and later reconstructed veneers, will be considered within a context defined by the problematics of *pachacuti*.

The seventeenth-century chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a royal Inka woman and a conquistador, who grew up in Peru and spoke both Spanish and Quechua, defined *pachacuti* as "*pachamcutin*, which is to say the world turns around. For the most part [Andeans] say it when great things turn from good to ill, and sometimes they say it when things change from ill to good."[41] Diego Gonzalo Holguín, the seventeenth-century lexicographer of Quechua, "listed the term *pachacuti* and translates it as equivalent to *pacha ticra*, "the end of the world, or

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39. For the narrative of this moment in the conquest, see Hemming, *The Conquest of the Incas*, 23-71.

40. For a billiant analysis of *pachacuti* see Sabine MacCormack, "Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru," *The American Historical Review* 93, no. 4 (October 1988): 961.

41. Quoted in MacCormack, "Pachacuti," 966.

great destruction, pestilence, perdition or loss."[42] Certainly negative, the term also carries within it the possibility of regeneration and renewal, if not rebirth, concepts that conflate during the early conquest period with rigid Christian overtures. Applied to societal transformation and Andean conceptions (construction and, really, re-construction) of history, the epochal cultural transformations defined as *pachacuti* turn on recurring violence, repeated cataclysm, and rupture, all of which is world-ending but paradoxically puts in place the conditions necessary for regeneration. It is without question an ecological model, as transformative as it is comprehensive, as disruptive as it is regenerative, as isolated as it is intertwined. One suspects that highland Andeans daily witnessed a model for *pachacuti*, for worlds or conditions reversing, in the stark turn from day to night, a transition which arrives at the imperial capital with a rectifying swiftness and clarity, especially in the South American winter. Certainty, then, cuts a fine difference between two conditions, though it does so with the enviable and sustaining possibility of the sun's return, not that any solar reprise was taken for granted.[43] How might this concept affect our understanding of Inka architectonics and spatial practice?

First, it is one of many associated concepts that scholars (myself included) have placed at the center of understanding Inka culture. Doing so thus locates change and transformation at the

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42. Ibid.

43. Everthing good, of course, comes with the sun. It was the focus of an extraordinary amount of imaginal and industrial labor, the center of a complex system of nearly universal worship—when you died you joined the Sun in the heavens; after Viracocha, a creator deity, the sun was the focus of the greatest amount of worship; it was conceived of as both a Lord and a father and the Inka king was his son, so that they visualized it in the form of a man; they built temples and shrines for it and made major scrifices to it; and, when it disappeared, as in an eclipse, there was widespread panic, as if the world was ending, and vast ritual mechanisms were set in motion to garner its return. On the place of the sun in Inka culture see, for example, Cobo, *Inca Religion & Customs*, 20-28.

center of culture, as a super-structural paradigm around which things occur. With the benefit of hindsight, the mechanisms of *pachacuti* can be applied to the long trajectory of Andean history, into which the Inka would lead us to believe they rightfully stepped, turning over all precedent. It applies to understanding the social context of those Inka sites occupied or re-occupied during the conquest period, such as the contact-era places of resistance deep in the Vilcabamba region, such as Vitcos and Espiritu Pampa,[44] whereby *pachacuti* frames architectonics, extending to site design and social design, in the context of conquest violence on the one hand and a complex desire for autonomy, or return, on the other. Phrased differently, architectonics, previously encoded by and synonymous with purely indigenous ideals (power and presence, namely), during the contact and conquest phase signifies the loss of social agency and a desire to regain the same; it frames autonomy and its loss; it frames, and subsequently is a sign for, the conditions of contact since that fateful meeting in Cajamarca. And *pachacuti* frames any consideration of the consequences of contact found in Guaman Poma's 400 line drawings, especially those representing architecture, urban space, and architectonic forms, as they are juxtaposed with images depicting a deep and penetrating social violence. And *pachacuti* frames an analysis of contemporary Cuzco, whereby the public face of the city is being turned over again, remade as Inka, Inkaesque, or some aberration thereof. One could construe this latest reversal as the oblique completion of previously failed desires for the return of Inka autonomy during the early conquest and colonial period and resurgent in the late eighteenth century, albeit

44. On architecture in the Vilcabamba region, see the very early consideration of Bingham, Hiram, *The Ruins of Espiritu Pampa, Peru* (Lancaster, PA: New Era Print. Co, 1914); and Vincent R. Lee, *Forgotten Vilcabamba: Final Stronghold of the Incas*, (Jackson Hole, WY: Sixpac Manco Publications, 2000); on the recent archaeological discovery of Wari-era tombs in the Vilcabamba, see Javier Fonseca Santa Cruz, "El rostro oculto de Espíritu Pampa, Vilcabamba, Cusco," in *Arqueología Iberoamericana* 10 (2011): 5-7. http://www.laiesken.net/arqueologia/archivo/2011/10/2_en.html (accessed January 19, 2012).

with much less socio-cultural baggage. These transformations, as old as they are current, suggest a principal structuring metaphor for understanding Inka culture. Excavating the infrastructure of transformation in visual, material, and metaphorical terms, and doing so across time, is one of the tasks of this project.

Cultural Poetics: Convergence and Materiality

Cultural poetics is a point of contact that is simultaneously a point of convergence, where things come together in space, an idea best expressed by the Quechua concept *tinku* (tinkuy) noted in art historian Carolyn Dean's epigraph that begins this chapter. As Dean says elsewhere, in a context of water symbolics and display fountains, "the word *tinku* or its cognates is used to identify places where, or events in which, complements merge, not just the confluence of rivers, but also the joining of paths, ritual battles between necessary enemies, and so on."[45] The convergence herein is located, at least initially (Chapter 2), in the physical space of architecture and architectonics, where stone and stone, stone and water, and stone and space are set in relation to each other as resonant and complementary spatial productions. (Subsequently, the convergence is with time, or through time, as these relations change form, are obliterated, are removed from the center to the surface.) It is the spatial opposition of the pairings, as materials and as elements, and how that relation begets their essential complementarity that matters; for the Inka's purpose, it was the combination, their essential and opposed material difference, and their harmonious resolution (convergence) in space that mattered. It helps to think of water, stone, and space first as singularities, and then as things brought together in a cultural system

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45. See Carolyn Dean, "Inka Water Management and the Symbolic Dimensions of Display Fountains," *RES: Anthropology & Aesthetics*, vol. 59/60 (Spring/Autumn 2012), 22-38.

with broad aesthetic overtures. The context of material convergence, of their use as building material and in their function as determinants in the aesthetics of space, is subsequently multivocal, multilocal, and multileveled.[46]

When considering Inka spatial practice we are considering many things at once. When considering many things at once we are by default in many places simultaneously, meaning that it helps to think of Inka spatial practice, and to think of the thinking about Inka architectonics, as a field that communicates on multiple, concentric layers: political, religious, economic, mythical, cosmogonic, and aesthetic, to name only the most obvious and to name only those for which we have obvious signs.[47] Broadly speaking, then, these are the things to which the semiotics of

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46. Just as "voice" is much theorized in anthropology, anthropologist Margaret Rodman suggests "place" deserves to be reconsidered accordingly. She suggests that "multilocality" be made as apparent as "multivocality," that is to say, just as theorists consider multiple voices in the construction of culture so too should it consider that multiple "places" are always present, indicating that humans live outside any single, concrete experience of both place and time. The notion of multiple viewpoints borrows from Michel Foucault's notion of "heterotopia," which suggests that places are sites of liminal existence, simultaneously a *here* and a *there*. He uses the metaphor of a person viewing themselves in a mirror to locate place as dualistic, both real and unreal, physical and not. This seems to me to capture well the essence of Inka architecture as experienced and lived, especially in the notion of passing through (the gates at Pisac, for example) and therein transcending physical space by moving through the metaphysical border, or the border to the metaphysical, that the gate represents. See Margaret C. Rodman, "Empowering Place: Multilocality and Multivocality," *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 640-656; Michel Foucault, *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences,* trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Random House, 1970), xvii; Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16 (Spring 1986), 22-27.

47. The imperative to intertwine and make inseparable multiple fields of discourse is not unique to studies of the ancient Americas, though perhaps the most brilliant discussion is found in Inga Clendinnen, *Aztecs: An Interpretation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 1. Referencing Clendinnen here locates and positions up front one of the methodological influences underscoring this project. It also suggests that Andeanists need not be isolated, especially in their consideration of empires and how empires incline, work, and project at the aesthetic level. In other words, Clendinnen's methods and conclusions offer a profitable comparative model for a discussion of Inka aesthetics and Inka cultural poetics.

culture—that is, the semiotics of stone—refers. As a system of signs, Inka architectonics references a spectacular array of possibilities but does so through a limited material vocabulary. The singularly crucial material dichotomy (again, stone and water) of that system finds in this primary relation the expression of a unique (re-)configuration of space, a space of meaning and intention, a space of communication. Hence: a social space. Further, the aesthetic and structural difference in-between the two, where particular emphasis is afforded to the relation of either/or/both to one another, the space between them is the essence, and location, of a cultural poetic.

Cultural poetics, as deployed here, is historical as well as contextual, diachronic rather than synchronic, and extends outward from its root concern in the pre-Columbian universe (in time, space, and material) to examine its repercussions, its deconstructions, its extensions, and its "secretions" in later representations and in other media—thereby converging the problematics of Inka built space with colonial representations of Inka space and modern adaptations of a Neo-Inka building vocabulary. Because it considers a range of materials and images produced over a broad swath of time the consequence, or conclusion—at the least, that is, the direction the project is working toward—suggests a model of Andean spatial practice that is simultaneously an approach to understanding culture. It is to come to the realization about forms, as does Clifford Geertz about art, "that to study an art form is to explore a sensibility, that such a sensibility is essentially a collective formation, and that the foundations of such a formation are as wide as social existence and as deep…."[48]

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48. Geertz, *Local Knowledge*, 99.

The consequence of a deep look at Inka spatial practice is to realize many things at once. First, it is to be immediately confronted with what seems, on the surface, a profound contradiction: the message in the medium is at odds with the medium of the message. In other words, the metaphors of material reality embodied in its primary signature (stone)—permanence, solidity, geological time—are in tension with the social reality of Inka culture (and, really, all living culture), which was always contested, ever-changing and mutating, debated, shifting and convulsive, and unstable. Given the rate of imperial expansion, could it really be otherwise?[49] (fig. 1.1)

One imagines the Inka would have liked us to think the social reality was otherwise, per the nature of empire, which always favors the monolithic and hierarchical over the pluralistic and democratic. But the truth of the matter is that social instability was then and is now perpetual and continuous. If cultural unity was not the goal of the Inka state, at the very least it meant to diminish the likelihood of anarchy and uprising. The Jesuit chronicler Bernabé Cobo said as much in 1653: "The whole foundation of their policy of government rested on means designed to keep their people subject and deprive them of the zeal to revolt against them."[50] The essential signified value of stone is that it offers material and aesthetic qualities complementary to state initiative but opposed to social reality, especially where one considers the latter as a state of flux. In this regard stone is one of the primary visual modalities of state-driven propaganda, a message

49. On Inka imperial expansion see Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas* [1557], ed. and trans. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); see also D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 62-85, for an overview of Inka imperial expansion.

50. Cobo quoted in John Howland Rowe, "Inca Policies and Institutions Relating to Cultural Unification," in *The Inca and Aztec States: Anthropology and History*, ed. George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth (New York: Academic Press, 1982), 94. Rowe, perhaps the pre-eminent Inka scholar of the twentieth century, essentially follows Cobo's assertion.

that denies with a sense of finality, or perhaps willful blindness, the social (fluid) construction of culture. But it would be unlike the Inka to leave everything so single-sided, one-dimensional, and unresolved.

Therefore: the formal, structural, material inclusion of water as a unit of construction and production. The Inka incorporated—indeed, celebrated—water at numerous essential sites for reasons that extend far beyond both utility and necessity.[51] They did so as a balance to and a counterforce of the material reality of stone. They did so because water evokes, and becomes a sign of, metaphorical properties antithetical to stone, in order to bring the universe into balance through, as Dean suggests above, complementary opposition. Perhaps most importantly, however, one suspects there is a social and moral reality at work in the aesthetic choices of the Inka state: water signifies the social (and therefore cultural) world, whereas stone signifies the natural (and therefore supernatural) world. According to Jeanette Sherbondy, "Inca hydrology was complex and meaningful in ways that Western hydrology is not. Their concepts about water were intimately linked to their beliefs about origins, especially origins of ancestors and the kinds of rights and privileges bestowed on peoples from their original creations."[52] Water was further linked, according to Sherbondy, with ritual, defining sacred space, conquest, historical legitimization, and socio-urban organization.[53]

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51. For a formal analysis of numerous water-related mechanistics at several Sacred Valley sites, see Margaret MacLean, *Sacred Land, Sacred Water: Inca Landscape Planning in the Cuzco Area* (PhD diss., Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, 1986); see also Jeanette E. Sherbondy, *The Canal System of Hanan Cuzco* (PhD diss., University of Illinois, Urbana, 1982), for an analysis of irrigation systems controlled by kin units, or *panaqa*; and see again, Dean, "Inka Water Management," on the symbolics of water display.

52. Jeanette Sherbondy, "Water Ideology In Inca Ethnogenesis," in *Andean Cosmologies Through Time: Persistence and Emergence* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1992), 46.

To further the point, then, the metaphors of the material reality of water better reflect the social reality of the state—fluid, dynamic, effervescent, impermanent. In this regard, the social and moral principles of Inka spatial practice strike the modern observer as particularly complicated and dynamic; the suggestion herein is that the complex material opposition of stone and water works aesthetically and metaphorically as a socially produced entity, understood by the populace as signs of empire, and thereby defined the Inka imperative for architecture and cities and the control of space. Recognizing the convergence of metaphor and material as part of the cultural poetic of Inka architecture is but one of the consequences of examining Inka architectonics, which will be examined in greater depth in chapter 2.

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53. Ibid, 52, 60.

CHAPTER 2

MICRO⁄MACRO: ON THE CULTURAL POETICS OF CENTEREDNESS IN PREHISPANIC INKA ARCHITECTONIC SPACE

> There is, then, a sacred space, and hence a strong, significant space; there are other spaces that are not sacred and so are without structure or consistency, amorphous. Nor is this all. For religious man, this spatial nonhomogeneity finds expression in the experience of an opposition between space that is sacred—the only *real* and *real-ly* existing space—and all other space, the formless expanse surrounding it.
>
> —Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religions*

> Ritual liminality, therefore, contains the potentiality for cultural innovation, as well as the means of effecting structural transformations within a relatively stable sociocultural system.
>
> —Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theater* [1]

Radical Redundancy By Design: Stone, Water, Space

This chapter is about prehispanic architectonic space.[2] It is about space and boundaries and how the Inka used stone and water to shape shapelessness, in combination, opposed, juxtaposed, converged—*in dialogue*—as two of the three signature elements of their spatial practice. The use of stone and water was as extensive as it was recognizable and became, by design as well as by intent and purpose, a metonym for Inka presence. Indeed, art historian Carolyn Dean's recent work, *The Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, speaks brilliantly about the importance of stone, but where she emphasizes "culture," my emphasis is on "cultural

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1. The epigraph is taken from Mircea Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane: The Nature of Religions* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961), 20; and Victor Turner, *From Ritual to Theater* (New York: Performing Arts Journal Publications, 1982), 84-85.

2. This chapter adopts some of the arguments for Inka aesthetics previously examined in my MA thesis, "An Aesthetic of Stone and Water: How the Inka Proposed Their World Should Look." See footnote 2. Looking forward, "stone" and "rock" are used interchangeably throughout this chapter.

poetics of," intimating structure, suggesting forms, highlighting relations in space that, better understood, ultimately define the kinetics of Inka spatial practice as a system of radical redundancy—the concerted desire to shape space into something familiar, reiterated, and ultimately replicable.[3]

The third element of Inka spatial practice, however, is more elusive, fragmentary, definitionless, and unsettled. It is space. Specifically, it is the space that exists between, or *in-between*, opposed and mirrored entities.[4] It is the space that exists in-between rocks in the landscape. It is the relation of the elements—*rock / rock* and *rock / water / rock*—focusing, in a sense, on the location of those typographical markers and how they connect, draw into relation, set into opposition, and simultaneously bridge and distance the terms of order. What happens in-between is crucial. My analysis here is limited to mirrored rock forms investigated first-hand, primarily in the Cuzco valley but also beyond the immediate heartland. As such the analysis is limited in scale but ambitious in its potential scope of application.

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3. See Dean, *The Culture of Stone*, 5. Dean identifies "culture of stone" as "the broad array of stories, beliefs, and practices that both constitute prehispanic Inka perspectives on, and are articulated in, stone." To differentiate again, cultural poetics is an attempt to identify and locate structures of meaning in the signs of culture, many of which are, of course, in the same places Dean is looking. Though Dean's analysis is not about rocks as "art," she is by no means suggesting the Inka did not have a keen sense of aesthetics—she says so definitively elsewhere.

4. See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1-4. It is with deference to Bhabha's *in-between* space that that term is adopted and amended herein. Bhabha contrasts Heidegger's notion of boundaries, which he says is where individual and communal identity begins, where "presencing" begins, with his own suggestion that today, in the age of "post"- everything (postmodern, postfeminism, etc.), we live in a space that is *beyond,* neither here-nor-there, and hence *in-between.* There is a distinguished sense of ambiguity in Bhabha, but integral to his definition of space—of cultural space—is its inherent liminality. It depends on polar and contrasting identities, dualistic and oppositional structures of meaning, and as such is strangely perfect for understanding the Inka, whose own cosmologies are often dichotomized yet complementary relations. Nothing is complete in itself; resolution, and hence completion, is dependent on another thing, a partnered principle, a complement. This is also to suggest that this *in-between* space is really nothing new.

Here are two examples, both from a site about two kilometers northeast of Cuzco beside the Antisuyu road[5] currently referred to as Kusilluchayoq (Cusillluchayoq). Kusilluchayoq is a large outcrop of extensively carved rocks with adjacent buildings in ruins (figs. 2.1-2.3). Brian Bauer suggests that the site is a possible contender for the *huaca*,[6] or sacred site/entity, referred to as Chuquimarca in chronicler Bernabe Cobo's *ceque* list.[7] Both examples are types of spaces that will be referred to herein as *small-spaces*, so-called because they are intimate associations of forms, small in scale, compact in design, and likely do not have toponyms of their own.[8] These first two *small-spaces*, like a few of the others that will be examined, are constituent elements of the larger site, so it may be that they are a kind of sub-space, a sub-class of the more common, and larger, principle of sacredness and force of *huacas*. It may be, too, that they are all diagnostically *chinkana*,[9] and as such are determinants of the sacredness of the site itself.

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5. The Inka empire was divided into four main parts or provinces, each of which was referred to as a *suyu*, the Quechua term meaning "territory" or "region." The word is used in the toponyms for the four parts: Chinchaysuyu (Chinchasuyu), the northwestern part of the empire; Condesuyu (Cuntisuyu), the southwestern part of the empire; Collasuyu (Kollasuyu), the southeastern part of the empire; and Antisuyu (Andesuyu), the northeastern part of the empire. On the division of the empire see, for example, Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of their Origins Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions* (1653), ed. and trans. by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 185-186.

6. See footnote 61 for the various permutations on *huaca* definitions.

7. *Ceque* (*zeq'e*) is the Quechua word for a radial line or path. See D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 330. On toponyms, see Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca,* 81.

8. More research is needed here, though Bauer suggests that, in general, many of the toponyms for this area of the empire have been lost. See Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*, 49-50.

9. Dean indicates that *chinkana* is the Quechua word for labyrinth and that steps and stepped patterns are associated with *chinkana*, crevices, and underground passages and are further associated with liminality and communication with the ancestors, and are symbols of transition. See Dean, *A Culture of Stone,* 33.

For example, *Small-space 1* (figs. 2.1, 2.2), consists of a massive living rock with a sculpted face, here resembling the "throne" or "shelf" types that are common in Inka sculpted rock forms. The "throne" consists of a flat, horizontal plane about 16 inches wide; a "back" that rises about three feet from the horizontal plane; sloping "sides" that approximate a right-angle triangle; and, beneath the "seat," another narrow "shelf" at approximately the height where one's legs would dangle if seated on the "throne." This sculpted face sits in opposition to a vertical rock wall, between which is a passage approximately twelve feet across. If one moves through the passage with the "throne" to the right, just beyond the "throne" is a carved gnomon-like boulder in the middle of the passage that splits the passageway in two; the passage continues forward amidst a ramble of other boulders. Just to the left of the gnomon-like feature there is a portion of the wall that juts into the passage and has been modified to take on the appearance of an "altar."[10]

Similarly, *Small-space 2* (fig. 2.3), comprises a lithic outcrop carved with a "throne" or "shelf," a passage, and, across from and opposed to the "throne," another unmodified, lithic façade. The "throne" again consists of a flat, horizontal plane, a vertical back, and sides that roughly form a right-angle triangle due to the natural slope of the rock itself. Unlike *Small-space 1*, however, an aspect of doubling in that part of the "throne" presses farther forward into the space of the horizontal plane so that its overall appearance is shallower than its complementary aspect. The passage is much narrower and bleeds into open space beyond the outcrop and then

10. "Throne," "shelf," and "altar" are problematic terms in that they imply a function or use which is largely unrecorded, but they are handy descriptors, common in the literature, and will be adapted herein.

into a copse of trees. The opposed face is an undulating surface of rolling, as opposed to jagged, forms now interspersed with tall grasses and other weeds.

There are at least three reasons to think about these spaces as intentional construction, as related forms in complementary, or mirrored and replicated, relations, with associated qualities that signify beyond themselves. First, because the oppositions correspond so eloquently with socio-spatial structures, namely the division of Cuzco into *hanan/urin*, or upper/lower, sections.[11] The second reason is that the spaces described above, as well as all the examined and suspected spaces, share the common architectonic feature of binary opposition, a kind of facing, as if communication or dialogue were their primary mode. The third reason is that, if the analysis is correct, if these *small-spaces* are as prevalent as suspected, there is the significant possibility that the Inka landscape is even more highly charged with sacredness than previously considered—that there is more "*real* and *real-ly* existing space,"[12] as Eliade phrases it—in a landscape heavily mottled by constructed pockets of vital force, points of transformational energy, passages of cosmo-magical communicativity, all in a broad matrix connecting small to large, micro to macro, village to imperial processes. In other words: radical redundancy replicated at successive and related spatial levels. These are spaces embedded within spaces that, through structure and symbolic resonance, through performance and experience, reinforce the

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11. On social structure and socio-spatial form see, for example, R. Tom Zuidema, *Inca Civilization in Cuzco,* trans. Jean-Jacques Decoster (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990); John Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," in *Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, *The American Civilizations*, ed. Julian H. Steward. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 143. (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1946): 249; Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire,* 106, 123, 195; Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 71, 93; Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas* [1572], ed. and trans. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 55.

12. See Eliade, *The Sacred and the Profane,* 20.

transformational processes of existence itself; these spaces suggest that to exist in relation to the landscape—that is, to be Inka—meant to be engaged and transformed, always returning to origins and *origin*al (similarly, imaginal) landscapes. In effect, it means to be centered.

If there is any fulfillment in the enterprise of centered returns its success might be the result of an uncomfortable inversion, because the meaning of these *small-spaces* is fundamentally a-temporal and a-spatial—to be within them is to be exclusively, if momentarily, engaged in a space that, in a sense, does not exist physically but metaphysically. The quality of inversion that I am speaking about is a quality that contravenes spatial presence in favor of meta-spatial presence; to engage it is to be elsewhere, if only temporarily. I would suggest that to be engaged in these spaces and participating in their symbolic codes means to be a connected and temporary occupant of the mythical past (that itself was a social construction), which is symbolically connected to collective ethnic identity. The moment of use, or occupancy, or transgression, may well have been an initiation in the esoteric knowledge of Inkaness, even a type of *regressus ad uterum*.[13] Even this inversion has its place in Inka spatial practice—in name, form, personality, and consequence. As discussed in chapter one and below, the Inka concept of *pachacuti* offers a model to understand those periods when time and space go strange, when the normal codes of collective being are undercut by massive upheaval. This macro, transformational paradigm finds its mirror in the intimacy of *small-spaces.* As such, in the context of concerted associations, it begins to seem as if the Inka had everything accounted for spatially, everything measured and contained, everything radically and reduntantly related.

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13. See Robert L. Moore*, "Space and Transformation in Human Experience,"* in Robert L. Moore and Frank E. Reynolds, eds., *Anthropology and the Study of Religion* (Chicago: Center for the Scientific Study of Religion, 1984), 131.

In a spatial paradigm with one-third of its architectonic agency defined by a sense of nothingness, its significance, presence, and power lies in the essence of absence; however, its power must also reside in its moments of activation, in the processes of experience and engagement, in the performance of the space. That is, its existence or recognition or even its intensity or force is predicated upon presence, when it is encountered and engaged, when it is effectively "in use," a condition and status ultimately defined by the individual, by the agency and presence of the body in *particular* space. There are significant clues in the Inka landscape and elsewhere that suggest these *small-spaces* are partially comprised of a kind of its own *third space*,[14] a space of emptiness or negative (visual) space, fundamental not only to how the Inka constructed their world but also how they defined their cosmology—in turn, how the internal mechanisms of their cultural poetic secreted, converged, and overlapped. This chapter will examine specific examples from Inka spatial practice that best evoke this type of *space-between-the-constituent-elements*. This chapter suggests that the location of the structure of Inka culture

14. This is used with some deference to Bhabha, who examines Frederic Jameson's notion of "third space" and suggests that it is as much a "structure of ambivalence" as it is an "interstitial, disjunctive space." Whereas Western philosophy has taken the emptiness to be disjunctive, the Inka, by contrast, take the interstice to be something rather more procreative and powerful. To amend this, then, is to incorporate Inka visual culture, itself a thing de-centered, if not ruptured, during the conquest and colonial periods, while making an allowance for a particular *visual* emptiness that is present in, for example, Joan Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui's drawing of the Inka cosmos; in Guaman Poma's line-drawings; in the fact of the plaza as a central, defining point of the Inka capital; in the recognition of and formation of substance from what Gary Urton calls "dark cloud constellations"—which are those spaces between stars that the Inka saw as taking the shape and form of things-of-the-world. All of these spaces are visually negative, visually empty, but for the Inka they are the locus of great power because, in the final instance, their full agency is predicated upon presence, sociality, human intervention, and activation. On Bhabha's discussion of third-space, see *The Location of Culture*, 36-37, 216-219. On dark-cloud constellations see Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and the Sky: An Andean Cosmology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 169-170, 185-188; and Frank Salomon and George L. Urioste, *The Huarochirí Manuscript*, 130.

resides in the relation of these three elements. It will focus on the architectonic relation of emptiness, borders, and edges to the marked rock itself.

Like so much of the Inka imperial enterprise, these spaces, which range from small and intimate associations with individually named stones to the broad-scale enterprise of site and empire planning, are inextricably enmeshed in layers upon layers of constructed and intentional signing. Each element/space is a single, constituent entity in a system of relations. For example, a stone in the landscape was a stone in the landscape until the Inka named it, after which it became numinous and transubstantial, located and connected and indivisible from, say, an incorporative consideration of religion, ritual, identity, power, mythology, and social/kin relations, to name but a few contingencies of meaning.[15] In other words, to consider rock, water, and the in-between spaces is to haltingly, hesitatingly, come to terms with an Inkaic formulation of what architectural historian Dell Upton calls the "cultural landscape," or the "fusion of the physical with the imaginative structures that all inhabitants of the landscape use in constructing and construing it."[16]

Yet one-third of this structure (of relations) is non-structural, a physicalization and literalization of negative space (physical because it is bounded, literal because it is constructed). As such, this anti-structure is something of a paradox. Despite this, it still comprises (in order to understand it) a vocabulary of movement, sightlines, residence, passage, observation, opposition,

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15. Dean indicates that some rocks are just rocks, that the Inka were not litholators. See Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 5. It is worth emphasizing, in the vein of Henri Lefebvre's notion of "spatial practice" and Clifford Geertz's "webs of significance" discussed in Chapter 1, that the relation to a stone's numinous qualities as perceived by the Inka "secreted," to use Lefebvre's terms, through the landscape, and how the residue of the power in stone found residence, even if at a much lesser degree, in "regular" unnamed rock.

16. See Dell Upton, "Architectural History of Landscape History?" *Journal of Architectural Education* 44, no. 4 (1991): 198.

and potentially use. It is often physically framed or bounded by carved or sculpted rock, with these mediations further intimating liminal experience, an engagement with extra-temporality and existence beyond (Western) reason and time. It is extra-temporal because it simultaneously engages and echoes, through built form, the past, present, and future. In the Inka universe, everything spins outward from here. In Inka spatial practice, this is where shapelessness begins to find its shape.

Aesthetics and the Inka

When considering and writing about the poetics of Inka spatial practice, aesthetics is an immediate, complementary consideration. As such, it is necessary to be mindful, from the beginning, of the way we are seeing. We must consider that we see things from the outside looking in, perhaps with good intention but still subject to distancing and the awkwardness of translation. We may try—if in vain, if ever hopefully and impossibly—to see and think about things as the Inka saw them and thought about them, though still the effort is tantamount to a "reconstruction" that is "an artifact of Western thought," to borrow art historian Esther Pasztory's words.[17] On the one hand, the precedent of Greek art has haunted Western notions of the beautiful, suggesting that naturalistic, iconographic, and figural strategies of representation were "true" art. According to Pasztory, one consequence of this was that when the Spanish arrived in the Andes and found many fewer naturalistic objects than they had found in Mesoamerica among the Aztec or the Maya (so far as we know, no one bothered to describe in detail the number and kind of gold and silver objects melted down *en masse*), there was little in

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17. See Esther Pasztory, "Aesthetics and pre-Columbian Art," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, *The Pre-Columbian* no. 29/30 (Spring-Autumn1996): 319.

their own cultural literacy to suggest that what they were seeing was "art," culturally valuable, or even worthy of notation, let alone safeguarding, for its aesthetic value. They saw neither Michelangelo nor Polykleitos and thus did not *see*.

On the other hand, Pasztory also notes that aesthetics, partly as a consequence of the twentieth century's turn away from naturalism toward abstraction, opened itself to the possibility of Inka sculpted forms as "art."[18] In other words, influences well beyond the (spatial, temporal) realm of the Inka suddenly acted in favor of a conceptual recognition of Inka objects as art, as artistic, or as aesthetically significant, a process that ultimately transforms abstract rock forms into art, the sacred into the mundane—*in the gaze of the outside observer*. Was this a positive transformation? Was there really any benefit to far-distant market economies coming to appreciate and pay handsomely for the works of artists such as Constantin Brancusi and Henry Moore suddenly becoming aware of an indigenous aesthetic whose formal vocabulary was strikingly congruent to the best that modernist abstraction had to offer? It is perhaps beside the point to argue whether or not this was beneficial, because it seems that the more significant point is that this re-categorization, as a reflection of the value of a Moore or a Brancusi, was another reconstruction in a long series of reconstructions that have continually transformed the perception of Inka identity across time and space. Anthropologist Shelly Errington calls this "art by appropriation," meaning that an object taken from beyond its original borders to the West, removed from its original context and function, is re-categorized, *claimed* as art, re-made as a

18. See Esther Pasztory, "Andean Aesthetics," in *The Spirit of Ancient Peru: Treasures from the Museo Arquelógico Rafael Larco Herrera*, ed. Kathleen Berrin (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1997), 60-69.

new thing to fit into categories the West could understand, own and "collect," and ultimately place a price tag on.[19]

Yet I believe Dean is undoubtedly correct when she asserts that the Inka's "culture of stone was not guided primarily by aesthetic criteria,"[20] though of course she is not suggesting that the Inka did not have a refined aesthetic sense, a sense of fineness or purity, or an appreciation for sensory pleasure.[21] The place of that "primarily" is telling, its presence not negating the idea of an Inka aesthetic but simply indicating only that other things were at work—namely, the sacred. The argument herein is not necessarily that the Inka had a codified philosophy of art and beauty, though the physical evidence in the landscape certainly suggests that they had a conceptually refined idea of how the world should look and be shaped. Even if the Inka did not have an analogous term for "aesthetic"—preferring instead something like *camay* (*kamay*), meaning, basically, "essence"[22] and connoting the "energizing of extant matter" that is "a continuous act of creation that acts upon a being as long as it exists" and is, at heart, "a

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19. See Shelly Errington, "What Became Authentic Primitive Art?" *Cultural Anthropology* 9 no. 2 (1994): 201-26. At the same time, is it really such a bad thing to stumble upon appreciation through diffracted routes? Is it so problematic to refine one's connoisseurship through unexpected connections? One can understand the complicated modern nuances of appropriation, ownership, possession, and valuation and still appreciate a thing in its own right. See also, Esther Pasztory, "Still Invisible: The Problem of the Aesthetics of Abstraction for Pre-Columbian Art and Its Implications for other Cultures," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics*, no. 19/20 (1990/1991): 104-136.

20. See Dean, *Culture of Stone,* 1.

21. See Constance Classen, "Aesthetics and Asceticism in Inca Religion," *Anthropologica* 32, no. 1 (1990): 101-106.

22. See Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 4.

powerful generative act"[23] —this may only suggest that our own categories of beauty are too limited, too effete, too constrictive. To get beyond the precedents of Greek art and the Western canon as a core model not only for aesthetics but for aesthetic sensibility, in order to delve into the Inka aesthetic, one must look elsewhere and beyond and, ultimately, in the interstices.

Aesthetics and Inversion: Cognition, Recognition, and Finality

Ascertaining the Inka model probably requires a mental shift, perhaps an inversion of thought, a type of willful, if temporary, abandonment of our own cognitive predispositions. As Catherine Allen indicates, drawing on her own mind's shifts enacted through ethnographic experience in southern Peru, "worlds overlap and contain each other; an overarching order may contain suborders within it, and one state of experience may intrude upon another."[24] She suggests that coming to terms with Andean aesthetics involves a re-conceptualization of geometries and relations, and a re-orientation of our notions of dimensionality, intrinsicality, connectedness, and enclosures (or "frames"—my emendation).[25] The isolation of distinct categorical imperatives dissolves in the Andean mind in favor of overlap, as if thinking itself were a type of intertextuality, a kind of interwoven-ness. Secretions and traces are the model

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23. See Salomon, "Introductory Essay: *The Huarochirí Manuscript*," 16.

24. See Catherine Allen, "When Utensils Revolt: Mind, Matter and Modes of Being in the Pre-Columbian Andes," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, Pre-Columbian States of Being*, no. 33 (Spring, 1998), 22.

25. Allen, "When Utensils Revolt," 19, 21.

rather than isolates and particulates. In this respect, numerous conceptual and material categories are deeply inextricable one from the other.[26]

The model for this type of mental inversion already exists in the Andean worldview and follows again from the concept of *pachacuti*, or "world-reversal" or the "world turned over" (or upside down) but also "the turn of time,"[27] and is deeply inscribed in the Inka cosmological order. Inversion is structurally common at the immediate, personal, and collective level as well. As Allen indicates, following the death of an individual in the Andean world, there is a categorical inversion, or reversal,[28] between him-or herself and the objects and things of earthly life, which, unlike our own relationship to most things of the world, is already resonant with a

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26. See Jeffrey Quilter, "Continuity and Disjunction in Pre-Columbian Art and Culture," *RES: Anthropology and Aesthetics, The Pre-Columbian* 29/30 (Spring-Autumn 1996): 303-317, for an overview of the changing perspective of scholars with respect to continuity and disjunction in the development of pre-Columbian art in relation to other categories and modes of cultural development. The notion of deeply interconnected Andean modes of being with material and aesthetic correlates is a scholarly trend only adopted in the second half of the twentieth century. It is not all or nothing, as Quilter suggests, but a matter of disentangling the longer and shorter threads of history and myth.

27. For the additional temporal quirk noted here, see R. Tom Zuidema, "The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco," in Gary Urton, ed. *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 211.

28. It is important to note here that I consider "inversion" and "reversal" inter-linked terms in relation to transformation. In a paradigm of chaos, of world-endings and social destruction, and despite seeming somewhat anarchic, they offer, perhaps paradoxically, structure and order. They do so because both actions relate directly to the broader paradigm of centers and centeredness in the following manner. Conceptualized spatially, an inversion is a vertical principle, a thing turned on its head or turned over, as if the head replaces the feet and the feet replace the head, whereas reversal is a horizontal principal, a turning around, a body in space walking forward, reversing direction, and returning. Both create marked space, encoded territory, a closed matrix of understanding. And both actions turn on a pivot, the point at which directionality changes as well as the point that anchors—in other words, a center. Finally, one has to get to the periphery and see where a thing turns around; and then one has to see this in relation to the center to find the shape in the shapelessness. The periphery is what follows above: the paradigm of sacrifice.

severe and penetrating sense of co-existence, familiarity, and animation. Allen says, "the great change wrought by death is that relationships of dominance and dependency are reversed,"[29] whereupon dogs devour their owners and pots smash their users. The bonds of normalcy broken, human-object and human-animal relations are turned on their respective heads.

Further complicating matters of aesthetic appreciation is that the Inka (and Andeans in general) were consummate givers. For the Inka, giving, as a form of exchange and reciprocity, was a transcendental principle and often found expression, first, through locating, and second, by placating the powerful and destructive forces of the universe. This occurred both individually and collectively by establishing an intimate relation with the sacred as a hedge against the profane, which is the same as saying they sought to protect themselves against chaos (ultimately destruction)[30] through establishing order. The means by which order was established was through ritual and ritual sacrifice. This larger, paradigmatic cosmological relation—of the self in the universe—was grounded in elaborate ritual processes directed toward fundamental Andean principles (reciprocity, namely)[31] that ensured the maintenance, preservation, and continuance of

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29. Allen, "When Utensils Revolt," 21-22.

30. Inka cosmology comprised a series of world-ending cataclysms. The Andean chronicler Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala recounts the first four Andean worlds, the "generations of the Indians, " and correlates them exactly with biblical history; the first four generations of the Christian "worlds" are associated with Adam, Noah, Abraham, and David. The corresponding Indian ages are referred to as *Wari Wiracocha, Wari, Purun, and Auca*. The fifth and current age in Guaman Poma is the age of the Inka. See Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The First New Chronicle of Good Government* [1613], trans. David Frye (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing, 2006), 15-30.

31. In the introduction to her instructive overview of Andean art, *The Art of the Andes*, Rebecca Stone (formerly Stone-Miller) discusses four basic Andean principles underscoring Andean art—collectivity (corporate), reciprocity, transformation, and essence. Collectivity means the group takes precedence over the individual. Reciprocity is about connections and functions on multiple and simultaneous levels to relate people economically, socially, politically,

the empire.[32] These rituals, in turn, were based in offerings, or appropriate giving, and in the giving there was no shortage of fineness. To that end the Inka were keenly aware of quality, workmanship, preciousness, beauty, value, perfection, purity—all uniquely prescribed and correlative to what we can define, albeit with our own vocabulary, as aesthetic consideration.

This is important because it suggests that both the structure of empire and the structured relations of a cultural poetic entail, in form and expression, the paired association of finality and beauty; this is not to say this particular relation is ultimate though it is to suggest that it is crucial. Nor is it to suggest that finality/beauty was everywhere and in everything—what Western philosophy would call the determining cultural binary[33]—though it is to suggest that at key imperial moments it was employed, visible, and meaningful. It was one of many marked relations of choice and it served to enhance the theater of empire and its corresponding sign

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and religiously, though it also functioned so as to draw people into a direct and tangible relation to greater cosmological influences—largely through highly mediated ritual expression. The end-game of reciprocal relations is to avoid chaos and ensure balance and harmony across micro- and macrocosmic planes. Transformation is also about connections and communication and suggests that the bulk of Andean art and architecture facilitates, in one fashion or another, the transformation of the world, or the self in the world, to again ensure balance and harmony. And essence is about symbolic reality, that the "inner core" takes precedence over "outward appearance." See Rebecca Stone-Miller, *The Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2002), 15-16.

32. There are a substantial number of Inka festivals coordinated with the agricultural cycle, coming-of-age rites, and achieving balance, most of which were predicated upon ritual sacrifice, large or small, aimed at reciprocal relations with the gods— along the lines of "if we offer something fine to the gods, something good will happen in return." For a list of Inka rituals tied to the Inka calendar, see Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest," 300-312; see also Bernabe Cobo, *Inca Religion & Customs*, 126-154, for the list of festivals and attendant rituals from which Rowe derived his list.

33. This is not to say that the Inka thought in binary terms but that the terms are helpful in structuring the way we think about the Inka, with the explicit understanding that other factors fill out the structure of cultural thinking that emphasize convergence, complementarity, and mediation.

systems. As imperial practice it helped define public consciousness such that the state's principle enterprise—itself a paradox: continuity through transformation—was drawn out, mediated, visualized, and enacted through a complex and kinetic socio-spatial field that in itself was in flux between micro and macro impulses.

The following section will further examine the paradigm of cultural poetics and ritual sacrifice as it relates to Inka spatial practice. It is suggestive rather than comprehensive, and as such the discussion will be limited to the most apparent example of "giving" in the Inka universe—the *capac hucha* (*capac cocha*) ceremony, which was considered crucial to the maintenance of the empire. Because it took place empire-wide, it effectively drew the vast expanses of Tahuantinsuyu into intimate and definable ritual relations. What I want to examine, however, is the impact on spatial understanding—how this particular ceremony defined Inka concepts of space. I want to suggest that the *capac hucha* ceremony creates a kind of macrocosmic field that is held in critical tension with more intimate spaces, where cultural meaning filters downward to spaces that are small, narrow points of convergence and communication, where stone interrogates stone, where stone and water are incorporative structural features and together frame an idea of aesthetics and space, thereby becoming symbolic microcosms of the broader vital forces in the Inka universe. The ceremony also suggests the outer limits, or the periphery of the shape that is held in tension to the shapelessness beyond, whereby it frames and encodes the empire and its spatial practice. It is the relation between these micro and macro spaces, then, mirrored in the forms and materials of the smaller spaces, that defines Inka spatial practice as the in-between, that is, as the broader Inka cultural poetic.

Cultural Poetics and Spatial Practice in a Paradigm of Ritual Sacrifice

This section is about edges and borders and how presencing, identity, and meaning are set there in relation to the center. It is about how the edge defines the frame within which a thing can be conceived and understood. As mentioned above, perhaps the most dramatic frontier of the Inka universe, psychically if not physically, is the *capac hucha* ceremony, its final iteration an act of giving that involves the ritual sacrifice of children and young adults. In this ceremony the Inka ritually fêted, processed, sacrificed, and then interred the youth—many at remote mountaintop shrines—in order to placate the gods; to commemorate the life, death, or succession of the Inka emperor; to cure a sick emperor; to stop natural calamities such as pestilence or famine; and to more-deeply inculcate families and communities into the state's cultural apparatus.[34] From an aesthetic standpoint the interesting thing here is that the Inka chose the finest, most beautiful children. The children were "chosen for their exceptional beauty and had to be without blemish" and "were beautiful beyond exaggeration," according to archaeologist Colin McEwan and art historian Maarten Van de Guchte.[35] Similarly, Father Bernabe Cobo says "they could not have any blemish or even a mole on their entire body."[36] The insistent emphasis on physical beauty reinforces the idea of aesthetic perception.

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34. See Constanza Ceruti, "Human Bodies as Objects of Dedication at Inca Mountain Shrines (North-Western Argentina," in *World Archaeology*: *The Object of Dedication* 36, no. 1 (March 2004), 103-122. See also Father Bernabe Cobo, *Inca Religions and Customs,* 111-112. An important recent addition to the literature on Inka sacrificial practice and mountain worship is Thomas Besom, *Of Summits and Sacrifice: An Ethnohistoric Study of Inka Religious Practices* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009).

35. See Colin McEwan and Maarten Van De Guchte, "Ancestral Time and Sacred Space in Inca State Ritual," in *The Ancient Americas: Art From Sacred Landscapes*, edited by Richard F. Townsend (Chicago: The Art Institute of Chicago, 1992), 359.

36. See Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs,* 112.

Aesthetics aside for a moment, it is difficult to imagine that this particular ritual practice did not create a concrete sense of absence at the center of individual families and communities, one that could have secreted through local institutions and declared itself, paradoxically, as a kind of presence. Cobo hints at such when he says that not all sacrifices were voluntary offerings, suggesting there was hesitance, if not outright resistance, possibly driven by a desire for a family to remain whole and intact.[37] But the important thing to consider here is how the qualities that were perceived in the children ultimately cast them in the gaze of perfection and beauty, to such a degree that that beauty had to be destroyed ("slaughtered," in the words of Cobo; "offered," in Inka terms), albeit ceremonially and in the context of transformation.[38] Any sense of finality—that is, the death of the child as well as ceremonial conclusiveness—itself becomes a paradoxical confrontation between being and nothing. Importantly, the ritual transformation of the children means their substantial presence is itself transformed from subject to object. Their perceived essence, once objectified, casts them into an entirely different

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37. See Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs,* 109. The problem is with the nature of the sources. None of the chroniclers record specific emotion and response.

38. The relation of sacrifice, religion, cosmology, and art and architecture is, at this point, more fully examined in Mesoamerican studies, particularly among Aztec scholars. See for example, among the many, Kay Almere Read, *Time and Sacrifice in the Aztec Cosmos* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), which studies the interaction of myth, history, sacrifice and time and suggests that time and sacrifice must be understood as a single concept; Henry B. Nicholson, "Religion in Pre-Hispanic Central Mexico," in *Handbook of Middle American Indians* 10, no. 16. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1964), for an overall look at Aztec religion including the pantheon of deities, cosmology, cosmogony, mythology, religious art and architecture, magic, and shamanism; Davíd Carrasco, *City of Sacrifice: The Aztec Empire and the Role of Violence in Civilization* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1999), on the symbolic and social significance of sacrifice in Aztec society; and Johanna Broda, Davíd Carrasco and Eduardo Matos Moctezuma, *The Great Temple of Tenochtitlan: Center and Periphery of the Aztec World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), for three complementary perspectives resulting from the archaeological dig at the Templo Mayor, the primary Aztec structure, the empire's symbolic center, and the locus of major Aztec sacrificial ceremonies.

dimension of being, a starkly dramatic transubstantiation whose glamour and horror is integral to understanding the Inka cultural poetic. A question remains, though: what is the cultural residue when the "aesthetically perfect" is transformed from the world of subjects to the world of objects? If the transformation happens in the body, and the body is metonymically analogous to the empire, what change happens in the empire itself? What remains? What remains, in part, is a field determined by the individual and their memory, of which we have precious little record. But what also remains is that field of paradox—between being and nothing—wherein resides the crucial conundrum of space and its agency.

On Vessels and Centers

Perhaps the irony of this particular sacrificial ritual (there were many ritual sacrifices in Inka practice, though only a few that involved human life) is that it submits as its ultimate form, as its designation, spectacle, and resonance, a profound social absence, a kind of nothingness that is ironically less a nihilism than an affirmation, that on its surface represents Inka spatial practice.[39] In this form it carries connotations of emptiness and nothingness though it is perhaps better to think of it in terms of another kind of emptiness—one of volumes, such as those a vessel contains, which of course extends the discourse beyond two-dimensionality and flatness and incorporates a thing that, in three dimensions, gives shape to shapelessness, takes its

39. "Surface" here is intentional but remains circumspect. Did the Inka consider the difference between surface and depth an important enough matter to conceptualize and distinguish? If we think architecture, it's about the surface (and the process—at least according to Dean). If we think about Guaman Poma we have to consider the flatness as a distinguishing characteristic. European perspective and spatiality is entirely different. To what end?

materials from the earth, and that ultimately bears a kind of metaphoric *weight*—as a thing that contains worlds.

Another reason to conceptualize spatial practice as, in some respect, analogous to a vessel is that, according to Lawrence E. Sullivan, an anthropologist and historian of world religions, vessels are centers, frequently serving as axis mundis symbolizing communication between spatial planes in multi-leveled universe-systems (of heavens, underworlds, and this layer, the earth).[40] Sullivan says that *vessel* denotes "both a container of liquid and a vehicle through which liquid is carried: in both senses the center-as-vessel, set apart by its own self-defined limits, serves as a shaped and bounded space over and against the paradigmatic image of fluid formlessness."[41] In giving form to formlessness, in defining space and volume, the vessel offered the Inka a readily-available model for combating chaos, which was always an overriding concern at both micro and macro levels and in mythical and ritual design. While numerous other images were used symbolically to represent the axis mundi in the pre-Columbian South American universe—trees, mountains, ladders, vines, and pillars, to name a few[42]—the vessel is rather unique in its ability to both contain and shape shapelessness.

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40. See Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 133. According to Sullivan the Andean heavenly realm is "a remnant of the unique age, the unique world—the one world of oneness" and light and liquid are two recurring images of uniqueness in descriptions of the upperworld. Underworlds are also characterized by water, though in contrast to the waters of heavenly space, which characterize abundance, the waters of the underworld signify "inundance." And in this layer, the earthly layer, land is characterized as masculine and water feminine and air is an asexual medium of communication between them. It is interesting to note how the liquid aspect is common to all three realms, is either dominant or sub-dominant, and that its meaning shifts and, when considered against its meaning in the other realms, comprises a system of complementary opposites the ultimately reflects Inka social organization.

41. See Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 130.

42. See Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 131.

The idea of the center, of course, carries great symbolic valence in general and in the Andean universe in particular. The idea of the center is important here, in its relation to vessels, aesthetics, and sacrificial practice because it supplies the structure for understanding Inka spatial practice. Why is this? Because in universe systems such as the Inka's, replete with multiple planes—according to John Staller and many others, "the Inca cosmos consisted of three layers or tiers that represent permutations of the "internal" or underworld (*ukhu pacha*), terrestrial (*cay pacha*), and celestial (*janan pacha*) realms"[43]—the center is where everything meets and coheres. The center is the linchpin holding everything together and abetting chaos. And as Sullivan says, "all essential modes of being converge on the center, where communication, and even passage, between them is possible." He continues, stating that "at the center one obtains the most direct contact with the sacred…In other words, space is symbolic. It opens out from one level of meaning to another. The significance of space, revealed in the quality of being at its center, permits one to view the universe as a system."[44]

The center symbolically holds the universe together and allows for, and defines the periphery of, not only the communication between levels and spaces but also the *kind* of communication—in a word, sacred, though tied to power as a pre-condition—that happens at the center. It does so in a system of relations opening outward, as Sullivan says, consuming, connecting, and mediating everything that surrounds it. It is something of a paradox that there

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43. See John E. Staller, *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin* (New York, NY: Springer, 2008), 283. http://encompass.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/checkIP.cgi?access=gateway_standard%26url=http://encompass.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/checkIP.cgi?access=gateway_standard%26url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76910-3 (accessed March 10, 2011).

44. See Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 130.

are always multiple, overlapping, and competing centers, but this apparently was of no concern to the typical pre-Columbian Andean mind. Perhaps this is because the center is not a geometric or geographic concept, as Sullivan reminds us, nor is it in any sense a locus in Euclidean space, so its replication and multiplicity was a matter of intensifying sacred powers and presence rather than a confusion of competing spaces. As a measure of mythic space, centers are therefore also signs of the imagination.[45] To a certain extent, then, the mapping of Inka spatial practice is a mapping of the Inka mind, of its imaginal existence, tenuous though it is to infer such an unmappable, untenable entity. So one is left with objects and impressed landscapes as the locus of the mind's indelible mark. As the essence of the argument is built upon the existence of numerous, co-existing, redundant, and replicated centers that, from the microcosm to the macrocosm, define Inka spatial practice, *small-spaces*, in this aspect, are not unitary in principle though they are unitary in power, effect, and consequence.

On the Ceremonial Relation of Centers and Edges as a Return to Origins

A significant number of these *capac hucha* rituals, especially those in the Southern Andes, resolved themselves high atop sacred mountain peaks at specially constructed shrines.[46]

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45. Ibid., 134.

46. For a specific examination of Inka high-altitude, mountaintop sacrificial practice see Constanza Ceruti, "Human Bodies as Objects of Dedication…"; for an informal, personal, and yet thorough account of high altitude archaeology in the Andes at the capac hucha site from which the Famous "Ice Maiden" was excavated, see Johan Reinhard, *The Ice Maiden: Inca Mummies, Mountain Gods, and Sacred Sites in the Andes* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2005). For the excavation report of a lower-altitude *capac hucha* burial, see V.A. Andrushko et al, "Investigating a Child Sacrifice Event from the Inca Heartland," *Journal of Archaeological Science* 38, no. 2 (2001): 323-333. For a comprehensive list of chroniclers who discuss the *capac hucha* ceremony, including page numbers, see Thomas Besom's ethnohistoric compendium in *Of Summits and Sacrifice*, Table 2.1, 26-27.

All *capac hucha* burials demarcate mythically primary locuses, but some spaces are more highly venerated than others, such as a significant find on La Isla de la Plata,[47] off the coast of Ecuador, where the Inka creator god Viracocha was said to have journeyed to in his original travels from the mythical homeland at Lake Titicaca. This mythical journey is important because it mimics and mirrors the imperial boundaries of the Inka state and establishes its "ethnogeography," which is the term Sullivan uses to describe how the mythical journey of ancestors and heroes claims territory, effects transitions and passages, connects center and periphery, and creates a tangible geography of ethnic existence.[48] By correlating and overlaying real space with mythical space, memory is inscribed in the landscape and the landscape, in turn, signals Inka presence: it *becomes* "Inka."[49]

The most extreme (in terms of destination, rigor, and difficulty of process) examples of the *capac hucha* ceremony take place atop mountains, which, in Inka cosmology, are the

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47. See Tamara L. Bray et al., "A Compositional Analysis of Pottery Vessels Associated with the Inca Ritual of *Capacocha*," *Journal of Anthropological Archaeology* 24 (2005): 90.

48. See Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 144.

49. The limits and extremes of the ceremony, then, mirror the limits and extremes by which Inka spatial practice is determined and determining—meaning that physical boundaries are established and, subsequently, the practices that maintain and take place within those imperial boundaries, state-sanctioned and implemented, are the nuts-and-bolts of the practice of space—ultimately as a sign of "Inkaness" as its handed down over time. By design, then, Inka ethnogeography corresponds to a series of related mythico-religious elements, each of which is a specific point in the landscape, reflects bi-directional micro<>macro and center<>periphery engagements, and ultimately defines and connects *all* space into a matrix of imperially-controlled and mythically-encoded territory. S*mall-spaces* are in this context an integral, groundline element that defines spatial practice at the micro level, at the level of the individual. An inherent problem is that there are no records of individual use in these small-spaces, so one must extrapolate use and meaning from similar *types* of space and architectonic elements, of which there is some record in the sources.

residence of important mountain "lords," called *apus*.[50] By maintaining mountaintop practice, the state connects itself to and absorbs—though it is tempting to suggest *consumption* is the appropriate action—the transcendental properties of location into its own constructed identity. The process of getting there is already rife with symbolic transferences. Along the way, the procession, which consists of the *capac hucha*, kin, an imperial official, several priests, and provincial people whose duty it was to carry the material items of the ceremony, must stop at all boundaries and transfer the material goods (gourds, pots, figurines) from one group to the next.[51] The group of one province is not allowed to transgress that particular boundary. This reinforces the particularization and segmentation of the state as a whole, isolating native identity within a confined region, though it also ritualizes an exchange, in the simultaneousness of recognition and handing-over, between regions that in many cases were antagonistic toward each other. The exchange maximizes the role of state and minimizes the ethnic region. In that moment local antagonisms are set aside in favor of state prerogatives. The exchange symbolically suggests the

50. See Catherine J. Allen, *The Hold Life has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1988), 41, for this definition of *apu*. Here Allen describes how individuals navigate between their *runa* identities (*runa* is the Quechua word for "people," meaning, generally, indigenous Andeans) and their national identities and the historical connection between contemporary rituals and those precedents from Inka times. She describes how places in the landscape are described as watched and watchers, or *tirakuna*. She says that everything in the landscape has a name and an identity. This is especially true of mountain peaks, which today hold as much transcendental, yet oddly bodily (intensely localized), power as they did in Inka times. The body is mentioned here because the mountains are understood socially and in reference to an individual's own body. Hence the sacred is imminent, here and there, a field across the totality of lived space.

51. See Besom, *Of Summits and Sacrifice,* 32.

state is both sacred and transcendent, the only vehicle that can mediate boundaries and link space in a coherent social whole. The state procession *proceeds* where all else *recedes*.[52]

Ritual processions and pilgrimage have a long history in the Andes as political and ideological tools of the state.[53] Combined with sacrifice, the *capac hucha* procession is an act whose fulfillment unites the sacrificee with the ancestors, thereby mediating between the living and the dead.[54] This is of note because, according to Sullivan, "there is something about the boundary that is continuous with or identical to the center," such that "the nature of the center to which the periphery is related determines the character of the boundary."[55] Given the ritual sacrifices that took place atop mountains, the mountaintop itself defines a border, one that is as physical as it is metaphysical. Placed, in effect, in the mountain itself, which thus becomes the vessel and a structure of containment, the sacrifice transforms the mountain into a conduit for communication with the ancestors. As the mountain becomes a vessel for the body, which is itself now like a seed, and usurped for programmatic reasons into the state apparatus, the metaphor of gestation and, therefore, life, becomes an evocation of imperial desire. In this form it can be said that the state is the vessel that shapes shapelessness and abets chaos.

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52. The ceremony could also be manipulated to re-calibrate borders. One group moving beyond its designated boundary was an act that claimed territory, though it still occurred under the guise of the state and in the context of ritual procession. See Besom, *Of Summits and Sacrifice,* 39.

53. See, for example, Brian S. Bauer and Charles Stanish, *Ritual Pilgrimage in the Ancient Andes: The Islands of the Sun and the Moon* (Austin: University of Texas Press: 2001).

54. See Elizabeth P. Benson, "Why Sacrifice?" in *Ritual Sacrifice in Ancient Peru*, ed. Elizabeth P. Benson and Anita G. Cook (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2001), 19.

55. Sullivan, *Icanchu's Drum*, 139.

Summarily, then, to be meaningful, myth and ritual need a space of their own, which allows the processes of transformation to be enacted, acted out, and played through. There is no truth—at least, no social truth—without repetition or collective recollection, without participation and witness. In return, the landscape needs to be marked by ritual and myth to be meaningful. To the extent that space is defined by its use, and to the extent that these spaces, and by extension *small-spaces,* were certainly designed for ritual attentions, the truth of their meaning lies consistently in a series of elusive but instructive correlations that are finally transcendental propositions, located in liminal space, in paradox, in the transformations that take place, ultimately, within the witness. In this sense, all these spaces reflect one or another property of primordial time, of origins. Eliade suggests as much about the nature of ritual action when he says, "A rite cannot be performed unless its 'origin' is known, that is, the myth that tells how it was performed for the first time." Another way of looking at this is to say that the spaces wherein the rituals are held hold the meaning of those origins.

In the Inka universe there is a relation between landscape and ritual, just as there is between myth and ritual, that is marked by co-dependence, complementarity, equivalence and, at a minimum, is bi-directional (<–>). It is a process unknowable without movement and agency. This is the way the universe is created and made real. For the Inka, this is how space becomes meaningful and, in return, is produced and constructed throughout the empire in multiple forms, almost always *with* stone and water and *through* their physical, symbolic, and historical connotations. These *small-spaces*, then, recreate the conditions of origin and creation and as such create a matrix of sacredness across the landscape. The sacred landscape, engaged as a mirror of origin-points, therefore becomes singular and substantial, simultaneous and present. Wherever there is sacred rock, there is origin. And where there is origin, there is myth. And where there is

myth, there is the mystery of the Inka universe, all of which is encoded, to return to the beginning, in stone and water. Inka spatial practice is therefore a continuity of signs signifying a continuous return to origins.

These spaces, once engaged, are made social—that is, they make sense only at the behest of a ritual agent. They need to be played-out to be made real. The in-between spaces, set in the landscape and in the architecture, are engaged by passing through, by sitting among, by being observed, by being the observer, by partaking in ritual sacrifice through visual recognition, and through the valence of signified presence. As much as any other spaces, the *small-spaces* analyzed here carry the reciprocal authority of beginnings: engaged and participatory, they mirror, model, and ultimately frame the most fundamental aspects of the Inka universe. With respect to the *capac hucha* ceremony the paradox is that in its peculiar form of life-affirming nihilism, where nothingness is a form of return (to origins), so much is invested: imperial continuity, succession, life. The paradox, too, from the Western vantage, is that for the Inka life did not end here but rather continued, though in different form, negating the concern, negating the absence, filling that social void with the metaphysical, if magical, presence: the essence of the empire in the burial of the child. What was given, therefore, was not simply the life of a youth, but a visual consciousness of the socio-ritual landscape. But the concern here also regards the ceremony's contingent effect upon socio-spatial structure, the manner in which it infects space, the way it secretes its presences across the landscape, making known and making visible Inka socio-political imperatives.

Small-space/*Camac*-space: The Poetics of Centeredness

According to John Staller, the Quechua word *camac* is the agentive form of the verb *camay*, as discussed above, meaning "essence" or "vital" and even "powerful."[56] It almost goes without saying, then, that *small-spaces* are *camac-spaces*—occupied, in a sense, if not embodied, the worker who does the work. Its work, then, is the matter of centeredness, making of it a key structural paradigm in Inka spatial practice. As such, centers are defined by variations of and correlations between instructing themes such as replication, mimesis, mirroring, and the insistent, stringent relation of microcosm to macrocosm. Centers are multidimensional across time and multidirectional across space, dependent on the intersection of horizontal and vertical forces inherent in the relation of material forms. They are connective and transformational, experienced outside secular time and space. They are social in the sense that their meaning is experiential, phenomenological; its full, vital realization can only be realized when encountered. In this sense centers are active, engaged, and sometimes personal. The human body becomes an agent that supplies operational agency: passing through, moving into and between—these are key principles in the architectonic reality of Inka landscape and architecture. Above all, these centers are sacred, communicative, connective.

This section is primarily interested in the poetics of *small-spaces*—the intimacy of their related forms, how they shape shapelessness, their architectonic form, and how they signal transformational experience. To engage them in space suggests an archetypal experience: passing through, transgressing, and being engaged in their materiality, in a spasm of open air, their structure forms a communicative and connective gesture shaped and defined by stone. To experience the space is a means to be with the ancestors, to achieve the power of the dead, which ultimately means being connected to the mythical ancestors and the origins of the Inka

56. See Staller, *Pre-Columbian Landscapes*, 275

themselves. *Small-spaces* are border and center simultaneously, an experience that is, paradoxically, as mentioned above, a-temporal and a-spatial. To engage the space is to be everywhere, elsewhere, and nowhere, outside time and space. This is the fundamental paradigm of Inka spatial practice.

To look at and examine *small-spaces* is to simultaneously engage the conceptualization of the macrocosmic level of Inka spatial practice, which is here virtually synonymous with imperial shape and mythical frontiers. Imperial shape is well rehearsed in the literature, though a précis is needed in order to establish the tension, or relation, between macrocosm and microcosm.[57] The structure of the empire, as derived from its Quechua name—*Tahuantinsuyu* (*Tawantinsuyu*), meaning "the land of the four quarters," or "Quartered Land" or "The Four Parts Together"[58]—sees it divided into four sections. The four sections of the empire are roughly equivalent to the cardinal directions of the compass.[59] Their initial demarcation, hence the primary partition of the empire, begins in Cuzco, the capital, and emanates outward from there. The lines of demarcation meet, or rather conjoin and unite, in the main plaza of Cuzco, which is

57. The list is extensive, and what follows is but a minimal sample. See, for example, R. Alan Covey, *How the Incas Built their Heartland*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005; George A. Collier, Renato I. Rosaldo, and John D. Wirth, eds., *The Inca and Aztec States 1400-1800: Anthropology and History* (New York: Academic Press, 1982); Brian Bauer, *The Development of the Inca State* (University of Texas Press, 1992); Michael Moseley, *The Incas and their Ancestors*, rev. ed. (New York: Thames and Hudson, 2001); Sabine MacCormack, *On the Wings of Time: Rome, The Incas, Spain, and Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

58. See, for example, D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 1. Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 104, notes all three but says the most accurate is the last.

59. Again: *Antisuyu*, *Cuntisuyu*, *Chinchaysuyu*, and *Collasuyu*. See footnote 55.

called *Haucaypata*—notable here, as well, as a space of physical vacancy, emptiness confined and contained by the city's walls. The chronicler Cieza de León notes that:

> …from this square [Haucaypata] four highways emerge; the one called Chinchay-suyu leads to the plains and the highlands as far as the provinces of Quito and Pasto; the second, known as Cunti-suyu, is the highway to the provinces under the jurisdiction of this city and Arequipa. The third, by name Anti-suyu, leads to the provinces on the slopes of the Andes and various settlements beyond the mountains. The last of these highways, called Colla-suyu, is the route to Chile. Thus, just as in Spain the early inhabitants divided it all into provinces, so these Indians, to keep track of their wide-flung possessions, used the method of the highway."[60]

The chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega describes imperial structure in essentially similar terms: "…the kings divided the empire into four districts, according to the cardinal points, the whole of which they called Tahuantinsuyu, which means the four parts of the world. The center was Cuzco, which, in the Peruvian language, means the navel of the world."[61] Although his description is intended as a straightforward, geo-political designation, he expands its meaning by calling it a "center" and by translating it as "navel," drawing down an abstract geographic entity into the intimate and universally familiar terms of the body. On the one hand he is just stating the obvious: Cuzco is the social, political, religious, administrative, and imperial center. On the other hand, combined with the Cieza quote, at least four important spatial premises are derived: linearity, centeredness, cardinality, and their relationship to the body. Altogether they relate the center's geo-political identity to a context of totalized space (the empire), its division (the four divisions according to cardinal directions), and the body. From the perspective of power and

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60. See Pedro de Cieza de León, Harriet De Onís, and Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, *The Incas*, The Civilization of the American Indian series, vol. 53 (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 144.

61. See Garcilaso de la Vega, Maria Jolas, and Alain Gheerbrant. *The Incas: The Royal Commentaries of the Inca Garcilaso De La Vega* (Lima: San Hilarión, 2002), 18.

control, the message in the construction seems to suggest that any revolt against the empire is a revolt against one's own body—to literally tear oneself apart. By crafting an inelastic tension between Inka spatial ideas and attitudes about structure, and by locating them in the body, the empire becomes something paradoxically intimate and infinite. The body, for the Inka, is the empire. Constance Classen has written eloquently and influentially on this topic:

> In Inca cosmology the body served as a symbol and mediator of cosmic structures and processes through its own structures and processes. The fundamental structures of Inca cosmology—the dualities of left and right, high and low, male and female—were, in fact, derived from the structures of the human body. The processes of the cosmos, in turn, were modeled on the processes of the body—the intake and outflow of air and fluids, the digestion of food, the circulation of blood, reproduction, aging and death, and so on. Finally, as integrated and dynamic whole, the body provided a model for the integrated and dynamic totality of the cosmos.[62]

To that end, the body served as conduit and mediator, in one instance, between the local and intimate, and in another instance, between the universal and cosmic—to the effect that it is simultaneously here and there, edge and center, micro and macro. Paradoxically, if it is both here and there it is simultaneously *neither* here nor there, underscoring the continuity of liminal states and their attachment to individuality. The body-as-mediator therein defines, and is defined by, interstices that are necessary at a very basic level to navigate and contest, if not understand, the world around it. There is something obvious in this: what else, at a fundamental level, navigates the world if not the body?

Yet beyond the body's presencing, beyond its negotiation of the immediate environment, it establishes and grounds all relations in space. The relation of body/cosmos that Classen describes, and all it implies, is mimicked in architectonic form in the landscape. S*mall-spaces* act

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62. See Constance Classen, *Inca Cosmology and the Human Body* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1993), 3.

in the same fashion, are based in the same principles of balance, and reflect the same structures; they assume a totality of sorts, one that spins outward, is replicated time-and-again, and acts to draw together the final imperial imperative, which is wholeness and shape. To that end, these *small-spaces* are points of energy, transformation, completion, liminality. To this extent the Inka conceptualized a significant portion of their imperial spatial enterprise as neither here nor there but rather a space that is elsewhere, between, and separate. Each one of these *small-spaces* is a center that is held in tension with another center, was a scaled experiences, was both global or local, and played out at both the micro and macro levels.[63]

Making Small-spaces

What, then, do some of the other *small-spaces* look like? What shape do they take, and what shape do they give? Just above Cuzco to the north lies the major Inka site-complex of Saqsaywaman (Sacsahuaman) (fig. 2.4, 2.5)—variously described in the literature as a fortress, sun temple, storage facility, magazine, ritual-festival theater, and sacred space.[64] The site, in

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63. This does not take into account the sacred landscape and the spatial divisionism that it effects—namely, the system of *huacas* and *ceque* lines that radiate outward from Cuzco and define sacred space.

64. Saqsaywaman is a major Inka site and shows up frequently in the literature. See descriptions in, for example, Hiram Bingham, *Cuzco and Sacsahuaman* (Washington, D.C.: Records of the Past Exploration Society, 1909); Victor Wolfgang Von Hagen, *A Guide to Sacsahuaman: The Fortress of Cusco. Guides to Peru* (New York, N.Y.: Guide Books, 1949); John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2010); Vincent R. Lee, *The Building of Sacsayhuaman, and Other Papers* (Wilson, WY: Sixpac Manco Publications, 1990); Katherine Harvey and Armando Harvey Valencia, *Saqsaywaman, centro cósmico andino*. Cusco: [s.n.], 2000; Instituto Nacional de Cultura (Peru), and Instituto Nacional de Cultura-Cusco. Saqsayhuaman. Lima: Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 2007; Víctor Angles Vargas, *Sacsayhuaman, portento arquitectónico* (Lima, Perú: INDUSTRIALgráfica, 1990).

many ways, was emblematic of the empire—its massive walls a sign of power; its constituent elements (Suchuna, Sapantiana, and Grand Chicana) spaces resonant with mythical, theatrical, funerary, and religious importance. Which is not to mention that it played a key role during the conquest, became a symbol of conquest and then Spanish colonial power and authority, and is today among the most visible and visited Inka sites.[65] Much of the site was quickly dismantled after Cuzco fell and its masonry re-used in the construction of Spanish Cuzco, but the chronicler Pedro Sancho offered the following description:

> There is a very beautiful fortress of earth and stone with big windows that look over the city and make it appear more beautiful. In it are many chambers and a main round tower in the center made with four or five stories one on the other…On the side facing the city there is only one wall on a rugged mountain slope. On the other side, which is less steep, there are three, one higher than the other. These walls are the most beautiful thing that can be seen of all the constructions in the land. This is because they are of such big stones that no one who sees them would say that they have been placed there by the hand of man. They are as big as pieces of mountains or crags.[66]

This particular description is mentioned here because it calls attention to the limits of Pedro Sancho's imagination—Saqsaywaman would not have been anything other than a "fortress" to the Spaniard hardwired with a Medieval worldview; to the typical Spanish attitude toward Inka aesthetic accomplishment: an impossible accomplishment by man; and to the primary spectacle of the site: its zig-zag walls.[67] To take nothing away from the architectural

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65. See Carolyn Dean, "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco: Sacsahuaman and What Was Made of It," *Andean Past* 5 (1998): 161-183, on the post-conquest role of Sacsahuaman (Saqsaywaman) as a "host" for rival histories and how it became a metonym for colonial rule.

66. This translation is in John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 53-54.

67. John Hemming and Edward Ranney identify this style of masonry as *polygonal*, referring to blocks of stone cut, ground, polished, shaped with extraordinary precision, with corners that interlock at random and in an irregular manner, like a jig-saw puzzle. Cesar

accomplishment, the walls are the focus and the limit of many contemporary tourists witnessing the complex.[68] While the zig-zag walls are indeed extraordinary and mesmerizing for their scale and finish, there is much more to the site than its "fortress" walls, including important examples of *small-spaces* that replicate and define Inka spatial practice in its microcosmic form.

These *small-spaces* are often constituent elements of larger complexes, as they appear to be virtuoso forms set amidst larger architectonic expressions. For example, to the north of the zig-zag wall and part of a larger feature referred to as Chincana Chica (Chingana Chica), there is a particularized space that displays many diagnostic features of Inka carved monuments discussed by Marten van de Guchte and others, especially carved planes in various horizontal and vertical orientations.[69] The relations of its diagnostic elements suggest the importance of architectonic *small-spaces* as moments or expressions of transformation. These spaces were likely activated through the presencing of the body and, in turn, when engaged, they are identified as "centers" and constitute rhetorical spatial forms of communication and passage.

Paternosto, in his masonry classification, refers to these blocks as *cyclopean*, first re-tooling *polygonal* to *fitted* and then extending the model for scale in reference to the extraordinary size of the Saqsaywaman walls. In her recent addition to the literature on Inca stone and architecture, Carolyn Dean refers to finely joined masonry by its Quechua name, *canincakuchini*, which derives from *kanini*, meaning to bite or nibble—hence, she prefers "nibbled masonry" and says that it "preserves the Inka ways of thinking about well-dressed and finely joined masonry as the result of innumerable minute bites." She does not necessarily account for scale, as does Paternosto. See Hemming and Ranney, *Monuments of the Inca*, 21-26; Cesar Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread*; Carolyn Dean, *The Culture of Stone*, 76.

68. This an unsystematic observation based on two separate site visits, the first in January 2004 and the second in June 2010.

69. The space is beyond the flat plaza-like space that fronts the zig-zag wall, beyond the hill named Suchuna that is commonly referred as Rodadero Hill (with its famous "Throne of the Inca"), and beside a circular depression. See Van de Guchte, *"Carving the World,"* 119-143, 440.

Further, they reflect, mimic, and mirror architectural and, even further, imperial methodologies of spatial practice.

For example, *small-space 3* (fig. 2.6, 2.7), an unnamed element in the larger complex, is comprised of three signature elements and displays typical diagnostic features of Inka sculptural practice that distinguish it as extraordinary. Extraordinary here simply means that the elements together define both an aesthetic expression and a unit of space that is set apart from the mundane and carries symbolic weight. It is also extraordinary in that it is marked (sculpted), and thus set off from being "just stone." There are an astonishing number of similar examples of "extraordinary" architectonic intervention throughout the empire—that is, those that display sculptural intervention, to greater or lesser degrees. The ones discussed here are in many ways typical of the Inka investment in rock. Some are *huacas*, or named places of special "essence" or "force," and take their place in the pantheon of sculptural forms; some are unnamed, constitutive elements of larger sites; and some are smaller, independent expressions of their own accord. In all cases they are distinctive and signify a singular type of space vivified by its centeredness. *Small-space 3* is a constituent element within the larger spatial context of Saqsaywaman.

According to Dean, there are at least four common methods, or visual cues, employed by the Inka to distinguish ordinary rock from extraordinary rock and, consequently, of distinguishing the mundane from the sacred. These four techniques are framing, distancing, contouring, and carving.[70] "Framing" means that the Inka constructed a rectilinear masonry frame around a carved rock, thereby setting it apart as extraordinary, "housing" the rock, so to speak, and in doing so drawing a relation between it and the human body, which itself finds its

70. See Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 27.

own frame in the rectilinear frame of the Inka domestic architectural unit—the *kancha*. According to Dean, the frame around the rock signals the "emergence of the rock from the underworld or innerworld of spirits and ancestors, marking it as a place where worlds conjoin."[71] "Distancing" contrasts with framing in that the "distanced" rock is framed by nothing—there is no negotiable or tangible landscape element calling attention to it. There is only empty space, a vacancy or void, which announces the presence of something through the contrast between something and nothing. "Contouring" is a form of signaling similar to framing in that a masonry frame is constructed around the rock, only here the masonry tightly hugs the contours of the rock itself, abandoning the rigid geometry of the frame for a more organic gesture. "Carving" is the most common type of signaling. The most common forms of carving—altering the shape of the rock through sculptural intervention—are steps, flatplaces or platforms, gnomons, rectangular niches, cupules, channels, and, more rarely but occasionally seen, imagistic carvings of animals.[72] *Small-space 3* is a rock that displays examples of interventional carving.

The primary feature of *small-space 3* is its deeply modeled, roughly triangular, sloping rock-face carved with inset "flatplaces," to borrow Dean's term. It is the topmost exposure of a much larger outcrop that displays aggressive undercarving (fig. 2.8),[73] forms part of a *chinkana*,

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71. See Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 28.

72 See Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 27-33 for her discussion of framing, distancing, contouring, and carving.

73. "Primary" will be used to describe the shelf/ledge, "secondary" the rockface it opposes, and "tertiary" for the passage between the two in this particular *small-space*. This is not meant to indicate relative importance but is intended to differentiate and clarify. This same system will be used to describe other instances as well, though the details of each will be unique. "Undercarving" is used to describe a type of architectonic sculpturing that establishes an aggressive re-modeling of the bottom or underside of the rock form. Bottom and underside are simple designations based on the observer's position with respect to what appears to be the

has become partially separated from the rest of the outcrop (at least superficially, that is, *visually*; because of the crevice at the right, it *looks* like an independent element at the surface), and sits in immediate opposition to a complementary lithic element that lacks any aggressive sculpting or modeling. With regard to this last element, its lack of intervention is its distinguishing, if curious, feature. Its plainness appears to be its virtue. Numerous other boulders and outcrop features exist behind this frontal façade and create a very rough backdrop of living rock from which the outcrop in question emerges.[74]

The "flatspaces," to amend Dean's descriptor to consider their three-dimensional relations, introduce a rigid geometry to an otherwise organic and irregular form. If standing in front of the rock and looking down on it from atop the secondary feature mentioned above, the aspect of the top, sides, and bottom of the face are untouched and natural. A crevice to the right of the face defines the right edge and differentiates it from the surrounding outcrops. By contrast, the middle has deeply carved, stepped planes, or flatspaces, of strict regularity, tight angles, hard edges, and smooth horizontal and vertical faces. Depending on the time of day and the angle of the sun, the inner planes create sharp-angled shadows that abruptly contrast the softer, curvilinear contours of the outcrop itself. For descriptive purposes, the form resembles other Inka lithic forms referred to as "thrones," "shelves," or "altars." A nearby example with similar

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"front" of the rock form. Though there is no real evidence to determine directionality, the assumption follows that top and bottom (from which follows "under") and front and back are safe enough designations. For simplicity's sake, these are the preferred descriptors.

74. Cesar Paternosto published this particular rock in *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, pl. 37, 80-81. Paternosto calls attention to its alignment being "accented" toward the southwest, which he suggests links it to rites performed for the setting sun during summer solstice. He also suggests that, "in all probability, ritual processions passed through" the passage framed by the undercarving of the space in question.

diagnostic features is the famous "Throne of the Inka," at the massive diorite outcrop of Rodadero Hill.[75] The "throne" is part of a carved unit, part of which resembles a series of steps with a single plane at the highest point and nine planes descending to the south and three descending to the north. The familiar designation of "throne" refers to the two seats associated with the steps but below it. The items altogether, according to Van de Guchte, probably form the *huaca* Sabacurinca, which Cobo describes as "a well-carved seat where the Incas sat. It was very venerated, and solemn sacrifices were made to it. On account of this seat, the whole fortress was worshipped; for the seat must have been inside or next to the fortress."[76]

Cobo's comment, part of his compendium on the Cuzco *ceque* system, is important not only because it locates an important *huaca* in the landscape but also because it suggests that importance, vital force, or sacredness can be established via proximal relation to a named object. Cobo suggests the fortress was revered because of its proximity to the seat, and the seat, because the Inca sat there, sustained its vitality in the absence of the Inca body itself through veneration and sacrifice. The whole area, then, becomes vital. At a formal level *small-space 3* displays the same features as both a seat and the "Throne," though its combination is unique. From the perspective of an observer standing opposite it, and describing it from its farthest element forward to its nearest element, the sculpted form has a smooth-faced, vertical "back" set against two parallel levels of square planes that could be variously described as steps or shelves. The lower, second level extends farther across the rock face than the level above it. Each of the two levels has three individual flatspaces with the one in the middle set lower than the bracketing

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75. According to Van de Guchte, the Quechua name for the hill is *Suchuna,* meaning "sliding place." See Van de Guchte, "Carving the World," 123.

76. See Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 56.

planes. In this detail the features are an inversion of the so-called “Throne” because the center, so to speak, is set lower than the features to either side of it. In the throne the “steps” appear to rise to the central point; conversely, the sense of movement is one of declination away from the central point. *Small-space 3* inverts that relationship with its lower central planes.

The lower level of the parallel flatspaces has an irregular inner edge (again, from the perspective of standing above and in front of it) because a long “shelf” whose vertical aspect, about four inches tall, contours the lower form of the rock, creating, roughly, a double arc. The contour of the ledge and the natural slope of the rock face mean the flatspaces of the lower level are not square. The horizontal aspect is also approximately four inches wide. The “shelf” extends beyond the downsloping edges of the two planes above it, so that in combination with the two levels above it and the “back” of the shelf/throne, the appearance is one of aggregation, extension, and growth as one descends toward the edge of the rock. Following the horizontal element of the shelf, the outcrop drops off, unmodified at the top, roughly eight feet to the earth.

The above description privileges a horizontal spatial reading that is left to right rather than front to back. If reading the form from front to back, the flatspaces become tripartite in nature, with two raised “upper” spaces and a single “lower” level space set in-between them. In this reading there are three related spatial planes with a sub-dominant central plane—sub-dominant because it is “lower,” connoting a more minimal presence, but still dominant because it connects and relates the two border spaces. One could also, of course, break the form entirely into its constituent elements, into six inter-related but unique flatspaces bordered by the back and the longer, more linear shelf below. Regardless of the preferred reading, irrespective of orientation and directionality, the spaces are unified through similar modeling, their isolation within the broader rock-form, and the aspect of recession or embeddedness (sculpted into the

heart of the rock). It is this sense of unification that reflects broader imperial imperatives for unity, while also mimicking the social reality of empire—a series of independent constituent elements

The secondary constituent element of *small-space 3* is the rock face toward which the seat/shelf is oriented (partially visible on the left side of fig. 2.7). Its face slopes toward the modified face of the primary element and is distinguished only in juxtaposition with this element because it is unsculpted, therein contrasting with the primary element's severe modification and suggesting the difference between nature (unmodified) and culture (modified) just as it suggests a relation between chaos and order.[77] The Inka made no special effort to draw attention to this element, other than the fact that it may be an object of visual consideration, and so as a single or independent form it may in fact be meaningless or at least inert. It may just be rock. Its power and resonance, however, derive from its relation to and the manner in which it "faces," and complements, the primary element. It is part of a system. The facing is important because whatever activity took place on the flatspaces—and it is not unreasonable to think that minor sacrifices occurred there—it was, in some manner, taking place *in communication with* its opposing element.[78]

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77. Dean talks at length about the dichotomous relations of nature and culture and chaos and order and locates it most specifically in the complementary aspects of integrated rock outcrops—those places where unmodified rock forms are "married to," or joined with Inka masonry, forming a contrasting bond that symbolically and metaphorically suggests a marriage between nature (unmodified forms) and culture (modified forms). Culture, for the Inka, resonates with order, and order is ordained, and signalled, through the working of stone. See Dean, *A Culture of Stone, 89-90; and* Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *The Art Bulletin* 89, no. 3 (2007): 502.

78. The Cobo quote above regarding Sabacurinca mentions that sacrifices took place at the nearby "seat." *Small-space 1* is essentially a variation of and elaboration on the architectonic

To a certain extent it might not matter if ritual or ceremonial activity did not take place on the planes of *small-space 3*, meaning that its vital force, its quality of centeredness, resides as much in the relation of elements as it does in the (assumed) sacrificial offering or ritual practice. At the same time, however, the space, to attain "wholeness" (which is akin to sacredness),[79] nevertheless relies on the particularity of presencing, wherein the body is the agent and catalyst for achieving its own peculiar type of operative meaning—that is, for the space to achieve meaning a body, any body, must be present; to be involved physically is an imperative of Inka space.[80] The nature of the presence is one of mediation, as Classen suggests quote (see above, page 79). Walking through the space itself becomes a powerful action, because the space around the body defines the nature of the experience.

How significant is the relationship of the body and the mountain? An answer is suggested by more recent ethnographic fieldwork. In his study of an Andean *ayllu*, which are the corporate kin structures that define extended familial relations and organize work responsibilities, cultural anthropologist Joseph Bastien examined the metaphorical relationship between the Aymara Indian community of Kaata and the mountain of the same name, which they live upon.

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form of the seat—planes, spaces, backs, sides—suggesting that the *type* of space is one used for ritual.

79. See Joseph Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor: Metaphor and Ritual in an Andean Ayllu* (St. Paul: West Publishing Co., 1978), 37.

80. It is worth considering here the pragmatics of accessibility and whether *small-spaces* are limited to select Inka, presumably including the royal Inka, because being there, being within, is an opportunity to access cosmic powers. If so, to access that power is to become, if only temporarily, like Viracocha, the Inka supreme deity. As Classen indicates, Viracocha is a mediating center between opposed halves, so to be in the center of the *small-space* is to participate in the role of Viracocha. To have access is to have power; it is to possess *camay*. See Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 33.

According to Bastien, the Kataans, who worship the mountain as a deity, understand the mountain in direct relation to their own bodies and venerate it in ritual and legend as a human mountain. This relationship is formalized when ritual specialists "feed" the mountain blood and fat because it is a human mountain.[81] I mention this here because the recent and contemporary processes and structures of veneration between the mountain and the people reside in an anatomical paradigm—head, trunk, legs—reinforced by analogy in the location of villages (Apacheta, Kaata, and Niñokorin) at three different altitudes (and therefore different production zones) that correspond metaphorically with the head, trunk, and legs of the mountain. Residents of the villages consider them inseperable; in their assessment, to sever the relationship between villages on the mountain would be analogous to severing the head from the trunk, or the trunk from the legs. It would be analogous to killing a living, social being.[82]

The body, the mountain, and the *ayllu* are all one thing made of three parts, metaphorically one-in-the-same, and it is the combination of things that matters. Constituent elements alone are un-affective and inert. The structure of the body must remain intact, as must the villages, to retain their connections, and so too the structure of the cosmos, by design, must remain connected to be intact and complete. Any severing equates with death, so the overriding principle is cohesion. It is the combination of specially chosen and inextricably related *things* that create and substantiate social entities, sometimes through magic. Bastien says,

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81. See Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor*, 37.

82. Government land reform initiatives in 1953 and 1956 attempted to sever the relation of the villages in order to create three independent entities, to which the locals responded that they were one community in three parts, and that "the lands of Kataa belong together because they are parts of a social and human mountain." See Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor,* 38.

> Kataans attribute magical properties to objects which combine, or are combined with, different elements. Coca from the eastern tropics and shellfish from the Pacific Ocean, both from peripheries of the central Andes, are considered exotic foods, fruit of the gods, and fine offerings of the earth…Coca and shellfish might not be magical individually; rather, it is the gesture of combining coca with seashells, then placing these offerings inside the earth shrine that is magical.[83]

Independently they may be inert but once combined and "planted" they effect a transformation whereby uniqueness is created. The quality of magic that Bastien notes bears a significant resemblance to the quality of "vitality" or vital force that I would argue resides in *small-spaces* when they are activated—that is, brought into relation with a body through participation and action and presence. I would suggest that the tripartite structure of *small-spaces* is analogous to the tripartite conceptualization of the human body (and hence of mountain and *ayllu*) as a vehicle for metaphorical relations and unifying principles *to effect wholeness*, where wholeness is the consequence of symbolic transformations in specialized spaces.[84]

The relation of twinned elements is a diagnostic feature of *small-spaces* and, in fact, mimics the very system of spatial practice that the Inka conceived for the empire itself—namely, one of replicated centers. But the paired lithic elements are only two-thirds of the story. The symbolic logic of imperial Inka spatial practice, that of unification, is vested in the same structure of relations as *small-spaces*. Bastien speaks toward this very principle:

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83. See Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor*, 55

84. At this point it is necessary to briefly recall the previous discussion of the *capac hucha* ceremony's causal significance, such that the processes and structures of that ceremony (i.e., those instances of ritual sacrifice of "perfect" children with attendant figurines atop mountains, the idea of the mountain as vessel, and the procession in a straight line to the burial site) are in direct relation with *small-spaces* in terms of being the locus of maximal and minimal, or macroscopic and microscopic, transformations.

> Metaphorically, ayllu Kaata is an organic entity brought into being by exchange, work, and ritual. This summation can be understood in Andean terms and rituals. Andeans express this wholeness by adding the suffix *nti* to their words: *Tawantinsuyu* (Inca Empire) means the four places insofar as they constitute a whole, and five is the symbol for this gestalt. *Llahtantin runakuna* (ayllu leaders) refers to the secretaries from Apacheta, Kaata, and Niñokorin coming together to form the leadership for ayllu Kaata. More significantly, the word for body, *uqhuntin*, means all parts of the body in summation, but with additional qualities beyond summation. In other words, the body metaphor implies that the ayllu is more than the summation of its part and that it is a system analogous to Andeans' ideas about their own bodies. With a varying degree of success, ritualists bring the people together and try to create this gestalt…[85]

Focusing on the aspects of wholeness and completion, Bastien indicates that the empire itself, through the vehicle of its name, is a structure dependent upon a conceptualized whole, which is impossible without its center, which of course is Cuzco. The same paradigm of conceptual wholeness is present in *small-spaces*. In this respect the imperial center (as macrocosm) is replicated across the empire in *small-spaces* that do not necessarily replicate the form of the capital itself but reflect the idea of the capital as center, as locus of all transformation, as sacred space and axis mundi, as vessel. To that end, as a place of wholeness that is greater than its summation, the third element in *small-space 1* encapsulates metaphorical and symbolic resonance to effect completion and wholeness. It does so as the mediating element; as the necessary interstice conjoining the others it comes to define the entirety of the relation and is the hinge upon which the relation expands its symbolic affinity outward, connecting with such idiosyncratic cultural practices as the *capac hucha* ceremony. The mediating element is a passage (again, *chinkana*), between the primary and secondary lithic elements. The primary diagnostic feature of this particular element is its aspect of nothingness, that it is pure space,

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85. See Bastien, *Mountain of the Condor*, 195

something indefinite (space) bounded by something definite (stone)—a relationship within the triadic relation that is ultimately one where something shapeless is given shape.

Interstice, the Replicated Center

By now, there is nothing extraordinary in the suggestion that the Inka considered the relation of mediated architectonic elements to be of supreme importance. The mediating element here, the passage, is perhaps the most symbolically powerful agent of the three, as it embodies the heart of transformative, communicative, and transitional symbolic processes. The passage is a highly-charged symbolic space (as well as, more simply, and perhaps paradoxically, a construction element) in the theater of Inka spatial practice, one that Dean refers to in the same context as pilgrimages, portals, and *apachita*, which are roadside cairns that mark important points in a journey—namely, as places of meeting, communion, and exchange between worlds.[86] In other words, they are intensely symbolic of communication and transcendence and as such are places of transformation and liminality. The importance of centeredness to this very basic architectonic element is its mediating function as separator and unifier; it is simultaneously two opposed enterprises, simultaneously one and the other, and here and there, and therefore interstitial. The importance of the center, and thus of its role in replicating and structuring liminality and transformation, and therefore, by extension, of the roll of the entire *small-space* structure itself, is further emphasized when brought into relation with structurally analogous three-part principles witnessed in, variously, Andean textile construction,[87] Aymara concepts of

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86. See Dean, *Culture of Stone*, 56, for a discussion of *apachitas,* and 90 for a discussion of passages.

87. See Verónica Cereceda, "The Semiology of Andean Textiles: The Talegas of Isluga" in

social space,[88] the area of transition where different agricultural zones meet,[89] the three-fold division of each *suyu* (quarter) of the empire,[90] and the structure of music in Andean festivals.[91] Each of these categories of cultural or social construction is elemental and paradigmatic in Andean life, and it is instructive to find parallel conceptualizations between environment, society, culture, and architectonic *small-spaces*. For expediency's sake, only two of the above-listed examples will be examined below, but it should be said that the same structural paradigm is common among all categories.

What is it, then, that resonates between the examples above and the construction of *small-spaces*? Each case, in its own medium, reveals that centeredness is primary; that it is a cultural structure, and that a center is defined by and is in direct relation to and created by what is on either side of it or surrounding it. Linguistic relations and metaphor magnify the overlap and analogous contingencies. For example, anthropologist Verónica Cereceda suggests that traditional Andean textiles can be viewed as a text that encodes messages employed in a system

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John V. Murra, Nathan Watchel, Joques, Revel, eds. *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 149-173.

88. See Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne, "Urco and Uma: Aymara Concepts of Space" in John V. Murra, Nathan Watchel, Joques, Revel, eds. *Anthropological History of Andean Polities* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 201-227; see also *Tristan Platt, "Mirrors and Maize: The Concept of Yanantin Among the Macha of Bolivia*" in the same volume*, 228-259.*

89. See Olivia Harris, "Ecological Duality and the Role of the Center: Northern Potosi," in Shozo Masuda, Izumi Shimada, and Craig Morris, eds., *Andean Ecology and Civilization: An Interdisciplinary Perspective on Andean Ecological Complementarity* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1983), 311-335.

90. See Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*; R. Tom Zuidema, *The Ceque System of Cuzco: The Social Organization of the Capital of the Inca,* trans. Eva M. Hooykaas. International Archives of Ethnography, supplement to vol. 50 (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1964).

91 . See Barbara Bradby, "Symmetry Around a Centre: Music of an Andean Community," *Popular Music* 6, no. 2, Latin America (May 1987): 197-218.

with its own conventions. The nature of that system is the relation of a center to the sides and the edges (*laka*, meaning edge but translated as "mouth") that define it, a triad of constituent elements unified and conceptualized as a whole. The focus of her analysis is a specific type of textile bag or sack, called a *talega* in Spanish and *wayajja* in Aymara (fig. 2.9, 2.10), and the communicative aspects of its construction and design patterns. The bag is divided into two symmetrical halves of contrasting colors that are the reverse of each other and together create a mirror image. The bag's middle is a narrow center, called a *cchima*, meaning "heart," that forms a central axis and mediates the two halves, creating the dual divisions that simultaneously, and paradoxically, join and divide, playing "the ambivalent role of separator…and simultaneously the nexus, the common 'territory.'"[92]

Taken as a whole, then, the textile encodes both social/personal ("body" / "heart" / "mouth") and spatial ("territory") information, indicating that it is simultaneously and metaphorically space and body. It therefore exists between normal thresholds of existence, neither one thing nor the other, neither the thing-itself nor a thing-imagined, which is to say that it is neither pure function nor pure sign. Further, according to Cereceda, its pattern bears a "magical-religious rite" that affects the objects it contains.[93] As a whole, the textile is, externally, a divided field of representation, an embodiment and a progenitor of liminality, and internally it is a center. Its surface space signals the action. Its pattern signals change and transformation of the internal space. Whereby external patterns act upon internal items, the bag performs an act of transfer or transformation. In this respect, the bag is both a magical vessel and is analogous to

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92. Cereceda, "Semiology of Textiles," 152.

93. Ibid., 151.

small-spaces to the extent that each exhibits a congruence between its own structure, the reading of the structure, and the performance of change they embody. In other words, the bag is an object with an edge and a center whose function is containment, and to be within or contained is to be transformed by those surrounding elements.

In her consideration of the definition of symmetrical and central space, Cereceda refers to the bag as an integrated whole, but goes further to suggest its particular structural coherency is a principle that extends beyond its own making, writing that the bags are “articulating a clear perception of a vision of a world composed of independent segments that are intimately related to each other,”[94] a relation that she extends to spatial and temporal concerns. One can argue that this is as succinct a synopsis of Inka spatial practice as anything else. The meaning of the bag, and therefore of centers, in this context is dependent on the meaning ascribed to its borders and edges. Another way of putting this is that the bag replicates, and is a replication of, structures of relations that transfer reciprocal meaning across space, adjoining the micro and the macro, the

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94. See http://www.scielo.cl/scielo.php?pid=S071773562010000100029&script=sci_arttext (accessed 11 January 2011) for a more recent English addition of the abstract, from which the quote is taken, to Verónica Cereceda’s article noted in footnote 136. The abstract refers to the three fundamental structures she is investigating in a language that resonates with the discussion of *small-spaces*: “…this design creates a complex structure based on three fundamental principles: (1) succession, via contrast, where the bands’ colors (allqa) force perception of tonal differences; (2) introduction, essentially of narrow mediations that smooth the tonal meetings (qallus, k'utus, k'isas) in the intersection between bands and (3) definition of a symmetrical and central space. This extraordinarily repetitive image, in temporal and spatial settings, articulates a clear perception (state of alertness and intelligence) of a vision of a world composed of independent segments that are intimately related to each other. A design of such an efficient message that it was extended to different spatial regions….” As properties of construction and design “succession,” “introduction,” and the “symmetrical and central space,” as defined above, are analogous to the principles of *small-spaces*. In brief: successive constituent elements set in an imperfectly opposed relation to each other mediated by a centralized, third element, all of which constitutes a significative system displaying an inextricability between pattern and meaning. This is the same structure as *small-spaces*.

local and the global. In this sense the bag can be considered an emblematic type of conceptual framing unique in Inka spatial practice, one that links object to space, nature to culture, internal to external, method and mode, body and universe, signifier and signified, suggesting once again that the overriding (metaphorical/structural) objective is ultimately a description of how things are communicated as well as what is being communicated. Not only do these patterns reinforce the idea that the Inka universe is a representation of, and represented in, the body, but it also suggests that the Inka placed an extraordinarily powerful valence in basic objects, some of which, as with the *talega*, mimic the powerful, transformative, shaping powers of the empire itself.

Similarly, in the second example of a center-focused cultural paradigm, anthropologist Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne finds the patterns of dualism and centeredness in Aymara spatial organization to reflect "the rules of a society that understood spatial relationships in triadic terms: two elements and a center. Each term implies the presence of its opposite, but the symmetry is imperfect (male predominates over female, above over below, right over left)."[95] Again, the understanding of space is organized in immediate reference to the body; rather, the basic codes of spatial organization, like the body, are broken down according to the fundamental dichotomy of the self. The two halves are *urco*, which is masculine and associated with the higher lands in the altiplano, and *uma*, which is feminine and associated with the lower valleys. *Uma* is also always associated with liquidity. Between these two areas is a zone of convergence called the *taypi* (in Quechua, *chawpi*) that is critical to establishing and maintaining equilibrium. According to Bouysse-Cassagne, *taypi* is anything that is in the middle. In the Aymara

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95. See Bouysse-Cassagne, "*Urco and Uma,*" 221.

conceptualization of space, Lake Titicaca formed the intermediary zone, meaning that here the final term of the triadic relation is occupied by the socio-cultural generative space (the original mythical Inka ancestors emerged from Lake Titicaca) in the elemental and mythologically primary form of the lake itself.[96]

In Quechua communities, however, *chawpi* (*taypi*) is a less forceful concept/term than *tinku*. Where the possibility of Inka spatial practice is grounded in the convergent center, the promise of the constructed environment lies in the possibility that every *chawpi* provides the opportunity for *tinku*. According to Carolyn Dean, "with *tinku*, complements come together to create a third space or thing that is more powerful, more meaningful than either member of the pair alone. Whereas *chawpi* suggests the "either/or" of binary opposites (favored in Western philosophy), *tinku* promises a "both/and" situation in which opposites become complements and so together create a more powerful third."[97] Thus with water running through and forming the interstice, effervescent with its procreative symbolic meaning, the interstice, as the very heart of Inka spatial practice, resounds with pro-creative and convergent force.

What matters then is not simply that the dyadic elements are opposed and resolved and converge around a center (*hanan/urin* resolved via *tinku)*, nor that the elements reflect a society

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96. Bouysse-Cassagne asks an important question regarding the relationship between Aymara logic and Inka logic—the Inka subsumed Aymara territory (Bolivia and the southern territory) early in their imperial campaigns, probably under the leadership of the ninth and tenth Inka royals, Pachacuti and his son Topa Inka (Thupa Inka)—and says that the Inka system is rooted in the same binary oppositions and absorbed the Aymara order "at the price of an inversion of the dualism and of a displacement of the *taypi*." The nature of this displacement, or inversion, is unclear, though in principle it fits into the nature of upheavals so typical in the Andes and ties to the name of the royal Inka himself—*Pachacuti*. It's worth noting, too, that following the Spanish conquest the fundamental order was again re-established and the center was replaced to Potosi, where the great silver mines were located. Bouysse-Cassagne, 215. See also D'Altroy, *The Incas*, 65-67, for imperial expansion.

97. Carolyn Dean, letter to author, December 2011.

and a worldview modeled after, and symbolic of, the structure of a social body and the necessary complementariness of man-and-woman.[98] These factors are essential, but what matters, too, is that one form *anticipates* another: where there is one there must be two, and where there are two there must be the third. This is completion, completion is related to *tinku*, and completion means that chaos and destruction are averted.[99] It is in this sense that imperial spatial practice, working against the logic of ends, seeks the means to negate its inevitable destruction, another *pachacuti*, which, only from the perspective of great temporal distance, becomes unavoidable. Yet this is not to say that completion only happens in triads—*Tahuantinsuyu,* the Inka name for their empire, is of course the resolution of quadripartite division (quadripartite division resolved byt the fifth part—Cuzco-as-confluence). Though, by design, the macrocosmic quadripartite empire, like the triadic *small-spaces*, is similarly resolved around the center. Therefore, in order for the world to make sense and be meaningful, and for Inka spatial practice to be decisive and, necessarily, conclusive, this completion is finality, and closed structures—ultimately a closed empire turning in upon itself from its own frontiers—its nature. The third (or, in quadripartite structure, the fifth) element, the in-between space or the center itself, is the primary locus of exchange, mediation, and transformation. Only in the center of a stable structure is chaos abetted.

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98. Platt, *Mirrors and Maize*, 241; Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 3.

99. It would stand then, and needs to be stated, that four completes the three, as four is the ultimate shape of the empire. I am not arguing that triads are the ultimate structural form, though I am saying, in a sense, that to achieve four, there must be three. Ultimately, if there is four, then for completion there must be the fifth, central element. Of course, to achieve three, there must be two, which in these examples constitute rock. One would surmise, then, that one is the body, most specifically the body of the Inka.

It should come as no surprise that the nature of the mediated space, the *camac*-space, has its direct correlation in the body. According to Classen,

> It is not only oppositions of the body that are important in Andean culture, but also the "in-between" parts of the body. On the most obvious level, for example, the nose, *cenca*, can be understood as mediating between eyes, *ñaui*, and the mouth, *simi*. In Quechua, however, we also find terms for the space between the nose and mouth (*simi pata*), the area between the shoulder blades (*wasa waycu*), the furrows between the chest and the stomach (*q"asqu puxyu*) and so forth. These areas serve both to divide and mediate, and the fact that they have separate names demonstrates the importance of in-between spaces and dividing lines for the Andeans.[100]

In-between spaces, then, as a matter of classification in Inka spatial practice, ultimately report some of the same functions of division and mediation present as that of the center. By extension, whether they be on the body or in space, their importance, generally overlooked, attains a new significance when located in the micro > macro paradigm.

The Poetics of Water at the Center

Small-space 4 replicates the same structural logic of the *urco-uma-taypi* (in Quechua: *hanan-urin-chawpi*) paradigm. Whereas *small-space 3* was defined by two megalithic elements shaping and mediated by a passage, *small-space 4* (fig. 2.11) exchanges spatial vacancy for canalized water, allowing water the privileged role of mediating element while maintaining the frame of opposed lithic elements. In terms of orientation, *small-space 4* lies at the western end of the Saqsaywaman complex in the vicinity of *Gran Chicana* and is associated with the oval

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100. Classen, *Inca Cosmology*, 14.

depression, which is likely a reservoir as it has channels associated with it.[101] Access favors an approach from the southwest via a staircase comprised of at least three broad steps that decline toward the center of the space. Each step is like a small platform and is edged by articulated masonry blocks. Just to the right of the steps as one is descending, a slight, rocky cliff creates a kind of border that appears to mark the western periphery of Saqsaywaman itself. For the contemporary tourist this is about as far from the megalithic walls as one can get within the site; consequently, it is much less visited.[102]

A surprising agglomeration of things in both the Quechua and Aymara universe are "conceived out from the center,"[103] as anthropologist Richard Schaedel surmises about the harmony of Andean music; the nature of the center, in part, determines the nature of the structure as a whole. In this context, working from the center outward, *small-space 4* is defined first by the canalized passage of water (fig. 2.12) between two megalithic rock forms resting in complementary opposition to each other, one of which has two discernible carved interventions

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101. See van de Guchte, "Carving the World," 126-134. Van de Guchte notes that there are many examples of carved rock in this area but he does not mention the examples labeled here as *small-space 3* or *small-space 4*.

102. On the day this location was examined, only two other small groups of wandering families inspected the area. By comparison, the megalithic walls were swarming with tourists. This rear area takes on an aspect of private space, which is magnified during the contemporary manifestation of the festival of Inti Raymi. Inti Raymi is a solstice festival that dates to Inka times, continued in hybridized form during the Colonial period, and is now incorporated into contemporary celebrations as a means to re-insert Inka identity into the contemporary socio-political and ritual landscape. The culmination of the contemporary festival takes place in the plaza space at Saqsaywaman between the monumental walls and the Sabacurinca. In this respect, this space of Saqsaywaman constitutes the primary public space, to which the spaces under examination are private space.

103. Richard P. Schaedel, "Andean World View: Hierarchy or Reciprocity, Regulation or Control?" *Current Anthropology* 29, no. 5 (December 1988): 770.

on the face facing its opposite number—one of slightly greater depth than the other (fig. 2.13). One is tempted to suggest that in some ways the lithic borders of *small-spaces* correlate with the edges of the universe and that here the presence of canalized water reflects the Milky Way. In his footnotes for the *Huarochiri Manuscript* Frank Salomon says that in Quechua "Milky Way" comes from *mayo*, literally meaning "river," and that the Milky Way was interpreted as a cosmic river that circulates water from the sea back into the atmosphere.[104] Though speculative, this association suggests a unique, extensive, and utterly comprehensive desire by the Inka to account for the shape of the universe at ground level in the guise of paired rocks and the water in-between them.

Widening the frame of visual engagement on the ground, one sees that the architectonic environment immediately surrounding *small-space 4* includes subsequent masses of living rock, instances of masonry abutting the canal as it enters the mediated interstice, a circular trench that was probably a pool for collecting water, a partial circumference of living rock forming a wall, and a pathway edged by reconstituted ashlar masonry blocks leading to and away from *small-space 4* itself. To what extent did the Inka mean for each element to be considered in relation to the others? To what extent is this particular site (which itself is a constituent element of the larger Saqsaywaman complex) the sum of its parts, parts of a whole, or a succession of independent entities? The arrangement of these constituent elements suggests a complex of independent, interrogated spaces with water-passage as its primary metaphor. The presence of water is in this instance the primary aesthetic and mytho-symbolic inclusion. Its effect as the defining element of the center depends in part on its being an aesthetic counterpoint stone, an

104. Salomon, *Huarochirí Manuscript*, 132, n. 713.

element of material balance in a lithic universe. Water is fluidity and dynamism to the fixedness and stasis of stone.

Water was co-opted by the Inka for its material, political, mythico-religious, and aesthetic associations, in effect promoted and used for its expressive *essential*-ness, and the Inka used it fully aware of its multivalent significance. According to Jeanette Sherbondy, the Inka state's interest in water was manifest in three ways:

> 1. in the spatial distribution of waters and lands to ayllus
> 2. in the ritual celebration of significant periods in the weather cycles and the agricultural calendar of maize, the most important crop and major irrigated crop, and
> 3. in the manipulation of the meaning of water and irrigation to create powerful symbols for uniting many Andean ethnic groups under the Inca state.[105]

Water defined social borders, found ritual expression in celebrations linked to agriculture, and was a symbol of control and power in an imperial whole. Its manipulation came to define multiple forms of expression, from the functional to the aesthetic to the political. For example, its presence might determine the shape of a city, as with the canalization of Cuzco attributed to Pachacuti; it might determine site-specific landscape orientation, as at the Sacred Valley site of Patallacta; in the numerous water channels at Tipon, some of which far transcend utilitarian purpose and elevate the expression of water movement through landscape aesthetics (fig. 2.14); it might constitute a sacred space, or *huaca*, in its own right; it might be incorporated via channels to effect a unique expression of Inkaness, as at Pisac (fig. 2.15), or in the display fountains at Tambo Machay (fig. 2.16), whose channeled waters converge, diverge, and converge again, forming an essential *tinkuI*;[106] it linked *ayllus* through the shared use of the same

105. Jeanette Sherbondy, *The Canal Systems of Hanan Cuzco*, v.

106. Dean, "Inka Water Management," (forthcoming).

water source;[107] it legitimized conquest through incorporation, that is, water was transferred from its source in conquered chiefdoms and placed into the Inka's own hydraulic system;[108] and there is the more remote possibility that the Inka's signature architectural expressions, such as the famous walls along Hatun Rumiyoc in Cuzco (fig. 2.17), were by design made to reflect the idea that water over stone over considerable time is a formidable shaper of form.[109] Water's ubiquitous presence, in an archtectonic sense, whereby the landscape itself is seen as a malleable plastic form in order to better express the symbolics of water, indicates its manifest importance.

Water derives much of its efficacy in relation to its role in origin myths and other stories. Drawing on the testimony of the descendants of Inka kings, Juan de Betanzos locates the origin of both the Inka creator god, Contiti Viracocha, and the first peoples from sources of water, Viracocha originally from Lake Titicaca in the Collasuyu region of the empire, and the first peoples—who, not coincidentally, were made of stone—called forth by acolyte *viracochas*, or

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107. Sherbondy, "Water Ideology in Inca Ethnogenesis," 58.

108. Ibid., 59.

109. The inverse is also true: the form is a shaper of ideas of time and meaning. In a forthcoming article Carolyn Dean discusses the symbolic dimensions of water in display fountains. These hydrological constructions, she says, were used for ritual functions, for show, as evidence of a ruler's order and of their ability to maintain cosmological equilibrium. The channel of *small-space 4*, and, really, any channel, would fit into this paradigm, indicating an intentional desire to draw attention to the way water flows. Note, especially, the following: "Together, flowing water and natural or quasi-natural stone form a complementary set. Stone in Andean thought was not permanently inanimate. Myriad stories, both past and present, feature lithomorphy—stones coming to life and animals and humans petrifying. Thus stone—especially large and prominently placed natural or quasi-natural rock—was the promise of future life. The Inka's water aesthetic implicated beliefs not just about water but also about rock. Given the equation of water with life essence, its flow over potentially animate substance would have resonated profoundly." In instances such as *small-space 4*, it is thus easy to imagine the interstice as especially pro-creative, its emptiness a place of great connective force. See Carolyn Dean, "Inka Water Management."

assistant gods, from various places, including the archetypal spaces of caves, rivers, springs, and high sierra.[110] As canalized water is the centralizing element of *small-space 4*, its generative power recalls and recreates this aspect of Inka mytho-history. The linkage is important and ultimately ties the Inka, in time and space, to Tiwanaku, the Middle Horizon empire centered to the south of Lake Titicaca that collapsed in the early twelfth century. It is, to a certain extent, the political act of conquest as a form of consumption, wherein the incorporation of the water-source, in this case Lake Titicaca, brings the region into the body of the empire, both possessing it and reinscribing its own local history into the now-macro history of the Inka's mytho-history.[111]

Another substantive mytho-historic linkage is related by Cobo and symbolically associates water with marriage. By linking irrigation with marriage, as Sherbondy suggests, the Inka create a powerful symbol of unity. In Chapter 9 of his *History of the Inca Empire*, Cobo relates the story of the sixth king of Peru, Inca Roca, a quasi-historical figure by most accounts.[112] Cobo says,

> Inca Roca married a lady named Mama Michay, cacica of the town of Guayllacan, and, before he married, it happened that the priest of the temple of the Sun told him they should marry because his father the Sun had commanded that he tell him this, because it was advisable to do so, and that very soon he would have very many battles and he would be lord of many provinces. The Indians tell that after the fiestas of this marriage were over, the Coya noticed that the Valley of Cuzco lacked sufficient water to irrigate the *chacaras* of maize so she had the majority of the water brought in that it has to this day, and in memory of this service which she performed for the region, the family and lineage

110. Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas,* 9.

111. Sherbondy, *The Canal Systems of Hanan Cuzco*, 134.

112. See, for example, D'Altroy, *The Incas,* 4.

which issued from her remained in charge of the distribution of the water used to irrigate the valley.[113]

For her part, Mama Michay is a powerful entity, able to re-engineer the landscape and move water about at will. In doing so she ensures regeneration, primarily of the maize fields, but subsequently and ultimately of the people themselves. Water is thus a metaphor for *the return to beginnings*. It signals a deep return to archetypal space and to ancestors. It connects the present, in the form of the labor-obligation of the ayllu, who must, by design, maintain the irrigation, to the eternal past of Mama Michay. This process of symbolic connectedness implies that the central space is a means to return to the space of ancestors, which is to complete a cycle that mimics the cycles of nature: fraught and perilous and chaotic but whole and complete. As a matter of centeredness it offers itself as an apt sign for imperial imperatives.

The aesthetics of water, too, as contradistinct from the attributes of stone, enhance the effect of symbolic and metaphorical meaning derived at the center. As an element of landscape aesthetics, water contributes unity, variety, and vividness.[114] Unity is a factor of water's contrast to land and whether this is seen as continuous and whole. Variety is expressed through movement, color, and difference of edge. For example, as an expression of variety, a river, stream, or spring may change course and vanish or be obstructed with objects; a lake may diminish or recede at various edges; a river or spring may run swift or appear to be at a near

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113. Cobo, *Narrative of the Incas*, 124.

114. See R. Burton Litton, Jr., Robert Tetlow, Jens Sorenson, and Russell A. Beatty, *Water and Landscape: An Aesthetic Overview of the Role of Water in the Landscape* (Port Washington: Water Information Center, 1974), 15-16. The following comments on unity, variety, and vividness derive directly from work initially done for my MA thesis (see footnote 19).

standstill, and it may run clean or dirty; a lake could be large enough to appear edgeless or small enough to be scanned at a glance; a lake may be perfectly circular or infinite in its jutting permutations; and variety is subject to change, depending on the weather and other variables, though overall water tends to synthesize compositions by being a thing that links elements, contrasting or not, together. Vividness, moreover, is a result of both combinations and contrasts. Satisfactory combinations of water with plants or water with land or stone may be an expression of pleasure, if pleasure is understood in the difference of elements.

The Inka appear to have been innately competent in calling for the distinct aesthetic attributes of water to effect both pleasure and practicality and to encode communicative and connective links across space and time, drawing into its material characteristics the most important aspects of Inka sacredness. *Small-space 4*, then, derives its potency from these associations, which draw the site into the broader complex of sacred and mytho-historic presence. The Inka's concept of water's circulation reinforces the primary *raison d'etre* of centers—that of connection and separation. As Sherbondy says,

> The Inka's basic understanding of how water circulates was that water from the Sea that is under and around the earth well up to form lakes. Lakes in turn feed underground rivers, which carry lake water to all the smaller lakes, rivers, streams, and springs, thereby providing the entire earth with water sources. These waters return eventually to the Sea. When the Inkas worshipped Viracocha in his capacity as creator and founder of the world, it was also a reminder of the fundamental circulation of waters. Ultimate ends and origins are in the sea.[115]

As a final example of the Inka proclivity to construct or amplify the landscape through incorporation of water as a focal center in a stone-water-stone triadic formation, *small-space 5* (fig. 2.18, 2.19) offers a similar, and now familiar, paradigm. Just outside of Cuzco, beyond a

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115. Sherbondy, "Water Ideology in Inca Ethnogenesis," 57.

massive outcrop commonly referred to as Laqo,[116] and beside the *qhapaq nan*, or royal highway, on the Antisuyu road, *small-space 5* is comprised of two naturally occurring boulders astride a stream. The primary lithic element, seen on the left side of figure 2.18, displays extensive modification on both of its two primary faces, one oriented toward the stream and one away from the stream. A significant sculpted niche that is roughly square in shape distinguishes the side facing the stream. Its size and its location on the underside of a significant bolder lends it the aspect of a cave, which amplifies the intensity of the sacred attribution. The side facing away from the stream (fig. 2.20) consists of a series of irregular platform flatspaces that incline in the direction of the stream. The effect of the accumulation of flatspaces and their orientation suggests a functional orientation of steps and perch, whereupon one could ascend the few flatspaces to reach an abbreviated overlook of the stream, across from which is a rather unmodified outcrop. Its location on the main "highway" leading out of Cuzco toward Pisac suggests itself as a visceral reminder of the sacred principles of stone and water organized from the center outward, a visual cue that in the scope of the empire one always remains in close proximity to sacred origins.

The above is an account of only five sites amongst the dense accumulation of sacred, significant spaces throughout the Cuzco Valley, which reinforces the commonly understood paradigm of Cuzco itself as a sacred site. Their smallness, however, does not betray their intensity, for the whole of Inka mytho-history, construed and re-construed, is packed in and encoded in their structure, their modifications, and the structure of the relations between the

116. It is also referred to as the Temple of the Moon, Salonniyuc, and Salonpuncu. Bauer believes it to be Mantocalla, the sixth huaca on the third Antisuyu ceque of Cobo's formulation. See Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*, 82.

constituent elements. They offer themselves as an experiential enterprise, what I surmise to be intensely sacred, transformational, and pro-creative moments experienced in and out of regular time, offering an opportunity to both deepen and expand, to connect and communicate, and to identify oneself with both the unitary principal of the royal Inka but also with *Inkaness*, ancestors, and to one another. Beyond these spaces the world existed in its present form; within these sites, which was an experience of being transformed and being elsewhere, all that existed was the radical proximity of the sacred.

CHAPTER 3

TOWARD THE NEW CITY: READING INTO THE CENTER OF GUAMAN POMA'S COLONIAL DRAWINGS

> The correct reading of the chronicler's drawings does not exist; there are only possible readings.
>
> —Mercedes López –Baralt, *Guaman Poma De Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*

> Which is to say, that the discourse of mimicry is constructed around an *ambivalence*; in order to be effective, mimicry must continually produce its slippage, its excess, its difference.
>
> —Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man"

> The text is an entity woven together out of other entities, a textile, and the process by which texts are created, through mental and physical effort in social life, brings material culture and language into connection.
>
> —Henry Glassie, *Material Culture*

> One-dimensional reading does not help in understanding the meaning of the chronicle: it must be read from different angles, and links should be established between statements [and drawings] scattered throughout the chronicle.
>
> —Juan M. Ossio, "Myth and History"

Colonizing the Imagination

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's manuscript, *Nueva Coronica I Buen Gobierno*,[1] is a handwritten 1188-page letter of protest against the Spanish colonial bureaucracy and clergy, merging textual features of the chronicle, social satire, catechism, Catholic emblematic literature,

1. Guaman Poma's work is probably the best-known work of an Andean author. The first part of his work chronicles the Andean past up to the time of the conquest, and the second part relates an often bitter account of life under colonial rule. He was born in about 1535 in the northern region of Andamarca and self-identified with a non-Inka dynasty of the Yarovilca. He held bureaucratic posts in the colonial government and participated in the extirpation of Indian "heresies."

and the ancient genre of council to princes.[2] Its visual program of 398 line drawings is well in line with the twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent, which met in Italy between 1545 and 1563 to establish the official policy of the Church in the face of the Protestant revolt and to decide, among other issues, strategies of catechization for the New World. The council established the difference between idolatry and the proper veneration of images and "decreed the legitimacy and convenience of using images for purpose of religious proselytism."[3] The basic conditions were that the images had to be "pure" and ecclesiastical authorities had to ratify the orthodoxy and dignity of the pictures.[4] For Guaman Poma, this led to the fusion of images presenting Christian orthodoxy in an Andean setting, the prominence given to the Pope, and the author's extraordinary promotion of his own faith alongside the contortion needed to place the history of the Andes comfortably within the Christian tradition.

The letter's 398 pen-and-ink drawings, for the purposes of instruction, explication, and enhancement, are rendered in an "idiosyncratic and expressive style,"[5] with all compositional elements—human figures, landscape, animals, maps, architecture, icons, and the frame of each

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2. See Mercedes López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing": The Image as Text and the Author as Artist," in *Guaman Poma De Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Mercedes López-Baralt and Rolena Adorno (New York, N.Y.: Americas Society, 1992), 16.

3. Ibid.

4. For of the language of the "Twenty-Fifth Session, December 3 and 4, 1563…*On the invocation, veneration and relics of saints, and on sacred images*…" see Robert Klein and Henri Zerner, eds, *Italian Art, 1500-1600: Sources and Documents* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1966), 119-121.

5. Maarten van de Guchte, "Invention and Assimilation: European Engravings as Models for the Drawings of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Mercedes López-Baralt and Rolena Adorno (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 92.

scene itself—drawn in a fairly strict, though simplified, linear fashion. Renaissance perspective is largely ignored, as are foreshortening and chiaroscuro.[6] Combined with a clear preference for placing the action in the extreme foreground, both immediacy and flatness emerge as dominant modes, ultimately highlighting their didactic nature in a clean and readable fashion. The text, for its part, follows suit visually, its thick script inked in varying sizes, typically off kilter and easing upward or downward in relation to the page's vertical edge. Toward the bottom of some pages, the author jams his lines together, condensing the space between them as if rushing a certain point to its conclusion within a pre-determined page-space.

When reading Guaman Poma's manuscript and *seeing* the author-artist's[7] images—seeing in that learned, expectant, affected, hoped-for, and penetrating way described by John Berger[8]—one recognizes that there is no single code to unlock the manuscript but that it is, like so much of culture, a novel series of loans, outright thefts, borrowings, and reconstructions. Resolving the thefts and reconciling the readings is a difficult proposition, but one already begun by numerous prodigious scholars, Rolena Adorno and Mercedes López-Baralt being among the more prescient. The application of semiotics in their analysis of the manuscript's visual structure, and, generally, in their decoding of the author-artist's visual project, are fundmental to reading

6. Ibid.

7. Although "author" is a highly contentious classification in the early modern period and far different from today's understanding of the term, less the beholder of intellectual property or a creative producer and more a construct of states, princes, or churches, I use it here in combination with "artist" because, at the least, the combined classification strikes me as familiar and accurate within a context of individuation/identity that is one of many refracted and inter-related cores at the center of Guaman Poma's project.

8. See John Berger, *Ways of Seeing* (London: British Broadcasting Corporation, 1972).

Guaman Poma.[9] Building on their analyses, this chapter focuses on the making of representational spatialized centeredness. It analyzes a number of the author's drawings to establish a spatial understanding of the author's social criticism and then transposes that reading into the author's images of Andean cities, which resolve themselves visually as variations on the single theme of centeredness. The chapter transfers and refines the application of the paradigm of centeredness established in Chapter 2 and traces its permutations and variations in the colonial period as a system undergoing its own strategic contortions in response to the chaos of contact and colonization. The analysis contextualizes the images in light of a number of various theoretical positions and indigenous concepts, including split representation, the use of embedded iconicity, *pachacuti,* the author/artist as an embodied center mediating cultural boundaries, and notions of simultaneity and mimicry. What becomes manifest is that the city center for Guaman Poma is a site to contest, resist, subvert, transform, and ultimately codify the social malignancies of the colonial period as socio-spatial codes manifest in colonial urban design and building programs.

Two Worlds in One, Combined and Opposed

All but one of Guaman Poma's scenes are monoscenic, representing a "single action, taking place at a precise moment, depicted in its entirety, thus respecting a unity of time and

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9. See, for starters, Mercedes López-Baralt, *Icono y conquista: Guamán Poma de Ayala* (Madrid: Hiperión, 1988); López-Baralt, *Guaman Poma, autor y artista* (Lima, Perú: Pontificia Universidad Catolica del Perú, Fondo Editorial, 1993); and Rolena Adorno, *Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

place."[10] Each scene is set within a solid but slightly irregular black-line frame capped by a titular header in bold, capitalized letters beneath which the action unfolds in interior, exterior, mixed, or cinematic space. The frames are almost always incomplete in and of themselves, lacking a "cap" or top, or a top-most border. Outside the frame in the bottom right-hand corner is a "catchword,"[11] a standard feature in manuscripts of the time, that links to the first word on the following page of text, therein creating continuity and momentum as well as a relationship of words and image that goes beyond continuity to irreducibility and signaling. The technique also lends the manuscript the semblance of a printed version, which seems to have been one of the guiding principles of composition in order to give it "the authority that mechanical reproduction gave to a printed book in the seventeenth century."[12] Guaman Poma had probably learned the technique in Huamanga, Peru, where it is believed he was employed in the service of *escribanos*, or notaries.[13] Words are also found embedded within individual scenes in the form of markers or explicatory indicators, or as conversational units, thereby forming an indispensable element of the image and intruding much further into Guaman Poma's drawings than is customary in colonial paintings with historical subject matter.[14]

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10. See Bernadette Bucher, *Icon and Conquest: A Structural Analysis of the Illustrations of deBry's* Great Voyages, translated by Basia Miller Gulati (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 21.

11. See Tom Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image: Pictures and Words in the Nueva corónica I buen gobierno," in *Guaman Poma de Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author*, ed. Mercedes López-Baralt and Rolena Adorno (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 50.

12. Ibid., 56.

13. Ibid., 50.

14. Ibid.

One World Divided, or Simultaneity in Guaman Poma's Pontifical World

The single anomaly to the monoscenic rule is *Drawing 16. Pontifical World: The Indies of Peru and the Kingdom of Castile* (fig. 3.1). It is, instead, what anthropologist Bernadette Bucher refers to in her analysis of the DeBry family's *Great Voyages* as an example of the "simultaneous method," wherein "a single plate portrays several actions supposedly taking place at the same time."[15] In this instance, there is not a multiplicity of *action*, per se, but two simultaneous *worlds* represented in the form of five related cities, each coexistent but not necessarily co-equal; they are two worlds comprising one "Pontifical" world, organized and ordered under the auspice and diktat of the Roman Catholic Pope, arranged such that the cities of the New World are set in relation to the cities of Castille—above and below, respectively. Each register, then, contains five self-contained cities set in relation to each other as a series of positive architectural forms surrounding the empty, negative, rectangular form (parallelograms, really) of its central plaza. Each group of five is set in the landscape as four parts cardinally oriented around a center. For Mercedes López-Baralt, the dual five-part structural worlds mimic each other but invert the hierarchy of colonial order privileging, instead, the mythic geography of the Inka empire, *Tahuantinsuyu*, as it is represented in Guaman Poma's crucial *Mapamundi* (fig. 3.2), which introduces his chapter on the cities and towns of colonial South America.[16]

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15. See Bucher, *Icon and Conquest*, 28.

16. See López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 19.

At the center of the *Mapamundi* lies the Inka capital, Cuzco, not Rome or Jerusalem as was customary in the European cartographic tradition (fig. 3.2),[17] thereby making explicit that, for Guaman Poma, archetypal principles of order lay in the Andean world and not the European.[18] Crossing diagonal lines divide the overall image into four sections, each of which represents one part of the four-part Inka imperial political geography: Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Collasuyu, and Contisuyu. According to Juan M. Ossio, Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu are *hanan*-

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17. Mapmaking in the central Andes was largely metaphorical and abstract. Although there was an intense pan-Andean, historical interest in systematic expressions of spatial knowledge, there was no tradition of mapmaking that resembled European, or even Mexican, cartographic practice. Part of the difficulty in assessing the state of indigenous "map consciousness" in the Andes in the seventeenth century is that the rules of graphic representation are so different. Ethnohistoric sources dating to the colonial period, such as Guaman Poma's drawings and Joan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui cosmological diagram (see fig. 3.17), provide the clearest descriptions of native spatial understanding, but the use of an alphabet and narrative and European pictorial styles immediately distances one from a "pure" Andean spatial knowledge. And other forms of spatial representation, such as those encoded in the *khipu*, or carved in stone, or encoded in weaving or ceramics, are simply so foreign that a full analysis may be impossible. For an overview, see David Woodward, and G. Malcolm Lewis, *The History of Cartography Vol. 2, Book 3, Cartography in the Traditional African, American, Arctic, Australian, and Pacific Societies* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); see also David Buisseret, *The Mapmakers' Quest: Depicting New Worlds in Renaissance Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), especially "Chapter 4, Mapping in the Expansion of Europe, 1400-1700," for the discussion on the impact of European cartography in the Americas; see J. B. Harley, "Silences and Secrecy: The Hidden Agenda of Cartography in Early Modern Europe," *Imago Mundi* 40 (1988): 57-76, for an examination of European cartographic tradition as a political discourse and for its effect on the suppression of knowledge; and see especially Richard L. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), for his analysis of cartographic and urban images of the new world as social constructions.

18. See Nathan Wachtel, "Pensamiento salvaje y aculturación. El espacio y el tiempo de Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala y el Inca Garcilaso de la Vega," in *Sociedad e ideología: ensayos de historia y antropología andinas (*Instituto de Estudios Peruanos, Lima, 1973), 177.

associated concepts, whereas Collasuyu and Contisuyu are *urin*-associated concepts.[19] *Hanan* and *urin* are important indigenous principles of social and spatial order, designating upper and lower, respectively, although they embody elaborate conceptual associations such that *hanan* is tied to masculine and dominant principles and coordinates with the right side of things, whereas *urin* is associated with the feminine, subordinate, and the left. While in theory they are co-equal, they nevertheless comprise an ethical and moral hierarchy imperfectly achieved and framed. Balance and complementarity are privileged even though evocations of hierarchy and power are perhaps unavoidable. The mestizo chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega explains the sense of social relations and pseudo-equality thus:

> …the inhabitants of one half should excel those of the other in privilege and exemptions. All were equal like brothers, the children of one father and one mother….And [the Inca] ordered that there should be only one difference and acknowledgment of superiority among them, that those of upper Cuzco be considered and respected as first born and elder brothers, and those of lower Cuzco be as younger children. In short they were to be as the right side and the left in any question of precedence of place and office, since those of the upper town had been gathered by the men and those of the lower by the women."[20]

One might call them irreducible complements, the necessary contingents of shape, balance, and order.

The Jesuit priest Bernabe Cobo essentially concurs, stating that the same socio-spatial division was present throughout the empire, whereby the Inka

> divided each town and *cacicazgo* [dominion of a native chief] into two parts, known as the upper district and the lower district, or the superior part or faction and the inferior,

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19. See Juan M. Ossio, "Myth and History: The Seventeenth-Century Chronicle of Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Text and Context: The Social Anthropology of Tradition*, ed. Ravindra K. Jain (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1977), 68.

20. See Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Inca and General History of Peru*, 1609, trans. Harold V. Livermore (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966), 44-45.

> and even though these names denote inequality between these two groups, nevertheless, there was none, except for this pre-eminence and advantage, which was that the group of *hanansaya* got preference in seating and place over those of *hurinsaya*....[21]

Cobo goes on to frame the concepts by discussing them as an imperial social-control strategy, indicating the Inka devised the scheme in anticipation of any need to quell internal rebellion by fractious tribes and suggesting that the subjects would be less likely to overthrow perceived tyranny if their will were pre-diminished by the simple acknowledgment of superior and inferior social status. He notes, as well, that this was an imperial strategy and was present not only in the capital but across the empire.[22] Though the notion of equality quickly breaks down, doubtless the division was considered a present necessity and a critical vehicle to establish Inka ideas of order.

In the *Pontifical World*, then, both registers reiterate the basic five-part structure and, because of the doubling and the division, re-conceive the *hanan/urin* paradigm in a form that structurally inverts the power dynamics of conquest, specifically where one might anticipate, in a world conceptually turned upside down, seeing the cities of Spain privileged above (literally spatially, hence hierarchically) those of the Andes. Taking special care to separate the two worlds above and below by drawing a horizontal black line across the middle, he suggests, in

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21. See Bernabé Cobo and Roland Hamilton, *History of the Inca Empire: An Account of the Indians' Customs and Their Origin, Together with a Treatise on Inca Legends, History, and Social Institutions* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979), 196. Cobo's language seems to betray a preference for categories, hierarchies, and binary thinking in a way that would be foreign to the Andean mind.

22. Although this is tied to a related but contested idea—that the physical design of Cuzco was repeated throughout the empire—Cobo's assertion of social engineering (structure) corresponds with Garcilaso's and is more readily achievable at the surface. To the extent that this repetition was achieved, it corresponds in a structural sense with the concept of replicated centers, or repeating structures of order, moving from micro to macro, discussed in the previous chapter.

effect, that both halves make the whole but that order demands their separation. *Hanan* means nothing without *urin*, so long as they are achieved separately. In what may be a surprising example of colonial *realpolitik*, he is graphically distinguishing the presence of two distinct and competing worldviews, two centers of power, even where the inked inversion runs counter to the real and singular change in power centers, which had shifted from from Andean to European.[23]

Nevertheless, it is the combination of the two that determines the integrity of Guaman Poma's universe. Order and wholeness at a macroscopic, cosmological level ultimately resides in the clear delineation and distinct separation of these two spaces. Disorder, by contrast, is the consequence of blurred borders. From a sociological perspective, the blurred demarcations of contact, whose consequence is chaos, is the result of the intermingling of indigenous persons with Spaniards, typically to the detriment of the natives.[24] Guaman Poma demands social separation and here the clarity with which he has divided the two worlds reads as a graphic solution to rectifying the abuses foisted upon Andeans, and it does so while making overtures to

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23. Further, because Guaman Poma is using a socio-spatial concept to arrange a hierarchical relationship between represented urban forms, he is, by extension, making the cities symbolically social, even as metaphorical substitutes for the human/Inka. Hence, the representations of cities in the *Pontifical World,* as well as the urban images later in his manuscript, have embedded, or encoded, within them a natural sense of "embodiedness" (of the social) and "presence" that is, not surprisingly, entirely foreign to the Spaniards but intrinsically ingrained in the Andean. This complicates the measures of simultaneity being represented but nevertheless reflects Inka conceptual perception. See, for example, the following from Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore: "people recognize, inscribe, and collectively maintain certain places or regions in ritual, symbolic, or ceremonial terms; conversely, these places create and express sociocultural identity." Following on the discussion in the previous chapter regarding the overlapping ideas of spatial practice tied to the body, is it then such a great leap here to extend identity into the body? See Bernard Knapp and Wendy Ashmore, "Archaeological Landscapes: Constructed, Conceptualized, Ideational," in *Archaeologies of Landscape: Contemporary Perspectives,* eds. Wendy Ashmore and A. Bernard Knapp (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), 13.

24. See Ossio, "Myth and History," 70. Further, the chaos of the blurring manifest in the abuses upon the indigenous is the reason the manuscript was written in the first place.

an Andean aesthetic sensibility. This is seen in the five-part arrangement of cities, though it also becomes apparent in the relationship of the Andean cities as they are embedded within a deep, wide-angle, cinematographic landscape basking in the munificent light of the prominent, animate sun. By comparison, one envisions the European world as darkened, minimal, inhospitable. The paradox is that the two worlds, for purposes of order, are both separate and inseparable.

Guaman Poma complicates this structural inversion by suggesting that a kind of embodied difference exists between the upper and the lower worlds as rendered through contrasting degrees of cinematographic space. The Spanish urban forms are disembodied spatial entities, without a significant relation to any real landscape forms or physical boundary—they simply fall out of the frame, almost as if they were floating away into a terraqueous plane not unlike that seen beyond the earthly edges of the *Mapamundi*. By contrast, the Andean central and peripheral cities are augered within a somewhat fabulous and barren, yet earthly, landscape punctuated by peaked mountains at a high horizon beneath an animate sun. Evaluating the registers strictly by spatial allocation, Guaman Poma is clearly emphasizing the relationship of the Andean world set within the surrounding landscape, one that maintains a sense of balance between the two, which perhaps even extends to an ethical equivalency between city and country, or urban and rural, reality. If one evaluates the relationship of landscape and cityscape in the top register in terms of privilege and power, it is self-evident that Guaman Poma's worldview is predicated on a balanced sense of apportionment between the two. In this respect, within the Andean realm, nature and culture (i.e., landscape and city) form an easy, harmonious, balanced partnership.

In the lower register of the *Pontifical World*, however, the opposite occurs. Compared to the Andean half, urban space is privileged, comprising a greater percentage of the frame. Since

the Spanish codified the urban gridplan for its colonial imperial exigencies,[25] as an antidote to the perceived chaos of the Andean world and as a method of control—that is, ultimately, as a sign for culture—Guaman Poma's visual "statement" here, according to Andean-oriented perception, is thus a sly, diminishing undercutting of the efficacy of order. As a matter of allowance, he denies the Spanish landscape the privilege of a periphery. In denying them a periphery, or even a horizon, he is undercutting the validity of their center. He has disarticulated the Spanish cities, their emblematic cultural form, disavowing them a sense of completion and, therefore, of wholeness. This greater shapelessness is a condemnation of European order and, consequently, of the conquest and its consequences. For Guaman Poma, and for Andeans in general, this is a significant gesture of re-appropriation and reclamation—a validation, if quietly executed, of previously established structures of being.

It is a gesture that is, in its way, a reproach to Spanish attitudes and a correction to Spanish attempts to extirpate idolatries, those efforts whose core manifestation was to sever the Andean relationship with the landscape through *huaca* destruction, an action denying both individuated and collective connection to a (sacred) thing that is activated through participation in *huaca* veneration. A number of images from Guaman Poma's manuscript reinforce the idea that *huaca* veneration is embedded in the landscape (figs. 3.3 through 3.8). These images depict the following: Andean deities as miniature, lithic forms (fig. 3.3); the activity/process of worshipping those deities by the Inka (fig. 3.4); and the nature of those deities juxtaposed with the style of reverence according to which of the four quadrants of the empire it is taking place

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25. On the idea of the city and the use of architecture and urban planning in the Americas as a manifest principle of control, see, among others, Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 21-50.

within (figs. 3.5 through 3.8). Respectively, these images share important and enduring structural commonalities. For example, in each image, the essence of communication flows from the upper left quadrant along a sustaining and implied diagonal, such that all the figures, positioned on the right, speak or commune with the *huacas*, which are the mountain forms themselves; or, the *huaca* is embedded in the mountain as if it is an essential, figured occupant (in the perfunctory, mysterious sense of the word); or, the *huaca* is a small lithic embodiment. The *huacas* speak and are spoken to, they inhabit and are inhabited, they are object as well as essence, they are embodied forms and forms of embodiment, and, lastly, they are landscape forms—remarkably similar to the same landscape forms that occupy both the hinterlands of the *Mapamundi* and the landscape within which the Andean urban forms in the P*ontifical World* are set. The space between the *huaca*-mountain forms on the left and the figures to the right thus comprise a field of action across, within, or through which the puissant discourse flows. The space is mediated in at least three instances by the sacrificial gift,[26] and in one (fig. 3.3) by language itself, such that power and agency is located in the center, in the mediated or interstitial space between physical forms (land, body) in the metaphysical discourse.

From the Spanish perspective, *huaca* destruction negated *huaca* veneration, in the sense that physical de-materialization was equated with the evaporation, or utter disappearance or destruction, of a *huaca's* efficacious powers, but to a certain extent it's destruction merely facilitated a change in the ways of looking, or experience and presencing, from substance and object to essence. The "essence" of *huacas* remained visible, or at least present, even if they

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26. On gift-giving and sacrifice see the foundational texts of Marcel Mauss, especially Marcel Mauss, *The Gift: The Form and Reason for Exchange in Archaic Societies* (New York: Norton, 1990); and Henri Hubert and Marcel Mauss, *Sacrifice: Its Nature and Function*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1964).

were no longer tangibly familiar. These attempts at severing the landscape from its meaning anticipated the "fiction" of their new colonial "reality." It is these connections that are severed, then symbolically re-appropriated and instructively separated, in that unbreakable line across the middle of the *Pontifical World*. Elsewhere, Garcilaso de la Vega anticipates the crucial transformation embedded in the extirpation's dismembering disembodiment when he says that, among Quechua speakers, when the word *huaca* is spoken deep in the throat it becomes a verb and means "to mourn"; thus, one wonders if already inscribed in their language is a pre-cognitive recognition of difficulties to come.[27]

Pontifical World: from Pachacuti to Split Representation

In both the upper and lower registers of the *Pontifical World* (fig. 3.1) the five cities are generic forms or templates identified by their *plaza mayor*, or central square, their European-style architecture, and a cathedral set on the square. Additionally, in four of the five Spanish cities and two of the five Andean cities the plaza's near edge is defined by an arcaded structure that likely represents an administrative or governmental building. Does it matter, then, that all the city-forms are identifiable as European templates? And does it matter that Guaman Poma centered all his urban representations on the plaza, a form that was known to pre-Columbian civilizations but nonetheless "has been interpreted as an architectural representation of colonial control and oppression,"[28] a form that anchors the colonial gridplan, the very plan established throughout the colonial Americas as a means to ensure a distinctly new European form of order

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27. Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries,* 79.

28. See Setha M. Low, "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean," *American Anthropologist* 97:4 (1995), 749.

and identity? For Guaman Poma, by about 1615, is there any Andeanness in the cities of the Andes?

The answer may be as simple as Guaman Poma acknowledging the reality of *pachacuti* and real world historical transformation. Yet rendering the new urban landscape according to the *hanin/urin* world-system he is also defining, perhaps, his ideal post-*pachacuti* space, meaning distinct but equal, separate but inclusive and self-contained. Individually, the city-forms take on the appearance of Spanish cultural artifacts, as localized systems of social and racial domination. Yet by re-reading them according to Guaman Poma's principles of spatial, and therefore social, inversion, the city as presented is not a singular artifact but a unique colonial space defined by competing and evolving Andean and Spanish urban ideas. Colonial space, in this case, is transformational space.

In this respect the *Pontifical World* is about rectification, as much about the mechanisms needed to keep and restore order as it is about the simultaneity of two co-existent, starkly different, potentially irreconcilable social realities: European and Andean. They look the same because they overlap in both time and space, two parts of one whole—again the five-part structures common between them—yet only by separating them, Guaman Poma suggests with his dual frames, and as Ossio indicates, can order be restored.[29] It is a given, then, that order will only ensue under the auspices of the church—hence, "pontifical" world—rather than the full restoration of an Inka/Andean world. Together with the *Mapamundi*, then, the *Pontifical World* suggests that rectification, or recovery from the chaos of *pachacuti*, resides in the structural order of relations.

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29. See Ossio, "Myth and History," 88.

While the *Pontifical World* represents Guaman Poma's belief in an irreducible and irreconcilably dichotomous worldview—perhaps the turning of the page on Andan tendencies of convergence—immediately recognizable as a distorted reflection of the *hanan/urin* paradigm and as an aberration of procreative forces inherent in Inka *tinku*, it is also a dualism that, once unpacked, conforms to visual ideas of split representation similar to Frans Boas's and Claude Lévi-Strauss's treatment of Northwest Coast aesthetics.[30] Split representation is a formal technique to represent the totality of a three-dimensional entity, typically an animal, on a two-dimensional surface. Properly rendered, split representation displays a face and/or a complete body represented by two joined profiles. Split representation also occurs where one face is shown with two bodies.[31] Ultimately, split representation is a formal means to achieve a sense of representational totality, a graphic elaboration of dualism achieved through a symbolic halving whose final product is the representation of functional wholeness.

Characteristics of split representation that apply to Guaman Poma's images include a preference for symmetry (imperfectly conceived in Guaman Poma) and a predilection for showing one thing twice, a conjunction of two profiles creating mirror images of each other. Where Boas thought "primitive" art styles "can be fully understood only as an integral part of the

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30. Claude Lévi-Strauss's analysis of split representation picks up on Frans Boas' work in *Primitive Art*, wherein Boas examines the relationship between technique, surface, and form in the art of the Northwest Coast. Lévi-Strauss expands Boas's Kwakiutl data, attempting to explain the representations through a wide-ranging comparative analysis of form and structure. See, for example, Frans Boas, "Primitive Art," in Morgan Perkins and Howard Morphy, eds., *The Anthropology of Art: A Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 39-55; and Claude Lévi-Strauss, "Split Representation in the Art of Asia and America," in Perkins and Morphy, 56-73.

31. See Lévi-Strauss, "Split Representation," 72, footnote 28.

structure of Northwest coast style,"[32] so to, analogously, is Guaman Poma's split world an integral part of Andean style. Where the art of the Northwest Coast is intimately related to social organization, so to can Guaman Poma's *Pontifical World* be read as a consideration of the new social reality of the post-conquest Andean social landscape. Where split-represented totems reflect ideas of position and privilege, both position and privilege are encoded in the spatial arrangement of the Andean world above Spain. And, lastly, split representations are organized along hierarchical lines, just as the *Pontifical World* renders, albeit subversively, the relationship between Old World and New World.

The above correlations between Guaman Poma's *Pontifical World* and the formal rigorousness and clarity of Northwest Coast art are no doubt imperfect, but they provide additional context that suggests that beneath its inked surface, Guaman Poma splits one world to show two simultaneous, co-existent social realities, even though they are not quite the same. Though one form mimics the other, the exclusions and hedges are significant. For Guaman Poma, then, the question is how to reconcile the split, because breaking down the dichotomy and mediating the threshold—which of course has an analogous and parallel social threshold—is the only path to survival in the long dénouement of contact and colonialism. The answer ultimately lies in the body of the King, whom he envisions as the New Inka, just as it resides in his own imagined confrontation as well as the space that lies between them.

In the *Pontifical World* the two worlds are superficially the same, their surface structures almost the same but not quite, and it is the subtle differences—the sun, landscape elements, quantities of allocated space—that signal the subversive retention of Andean cultural structures, that signal that the old ways of seeing are ineradicable and transcendent, that the new order,

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32. See Boas, "Primitive Art," 54.

while it exists at the surface, is merely subsequent to the deeper structures of Andean cosmology written into the surrounding world. Guaman Poma signals this in the structuring of the manuscript itself just as he does in the structure of the images. What follows now will expand on the previous chapters' major and minor themes—namely, centeredness, but also significantly, *pachacuti*, and more generally, transformation. In addition to these themes there are also the notions of confrontation and exchange. Rectifying these visually in the context of colonial reality, Guaman Poma renders himself in the presence of his intended audience, the king of Spain, whom he projects as the rightful (neo-) Inka, the single individual powerful enough to re-establish order, and the one to whom he imagines himself delivering his manuscript.[33] As the subject of so much attention, as the subject of his opening, the king has colonized his imagination. To the extent that Guaman Poma engages the king, he engages the new center—the charismatic center, the active, though distant, center of the social order, imagined in the body of the king as a moral idea, this morality being tied intimately to re-establishing order.[34] The subject of the next section, then, examines this one image of the king and his subject and what stands between them.

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33. Ossio notes that Phillip III is, for Guaman Poma, the extension of the Inka hierarchy, the replacement image of the *Sapa Inka*, or king, himself, and thus the center of order. See Ossio, "Myth and History," 81.

34. I use charisma here in its political and theatrical aspect as analyzed by Clifford Geertz in "Centers, Kings, and Charisma: Symbolics of Power," in *Local Knowledge*, 121-146. To wit: "More exactly, if charisma is a sign of involvement with the animating centers of society, and if such centers are cultural phenomena and historically constructed, investigations into the symbolics of power and into its nature are very similar endeavors. The easy distinction between the trappings of rule and its substance becomes less sharp, even less real; what counts is the manner in which, a bit like mass and energy, they are transformed into each other." To what extent, then, is the energy of the king the matter of Guaman Poma?

Reading Into the Center

On February 14, 1615, eighty-one years after the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro conquered Cuzco, precipitating, beyond any further doubt, another tectonic transformation of an Andean empire, Guaman Poma penned a letter from his hometown of Lucanas, Peru, to the King of Spain, Phillip III, announcing the existence of his manuscript (figs. 3.9, 3.10, 3.11). Seen here, self-rendered and self-represented, his ubiquitous hat removed and beside him, Guaman Poma presents his monumental tome to the king (fig. 3.12). The crowned king is seated in a high-backed throne, his right arm resting on the armrest and his right hand holding a royal scepter, which presses forward at a slight diagonal away from the king and into space and is positioned in a way that could easily be read as phallic. The king's right hand is open, fingers straightened on a plane that, if extended, would meet squarely with the author's representation of his manuscript. Guaman Poma, for his part in this imagined scene, has represented himself kneeling before the king on what appears to be a checkerboard-tiled floor with converging vertical lines[35] and adorned in an Andean tunic and Spanish pantaloons and a cape. He is dressed, in other words, as

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35. The tiled and/or checkerboard flooring with converging vertical lines is a pictorial motif devised from Renaissance perspectival shorthand that Guaman Poma carried over from his illustration work on Martín de Murúa's *Historia General del Peru*. Art historian Thomas B. F. Cummins suggests that both Guaman Poma and Murúa would have been familiar with this tradition from the Franciscan Luis Jerónimo de Oré's *Simbolo catholico indiano*, published in Lima in 1598. See Thomas B. F. Cummins, "The Images in Murúa's *Historia General del Peru*: An Art Historical Analysis," in Thomas B. F. Cummins and Barbara Anderson, eds. *The Getty Murúa: Essays on the Making of Martín de Murúa's* Historia General del Peru, *J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Center, 2008), 151-152; for the original and the images see also Martin Murúa, *Historia General del Piru: Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2008); see also Luis Jerónimo de Oré, *Símbolo católico indiano*, ed. Antonine Tibesar (Lima: Australis, 1992).

if to mediate two worlds—the Inka past and the Spanish-oriented present.[36] His right arm is pressed tight to his body but is bent at the elbow, so that his hand is raised level with his mouth; his thumb and forefinger are spread apart not only, it seems, to make a point, but also as if he were pinching the emptiness in-between them, as if he were trying to measure, contain, or shape the space itself.

His right hand holds his manuscript—apparently not the full 1188-page version but a condensed facsimile, an icon,[37] in Charles Sanders Pierce's terminology, for the real thing, a simplified pictorial representation, replete with carefully rendered, horizontally repeated, wavelike lines standing in for the words themselves. This quality of icons (wavy lines for text) embedded within icons (simplified rectangles with lines for full manuscript), or what might be called *embedded iconicity*, only begins to hint at the layers of complexity in Guaman Poma's overall program.[38] That he has rendered the faux-writing so carefully, and has awkwardly tilted

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36. R. Tom Zuidema notes that this tunic type, with vertical bands on the lower half and added *flecos*, or tassels of wool, is commonly attributed by Guaman Poma to the noblemen of Chinchaysuyu; thus it can be seen as an attempt to present himself as having attained an elevated social status. See R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire: Toward an Iconography of Inca Royal Dress," in *Translatlantic Encounters, ed.* Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 153-54.

37. See Charles S. Peirce, Charles Hartshorne, Paul Weiss, and Arthur W. Burks, *Collected Papers of Charles Sanders Peirce* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1960).

38. To the best of my knowledge *embedded iconicity* is my own phrasing. *Embeddedness* as an aesthetic conceit is its own dynamic across Andean visual construction as well as in the Inka visual vocabulary. It is seen in various spectra, perhaps most recognizably in the particular quality of Inca stones embedded in the landscape; in the common Inka masonry technique of joining masonry blocks not with any bonding agent but by embedding one stone in another; and by the familiar motif of carving out rectangular voids in the surface of stones such that one can reasonably see the voids as embedded in the stone itself. Further, we see it in Guaman Poma, especially in Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.7, where the *huaca* takes shape as a figure set within, or embedded into, the mountain form.

the represented manuscript as much toward the reader as toward the king (though this is just as likely a mishandling of perspective, it implies, in a Baroque sense, the presence of a third party, the reader beyond-the-image as a witness invited, and required, to complete the meaning of the scene[39]), emphasizes the author's familiarity with the power of writing and a desire to display his facility in the medium, indicating the importance he places in it as an efficacious object. He clearly recognizes books as objects of meaning, objects of change, and objects that effect transformation.

The significance of the wave-like lines as embedded icons (and the role of embedded icons in Guaman Poma's overall visual program) is apparent, if only paradoxically, when measured against the readability, clarity, and inclusion of Guaman Poma's other forms of written text in this particular image (fig. 3.12). For example, when juxtaposed with the legible inclusion of the words "ayala el autor," inscribed above and floating free in the picture space above the author's own head, void of written syntax and hovering amid the representation of a blank wall marked only by quotation-like hash marks, the illegibility of the wavy lines seem purposeful in their carefully rendered organization. They don't "mean" anything literally, but do they "mean" something visually? If so, to what end?[40]

The inclusion of the author's name *anchors* his own figure and his own identity in the scene. A*nchorage*, according to Mercedes López-Baralt, is an attempt "to fix the sense of the

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39. On Baroque aesthetics and the Baroque in Peru see, for instance, Ramón Mujica Pinilla, "Identidades alegóricas: lecturas iconográficas del barroco al neoclásico," in *El Barroco Peruano*, ed. Ramón Mujica Pinilla (Lima: Banco de Crédito del Perú, 2003), vol. 2, 251-335; and Alexander Gauvin Bailey, *The Andean Hybrid Baroque: Convergent Cultures in the Churches of Colonial Peru* (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2010).

40. Do they mean "my text," but not any particular segment of it, this generality thereby allowing for all-inclusiveness?

image."[41] In this example, Guaman Poma *names* himself, *naming* being the most common form of *anchorage*. *Naming*, again according to López-Baralt, is, plainly enough, the "identification of characters, objects, animals, buildings,"[42] etc., often, as seen here, in a literal, straightforward manner. The figure *is* "ayala el autor." The juxtaposition of the legible with the illegible in the same pictorial field presents an ambiguous consideration on the nature of simultaneous text. Compare, for example, the nature, kind, and function of text/words that Guaman Poma uses in this one image: embedded icon (wavy lines) of the text within the (drawn) manuscript set within the (real) manuscript. This mimics, or imitates in lesser form, the literal value of communication of the words ("ayala el autor") floating in the pictorial field. These then reside on a different discursive plane than the other instances of text visible on the page: the title words for the drawing ("PREGVNTA SV M[agestad], RESPONDE EL AVTOR, DON PHELIPE EL TERzero, rrey monarca del mundo"[43]); the text outside the frame that anchors the scope of the scene ("Presenta personalmente el autor la *Corónica* a su Magestad); the "catchword" ("sacra")

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41. See López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 23; López-Baralt borrows these terms from semiotician Roland Barthes. See Roland Barthes, "Rhetoric of the Image," in *Image, Music, Text*, ed. and trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 32-51.

42. Ibid; see also, Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image," 46-53, for his analysis of the relationship of words and text in Guaman Poma.

43. See Det Kongelige Bibliotek, "GKS 2232 4º: Guaman Poma, Nueva corónica y buen gobierno (1615)," http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/975/en/text/ (accessed June 28, 2011).

that anticipates the first word of the next manuscript page;[44] and, of course, the main narrative text itself.[45]

Is it then odd that the image with the least literal and narrative impact, the represented manuscript (fig. 3.12), resonates most completely with the whole, embodying, at least in symbolic form, the entirety of the work and the fullness of its readings, protests, narratives, and arguments? Of all the levels, types, and strategies of "writing" and communication contained in the manuscript, the icon of the manuscript is the thing that most closely mirrors the *idea* of the manuscript—and, more forcefully, of books—even though it is the one thing that is literally unreadable. The represented manuscript has no literal meaning and yet, semiotically considered, it embodies the physical object and its "meaning." As writing, though, it is sense-less, whereas representationally it is sense-full, encompassing the whole. And yet, if considering it the representation of a totality, it is necessary to note that Guaman Poma decided *not* to display, in the image of the manuscript page, a drawing. Given the prominence afforded to the images—their necessity, even, for the composite whole—this is a surprising exclusion. An image embedded within the image here would have a powerful, enunciatory effect. Why not portray an image within the facsimile of the manuscript to better represent the scope of his project? It seems like a simple enough modification and one readily within his abilities as artist.

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44. On catchwords, see Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image," 50.

45. It is also worth considering whether there is an intentional effort on Guaman Poma's part to render the embedded icon (scribbly lines) for "writing" as a loose visual analogy for the Inka *khipu*, the acknowledged source of much of his narrative. This is certainly sly, even for Guaman Poma, but his lines do hang like pendant cords from the line that represents the division of pages. On Guaman Poma's reliance on *khipus* see Galen Brokaw, "The Poetics of *Khipu* Historiography: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's *Nueva corónica* and the *Relación de los quipucamayos*, *Latin America Research Review* 38:3 (October 2003), 116, 139; and Guaman Poma, å Det Kongelige Bibliotek, 7, section [8].

Opposed Objects of Centeredness Signal Communicativity

It is also instructive to consider the space within which the semiotically-charged but otherwise-meaningless scribbles exist, occupying that middle-ground within the immediate border-frame of the image itself, between the two protagonists, in effect navigating the level, type, and complexity of the imagined discourse. Returning to a close reading of the image (fig. 3.12), we see that the author holds the book away from his body, mimicking, to a certain extent, the manner in which the king's scepter extends outward from his royal body, so that, by design, the objects penetrate the space between the two bodies and meet along a vertical plane, overlapping slightly, mediating the emptiness between the king and his subject and their representative, emblematic objects. The objects themselves, as partially discussed above, are symbols of power, literacy, and the inversion and/or appropriation of power structures and power instruments in the Andes—but so too is the space within which they occur, as it orders the objects and their encoded meanings, as it contains Guaman Poma's effervescent, and often biting, criticism, as it both shapes and mediates his visual argument. Reading into the center, space itself, occupied by the embedded icon for writing, resonates across all of the manuscript images as a sign for communicativity. As negative space, it is syntactically lively, informed and infused by the meaning of objects and objects of meaning. Moreso, it forms a kind of vessel, or is a form analogous to that of a vessel, in that it becomes a shaper of shapelessness.

To further consider the *things* already mentioned above—scepter and book—as penetrating icons, Guaman Poma's space, in this instance, absorbs them in emblematic guise. The scepter is obvious enough as a staff of authority and royal implement of power. Guaman Poma's represented book, in the colonial universe of Andean letters, is slightly more

complicated, echoing the way in which Ralph Bauer refers to Guaman Poma's manuscript: as neither an "'authentic' indigenous form of expression nor merely an 'adoption' of European historical discourse but, rather, a colonial 'hybrid' that originates in the colonial contexts of unequal relationships of power."[46] Yet it also indicates, as Tom Cummins suggests, that "there can be little doubt that an unrelenting belief in the efficacy of the act of writing and drawing sustained his effort: that by performing these acts, he might affect his world, even at the end of his letter when he voices his deepest despair."[47]

Here the book is ostensibly a gift, an object presented or offered, held open—in a manner of speaking the possession of the possessed—though in truth Guaman Poma may well be lecturing the King (that raised, enunciative finger, the thumb that seems to measure space) on the knowledge it contains. It connects on a diagonal plane with the king's open-fingered hand, which is clearly not at rest and appears to stretch for the manuscript as if curious about its contents. On the vertical plane, the manuscript overlaps, though only slightly, with the tip of the scepter, therein breeching the middle ground. Because the two figures sit in opposition to each other, the primary sense of movement or engagement moves along a horizontal plane, creating a visual dynamic that is equally left-to-right and right-to-left, moving from king to commoner as well as from commoner to king.[48] Because this is the dominant structural paradigm, the mediating center takes on greater relevance and greater kinetic resonance, acting as a locus of contestation, a

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46. See Ralph Bauer, "'Encountering' Colonial Latin American Indian Chronicles: Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala's History of the 'New' World," *American Indian Quarterly* 25, no. 2 (Spring, 2001): 278.

47. See Cummins, "The Uncomfortable Image," 46.

48. Yet it is also the same diagonal movement from upper left to lower right that sustains the efficacy of huaca veneration seen in figs. 3.3 to 3.8.

space of resistance, an emblem of subversive transformation—what we might call the efficacious space in the long dénouement of conquest.

Space, then, especially the mediated center, is where things become ideas, and where, in this instance, Guaman Poma catalytically transforms the scepter and book from objects of, respectively, power and appropriated power, to encoded relations in the changing and recently mis-shapen world. One cannot disregard this structured arrangement of oppositional qualities, which of course is a form of dualism, and the manner in which it distantly reflects the essential order of Inka spatial principles (*hanan / urin*) while simultaneously setting itself up for resolution, complementarity, and convergence (*tinku*). One might go so far as to say that it reflects a deeply encoded and intrinsic way of seeing, that the mechanisms of decoding sight are written into the structures of understanding, and if not sight itself then its signs and their meaning.

This one scene, for example, is constructed so that numerous instances of spatial mediation are present, so that the eye cuts across and hesitates and reads the interstices of opposed tendencies, so that a pervasive doubling creates dramatic tension at numerous levels. See, for example, the opposed dominant and subordinate positions of the king on his raised throne and Guaman Poma kneeling on the tile floor. And the shared gaze between them, its glancing cut across diagonal space, downward and declining from sovereign to subject. And the contrary inclination of right hands, the king's resting and outstretched and Guaman Poma's raised, with three fingers close to the palm and two pinching air. And the king's crown squarely planted atop his head as opposed to Guaman Poma's hat resting on the ground, connected along their own evocative diagonal. And the doubled, vertical hashmarks on the wall, which are generally used to signal scenes taking place in interior space. And the hybrid double-signaling of

Guaman Poma's own clothes, his prehispanic *uncu* (tunic) that is itself divided into two halves,[49] which combines with the Spanish trousers covering his legs and decorated with two motifs, one a curvilinear X-shape and the other five circles in cruciform pattern. Stated differently, this last motif becomes the quadripartition-plus-center paradigm discussed briefly in chapter two and as seen in *Pontifical World* as one of the dominant and recurring structural paradigms of Inka spatial practice. Is it too much to think that Guaman Poma's compositional choices reflect a deeply encoded, thickly informed, intrinsically entrenched, and typically Andean way of seeing and organizing the world—above and beyond, that is, the structure of representation? Are these dual structures of seeing and representing one and the same?

Mimicry at the Center: Author/Artist as Embodied Mediator

The center as a point of final mediation is never an independent proposition in the Andean world. In its cosmological, universal application it is a structural element that holds things together, creating order from chaos and shaping shapelessness. Like micro- and macrocosmic centers in civic and sacred iterations, the drawn center finds definition at its own edges, its relation to the self-contained periphery, border, or frontier, where, representationally, the image finds its last connections, and where, politically speaking, a nation struggles most to contain its own idea of itself, and finally, where the individual imagination ceases.[50] To what does the center cohere? I would suggest that there are simultaneous, and probably contradictory,

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49. See Cummins, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire," 153.

50. On boundaries and identity, see for example, Homi Bhabha's epilogue to the introduction of *The Location of Culture*, where he references Heidegger: "A boundary is not that at which something stops but, as the Greeks recognized, the boundary is that from which *something begins its presencing*." See Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 1.

borders to which Guaman Poma's permutations on the represented center attach to find their shape and meaning. Each defines a kind of space. The first space—that is, the first space to which the centers of the images cohere—is the internal rhythm of the individual scene, containing figures and architecture and landscapes, all of the imagination, suggesting, at first blush, the center is a consequence of individual cultural construction. The second frame is within the page, the black, rectangular line that controls the image. The third is the page itself, which limits the scope and scale of visual argument. The fourth is the manuscript, as a kind of container, the physical manifestation of the completed whole, an object within which things mean. Another space is an imaginary Andean space, the one described and defined by the limits of Guaman Poma's experience of history, geography, cosmology, and his idea of culture before and after the Spanish arrived. All of these are self-contained, folded in, reduced, and compressed into the image of the manuscript. As it is an extension of his self (visually, literally) it is also the extent of his presence, demonstrating just how intensely personal the *Nueva corónica* actually is. It also suggests that Guaman Poma embodies the center and, inversely, that the center embodies the author. By extension, the manuscript is hovering there in indeterminate, liminal, and centered space between the polar images. The dire precariousness of the entire colonial enterprise, from the vantage of the colonized, hangs there in the balance.[51]

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51. All these spaces contain and reflect transformation, if only because nothing is static—the manuscript itself is written and re-written, lost then found, the pages yellow and the ink bleeds. Guaman Poma's text as a material object transcends these thresholds, unifying a pre- and post-conquest world in the manner of a new, colonial spatial practice—the inverted world, its chaos at the center, the text in the Andean world, and the author as the imagined, embodied mediator of time and space. This is important because it reflects, at a structural level, a coherent movement outward, analogous to the mechanisms by which the Inka designed their landscape as replicated centers aligned across space. The center, contingent on all its visual and material permutations, is a loaded space, predicated on that very same, if ultimately fragile, sense of

To continue with the complexity of this visual argument, a few points need to be reviewed, some of which may be plainly obvious. First, following on the manuscript's inclusive ordering of both narrative text and images reporting on two distinct world-historical periods—life in the Andes before and after the Spanish arrival—it needs to be stated that the images precede the verbal text,[52] thereby anticipating in their rudimentary linear style the information transmitted in written text and privileging the propagandistic, instructive, and Baroque power of images.[53] According to Rolena Adorno, Guaman Poma's "method of composition was to draw a whole series of pictures for a given chapter or part of a chapter first and then to fill in the titles and captions at the same time that he transcribed the accompanying pages of prose."[54] Of course, this does not mean that the text was not already written elsewhere in draft form, though it does mean that the spatial allocation in the manuscript privileged the images and forced the author, in some instances, to narrow lines of text, to diminish script size, to jam narrative information into a given page-space.

Though Guaman Poma's adoption of the literary medium has been discussed as an act of appropriation "in order to disrupt European accounts of the colonial encounter, as well as

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coherence. His visual program is finally a reflection of these kinetic contingencies, making necessary the center, wherein he finally places himself, both literally and metaphorically.

52. See López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 19. See also page 23, where the author notes that an image guiding the verbal text is a trait common to sixteenth and seventeenth century books of emblems, cosmographies, illustrated chronicles, and travel books.

53. See Adorno, *Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 80-81.

54. See Rolena Adorno, "Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," in *Guaman Poma De Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author,* ed. Mercedes López-Baralt, and Rolena Adorno (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 43.

European notions of 'History' and of America as a 'New' World,"[55] the fact that the text itself follows the images in production suggests that the narrative argument and its logic of disruption also follows from the visual. To a certain degree, then, the text is a secondary, yet complementary, appropriation; the words take the form of what might be called a *subversive subsequency*, a kind of secondary valence following from and building on the argument of the drawings, a mimicry that reinforces the visual argument in its scathing, anticolonialist, anticlerical, propagandistic purpose.[56]

In this respect the narrative text, the words themselves, which Guaman Poma must have recognized plainly as a European instrument of domination, is the lesser of the forms, not quite derivative but almost; complementary, expansive, and reiterative but never equal and always flawed. The consequence of his appropriation is startling in this guise, if only because Guaman Poma's writing is muted by the cacophony of sight. One is reminded of the passage in Homi Bhabha's oft-cited essay, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," where, problematizing the signs of racial and cultural priority, he writes: "what emerges between mimesis and mimicry is a *writing*, a mode of representation, that marginalizes the monumentality of history, quite simply mocks its power to be a model, that power which supposedly makes it imitable."[57] Guaman Poma takes the European form and mimics it, thereby assuming its broadcast authority. Left here, as a simple mimicry, his text would be practically useless. Even though it is initially derivative—that is, of European textual and visual forms—it nevertheless

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55. See Bauer, "Encountering," 278.

56. See Adorno, "Don Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala," 35.

57. See Homi Bhabha, "Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse," *October* 28, Discipleship: A Special Issue on Psychoanalysis (Spring, 1984), 128.

becomes an intensely local form, the author's singular strategic discourse, his mechanism to expose the colonial structure as superficial. He says as much on the first page when he injects himself into the narrative by announcing himself as both the author and the title-maker (fig. 3.12).[58]

Nevertheless, for Guaman Poma the act of writing and its subsequent power is usurped by the privilege of images, which have a universal, authoritative status. As for the images, the forms used may directly reflect European figural traditions but, importantly, the structures within which they participate, and within which they are read and visualized, remain Andean.[59] In this respect, Guaman Poma transcends a Colonialist / Colonized position while simultaneously and paradoxically mocking the mocker; to paraphrase Bhabha, his forms look in such a way to be naively Europeanized, which, because of their structured reading, in this instance is *emphatically* not to be European.[60] Put another way, he engages the debate in European terms set within a

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58. See the online scan of the first page at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1/en/text/?open=id2971082 (accessed 3 August 2011); see the English translation by Roland Hamilton of the same page at http://site.ebrary.com.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/lib/gc/docDetail.action?docID=10372219 (accessed 3 August 2011)—"The First New Chronicle and Good Government of This Kingdom, A Book Written and Given a Title by Phelipe Guaman Poma de Ayala." Other than the words "First New Chronicle," which appear bolded, the manuscript page displays little else to offset this introduction as a general, non-narrative header and instead starts in as a solid block of undifferentiated text.

59. Adorno's influential chapter on the structure of Guaman Poma's images covers this in detail. See Adorno, "Icons in Space: The Silent Orator," in *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance*, 81-119.

60. Ibid. In Bhabha's original text, he is speaking about the figure of Bipin Chandra Pal, an Indian nationalist, depicted in Benedict Anderson's essay on nationalism, *Imagined Communities*. The sentence reads: "He is the effect of a flawed colonial mimesis, in which to be Anglicized, is *emphatically* not to be English." This reinforces the idea that colonial power derives in part from the ambiguity of one's social place in relation to the colonial power. Guaman Poma, then, usurps the colonial instrument of power—written text, the book—and

coded visual language (frame) that inverts ordinary meanings. The inverted world, inverted again, is righted.

What is also startling is that, in being both "author" and (visual) artist, Guaman Poma places himself between (becomes the embodiment of) multiple, opposed contingencies—between writing and images (and therefore between colonial and conquered), between mimesis and mimicry, between Andean past and Andean present—and from that middle-space in-between poles establishes the mantle of his authority. He makes himself the center, and by doing so he transposes the necessity of convergence into his self, imagined. In placing himself thus, he subsumes the material-literary forms for his own argument, (re-) inverts the typical colonial structures of power and privilege, and critiques that system of oppression and transformation from a point of engaged (embodied) mediation. Guaman Poma, in this respect, mediates collapsing worlds of difference, doing so with a unique though imaginary confidence—presenting himself to the king—and thereby writing and drawing himself into the center of the colonial universe, where that king resides as the literal embodiment of absolutist power.[61]

This point needs to be extrapolated just a little further because if Guaman Poma is the agent of transformation, the embodied mediator—masked as such, as a hybrid individual, half in the present and half in the past, costumed half-Andean and half-Spaniard—then the accompanying compositional attributes acquire an analogous value. For example, the object in

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subverts its authority in relation to the determined coherence of Andean visuality and structures of seeing.

61. Guaman Poma's personal biography essentially reinforces his position as an agent and embodiment of liminality, mediation, negotiation, and in-betweenness. See, for example, Rolena Adorno, "Images of Indios Ladinos in Early Colonial Peru," in *Translatlantic Encounters: Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, 232-270.

his possession (facsimile edition of the manuscript), his gesture (his right forefinger and thumb pinching space), as well as the space within which they occur (center or central axis), by the simple property of transference and through collapsing the signifier and the signified, hold Guaman Poma's world together. Hence, writing and space (where the two sides are negotiated) reflect his intention, his desire, and his anger. As writing is the acknowledged instrument of power, he reduces it, making it a sign, tracing it backwards, equivocating it, transferring its authority into an Andean context, again subverting, albeit subsequent to the images, the colonial power structures as well as, more provocatively, Western modes of thought. If nothing else, this one image is a balanced signal for the rest of the images, at least in so far as it is the imagined presentation of the completed project, such that everything he has considered, written, and drawn is behind him, ensconced in the compressed image of the facsimile copy in his hands. This is the totality of his life; it is, literally, a symbol of his life's work, which he then presents as a gift. It represents his personal sacrifice. Placed side-by-side with the images of Andean *huacas* discussed above (figs 3.3-3.8), the manuscript icon occupies the same structural position as the offering and thus speaks to the very essence of *Inkaness*.[62] The image is, in this respect, a symbol of conclusion.

In the language of semiotician Juri Lotman, Guaman Poma's center, even when vacant, is a *polycultural* sign, meaning that it is a cultural phenomenon that is itself a kind of mimicry, wherein resides "the possibility of assuming the conventional behavior of another culture while

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62. As mentioned in Chapter 2, Thomas Besom's recent *Of Summits and Sacrifice: An Ethnohistoric Study of Inka Religion and Practices* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2009) is an extensive compendium of sources related to sacrifice, including the reasons for such practice. While the analysis focuses mainly on the *qhapaq hucha* ceremony and its pervasive connections across Inka culture, the representation of those ceremonies in Guaman Poma forms part of our core understanding of the sacrifices themselves.

continuing to live in one's own culture."[63] The center is a matter of survival. In this regard, the center is a mask, the performance of an *other* mode of being, a negotiation of immediate reality in the guise of the colonizer for purely survivalist purposes. This, of course, is a strategic reversal—the assumption of power by the dis-empowered. This sense of the ambiguous double-life-lived re-purposes the center as a mechanism of change that continues to privilege the Andean past. It re-purposes it as a sign, even if absent or empty, that stands for the replacement of the privileged body of the Inka by the authority of the text—even where its nature as text is denuded, subsequent, and inverted. The book is the author's instrument, regardless of its European associative value.

Compare, for example, another image of self-representation (fig. 3.13), whereby Guaman Poma presents himself standing in the center of a group of tunic-clad individuals representing the governors of the four *suyus*, or territories, of the Inka empire, *Tahuantinsuyu*.[64] The pictorial space behind the foreground figures is a tableau of diminishing presence—a subsequent layer of individuals with little specific identity, which in turn gives way to a field of connected half-circles signifying a gathered crowd. He has, in effect, imagined and represented himself in the midst of his research, gathering the knowledge upon which his manuscript is based; he is the axis around which that embodied knowledge pivots.[65] In Guaman Poma's manuscript, this image

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63. On *polyculturality* see Juri M. Lotman, et al., "Theses on the Semiotic Study of Cultures (As Applied to Slavic Texts), in *Structure of Texts and Semiotics of Culture*, ed. Jan van der Eng and Mojmir Grygar (The Hague: Mouton, 1973), 1-28; see also López-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 23; and Helia Betancourt, review of *Icono y conquista: Guamán Poma de Ayala* by Mercedes López-Baralt, *Hispanic Review* 59, no. 3 (Summer 1991): 362-364.

64. See R. Tom Zuidema, "Guaman Poma and the Art of Empire," 154.

65. Ossio, "Myth and History," 67-69, discusses this image as a manifestation of Guaman Poma's notion of "wholeness." The gathering of knowledge that this and the following image

follows directly after an image in the same structural format of the Inka ruler gathering "council" from the lords of the four quarters (fig. 3.14).[66] Guaman Poma takes this "Inka" image and substitutes himself at the center as a perfect mimicry of its structure, implying that he himself has replaced, in an inverted world, the symbolic position of authority, albeit as a mediated figure dressed (masked) as before, as a liminal figure: half in the Andean world and half in the European world.

The process represented here implies the privileges of orality over other forms of source-gathering, including both the *khipu* and written text in the Western style. The implied speech-act is another form of semantic completion. The process of oral communication bears a significant weight in its relation to Andean visuality as seen in Guaman Poma's manuscript. As Constance Classen notes, "What strikes Westerners as unfamiliar, however, is the Inca notion that a visual representation cannot be sufficient in itself, that it needs to be coupled with orality to be complete." Normally, this would mean a speech-act accompanying the presentation of a material object or representation determines its meaning or understanding as it is perceived. To what degree, then, is Guaman Poma reiterating the privileged structure of orality even, as here, it is only implied? And to what degree does orality or implied orality structure his sense of order or

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represent indicate another correlation of spatial and social structures dependent on the center for definition, structure, and completion.

66. This image represents and transposes the structure of power and order as literally embodied in a paradigm that mimics the structure of Tahuantinsuyu, centeredness, and Andean spatial practice according to the relation of bodies in space. It depicts the Sapa Inca in the center surrounded by advisors from throughout the quarters of the realm—from left to right being Chinchasuyu, Antisuyu, Cuntisuyu, and Collasuyu.

transfer to a broader conception of centeredness? And, anticipating the last section of this chapter, does this type of centeredness transfer to his city images?[67]

In order to underscore the importance of orality (or simply, speech) to Guaman Poma's project of completion, a brief look at a disciplined representation of orality is instructive. Here (fig. 3.15), Guaman Poma has *relayed*, in Barthes term, a quizzical, imaginary dialogue between the Inka ruler Huayna Capac and conquistador, Pedro de Candia, who the chronicler Pedro Cieza de Leon tells us was with Pedro Pizarro when he landed in Tumbez in 1527.[68] The central, mediated, and communicative space between them, falling intimately within the plaza, is mediated by two "gestural punctuations"[69]—one a speech act and the other their fingers penetrating the intermediate space. Taken together, the two acts approach some kind of absurdist mise-en-scène. Pointing at Candia, his finger occupying the void that is the plaza, Huayna Capac asks in Quechua, "*Cay coritacho micunqui?*" ("¿Es éste el oro que comes? / "Do you eat this gold?"), to which Candía responds, his own finger levitating closer to the body and within the frame of his cloak, pointing at the plate of gold, "*este oro comemos*" ("We eat this gold"). The exchange, absurd as it sounds, is underscored by the inflected focus of their gestures. Interestingly enough, Huayna Capac's verbal and figural mediation of the communicative space focuses on the subject, the person of Candía, whereas Candía's response references the object, the gold, held between them in tension in space.

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67. Here, the implied conclusion of orality is its signified absence as well as the lack or *relayed* or *anchored* text within the frame; it is the notion of absence, and the contingent paradox that this absence is a powerful presence, that transfers to the urban images.

68. See Pedro Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru: Chronicles of the New World Encounter*, trans. and ed. Alexandra Parma Cook and Noble David Cook (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 93, 112-114.

69. Lopez-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 23.

They meet and interrogate each other at cross-purposes in specially re-purposed space, implying that this is a social *mis*-construction bordered by two impenetrable and independent cultural spheres (demonstrating the social corollary to the spatial division in *Pontifical World* [fig. 3.1]). In negotiating this boundary, Guaman Poma uses a plate of gold, held between them, in what is a visual pun identifying the Spanish quest for gold as an insatiable hunger or slavish quest. Guaman Poma underscores the Spaniard's ambitious subservience to acquire gold by placing Candía in a kneeling position. He does so within a context of subordination compounded, ironically, by being set within the literal space of the plaza and the European architecture above it, which, as stated before, signal themselves as markers of European conquest. The delineation and importance of space is further emphasized by two words set above the scene, outside its action but nevertheless crucial, "Inga" and "Espanol," set across from each other as if what lies beneath them is to be read and understood in the context of their respective opposition: embodiment, their discontinuous oralities, and the spaces they occupy.

Sharing neither a common vocabulary nor a similar worldview, the figures speak past each other, caught in a haze of discordant misunderstanding, mistranslation, and difference. Since the center is ultimately the place where meaning is established, and meaning at the center is derived from the type of communication that transgresses its edges, here Guaman Poma is constructing a world of representation, and representing a world, that is conceived of as a deconstructed center. The *relayed* language moves toward its objective destination of the other figure, but meaning is deferred, unsubstantiated, resolved in the absurd, punning consumption. Moving away from the center, one moves into the isolated associations of each side, a place of no relations, where to exist is to exist independently and alone. What results is another representation of the fractured world, everything flipped and the spheres separated, not unlike

that anticipated in the two irreconcilable worlds, again, of the *Pontifical World*. Here, the language that occupies the center signals the Andean world in chaos. When the body of the Inka, or, for that matter, the body of the author, is absent the world is visualized as two irreconcilable individuals talking at each other in the paradox of speech without communication, understanding, meaning, or completion. Where meaning in Guaman Poma is the negotiated sum of relations between objects and people,[70] given any number of permutable mis-constructions and re-constructions, this image suggests that the ultimate result of those relations is a violence that mimics the conquest itself. To that end, the shape of space in Guaman Poma is analogous to a vessel of violence, indicating, further, that colonial spatial practice is a reflection of similar concerns—violence at the center, a consequence of difference and power.

The Contact Zone

Space, and the activity of the center, thus takes many forms and is occupied by many things in Guaman Poma's images. Nearly all of his thirty-eight urban compositions consist of successive spaces and forms. Take one example, the image of Cartegena (fig. 3.16): the representation centers on negative architectural space (the plaza), then the forms of surrounding architecture that shape the plazas and, finally, space external to the city, as frontier or simply landscape, surrounding and encompassing the city itself.[71] In this respect the cities are self-

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70. This phrase concerning how "meaning" is achieved is adapted from the folklorist Henry Glassie. See Henry Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 59.

71. See, for example, figures 3.19 through 3.35. In the case of the urban images the city itself is an internal spatial context almost always set within the broader macro environment—that is, the city is embedded within the representation of one or another surrounding ecology. Also, this is not to exclude Guaman Poma's elaborate spatial codes outlined by Rolena Adorno, which

contained entities, micro-worlds only tenuously connected to any hypothetical *beyond* (in this case, other cities of the empire) by small trails winding outward, to say nothing of the lack of conviction Guaman Poma holds for rendering *lived* or functional cities. In effect, the cities are cities of the imagination and not the cities of the empire. They are repetitions and repetitious, neither individual nor real—at least not in the overlay of European-ness or of their European architectural forms—but are diminished semblances, iterations, and likenesses adhering more to a system of iconicity than to any correspondence with actual built space or to any sense of chorographic verisimilitude. Perhaps this is not surprising, as Guaman Poma was not widely travelled and had firsthand experience of only a couple of the cities he represented, among them Cuzco and Lima, whose detailed images again present their own unique cases.[72]

The shape of the urban images rests upon a basic centering principal, a familiar form set within an encompassing and surrounding space. But the city ceases to be a city when read against, or in the context of, Guaman Poma's other images. They are transformed from one-dimensional pictorial forms whose perspective is askew, whose represented architectural lines are awkwardly vertical or horizontal, whose buildings are odd and generic but repeated, to being spaces of social agency that are empty or occupied, sometimes transgressed. How does this transformation happen? It happens through context, when Guaman Poma's representational spatial practice discussed above is translated into his urban images, such that one important consequence is that the cities become paradoxical spaces: calm across their surface, organized if

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are used here as an essential background. See especially Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*, 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000), 80-114.

72. See Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Las ciudades de "Primer nueva corónica" y los mapas de las "Relaciones geograficas de Indias": Un possible Vinculo," *Revista de Crítica Literaria Latinoamerica*, Año 21, no. 41 (1995), 97.

awkward, static if not plain, but nevertheless radically charged at the center. They are spaces of contact akin, in essence, to what has been variously described by Rolena Adorno and Mary Louise Pratt as the "zona de contacto," and/or "contact zone."[73]

Rolena Adorno originally used "zona de contacto" to evoke the notion of a colonial society "in which the simple line between Spaniard and Andean that defined native experience at the moment of the conquest no longer existed with clarity…."[74] In fact, it was only a line in theory, and it was never so simple. A line can be a complicated threshold and boundary, as pervasive as it is expansive. Guaman Poma's demarcating line in his *Pontifical World* is a fair example of the contingencies contained in such a basic formal element. A line commonly considered typically infers one-dimensionality, though this betrays the complexity of Guaman Poma's line and the consequence of his representation of *pachacuti*, his world turned upside down. It suggests a singular and binary threshold that, when transgressed, changes one entirely, but also affects the shape of culture. In fact, the transformation, if talking about social change, is better described spatially as it incorporates, in many ways, the beginning of an unresolved process, another cultural upheaval in a long series of cultural upheavals,[75] where the sum of

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73. See Rolena Adorno "Waman Puma: El autor y su obra," in Guaman Poma de Ayala, *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* ed. John V. Murra, Rolena Adorno, and Jorge L. Urioste, I: xvii-xlvii (Madrid, Historia 16, 1987); see also Rolena Adorno, "Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala and the Polemics of Possession," in *The Polemics of Possession in Spanish American Narrative*, New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007), 23.

74. See Adorno, *Polemics of Possession*, 23.

75. Taking the long view, the Spanish were by no means the first empire to cause chaos in the Andes. Pan-Andean history is, in no small part, the history of continual upheaval. There may have been long periods of relative stability during the earlier periods, but cultural transformation was far from a novel process at the time of the Spanish arrival. The difference is that the Spaniards were outsiders and the changes they wrought—ideas, language, technology—

changes—temporal, ideological, experiential, social, historical, and cultural—that take place in, or in-between, occupied and negotiated space. This greater spatial complexity mirrors the definition of "contact zone" that Latin Americanist Mary Louise Pratt espouses, who uses the phrase to refer to "social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths…."[76] In other words, contact is that which happens in the mediated and contested center between opposed, and not necessarily complementary, differences.

By the time one encounters Guaman Poma's city images, space itself is of a new category and order, the step-child of conquest. The city is the contact zone, a space without a singular clarity in the long and painful dénouement of contact and conquest. Put another way, the physical space of Peru is occupied by a new social and cultural hybridity. In some respects, all there is is change and the manner in which persons adapted or failed to adapt in a landscape of transformations and upheavals. In this sense, the *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* signifies the unfolding process of contact and is a work of extraordinary adaptation, navigating contested universes of being. In both constructions of the idea, clarity is lost, familiar institutions disintegrate and, in turn, are replaced by deeply unfamiliar territories that call for new strategies of navigation and negotiation. Pratt favors a more general application of the term but

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had no precedent in the Andes and upset the conservative cultural archaisms that had been established across the centuries. As Sabine MacCormack commented, "Pre-Hispanic Andean history had seen a great deal of war and conflict, but these had been wars and conflicts among neighbors known to each other for millennia." See MacCormack, "Pachacuti," 984.

76. See Mary Louise Pratt, "Arts of the Contact Zone," *Profession* (1991): 33-40; see also Pratt, *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

foregrounds, importantly, its social dynamic and its relation to power structures, terms which more securely define its human relevance and consequence.

Yet for Guaman Poma, space, or the contact zone, mimics the tangible negotiation of change, and therefore reading his spaces in relation to each other, and reading *into* their embedded iconicity in the context of their subversive subsequency, one better understands Guaman Poma's spatial practice as a signified locus for both things and ideas to conjoin and converge, sometimes in stereotypical opposition, but always to effect a type of communication or message. The manner in which he handles the formal characteristics of space is often (but not always) based on those familiar principles of centeredness already enumerated and therefore extends the significant and signified valence of Andean centeredness discussed in chapter 2. That there are numerous different constructions of spatialized centeredness throughout Guaman Poma's drawings is perhaps easily anticipated, considering the multiple, replicating centers in Inka spatial practice. In fact, there are many types of centers that, to varying degrees, signify absence or presence. For Guaman Poma, again, space is where things *become* ideas.[77]

Spatial Ambiguity at the Threshold (of the Contact Zone)

Guaman Poma opens his manuscript with a line drawing of the author-artist, the Pope, and King Phillip—a contemporary, worldly trinity (fig. 3.17). The manuscript title and the author's name are printed at the top of the page, below which the three figures, embodying their

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77. The logical extent of this argument—of things becoming ideas—applies to the manuscript itself, such that in the context of Andean studies and the extent to which it is referenced (especially the images) as a near-final arbiter of prehispanic values, the object transcends its own objectivity and has become the authoritative representation of the *idea* of the Andes. This chapter in no way dispels or disabuses that notion.

institutional associations, appear, the Pope mid-page at left, the king slightly lower at mid-page right, and the author in the lower right corner.[78] The Pope occupies a throne on a pedestal and holds a staff in his right hand and two keys, those given to St. Peter by Christ, emblems of the Pope's divine sanction and the keys to the heaven and earth, in his left. The king and the author kneel before the Pope, arms raised in prayerful supplication, crown and hat removed, respectively, and placed in front of them on the floor. The king kneels on what appears to be a carpet and pillow and the author kneels on the tile floor. Their relative positions on the page reflect their place in the social and institutional hierarchy—the Pope (Catholic church) above the King (Castille) above Guaman Poma (the Indies).[79]

The dominant visual element, however, is the three crests stacked in the central foreground that separate the Pope on the left from the king and author on the right, thereby cutting the image in half and reinforcing the hierarchy of the figures' positions (a hierarchy which is later subverted in the *Pontifical World* [fig. 3.1]). Vertically, the crests then align on horizontal planes with their matching members: the Pope's double-key crest at top aligns with his figure on the horizontal plane; the king aligns with the Hapsburg crest of two lions and two

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78. See Rolena Adorno, "Paradigmas perdidos: Guamán Poma examina la sociedad española colonial," *Chungara: Revista de Antropología Chilena* 13 (November 1984): 70-71. For the values associated with compositional locations in Guaman Poma's images see also Adorno, *Writing and Resistance*, 80-119.

79. Ibid, 73. See also Adorno, *Writing and Resistance,* 95-99, where Adorno suggests this image summarizes Guaman Poma's ideal relationship of Europe to Peru by placing the Roman Catholic pope and the Andean prince (represented by Guaman Poma, of course) in the priority relationship, which is achieved spatially following the privileged diagonal from the viewer's upper left to lower right, which here connects the pope and the author and excludes the king.

castles in quadripartition;[80] and the author aligns with his self-fabricated crest of a falcon on the left above an Inka *tiana*, or royal seat, and a puma on the right holding a club, arranged side-by-side with a spear between them.[81] The crests are totemic in appearance and suggest another variation on the discussion of split representation above. Arranged thus, Guaman Poma has organized his composition via a visual grid of three horizontal planes and either two or three vertical planes—three if you count the crest as an individual plane, two if you do not. From a purely naturalistic perspective, the composition lacks visual coherency because of the ambiguities, but considered symbolically these ambiguities are critical.

On the surface it appears as if Guaman Poma has constructed a singular, unified monoscene with the author and the king kneeling before the Pope in the same time and the same space. However, at least four levels of spatial ambiguity confuse this reading, suggesting that Guaman Poma is concerned with other spaces and other meanings. First, there are two perspectival grids demarcating space that do not align or cohere as if in a unified space. One grid-space is isolated in the upper left quadrant and is occupied by the Pope, whose throne (presumably) rests atop it. The second grid-space occupies and unifies the lower half of the scene

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80. Adorno interprets the composition as being based on as a colonial transformation of Andean spatial practices. See *Writing and Resistance,* 95.

81. Tom Cummins notes that his shield thus comprises images that refer to his own name, as Guaman means “falcon” and Poma means “puma.” However, later he indicates that Guaman is also “eagle” and makes no reference to the difference or the importance in the change. Cummins’ discussion of the *tiana* is also instructive, suggesting that its “objectness” shifted meanings dependent upon context and operated as a valid sign in both Andean and Spanish understanding. He connects it as well to Guaman Poma’s later inclusion of “principe,” or prince, which is seen just to the left beneath his initials. He has included them as markers of power and class to reinforce his own standing. See Tom Cummins, “Let Me See! Reading is for Them: Colonial Andean Images and Objects ‘como es costumbre tener los cociques Señores,’” in *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks*, ed. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Tom Cummins (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1998), 101-108.

behind and to either side of the stacked crests. Guaman Poma is embedded within the lower grid-space whereas the figure of the king occupies a differential space, not *of* or *within* the lower grid-space but *above* and *apart*. The same style of grid-space is seen throughout Guaman Poma's images but is always singular and never replicated or doubled as it is here.

The presence of the grid typically indicates that the scene is set in an interior space, and it is often rendered in tandem with double hash marks on the walls and windows and doorways open to the exterior world, which is indicated by diagonal hatching. The absence of these common markers is the second level of spatial ambiguity, indicating this image stands apart in its spatial and compositional considerations. A third level of spatial ambiguity involves the foregrounded crests, which do not seem to occupy the same theoretical space as the figures and, in a manner of speaking, are further embedded in the fantasy of the scene, at once deeper into the dream while simultaneously (visually) out in front of the dream. It could be read as part of, in front of, as dividing, floatd in front of, or of no physical relation to the represented scene. If it has no sense of three-dimensional "presence," its presence is thus purely iconic. In this respect the image takes a different form from the majority of images, thereby signaling the importance of the mediated center ahead of the corpus of images.[82]

Certainly, much of the ambiguity derives from Guaman Poma's uncertain handling of perspective. Nevertheless, compositional choices have been clearly executed in order to isolate and emphasize difference, to the effect that space is conceived as participatory to constructing

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82. The manner in which the crests are read, and functioning, spatially poses a potential problem for reading the crests into the image and merely substituting the Castille and Leon crest for the privileged center. Unlike the vast majority of scenes, which as discussed previously are monoscenic, meaning the scene represents a unity of time and space, the crests would have to be read as real if one reads the image as monoscenic. Read otherwise, the crests have no real presence, and the center is thus *behind* the crest and empty—in some respects the perfect empty sign.

meaning such that it is active, enervated, agentive—that is, it embodies transformation and indicates, or is a sign for, agency. One of the more interesting consequences of these spatial ambiguities is that Guaman Poma has placed his self-representation, his presence, within what might be considered physical or real space, because the grid-space he is set within is elsewhere analogous with the lived world. Compare this to the Pope, who is set apart by association with the other grid-space; and the king, who is set apart by virtue of resting above, or perched atop, the grid-space Guaman Poma occupies, set there against a field of nothing, a space void of image or icon or text, save the bleed-through from the first instance of narrative text on the reverse side of the page. One consequence of this differential handling of spatial affinity is that Guaman Poma essentially renders himself as an aspect of presence, whereas the other two, as occupiers of differential time and differential space, are abstractions. The embodied, spatial, concrete reality of his own self anticipates much of his polemic but does so in his own image. The simultaneous inclusion / separation of himself from the real-space of the king and pope paradoxically reflects his solution to colonial ills. His fantasy is one of inclusion, voice, and participation, but he has rendered himself apart and separate—separation being the same solution he proposes in *Pontifical World*.

It is also worth questioning whether Guaman Poma (and before him, Murua) had a similar conception of this gridded space as rendered in the cosmological diagram found in the Qorikancha and related in Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui's 1613 *Relacion de antiguedades deste reyno del Peru* (fig. 3.18).[83] As both Lopez-Baralt and Adorno suggest,

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83. The illustration used here is from Guamán Poma de Ayala, Felipe, Mercedes López-Baralt, and Rolena Adorno, *Guaman Poma De Ayala: The Colonial Art of an Andean Author* (New York: Americas Society, 1992), 16.

Pachacuti Yamqui's diagram presents a symbolic model of the Inca universe, summarizing the workings of the Inca cosmos according to complementary oppositions of sun and moon, Venus as morning star and evening star, summer and winter, lightning and hail, and mother earth and mother sea, with a grid beneath it all.[84] These factors of the cosmos merge in the image of the human couple, which is procreative only as a unit—thus the image shows us *tinku*.[85] In terms of the universal structure it represents, Adorno says it is a fundamental complement in symbolic terms to the scheme Guaman Poma presents in the *Mapamundi*. Is the grid form, as a constituent element, complementary as well?[86]

The grid at the bottom is an image of the Collcampata, which Pachacuti Yamqui equates with the golden garden in the Qorikancha or the "garden of the sun," rendered in a grid-like fashion.[87] Its form and attributed agricultural function (albeit symbolic) and its location at the bottom of the diagram draws it into a symbolic association with the earth and sacredness. As a reflection of the earth, I would also suggest it carries the associations of lived space, tangible existence, and foundations, especially as it appears as a form, in Pachacuti Yamqui's presentation of it, that underscores, or grounds, the convergence of the natural and cultural

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84. See Adorno, *Writing and Resistance,* 90-91; Lopez-Baralt, "From Looking to Seeing," 16.

85. Carolyn Dean, letter to the author, 31 December, 2011.

86. This is not to suggest that either author was aware of what the other was doing though it does suggest that it might do us some good to consider whether the grid form functions visually as a deeply encoded structural metaphor, ultimately tapping into the richly symbolic associations of the agricultural field and its intrinsicality within Inka culture.

87. See Sabine MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context: Images from Europe and the Andes in the Church of Andahuaylillas Near Cuzco," in Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, *The Word Made Image: Religion, Art, and Architecture in Spain and Spanish America, 1500-1800* (Boston: Boston: Trustees of the Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 1998), 117.

elements of the universe. In effect the diagram contains everything the Inka revered and believed to hold sacred power. It overlaps and complements the *hanan/urin* division both physically and socially. It can be simplified as follows (with respective attributes in parentheses):

> *Hanan*=upper=masculine=right=sun=domination (Venus as Morning Star, Summer, Lightning, Earth)
>
> *Urin*=lower=feminine=left=moon=subordination (Venus as Evening Star, Winter, Hail, Feline, Sea, Tree)

Above Collcampata, a series of images form a central visual axis (fig. 3.18). The dominant aspect of this axis is that it mediates the opposed hierarchical relations on either side of it and thus is both a mediator and border of space and unifier and separator of their associated principles. The visual elements of the axis are normally considered independently but are better read as a series of related signs or elements. At the top of the image are five asterisk-like star elements set in a cruciform shape, again suggesting a four-parts-plus-center paradigm. Immediately below this is an image of the androgynous Inka deity Viracocha as an empty oval shape, rendered simply as an unsure ink line around space, comprising void and emptiness and signifying the paradox of *nothingness* being *everything*. Below Viracocha are four more asterisk-like star shapes, labeled “summer” to the left and connected by crossed lines in an “X” shape. This form again mimics the quadripartition of the Inka empire as well as the shape of the world in Guaman Poma’s *Mapamundi* (fig. 3.2). Below the summer stars is an image of a man and woman, the man on the visual left and the woman on the visual right, aligned with their respective hierarchies of sun and moon. The merging takes place here, in and through their bodies and their procreative possibilities.

As there are five dominant elements that make up this axis, it should be noted that the visually negative Virocochа is a disembodied, universalizing, and encapsulating entity; the

quadripartite stars reflect with the shape of the empire and universe; the designated mediators are man and woman; and the foundation for the whole is an image that equates with sacred earth and symbolic agriculture. Further narrowing the focus on the central axis, one can surmise that the empty, mediating center is analogous to the Inka-era properties of mediated space, the powerful and pro-creative center, discussed in chapter 2. Altogether, the image reflects the idea that the Inka conceptualized the totality of the world as existing within a spatial grid that is centralized, itself hierarchical, with constituent mediators of both horizontal and vertical relations. Similarly, the diagram represents the totality of the universe as a series of *natural* phenomena. Nothing here is constructed, man-made, or *cultural*—that is, with the exception of Collcompata.

For historian of religions Sabine MacCormack, Pachacuti Yamqui's diagram depicted "the cosmos of the Incas in precisely the terms that missionaries had laid down: a supreme deity to be contemplated by the intellect, rather than being apprehended by sense perceptions, dominates the universe. But at the same time, this universe contained all the powers that shaped life in the Andes."[88] This prompts the question: whose world is this? If the structure is European and the details Andean—which world does it belong to? Whose space (and time) is it? Or is it that the structure is Andean and the details European? Or is it that the structures that guide their respective representations overlap—not simply because of imported European strategies of composition but because of something in deeper cultural construction? Keeping things distinct and separate is an old idea made new.

The New City: On Guaman Poma's Towns and Cities

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88. Sabine MacCormack, "Art in a Missionary Context," 118.

With so much determined by positional cues, figural relation and interaction, spatialized gestures, and text-image interplay, what then is to be made of Guaman Poma's towns and cities?[89] By and large they lack the same codes and rendered gestures that make his figural scenes *social* and *political*. So how do the urban images, as representations of the colonial landscape, respond to, reinforce, inflect, or alter our perception of his idea of centeredness? Does the center falter, cohere, or change? For Guaman Poma, the new Andean world, or at least the idea of it that he intends to transmit, is largely defined by its urban forms, which he presents as a variation on a single, generic theme—the plaza—typically represented as a sparely occupied negative field set amidst and determined by surrounding architectural forms. The city itself is then surrounded by various landscapes, many of which have no correlation with the real topography of the empire but instead correspond to an *idea* of cities as independent entities set in space grounded by their centers.

All thirty-eight of his cities and towns share the plaza as their common organizing element, their insistent visual form (see, for example, figs. 3.20-3.36). The architectural forms surrounding the plaza take on a handful of repeated motifs that are, in their turn, a cluster of vaguely European forms rendered in unsettled perspective, such as rectangular halls with pitched gables and tiled roofs, long facades of arched doorways or arcades, fenestration, finials, domed buildings or buildings with circular plans that resemble awkward renditions of Bramante's

89. Guaman Poma distinguishes between "towns" and "cities." These designations will be followed here when the specific reference matters. "Urban" is also used when the distinction is less important and I am making a general comment; "civic" is used to emphasize social aspects of urban life.

Tempietto.[90] The plazas, for their part, are rendered as rectangles and paralellograms and are spartanly occupied by simply-sketched line figures doing barely distinguishable things: figures bearing swords or lances, figures on horseback, paired figures who appear to be couples, female figures in dresses apparently carrying jugs on their heads, and even a handful of lonely dogs. Despite the simplicity of their rendering, the recognizability of basic figure types is a surprising pleasure. Altogether, though, it seems that Guaman Poma conceived of the New World plaza as space largely reserved for Europeans, so they could linger or play or display arms, albeit a space largely without vitality or civic-mindedness. As for the figures that may be Andean, their only option appears to be labor.

Seven of the cities' plazas contain other forms besides sketched human figures, such as water fountains or pillars or pillar-like forms (see, for example, figs. 3.20-3.24) that underscore rather than countermand emptiness. The pillar-like forms are insidious inclusions that reinforce the violence of colonial social transformation and underscore Guaman Poma's primary complaint that colonial administrators are debased, corrupt, and brutal. Their identification as pillars comes through comparison with two earlier images, both of which appear in fig. 3.19. In fig. 3.19 left, a colonial administrator oversees the flogging of a native figure by an African slave, and in figure 3.19 right, he indicates the hanging of a native Andean figure. In both scenes, the pillar is an instrument that facilitates punishment. The pillars are distinguished by their delineated masonry; animal tenon heads protruding from the top of the pillar, to which the

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90. Jorge F. Rivas-Pérez convincingly sources Guaman Poma's inspiration for some architectural forms in woodcuts from Jacobus de Voragine's *Legenda aura sanctorum, sive Lombardica historia* (Augsburg: Günther Zainer, 1475). See Jorge F. Rivas-Pérez, "Mediterranean Material Culture in the Andes: Spanish Furniture in Guaman Poma de Ayala's *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, in *The Arts of South America, 1492-1850: Papers from the 2008 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Museum of Art*, ed. Donna Pierce (Denver: Denver Art Museum, 2010), 134.

subject is tied or hangs; and its base, which in the left image is composed of two concentric circles whereas in the right image it is shallow and rectangular. The pillar rendered in the plaza of the Quito image (fig. 3.20), one of the seven city-images in which a structural element is present in the plaza, more closely mimics the form of figure 3.19 right, though the tenon heads are only hinted at as nondescript protrusions. Its inclusion at the city center implicates the urban form of the colonial city as a site of torture and social and cultural trauma. It is a vicious visual analogy that underscores the long and tragic dénouement of contact. Drawing such pillars into the urban fabric, locating them in what is the very heart of of Spanish colonial urban planning, even though they were physical realities, nevertheless visually condemns the nature of the Spanish city itself.[91]

The water fountain, which is seen in a number of city images, including Quito (fig. 3.20), Panama (fig. 3.32), Lima (fig. 3.35), Cuzco (fig. 3.36) and, somewhat anomalously, Atres and Huamanga (figs. 3.21, 3.23, respectively), is a similar icon of architectural presence, where something permanent and built is used to counter emptiness. One is tempted to suggest that these cities were chosen for additional structural and iconic presence because they are major imperial cities (such as Lima and Panama) or major historical cities associated with Inka imperial rule (such as Cuenca, Quito, and Cuzco), which were overwhelmed, subsumed, and ultimately

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91. For a comparative look at the predominant architectural form that occupied the centers of Inka cities and towns, the *usnu*, a large pill-shaped or rectangular masonry platform with wide staircases used in Inka ceremony and procession, see especially John E. Staller, *Pre-Columbian Landscapes of Creation and Origin* (New York: Springer, 2008). <http://encompass.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/checkIP.cgi?access= gateway_ standard%26url=http://encompass.library.cornell.edu/cgi-bin/checkIP.cgi?access= gateway_standard%26url=http://dx.doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-76910-3>.

transformed by Spanish administration.[92] But the presence of Atres and Huamanga among the "elite" cities suggests otherwise, although the latter is likely included, and thus emphasized, because it was the author's native town—despite his deep loathing for it.[93] He describes it as a city of "little charity, litigious, and rebellious."[94] He suggests that it was founded by his father and, according to Adorno, it is where Guaman Poma later served as an interpreter for the colonial bureaucracy, where land was taken from his family and, ultimately, where he was humiliated and from which he was subsequently exiled as a consequence of his failed litigation to reclaim his family land.[95] The depiction of a public execution in the central square seems to reinforce his impression that it is an inhospitable place.[96] Thus Huamanga's personal connection in the life of

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92. For a discussion of the transformation of Lima and Cuzco, see Tom Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," *Converging Cultures: Art & Identity in Spanish America,* ed. Diana Fane (New York: Brooklyn Museum in Association with Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 1.

93. In his written description of Atres Guaman Poma gives little indication of elevated importance emphasizing, if anything, its typicality. See Guaman Poma, 992 [1010]. This typicalness is part of Raquel Chang-Rodríguez's examination of the sources for Guaman Poma's images and written descriptions, suggesting that the reoccurring descriptions of the cities and towns are strikingly similar to the tenor of some of the questions from the official 1571 *Relaciones geográficas de Indias*, which asked for physical descriptions of towns and cities and which Guaman Poma might have had access too. See Raquel Chang-Rodríguez, "Las ciudades de "Primer nueva corónica," 96-100.

94. See the transcription of Guaman Poma's description on page 1050 [1058] at http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1058/en/text/?open=id2978109.

95. See Adorno, "Felipe Guaman Poma and the Polemics of Possession," 30; see also Adorno, *Writing and Resistance*, xxiii.

96. Richard Kagan indicates the execution " recalled the excesses of don García Solís de Portocarrero, a royal official accused of conspiracy and publicly beheaded in Guamanga's main square in 1601." See Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World,* 128.

the author sees him emphasizing its value, albeit negatively, in relation to the other cities, while Atres's inclusion remains something of a puzzle upon which one can only speculate.

The precedent for the water fountain is contained in the same image that acts as the model for the city images, *The City of Heaven* (fig. 3.23), which is found in the chapter on moral and religious considerations. That image, like all of the urban images that follow in the manuscript, focuses on the plaza, although the bird's eye perspective skews the geometric regularity of the square as it appears in later images. A multi-tiered fountain occupies the middle of the square, which Richard Kagan notes is similar to the one built in the center of Lima at the start of the seventeenth century.[97] Hovering above the city, literally clouding a clear view of the background architecture, is heavenly space occupied by God, his son, and the Virgin. The presence of the fountain, then, in *The City of Heaven* anticipates those other cities with fountains and bestows upon them its sense of order, its view of architecture, and its heavenly essence. It is worth noting that the city is unoccupied and that the heavenly figures do not actually reside in the city but float above it; it is, perhaps ironically, a desolate place, comprised solely of architecture presented in nearly perfect bilateral symmetry, implying that a certain amount of power resides both in central axes, split-representation, and mirrored (and thus replicated) forms.

Besides the fountain, Guaman Poma notes, the heavenly city's beauty is also dependent on the walls and doors built of precious stones. The mention of walls and doors is a curious inclusion and suggests one of two possible scenarios. Either Guaman Poma is acknowledging beauty in the European architectural traditions imported to the New World, or he is underscoring, if slyly, the material significance, and signified essential presence, inherent in Inka construction

97. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 125.

practice, specifically where Inka stonework retained a potent symbolic evocation (embodiment) of "Inkaness," or at least "Andean-ness." Further, Inka construction practice typically paid special attention to the doorway, even in architectural samples of lesser overall quality, so that mention of such is reason to suspect that the heavenly city is deeply embedded with that aspect of Inka presence. To that extent, the *City of Heaven* is potentially replete with Andean "essentialness," which could serve to further undercut the validity of Spanish presence.[98]

Where each depiction centers on the square and selectively renders only the colonial heart of the various cities, eliminating the outskirts and creating a contained and confined idea of the city, often emphasizing the church or cathedral on the upper or lower plane of the square in buildings demarcated by crosses, Guaman Poma clearly underscores the evangelical purpose of the urban conquest plan and simultaneously evinces a sense of (Western, Christian) order in the city itself. In doing so he looks past any native presence, as indigenes would have been forced out of the city centers as Spaniards claimed or were allocated prized plots of land—close proximity to the square being a sign of influence and power. These are certainly not cities in which native Andeans live, but are static representations of the heart of Spanish urban planning,

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98. It is necessary to note that the representation of architecture in the *City of Heaven* does not include any forms that one could construe as being of Inka construction, to the extent that there is any clear delineation of masonry. Nevertheless, it was common Spanish practice to incorporate Inka masonry into their new constructions. On the incorporation of Inka masonry into colonial construction, see Carolyn Dean, "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco," 161-183. Further complicating the representation of the heavenly city and its application as a model for the rest of the urban images is the presence of the double hashmarks on all of the externally represented walls, whose presence was earlier discussed as a symbol of internal space, equated with Spanish space, and further equated with violence. There are strange contradictions in this one image that, read into subsequent images, suggests a greater ambiguity is at work. It does not appear that Guaman Poma has any desire to resolve the ambiguities and contradictions, but is rather content to let them be, suggesting a basic recognition of the complexity of urbanism in-and-of-itself, as well as a visceral understanding of the violent impact of the Spanish urban form on the native population.

of an ideal, if not practiced, order, which evolved in a rather haphazard form even though the grid plan was uniform. By the time Philip II issued the 1573 Law of the Indies, which finally codified imperial directive as regards the form of cities, the majority of colonial cities had been planned, if not built.

The 1573 laws are of little help establishing the origin of the grid plan as the basis for colonial cities, though it does finally make the grid plan explicit and helps to locate, if even at this late date, the necessity of order.[99] The laws, when written, had been floating around in various forms for nearly half a century and summarized earlier precepts. They merely reflected what was already in practice and what was, for the most part, the norm, as the grid plan had already been established in such places as Mexico City from about 1524, Quito from 1534, Lima in 1535, Bogota in 1538, to name but a few.[100] Retroactively codified, the blueprint for the conquest merely put on paper what was visible and already built: cathedrals, arsenals, government or administration buildings, and elite residential structures set around a square.[101] Altogether, Guaman Poma's iterations of city images constitute a parallel to what Dora Crouch

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99. See Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 37-39. The laws are rather generic and are closely based on Vitruvian principles. They deal with preferences rather than architectural and planning specifics, indicating that site choice should be based on such things as clear and pure air, fertile soil, the availability of wood and water, and good air. Fraser notes that the instructions on town planning favor a vocabulary that underscores the necessity of order, that everything should be laid out by measure and rule, in good proportions, and of the same design.

100. Ibid., 39.

101. For translation of and incisive commentary on the 1573 Laws of the Indies see Dora Crouch, Daniel J, Garr, and Axel I. Mundigo, *Spanish City Planning in North America* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1982). The Laws specific to allocation of space on the plaza are 119, 120, 121,126. For the first appearance in English of the Laws see Zeila Nutall, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of New Towns," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 5:2 (1922): 249-254.

calls “Renaissance principles of legal, social, and physical order through hierarchical organization…,” which “…were not only acceptable but essential for the expansion and stability of the empire.”[102] In the context of Guaman Poma’s polemic on the social dilemmas inherent to the conquest and colonial development, the urban plans are presented as repetitive forms that thereby signify and mimic repetitive abuse.

Imagining the City in Space, Expanding

The majority of the cities are themselves the centering principle set within a variety of cinematographic contexts and adhering to a variety of frames and framing strategies, some of which vaguely reflect topographic realities, some of which include clues that refer to the natural character of the city, and some of which are purely fantastical. For example, Popayán and Conchucos (fig. 3.24 left and right) are displayed in fantastic settings, set as if on a peninsula with mountains at the horizon, even though they are both inland, landlocked cities. If not quite peninsulas, the land the cities lie within narrows to a point at the foreground edge of the frame. Notably, the cliff edge where the land meets the sea, in both instances, are marked by repeated, round-arch forms that extend upward from the water and look like doorways—more so in the Popayán image because the left side of each arch has a secondary line that implies depth.

Some cities are framed by trees as if set in the jungle or forest—or, at least, they are set as if seen *through* the edge of a forest—such as Santa Fe de Bogotá and Huánuco (fig. 3.25 left and right). The extreme foreground of these images uses trees as a framing device, a technique that Raquel Chang-Rodríguez suggests might have been borrowed from or inspired by sixteenth-

102. Crouch, xvii

century zodiac series by Flemish engravers.[103] In both cases Guaman Poma indicates a view of culture from or through nature, squeezing the city itself between the vertical rise of the tree trunk. In the case of the Huánuco image, which has a tree stump in the central foreground, Guaman Poma has further arranged the city and its environs around the natural element, as the city only begins where the stump ends and the small trails that lead to and fro wind around the stump. If this is a privileged relationship—nature vs. culture—it appears that nature has the upper hand of favor, a consideration that falls in line with Guaman Poma's general recognition of the European city form (culture) as a place of deceit and viciousness and nature, or the out-of-doors, akin to Andean space, and therefore a space of order.

Guaman Poma has rendered Zaña (fig. 3.26), a colonial town in northern Peru in the Lambayeque region of the province of Chiclayo, set amidst rolling and treeless hills—three bumps just above mid-page comprised of arcing lines dragged left to right with various levels of sure-handedness. Illusions of depth and volume derive from arcing lines repeated beneath the hilltops. Three birds occupy the sky, though one is perched atop the right hilltop. Two dog-like creatures occupy the space just to the left of the city. They are awkwardly rendered and appear to be in mid-flight, as opposed to prancing or running. Two additional animals occupy the foreground, one a porcine bull and the other some type of massive bird. In their proximity to a man walking toward town on the path and carrying a walking stick, the animal figures, especially the bird, appear massive.

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103. See Chang-Rodríguez, "Las ciudades de "Primer nueva corónica," 106; see also José de Mesa and Teresa Gisbert, *Historia de la pintura cuzqueña* (Lima: Fundación A.N. Wiese, 1982), 152.

Callao (fig. 3.27), in keeping with its role as the port city of Lima, is set at the edge of water and amid a narrow spit of land with rolling hills. Arched forms again mark the cliffside, and the water is demarcated by long, horizontal penstrokes. Three galleons, five smaller boats, a pair of ducks, and two very strange fish inhabit the water, all together indicating Callao's maritime character is both life-blood and life-means. Tucuman (fig. 3.28) and Paraguay (fig. 3.29), both bishoprics, are represented as islands, though in reality neither are islands, although they are associated with the Río de la Plata. As bishoprics they are intimately connected to the abuse Guaman Poma locates in the colonial clergy, and one wonders if this sense of isolation is another subversive commentary on social reality.

In at least two instances, Arequipa (fig. 3.30) and Arica (fig. 3.31), Guaman Poma has re-created ecological disasters that greatly affected the city and its surrounding environment. He has rendered the disasters effects by way of a pervasive and catastrophic atmosphere, where the sky is packed with swirling waves of fire and singular grass-blade-like lines cover the town and the landscape as indicators of ash. In the case of Arequipa, Sabine MacCormack notes that "a penitential procession moves across the main square in the apparently forlorn hope of appeasing divine wrath."[104] Again according to MacCormack, this image of Arequipa is like "a canvas for "punishment and miracle," representing the effects of the eruption of volcan Huaynaputina in the year 1600, which engulfed the city in fiery ash. In all of the above instances the urban forms are set amid various landscape forms, more or less at the center of the page. The various cinematographic, long-view settings are typically fictive creations of the imagination.

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104. See MacCormack, "Pachacuti," 990.

By setting the cities in deep landscapes, whether fictive or approximations of the real and physical present, Guaman Poma is formalizing the relationship between the city and its natural surroundings. As far as allocating pictorial space, Guaman Poma offers an oscillating continuum of pictorial balance between the city itself and the world beyond its internally ordered propriety (roughly: rather small cities set within broader landscapes (see Zaña) upward to full-blown cities without landscape [see Lima and Cuzco]), full-well knowing that for the Spaniard, intellectually, the city is the apex of and sign for culture. The ideal city for a European of the seventeenth century, as Richard Kagan says, is one that is in full accord with the Renaissance principle, descended from the Roman ideal of *civitas*. *Civitas*, according to Kagan, is a city's best nature as determined by its civic-minded citizens and combines Aristotelian polity with Augustinian piety and therefore aligns with its social, political, and communicative nature.[105] By centering the cities on the page and by representing them as independent, self-contained, and isolated units, Guaman Poma acknowledges a certain authority within the Spanish city structure—which is, after all, the primary subject of all the city images (and the city images are a full ten percent of the overall corpus of images)—which he then undercuts by segregating and emphasizing the city as a rather singular reflection of its *urbs*. Borrowing another of Kagan's terms, *urbs* refers to the built environment, architecture.[106] These are not so much social and civilized spaces where citizens congregate in moral consideration as they are constructions and structure, isolated and solitary. It is perhaps ironic that the representations of plazas, as the central civic, communicative space, are scenes of relative (but not total) privation, modest entertainments for European figures

105. See Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 19-21.

106. Ibid.

but practically off-limits for non-Europeans.[107] Guaman Poma's plazas are not buoyant with life and festivity but are mostly rather barren, devoid of active, substantial, or real social engagement—implying again that the architecture of conquest and the colonial urban condition are, at heart, empty, immoral, vacant affairs.

Another compositional strategy of Guaman Poma's evokes the individual city's place in a hierarchy of imperial, liturgical, judicial, or commercial importance. If placed on a continuum that traces power and privilege according to the size of the city image, one can identify a paradigm of expanding centers correlating with power and privilege and a simultaneous shrinking of landscape privilege. The representations of Quito (seat of the royal high court and secondary Inka capital), Panama (royal high court and bishopric), and Chuquisaca (royal high court and bishopric; figs. 3.20, 3.32, 3.33, respectively), for example, expand beyond an isolated, central form and fill the frame edge-to-edge across a horizontal axis roughly midway between top and bottom. Similarly, the representation of Potosí (fig. 3.34), the great and terrible mining center in Bolivia, and the commercial engine of the Spanish empire, also fills the frame from edge-to-edge, only here the urban form occupies the foreground, bottom edge. The plazas remain present, of course, but the cities are literally filling themselves out, expanding edge-to-edge within the frame, perhaps as a reflection of a hierarchy of power.

The privilege of the expanding city center is most obvious in what are arguably the two most important cities—historically, culturally, imperially, to say nothing of structurally and, eventually, demographically—in the Peruvian Viceroyalty: Lima and Cuzco (figs. 3.35, 3.36, respectively). Guaman Poma ratifies this conclusion pictorially, affording the two a similar

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107. The image of Cuzco is the primary exception to the sense of privation and remoteness in the city images. Similarly, it is the exception to many of Guaman Poma's standardized strategies.

compositional logic that diverges greatly from the norm, subverting the cities-within-landscape strategy in favor of a city-only strategy, thereby completing, in a sense, the evolution of the hierarchy of urban representations. The Lima and Cuzco city-images are full-page, full-frame, border-to-border and edge-to-edge entities codifying the relationship of architecture, "urban-ness," and power. Guaman Poma seems to promote a kind of wholeness, or perhaps a sense of the city as its own whole, irrespective of the value, or necessity, of any periphery. The strategy makes sense for Lima, which is a Spanish creation, but is curious for Cuzco.

I think one has to read this image while recalling the *other* Cuzcos already seen—in both the *Mapamundi* (fig. 3.2) and in the *The Pontifical World* (fig. 3.1)—where it twice derives its identity from its place at the center of the five-part relation set in universal and deep landscape, respectively. In the context of the manuscript as a whole it allows him three opportunities to present his idea of centeredness, emphasizing a spectrum of views from three different perspectives that reinforce Andean spatial paradigms from the microcosm (the city image of Cuzco) to the macrocosm (Cuzco at the center of the *Mapamundi*). By comparison, Lima is singular, one-dimensional, lacks any significant, meaningful connections in the broader spatial present.

Despite its one-dimensionality Guaman Poma describes Lima as a "civilized, Christian, charitable and neighborly" city, a place where "good justice" prevailed.[108] Visually, however, and despite his promotion of "good" justice, Lima becomes a metonym of violence through the presence of a garrote in its plaza. Whereas previously we have seen the pillar located in the city center with its referent being native torture, in the image of Lima we now have a more direct

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108. See Guaman Poma, 1032 [1040], for the transcription of his text: http://www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/1040/en/text/?open=id2978109

representation of "justice" taking place within the plaza, where a man hangs from the gallows—a cross in hand, perhaps a symbol of a belated reconciliation or conversion or apostasy—watched over by a figure shouldering a gun. Whether the figure is Andean or Spaniard is difficult to make out; his anonymity is almost complete. What can be said is that he does not appear to be wearing the same pantaloons as the soldier-types, but rather a full-length gown, possibly a priest's frock, which, if true, restates Guaman Poma's hatred of the clergy. Regardless of who the punished figure represents, be it an individual or a type, the violence acted upon him inhabits the space, becomes its presence and presencing, whether or not it was justified and hence "good."

Whereas violence is elsewhere inferred by iconic resemblance, here it is bluntly visualized, active, and present. Lima's place in the hierarchy of cities is unlike other Spanish settlements in that it was not the site of an already established major indigenous population and was rather built largely from whole cloth as a unique creation by Europeans for Europeans.[109] Founded on 18 January 1535 by Fernando Pizarro and named "Los Ciudad de los Reyes" ("The City of Kings"), it replaced Cuzco in the imperial hierarchy in order to effect imperial administration.[110] It is here identified by Guaman Poma as a place where violence and justice are

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109. "Major" is the operative word here, as ongoing archaeological projects uncover the remnants of prehispanic occupation.

110. On the development and representation of Lima see Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 169-176; on architectural style in Lima see George Kubler and Martin Soría, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500-1800* (New York: Penguin, 1959), 91-96; on the founding of the city see Pedro Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru*, 357-359; for a broader overview of architecture and construction in the first hundred years after the fall of Cuzco, see Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635*; see also for a general overview, though dated, Robert C. Smith, "Colonial Towns of Spanish and Portuguese America," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 14, no. 4 Town Planning Issue (Dec., 1955): 3-12; and

equated; the reverse of this is as stark a prescription for the colonial world as any other: justice is violence. And one might withhold consideration of the next logical extension: the center of the colonial city is itself an apparatus for violence, no matter its justification.

It is not without reason that, in the image of Cuzco, Guaman Poma creates, or usurps, fully-relayed, fully-anchored, fully-occupied socialized and communicative space. It is, in some respects, Angel Rama's *The Lettered City* made literal, albeit flipped or inverted, in pen-and-ink. As space is rendered, written, and described here, it manifests the kind of order and power that Rama indicates was embodied by the literate, learned men in administrative positions in colonial society transposed back into the city itself through the presence of words as signs.[111] The Cuzco image collapses the sign and the signified just as it collapses the space wherein ideas become things so that they exist together on the same visual plane. "In Latin America," Rama says," the written word became the only binding one—in contradistinction to the spoken word, which belonged to the realm of things precarious and uncertain."[112] In this context, the Lima image is remarkable for its lack of anchorage while the Cuzco image is notable for its insistent marking. It is also a matter of some note that only the images of Cuzco, Humanaga, the City of Heaven, and the *pukara* (fortress) of Santacruz de Chile have annotated space within them. At a literal level the words are strict identifiers of space: *this specific place is called by this name*. But as embedded icons signifying "Andean" space the privilege of text is usurped for radical and

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Teresa Gisbert and José de Medina, *Arquitectura andina, 1530-1830: historia y análisis* (La Paz: Embajada de España en Bolivia, 1985).

111. See Angel Rama, *The Lettered City*, ed. and trans. John Charles Chasteen (Durhan: Duke University Press, 1996). According to Rama, these "lettered" men played a crucial role in the superstructure of colonial society, employing signs available only to learned men, who manipulate them as aspects of power.

112. Ibid., 6.

subversive purposes. In this respect, the starkest contrast lies with Lima and its lack of annotation, its lack of anchorage. Something essential is missing, not just in the image but in the city itself. Given that the City of Heaven is one of the centrally anchored spaces, one suspects that Guaman Poma is reinforcing his criticism of the moral bankruptcy of colonial rule through a distinct, combined, and embedded usurpation of written language and space. The City of Heaven, then, is a space that resonates with Cuzco rather than with Lima.

Cuzco's city-space, despite the realities of conquest, remains Andean space, defined by the original double plaza of Inka Cuzco anchored with their Quechua names transcribed in Spanish text: "*haucay pata*" and "*cuci pata*." The plazas are set amid a confusion of European and Inka architectural forms (windows, arches, embattlements; Inka walls, step-fret facades, *kanchas* (cancha)— respectively) and cut through and divided by the river, "*uatanay mayo*," which splits the plaza and thereby follows the model of the city ascribed to by the chronicler Juan de Betanzos, who indicates that the ninth ruler, Pachacuti, redesigned the city in part by redirecting this and another river.[113] The streams converged beyond the scope of the page, and so only the specter of *tinku* inhabits this image. Raquel Chang-Rodríguez suggests the mixing of architectural styles represents the chaos of the colonial condition.[114] The transcription of the Quechua words into Spanish and the manner in which they become linguistic-visual signs anchoring and identifying space adds to the confusion and flux of the colonial condition, and also anticipates the social crises of succeeding periods—most famously the failed revolution by

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113. See, for example, Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, trans. and ed. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 69-73.

114. See Raquel Chang-Rodriguez, *El Discurso Disidente: Ensayos de Literatura Colonial Peruana* (Lima: Fondo Editorial de la Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, 1991), 111-112.

Tupac Amaru II in 1791,[115] whereby the specter of Inka presence, or return, remained a seriously contested resurrection to be eradicated at all costs.

The upper plaza falls in line with Guaman Poma's previous representations of plaza-space as largely European, occupied by three men on horses, a couple holding hands, a fountain, a man-at-arms, a solitary and anonymous figure, and two figures near the fountain who may be women laboring at carrying vessels on their heads. The lower plaza, however, seems to more closely reflect an Andean presence. It is more densely occupied than all the other urban images and contains the images of two men leading llamas—the typical Andean beast of burden—and fourteen figures of kneeling women, presumably Andean and possibly shown in the position typically taken when weaving. Small structures extend above them, though they could just as well be read as lying on the ground.

Why the change in representational tactics for both Lima (note: "the City of Kings") and Cuzco? It may be because Cuzco, prior to Spanish arrival, was a royal city, the capital of a kingdom and an empire, a point that Guaman Poma must make apparent to a King who privileges cities in the European form. Furthermore, in drawing Cuzco in approximately the same visual language as Lima, a city devoid of history yet now the capital of Spanish South America, Guaman Poma is creating an equivalency in their metropolitanism—as pure, dense architecture, as *urbs*—thereby simultaneously praising Lima and arguing for the legitimacy of the Inka past. As foils for each other, they argue for two different trends of empire—Cuzco in a

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115. At what point does the specter of Inka presence(ing) no longer become an issue for the power structures that be? Certainly today this presence, at least at the visual level, has disappeared, and the image of the Inka king (generally speaking) is among the most prominent tropes deployed across a city previously convulsed by the specter of the same. This is a matter that is discussed in the following chapter.

state of transformation from its imperial self into something new and, by definition, “colonial,” and Lima fully urbanized but still just beginning.

However, it can be argued that Guaman Poma privileged the former Inca capital just a little bit more by encoding and marking out its historical past, by suggesting to the king both visually and linguistically the complexity of the historical center, along the lines of: this is what it meant to be Inka—*hanan/urin* division delineated by the river, its former Inka monuments and temples located and identified with anchored text, the dual plazas correctly located, and, most interestingly, the primary Inka temple-palace, the Qorikancha (which Guaman Poma labels “Curicancha”), relocated for greater proximity to the center, immediately adjacent to the *plaza mayor*, when in reality it is over 300 meters away. Its relocation to the center reinforces the center as a place of power according to strictly Andean principles. The re-placement of the Qorikancha is also a displacement. In the movement he implicitly removes and displaces what in reality was space that was by then occupied by one or another Spaniard who, in the transformation of Cuzco to a colonial city fought, just as they did in all other colonial environments, for their own domestic space in close proximity to the center because they, too, acknowledged its relationship to power and status. The dual center of Cuzco, then, as a space comprising both Inka and Spanish elements, is, according to Tom Cummins, “a space for simultaneous aesthetic experience of past and present that bordered on an entirely new experience: it was neither European nor Andean, but new and colonial.”[116] True enough, but Guaman Poma has nevertheless used the power of his tools, writing and images, to privilege the Inkaness of centred spaces.

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116. Tom Cummins, “A Tale of Two Cities,” 163.

This new, still-emerging colonial reality, as a matter of social convergences and cultural superimpositions and thefts, is perhaps best codified in Guaman Poma's representation of Potosí (fig. 3.34), the city that, more than any other, delivered Spain its riches.[117] Perched atop the famous Cerro Rico above the city's exaggerated *plaza mayor*, the Inka "is surrounded by the lords of the four parts of his empire who hold over his head the crowned coat of arms of Castille and León on two columns symbolizing Gibraltar, the terminus of the known world before the discovery of America…."[118] This is a complicated image to navigate in terms of privilege as well as its spatial organization, to the extent that it resists any confirmed reading. Nevertheless, if one follows the prospect of the center and Guaman Poma's insistence on the power of centers, then one finds a curious vertical axis within a roughly pyramidal shape. I would love to argue that the pyramid is actually a trapezoid and thus fully return to the familiar, insistent shape of the Inka built world (its niches, windows, and doors), but this would be a stretch. The visual thrust of the image does rise, however, from either edge of the city to converge at a cusp of the crest, thus narrowing the viewer's eye at this seminal point, imposing a structural privilege on the Spanish icon of rulership. But is that the end of it?

An enormous set of problems existed at Potosí, which are essentially glossed over here in favor of an image of composite restoration—the Inka king sanctified by Spain, Rome, and riches. The tripartite space here, vertical and flat, with the figures floating above physical space, is a direct reflection of the *City of Heaven*, thus providing a Christian gloss for what might otherwise

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117. Somewhat paradoxically, Potosí is also partly responsible, in the long view, for Spain's over-dependence on South American material wealth as short-tem solutions for its own indebtedness, ultimately leading to a broad stagnation in infrastructural development. See Stanley J. Stein and Barbara H. Stein, *The Colonial Heritage of Latin America: Essays on Economic Dependence in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

118. MacCormack, "Pachacuti," 994.

be a heretical composition. If we return to the image of Guaman Poma on bended knee delivering his manuscript to the king and imagine its fulfillment (fig. 3.12)—the king clasping the manuscript and leafing through it and settling for a moment on this image—would it have concerned Phillip III? Would he have recognized in its city and its churches an immediate, civic soul, therein favoring a theory of foundations? Would he have thought twice about the Inka king and his attendants placed above the churches or been mollified by the presence of the coat of arms and thus his own authority? Would he have been at all curious about the surrounding text, the familiar *Plus Ultra*—Latin for "further beyond," adopted by Charles V as his personal motto, and inscribed in the ceiling of the Alhambra—but also the unfamiliar *Chinchaysuyu* and *Collasusyu*? Recognizing that the strength of his empire was located in the silver mines of Potosí, which are represented as if in a little bubble, connected to the town by a slim and winding path and just beneath the Inka's feet, would he have thought about the value of silver relative to the quest for gold? Would he have considered the equivalencies of empires, or that his own empire was changing and was itself being turned upside down? And would he have then recognized in the seminal and familiar and comforting term at the cusp of the central axis—*Ciudad*—something new, evolving, and transforming? Would he have recognized that the word constitutes a periphery and thereby gives definition to the center, transcending the time and the space of both the page itself and his own coat of arms? And would he have flipped back to the image of Cuzco and seen that it is the lettered city, with words embedded inside it and describing it but also transcending it? This is the fundamental paradox in Guaman Poma's spatial practice and Guaman Poma's city images: the center, with so much dependent on the presencing of the body of the king, remains.

CHAPTER 4

THE ACTIVE SURFACE OF THINGS: VENEERS, VIRTUALITIES, AND PERFORMANCES—A STREET LEVEL VIEW OF CONTEMPORARY CUZCO, PERU

> We have things to study, and we must record them dutifully and examine them lovingly if the abstraction called culture is to be compassed, if the striving of the human actor is to be met with fellow feeling.
>
> —Henri Glassie, *Material Culture*

> We are in the epoch of simultaneity: we are in the epoch of juxtaposition, the epoch of the near and far, of the side-by-side, of the dispersed. We are at a moment, I believe, when our experience of the world is less that of a long life developing through time than that of a network that connects points and intersects with its own skin.
>
> —Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces"

Confusion and Flux, or Performing the New City

Building on the previous chapter's consideration of the presencing of the king in the city, the gentleman performing the Inka ruler Pachacuti (Pachacutec) for tourists (fig. 4.1) beside the iconic Twelve-Angled Stone on Cuzco's narrow Calle Hatunrumiyoc is thus as good a place as any to begin considering the pervasive transformations of an old city in the process of making itself new again. Immediately, however, a caveat: it may be more accurate to suggest that the city, in a very visible way, is retreating, making itself old, at least across its surface.

Pachacuti's performance is minimalist at best, an embodiment to effect presence more than a theatrical performance: he stands straight, two feet rigidly planted on the ground, his back to the mosaic surface of stones, unwavering and seemingly proud, looking regal amidst the wave of camera-laden foreign tourists. Only after a long day, late in the afternoon, does he meander off as the evening chill descends like a stark curtain over the day, and he moves quietly down the alleyway like a man with an unnamed burden.

His burden, if it can be named, is analogous to a city's burden in history—how do you qualify and make sense of the incessant, confused, and contradictory transformations? The changes in Cuzco are fantastic to think about and witness, as they are in process, and it seems especially necessary now to untangle, or at least account for, some of the accumulating webs of significance tracking across the urban surface. When Pachacuti's performance is over, when he meanders off down the narrow alleyway, his absent presence, or present absence, becomes entwined within other transformations that, considered together, form a multi-faceted trope for the city as staged, the city as performed, the city in circulation. The changes do not have a single name, or even perhaps a single theme, but identifying and tracing the visual lineaments, perhaps not in total but a significant amount nonetheless, garners a picture of the active surface of things.

For example, beneath Pachacuti's cape and covering his torso is a garishly colored replica tunic decorated with a repetitious geometric design array that mimics the famous Dumbarton Oaks all-*tocapu* royal tunic (fig. 4.2).[1] A three-feathered golden crown caps his head, and his left hand clutches a golden staff with a golden axe-like head that displays a low relief, repoussé puma and is topped by a golden maize cob.[2] The axe-like head is more in the style of the Sioux

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1. *Tocapu* are geometric design squares. For a detailed discussion of the royal tunic see Rebecca R. Stone, "'And All Theirs Different from His': The Dumbarton Oaks Royal Tunic in Context," in *Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997*, ed. Richard L. Burger and Joanne Pillsbury (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007), 384-423. For an analysis of the continued production and stylistic transformation of Inka tunic styles design during the colonial period, see Joanne Pillsbury, "Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru," *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7 (2002): 68-103.

2. While undeniably regal, both the staff and the golden crown are probably aberrations. According to John Rowe, the emperor wore simple headdress that "consisted of a many-colored braid [LYAWT'O] which was wound four or five times around his head and supported elaborate forehead ornaments, the most important of which was a fringe, some 4 inches wide, of red tassels hanging from little gold tubes." As for the staff, Rowe notes that "the emperor carried a mace,

than the Inka. Just beneath the head of the staff is a red fringe, a reference, perhaps, to the *mascapaycha*, or royal tassel worn by the Inka king,[3] though here it is transferred from the performed-body (of power) to the material, emblematic extension of power. This Pachacuti's perceived burden is ultimately a question of the frailty of mimicry, the conversion of identity, and inconsistent (re-) imagination in the flux of passing moments. And since he has become a trope for the city, these are crucial urban burdens as well.

Tour guides pause their groups beside him to lecture briefly about the stone, romanticizing its integrity and importance, suggesting a magnitude of importance much larger than it really is, often embedding it in fantasy and magic while saying little about its utility, which is little more than a brickin a wall.[4] The tourists take a picture of the "king" beside the stone and are then strongly encouraged to make a donation, typically by a group of assistants standing beside a doorway opposite "Pachacuti" who display a proprietary relationship to both the king and the stone.[5] A sense of enforcement resides in their lingering. It is also not

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with a golden star-head and a handle about 23 inches long." See Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest," 258. It is worth noting as well that Rowe mentions that the Sapa Inka wore his hair short, which is reinforced in Guaman Poma's images of all his kings, whereas the Inka on the street wears his long. There is, however, a more direct visual correspondence between the performed Inka's staff and Guaman Poma's representations of the same. See, for example, Guaman Poma's image of the eighth Inka king, Viracocha Inka (fig. 4.3).

3. See, for example, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, who mentions the *mascapaycha* during the transition of power between Pachacuti and his son, Topa Inka, noting that "the most elderly and principal nobleman took Topa Inca to the Sun, and the priests and stewards took the tassel, which they call the *mascapaycha*, from the hands of the sun and placed it on the head of Topa Inca Yupanqui so that it fell over his forehead." Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, trans. and ed. Brian S. Bauer and Vania Smith (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2007), 144.

4. See, for example, Adam Herring, "Shimmering Stone: The Twelve-Angled Stone of Inca Cusco," *Critical Inquiry* 37:1 (Autumn 2010), 60-105, on reassessing the role of the Twelve-Angles Stone in the cultural production of Inka visuality.

uncommon for an indigenous woman to be camped in the doorway selling the woven hats, scarves, and bags that are staples of the tourist trade. This is highly privileged space, and the manner in which it is occupied, approached, used, and framed raises many questions about the nature of Cuzco today—how it is re-built, how it is performed, how it is imagined, how it is produced, how it is re-produced in the imagination, how it uses the past in the present. The answers, one suspects, are caught between confusion and flux, between myth and reality, between theatricality and presencing, all of which are simultaneously active across the surface of the city in beautiful and messy contradictions. To admire and enjoy the city, one has to love the confusion.

Of course, the Twelve-Angled Stone, or Inka masonry in general, and this Pachacuti are neither the end nor the beginning of the mélange of images that are continuously referenced because they *mean* "Inka." Nor are they the beginning or end of their own presence, as replicated and redundant iterations exist within, throughout, and across the cityscape/landscape that signal multiple, competing, and simultaneous co-presences. Their various uses, constructions, and contexts suggest ideas of *Inkaness* that can seem callow (in the sense of raw), or corrupted (in the sense of careless), and even cynical (in the sense of lacking sincerity), though I would argue it could be equally perceived as cooked, careful, and sincere. Further confusing and complicating matters is the concurrent and competing *Andeanness*, which inculcates a broader iconic inclusiveness signaled through the adoption of *pre*-Inka and Colonial-era imagery, altogether suggesting a city that is extra-temporal and extra-spatial, a kind of hyperreality that is always

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5. The image here, taken in July 2010, was snapped somewhat surreptitiously to avoid the hustle of the forced transaction. This minor extortion doesn't appear to be the case at all times, however, though this may be on account of the assistants' attention, as observed, being elsewhere in amicable conversation. It is also the case that Pachacuti's presence is a recent addition to the cityscape, as he was not there on the author's previous visit to Cuzco in 2004.

(un-) resolved between now and then and here and there. So where does this leave the city and its identity? Where do the answers converge, if at all they do?

In Cuzco and the heartland at least, the dominant visual mode is nevertheless "Inka," and it is impressed on visitors arriving by air, bus, train, or car. The mash-up of historico-visual referents boils down to associated iconic value and perceived symbolic import. That the Inka visual mode, meaning prehispanic visual culture, is so commonly (re-) practiced and is increasingly so dominant as to be practically invisible suggests that the condition is structural. Embedded in the cityscape, *Inkaness* is becoming the cityscape, and vice-versa. All the various permutations are a means to reconstruct, and thus project and embody, a preferred history. And it is in this way that *Inkaness* becomes a mechanism of exchange, a deeply incorporated reference, partial to the mundane coaxing of, say, a tourist into staying a night at an "authentic" Inka hotel, or choosing a restaurant that is more intimately connected to the region's Inka roots, though it is also integral to national identity and the way the Peruvian state privileges imperial history to sell its image abroad, packaged and re-packaged, transmitted and transmuted. But it should be asked: at the expense of what, if anything? History privileged is also history denied. Thus it is implicit that the experience of the city, as a captured, re-framed and re-packaged entity, is more a reflection of contemporary concerns than historical legitimacy. The way this looks, the way the city is seen and experienced, and the way the city is constructed elsewhere, both virtually and physically, is the focus of what follows.

The Active Surface of Things: Arrival

To a certain extent, then, this is a catalog of the *superficial*—by which I mean the active surface of things, or that which takes place or exists at the surface[6]—even though this is a type of space most often overlooked in scholarship as ephemeral, low, un-serious or vernacular, despite the fact that this is where co-existence unfolds, where city life operates, is visible, and is lived. Looking beyond the surface, or, rather, ignoring the surface, especially in Cuzco, makes no sense because so much is happening there, at the point of contact, experience, and visual immediacy; overlooking the surface complexity means looking elsewhere (in the sense of casual blindness), not at the city itself and how it operates but at an idealized image or a pre-conceived notion.

It perhaps does not help an investigation of the surface that so much of Cuzco's reconstruction (re-envisioning) is confused and inconsistent, but to think that this is anything other than typical, let alone something other than beautiful, is to miss the point entirely. No modern city, and certainly no modern city built on the fabric of an ancient city—even momentarily forgetting the added complexity of Colonial, Republican, or Modern construction[7]—should bother with authenticity, because this is an impossible, and possibly irresponsible, illusion.[8] Nevertheless, the (re-) visualization of ancient history, albeit heavily

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6. See "superficial," Oxford English Dictionary, <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy> gc.cuny.edu/view/Entry/194300?redirectedFrom=superficial#eid (accessed 18 October 2011).

7. There are numerous valuable texts to consult on Colonial and Republican Latin American art and architecture. See, for example, the indomitable George Kubler and Martin Soria, *Art and Architecture in Spain and Portugal and Their American Dominions, 1500 to 1800* (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1959); Damián Bayón and Murillo Marx, *History of South American Colonial Art and Architecture: Spanish South America and Brazil* (New York: Rizzoli, 1992); Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture of Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008); Dawn Ades, Guy Brett, Stanton L. Catlin, and Rosemary O'Neill, *Art in Latin America: The Modern Era, 1820-1980* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

weighted toward the Inka, though often mixed or misconstrued with images specific to other major Andean cultural eras, is immediately apparent, and often comical in its presence.

Take the Cuzco airport, for example. Flying into Cuzco from Lima, one sweeps in over the green hills surrounding the city, which is wedged in a valley and sprawls over its hilly flanks with its low architecture and tile roofs, before banking 180°, descending abruptly, and settling down onto the runway. Immediately upon disembarkation one is greeted with the unsurprising insistence of represented Inka architecture selling *something*, promising *something*, offering *something*, typically as a form of comfortable reassurance to English-speaking foreign tourists: a nice place to sleep, easy access to cash. In order to retrieve one's bags one must first navigate a series of discordant advertising strategies competing for tourist dollars. And it happens again upon first exiting the terminal. Altogether one encounters (at least in June 2010) a series of images juxtaposing, or perhaps synthesizing, or at a minimum holding in tension, the past and present, competing and fantasized visions of the past, and privileged iconicity.

Entering the terminal, even before claiming one's luggage, the signaling begins. The first thing one sees is an ad by *Banco de Crédito Peru*, which promises, in English and Spanish, money "Wherever, whenever," especially when one is touring famous ruins. Briefly looking ahead, the scale of the ad is magnified once one exits the terminal, shifting from an image scaled to the hallway to one scaled to the hills beyond the small parking lot, where a billboard with the

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8. This is not a prescription for razing the old and making everything new. I can only think of Beijing in this instance, which, despite being the world's center for architecture derring-do in the last decade, is simultaneously at the forefront of a great and horrible erasure. Balance, seemingly, has been lost; privilege lies in the new. See, for example, Paul Goldberger, "Forbidden Cities," *The New Yorker* (30 June, 2008) <http://www.newyorker.com/arts/critics/skyline/2008/06/30/080630crsk_ skyline_ goldberger> (accessed 18 October 2011).

same imagery is located (fig. 4.4). The text occupies the right quarter of the board and is set in an italicized blue font against a flattening, yellow field. It is bilingual ("*Need cash? / Wherever, whenever*. // *Donde nos necesites, / cuando nos necesites.*"), advances English first—thereby acknowledging first a cosmopolitan audience—and is arranged with line breaks like lines of poetry in sing-song fashion in order to grind itself into one's memory. To the left of the text the dominant imagery, which occupies about three-quarters of the entire space, comprises three independent photographic images set as if they were individual frames on a roll of photographic film banded at the top and bottom by the horizontal perforations used for steadying and advancing the film inside the camera. Yet this is already an archaic reference in the age of digital cameras, and thus a kind of romantic or nostalgic return. Nevertheless, each frame captures an independent moment unrelated temporally, in terms of narrative, but related thematically, in terms of common motif and structure.

In each frame a bank machine (ATM) is juxtaposed against an Inka ruin. In the left frame, the ATM is set at Saqsaywaman between a short stone staircase that rises to a trapezoidal doorway with a rectangular masonry block serving as a lintel and, on its other side, the stacked, rounded, and monumental cornerstones of the famous zig-zag parapet wall. In the central image the ATM is set in the middle of a narrow Cuzco street defined by two emblematic Inka masonry walls. The wall on the left is in the polygonal style and the wall on the right is constructed with coursed ashlar masonry. A handful of figures occupy the background, at least one of which is advancing forward toward the machine. The wall on the left is further defined by the colonial-style structure built atop the Inka wall, its yellow stucco, the underside of the tile roof, and the row of windows especially prominent. In the third frame the ATM is set at the far right edge of the individual frame and is juxtaposed with two alpaca, one in the extreme foreground and the

other just behind it to the viewer's left. A strong, raking light from the right casts a firm shadow along the ground at the feet of the foreground camelid. The background is a cluster of nondescript ruins defined by what appears to be the masonry of terrace walls and, deeper in the background, a cluster of living rock.

Altogether, the impression of the consecutive frames is that we are reviewing the procession of a committed tourist capturing in candid, off-centered shots his or her progress through his/her vacation as a series of isolated encounters with the ruined past (*14, 15, 16*) where the primary matter of visual significance is the strange juxtaposition of cash-dispensing machines against stone.[9] For this imaginary tourist, this idling *flâneur,*[10] little else matters beyond the consecutive recording of out-of-place convenience apparatuses; there are no intervening images reflecting the casual banalities of travel, nothing personal to record the nuance of journey. If this were an actual record of a tourist's trip, the punctuated markings of one's journey, it suggests a severely restricted and rigidly performed documentary photographic project. But what we are left with is an impression of a single-minded tourist inordinately focused on cash-dispensing machines. As a purposefully located and carefully constructed advertisement, it also suggests an impression of the foreign tourist and what s/he signifies. The billboard has its charms, but it is also an important signal for the arriving tourist about what Inka ruins mean in the contemporary Peruvian economy.

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9. It is a matter of note that the author has never seen a cash machine inside a ruin.

10. Used here with deference to the strolling spectator building up a storehouse of memories (albeit here photographed, copied, and disseminated), of Baudelaire via Michel Foucault, "What is Enlightenment?" in *The Foucault Reader*, ed. Paul Rabinow (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 40.

But this is just the beginning. Tourist information kiosks in the terminal reference local architectural history to promote a luxury experience. For example, the Hoteles San Augustín's kiosk incorporates Inkaesque masonry as a kind of stage prop (figs. 4.5, 4.6). A stepped faux-masonry wall, flush left, partially extends across and partitions the kiosk's entrance, its facture reflecting Inka coursed masonry ashlars, although the re-creation is inexact at best. Long ashlars alternate with abbreviated ones in a manner not typically seen in original construction of this type. Inka coursed ashlar masonry typically has a greater sense of order and regularity, a greater sense of economy and proportion between blocks. Compare it, for example, to coursed ashlar masonry at Machu Picchu, as seen in figure 4.7. Here, the ashlars are well-proportioned in relation to each other, offering a sense of regulated, horizontal order; the sense of regularity breaks only with the blocks that form the doorframe, which end by necessity rather than at random. To the extent that the kiosk's individual blocks are merely suggestive references of Inka masonry, the blocks' beveled edges and slight convex face, or entasis, more accurately recall Inka construction practice. The raised knob motif is common enough, but the snake motif less-so. Figure 4.8, for example, is an image taken on Cuzco's Calle Hatunrumiyoc of a typical Inka wall near the space occupied by the above-noted performed Pachacuti. The taught, darkened outlines of the beveled edges emphasize the irregular individuality of each block, and the slight bulge of the pock-marked faces exacerbate a paradoxical sense of plushness, or even softness, in the stone. It is this latter quality that the airport kiosk mimics, but the mimicry of forms is inexact and nonsensical. Further, the association between the faux-masonry and the hotels themselves is unsure at best, a connection born of relative space (some of the chain's hotels are in the Inka heartland and are therefore *obliged* to reference Inka tradition) rather than certainty: none are built upon or incorporate Inka ruins.

Adjacent to the San Augustin Hoteles kiosk is the kiosk for the Hotel Monasterio, a luxury hotel in Cuzco that occupies a renovated monastery dating to 1595 (fig. 4.9). The kiosk's arcaded entrance (fig. 4.10) makes a direct appeal to the hotel's early colonial Renaissance design. Though an Inka palace originally occupied the location of the monastery/hotel, this indigenous history has been largely vanished. The only significant reminder of pre-conquest history is the low stone foundation visible on the exterior. It extends up the street from a triumphal, arched portal (fig. 4.11) beneath a smooth, clean, whitewashed plaster façade. The rusticated surface of the foundation masonry here seems haphazard in comparison to finer Cuzco "imperial" masonry, suggesting the wall is a willful recreation or a negligent reconstruction. Where the plaster ends and the foundation begins seems more like a reminder, a small hint at what lay beneath, or previous, or nevermore, retaining a sense of the mysterious, like a conservative revelation of the deep past beneath a more-recent present. Yet the iconic resemblance of the kiosk arcade in the airport is a surprisingly accurate reconstruction. Its square, non-tapering, plain columns, and square capital with inward-slanting echinus and subsequent square necking is a near-exact reflection of the hotel's interior courtyard arcade. The major difference is a matter of color. The airport kiosk favors a classicizing white and dimly corbelled marble over the hotel's reddish-brown stone.

Perched high on the airport wall above another travel and tourism kiosk is a large gold mask referencing Sicán (Lambayeque) material traditions (fig. 4.12). Sicán was a North Coast style that peaked between roughly 900-1100 CE and was later subsumed into the Chimú state,

which was itself conquered by the Inka state in the last half of the 15th century.[11] The visual characteristics of the mask are mostly true and accurate: hammered gold (here, gold by color), outwardly-pointed teardrop eyes, pronounced pupils, and flared earspools, although the nose is too-rigidly geometric and pyramidal. It bears a structural resemblance to other Lambayeque masks, such as the famous burial mask at the Metropolitan Museum of Art (fig. 4.13), minus the pendant assemblage parts and the surface application of cinnabar. This Lambayequen presence in the arrival's terminal at the airport, and its prominent display, proves to be both an inclusive and discordant visual experience.

It is tempting to read the object in its place only at the surface—a material thing with cultural and historical value decorating a wall—even when deeper contexts are readily excavated. For example, it can also be read as a statement of contemporary, pan-Andean inclusiveness: Peru is a land of many ancient cultures besides the Inka. But it can just as easily be read as a statement, albeit diffracted, of possession and power: the Inka conquered the lands of these (spatially, temporally) distant people, hence it is a sign of culture capture that privileges the Inka domain; it is now a possession, so to speak, within Inka time and space. Its presence also reflects the idea of plunder and display, of taking possession of a conquered people's material as symbols of conquest. The connections may be latent and diffused, but the mere presence of the mask signals the resident confusion and flux that might be judged as a failure of consistency, if not of authenticity.

Behind the mask, the airport's interior walls signal the city's current love affair with the veneer. It would be overstating a facile resemblance to suggest that these walls are direct

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11. For an overview of Lambayeque's cultural development, see Michael E. Moseley, *The Incas and their Ancestors: The Archaeology of Peru*, rev. ed. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), 261-275.

reflections of Inka masonry practice, but it is safe to say that they clearly reflect an ongoing historico-cultural fascination with stoniness and textured masonry, one that, in its broadest gauge, reflects the tendency to anticipate, if not incorporate a desire for, *Inkaness*. For the arriving tourist, the wall is a backdrop, a primary signifier of resemblance, although only in retrospect does it become clear that many more examples are to follow, that Cuzco itself is in the process of a physical, visual transformation across its surface.

The interior airport wall comprises a gridded series of rectangular panels arranged in neat, even rows and alternating in color between grey, pink, pinkish-brown, pinkish-white, and brownish-red (see again, fig. 4.12). The vertical edge is the long edge, the inverse of a typical modern brick wall. The surface face is flat but stippled with pockets of smooth dimples, as if the face were chipped down and only partially sanded over, so one's touch would run over the surface without catching or cutting. The lack of apparent mortar suggests a tight-fitted bond, one reminiscent of Inka coursed ashlars in the famous curved wall at the Qorikancha, the sacred Inka temple-palace at the heart of the old Inka city; of course, Inka walls are famous for being mortarless.

This veneer motif, then, in nearly the same visual vocabulary just elaborated, is immediately recalled on the exterior of the airport, where a similarly gridded array of rectangular panels is fixed to the surface of the facade (figs. 4.14, 4.15). At least two distinctions need to be noted. First, the exterior panels appear as if bonded together, with thickened edges of a reddish-brown mortar creating a distinct emphasis on the grid rather than the blocks, shifting the focus from the surface to the edge. Second, the panels themselves are framed on the wall, nearly floor to ceiling, and the frame very subtly recalls a trapezoidal shape, tapering ever-so-slightly at the top to suggest an abbreviated lintel. The trapezoid, too, references an obvious Inka architectural

statement.[12] The trapezoid is, in some ways, the shape of the Inka universe; at the least, it is one of the primary shapes exported empire-wide, effectively announcing, wherever it is found, the presence of the Inka. The trapezoid is, to draw an analogy to the language of Clifford Geertz discussing the use of line in Yoruba art, a means by which the Inka "materialize a way of experiencing, bring a particular cast of mind out into the world of objects…."[13] Here, on the exterior of the airport, it signals some reflected sense of continuity with the past, albeit one that disavows the deep, integral, mythical structures of Inka stone for a surface/superficial inversion, where all the propensity for centeredness and all the necessity of material is willfully recalled, just less deeply, less securely, and only across the active surface of things.

The Active Surface of Things: Street

Spatial practice can mean confronting strange-making and contradictory examples of visual culture (i.e., the *visuality* of Cuzco) from a variety of imagistic categories and practices, many of which are freely floating, constantly circulating and exchanged, and continuously packaged, re-packaged, and sold. For example, the extent of visualized permutations on Inka masonry are as difficult to register as they are impossible to avoid, even as they constitute a significant part of the extraordinarily active surface of the city. Altogether they inform an idea of the city as a place of constant exchange and circulation. Contemporary Cuzco, then, as perhaps all modern cities with deep histories, is, as much as it is lived, a *thought* place, a theorized city. Just as one moves through the city, slowly oscillating between narrow, crowded sidewalks and

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12. Architectural historians Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies refer to the trapezoid as the "seal" of the Inka as conquering culture. See Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 4-6.

13. See Geertz, "Art as a Cultural System," in *Local Knowledge*, 99.

streets with rapid taxis, guided by the textured faces of extant Inka walls, inevitably moving toward the ancient but heavily modified center, its surface transformations, which are really reflections as well as mimicries, compile and grow increasingly apparent. What this next section is interested in is an overview of the Cuzco veneer, those visible manifestations of applied construction and re-construction that suggest the conflation, juxtaposition, and overlay of past and present, that bears the residue of identity and embodiment, wherein the past underscores its own authority in the present, ultimately creating a unique manifestation of the new Cuzco vernacular—one pre-occupied with the surface, one that is patently Neo-Inka.

The Surface Veneer

First, then, a brief example of the surface veneer, though one that is particularly strident, incorporative, and comprehensive in its decorative endeavor to associate itself with the Inkaic past. A closer analysis of this example is instructive because its strategy of incorporating Inka visual references is both comprehensive and multivalent and is therefore a useful microcosm for the whole of the city. Figures 4.16, 4.17, and 4.18 show the façade of the Misters Inkas Inn: Exclusive Palace [sic], a budget tourist hotel at 548 Tullumayo. The hotel has adopted an aggressive strategy of visual signification linking itself—selling itself, really—as an *Inka* experience, doing so largely through its systematic surface associations.[14] At least four visual

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14. Depending on one's point of view, how generous or critical one is feeling, the veneer, such as the façade of Misters Inkas Inn, is also matter of kitsch. As a matter of definition, *kitsch* means "art or *objets d'art* characterized by worthless pretentiousness; the qualities associated with such art or artifacts," although I hesitate slightly at the negative aspect of "worthless pretension," for the veneer does not put on airs and it is only worthless so far as it is empty of history. See Oxford English Dictionary, "Kitsch," <http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gc.cuny.edu/view/Entry/103769?rskey=KTYBgi&result=1&isAdvanced=false#eid> (accessed January 11, 2012).

strategies designed to reflect traditional Inka ideas and motifs are present. The most apparent (i.e., blatant and strange) is the awkwardly conceived sculpture of an Inka personage perched above the doorway. It is not clear who the figure is but one suspects that it is meant to be a king, although the name of the hotel itself—*Misters Inkas*—with its unfortunate grammar, might signal that a more pedestrian, democratic conceit is at play, whereby the attempt is intentionally plural in order to recall the unalloyed but necessary presence of the commoner in the history of the empire.

The lack of typical royal attributes—or, more accurately, the generic handling of common emblems of authority—which could be called a strategy-of-the-common-icon, is similar to that already discussed for the performed 12-Angle Pachacuti on Hatunrumiyoc: royal tunic,[15] staff,[16] *mascapaycha*,[17] gold, regal bearing, the *name*.[18] Here, the primary indicator of rank or authority, as well as ethnicity, or *Inkaness*, is the outsize ear spools (arguably at the expense of

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15. The figure's costume resembles a form-fitting dress with painted geometric motifs rather than a royal tunic; the shoulder mantle with geometric patterning covering the upper portion of his chest is overly dramatic and seems to rise over his neck like a choker.

16. The baton-like staff in his right hand, which is raised to chest level, is a closer approximation of the symbol of power the Sapa Inka carried, though it still fails the historical accuracy test. See again, Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest," 258.

17. The figure dons a fabric headband that is a frail resemblance of the *mascapaycha,* more akin to a belt or piece of cloth a tourist might pick up from any of the indigenous women selling their weavings out of a bag throughout the city center, but it clearly was an afterthought—not *of* sculpture itself but additive; the feather pressed against the Inka forehead by the headband is practically a comic aside. Both the fabric and the fringe recall the king's headdress, but here they are a sorry mimicry.

18. This is, after all, *Misters Inkas Inn* and not, say, *Hostal Pachacuti* or *Hostal Viracocha Inka*, names which more directly reflect the empire and perceived greatness. The choice of hotel name is interesting in that respect, appealing to a more public plurality.

being more Chimu than Inka); the other physical costume details are suggestive rather than indicative. Though difficult to see, the earspools bear an image of an indecipherable animal—more dog-like than puma-like—in contour relief.

Ear piercing in-and-of-itself was sign of authority and ethnicity among the Inka, such that Juan de Betanzos calls attention to it in the initiation process of individuals the Spanish referred to as *orejones*, a term that means "big ears" and was reserved for individuals who formed a warrior class and a privileged nobility. In his description, Betanzos recalls how the Inka king, Inka Yupanque, called his lords to Cuzco because he wished to "discuss a certain fiesta with them, which he wanted to dedicate to the Sun for the victory which was given to him and made him ruler."[19] In order to remember the ceremony, Inca Yupanque decided that the fiesta would "confer the title of *orejon* warrior with certain ceremonies and feasts" and that "such a thing as that was a sign and insignia that would gain them, from the youngest to the oldest in that city, recognition throughout the land as children of the Sun."[20] One of the key signals of this new status was the fact that the *orejones* had their ears pierced: "those that had been made *orejon* warriors up to that time had their ears pierced by their parents whenever they wanted to do it. That was not a thing that should be done so easily."[21] In this respect the Inka figure posted above the doorway of the Misters Inkas Inn might recall the advanced social status of the *orejones*. Even the figure's position above the doorway suggests a watchdog role, which reconciles well

19. Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, 59.

20. Ibid.

21. Ibid. Further, as Gordon McEwan explains, as the empire rapidly grew the number of ethnic Inka was insufficient to fill administrative posts so, in effect, outsiders were made Inka, and one sign of this incorporation was the wearing of earspools. See Gordon McEwan, *The Incas: New Perspectives* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 2008), 299. See also, Rowe, "Inca Culture at the Time of Spanish Conquest," 258.

with the *orejones* function as personal bodyguard of the Sapa Inka, so in that sense the attribution is consistent even where the overall conception remains curious. To the extent that Inka earspools were typically large, in the range of 2 to 4 inches in diameter (fig. 4.19), the examples here are disproportionately and improbably massive. Further, Guaman Poma's images suggest that Inka kings favored more modest ear decorations (see again, fig. 4.3). One last point regarding this representation of Inkaness is the curious melancholy captured in the figure's eyes, as if he were for some reason disconsolate. It is a humanistic flourish of pathos where one might anticipate a moment of heroic stoicism.

The second visual reflection at Misters Inkas Inn incorporating Inka visuality is the stone façade of the hotel, which reflects the increasingly common practice of adopting a masonry veneer that captures, often in sketch form, the finest flourishes of Inka polygonal masonry technique (fig. 4.20). Here, the street level façade of the hotel, which comprises the inn's entrance and two subsequent storefronts, both of which are tourism-related ventures connected to the inn, forms a perimeter veneer of intensely demarcated stones. The stones favor are mainly grey and reddish-brown, and the shape of each "brick" is clearly delineated by a chalky-white "mortar" that forms a strong outline. The irregular shape of each individual stone generally favors 3-, 4-, and 5-sided forms, though there are some that display additional geometric complexity. The veneer is most apparent at the edges of the doorframes where thin stones, approximately one inch wide, are present, or applied, to create a more regular vertical entrance edge that rises from the street to the lintel/ceiling. This indicates the physical thinness of the veneer itself, that it is an additive and decorative motif as opposed to one that is structurally integral. If Inka architectural technology had been based on the veneer, arguably its visual imperial messaging would have been less effective. If Inka masonry architecture signaled

anything, it signaled permanence through form and material, an image that is poignantly recalled when considering the catastrophic failure of colonial architecture during earthquakes while the Inka foundations remained sound.[22]

The third reflection of Inka visuality present in the Misters Inkas Inn appears on the second and third story façade (fig. 4.16), which comprises five rectangular panels or bands, roughly equal in length and width, forming unbroken vertical planes; their lateral orientation is thus five side-by-side bands of alternating color, yellow/gold and cream, with the stone veneer of the street-level façade continuing on the second and third stories as the central panel, thereby forming a central axis/panel and dividing the façade into a symmetrical mirror-image of itself. Each pair of panels, including all additional decorative and structural features, such as the windows, mirror one another perfectly. The yellow/gold and cream bands thus reflect the Inka propensity for dual organization. This dual aspect is then doubled and magnified across the façade as a whole on either side of the central panel. Consciously or not, the paradigm reflects the deep, intrinsic nature of duality in the Andes. The last point to mention with regard to the second and third stories is a matter of paradox. Despite the concerted attention to Inka-esque references, the plastered and painted façade resting atop a stone foundation, is a direct visual reflection of colonial architecture, such as that seen on the street façade of the Hotel Monasterio

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22. The evocation of permanence, however, has been challenged recently during catastrophic rainfalls, which have caused the earthen foundations behind Inka walls to collapse. As a matter of archaeological heritage preservation, contingency plans have been set in place at Saqsaywaman to help preserve the walls and foundations. See EnPeru, “Torrential rains in Cusco damage Inca wall at Sacsayhuamán,” originally published January 14, 2010 (accessed January 12, 2012); Andina: Agencias Peruana de Noticias, “Peru implements Saqsayhuaman conservation plan for rainy season, <http://www.andina.com.pe/Ingles/Noticia.aspx?Id=M5v5vKFZFx4=> originally published December 28, 2011 (accessed January 12, 2012).

or, more famously, in the street view of the Inka Cathedral of Santo Domingo resting atop the curved wall of the Inka Qorikancha (fig. 4.21; see also fig. 4.1 for the background), whereby the colonial structure supersedes its pre-conquest foundation.[23]

The fourth reflection of Inka visuality is the inverted stepped pyramid motif beneath the windows. While this is a common form in Inka aesthetics it is also a reoccurring pan-Andean motif. Contexts vary, but the motif is present in such widespread temporal, spatial, and material examples as Moche fineline drawings, Nasca architectural decoration and textile patterning, Tiwanaku architecture and textiles, and Inka architectonic stone sculpture and textiles, to name just a few. Its pervasiveness alone suggests, not unlike the Inka trapezoid, that it represents a way of experiencing the world, and its usual metaphoric associations of mountains, stairs, and ascendance suggest a motif that designs and structures the communicative nature of transformations. Here, the form is both doubled and inverted, suggesting an upside-down, step-pyramid form, which is a less common occurrence in the material culture. While not unprecedented, the inversion reflects a structural, cultural reversal that is increasing across the contemporary surface of Cuzco, one that again suggests that the prehispanic intentionality of design, with all its desire for mytho-historical depth and permanence, is being resurrected, but only at the surface, in a rush to "authenticate" the *Inkaness* of the venue. Misters Inkas Inn is but one example, albeit an aggressive one, of the incorporation of icons and Inka-esque veneers for their locally privileged associated properties. More examples will be noted later in this chapter.

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23. The central panel of the five, which continues the motif of Inka stone from the ground level, arguably subverts, at least in part, the colonial associations by referencing 4-part structures; considered as a centralizing principle, the masonry panel reinforces its Andean-ness through the effects of centeredness.

Defining: Veneer

Why so much concern with the veneer? Before introducing further examples of the extant variations of veneer application in and around Cuzco, a practical definition and explanation of the term veneer is necessary. I'd like to first deal with it structurally and architecturally and subsequently with its metaphorical and ideational extensions. Perhaps the simplest idea of the veneer, then, is that it is a facing, as when used as a noun, meaning the thin strips of material applied to a prepared surface as "a merely outward show or appearance of some good quality."[24] In its verb form veneer refers to the process of applying or fixing the material of choice to a particular external surface. Materially and functionally, according to Paul Jacques Grillo, the veneer is often "concerned only with texture."[25] It supports only its own weight and thus has no structural integrity, and when applied to the surface of a building "it is applied as a *skin* over an already existing structural system."[26] Stone is used more and more as a veneer, which is certainly the case in Cuzco, because the expense of using it as a structural material is too great. By contrast, the implication of Inka architectural practice is rather one of wholeness, that surface and structure are unified principles. The irony, then, is that Inka architectural construction worked with stone from the opposite perspective: for its deep mythical connections, its structural solidity, for the wholeness of the stone itself. Hence, its application as a surface skin presents itself as an inversion, and possibly one without substance, echoing in reflection, mimicry, and the

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24. See Oxford English Dictionary, "Veneer," http://www.oed.com.ezproxy.gc. cuny.edu/ view/Entry/222081?rskey=k8Jgu2&result=1#eid (accessed 12 January 2012).

25. Paul Jacques Grillo, *Form Function and Design* (New York: Dover publications, 1975), 73.

26. Ibid.

superficial. Yet because we are talking about a kind of *skin* we are also talking about a kind of border, the thing that exists between the body and the world and that is both a point of contact and finality. In contemporary Cuzco, this applied border-skin is diminishing the space between the past and the present. As the prevalence of veneering increases, a new historical myopia is literally walling in the city. What happens, then, when the surface of the city is little more than a set piece for the past?

The manner in which the constituent elements of a stone veneer are produced is also paradoxically inclined to the making of Inka masonry.[27] According to Grillo, "the slabs taken from the quarry are sawed into slices following planes parallel to the quarry bed,"[28] and, when applied to the surface through a basic bonding agent, glued on as it were, the veneer "constitutes a solid curtain of small elements made into a single panel, the façade…is nothing but a mosaic. This explains the fantasy of veneer design, from the simplest criss-cross checkerboard pattern…to the other extreme, the mosaic, with all its pictorial possibilities."[29] This current iteration of historical re-creation, and the intense desire to identify specifically with the Inka, is turning Cuzco into a richly textured, if thinly veiled, palimpsest, that is, if one imagines the layers accumulating not stratigraphically but rather like new paint on walls. Pictorially speaking, each mosaic facade is thus an independent locus of visual coherency, surface integrity, surface

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27. On Inka stonemasonry techniques, see Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella Nair, "Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills? A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 2 (June 1997): 146-167; Jean-Pierre Protzen, "Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting, "*Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 2 (May 1985): 161-182.

28. Grillo, 73.

29. Ibid.

pattern, and surface texture. Juxtaposed, however, against more regular facades of brick, stone, or plaster (those with no intention to re-create an image of the past), or even with Inka walls or with other variations of the veneer, the broader visual coherency that marked pre-conquest Cuzco is missing and is instead replaced by a cacophonous mixture.[30] It makes the use of decorative ornamentation in this regard, as a reflection of history, a curious project. Where the mosaic nature of the surface creates a singular scene, in the broader context the visual scene only becomes less coherent. Further, the descriptive language Grillo uses—specifically "skin" and "curtain"—are particularly apt in the context of Cuzco, reinforcing deeper metaphorical connections to the body, as discussed in chapter 2, and to historical agency of theater, pageantry, and processional marking of space and identity, which will be discussed later in this chapter in the context of contemporary Inti Raymi festivals.

A veneer of the type now common in Cuzco creates a series of tensions between the past and the present, the past *in* the present, and the present in the future. Navigating the city is always an individual negotiation, yet it occurs within contested visions of its own past, re-applied for the masses, re-applied for texture, re-applied for an abstract sense of validation, localization, historicization. Yet it is also re-applied for the spectacular, if Disneyesque, notion of authentic experience. Veneered facades, be they attached to houses, restaurants, hostels and hotels, banks, institutions, or trinket shops, suggest a conscious connection to the Inka past, despite the fact that the veneer in itself is antithetical to the Inka aesthetic. What does this contradiction suggest about the modern city? What does it say about the application of history? One thing I believe it suggests is that there is a growing tension between *essence* and *appearance*, which reflects

30. For a sense of the visual coherency intimated here, perhaps the best example of what this would have looked like is found at Ollantaytambo, which retains much of its prehispanic integrity, both structurally and on the surface.

broader shifts from *centeredness* to *surface*, in the city space and the meaning of spatial practice in the Andes. Rebecca Stone-Miller has famously said that the concept of "essence over appearance" ties together Andean art and worldview, meaning that the inner core or symbolic reality of objects had a greater sense of agency and presence than its appearance.[31] Given the current fascination with the veneer, it seems that this principle has been abandoned in favor of an inverted proposition that favors appearance over essence.[32]

Defining Veneer: Theory

The mosaic veneer is a physical reproduction of the Inka past as "cultural authority" and "authenticity" yet, perhaps inevitably, the piecing together creates a condition that reflects Michel Foucault's idea of the *heterotopic*, something that is simultaneously mythic and real.[33] Anthropologist Helaine Silverman has already noted as much, stating, "Cuzco's transformation into a tourist mecca is creating a heterotopia" in which the "real and effective space" of the city is "represented, challenged, and overturned," and that the historic center of Cuzco is becoming

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31. Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes*, 16.

32. On the importance of *essence* see also Thomas B. F. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities: Cuzco, Lima, and the construction of Colonial Representations," in *Converging Cultures: Arts and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane, (New York: Brooklyn Museum and Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 157-170. Cummins discusses the sand that covered the ancient plaza in Cuzco and how it was reused by the Spanish for the foundations of the Cathedral and bridges, partly as a means to keep indigenes from paying reverence to the plaza, though as it played out the re-use of the sand did not stop this from happening as it was the essence of the sand itself that was sacred, not its form. Thus, with the sand now in the cathedral, Inka sacredness was transferred to the cathedral. See also Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 247, footnote 45.

33. See Michel Foucault and Jay Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," *Diacritics* 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1986): 22.

"absolutely *other*" with respect to all the arrangements that exist elsewhere in the city.[34] She goes on to say that as a heterotopia there is in Cuzco "a sort of total breach [of lived and embodied] traditional time" as Incaness is promoted."[35] Silverman is referring to the effects of tourism, thus it seems that the veneer, as manifest across a wide array of tourist-industry sites, becomes the primary locus of the heterotopia. What does it mean, then, to find that the contemporary space is perhaps a liminal space, that the creation of the civic tableaux, once thought to be about specific historical identification, is rather a matter of the inverse? Does it matter that the distance to the very same foundations of Inkaness, which is where "centeredness" resides, are increasingly distant? Is it strange that the recollection of reformation of the past-in-the-present via the veneer is simultaneously, and overwhelmingly, distancing? And finally, has the mythology of originality, that ultra-modernist trope that says everything must be new, given way to the originality of mythology, meaning that the social and cultural identity invested in the centering principles established in prehispanic times are now re-invested in the surface veneer, committing itself as a reconstructed idea of *Inkaness*?[36]

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34. See Helaine Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times: The Present and Presented Past in Contemporary Peru," *American Anthropologist* 104, no. 3 (September 2002): 887.

35. Ibid.

36. There are many, in many disciplines, who have said that modernism's basic trope is its penchant newness, or uniqueness, cutting out the history of forms and rejecting tradition. Yet even among the most strident modernists, in any genre or discipline, such as the American ex-patriot poet Ezra Pound, whose famous volume *Make It New* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1934) suggests a concerted effort to break from the past, such efforts to forget the past always fall in line with tradition. The fourth definition of "modernism" in the Oxford English Dictionary reinforces the desire to forge new ground: "Any of various movements in art, architecture, literature, etc., generally characterized by a deliberate break with classical and traditional forms or methods of expression; the work or ideas of the adherents of such a movement." Yet, for Pound, the "It" refers to tradition, which means that to break with the past you have to confront the past, meaning that the past is alwys present: A thing defined by what it

According to Foucault, contemporary lived space is a series of related sites where "site" is "defined by relations of proximity between points or elements; formally, we can describe these relations as series, trees, or grids." Having moved from the hierarchical Medieval space of "emplacement" through a seventeenth-century space of "extension" defined in large part by Galileo, Foucault is essentially suggesting that Galileo's world has since fractured. Our spatial lives, as Foucault suggests, are best understood as "a point in its movement,"[37] a progression. All these site-points, imagined as being on the grid or in the tree, are no longer connected and no longer mutually understood and neither here-nor-there. The anxiety of modern life, for Foucault, arises by not being able to bear the solitude or find the connections between points. All these points are his "other" spaces, spaces that we never occupy but pass by and never through. For Foucault, "We do not live inside a kind of void, inside of which we could place individuals and things. We do not live inside a void that could be colored with diverse shades of light, we live inside a set of relations that delineates sites which are irreducible to one another and absolutely

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wishes to be free of is still beholden to the original. Consider also T. S. Eliot on the matter: "The existing monuments form an ideal order among themselves, which is modified by the introduction of the new (the really new) work of art among them. The existing order is complete before the new work arrives; for order to persist after the supervention of novelty, the *whole* existing order must be, if ever so slightly, altered; and so the relations, proportions, values of each work of art toward the whole are readjusted; and this is conformity between the old and the new." It seems that the old and the new are forever, and inextricably, in dialogue. See "modernism, n." OED Online. December 2011. Oxford University Press. 2 February 2012 <http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/120622? redirectedFrom=modernism>; T.S. Eliot, "Tradition and Individual Talent," in *The Norton Anthology of English Literature,* ed. M. H. Abrams vol. 2, 5th ed. (W.W. Norton & Co.: 1986), 2207-08; for an overview of traditions in modern architecture see William J. R. Curtis, *Modern Architecture Since 1900*, 3rd ed. (London: Phaidon, 2006), 21-32.

37. See Foucault and Miskowiec, "Of Other Spaces," 22-23.

not superimposable on one another."[38] Strangely enough, however, the Cuzco veneer, which is changing the way Cuzco is experienced, as it is both lived and visited, is, by definition, a superimposition, a matter of cloaking the real in the mythical just as the present is cloaked in the past.

Instead, for Foucault, there are utopias and heterotopias. Utopias are "sites with no real place" and project a society that is "in a perfected form…or else society turned upside down."[39] The significant resemblance between Foucault's upside down and the prehispanic Andean notion of *pachacuti* and Guaman Poma's *mundo al rreves* reinforces the sense of continued and continuing cultural transformations. Because they are "fundamentally unreal," fictions of the imagined ideal, it is really the heterotopic that is of interest here, specifically because heterotopias are a "simultaneously mythic and real contestation of the space in which we live," a phrase which rather neatly summarizes the social condition that the application of the veneer suggests. Foucault further illustrates a number of principles or traits that define heterotopias, and of these the last is most pertinent. Foucault says,

> the last trait of heterotopias is that they have a function in relation to all the space that remains. This function unfolds between two extreme poles. Either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory (perhaps that is the role that was played by those famous brothels of which we are now deprived). Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, meticulous, as well arranged as ours is messy, ill constructed, and jumbled.[40]

Seeing Cuzco today, it is hard not to see it as messy, jumbled, and ill constructed, just as it is simultaneously realizing itself as a mimicry of an imagined and triumphant past.

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38. Ibid., 23.

39. Ibid.

40. Ibid., 27.

In Cuzco, then, it is precisely the real that is juxtaposed with the mythic, the space of illusion beside "every real space," whereby the mythic and the illusory are the veneer itself. From an architectural perspective, the modernist trope of making it new—that is, the mythology of originality—has been replaced by the originality of mythology. In other words, returning to an ancient architectural vocabulary in a form analogous to an appliquéd surface lacks the structure of certitude and is tantamount to a return to the mythology of empire where no empire exists, if only because the surface is by design and intention not meant to be a mosaic but to reflect something else, such as a far-distant and idealized other. Isn't this just the king without his clothes? Regardless, this is a fascinating urban turn through which the tourist is continually wandering, knowledgeable or not—of *connection* and *connectivity*, of history—and finding "Inka" in all the strange-making surfaces of place, all of which are, in all likelihood, antithetical to the Inka's own deep sense of locality, place, and sacredness.

The veneer strikes me as a manifest image of memory, and thus a form of monumentalizing the past that aims to reproduce the past, or at least some form of it. Is the production of the veneer a matter of confronting an authentic experience of the past or constructing a new authenticity? Silverman has suggested that, "in Cusco, each person (local resident as well as tourist) has the opportunity to create his or her own authentic experience as much on the basis of the architecture's creation of space as on his or her own social creation of space and place encompassing and exceeding this."[41] Silverman is referring to Inka walls and not the veneer, though both are visible constructions of *Inkaness*, one "real" and one not; the experience of them is individually constructed. They cannot logically mean the same thing though it can be said they reside within the same relational sphere; in a web of extensions, they

41. See Helaine Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times," 890.

are directly connected, and maybe that is what ultimately matters today. Both are authentic, though the authenticity differs, and it matters only to those who are doing the looking.

The Active Surface of Things: Public Space, Circulation and Exchange

Lived spaces, in combination with tourist spaces, which are today inextricable experiences in the heart of Cuzco, (much to the chagrin of "purists" and residents alike) is comprised of a confusion of images, nearly all of which are familiar, recycled, fictional, and readily available for purchase. Some of it comes directly to you. For example, figures 4.22, 4.23, 4.24 are watercolor images rendered on a rectangular textured watercolor paper that measures 2½" x 3½". The image is subsequently glued on top of thin, smooth, white cardstock that is doubled over and sold as wordless greeting cards. The card measures just over 4½" x 5½". On any given day in the major tourist areas of Cusco, especially around the Plaza de Armas, one's leisure is interrupted numerous times by boys and girls, or men and women, armed with sheafs of these cards held firmly in their palms between pieces of cardboard. Their approach is direct and quickly becomes familiar and one sees them coming from across the plaza: "you like?" or "buy a card, mister?" or "please, mister, buy one?" They can make their basic approach in any number of languages. They float amidst and between the tourists, weaving themselves into the fabric of urban experience. They actively complement the indigenous women selling their weavings out of textile slings on their back, cotton or camelid belts draped over their hands and forearms, sweaters, hats, and *mantas* also readied for display. Altogether the indigenous women and the other touts are a dynamic and fluid presence, practically an inevitability—that is, until they are shooed onward by the tourist police.

The cards I purchased, in part to join the system of exchange, bear witness to the preferred and insistent iconicity of Inka stone masonry. There are plenty of cards to choose from that reference other iconic Andean visual passages, but the three here were selected because their use of masonry was representative of the whole. They were purchased on the steps in front of the Cuzco Cathedral from a young boy, who approached with familiar and persistent intonations. They were purchased based on the premise that the exchange was both integral and representative of (authentic to) the experience of Cuzco today, in its own way as definitive and compelling as viewing walls and ruins or touring churches and cathedrals and museums. They were purchased as a kind of participatory act, a moment of social exchange between local and foreigner. They were purchased at ground level, as a kind of pedestrian street act,[42] in order to critique the graphic representations of what constitutes a moment of being in the world surrounded by and encompassed within successive frames, or competing historicities—the colonial arcades, the cathedral behind and the Jesuit church to the left, the reconceived and reconstructed plaza to the front and the chaos of traffic all around it, street construction, the flux of other tourists, arriving and departing tourist buses marked with Andean images, all of which occurs, is occurring, and will occur, in the deep shadow of the Inka.

A brief look at each is necessary. Figure 4.22 is a genre scene depicting an indigenous woman—identifiable as such by her top hat and long dark braids—in the lower left corner walking forward, possibly hauling a vessel and flowers and following behind two other figures at a distance, also presumably women dressed in *polleras* (or *melkkhay*), colorful skirts, and *lliclla*, a small rectangular handwoven shoulder cloth, and top hats. It is difficult to identify the exact

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42. I use the phrase "pedestrian street act" in deference to Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 97.

forms with certainty as the finish is approximate rather than precise. It seems the artist, identified by a signature in the lower right corner as “cuse,” has drawn the skeleton of the forms in black ink and then blocked in color on top of the lines, giving the images a haphazard and gestural quality that is as fresh as it is vexing. The figures are set amid a village with tile roofs, and the village itself is set within view of purple mountains beneath an orange-yellow sky. The right side of the image is defined almost entirely by an Inka polygonal wall, the beveled edges of the individual blocks again outlined in black ink, which is then run over by a wider purple wash. Notably, it appears the Inka wall is the foundation for a later architectural addition, mimicking the common supercession of Inka foundations by colonial structures. The wall, in this case, is the dominant motif within a composition that draws its inspiration from the common stock of “Andeanness”—mountains, tile roofs, women and their dress, and the fervent iconicity of Inka walls—in order to address, for the intended audience, the appropriate, and perhaps expected, *Inkaness*.

Figure 4.23 draws upon the most globalized image of *Inkaness*, the great mountaintop site of Machu Picchu, whose use as an iconic referent anthropologist Regina Harrison has called an “insistent image” and traced its use, its “fashioning,” in such sources as Hiram Bingham’s photographs; Pablo Neruda’s poetry; Che Guevara’s memoir, *Motorcycle Diaries*; and the Walter Salles movie of the same name.[43] Here the artist, who has signed the card “Hugo” in the bottom left corner, has rendered a section of Machu Picchu as seen through a trapezoidal doorway in the extreme foreground, which frames a view of a narrow grass pathway upon which

43. Regina Harrison, “Insistent Images: Machu Picchu as Icon” (keynote lecture presented at the bi-annual meeting of the Southeast Conference on Amazonian and Andean Studies, Boca Raton, FL, September 19, 2008).

two llama are resting, their bodies facing each other but their heads inclined away from each other, so that a V-shaped space appears between them. They rest in the shadow of a wall, beyond which is the peak Huayna Picchu (Wayna Picchu) and more distant mountains. The walls are painted blue, the grass green, the sky above the peak in white, suggesting clouds (it is difficult to be certain whether the white indicates clouds or sky, of which the same can be said of the blue; the figure-ground reversal impedes a clear reading), framing the view of the peak within another frame, which is then cast within the frame of the initial doorway. The architecture to the right and left of the llamas suggest the rectangular architectural unit of the *kancha* seen at Machu Picchu and throughout the empire; the ones on the left include the steeply pitched, gabled roofs typical of Inka architecture.[44] In sum: trapezoid, polygonal and coursed ashlar masonry, llamas, *kanchas*, Huayna Picchu, and intentionally framed vistas—all sufficiently realistic and iconic, all familiar and pleasant, all known and recognized: the signs of empire reduced, reorganized, repackaged, and for sale.

The third example, also signed by "Hugo," is a portion of a polygonal wall, entirely extracted from urban context, within which is embedded an image of a puma. The stones of the puma are rendered with green wash, outlined individually in a darker green line, all of which is atop the preparatory lines in pencil, which are visible if the card is held at an angle beneath lamplight. The surrounding stones, which frame the internal image, are darker blue quadrilaterals painted on top of a lighter sky-blue field and done without preparatory pencil outlines. The image of the wall is subsequently framed by a Rothkoesque color-field of yellow-on-orange. The image of a puma embedded in a wall echoes a story told to tourists that certain stones in the

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44. For a discussion of Inka domestic architecture including *kanchas* and roofing see Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 129-181.

southeast face of what Adam Herring calls the Large Platform, which is a terrace wall he says the Inka referred to as Manco Chuqui, meaning "Shimmering Foundation,"[45] form the shape of a puma. This wall is part of the same structure within which the Twelve-Angle stone is embedded and beside which "Pachacuti" stands at attention. It also reinforces the mythic image of Cuzco having been created in the image of a puma.[46]

The circulation of this type of visual material in, through, and around Cuzco's Plaza de Armas creates a circulating market; for better or worse it is an aggressive part of the current system of exchange and therein creates an important, and inextricable, social reality of contemporary visual culture. The necessary complement, of course, and the reason for this fluid underground market, is the presence and circulation of tourists settled on the steps of the cathedral, or in the Plaza de Armas, or in the other plazas throughout town. Before moving on to

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45. See Herring, "Shimmering Stone," 61. In June 2010 I was told by a friend that the puma-image was there; I never managed to decipher it myself. See also Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 171, figure 52 for an analogous example wherein a llama shape is discerned in polygonal masonry at Saqsaywaman. Though highly abstracted, I can buy the llama-image here. The clearest example of embedding an image within a wall comes from Choquequirao. Here, the llama is clearly discerned by the change in stone color. It's important to note that Choquequirao terrace masonry is not nibbled and is closer in style to Chachapoya masonry; Chachapoya had been recently conquered by the Inka and Chachapoya masons were likely conscripted by the Inka to build the terraces. See Echevarría López, Gori Tumi, Valencia García, Zenobio, "The 'Llamas' from Choquequirao: A 15th-century Cusco Imperial Rock Art," *Rock Art Research: The Journal of the Australian Rock Art Research Association (AURA)* 26, no. 2 (2009): 213-224.

46. This issue was raised by John Rowe, who was following from Sarmiento de Gamboa's assertion that Cuzco was modeled in the shape of a puma. See Sarmiento de Gamboa, *The History of the Incas*, 167. Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 48, follow Rowe but question the literalization of the puma form in the city plan when so much else is geometric abstraction. R. Tom Zuidema, "The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco," in Gary Urton, ed. *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 183-250, suggests there is no credibility in the claim of Cuzco being shaped like a puma.

shops, storefronts, and colonial courtyards converted into markets selling arts and crafts such as weavings, paintings, ceramics, and other knickknacks, the tourist is besieged. Only if the objects are sold as "ancient" is there any question, or debate, over authenticity. To the contrary, what is seen, what is circulating, is but a representation of (a commentary on) the past in the present, stitched together as it were, simultaneously referencing visual vocabularies of the ancient and the contemporary, but also the fantastical. In turn the historic plaza, as one of the primary spaces of this circulatory engagement, is partially defined by this interaction, despite the best intentions of the tourist police, who constitute a counter-circulation initiative tasked with minimizing the hawkers, many of whom, again, are kids and the elderly. It is a strange market, part of an underground economy, but one that nevertheless informs or influences the experience of contemporary Inka spatial practice, or even the spatial practice at the center, where the diachronic understanding of "Inka" means the familiar vocabulary of architecture is present again. It is at root a social market of visual culture, and as such it offers ample data such as that discussed above to understand the role of "low art" in the practice of space.

Circulation and Exchange: From the Street to Virtual Space—Creating Virtual Spatial Practice

The title of Carolyn Dean's recent book, *The Culture of Stone*, best captures the repetitive and redundant play of stone, and more broadly "Inka" imagery, in the contemporary cityscape of Cuzco. From the reconstrued Inka veneer to the cards circulated by boys and girls and men and women in the plaza to the painted canvases in the art galleries, the image of stone, along with other iconic images such as indigenous women and llamas and anything from Machu Picchu, is found everywhere in Cuzco. With specific regard to the veneer, it seems that that there is a movement toward wholeness, totality, and completion, as if the entire city, presumably excluding

the extant Inka walls, would succumb beneath the veneer. I witnessed numerous Inkaesque veneers in process as of 2010, suggesting the strategy of historicized mimicry was not subsiding, that a more diverse range of buildings were re-envisioning their public face, perhaps ultimately meaning that the city itself, ever incomplete, was in a process of backfilling, moving toward a sense of itself as if on display, perceived, and, in a way, painfully self-conscious of its appearance.

Another commonly seen example in the cityscape, and one that is subsequently exported well beyond the limits of Peru, is the embossed image of the Twelve-Angled Stone on the surface of the Cusqueña beer bottle (figs. 4.25, 4.26), which is another formal re-use of Inka stonework in an extra-temporal context, here including aspects of touch to both resemblance and presenceing, whereby iconicity (*Inkaness*) is embedded into the product itself in order to manifest a historic association. This particular application of the iconic image has certainly been noted before,[47] but it is worth a closer examination in order to analyze the projection of "Inkanicity," to borrow Dean's term, into the global market. The Cusqueña beer bottle literally embodies (etched, inscribed, embedded) the presencing of the past as a way of moving its product through the global market. Dean, referring to Alfred Gell, calls the Twelve-Angeled Stone itself an "iconic anicon,"[48] where an anicon is a non-resemblant thing that, once removed from its context, or "orphaned," becomes "part of tourist culture, expressing the interests and

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47. See, for example, Dean, *The Culture of Stone*, 162; Lisa Senchyshyn Trever, "Slithering Serpents and the Afterlives of Stones: The Role of Ornament in Inka-Style Architecture of Cusco, Peru" (Master's thesis, University of Maryland, College Park, 2005), fig. 75.

48. See Dean, *The Culture of Stone*, 163; see also, Alfred Gell, *Art and Agency: An Anthropological Theory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998).

preconceptions of this new group of viewers."[49] In the context of the bottle, the Twelve-Angled Stone functions as a dis-embodied global sign, unique in its application but utterly absent of its core associations: how many purchasers of the beer can locate with certainty the exact cultural reference?

The lower third of the Cusqueña bottle is embossed with a textured representation of the Twelve-Angled Stone and surrounding polygonal masonry elements, mimicking what one sees on Hatunrumiyoc. The textured surface distinctly recalls the "nibbled" original surface, and the manner in which the bottle is held means the hand lingers on the surface, recalling the physical sensation of touching the wall itself. Where memory and touch intersect, this is probably a pleasant *aide-mémoire* for anyone who has been to Cuzco and run their fingers across the stones and poked at their edges and joints. By definition it cannot hold the same sense-memory for the uninitiated, for those who have not touched or seen an Inka wall in person, so it relies on its being an intriguing play on commercial packaging for its allure.

Even though, by design, the bottle is a canvas of applied representation, through touch the bottle plays against the prohibition of privilege one encounters with prestige objects; here, the inverse is true and necessary—touch is necessary for consumption while simultaneously reinforcing a pleasurable memory or sparking interest and curiosity in a far-off experience of place. There is something inherently egalitarian in this. The image envelopes the circumference of the bottle, creating a sense of circularity and completion. That the bottle is a vessel to sell beer suggests a distant connection with Inka *chicha*, the maize beer used in Inka ceremony and diplomacy, which is sold today on street corners and at festivals and in shadowy *chicha* halls around town. In the past as well as the present *chicha* acts as a social unifier, something that

49. Dean, *The Culture of Stone*, 164.

Henri Glassie would say "joins people in ceremonial conviviality" and is "a tool to forge social affinity."[50] The same could be said for the desired expression of Cusqueña in the social theater.

The marketing to the past is equally explicit at the company's website, where key buzzwords reinforce the quality of the drink in direct relation to the greatness of empire. From the home page (fig. 4.27) of their website:

> Almost 8,000 feet above sea level, atop the Andes Mountains in Peru, sits one of man's greatest achievements.
>
> It's here that the Incas, known for their engineering and artisanship, built what would become one of the New 7 Wonders of the World—Machu Picchu. A wonder that is crafted with stonework so precise that, to this day, not even a knife can fit between the stones.
>
> That same dedication to detail survives today just to the southeast of Machu Picchu in Cusco, the most important city of the entire Inca empire. Cusco is home to the only beer brewed to that same ancient standard of Inca excellence—Cerveza Cusqueña….[51]

Notably, and perhaps predictably (if hyperbolically), the quality of the beer is thus directly equal to the craftsmanship that made "man's greatest achievement," specifically the "engineering" and artisanship" of Machu Picchu. The familiar Machu Picchu is recast in a relatively new role as a *new* Wonder of the World—distinguished by its *non-Western* orientation; by extension, then, Cusqueña is also a new wonder of the world. The homepage is anchored in a photograph of the site taken from a high point within Machu Picchu itself, reinforcing the sense of presence, embeddedness, and experience. *Kancha* architecture units occupy the photograph's left foreground; the right foreground is occupied by the ascending, terraced plaza-space climbing to

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50. After Henri Glassie, *Material Culture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), 44.

51. See "Cerveza Cuzqueña," <http://www.cusquenabeer.com/default/> (Accessed 6 October 2011). This is the product's USA website.

the middle ground; and the background comprises the dramatic knife-edge ridge climbing to the adjacent peak of Huayna Picchu and beyond this a bowl of steep slopes surrounded by overexposed clouds or sky. One wonders if the Inka would have found it drinkable.

The website goes to even greater lengths in establishing the deep cultural connections as present and real, making explicit the connection of their bottle to its history, albeit promoting the container at the expense of the product. Again, referring to their website:

> Cusqueña comes in a distinctive tear drop-shaped bottle with embossed stones of an Inca wall, including the famous "12 angle stone". The bottle's design pays tribute to the elite standard of Inca craftsmanship that continues to this day in every bottle of Cusquena.
>
> *12 angle stone*
> For the Incas, stones from the Andes played a very important role in making them the master race of the Americas. They used the stones to build sacred religious, housing, food storage, and military buildings. Most impressively, the Incas cut and shaped the stones into a perfect finish and then fit them exactly amongst other stones without using mortar. The resulting structure fit together so well that a knife could not fit through the cracks.
>
> The "12 angle stone" probably is one of the most relevant Inca icons. At over one ton in weight and perfectly crafted to have 12 unique sides, it is part of a huge ancient Inca wall that later was used as a base by the Spanish conquistadors. The wall itself still can be seen in one of Cusco's main streets. The "12 angle stone" sits at the heart of the wall and is one of the city's main attractions to millions of tourists a year.[52]

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52. See "Cerveza Cuzqueña, Bottle," http://www.cusquenabeer.com/ interna_bottle/ (Accessed 6 October 2011). In many respects the Cuzqueña website is extraordinary for its sensitivity to the history of the Inka. While it goes without question that the stated greatness of the empire is meant to be directly associated as a principle of the beer itself, it is nevertheless intriguing (curious?) that a corporate entity has dedicated tabs on the historical Empire, Cuzco, and Machu Picchu complemented by a program of corresponding images. One supposes that the continuum of opinion regarding this strategy of incorporating Inkaness into the advertising campaign of a beer ranges from "borrowed" to "exploitation." The point of interest herein is that the webs of significance connecting Inka spatial practice backward to a geo-political entity now extend well beyond archaeological physical space into virtual spaces fully occupied by competing demands of authenticity.

Again by extension, the presence of millions of tourists viewing the "12 angle stone" directly implies that millions of the same persons equally enjoy the "perfect finish" and the "perfectly crafted" beer. Suffice it to say that the veracity of the icon is reinforced by an image juxtaposing the bottle with the stone itself (see again, fig. 4.26).

Googling and Flickring "Inca" and "Inka"

Since the immediate discussion above is in part, methodologically speaking, a consideration of Inkaness in virtual space, it seems necessary to take a brief moment and consider how "Inka" (and "Inca") are visualized on the web. Although this is, at its surface, a boundless and formless task, subject to arcane algorithms and masses of anonymous searches and links, subject to the impermanent and shifting modes of virtual space itself, I suggest that it is never the less vital because, for better or for worse, the dominant mode of acquiring textual and visual information—*Googling it*—is re-framing, reshaping, and re-contextualizing the way the world is seen and read and, frankly, experienced and understood.[53] Thus it seems only natural to account for the shape, if only modestly, of "Inka" in virtual space. What does *Inkaness* look like on the web?

I would like first to suggest that following the shape of "Inka/Inca" in hyperspace is directly akin to the controlling idea behind the methodological and theoretical foundations of this dissertation—that for Clifford Geertz, following Max Weber, the concept of culture is a semiotic

53. Anyone currently teaching undergraduates is aware of this. Reinforcing the obvious, an informal survey of advanced students in their first year of college in the Fall of 2011, when asked how they acquire information, responded that they "Google it."

one comprised of "webs of significance."[54] It seems necessary here to redraw that line of thought, especially considering the nature of "research" for many—indeed, further, the structure of knowledge—especially among young students, is one of tracking, linking, following, and clicking.[55] The essential point here is that there is a curious but direct resemblance between culture as a "web of significance" and the methods and technologies by which one tracks down general information on the web, that is, through a series of links. But if one is to suggest a direct association between the two it is necessary to say—and this is really the problem—culture is increasingly a "web of (in)significance." The amount of visual and textual nonsense is extraordinary, though it is nevertheless a rich line of thought for consideration and deconstruction.

A purely non-scientific analysis suggests that *Inka* means many things on the web, and that "Inka" and "Inca" (as primary search terms, as "tags," and as parameters) comprise an extraordinarily dynamic and shifting field of discourse, albeit one that ranges from expected, to free-associative, to centerless, to misinformed and arbitrary. From the standpoint of academic rigor there is minimal application for specialized research simply by *Googling it*, but one also has to realize that specialized research is well beyond the concerns of the majority, where a quick skim across the virtual surface of things is usually sufficient and satisfactory. Three basic searches for "Inka" using two ubiquitous virtual platforms—Google's Web and Image search

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54. Again, see Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures*, 5.

55. And then, sadly, cutting and pasting.

functions and the photo-sharing website Flickr[56]—suggest that any effort to resolve an understanding of "Inka" is fraught with compromise. As Victor Segalen suggests in a rather telling instance of marginalia when considering the definition of *exotic*, though he may well have been breaking down the definition of *Inka* in web-space: "There is nothing but an unresolved question at this point."[57]

A basic search using Google's Web search function indicates that "Inka" and "Inca" are variously ascribed.[58] Of the 109,000,000 results (on 20 December 2011), the first page of results comprise, unsurprisingly, the Wikipedia page for the Inca empire; Wikipedia's page for Andean Civilizations; a library.thinkquest.org site for "projects for students by students" (an earnest attempt by three young girls to provide a basic cultural overview of the Inca; their homepage is notable for the mis-use of a Maya temple as a cultural indicator of the Inca); the webpage for "The Incredible Incas for Kids" (www.incas.mrdonn.org); a corporate website for a company named Inca whose primary business is to develop automation tools for television; a luxury vacation tour company (www.inca1.com); a digital printer company (www.incadigital.com); and a website that provides a "soft" cultural overview (www.crystallinks.com/incan.html), among others.

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56. These sites have been chosen for their ubiquity, utility, and to simplify the visual data pool.

57. Victor Segalen, *Essay on Exoticism: An Aesthetics of Diversity* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 47.

58. Note that there is some small variation when using capital "I" Inka/Inca and lower case "i" inka/inca with respect to results returned. For the purposes herein I've flipped between the four terms, though also note that the figures used all reflect a lower case usage. In the text I have used all upper case.

A Google web search for “Inka” is somewhat more perplexing. Of the 31,200,000 results (again on 20 December 2011) the first page include the websites of three different Wikipedia entries, two related to the culture and one for a Polish coffee product; a grain beverage named Inka; a website for a pen; one for a tour company; a Spanish-language website for video games; a Mexican clothing company; a multi-national restaurant featuring Peruvian food (notably, none of the restaurants are in Peru); and a company offering biospheric systems for maximizing food and plant production. The search for “Inca” and “Inka” produces a large base of random associative meaning, many of which have nothing to do with culture-specific definitions, although in one fashion or another they are relying upon the veracity of past imperial success for contemporary consumer efficacy.

The results of a Google Image (as opposed to a Google Web) search for “Inca” and “Inka” project similarly dynamic visual associations. Figure 4.28 displays the images that stand-in for the website with which they are associated; in other words, if you click the image you will be taken to the webpage within which that image is embedded.[59] It is not clear why that particular image is privileged above any others nor why, through this particular search vehicle, it becomes the icon for the website, as many of the websites have multiple images and the images on the search page are not necessarily overt in any particular fashion (such as being the first images visible at the page). Once the image is clicked on the Google results page, the website then appears with the initial image suspended “above,” or perhaps exterior or superior or even “hyperstructural,” to the page itself—spatial elocution is here ambiguous because the presence of

59. Note that the source information for figures 4.28 and 4.29 in the illustrations has been abbreviated as the address ran on for many, many lines.

the image in relation to the page is itself ambiguous.[60] By appearances only it seems to be above and separate, or superimposed. This hyperstructural image then needs be closed before the webpage can be viewed. What is immediately clear when scanning the images that are most directly associated (through this particular mechanism) with "Inca," is that it is a confused and amorphous term when considered visually, while simultaneously it confirms a few things we already know: Machu Picchu is as much an "insistent image" in hyperspace as it is in more conventional advertising; the king is alive—Pachacuti's presence and usage transcends time, space, medium, and artistic execution; and that persons in charge of the imagery associated with "Inca" can be very lazy (hence the presence of the Aztec *Calendar Stone*, tomb images from the Moche culture's famous Lord of Sipan burial, and a staff-bearing figurine from the Chimu culture). Googling "Inka" produces similar mixed results (fig. 4.29).

Switching platforms, the website Flickr allows for a more dedicated, visual, photographic idea of *Inkaness.* Flickr is a highly trafficked photo-sharing website that allows users to upload, title, and tag (which is like a keyword), or otherwise identify and associate, their photos with up to 75 terms that further classify the image but also help the viewer find similarly identified images. In this way, anyone can find a broad visual base marked (or tagged), or otherwise self-identified, to a particular theme. For example, an individual marking his/her uploaded image can title or tag it with any term, such as "Orlando." "Orlando" then becomes a hyperlink to other

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60. The term "hyperstructural" has been used in various contexts and here reflects Lawrence S. Coben's usage in his essay "Other Cuzcos: Replicated Theaters of Inka Power," whereby he references Peircian *replication* and anthropologist Richard Parmentier's definition of *hyperstructure* as a thing that "calls out" or is constructed in a manner that calls attention to itself, thereby signaling itself as important. See Lawrence S. Coben, "Other Cuzcos: Replicated Theaters of Inka Power" in Takeshi Inomata and Lawrence S. Coben, eds. *Archaeology of Performance: Theaters of Power, Community, and Politics*, (New York: Altimira Press, 2006), 226.

similarly marked images. Following “Orlando” one is then delivered to a new index of photographs that can be identified as being *in relation with* “Orlando.” One can refine his search by searching for tags-only or full text; full text almost always means the search term is located in the image’s title.[61] The difference between titles and tags is generally a matter of descriptive versus associative properties that reflect the desire of the photographer to ascribe a certain kind of meaning onto the image. Tags and titles vary in essence but often settle between declarative, thematic, adjectival, conceptual, artistic, or ironic additions. There is no rule for this as all images are self-identified, thus titles and tags are reflective of the photographer’s whims. Subsequently, then, following the links by definition takes one beyond the initial search to another related, but digressive, albeit linked, realm of associated visual understanding.

One can also include supplementary text along with the uploaded image, in effect layering the image beyond the visual by adding context. Poems are common, as are encyclopedic-type information, though what one trusts is a matter of choice. One can even include the type of camera with which the image was taken. One can make it available to everyone or no one. Other front-page data includes the day the image was taken, when it was uploaded, and the maker of the image. Viewers, for their part, then have an opportunity to see, download (depending on whether the person who uploaded the image has made the image available for download), and comment on the photos. Since individuals are uploading their own

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61. There are numerous other navigational tools that allow one to expand or refine the search. An initial “Advanced Search” function allows for searching by content type, media type (photo or video), and date. Having established the parameters of the initial search and clicked the search button one is delivered to a long, scrolling page of images. Now within a field of images titled, tagged, or otherwise marked “Inca,” for example, one is given the choice to further refine the frame of context through “Groups,” “Photographers,” “Tag Clusters,” and Places”—all of which link to images variously referencing “Inca.” In a matter of a few clicks, one can find oneself deeply enmeshed in fantastic images of Inkaness, though just as easily one can end up perusing images of a German cat named Inca.

photos and naming them themselves, it is an instructive tool to evaluate, or get a sense for, what others perceive to be an indicative, though not necessarily definitive, relationship between an image and a word. And from this it is possible to get an idea of what that word *looks* like; as such, Flickr, like Google Images, is as good a means as any to begin thinking about what is or is not the photographic visuality of *Inkaness* as it evolves amongst a plurality of vernacular efforts. Why does all this searching and linking and aggregating matter? It matters because millions of people are shaping, or having shaped for them, historical, conceptual, and visual ideas that, rightly or wrongly, produce and construct culture.

So what, then, does Inka/Inca look like according to Flickr? Or, to put it another way, how is Inka/Inca constructed visually, photographically, indexically, individually? Taking as a given that the platform and search dynamics will change over time and that the image-takers' intentions cannot be known unless they state them themselves on the website, what can be surmised is that the results, taken together (344,989 for a full text "Inca" search on 22 December 2011; 70,899 for "Inka" on the same date), reflect a broad, shifting, centerless, and unstable construction of the visual Inka/Inca. Searching "Inka" (fig. 4.30) one finds little relevance to culture ("Relevance" is specific here as a category to further sort and refine the uploaded images; Flickr offers two other categories: "Recent" and "Interesting." These categories are, to the user, arbitrary categorizations that structure or frame the search.) "Inka" is indexical primarily, at this point in time, to children, dogs, and cats named Inka. Of the images on the first page only two are specific to Inka culture, one a tourist shot taken on the so-called Inka Trail to Machu Picchu and another of the storage units, or *colca*, above the Inka-era town of Ollantaytambo. As one clicks through the pages, the same basic paradigm prevails. Searching for "Inca" (fig. 4.31) similarly presents a disparate image of *Inkaness* as a personal catalog of tourist images and dogs

and cats, plus graffiti and Inca Terns, albeit with a greater percentage of images taken of or from Inka sites.

Reading across the surface of an indexical, visualized *Inkaness* such as that which Flickr and Google offer finds us, as subjective viewers/users, within an amorphous, broad, and global network of exchange. As the viewer clicks through the pages of images or follows tags he is, in effect, creating a complex web of relations that is a two-dimensional, flat, and hyperstructurated index to the physical shape of being. Nevertheless, what one sees mirrors one's own desire for seeing, for constructing an idea of something. What takes shape is, to a certain extent, a mirage, a thing that is there and not there, a vision that is directly related to the viewer's whims and tastes; in fact, what takes shape exists only in the perception of the viewer, though it can certainly exist in multiple viewers at a single instance in time. It is, impossibly, there for the many but not there at all.

Perhaps this is to say that if *Inkaness* exists it exists in us, as viewer's are the subjects and the agents and intrinsically at the center of all constructed exchanges and negotiation; that we are the "go-between,"[62] or interpreter, as Tzetan Todorov puts it. But what happens between the viewer, the image, and, ultimately, the shape of the idea? What happens is once again reminiscent of Homi Bhabha's idea of the *in-between*; in so far as it can be located, in so far as it has a place and a shape, it exists between us as a social space—slippery, elusive, shifting, unstable, and perpetually subversive. In this sense it resonates again with Mary Louise Pratt's notion of "contact zones" as those spaces where disparate cultures meet each other and thrash through differences, sometimes successfully, sometimes not, wherein the relations between the

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62. See Tzvetan Todorov, *On Human Diversity: Nationalism, Racism, and Exoticism in French Thought* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993), 268.

parties are weighted for and against the opposing parties, thereby mimicking the histories of the powers of colonial engagement, which are still being worked through today.[63] Inkaness, then, is between us and the past, perpetually re-conceived, re-constituted, re-constructed. It has everything to do with culture-making in the present. And it is also the *in-between*, the aftermath, the long and unrelenting dénouement of culture itself—in effect, when looking for *Inka*, we tend to find ourselves where we are located, in the present contemplating the past and how it shapes and reshapes our ideas.

The Active Surface of Things: Street, Part 2

What I want to return to now is a thrashing through of the street "surface," the contagion of the veneer, that congestion of imagery circulating, framing, localizing, historicizing, and fantasizing the contemporary cityscape/landscape of Cuzco and the surrounding heartland. I would like to do so by examining a succession of veneer forms. I want to do this because the re-framing of contemporary Cuzco with a veneer of Inkaesque masonry is a strange and paradoxical return. It signifies a reversal, or an inversion, a flipping of aesthetic history, a movement from the center to the surface, and from centeredness to superficiality, that arguably subverts the core cultural and spatial values discussed in chapter 2. Yet, simultaneously and paradoxically, it is a form of heritage ascription, a Neo-Inka revival occurring across institutional and domestic levels as monumental and idiosyncratic expressions that are continually altering the face of the city.

A comprehensive survey of all the extant structures in Cuzco (as of July 2010) that have adapted their facades to complement historical visual practice is well beyond the limits of this dissertation, so what follows is an instructive overview of scope and kind that reinforces many of

63. See Pratt, *Imperial Eyes*, 7

the issues discussed above in the analysis of the Mister Inkas Inn. There is no single strategy that takes precedence, but rather a number of self-serving and eclectic strategies of incorporation.[64]

Veneer Examples Referencing Inka Visual Culture

To reach Saqsaywaman by foot one follows Pumacurco road up a steep and meandering paved road, along which one finds the hotel La Casa Escondida (figs. 4.32 to 4.36). The hotel incorporates a true stone veneer mimicking Inka stone masonry in order to emphasize its threshold alongside a false foundation. Four horizontal courses of faux masonry blocks extend outward from the doorway and give the appearance of a foundation. Three layers of stacked blocks ascend from here to frame the sides of the doorway, atop which a lintel stone is set. The appearance of stonework here mixes, matches, and fabricates stone idioms freely. It reflects the tradition of coursed ashlar masonry, such as that seen at the Qorikancha, combined with the "nibbled" faces and beveled edges of the polygonal masonry of the stones of Hatunrumiyoc, absent the "jig-saw puzzle" effect. The combinatory effect is a free-associative manner of re-construing the past in the present through the veener. The nature of the stone veneer is most clearly seen along the edge of the doorframe, especially in the detail of figure 4.36, where the block itself, roughly 1.5 inches thick, clearly rests against the subsequent veneer block form.

A secondary feature worth noting is the use of additional icons sculpted into, or embedded into, the veneer stones. In the case of La Casa Escondida the craftsmen have embedded at least six images of a zoomorphic, abstract, geometric, and semi-figural nature onto the surface of the veneer. There are at least four snakes, two of which appear on the lintel, to the

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64. Further, the paradigm held true and was in practice in nearly every town and village visited in June-July 2010. This includes Pisac, Chinchero, Ollantaytambo, Urubamba, Quillabamba, Huancacalle, and Abancay.

left and right of a sun-like form with trapezoidal "flares." Both snakes are clearly discerned and cast a strict shadow despite being shallowly raised forms; each serpent image is flat across its "top" and minimally curved along its horizontal axis, depicted as if moving forward across the plain. Another serpent, flat and linear, and a trapezoid form are carved to the left of the doorway; and to the right of the doorway appears another serpent, this one in a figure-eight form, as well as an image that seems to be a distant reflection of the tenon heads from Chavín de Huantar and another serpent. While figural imagery sculpted onto the surface of Inka-era masonry is not unknown, it was far from a common practice.[65] The tenon head and the trapezoid are purely discretionary and have no connection to the Inka past in this decorative form, though they are historicized icons recycled for purposeful marketing and display.

The inclusion of embedded icons mimicking Inka-era and early Colonial manifestations is increasingly common, though sometimes the motifs appear without affinity for the past and as a purely contemporary expression. For example, figures 4.37, 4.38, and 4.39 show the veneer-plus-icon application at a T-shirt shop named "Andean Expressions" at Choquechaqa 506 in the San Blas area of Cuzco.[66] Here, the plaster has been removed and the veneer stones attached to the empty space, and the wall portion appears as a disembodied unit, portional and disjunctive.

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65. See Trever, "Slithering Serpents and the Afterlives of Stones," which examines serpent motifs and other prehispanic motifs in early colonial architecture and makes a brief mention of the tradition in modern Cuzco as dating to the 1930s. Snakes were the dominant motif and were then a sign of Peruvian nationalism. She also notes that all other motifs never appeared in Inka-era or early colonial construction and similarly celebrate the city's Inka heritage. It should be noted here that the inclusion of motifs that pre-date the Inka are obviously celebrating something else that is pan-Andean in nature.

66. As a matter of anecdotal note it is worth mentioning that the homepage of the "Andean Expressions" website is marked by an image of the individual frames of a roll of film narrating a hypothetic journey throughout Peru, structurally similar to that discussed at the beginning of this chapter. See http://www.andeanexpressions.com/stores.htm (accessed 27 December 2011).

The masonry forms again connect with coursed ashlar masonry, and the appearance of the nibbled surface and beveled edges are again emphasized. The embedded imagery includes s-curved and semi-circular serpents, which again follow a common theme. The addition of a date (03.03.07) is incongruous. The mountain-and-sun/moon motif, however, carries both a formal, subtle charm as well as the immediate connection to the tectonic landscape, while for those more invested in Andean cosmology it reflects the nature of mountains as *apus*, or deities, and the sun as *Inti*, the solar deity, and distantly recalls the Inka cosmological hierarchy shaped by Joan Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui discussed in the previous chapters. Deeper, intrinsic connections can be made.

In another example, the façade veneer of the MarcoPost storefront at Avenida Garcilaso and Avenida El Sol in Cuzco is a surreal expression of pan-Andean iconic synthesis that follows and expands the forms discussed above. The dominant reference is the coursed ashlar masonry, which covers the entirety of the façade to the second floor windows (fig. 4.40), but additional motifs are used throughout the façade in order to reference multiple and competing histories. To the right and left of the storefront doorway are double-framed rectangular niches, running from the sidewalk to about six feet, inside of which is an embedded trapezoidal niche about five feet off the ground, all of which is meant to reference Inka building history, though the rectangular forms read as an aberration of the common trapezoidal forms (fig. 4.41). To the right and left of the rectangular niche is a panel of independent veneer blocks with subset niches in the form of an inverted step-fret, or step-pyramid, an ubiquitous pan-Andean motif across Intermediate and Horizon periods and one already discussed above in the context of the Misters Inka Inn. The faux-lintel stone above the side niches are carved in raised relief with feline-headed serpent images that reflect Chavín feline imagery though its exact reference is unclear.

The lintel above the primary doorway and the space just above the lintel similarly display a Chavín emphasis (figs. 4.42, 4.43). On the lintel, dual, raised relief images reference, though imperfectly, the relief panels of fanged and taloned felines from the sunken circular court at the Chavín site. Just above the lintel is a large, singular veneer stone that vaguely mimics the Twelve-Angle Stone, albeit amplifying the number of angles to fourteen. The stone subsequently serves as the ground for another Chavín reference, a raised relief image of the female anthropomorphic figure from the so-called Black and White Portal, complete with fangs, talons, vagina dentate, and the metaphoric substitution of snakes for wing feathers. It is a surprisingly adroit representation.

Two horizontal registers of motifs appear to the left and right of the anthropomorphic figure (fig. 4.44). The bottom register consists of six inverted step-fret, or step-pyramid, forms, three to each side, mimicking in positive form the negative inverted forms below and to the side of the rectangular niches. They give the appearance of having been extracted from below and attached above, even though the negative niches below are smaller in scale. The register above this consists of ten avian images of a geometric rigidity, five to each side, similar to avian imagery dating to Chimu and other coastal cultures. Lastly, Wari/Tiwanaku sun-god imagery appears at the very top of the veneer façade in a continuous horizontal band (fig. 4.45). Here, the frontal solar deity is parceled with avian head imagery and set within or framed by a continuous linear border zig-zagging across the entirety of the band. Individually, each of the motifs is an iconic resemblant—a cultural identifier—ranging across the majority of major Andean civilizations. To this end, then, the façade is an aggressive compilation of pan-Peruvian imagery, though it is difficult to know if it is anything more than exorbitant synthesis, an elaborate paean

to kitschy inclusionism. If nothing else, this façade is a virtuoso expression of the sort of vernacular, Neo-Andean surface revivalism one sees throughout modern Cuzco and its environs

There is no shortage of variations used in the construction of Inka veneers. Unlike the examples above, whereby historicized or vernacular icons are embedded within a greater field of representational mimicry—that is, within the Inka veneer—a different strategy of resemblance was found in the town of Pisac, a village set alng the Urubamba river forty minutes from Cuzco and the site of an important set of mountainside ruins ascribed to Pachacuti's reign. In one example, three images with distinct Inka symbolic valence have been sculpted onto the adobe façade of a domestic structure (figs. 4.46, 4.47). The use of adobe in domestic architecture is consistent with Inka-era practice. The iconic inclusion of the sun and moon again reflects the cosmological hierarchy of Pachacuti Yamqui, though their representation here is somewhat leavened by anthropomorphism. The central image, however, is a localized reference to the famous Inka ruins on the hillside above town. Here, the adobe forms a low relief image of a circular masonry structure with a trapezoidal portal opening to three steps that rise to what is presumably one of Pisac's *intihuatanas* (intiwatana), meaning "hitching post of the sun," a gnomon-like architectonic feature used to track the movement of the sun of the Inka.[67] The representation's awkward and impossible perspective only enhances its charm.[68]

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67. See, for example, Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 255. Earlier (page 29), Dean references this stone as an example of "contouring," a strategy the Inka used to define a rock as being something more than just a rock. According to Dean, contouring is a frame that hugs the lateral surface of the encompassed stone. Both the contour element and the *intihuatana* stone are referenced in the adobe façade.

68. In figure 4.46 note also the modern textile hanging over the first-floor window that mimics Inka tunics decorated with tocapu motifs, such as those in the famous Dumbarton Oaks tunic (see again fig. 4.2).

Two more domestic examples outside of Cuzco, along what was the Antisuyu Road and adjacent to the large stone huaca now referred to as Laqo, adopt Inka architectural references to emphasize their respective compound entrances. Both examples emphasize the compound entrance by interrupting an adobe wall with a broadly-construed trapezoidal masonry veneer (or the appearance of the veneer) framing a double door. The forms deployed in each are similar, but their execution details differ. The first example (figs. 4.48, 4.49) consists of concrete laid over the adobe and thereafter molded through deep incisions in order to exaggerate the jigsaw-puzzle effect of polygonal masonry with deeply beveled edges and softened corners. Vertical and horizontal striations that were scraped across the surface while it was being shaped have been left intact. Surface protrusions, or knobs, such as those on extant Inka walls, also mark the surface. The over-all shape of this Inka-esque portal is only irregularly trapezoidal, though the intent to invoke the trapezoid seems clear enough. A single lintel spans the entrance, and set within it is the image of a gold-painted sun emerging from a cornucopia horn. The entrance doors themselves appear to be of secondary importance, and are made of unpainted blond wood nailed to a green metal frame.

In a similar compound portal (figs. 4.50, 4.51), individual, smooth-surfaced, and rigidly geometric veneer stones in the trapezoidal configuration have been attached to an adobe wall, framing the doors. The veneer stones range in color from off-white to grey to a very subtle brown and have a faint corbelling reminiscent of marble, suggesting a subtle classicization of the form. The strict linear edges of the individual pieces minimize and abstract the typical jigsaw-puzzle effect, though it remains clearly present at more intricate joints. The darker mortar emphasizes the geometry of the individual stones. The lintel here comprises multiple individual pieces applied laterally across the span, such that the vertical edges create a repetitious patterning

not unlike a barcode. Here the door itself is emphasized. Like the example seen in 4.48, this door is made of blond wood set within a green steel frame, but in this instance the wood is both carved and lacquered in the geometric abstraction typical of the Inka's decorative vocabulary: an Andean cross set within a diamond shape with two circles at the top left and top right. To the extent that it is an independent and unique motif, it presents a reductive and abstracted geometry.

Back in Cuzco, the Mercado Artesanal de Productores on Avenida El Sol (fig. 4.52), incorporates the facsimile of an Inka wall, complete with two trapezoidal niches, a serpent, and a rendition of the Twelve-Angle Stone inset into its mosaic form. The presentation of the veneer stones here favors a sense of roundness and a softness of edges that betrays the polygonal quality of original examples in lieu of a greater circularity. The wall acts as a foundation and frame for the mural, which depicts an Inka king, presumably Pachacuti, standing with attendants atop a cliff watching the sunrise through a trapezoidal doorway with Machu Picchu in the distance. Just about every iconic Inka image—everything that is *Inkaness*—is referenced.

A more formal example is the Pachacutec Monument atop the lookout tower at the bottom of Avenida El Sol (figs. 4.53, 4.54), which Helaine Silverman discusses in the context of Mayor Daniel Estrada's Inca-themed monument-building campaigns of the 1980s,[69] which actively revived and literally re-constructed an idea of *Inkaness* through such monument building programs. The facility in stone is quite accomplished here and it seems an earnest attempt at historical returns. Its location at the bottom of Avenida El Sol also means that it is one of the dominant images one passes on the way from the airport to the center of town, so this is the first

69. See Helaine Silverman, "Mayor Daniel Estrada and the Plaza de Armas of Cuzco, Peru," *Heritage Management* 1, Issue 2 (Fall 2008): 181-218. My suspicion is that the Pachacutec Monument is where the practice of the veneer began, though without further research this remains merely speculative.

overt expression many tourists engage when arriving in Cuzco. The Juan Bravo monument to Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo was built as part of the same mayoral campaign (fig. 4.55). It displays monumental bronze portrait reliefs, almost Cubist in execution, of the mythical founders of both Cuzco and the Inka set upon a fragmented version of an Inka wall veneered with a regularized fracture of polygonal masonry. The centralized trapezoidal opening holds the image of a golden disk meant to recall the golden disk, referred to as Punchao, that was housed in the Qorikancha.[70] The monument also includes two rectangular stone water channels/drains that reference functional Inka water display strategies.

Other examples include the façade of the Hospital Antonio Lorena on Plazoleta Bolen (fig. 4.56), which incorporates pan-Andean icons, such Tiwanakan solar imagery (fig. 4.57) and Nascan anthropomorphic feline imagery (fig. 4.58), highlighted in white paint against the red façade. The entrance of a children's amusement park, Urpicha, on Avenida El Sol is demarcated by massive steel renditions of dual trapezoidal portals (fig. 4.59), behind which lie two types of mimicry: a rough-stone wall employing white paint to emphasize the outline of individual stones (fig. 4.60), therein calling attention to the deeper history of stone; and the common veneer stones that are more direct Inka references (fig. 4.61).

The last example that will be mentioned here (fig. 4.62) is a wall outside a police station at Calle Lanluyoc and Calle Jorge Ochoa that features a mosaic of jagged forms in blue, black, white, green, and gold, their outlines firmly rendered in thick black lines. Altogether this is another Cubistic impression of the famous polygonal walls, somewhere along the way losing the contradictory appearance of suppleness in favor of the hard-and-fast delineation of geometric angularity. All of the above examples correspond to the Inka visual vocabulary (except the

70. The sun image is in fact based on a pre-Inka object.

hospital, which is included to expand the baseline of Andean references) as primary motifs. All of them reference architecture and masonry, incorporating the stone veneer as a primary vehicle of identification.

In order to appreciate the transformation of the city, all one needs to do is begin at the center, in the Plaza de Armas, and circumambulate outward; soon enough one is overwhelmed by the variations and permutations of Neo-Inka, and Neo-Andean, motifs and themes. Suffice to say that Cuzco's love affair with stone continues: deeply embedded, readily referenced, and positively superficial. The variations follow no set rules, and the instances above offer only a rudimenatry introduction to a much larger corpus of types that include generic outlines, shapes, material, strategies of incorporation, and an overview of the often contradictory "reading." The Inkaesque veneer is a form of connection, inclusion, and historicized iconic resurrection in order to identify the past in the present. Many examples, but by no means all, are tied to the tourism industry. In the context of a transitory audience, always coming and always going, the visual education is one that settles deeply, pervasively, and contradictorily in *Inkaness*.

The Return of the King, or Framing Inti Raymi

The consumption of Inka in and around Cuzco is insistent and virtually unmediated. *Inkaness* is everywhere and increasing and splashed across multiple surfaces, from hotels to beer bottles to gift shops and advertisments and calendars and anything else that might benefit, often in unquantifiable ways, from an associative relationship with Inka iconography. The surface of the city, its perpetual confusion and flux, reflects competing authenticating strategies via visual identification, association, and incorporation of Inka imagery. Simultaneously, at least in the prime tourist months of June and July, there is an increase in the appearance of the image and

person of Pachacuti. The substance of his myth transforms itself into a preferential reality, in body and substance. He is, literally speaking: embodied, appropriated, copied, magnified, draped, performed. Throughout the cityscape and deeply embedded in the fabric of the city itself, he is a resurrected presence. In a manner of speaking, his presence speaks.

His accumulated presence is given voice in another embodied performance (apart from his Hatunrumiyoc "performance") during the frenetic climax of the June Inti Raymi festival, an Inka-era solstice festival that has transformed itself (been transformed) into a nationalist enterprise of the modern Peruvian state, incorporated in 1944 by the *indegenista* journalist Humberto Vidal Unda.[71] Ever since, its authority as the central actor in the city's evolving identity has only increased, marking the city as a prominent stop on both the national and international tourist calendar. In 1996, then-mayor Raúl Salízar Saico made certain that Inti Raymi's civic role be emphasized. Considering the more recent history of the festival, he commented that its revival in 1944 had solidified it "as an evocation of past grandeur, projecting it into the future in order to return to Cusco its protagonist presence in the national and world context."[72] His narrative terms (*project*, *protagonist*) make it clear that the story of Inti Raymi is a force for change and development, that it will be continually re-written, that it will define Cuzco in the present and continue to determine the shape of its future. Amid the mélange of ancient imagery used to concretize and localize the festival—to authenticate the present in the past—the visual elevation of Pachacuti (most likely elevated because of his role, commonly

71. See Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 205.

72. Silverman, "Touring Ancient Times," 889.

understood, as the empire maker) has taken on a place of eminence. Overall, both his image and the festival's role in defining the civic identity of Cuzco is as curious as it is contested.

From one perspective the city itself is both theater and performance, Pachacuti the lead actor, and the city the stage. Strange and paradoxical juxtapositions happen in a context of simultaneity. For example, in anticipation of the 2010 Inti Raymi festival a massive banner was draped across the façade of the Jesuit church on the Plaza de Armas, Iglesia La Compañía de Jesús (fig. 4.63).[73] It depicted two scenes, the first a disembodied and architecturally scaled portrait of the Sapa Inka*,* presumably Pachacuti, complete with royal insignia such as ear spools and *mascaypacha.* Here he is a presence more than a person, looming over the secondary scene of his tunic-clad attendants following a smaller yet still monumentally scaled Sapa Inka in a procession, all of whom are marching forward along a course defined by Inka masonry blocks. One can only surmise that the cloaking of the church with an image of an indigenous, if performed, king is now an utterly benign sign of distance and disassociation; one presumes there is no "Inka" in the Inka. There is no equation that says how much time must pass before the past is sufficiently diluted so as to present no compromise, no contagion, in the present, and it is quite striking to think that the church's endeavor over centuries, of the eradication of local faiths in

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73. The same image adorns the cover of the official *Programa de Fiestas del Cusco*, published by the office of EMUFEC S.A. (Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco), the official authority ruling over festivals in the Municipality of Cusco. The official program is an impressive full-color publication and includes an message from the mayor of Cuzco at the time, Luis Arturo Flórez Garcia; a message from the director of EMUFEC; the text of the national laws (No. 21860 and 23418) declaring 24 June 24 a non-working holiday and the day of Corpus Christi; the hymn of Cuzco; advertising, including *Cerveza Cusqueňa*, prominently and with Pachacuti atop a litter; and the daily calendar of events, from 30 May to 4 July. See Empresa Municipal de Festejos del Cusco, *Programa de Fiestas del Cusco* (Cuzco, Peru, 2010). For comparative purposes, but changing annually, EMUFEC publishes a similar document in .pdf format online. See http://www.emufec.gob.pe/.

lieu of a Christian truth, has so thoroughly succeeded that to hang the singular icon of Inka authority over the institution presents little if any discernible tension across the surface.

In the context of the recalibrated Inti Raymi ceremony, the city is overwhelmed by images diffracted from its own past. The re-framing of *civic* identity is just as important in this case as the reconstituted Inti Raymi ceremony takes place over a pre-determined route—from the Qorikancha to the plaza to Saqsaywaman—in order to lend the ceremony an advantageous *Inka* authority: one that is inscribed spatially. The path is the city, its walls, and its interstices. No one is fooled (at least not the locals) and no one is trying to fool anyone into thinking this is *authentically* Inka. As Dean suggests, very few celebrants are unaware of the fact that what they are witnessing is anything but an invented tradition; it is understood locally "as an evocation (*evocacíon*), a commemoration rather than a memory."[74] In this respect, the fiction of it is a powerful reflection of contemporary desires fulfilled.

Cuzco during Inti Raymi (re-)creates, or (re-)imagines, a narrative text structured by key spaces in the city, such that Inti Raymi is spatial practice in practice. It is the performance, the vehicle, the frame, and the text itself of a thing caught between here and there, now and then, the past and the present. According to the "official" script of Inti Raymi, purchased on the street for a few dollars and available in both Spanish and English, the ceremony is a three-act play with four scenes, each of the acts defined by its setting. The action begins at the Qorikancha, processes to Haukaypata, the Quechua name for the Inka-era square that was partitioned by the Spanish and is now the Plaza de Armas, and ends at Saqsaywaman. Prayers, salutations, rituals, and auguries take place. The language is elevated, reverential, antiquated, and even liturgical, as

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74. See Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 210.

if the whole thing were spoken in a fever or a ritual fervor. For example, the opening salute to the sun, chanted, eventually by all the participants, as it is recorded in the script:

> MY SUN! MY FATHER!
> WITH GREAT JOY
> DELIGHTING
> IN THE SOLACE
> OF YOUR GREAT LIG HT [sic]
> MY SUN! MY FATHER!
> MY SUN! MY FATHER!
> YOU GIVE STRENGTH
> TO THE WHOLE WORLD.[75]

The capitalization and exclamation points over-dramatize the moment of direct address and reflect an elevated sense of spectacle.

The streets, the plaza, and Saqsaywaman are crowded with locals and tourists alike. One could argue that the city is a secondary protagonist. With one exception, the characters are archetypes rather than individuals. For example, the main character is “Inka,” defined in the script’s glossary only as the “reigning Emperor,” implying therein a critical contemporaneity, as if the spectacle were about the present, an aspect of animation in the present. Other characters include “chosen women,” musicians, a royal entourage, sweepers (*Pichaqkuna*), the *Qoya* (empress), the *Sinchí* (supreme military commander in the empire), a *tarpuntay* (oracle), and the *Willaq Uma* (the high priest of the empire). The Inka, Sinchi, and the Wilaq Uma are the primary characters. The character names were all social positions occupied by individuals, though of course, aside from the emperors and a few priests and military leaders named in the chronicles, any sense of identity and personality is absent. The lack of naming here provides the spectacle with a sense of atemporality, contextually transcending not only the present in favor of the past

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75. “Inti Raymi,” Official Script of Inti Raymi, English Version (Cusco, Peru, 2010), 1.

but also the past in favor of an aggregate whole, an impulse for entirety and dynamic completeness—*all* of the Inka empire beholden at a single moment, including all that is forthcoming.

One exception to archetypal characterization is the naming of the "Inka" as "Pachacutec."[76] This occurs a handful or times but most peculiarly in the second act by the current mayor, who joins the Sinchi and Inka atop an *usnu* fabricated around the fountain in the plaza (figs. 4.64, 4.65). The *usnu* is a temporary wood frame wrapped in newspaper papier-mâché painted grey, approximating the color of stone, with thick black outlines mimicking the form of polygonal masonry. There is another, larger fabricated *usnu* constructed in the plaza area at Saqsaywaman, which is the final destination of the Inti Raymi celebration. Pachacutec has just been delivered to the Plaza de Armas in a golden litter atop the shoulders of his litter-bearers (fig. 4.66). Still atop the litter he rises from his throne and is framed, if only temporarily, by the Jesuit church behind him, with the massive poster of a previously performed Pachacuti nearby to his left. He is dressed, like the Pachacuti on Calle Hatunrumiyoc and in the nearby banner, in a *tocapu*-style Inka tunic. He bears a golden staff that is part axe and part corn-cob, similar in style to the Pachacuti on Hatunrumiyoc, and dons the feather *mascapaycha* on his forehead. He is meant to capture the ideal of Inka rulership—of wealth and power, of preciousness, and of connectivity and command. The manner in which he holds himself is regal and self-possessed. He then climbs the *usnu*, an augury from the sun is received, and Pachacutec calls the current mayor of Cuzco, who joins the Inka atop the *usnu*.

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76. "Pachacutec" is the same individual as "Pachacuti," the ninth ruler of the Inka empire. I will use "Pachacutec" when referring specifically to the Inti Raymi text and "Pachacuti" for any other occurrence of the individual.

The Inka's speech to the mayor, referred to in the script as the "meeting of ages and eras," is notable for the manner in which it dissolves both space and time:

> Governor, you who now lead the people of Qosqo! Time and our lives intertwine in the infinite mystery of the universe and thus I appear to you as in a dream, dissolving the unyielding weight of centuries. Before you stands re-born the Inka, son of the Sun, father of all this multitude![77]

Time, at that moment, does not exist, "dissolved" in the "weight of centuries." And that he self-identifies as "re-born" is an instance of utter self-consciousness, so that, in the narrative moment, the king has returned (just as he never really departed). So that the mayor does not forget the "ancient wisdom" that propels good government—kindness, honor, truth, and justice—the Inka is given a *khipu* by a *khipukamayoq*, which he then bestows upon the mayor, saying

> I leave in your hands this sacred khipu, legacy of our fathers. It holds the three powers which are the life of our people, and whose history is lost in the beginnings of time: Love! Work! Learn! May these be the light that illuminates your good government, and the destiny of our race. Do not forget this![78]

What he is leaving the mayor is memory. I mention these passages here for two reasons: the setting and the reconstructed *usnu*, and the moment of meeting, where the flux of past and present are momentarily, albeit extra-temporally, unified in the respective bodies of power. It is certainly possible that all this has less meaning as a representation or artifact of history than it does as reflection of how we feel now about the past and a dire need to re-connect, revise, re-imagine, and re-present its fecundity.

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77. "Inti Raymi," 6.

78. Ibid., 7.

The procession then moves to Saqsaywaman, where another *usnu* has been constructed in the midst of the great plaza and in front of the zig-zag parapet wall (fig. 4.67). This is the climax of the main ceremony, where the Inka will "learn the supreme will of our Father, the Sun."[79] Amid dancing and singing and trumpets blaring, the Inka receives the auguries from the priests, who have just pretended to sacrifice a llama. Reading the smoke, and the viscosity of blood, and the wholeness of the entrails, and the vigor of the still-beating heart, good omens prevail. The seer of portents (*Kallparikuq*) addresses the Inka: "My lord, I have never heard a last gasp that was more eloquent or more auspicious. The lord Sun grants us long life and protections against anything which might dare threaten your power!"[80] Then the Willaq Uma intercedes and says "there is but one warning, according to the wise and prudent discretion of the gods. They caution us to govern with prudence, justice and honor."[81]

The last gasp is a continuous gasp, the ongoing evocation of the Inka, the embodied presence of the king/emperor above and beyond time and space, certain to return the following year and years after. Such is the efficacy of his image, his body, his embodied presence. To a certain extent Pachacuti, performed and processed, is the same as Inka masonry: insistently recalled, both are redundant and repetitive evocations of the past, both are deeply embedded in the ongoing transformations of the city, and both supersede their own location and are adapted, emended, and appropriated. All things being equal, their presence being everywhere simultaneously means they are both really and mythically recalled. Evoked by approximations and veneers and actors, they are *Inkaness* through and through. The mythology of originality has

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79. Ibid., 1.

80. Ibid., 19.

81. Ibid.

gone the way of the center and no longer holds, replaced across the surface by the *origin*-ality of mythology.

CONCLUSION

THE WAY THE DEAD RULE

> …the shapes of knowledge are always ineluctably local, indivisible from their instruments and their encasements.
>
> —Clifford Geertz, *Local Knowledge*

Inka spatial practice is rooted in insistent signs tied to centeredness and *origin*-ality. The strength of the signs, grounded in the relation of stone and water and space, is as much their refusal to dissolve or diminish as it is a matter of their seemingly inevitable return and renewal, transformed and permutated, perhaps, but nevertheless vital and sustaining. This cultural foundation, organized around stone and its *practice*, became the focus of colonial eradication programs, only to find itself, down the road, emphatically returned, such that the visual culture of the highland Andes, especially in the region of Cuzco, reclaiming its place at the center of Andean historical identity (today, globally), is tense with a self-reflexive turn playing out across its surface. Yet it seems this is also a matter of replacement, whereby contemporary Cuzco has taken its own Inka origin stories specific to Tiwanaku and Lake Titicaca and effectively displaced them, in order to live in the present and in order to shape the future, with a Neo-Inka facing. This is the image today: the visual past in the historical present shaping and re-shaping the experience of the new city and the city in history.

Cultural identity, as well as the poetics of culture, thereby takes form as a paradox of simultaneity defined by temporal distance (500 years gone) and a concurrent spatial presence (the here). This conflict between time and space, and between distancing and presencing, plays out across the surface of the city through signs, through a process of re-making, tracing itself backward while moving forward. This is an old theme, and one not unique to the West: returning

to the past to define and shape the present. It is as familiar in contemporary Cuzco as it was to Roman writers subscribing to the idea of *imitatio* as it was to Renaissance Italian masters returning to Greek and Roman classics as models for a new (or renewed) imagination. In Cuzco, however, the turn, as has been shown, manifests itself in paradox and contradiction, in reversal and inversion, in returns.

The question one is confronted with while walking the stone streets of Cuzco today is thus as much *when* are we? as it is *where* are we? What this dissertation has aimed to show is that *when* and *where* are inherently connected to the spatial practice of centeredness. As a key element in prehispanic Inka culture construction, centeredness was obscured, deconstructed, and subverted during the colonial period, and later revived in the twentieth century through visual signifiers, primarily of stone. The centered past in the present contrives not just a return but another inversion, another reversal, less a cataclysm than an oblique celebration. Contemporary visuality based in applied *Inkaness* may be superficial, and hence a frail mimicry, but it is beautiful nonetheless.[1]

The corpus of imagery and ideas referenced herein, taken together, shapes an active and dislocating presence vitalized across the visible city. Read in relation to each other, and read in relation to the centeredness of stone, rocks, and masonry discussed in chapter 2, and to

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1. This by no means aims to promote an unbroken and continuous sense of cultural continuity from the prehispanic past to the present, a paradigm called *lo andino* that Carolyn Dean indicates has been dismissed by some as romantic and essentialist. I think culture is much more messy over time, though I do believe things remain. Yet even where indigenous ideas, concepts, and structures have been transformed or forgotten, the forms themselves—rocks and architecture—have remained, are present. I am thus as interested in culture fracture and structural change as I am in continuity. Nevertheless, despite the magnitudes of transformations, continuity exists. The rocks are proof. See Carolyn Dean, *The Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 19.

representational space in chapter 3, the imagery re-making the city indicates a profound spatial reorganization embedded deeply in Inka identity but now—retrieved, reworked, reconstructed—that sense of identity comes across as surreal, theatrical, peformed, potentially empty, and practically Disney-fied. The effect of tourism is implicit in the re-making of the city, as so much of the visual confusion is directed toward this determined, temporary, and transitory audience while simultaneously manifesting, speaking to, and satisfying the desire of contemporary Peruvians. Altogether, the surface gloss shimmers brightly, albeit as one that contradicts fundamental Andean spatial practice.

To that end, this dissertation has been about the intersection of many things: rock, identity, shape, water, seeing, construction, interstitiality and liminality, convergence, cataclysm, the mythical and the really real, returns. The task has been to put them in relation with one another, to trace the webs both outward and backward and into the center. The truth of the center, however, is that there are many centers, and there was no contradiction in saying so then just as there is none now. Yet if there is a singular truth, it is that the paradigm of Inka spatial practice will continue to change and transform and return and return again. What the Inka did, as perhaps all cultures try to do, is imagine a model of their ideal world and give it structure. I was most interested in the reoccurrence of that shape over time and space.

What I would like to do now, as a matter of summation, is return briefly to the period of May 1536 and after, following the moment when Manco Inka, the son of the final ruler, Huayna Capac, attacked Cuzco and set it ablaze. Much had happened leading up to this moment. Following the execution of Atahualpa Inka on 26 July 1533, Manco was quickly named sovereign at the behest of the conquistador, Francisco Pizarro, in order to maintain some sense of

transition and order, if not continuity.[2] According to John Hemming, there was some recognition of a reciprocal need for continuity on behalf of both parties.[3] For his part, despite initial approbation about being perceived as a puppet of the Spaniards, Manco performed his duties well, at least at first. Pizarro and his cohort, for their part, recognized the dire necessity for a recognizable authority figure in the manner and kind of the Inka. Early on, encouraged by Pizarro, Manco raised an army of 5000 warriors and set off against Inka forces allied to the northern portion of the now-fractured empire and lead by a general named Quisquis. Later, he was coronated according to Inka custom, with thirty days of city-wide feasting and *chicha* drinking. During the official coronation, the mummies of the dead Inka rulers (*malquis*) were rolled out in attendance, and this act constituted historical validation because history *is* the bodies. Their puissant presence bestowed legitimacy through both witnessing and presencing.[4]

This Inka theater of state was matched by the Spaniards own performances, which exploited the coronation in order to demonstrate their authority, albeit a sense of power cloaked in terms of friendship and allegiance, which was necessary because Pizarro must have recognized how perilously unstable Peru remained. Pizarro's secretary, Pedro Sancho, read the Requirement in what was then still the central Inka plaza, *Haucaypata*, the place where the four roads that divide the empire into its four *suyus*, or territories, began; where the authority of borders and territories both originate and conclude; where the shape of empire resides; where the

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2. For an eminently readable historical account of the period 1533-1536, see Hemming, *The Conquest of the Inca*, 119-220; though dated, see George Kubler, "A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca (1515-1545)," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 24, no. 2 (May, 1944), 253-276, on the life of Manco under the Spanish and his subsequent rebellion and retreat into the Vilcabamba region of Peru.

3. Hemming, *The Conquest of the Inca*, 118-119.

4. Ibid., 126-127.

four parts come together. Sancho records that the Inka and the chiefs of the land who were present nodded in understanding.[5] What is it that they understood? How well voiced could they have been in the legal and ethical justifications of conquest, and how efficient was the translation? Or did they understand through action, space, and location? One can assume the lords were well practiced in Inka spatial practice, at least to the extent that power performed in the central plaza was readily acknowledged as meaningful and consequential.

For roughly a year there was a semblance of normalcy in Cuzco as Manco attended to the rituals of the Inka calendar. Simultaneously, however, the empire was in disarray; the center was holding but the periphery had splintered off, returning to local rule and ritual. By the autumn of 1535 Manco's situation was unsustainable. He fled but was captured and humiliated, after which he bid his time until the rains ceased and secretly plotted a new rebellion. In May 1536 Manco laid siege to Cuzco. The siege ultimately failed and Manco was forced to flee, first to the site of Ollantaytambo and then to Vitcos and finally to Espiritu Pampa, the latter two sites being deep in the Vilcabamba region. The events of Atahualpa's execution and Manco's installment and his later rebellion, and everything in-between, are now plot points in the long dénouement of contact, each like a small, punctuating *pachacuti* moment. A significant question to ask now is what might a *post-pachacuti* spatial practice look like?

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5. The Requirement was the result of a moral debate over the authority of the conquest best embodied by Bartolomé de las Casas, the great defender of rights of the Indians, who argued that the king had the right to spread the Catholic faith but not the right to invade for wealth. The result of the debate was the *Law of Burgos 1512-1513*, which regulated the life of the natives. The Requirement was an extension of this, and it was required to be read and translated before hostilities could ensue, which in theory validated the use of force after the opportunity to surrender (or be massacred) had been offered. See Hemming, *Conquest of the Incas*, 128. See also Bartolomé de las Casas, *A Short Account of the Destruction of the Indies* [1542] (New York: Penguin Books, 1992).

Titu Cusi Yupanqui, who ruled the Neo-Inka dissident state in the Vilcabamba region from 1557 to 1570 and related the stories of his father, Manco Inka, to the Augustinian Fray Marcos de García, provides some insight into what the structure of the *post-pachacuti* environment might have been. He suggests that its structure might be found in the quiet and subtle maintenance of traditional beliefs navigating the fiction and realities of the colonial system. In Titu Cusi's account his father, in preparation for further retreat, instructs his followers to maintain their identity through continued veneration of "*villcas*," or *huacas*. It is important to note that his instructions, the admonition of the departing king, weigh on two factors, communication and sight. According to Titu Cusi's account, Manco told them, speaking of the liklihood of forced change to the structures of ordered being, that

> …they may order you to worship what they themselves worship, namely some sort of painted rags that they claim to be Viracocha…don't do it but keep with what we have, for, as you can see, the villcas speak to us; we can see the sun and the moon with our own eyes, but we can't see whatever it is they are talking about. Now and then, I suppose, they will get you to worship what they worship through force and deceit. By all means, go through with it while they are present if you can't help it. But never forget our ceremonies. One thing you could do is to pretend on the outside that you agree to their demands and to give them a small trinket now and then…Second, you are to keep yourself ready for the time when I send for you or when I send word about what is to be done with these people.[6]

For Manco, the really real is the visible. Seeing the sun and moon, and the ability to communicate with *villcas*, suggests the process is ineradicable, potentially permanent, ineffably *present*. Seeing is believing. Seeing is faith. The unacknowledged reality is that the way of

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6. Titu Cusi Yupanqui, *An Account of the Conquest of Peru*, trans. Ralph Bauer (Boulder: University of Colorado Press, 2005), 115.

seeing implies an object of focus, and the object of focus can only be *over there*, be it near or far. The instructions to go underground are simply a matter of survival.

It is similarly instructive that this note of defiance, imploring the sanctity of memory alongside preparation for the future, took place upon the departure for Vitcos. Vitcos is an interesting choice for reasons beyond its remoteness and relative inaccessibility. I would argue that Manco chose it, at least in part, because its site location affords it access to the virtues of *tinku*, which, in this case, may have been perceived as an antidote to the chaos of *pachacuti*. Figures C.1 and C.2, for example, show the approach to Vitcos and the view from the site, respectively. Among other things, each image is notable for capturing an aspect of convergence, which, already stated, is the essence of *tinku*. In C.1, as one approaches the site along the spine of a ridge, the trails leading into the site diverge around an overgrown outcrop before reaching the architectural ruins. In the opposite direction, of course, the imperative is reversed, and the impulse becomes one of joining and convergence. This is largely a matter of topography when locating a site atop a ridgeline. Even without the trails, whose date is unclear although they are enhanced by modern peripatetics, the orientation of the site diverges or converges, depending on direction travelled, from a single access point.

More interesting, however, is the view from the other side of the site (figure C. 2), which offers a broad perspective of descending ridges converging along the valley floor, where a stream meanders down valley in the direction of the distant mountains. The stream in view is itself the result of the convergence of two streams, one from either side of the ridge occupied by the ruins, so the site must be understood as being centered within a series of convergences. Nearly everything that is resonant about *small-spaces* finds an analogous form here at the macro-scale: the complementary landscape elements are here descending ridges and the mediated third

element is the stream. Of course, at Vitcos this is just natural tectonics, the formation of landscape over geologic time. Figure C. 2 nevertheles offers a compelling instance of *tinku* as a macroscopic ordering principle, arguably a primary reason for Vitcos's site location as well as a possible reason for its choice as a redoubt during Manco's retreat. As such, it offered a familiar shape. In other words, to be present at Vitcos suggested systemic spatial and cosmological familiarity, and thus the appearance of order and safety. To Manco and his cohort who, it has been suggested, were less than endeared to the high jungle environs of Vitcos and, later, Espiritu Pampa, the familiar shape at Vitcos may have been enough to waylay, if only temporarily, the chaos of shapelessness.

The importance of Vitcos-as-*tinku*, as spatial antidote in the context of conquest, takes on additional significance when we return to the center of centers at Cuzco. Figure C.3 shows the view from Saqsaywaman looking over Cuzco, the descending ridges in the middleground running toward each other and the city advancing to that point of convergence, before opening up to the broader vista, which is dominated by the sacred mountain of Ausangate. According to Andrea Heckman, Ausangate is the *apu*, or lord, of Cuzco; it is considered by local Quechua to be the provider and it feeds and owns all of Cuzco.[7] It is the lord of all it sees, which is everything and everywhere from which it can be seen. It is a periphery that defines a center. Like Vitcos, the macro-location of Cuzco, encompassing the city and the surrounding visible environment, is a reflection of geologic time and tectonic action, yet the site choice, which again reflects *tinku*, suggests a paradigmatic relation based in the signs of centering. Like *small-spaces*, these relate across both time and space to effect order.

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7. Andrea Heckman and Tad Fettig, *Ausangate*, VHS (Watertown, MA: Documentary Educational Resources, 2006).

Yet one suspects that this recognition of spatial familiarity might belie a fundamental fiction, the same fiction that Manco suggests when he tells his people to acquiesce when necessary to survive, to pretend to accept and adhere to the tenets of transformation. Although he indicates that it is fine to give in, he simultaneously implores them to never forget the indigenous ceremonies because he will return and call for them to rise up and deal with the invaders. This point underscores the root fear of the Spaniard's vast insecurity during the early colonial situation, at least, that is, until the execution of Tupac Amaru in September 1572, when the specter of revolt was presently quashed.

Manco may not have returned but the Inka and *Inkaness* certainly did, and it is instructive to measure the degree to which modern Cuzco performs the image of Manco Inka in relation to the feverish attention with which Pachacuti is lavished. This is to say that Manco is an absent presence, broadly invisible across the contemporary urban surface. Pachacuti is preferred because he is a sign of beginnings rather than ends, a symbol of imperial trappings rather than the dénouement of contact. Pachacuti is embedded with ideas of narrative valor where Manco is coated, possibly contaminated, with resistance. Pachacuti is preferred because the essence of his name is the essence of the structure of Andean culture over time. This is the way the dead rule, no longer in their original, bodily presence, but returned and transformed.

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