(RE)CONSTRUCTING INKA UNDERSTANDINGS OF ARCHITECTURAL SPACE

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ABSTRACT

(Re)Constructing Inka Understandings
of Architectural Space

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This thesis is an attempt to illustrate how notions of the built environment may shift the focus of architectural analysis from representations of functional geometrical space, to emic reconstructions of the ways in which those places were understood by the people who used them. This entails an increased contextualisation of buildings as elements of human socio-cultural interaction. In order to explore these ideas, the central urban open space of Inka *Qosqo*, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, will be used to suggest that without considering the larger experience of the Inka built environment we cannot hope to suggest the experiential qualities of that architecture. The current interpretation of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* relies on histories, or ways of knowing the past, as represented by Spanish conquest and colonial chronicles and two modern narrative reconstructions of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. Ethnohistory and contemporary Andean ethnographies are used to recontextualise the information provided in the former narratives. The result is a (re)construction of Inka architectural space based on colonial and contemporary accounts of the Inka and their descendants. Accordingly, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may be understood as having acted as the centre of *Kay Pacha*, or "this world," in and from which aspects of Inka cosmological and social space were mediated.

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A Note on Quechua

While the Inka used *khipu*, or systems of knotted strings, to record numerical and narrative information, we are currently unable to decipher the remaining *khipu* with any degree of accuracy. During the conquest and colonial periods attempts were made to record the oral language of the Inka in written form, as well as to translate Quechua to Spanish. A primary goal of this endeavour was to institutionalise the use of Quechua by the non-Spanish segments of colonial society, and subsequently segregate them from official channels of authority (Mannheim 1990). However, the result of this task is a wide variety of Quechua spellings in the historical and modern scholarly narratives. In an attempt to reconcile these discrepancies, this thesis will use the contemporary governmental standard of Quechua orthography used in the Department of Cuzco, Peru.

In 1990 the Peruvian city of Cuzco chose "Qosqo" as their official name, but that spelling will be reserved in this thesis to refer to the city in the time of the Inka, and "Cuzco" will be retained to refer to the city in post-Inka times. Since it was decided to leave the original documents as they were written, the contemporary orthography is used almost exclusively by this author. A glossary of Quechua terms used in this thesis is also provided.

EXAMPLES:

Inca → *Inka*
Tahuantinsuyu → *Tawantinsuyu*
Ceque → *Zeque*
Quipu → *Khipu*
Huatanay → *Watanay*

Huaca → *Waka*
Coricancha → *Qorikancha*
Mallqui → *Mallki*
Viracocha → *Wiraqocha*
Cassana → *Qasana*

Cusipata → *Kusipata*
Capac → *Qhapaq*
Huayna → *Wayna*
Cocha → *Qocha*

Pachacuti → *Pachakuti*
Aclla → *Aqlla*
Raimi → *Raymi*
Collana → *Qollana*

Relatedly, this thesis relies on Holguin's (1989 [1608]) Spanish-Quechua dictionary for definitions of Quechua words and concepts used in the conquest and colonial chronicles. Holguin was a Catholic priest who learned Quechua from the remaining Inka, likely in order to communicate with potential converts in Peru; he wrote both a Quechua grammar and the above dictionary. Holguin's work is considered to be the most reliable and extensive document of its time, and an invaluable source for Quechua usage during the early colonial period in Peru.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

The notion of the built environment demands that the study of architecture be expanded to include not merely the formal qualities of buildings, but also the relationships between buildings and the social practices which render them culturally meaningful. Consequently, architecture partially comprises the spatial experience of those who build and use it. The spatiality of social life compels spaces to emerge as meaningful places. More specifically, a place is always already involved in structures of understanding and practice; the built environment is not merely culture covering over nature, it is how we understand ourselves in relation to the physical world. As Thomas (1996:83) puts it, "just as the stretching of persons and material objects through time is the means by which they acquire their identities, so [too]... the identity of place has a narrative and accretional quality". Over time, people shape the spaces in which they live, and these places subsequently guide the experiences of the people in them. Places cannot be separated from the activities which occur in them, but neither can those activities be understood as the result of simple spatial geometry. One way to suggest how the built environment is perceived is to examine the stories told about it. In this way we will never be able to suggest how a place actually *was*, but rather we may suggest how it *was understood*. To reconstruct the conceptual basis of ancient architecture according to these assumptions requires the abandonment of strictly empirical and quantitative analyses, and instead a focus on plausible accounts produced in and for the present.

The task of reconstructing an architectural complex of Inka *Qosqo* is a difficult

one. The paucity of Inka architectural remains in central Cuzco today practically prevents archaeological investigation. The Spanish historical documents, while seeking to define Inka ways of life, are limited by the biases of the authors and the difficulties of transcribing Quechua oral traditions remaining in the colonial period. To compound the problem, very little is known about the Inka informants used by the Spanish writers. The historical chronicles admit many omissions and contain contradictory information, and yet they remain the major sources of information on the Inka and their capital. However, one way to expand upon the information provided is by considering contemporary ethnographies of the Andean descendants of the Inka and their conquered peoples.

In order to demonstrate how notions of the built environment can expand our understanding of ancient architecture, this thesis focusses on the central square of Inka *Qosqo*, known as the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. This site was chosen for two connected reasons. First, both historical documents and modern scholarly research (see for example Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1990) tend to overlook the open space, favouring instead to focus on elaborate constructions such as the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun. This bias may reflect the preoccupation of the *conquistadores* and colonial powers with accumulating wealth and undermining Inka socio-political structure; modern scholars rarely make an attempt to overcome these biases in the data. Secondly, Western understanding of space, and especially open space, had traditionally been confined to notions of Cartesian and Euclidian geometry. Consequently, both historical and contemporary narratives indicate a reliance on the interpretation of open space as empty space. Instead, the idea of the built environment denies the existence of empty space, as

all places are socially meaningful.

Through a consideration of Spanish historical chronicles and contemporary Andean ethnohistory and ethnography, this thesis will attempt a re-telling of the stories of the Inka *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. In this way, the built environment of central *Qosqo* is presented as a product of particular spatial and temporal positions; however, these positions are now used to suggest how the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have been understood in Inka times. Consequently, it is assumed that the historical documents compiled in this thesis are better understood as "histories," or *ways of knowing the past*. While these narratives certainly tell us something about the Inka, they also tell us about the ways in which Westerners have understood a conquered people through time; what they describe as "Inka" was filtered through a colonial lens in order to make the Inka intelligible to their new rulers. Ethnohistory and ethnographic analogy are used to (re)contextualise these historical narratives, although it is understood that both ethnohistoric and ethnographic narratives are equally influenced by the author's position in space and time. What results is a description of how the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* manifested one aspect of Inka spatial experience, based on these narratives.

The second chapter of this thesis will define what is meant by the built environment. Architecture is understood to both reflect and direct cultural values and practices. The notion of place is presented in phenomenological terms, and social practice is seen to manifest both ideological and material concerns. That is, the ways in which we engage the physical world are mediated through the built environment. Symbolic and psycho-cultural approaches to the built environment represent architecture

as the means by which we construct our ideological and material worlds in unison. Spatial order, then, goes beyond geometry to represent our relative positions in a culturally negotiated universe.

The third chapter focusses on Inka notions of space, based on knowledge gained from archaeology, historically recorded myths and ethnographic analogy. First, background information on the formation and constitution of the Inka Empire, including its capital at *Qosqo*, is presented. By describing the Inka origin myth and related aspects of cosmology, Inka spatial experience is described in terms of mediating the inherent tension between vertical or cosmological space and the horizontal space of the land and people. A discussion of Inka architecture and settlement planning follows in order to illustrate the broader cultural experience of building.

Chapter 4 of this thesis compiles the conquest and colonial narratives describing the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. Providing an analytical framework for interpreting the Spanish chronicles, each narrative is discussed according to its historical context. The narratives may be seen to provide valuable information concerning how the "great square" has been understood since its destruction. However, their primary contribution to this thesis is the elucidation of particular themes which reveal the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as an architectural complex far more meaningful than mere geometrical open or empty space.

The final chapter of this thesis addresses the spatial and temporal aspects of the *Haucaypata- Kusipata*. By contrasting two modern narrative reconstructions of the area, it is suggested that the most effective way to understand this complex is to look beyond

simple geometrical configurations and to concentrate on the social significance attached to the place. In this way, the attempt to understand the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as it may have been in Inka times relies on the interpretation of stories told about it. In order to elaborate upon the themes of the historical narratives, ethnohistories and ethnographies concerning Andean notions of *pacha*, or space-time, are used to suggest how the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have fit into broader human spatial and temporal experience. Such an approach allows the suggestion that the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have been the conceptual centre, or *chawpi*, of Inka vertical and horizontal space.

Chapter 2 - The Built Environment

Architecture and the Built Environment

Architecture, it has come to be recognised, consists not only of the material constructions of stone, wood, or steel, but also of their distribution in space, and the relationship of building to its environment. Hence, the preferred designation today for architecture is the "built environment". The introduction of the concept of "space" in architectural analysis offers the potential to ask *why* we construct buildings and *how* we use them:

> A modern, living, unprejudiced, socially and intellectually useful approach to architecture thus serves not only to prepare us for the esthetic enjoyment of historical works, but also to pose the problem of the social environment in which we live, the urban and architectural spaces in which we spend the greater part of our day, so that we may recognize them and know how to see them... [An] organic history of architecture... will speak to the whole, integrated human being... Like another sense, we shall acquire a feeling for space, a love of space, and a need for freedom in space. For space, though it cannot in itself determine our judgment of lyrical values, expresses all the factors of architecture - the sentimental, moral, social and intellectual - and thus represents the precise analytical moment of architecture that is material for its history (Zevi 1957:241-242).

And the relationship between buildings and space has resulted in studies of the built environment:

> The *built environment* is an abstract concept employed here and in some of the literature to describe the products of human building activity. It refers in the broadest sense to any physical alteration of the natural environment, from hearths to cities, through construction by humans. Generally speaking, it includes *built forms*, which are defined by building types (such as dwellings, temples, or meeting houses) created by humans to shelter, define and protect activity. Built forms also include, however, spaces that are defined and bounded, but not necessarily enclosed, such as the uncovered areas in a compound, a plaza, or a street. Further, they may include landmarks or *sites*, such as shrines, which do not necessarily shelter or enclose activity (Lawrence and Low 1990:454).

The built environment, then, is any human imposition on the physical landscape.

However, both symbolic and psycho-cultural approaches have qualified this sense of intrusion to include the notion that if we shape our spaces, then indeed our spaces also shape us.

Symbolic Interpretations

Symbolic approaches to architecture and space interpret the built environment as an expression of culturally shared mental structures and processes. The system of relationships among the physical attributes of structure and space is often shown to imitate or represent both conscious and unconscious aspects of social life.

> As expressions of culture, built forms may be seen to play a communicative role embodying and conveying meaning between groups, or individuals within groups, at a variety of levels. The built environment may also act to reaffirm the system of meaning and the values a group finds embodied in the cosmos. Symbolic explanations often rest on demonstrating how the built environment corresponds to ideal conceptions of social, political, and religious life (Lawrence and Low 1990:466).

On a more practical level, the built environment may be seen to constitute a neutral, inhibiting, or facilitating setting for human activities; however, this setting is never determining or generating of these activities (Rapoport 1976:8-9). The built environment, therefore, contains qualities of human perception, expression and adaption. The cultural organisation of space, time, and meaning are the very constituents of the built environment.

Beginning with social-symbolic accounts, Kuper (1972) puts forth the idea that the sites of architecture in Swazi culture function, through non-verbal communication, as symbols which consolidate and embody culturally powerful meanings and values. In fact, buildings, in the broadest sense, are instrumental in the system of (mass)

communication which often articulate asymmetrical social relations. These complex levels of meaning are manipulated by different actors in different spatio-temporal situations for any number of individual or collective goals or reasons. Relatedly, Vogt (1969) addresses the power of the built environment in Zinacantan culture to replicate the structures and concepts necessary for integrating various levels of social relations, from the family, to the *municipio* or community, to the ancestral gods and cosmos.

Strictly structuralist approaches (such as that of Levi-Strauss 1963) have been criticised for appearing static because even the dynamic mediation of the binary structure never does away with the inherent asymmetry in the system (Ortiz 1969). As well, analyses of oppositions and contradictory social practices, while claiming to reveal cultural meaning may, in fact, impose their own order on the ethnographic material (see Doxtater 1984). Furthermore, structuralism's failure to account for social historical change presents human activity and experience as synchronic, and the focus on cognitive aspects excludes notions of agency or praxis (see Giddens 1984). Post-structuralists like Bourdieu (1977) propose that by studying *habitus*, or the sets of generative principles produced by objective conditions which are (inexactly) reproduced by the practices and meanings motivated by these principles, we may elaborate the links between structures (spaces) and social practice. For Bourdieu, agency or action is not a purely subjectivist stand, but rather a back-and-forth exchange between personal and structural points of view he believes can be identified through a relational method or his general science of practices. The built environment, then, is the locus of agency, and through analyses of places and activities, we can identify contextually created and recreated meanings.

In terms of the metaphoric function of built forms, Fernandez (1977) connects Fang cosmology, myth, social structure, and village architecture through systems of culturally relevant meanings. He develops his notion of quality space as composed of continuous axes between bipolar oppositions of meaning and then demonstrates how metaphor is both interpretive and strategic in its employment. Fernandez (1984) later asks how architecture is evocative and concludes that people predicate space upon themselves and thereby obtain qualities that they, in turn, project upon space. These predications and projections transform "empty" spaces into meaningful "places". Metaphor is also seen to provide a means for ordering experience, such as the linking of myth and cosmology with the human body. Hugh-Jones (1979) uses metaphor to connect Amazonian house form with culture and the human body, and Nemeth (1987) examines the ideological qualities of architecture on Cheju Island, Korea as both cosmological and body metaphors. The metaphor of landscape in the Andes (Bastien 1985) and in New Guinea (Van Binsbergen 1988) has also been used to understand the body, and conversely, the body has been used to understand the landscape. Finally, dramaturgical approaches, such as that proposed by Goffman (1959, 1971) attempt to identify qualities of territoriality in spaces, situations, and in the self, and how they combine as presentations and representations aimed at convincing others of particular social identities. These performances are more than metaphor, as Goffman's contrast between front stage (where we act) and back stage (where we prepare to act) creates settings or spaces which become integral to explaining differences in human behaviour. As Lawrence and Low (1990:474) claim,

> the use of metaphor in symbolic analysis of the built environment is one of the most powerful and successful approaches to date. It merges the strength of cultural meanings and interpretation with concrete architecture. The built form thus becomes a vehicle for expressing and communicating cultural meaning - that is, a meaning system in itself that is interpreted within the context of isomorphic meanings of body, personhood, and social structure.

The emphasis on the importance of the built environment to ritual efficacy and how the built environment both constitutes and acquires meaning through ritual performance can be traced to the works of Durkheim (1965 [1915]), Durkheim and Mauss (1963 [1903]), Turner (1967, 1969, 1974), and Van Gennep (1960 [1908]). The idea that features of the built environment can act as crucial symbolic elements during ritual activities by providing settings and marking positions for the participants stems from Van Gennep's (1960 [1908]) study on boundaries and cultural and spatial rites of passage. In this way, symbolic relations with the built environment are manifested in ritual practices. Thereby, architecture may be studied not as imitations or representations of culture, but as culture itself; buildings are in themselves components of culture, myth, ritual and world-view (Vastokas 1978:243). The built environment acts both as symbol and as reality.

And finally, phenomenological approaches which emphasise the "importance of multiple subjective sensory experiences that link physical features with personal identity" are crucial for interpretive purposes (Lawrence and Low 1990:475). Bachelard (1969), Hall (1966), Heidegger (1971), Norberg-Schultz (1971) and Tuan (1974) use phenomenological approaches to express space as the experience of being-in-the-world, or the existential reality of the place as experienced through the senses. Furthermore,

according to Richardson (1982), the fundamental way space is experienced may also communicate the basic dynamics and meanings of "culture," as he illustrates through the qualitative differences in Costa Rica between being-in-the-plaza (which embodies the sense of *cultura*, or Culture) and being-in-the-market (which exemplifies *vida*, or Living).

Psycho-cultural Interpretations

Psycho-cultural approaches tend to study spatial perception and orientation as universal genetic and/or cultural traits, or as reflecting basic human needs and learning processes. Hallowell (1955), however, in describing Ojibwa knowledge of the cosmic and physical environments, claims that cultural and environmental processes had conditioned the socialization process. Hall's (1966) study of proxemics, or people's use of space as an aspect of culture, addresses what he believes is an innate distancing mechanism. This sense of personal space is seen to regulate human social interaction. He claims that since spatial aspects of behaviour are assumed or presented as self-evident, people usually only become aware of the boundary when it has been transgressed, often in culture contact situations. Appropriate spatial uses are therefore learned through cultural experience; that is, we learn our "rules" of physical movement and placement through practice. Hall (1959) proposes that spatial behaviour is a form of non-verbal communication; in other words, "space speaks". These spatial dimensions of behaviour indicate how the built environment may both enable and constrain certain types of behaviours.

The Spatiality and Temporality of Social Life

Architecture is inextricably connected to lived experience, and that lived experience is always spatially and historically situated. As Soja (1985:90) points out, "*spatiality situates social life* in an active arena where purposeful human agency jostles problematically with tendential social determinations to shape everyday activity, particularise social change, and etch into place the course of time and the making of history". But, Gregory and Urry (1985:3) state that, "spatial structure [may be] seen not merely as an arena in which social life unfolds, but rather as a medium through which social relations are produced and reproduced".

How, then, is spatial experience produced? Soja (1985:92-93) would suggest that

> spatiality is socially produced and, like society itself, exists in both substantial forms (concrete spatialities) and as a set of relations between individuals and groups. Spatiality, as socially produced space, must then be distinguished from the physical space of material nature and the mental space of cognition and representation, each of which is used and incorporated into the social construction of spatiality but cannot be conceptualised as its equivalent... Conversely, the social production of spatiality cannot be completely separated from physical and cognitive space.

For Soja, the "natural," or physical world exists first, but is only understood through socially constructed meaning. In that sense, "nature" is always already "culture," as we only apprehend or appropriate it through social actions. Spatiality is never fixed or static, but constantly formulated and reformulated through human experiences. Soja (1985:94) continues by explaining that "the production of space (and the making of history) can thus be described as both the *medium* and the *outcome* of social action and relationship". That is, spatial structures and relations manifest social structures and relations. The connection of spatiality and temporality as both the pre-requisites and co-

requisites for human social experience suggests that the notion of space as abstract is meaningless. Actually, the environment is categorised and named according to our perception of space as places.

> Stories and tales may be attached to such places, making them resonate with history and experience. The culturally constructed elements of landscape are thus transformed into material and permanent markers and authentications of history, experience and values. Although the stories change in the retelling, the place provides an anchor of stability and credibility. The very existence of physical places validates the rewoven histories (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994:4).

This distinction between abstract *geometric space* and significant space, or *place*, implies that in "nature" each object is self-contained and interacts with other objects only externally, whereas in socially constituted space, each component is part of the "totality of each and every other" (Ingold 1993:155). And, as Thomas (1996:83) reminds us, "places emerge as places through their involvement in structures of understanding and practice. Places are always already place-like as soon as we are aware of them, use them, and consume them". We do not merely build dwellings and monuments on top of "nature," we shape "nature" itself. Accordingly, without the recognition that our world is internally differentiated according to areas of human interest, no one space would be more relevant than any other. Spatiality is not merely the quantitative expression of centimetres and metres, but the qualitative understanding that places may be sentimentally and socially "closer" to us, or "farther away" from us (Thomas 1996:84-85). This is possible because human beings have the ability to spatially and temporally extend themselves through cultural practices, rendering physical distance meaningless if it can be manifested as "close". For example, regardless of the physical location of one's home, it is always sentimentally close.

Dwelling and Monumentality

Phenomenological approaches, briefly discussed above, have contributed much to the interpretation and description of spatiality, or the experience of place. Particularly, the work of Bachelard (1969), Heidegger (1971), and Lefebvre (1991) has elaborated upon the production of space and the experiences of dwelling and of monumentality. As Bachelard (1969:86) points out,

> We must go beyond the problems of description - whether this description be objective or subjective, that is, whether it gives facts or impressions - in order to attain to the primary virtues, those that reveal an attachment that is native in some way to the primary function of inhabiting... [We must] seize upon the germ of the essential, sure, immediate well-being it encloses. In every dwelling, even the richest, the first task of the phenomenologist is to find the original shell.

This original shell of any building is experiential, constituted through memory and image. Bachelard's sense of spatiality inextricably joins time and space as experienced human memory and history:

> in the theatre of the past that is constituted by memory, the stage setting maintains the characters in their dominant roles. At times we think we know ourselves in time, when all we know is a sequence of fixations in the spaces of the being's stability - a being who does not want to melt away, and who, even in the past, when he sets out in search of things past, wants time to 'suspend' its flight. In its countless alveoli, space contains compressed time. That is what space is for... Memories are motionless, and the more securely they are fixed in space, the sounder they are (Bachelard 1969:89).

A house rises upward and establishes itself vertically, and it is also concentrated into a sense of centrality; as such "a house constitutes a body of images that give mankind proofs or illusions of stability. We are constantly re-imagining its reality: to distinguish all these images would be to describe the soul of the house" (Bachelard 1969:94).

Heidegger (1971) also sought to explain the connections between building and dwelling as human spatial and temporal experience:

> We attain to dwelling, so it seems, only by means of building...Still, not every building is a dwelling...[And] these buildings are [still] in the domain of our dwelling... These buildings house man. He inhabits them and yet does not dwell in them, when to dwell means merely that we take shelter in them... Dwelling and building are related as end and means. However, as long as this is all we have in mind, we take dwelling and building as two separate activities, an idea that has something correct in it. Yet at the same time by the means-end schema we block our view of the essential relations. For building is not merely a means and a way toward dwelling - to build is in itself already to dwell (Heidegger 1971:100).

What does building mean? For Heidegger, it means to dwell, but not merely to dwell here or there, but rather dwelling in the sense of being-in-the-world as mortal humans. With this dwelling comes the sense of cherishing and protecting, cultivating and constructing. Building as dwelling, however, "remains for man's everyday experience that which is from the outset 'habitual'- we inhabit it, as our language says so beautifully... For this reason it recedes behind the manifold ways in which dwelling is accomplished, the activities of cultivation and construction" (Heidegger 1971:101). He concludes this thought by claiming that

> We do not dwell because we have built, but we build and have built because we dwell, that is, because we are *dwellers*. But in what does the nature of dwelling consist?... To dwell, to be set at peace, means to remain at peace within the free, the preserve, the free sphere that safeguards each thing in its nature. *The fundamental character of dwelling is this sparing and preserving*... (Heidegger 1971:102).

But, for Heidegger (1971:103), dwelling and building "'on the earth' already means 'under the sky'. Both of these *also* mean 'remaining before the divinities' and include a 'belonging to men's being with one another'". These three spaces, on the earth, under the sky, and before the divinities, are experienced by mortals as a oneness comprising four elements:

> This simple oneness of the four we call *the fourfold*. Mortals *are* in the fourfold by *dwelling*. But the basic character of dwelling is to spare, to preserve. Mortals dwell in the way they preserve the fourfold in its essential being, its presencing.

> Accordingly, the preserving that dwells is fourfold. Mortals dwell in that they save the earth... saving the earth does not master the earth and does not subjugate it. Mortals dwell in that they receive the sky as sky. They leave to the sun and the moon their journey, to the stars their courses, to the seasons their blessing and their inclemency... Mortals dwell in that they await the divinities as divinities. In hope they hold up to the divinities what is unhoped for. They wait for intimations of their coming and do not mistake the signs of their absence... In saving the earth, in receiving the sky, in awaiting the divinities, in initiating mortals, dwelling occurs as the fourfold preservation of the fourfold... But if dwelling preserves the fourfold, where does it keep the fourfold's nature? How do mortals make their dwelling such a preserving?

Dwelling is always a "staying with things". Dwelling, as preserving, "keeps the fourfold in that which mortals stay: in things... Mortals nurse and nurture the things that grow, and specially construct things that do not grow. Cultivating and construction are building in the narrower sense. *Dwelling*, insofar as it keeps or secures the fourfold in things, is, as this keeping, a *building*" (Heidegger 1971:105). In other words, dwelling and building are the spatial and temporal experiences of joining ourselves with our worlds in meaningful ways.

In part, Lefebvre (1991:139) addresses the production of space in terms of monumentality, which for him means the "perceived, the conceived and the lived; representations of space and representational spaces; the spaces proper to each faculty, from the sense of smell to speech; the gestural and the symbolic". Monumental space may be seen to offer each member of society a vision or setting for personal social identities within the collective membership of gathered peoples. Within monumental space each person takes their proper place according to the established cultural norms, "the monument thus effected a 'consensus'... rendering it practical and concrete. The element of repression in it and the element of exaltation could scarcely be disentangled;

or perhaps it would be more accurate to say that the repressive element was metamorphosed into exaltation" (Lefebvre 1991:139).

The appeal of monumental space is its perceived ability to answer all our questions even before we ask them. That is, monuments are "imposing in their durability... [they] seem eternal, because [they] seem to have escaped time. Monumentality transcends death..." (Lefebvre 1991:140). In this way, monumental space is "greater" than human beings, as the unfortunate reality of decay and death is reformulated as a splendid living space. But Lefebvre (1991:141) reminds us that "this is a transformation, however, which serves what religion, (political) power and knowledge have in common".

In order to understand how monumentality, or manifest social practice and meaning, is produced, Lefebvre (1991) advocates a focus on the active "texture" of space, rather than on the "reading" of architecture and space as "texts". Texture consists of spaces covered by networks or webs; monuments constitute the anchors for these webs. And monuments have "horizons of meaning," where different actions in different times constitute and reconstitute a multiplicity of meanings attached to that space: the "mortal 'moment' (or component) of the sign is temporarily abolished in monumental space" (Lefebvre 1991:140). In order to clarify,

> monuments should not be looked upon as collections of symbols (even though every monument embodies symbols - sometimes archaic and incomprehensible ones), nor as chains of signs (even though every monumental whole is made up of signs). A monument is neither an object or an aggregation of diverse objects, even though its 'objectality,' its position as a social object, is recalled at every moment, perhaps by the brutality of the materials of masses involved, perhaps on the contrary, by their gentle procedures. It is neither a sculpture, nor a figure, nor simply the result of material procedures... What appears empty may turn out to be full [as the body] is transformed into a

> 'property' of monumental space, into symbols which are generally intrinsic parts of a politico-religious whole, into co-ordinated symbols (Lefebvre 1991:142).

In other words, Lefebvre is advocating an approach to spatiality which goes beyond the material to incorporate how we understand and experience space.

And, finally of interest here, he describes two primary processes which function in monumental space: "1) Displacement, implying metonymy, the shift from part to whole, and contiguity; and 2) condensation, involving substitution, metaphor, and similarity" (Lefebvre 1991:142). Social space, or the place of social practice, is manifested in monumental space. Each monumental space, or those places in which we negotiate our social identities, "becomes the metaphorical and quasi-metaphysical underpinning of society, this by virtue of a play of substitutions in which the religious and political realms symbolically (and ceremonially) exchange attributes - the attributes of power; in this way the authority of the sacred and the sacred aspect of authority are transferred back and forth, mutually reinforcing one another in the process" (Lefebvre 1991:143).

In sum, the phenomenological positions described above have the strength of resisting the urge to express the "flux of experience with finite, all-encompassing, and bounded terms" (Jackson 1996:3). Although space is described in terms of the experiences of dwelling and monumentality, there is a shift in emphasis from "explanatory causes to creative effects" (Jackson 1996:4). Space, or the world in which we live, is never something finished; it is always in the making through our social practices. Human beings may build and dwell, but the terms of these experiences are always in flux. As such, the sense of "dwelling" or "monumentality" is actively

constructed and reconstructed within cultural and epistemological constraints.

History

The discussion of space has thus far concentrated on the social, political and religious forces that shape the built environment, and the impact of these buildings on subsequent social action. Inherent in this spatiality is a notion of time; that is, spaces become meaningful places by virtue of the actions which occur there at specific points in time.

> Buildings, indeed, the entire built environment, are essentially social and cultural products. Buildings result from social needs and accommodate a variety of functions - economic, social, political, religious and cultural. Their size, appearance, location and form are governed not simply by physical factors (climate, materials or topography) but by a society's ideas, its forms of economic and social organization, its distribution of resources and authority, its activities and the beliefs and values which prevail at any one period of time (King 1980:1).

But there is also the sense of temporality which emerges through social uses and meanings of architecture and space over time. Most often, these social histories focus on the historical development of a particular building type, such as Foucault's (1975) study of prisons. The evolution of physical forms is evaluated according to socio-historical periods, and institutional design is seen as a mechanism of control. Another version of architectural social history was conducted by Winslow (1984). Her original study of Sinhalese Buddhist deities was revised (Winslow 1989) when a renewed understanding of Sri Lankan history compelled her to re-analyse the spatial patterns she had observed. This serves to illustrate how different concepts of culture history may transform our understanding of the relationships between buildings, space, and social action. Relatedly, "post-colonial times" have produced a body of literature concerned with "the

connection between space and violence. This connection comes from seeing spatial production as differentiation. The production of space thus implies division and hierarchy, cutting up, and also division from, not as avoidable evils, but as unavoidable conditions of the constitution of space" (Liggett and Perry 1995:4). And finally, there is the type of architectural social history to be applied in this thesis: where extant historical documents and ethnohistoric and ethnographic accounts are used to (re)create no longer existing architecture, a situation dealt with fully in Chapters 4 and 5. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss how scholars interpret other people's built environments; it remains a viable focus for future research. All of these approaches relate the "time/space of analysis to the time/space of social production through the creation of...narratives that re(enact) spatial patterns" (Liggett and Perry 1995:8).

Spatial Order

We have discussed how spatiality is rendered meaningful through human action. "However, the capacity to reinterpret and change meanings is constrained by the already existing spatial order" (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994:5). By spatial order it is meant that humans classify the world in which they live according to "morality, social relations, space, time, and the cosmos... The concentric structuring of space into a centre and a periphery (or a set of concentric zones) and diametric organization according to one or more axes (such as the four cardinal directions) are also common elements of an underlying system of rules or conventions" (Parker Pearson and Richards 1994:11). Thus, what is of interest here is the orientation of people to their environments, and that

of buildings according to culturally mediated meanings of order and place, and how that ordering, in turn, conditions human behaviour.

If spatial and temporal boundaries consist of physical and conceptual thresholds, then any notion of spatial order or organisation involves the idea that these boundaries are "permeable and negotiable, created, maintained, elaborated and dismantled, separating and unifying, divisive and inclusive, definitional, invisible, transforming, and transformative" (Pellow 1996:1). There is no need to establish which type of boundary, physical or conceptual, is more "real;" any type of boundary has the dynamic quality stemming from human interaction attributed to it above. And yet, each boundary serves to delineate experiential space so that a sense of inside and outside is perpetually maintained or transformed.

Spatial order may also conceptualise and concretise a centre, through building and dwelling. In other words, through a centre point where different planes of existence converge, human beings negotiate their social identities and their relationships with the physical and cosmological worlds. There may exist a "centre of the world," an *axis mundi*; similarly, there are spatial images of the universe, or *imago mundi*. These centres, or pivotal points, are architectural or spatial foci (Eliade 1959). A settlement with complex concentric structuring might even have multiple *axes mundi*. Other kinds of architecture represent or reflect the universe as experienced by the builders, who in turn, re-experience the building through those values. This centre and virtual unfolding of the universe, whether physical or conceptual, has a sense of spatiality that, while based in metaphor, creates a flow of "real" power to and from that site (Wheatley 1971).

People construct their places, and the places then mediate their interactions with the world. Exercises in dominance and resistance both smooth and contort the human experience of spatiality.

Spatial order has been presented as the generative interaction between humans and their geography. We can extend this mediation to include the cosmos; that is, the human experience of the sky. The connections between astronomy and architecture in this context may seem obvious, but these connections are as fluid and complex as any discussed above. Both astronomers and architects deal with space, and "the spatial imagination necessary for an astronomer facilitates the architect's understanding of the physical space which he or the planner defines" (Hartung 1981:33). In this sense, architecture is most fully three-dimensional; it is connected to a world as large or small as we can imagine we see. The Gothic cathedral soars towards the heavens both actually and metaphorically, whereas the natural hot spring in which we bathe sinks us into the earth. We build places from which we can see our world, both in its daylight and night-time phases. In many societies, dwellings often face the rising sun and from observation points we can trace the path of celestial bodies across the horizon. And, always, what meanings we attach to these spatial and temporal experiences are mediated through human social actions and reactions.

The City

Today, the defining expression of spatial order is that of the city. Urbanites imagine a myriad of intersecting lines, leading and also refusing us entry to specific areas. We have an idea of where the "centre" is, and which areas are essentially

peripheral or "outside". We also know our "place" within the city: it is where we live and go, and yet we are still able to see "others" as like ourselves by virtue of sharing our space, even if they don't share our particular sense of place. As well, the city has the ability to warp the distinction between "outsider" and "insider". For example, a person living in a rural area may view the city as "outside," but once they find themselves in the city, it is they who become "outsiders". Surely, this can be considered the "texture"of space: the order we create and recreate living in our towns and cities, and the relative positions we take in mediating those relationships.

From Medieval times to the Industrial Revolution, the European city was fortified. The massive enclosure walls created a sense of real imposition on the landscape. "In some languages the word for 'town' and the word denoting its defensive walls are the same thing. For instance, the character for the Chinese word *ch'eng* means both 'city' and 'wall,' and the English word 'town' originally meant 'hedge' or 'enclosure.' The traditional city can be thought of as an entity unto itself" (Crowe 1995:206). And the impression of a city's permanence is crucial to its inhabitants; it stands in contrast to their human mortality.

> Nowhere else does the sheer durability of the world of things appear in such purity and clarity, nowhere else therefore does this thing-world reveal itself so spectacularly as in the non-mortal home for mortal beings. It is as though worldly stability had become transparent in the permanence of art, so that a premonition of immortality, not the immortality of the soul or of life but of something immortal achieved by mortal hands, has become tangibly present, to shine and be seen, to sound and to be heard, to speak and to be read (Arendt 1958:167-168).

The city has traditionally provided for the comfort and shelter of its community. Often constructed from local materials, the city could appear as "rooted" as anything else in

"nature". Important buildings evoked a strong sense of beauty, refinement and perfection. As Crowe (1995:210) reminds us,

> permanent monuments within the traditional city were seen as things that ought to manifest timelessness, permanence and perfection - a stable armature upon which the common citizen's house, a structure more directly associated with human mortality, could rely... The traditional city comprised a man-made world in its totality. It was not just a practical replacement for nature but a reflection of the cosmic realm as well. Its unity permitted it to be sensed as a cosmos, a microcosm of the larger world around it now scaled to the community within. The traditional city was the penultimate expression of a man-made world set in nature and created as 'second nature' in the service of humankind alone.

Under the traditional Western distinction between "nature" and "culture," the city is surely "unnatural," and yet it remains that human beings build in relation to nature. In this sense, the city is neither wholly natural nor entirely artificial. The city is not merely a physical entity; it "comprises human institutions that render it a desirable place in which to live. These institutions mediate and adjust relationships between individuals, groups, and the physical environment that accommodates them" (Crowe 1995:216).

The city is experienced as dynamic, even if it is also experienced as permanent. The buildings, the matrix of streets and squares, within the city serve to "retain the memory of the city's history," and the city serves to preserve the "unity and identity of public space" (Crowe 1995:219). The spatial patterns or order of the city ensures a sense of stability through time. Public spaces, in their monumentality, serve as reminders or "permanences" of a past that continues to be experienced. And it is through human actions, and their stories, that monumentality is preserved and recreated. The past is made more vivid by the spatial experience of it in the present.

Wheatley (1971) looks at the ancient Chinese city and provides some notable

insights to the question of urban spatial order. Instead of focussing on the city as fortress, Wheatley (1971:225-226) identifies the ancient city as a ceremonial complex, and "naturally this does not imply that the ceremonial centers did not exercise secular functions as well, but rather these were subsumed into an all-pervading religious context... Operationally they were instruments for the creation of political, social, economic, and sacred space, at the same time as they were symbols of cosmic, social, and moral order... Above all, they embodied the aspirations of brittle, pyramidal societies in which, typically, a sacerdotal elite, controlling a corps of officials and perhaps a praetorian guard, ruled over a broad understratum of peasantry". Primary in the ceremonial complex's roles was its "centripetalizing function". By this it is meant that political and social power were exercised and spatially concretized within the city or ceremonial complex. For example, monumental construction requires the ability to mobilise a large labour force for sometimes prolonged periods of time. Furthermore, the ceremonial complex acted as the symbolic and physical locus for state-controlled redistribution activities (Wheatley 1971:257-267). In short, the ancient Chinese city was essentially the centre-point from which the remaining territory was controlled and to which it was oriented. This centrality provided a setting for the "religious and moral norms of society, which also provided sanction for a rigid social stratification" (Wheatley 1971:311).

Part of the centripetal and centrifugal character of these ancient Chinese ceremonial centres involved the notion that the city (ideally) embodied the entire universe. As Wheatley (1971:416) writes,

> for the ancients, who conceived the natural world as an extension of their own personalities and who consequently apprehended it in terms of human experience, the 'real' world transcended the pragmatic realm of textures and geometrical space, and was perceived schematically in terms of an extra-mundane, sacred experience. Only the sacred was 'real,' and the 'purely secular' - in so far as it could be granted to exist at all - was the 'purely trivial'. By means of rites dramatizing the inception of the universal order, ritual specialists sought to establish an ontological link between the realm of the sacred and the realm of the profane.

If a city were laid out as an *imago mundi*, the ritual activities practised there served to unite the macrocosmos (the universe) with the microcosmos (the city itself). "Reality," or sanctified spatial experience, was achieved through human participation with the centre or the *axis mundi*. In the case of ancient China, city planners considered that for a city to be successful, its site needed to be adapted to the "local currents of the cosmic breath (*ch'i*)" (Wheatley 1971:419). This sense of spatial order was concerned with issues of cardinal orientation and axiality, but especially with the creation of an *axis mundi*. The centre-point of the *axis mundi* was ideally where the earth and sky met, the seasons merged, and harmony between peoples and places resided. An *axis mundi* serves to integrate, although not necessarily equally, the supernatural (vertical) world with the (horizontal) world of humans. The *axis mundi* may be the city itself or a specific place or object within the city; it is where the vertical aspect, symbolised by a pole, tree, or building, meets the horizontal aspect of the land and society.

Nature, the Human-Made World, and Open Spaces

This chapter has discussed various ways of looking at architecture and space, but all the approaches have a common characteristic: building involves human activity in reshaping the "natural" world. In other words, we build with materials from nature, we

build into nature, and our recognition of place integrates us with natural space. The built environment is therefore modified "nature," or more precisely, the appropriation of "nature" into the realm of "culture".

An open space may be empty of visible structures, but it is not any less constructed than a building. This construction goes beyond the delineation of socially meaningful space. We do not create open spaces simply to provide ourselves a location from which to interact with the bordering buildings. We construct open spaces to be functional and meaningful in and of themselves. Certainly our experience of an open space like a public square is defined by the surrounding architecture, but we also interact with the open space itself. We attach meaning to the place between the buildings by our actions and understandings.

An urban open space is both part of the surrounding city, and an entity unto itself. Its meaning is experienced through the relative positions of the people who use it. In other words, the open space mediates our interactions with each other, and with the world at large. A square is not merely a forum for human activity, it is cultural practice and meaning manifest in material form. This inseparability of built environment and human experience urges a consideration of urban open space that goes beyond mere geometrical configuration or mere social practice; it involves the recognition that architecture displays how we understand the world. A purely formalist interpretation of architecture is therefore anathema to its quality of manifesting cultural experience. In order to understand architectural space, one must seek an emic interpretation of spatial experience.

Chapter 3 - Inka Space

Tawantinsuyu - Empire of the Four Quarters

When the Spaniards, led by Francisco Pizarro, invaded the central Andes in 1532, they encountered one of the most impressive civilisations the world has ever known. One of Pizarro's men commented that they "were astounded... Nothing similar ha[d] been seen in the Indies so far, and it caused all of us Spaniards great confusion and fear" (Estete 1924 [1535]:25). The Inka called their world *Tawantinsuyu*, the Empire of the Four Quarters. During the previous eighty years the Inka had brought over 5500 kilometres of some of the world's most rugged terrain under their administrative control. *Tawantinsuyu* stretched from present-day Colombia, in the north, to Bolivia in the west, and Chile and Argentina in the south (see Figure 1). Known as Cuzco since the time of the invasion, the Inka capital of *Qosqo* was a magnificent city in the southern Peruvian highlands, and whose name is sometimes translated as the "navel of the world" (Angles Vargas 1978:25-27). From this centre radiated roads leading to the four parts of the Empire: *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu*, *Antisuyu* and *Qollasuyu*. From *Qosqo* and provincial administrative centres, the Inka ruled hundreds of different ethnic groups, each with their distinct language, in geographical settings ranging from the coastal desert, to the Andean highlands, and even into the Amazonian lowlands. Although *Tawantinsuyu* was a multiethnic empire, *Quechua*, the language of the indigenous people of the Qosqo area, was spoken among the ruling elite and as a *lingua franca* or contact language among the different peoples of the empire. In Inka times, this language was known as *runasimi*, or

the language of the people. And despite, or perhaps because of, the heterogeneous character of the people of *Tawantinsuyu*, distinctly Inka practices were visible throughout the territory. Finally, one should remember that while the Inka had a numerical and narrative record-keeping system which employed sets of knotted strings (called *khipu*), scholars are still unable to decipher them with any reliability (see Domenici and Domenici 1996). Consequently, what we know about them comes from colonial period Spanish documents (a situation which will be dealt with in depth in Chapter 4), augmented by archaeological investigation. This chapter will endeavour to provide the reader with a general sense of what constituted Inka spatial experience. Additionally, it will provide a summary description of Inka architecture in an attempt to introduce its connection to cultural practice.

Pacariqtambo and the Origin of the Inka

> In the place and site which is called today the great city of Cuzco in the province of Peru, in ancient times, before there were any lord *orejones*, Inca Cappacuna, as they called their kings, there was a small town of about thirty small, humble straw houses ... the inhabitants of this town called it Cuzco from ancient times. As to what this name means, all they can say is that it was the name of this town from ancient times ... The earth opened up a cave seven leagues from this town, which today they call Pacarictambo, which means house of origin ... After this cave opened up, four men came out with their wives ... They went up the hill of Guanacaure one day to look out from there and discern where they could find the best place and site to settle... (Betanzos 1996 [1552]:13-14).

According to Urton (1990:18), about forty versions of the Inka origin myth are recorded in the Spanish chronicles between 1542 and 1653. There are two related, but distinct, cycles of genesis myth: one which involves the emergence of ancestors from a cave called *Pacariqtambo*, and another which centres around Lake Titicaca and/or

Tiwanaku and describes the creation of the sun, the moon, the stars and human beings by *T'iqsi Wiracocha*. Felipe Guaman Poma (1980 [1615]:80-87) combined these two cycles by stating that the ancestors emerged from Lake Titicaca, travelled underground to *Pacariqtambo*, where they again emerged and embarked on their voyage to the valley of *Qosqo* (see Figures 2 and 3). Perhaps it may be understood that human beings (the Andean people) emerged from Lake Titicaca and the Inka, specifically, emerged from *Pacariqtambo*.

What follows is an outline of many chronicles', and specifically that of Sarmiento de Gamboa's (1967 [1572]), rendering of the origin myth:

> At a place to the south of Cuzco called Pacariqtambo, there is a mountain called Tampu T'oqo (window house) in which there are three windows, or caves. At the beginning of time, a group of four brothers and their four sisters - the ancestors of the Inkas - emerged from the central window. The principle figure of this group was Manqo Qhapaq, the man who was destined to become the founder-king of the empire. One of the first acts of the eight ancestors was to organize the people who were living around Tampu T'oqo into ten groups, called *ayllus*. The full entourage of ancestral siblings and *ayllus* set off from Tampu T'oqo to the north in search of fertile land on which to build their imperial capital, Cuzco. Along the way, they stopped to test the soil. At one of these stops, Manqo Qhapaq and one of his sisters, Mama Oqllu, conceived a child whom they called Sinchi Ruq'a. After a period of wanderings filled with marvelous events the entourage arrived at a hill overlooking the valley of Cuzco. Recognizing by miraculous signs that this was their long-sought-after home, the Inkas descended from the mountain and took possession of the valley (Urton 1990:13-14).

Urton (1990) paid particular attention to Sarmiento de Gamboa in reconstructing the origin myth for several reasons. First, Sarmiento had interviewed more than 100 *khipukamayuq* (keepers of the *khipu*) who had served the Inka as historians before the conquest (although this would have been forty years earlier) in order to compile his history of the Inka. Furthermore, Sarmiento read his chronicle, in full and in Quechua, to

a group of forty-two descendants from each of the Inka noble lineages and "all of these men ... agreed that 'the said history was good and true and conformed to what they knew and what they had heard their parents and ancestors say'" (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1572:180 as translated in Urton 1990:19). Certainly, this doesn't mean that Sarmiento's account is "true," but it does allow "us to study in some detail the political and social contexts of the production of at least one early version of the origin myth" (Urton 1990:19). [1]

A more detailed description of this myth is necessary in order to show how the Inka conceived their social world. As mentioned above, *Pacariqtambo* (the "inn of dawn" or "place of origin") is supposedly located six leagues (some 33 kilometres) to the south-southwest of *Qosqo*. It is considered to be a *paqarina* (sacred origin place), although it is unclear whether such a place was considered to be an abstract, dimensionless or diffuse concept or a concrete geographical location. At *Pacariqtambo* there was a mountain called *Tampu T'oqo* (the "house of windows") with three "windows" or caves. The central opening of the group of three was called *Qhapac T'oqo* ("rich window"), and the two lateral openings were called *Maras T'oqo* and *Sutiq T'oqo*. From *Qhapac T'oqo* emerged four men and four women, who are described as siblings and/or spouses in the chronicles. From *Maras T'oqo* emerged the *Maras* Indians and from *Sutiq T'oqo* emerged the *Tambos* Indians; in Sarmiento's time there were members of both ethnic groups living in Cuzco. These people did not have parents, but emerged at the urging or command of the creator-god *T'iqsi Wiracocha* (Urton 1990:19-20).

Whether "siblings, spouses or both, in all cases the links [between the eight

ancestors] represent consanguineal or affinal ties within a *single* generation" (Urton 1990:21). The chronicles also describe the ancestors emerging in specific order, ranked hierarchically by authority, age and/or sex. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1967 [1572]) lists the names of the four brothers, ranked in order of authority, followed by the names of the four sisters, parallel ranked by age. The brothers were *Manqo Qhapaq*, *Ayar Awka*, *Ayar Kachi*, and *Ayar Uchu*; the sisters were *Mama Oqllu*, *Mama Waku*, *Mama Ipakura Kura*, and *Mama Rawa*. Betanzos (1996 [1551]:11-12) ranks them as couples who emerged in birth order: first, *Ayar Kachi* and *Mama Waku*, second, *Ayar Uchu* and *Mama Ipakura*, third, *Ayar Awka* and *Mama Rawa*, and fourth, *Manqo Qhapaq* and *Mama Oqllu*. Either way, the emergence of the eight ranked ancestors established hierarchical social relations in the "primordial set of organizational principles and relationships in Inka mythohistory" (Urton 1990:21). [2]

In addition to constituting Inka social relations, the origin myth served to set out political (i.e. Inka and non-Inka) relationships and their inherent conflict:

> After the emergence of the eight ancestors, conflict, driven by greed and the will to conquer neighboring peoples, appeared, society was formed out of this primordial conflict and the belligerence that motivated it. That is, immediately upon their emergence from Tampu T'oqo, the eight ancestors began stirring up trouble by saying that they were strong and wise and that they were going to join the Tambos Indians who lived around Tampu T'oqo and go in search of fertile land. They said that when they found it, they would conquer and subdue the people who lived there. These bellicose statements were made by Mama Waku and Manqo Qhapaq, both of whom were said to be especially fierce and cruel. (Urton 1990:22).

The eight ancestors approached the *Tambos* Indians and told them of their plans, but offered to share with them what would be conquered. Out of an interest in this proposition, there were formed ten *ayllus* from among the *Tambos*. The *ayllu* is a basic

category in Quechua classification incorporating kinship and its associated territory, and including such other principles as labour organisation and ritual practice. The ten *ayllus* were bi-partitioned, dividing the group into two halves of five, thereby comprising the hierarchically-ranked moieties of *Hanan* (Upper) *Qosqo* and *Urin* (Lower) *Qosqo* (Urton 1990:25).

The *ayllus*, then, were the basis for the social, political and ritual organisation of non-Inka peoples. And while the *ayllus* formed a dualistic hierarchy based on authority, the ancestors were divided into pairs based on a hierarchy of age. As Urton (1990:26) points out:

> The critical distinction between these two instances of age-authority hierarchies is the elaboration of rankings within the moiety system of Cuzco, which comes about by the juxtaposition of the eight ayllus within Cuzco with two groups of outsiders; one such group (Sañuq) was composed of people who actually lived outside the city, the other (Uru) was composed of autochthonous, non- and pre-Inkaic peoples.

The primordial structures of Inka society, as revealed in mythology, were thus based on such dualisms as age/authority, male/female, brother/sister, husband/wife, consanguine/affine, and centre (Inka)/periphery (outsiders).

Shortly after the *ayllus* were formed, the myth narrates how they and the eight ancestors began their journey to the *Qosqo* valley. Where exactly they began this journey is not certain. The modern town of Pacariqtambo was not founded until 1571, as the result of political consolidations made under the *reducción* system instituted by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo. According to Bauer's (1991) survey, it is most likely that the Inka ruins of *Maukullaqta* and *Puma Urqu* represent the "original" sites of *Pacariqtambo* and *Tampu T'oqo*. Both sites are located north of present-day

Pacariqtambo on the way to Cuzco. *Maukullaqta* comprises extensive ruins containing over 200 stone foundations, several elaborate stone gateways, cobblestone streets and an "unusual central court" (Bauer 1991:10). The stone outcrop of *Puma Urqu* is immediately to the east of *Maukullaqta*, and features carved passageways, carved boulders, Inka buildings, and terraces; the name "*Puma Urqu*" likely derives from the carvings of two pumas on the highest part of the outcrop, a summit circumscribed by a stone wall (Bauer 1991:11-13). Regardless of the precise location of *Pacariqtambo*, the ancestors and *ayllus* headed north, making several stops along the way. The first significant event was the birth of a son, *Sinchi Roq'a*, to *Manqo Qhapac* and *Mama Oqllu*, who would later succeed *Manqo Qhapac* as the second Inka ruler (see Figures 4 and 5). *Ayar Kachi*, one of the male ancestors, was a great trickster who made trouble in the villages along the way and caused discontent among the siblings. At one point in the myth the ancestors sent him back to *Pacariqtambo* under the pretense of retrieving belongings from the cave. When he entered the cave, the entrance was sealed and he remained inside for all time; this act helped to further identify the *paqarina* as a *waka*, or sacred place on the Inka landscape. The ancestors eventually ascended the hill of *Wanakauri*, and saw a rainbow over the valley of *Qosqo*, which they understood as a sign that they had finally found their home. It was here that *Ayar Uchu* was transformed into stone and thereafter was worshipped as the *waka*, *Wanakauri*. Finally, the ancestors reached *Qosqo* itself, and at *Wanaypata*, at the centre of the settlement, *Manqo Qhapac* thrust the Staff of the Sun into the earth and *Ayar Awka* was transformed into a stone pillar. This left *Manqo Qhapac*, his four sisters, and the boy *Sinchi Roq'a* to found and

build the city of *Qosqo* (Urton 1990:37-38).

In sum, "as is undoubtedly true of all origin myths, the Inka origin myth is concerned essentially with the sources, nature and consequences of *identity*" (Urton 1990:39). The Inka origin myth can be seen to involve three levels of identity: individual, social, and political. In terms of individual identity, "the ancestors were a group of carefully constructed archetypes, for example, the king, the queen, the tyrant, and the trickster, whose individual and collective identities were the refraction through the lens of Inka mythohistory of the array of personalities of which each generation of storytellers found itself a part" (Urton 1990:39). Social identity comprised the sibling/spouse relationships between the ancestral men and women, as well as the formation of non-royal *ayllus* among the commoners.

> The Inkas who emerged from Tampu T'oqo at the command of T'iqsi Wiracocha were of divine origin, and their social identities - the first principles of Inka collective life - were products of divinely inspired *individual* identities. The social identities of the commoners, on the other hand, were derived from, and dependent on, the Inkas, for it was the ancestors who were responsible for the formation of the first ayllus (Urton 1990:39-40).

The idea of political identity is concerned with *where* these definitions of individual and social identities took place - in this case, outside of *Qosqo* but within its immediate area. According to Urton (1990:40), there arose a "problem of establishing a point of view within mythic space from which to characterize the array of *political* identities within the empire, especially the relationship between the nobility in Cuzco and the Inkas-by-Privilege and the local *kurakas* [traditional or ethnic leaders] in the provinces". Since neither the centre nor the extremities would suffice, the

> compromise was to select a middle place, that is, a 'boundary' place with

> one side on the periphery of the valley of Cuzco and another adjacent to what was geographically and historically 'outside' ... Once set in motion on the periphery, the personalities, structures, and relations governing imperial society (eg. the ancestors, ayllus, moieties, and hierarchical ranking) moved inexorably toward the center, defining successive boundaries between the periphery and the centre in the journey of the ancestors, until they came to rest in the valley of Cuzco (Urton 1990:40).

The Inka origin myth provides the ideal composition of Inka and non-Inka identities, and it serves to justify the actions of, and subsequent relations between, the emerging conquerors and those to be conquered.

Formation of the Inka Empire

Any understanding of the formation of the Inka Empire is complicated by the question of myth versus history. To some extent, the distinction is arbitrary and even irrelevant if one is willing to accept that whether or not these people and their actions "actually" existed or happened, they were nonetheless "real" in the sense that they sanctioned Inka social groupings and the landscapes they inhabited. The following chronology provided in Bauer (1992:38) would attempt to represent Inka dynastic succession as "actual" historical events or process:

Manqo Qhapac	A.D. 1250: [mythical?] founding of Qosqo
Sinchi Roq'a	mythical
Lloque Yupanqui	mythical
Mayta Qhapaq	mythical
Qhapaq Yupanqui	unknown
Inka Roq'a	unknown
Wiraqocha Inka	until A.D. 1438: [mythical?] Chanca War
Pachakuti Inka Yupanqui	A.D. 1438-1471
Topa Inka Yupanqui	A.D. 1471-1493
Wayna Qhapaq	A.D. 1493-1528
Wasqar Inka	A.D. 1528-1532
Atawalpa Inka	A.D. 1532-1533

On the other hand, Zuidema (1982:173) claims that the chronicles contain only mythical representations of the Inka past, as he considers "the whole of Inca history up to the time of the Spanish conquest, and even to a certain extent beyond, as mythological. Inca 'history,' then, integrated religious, calendrical, ritual and remembered facts into one ideological system, which was hierarchical in terms of space and time". Furthermore, Betanzos (1996 [1552]) in his introduction states that in the version relayed to him by his informants, Inka history did not have a chronological or linear character, but rather a cyclical and moral significance.

Archaeology has been unable to provide the type of precise dating needed to establish an exact calendar date for Inka state formation or expansion. However, there seems to be a general consensus in the chronicles (see for example Betanzos 1996 [1552] and Sarmiento de Gamboa 1967 [1572]) that the expansion began with *Pachakuti Inka* and continued to the time of the Spanish invasion (see Figure 6). Still, there is little to suggest the possible motivations for this sudden push to extend the Inka territory.

The decisive point in Inka mythohistory was the *Chanca* War. This event is described as follows:

> The king Viracocha Inca has conquered the town of Calca, some seven leagues (35 km) north of Cuzco ... One of his feats was to set the town afire, throwing a heated stone with his golden sling from the site where he would later build the town of Caqui ... (The aerial distance from Caqui ... to Calca is approximately 5 km). Together with the crown prince Inca Urco he later returned to this spot when fleeing from the Chanca attack on Cuzco. A younger son, Inca Yupanqui, organized the defense of Cuzco. In the night before the battle he prayed outside the town to the Sun god, who appeared to him. During the battle he was helped by stones turning into soldiers. These soldiers, known as Pururaucas, were sent to him either by the god Viracocha - identified as the creator by the Spaniards - or by his father, Viracocha Inca, who took his name after having a vision of the god. Inca Yupanqui withstood the Chanca attack on the outskirts of town. Later he defeated them a second time in the Jaquijahuana to the west of Cuzco. He reorganized not only the city of Cuzco, its political organization, calendar, and religion, but also its

> history, by dressing up certain mummies and identifying them as his ancestors. Upon being crowned, he adopted the name of Pachacuti Inca and began the conquest which would lead to the formation of the empire (Zuidema 1985:203-204).

Inka Yupanqui then became ruler, not because he was next in line for succession, but because he defended *Qosqo* when both his father and brother fled the town. When *Wiracocha Inka* finally returned to Qosqo, he renamed his son *Pachakuti*, meaning "turn of time," and *Pachakuti* made his father drink from a dirty vessel in front of the people. This public belittling of his father caused *Wiracocha Inka* to lower himself and ask forgiveness, thereby transferring his power to his son. *Pachakuti's* "ascendancy begins with the moment that the *Chanca* menace forces him to come forward as a war leader; goes through the time that he, as a law giver, defines the structure of Inka society; and ends when he is crowned and married and his father becomes a mummy (Zuidema 1985:207).

Effectively, the Inka Empire as it is now known in terms of its institutions and architecture, began with the rebuilding of *Qosqo* by *Pachakuti* after the *Chanca* War. In the following eighty years, successive Inkas carried on these traditions and practices, and further expanded the geographical reach of the empire's boundaries.

The City of Qosqo

The traditional or pre-industrial European city "varied according to location and size, of course, but essentially it was a solitary object in the landscape from without and a hierarchically ordered ensemble of houses, monuments, civic edifices, and public passages and gathering places from within" (Crowe 1995:208). If one defines a city by

architecture evocative of such self-containment and permanence, then surely ancient *Qosqo* was a city. However, the Spaniards did reconfigure the alignment of the city's buildings and streets into a more grid-like pattern, thereby defining the spatial and social order necessary for the 16th century Spanish settlement of Cuzco as distinct from its Inka predecessor (see Figure 7).

Historians and archaeologists have provided comprehensive analyses of life in *Qosqo* (see for example Angles Vargas 1978, 1988; Chávez Ballón 1970; Rowe 1946, 1967, 1985) as well as establishing that the *Qosqo* area was inhabited by non-Inka peoples for centuries before the rise of the Inka Empire (see for example González Corrales 1984; Rostworowski 1988:21-30; Valcárcel 1939:190-206). According to the chronicles, the rebuilding of *Qosqo* is attributed to *Pachakuti Inka*, suggesting that it was a deliberately planned settlement. Betanzos (1996 [1552]:69-73) claims that *Pachakuti Inka* made plans of the city and created clay models, none of which have survived to the present-day. He set out where bridges and roads would be placed and named places on the landscape, as well as evacuating the inhabitants for five leagues (about 25 kilometres) around the city and deciding upon the location of house lots. Only Inkas were to live in the central sector and "he called the whole city together 'Body of the Lion,' meaning that the inhabitants and people who lived there were the members of the Lion, and that [*Pachakuti's*] person was the Head of it" (Betanzos 1996 [1551] ch.16). This description is likely influenced by European notions of the "body politic," although the "lion" (puma) is an often used metaphor in the Andes.

Qosqo was situated on an alluvial fan at the head of a mountain valley at between

11000 and 11500 feet (3395 metres) above sea level. *Qosqo* proper was a modest sized area between the *Watanay* and the *Tullumayo* Rivers, which had been canalised and their courses straightened by Inka engineers. Some buildings were of finely dressed stone, and others combined stone and adobe in their construction. A large "fortress," *Saqsawaman*, overlooked the city. Rowe (1967:60) states that the "area between the rivers was laid out in the shape of a puma, the fortress representing the puma's head and the point where the rivers come together representing the tail. This point is still called 'The Puma's Tail' in Inca [Quechua]. The space between the puma's front and back legs constituted a great public square used for ceremonies ... The streets were straight but somewhat irregularly arranged to fit the topography of the site and the puma figure ... The streets were narrow, paved with stones, and with a stone-lined water channel running down the middle" (see Figures 8, 9 and 10). Zuidema (1983a) disagrees that *Qosqo* actually took on the physical form of a puma, and that this description is better understood as a metaphor.

Central to Zuidema's (1983a) interpretation of *Qosqo* as a metaphorical puma is the belief that "*Qosqo*" was the entire area described by the *ceque* system, and not merely the buildings within the area described by Rowe (1967). Radiating out for many miles from the *Qori Kancha*, or Temple of the Sun, was a set of 40 or 41 lines, or *ceques*; located along those lines were approximately 328 *wakas*, or sacred places (see Figure 11). The lines were arranged according to the principle of quadri-partitioning into *suyus*, or parts. Each quarter was named for the parts of the empire: *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu*, *Qollasuyu*, and *Antisuyu* (see Figure 12). The lines of each quarter were further sub-divided into three parts, ranked as *qollana* (primary, upper, Inka), *payan* (secondary,

middle, Inka and non-Inka), and *callao* (primordial, lower, non-Inka), and each of these sections was in turn sub-divided into three more. The *waka*, or sacred places, located along these lines included rocks, springs, and canals. Most of the lines were also associated with *ayllus* and *panaqas* (royal *allyus*), whose people were responsible for the ritual maintenance of the *wakas* on their "line". The system offered principles ordering social, ritual, calendrical and geographical features (Zuidema 1964). Sherbondy (1982:73) states that "the Ceque System is an explicit model incorporating various Andean organizational principles to order aspects of the spatial, temporal and social reality of the capital of the Inca state, Cuzco, and by extension of the entire empire".

As we have seen so far, the Inka used bi-partitioning to define *Hanan* and *Urin* Qosqo, tri-partitioning to define *qollana*, *payan*, and *callao*, and quadri-partitioning to define the four *suyus*, or parts of the empire. And the *ceque* system may be seen to exemplify radial patterning pointing to an important central location, the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun. These divisions have topographic correlates, as Zuidema (1978) demonstrates that the northern part of *Hanan* (upper) *Qosqo* includes the hills and upriver area of the valley, as well as the ways to *Chinchaysuyu* and *Antisuyu*; Sherbondy (1982:26) adds that the sources of water for the *Watanay* River were also located in *Hanan Qosqo*. *Urin* (lower) *Qosqo* comprised the downriver area and the roads to *Qollasuyu* and *Kuntisuyu*. This bi-partition created the upper half larger than the lower half, and the sub-divisions (both tri- and quadri-partitioned) within each were of unequal proportion, demonstrating "that although the organizational principles of spatial division are applied to geographical reality, there are also factors of that reality that modify the

ideal structure" (Sherbondy 1982:27). Miño (1994) provides a comprehensive description of the physical and social aspects of Inka spatial organisation.

Returning to the notion of *Qosqo* as a puma, Zuidema (1983a) points out that the "body" of *Qosqo* is better understood as the entire spatial dimension associated with the *ceque* system, with *Pachakuti Inka* serving as "head". The *wakas* themselves may be seen as having represented, spatially and symbolically, social units. The origin myth and stories about the deeds of the Inka rulers often refer to the processes of humans becoming stone, or of stones turning into human beings. Actually, Quechua *waynos*, or songs, from the Cuzco area today still involve reference to common ancestry between humans and the physical landscape. [3] Zuidema (1983a) considers that the chroniclers describing *Qosqo* as a puma were greatly influenced at the time by European ideas concerning "the body politic," which served to confuse what the Inka may have meant when they described the "body" and "head" of *Qosqo*. He further claims that the puma was associated with transition and transformation, and descriptions of pumas may be better understood to communicate such symbolism. Classen (1993:102-105) responds by stating that "although certainly used at times of transition, the puma seems more specifically to have had the role of affirming Inca identity and power in liminal situations," and "that the Spanish chroniclers may have understood the body metaphor used in the Andes in terms of their own cultural background, however, does not prevent the metaphor from being authentically Andean in origin".

Relatedly, one of the Huarochiri myths (Salomon and Urioste 1991) describes the origins of humanity from the *quinoa* plant. The Inka origin myth describes the first

ancestors plunging the staff of the Sun into the ground of the future site of *Qosqo*, thereby "fertilising" the "tree" or "plant" that was their new capital. Furthermore, the Quechua word for "young plant" is the same as that for "ancestor": ***mallki***. Classen (1993:104) claims that "as the origin of civilization for the Incas, Cuzco would have also had the role of an ancestral parent, helping to guide the future of the empire, while as a human city, a puma, and a tree, it would have possessed the combined vitality of all the living things on Earth". As well, "the cyclical structure of Inca tradition, according to which Pachacuti's creation of Cuzco is a repetition of the original act of Creation, makes it logical that Cuzco, which takes the place of human bodies in this second creation, would have the symbolic meaning of a body. Indeed, the fact that the Incas believed that Cuzco had sprung from a root demonstrates that the city was conceived of by them as an organic body, and not simply an ensemble of structural opposition" (Classen 1993:105-106). The body metaphor for *pacha*, or Andean space-time, connects the head with the point of origin or the past, and the feet with the future (Bastien 1978); the "trunk of the body corresponds to the living and to the present, and mediates between the feet and the head (the past and the future)" (Classen 1993:112). In this sense, by referring to *Tawantinsuyu* as the body of a puma with *Inka Pachacuti* as its head, it is possible to suggest that the ruler embodied the ancestry or origin of the Empire. Classen (1993:112-116) goes on to write that

> the Incas also associated the front of the body with the past and with clarity, and the back with the future and with darkness. The ordinary passage of time which was but a repetition of known patterns, could be represented by the metaphor of walking. A truly revolutionary event, a *pachacuti* (reversal of space/time), however, could be represented only by the metaphor of the body turning around and facing the opposite direction (or, on the vertical axis, by

> being stood on its head) ... In Inca and modern Andean thought the middle section of the body contains the organs that control the flow of fluids through the body. It serves, therefore, not only as a mediator between top and bottom, but as a center of exchange. These central organs are indicated by the Quechua term *sonco*, which refers to the 'entrails': heart, stomach, and intestines. The *sonco* is held to be the seat of emotion, and together with the head, of thought. As the center, the *sonco* both integrates the body into a whole and stands for the whole...With the presence of the integrating and separating center, Andean dualism becomes tripartite.

The use of the body metaphor is of particular interest to this thesis, as it is the *Haucaypata- Kusipata* which was located in the centre of the "body" of *Qosqo*.

Moving beyond interpretations of the puma metaphor for *Qosqo*, there are several early descriptions of the city given by Spanish soldiers before it was burned in 1535 and reconstructed according to Spanish specifications. According to Rowe (1946, 1967) the chronicles claim that there were about 4000 residences between the two rivers, and another estimate was for more than 100,000 buildings (including storehouses) in the entire valley; however, he does caution that these estimates are likely too high. Additionally, Inka planning extended some seven miles below the city into the valley, where rivers were canalised and abundant terraces built. There were also numerous residential settlements and vast storehouses built in clusters on the valley slopes. Hyslop (1990:29) claims that when encountered by the Europeans, *Qosqo* was the largest city in the Americas at the time, with probably more than 100,000 residents; however, this may be challenged with population estimates for the Aztec city of Teotihuacan.

In addition to Rowe's (1944) "Introduction to Cuzco Archaeology," several archaeological and architectural studies have been conducted in the Cuzco region in more recent years which have helped complement the historical sources from the colonial period (see for example Gasparini and Margolies 1980; Hyslop 1990; Protzen

1993). As mentioned above, scholars such as Rowe (1967) have suggested that *Qosqo* took the physical form of a puma, with the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* situated between the front and hind legs of the animal. It is from this place that four roads led to the four *suyu* of the empire. The dual plaza-like complex was (unequally) divided by the canalised *Watanay* River, which ran along the east-west axis. While the Spaniards found the *Haucaypata* too large for their rebuilding specifications, and filled in much of it with new buildings, it is the Inka royal buildings which would have originally surrounded the *Haucaypata* which are best known to scholars. The discussion of those buildings will be undertaken in the following chapter.

The symbolic division of *Qosqo* into *Hanan* and *Urin* halves occurred along a northeast-southwest axis that corresponded to the roads leading out from the *Haucaypata* (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:53-58). Distinctly separate from the above mentioned buildings was the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun, which was located closer to *Pumac Chupan* or the "tail" of the puma. If one accepts the puma as a physical model, then the curved wall of the *Qorikancha* was located where the puma's testicles would have been (see Figure 8). One of the best sources for information on the *Qorikancha* remains Rowe's (1944) plan and interpretation of the related Spanish chronicles, as well as MacCormack's (1991) interpretation of its symbolic, ritual, and social significance. In addition to being the temple of primary religious and symbolic significance to the Inka, as mentioned above, it was the centre of the *zeque* system (Zuidema 1964).

Although there were four roads leading from the *Haucaypata* to the four *suyu*, there were many other roads which united central *Qosqo* to the outlying areas. The

numerous access routes to and from *Qosqo* distinguish it from ancient European or Chinese cities with enclosure walls and main gates. The impressive site of *Saqsawaman*, although outside of central *Qosqo*, was certainly part of the city plan (Hyslop 1990:51-56). While often referred to as a "fortress," any defensive or battle roles it may have had were likely ritual in character, as there was a significant amount of ceremonial architecture at the site. In addition to three massive zig-zag terrace walls, there was an open space, and aqueducts, cisterns, terraces, patios, stairs and buildings in the area known as *Suchuna*. Among the more impressive features is the "Throne of the Inka," a set of sculpted shelves in an outcrop of rock (Valcárcel 1946).

It was long assumed that *Qosqo* provided the model for other Inka settlements in the empire; if so, it was used more as a model for the functional, ritual and symbolic elements of the empire rather than for its shape and physical appearance (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:66; Hyslop 1990). At least two recurring patterns appear in Inka settlements: orthogonal and radial patterns set around a centre. The central sector of *Qosqo* had a roughly orthogonal pattern, but radiality exists within the *ceque* system, and the arrangement of peripheral districts surrounding the central sector: "thus at Cuzco an orthogonal street pattern in its central sector becomes a radial pattern as the roads leave the center" (Hyslop 1990:203). Recent archaeological projects in the Inka provinces (D'Altroy 1992; Malpass 1993; Matos 1994; Morris and Thompson 1985) have shown that there were significant differences between *Qosqo* and the provincial administrative centres in terms of architecture and planning, as well as among provincial centres and between them and royal estates, including settlements in the larger *Qosqo* area. In this

light, *Qosqo* may be better understood as the *ideal* city of the Inka empire and a physical manifestation of the experienced Inka universe.

Inka Cosmology and Space

Inka cosmology can only be understood as pragmatically worked out through social relations. That is, according to Zuidema (1992:18), organising cosmological interests comprised Inka kinship, or social renewal and continuity, and the Inka calendar, based on the cyclical movements of the sun, moon, stars and the planet Venus, used to regulate social activities in space and time. As alluded to above, there was an Imperial cult of the Sun, with the Inka ruler as the "son of the Sun," serving as his earthly agent. The Inka himself was the only person who could drink with (make offerings directly to) *Inti*, the Sun, thereby allowing the ruler to assert authority over subject kings. In addition to the Sun were two other major deities: *Illapa* or Thunder, a mountain god and brother of Venus, therefore associated with the morning and evening star, and *Wiraqocha*, the Creator, closely associated with the condor and the constellation Orion, identified in the Andes as a composite raptor (Zuidema 1992:19). These three deities may be understood as embodying the universe: *Inti* (Sun) was associated with daytime and the celestial realm; *Illapa* (Thunder) was associated with dawn and dusk and the terrestrial world; and *Wiraqocha* (Creator) was associated with nighttime and the non-terrestrial realm, or the ocean surrounding the Earth and the underworld. As Zuidema (1992:20) reminds the reader, the celebrations for these deities "established the connections between the Inca internal sociopolitical organization and the outside world".

The validity of this distinction between "inside" and "outside" may be qualified by further examination of the Inka cosmos. The Inka universe was divided into three worlds: *Ukhu Pacha* (the underworld or world within), *Kay Pacha* (this world of humans), and *Hanan Pacha* (the afterworld or world above). In Quechua, *pacha* means both "space" and "time" and *Pachamama*, or Earth Mother, cannot be excluded from the list of primary deities. The Inka universe then must be understood in both spatial and temporal aspects simultaneously. Working in tandem with the three worlds mentioned above were three times, or ages (see Figure 13). The first age was the one before this one; that is, the one of darkness and *machu*, or ancient ones. The *machu* were arrogant and *Wiraqocha* destroyed their age of rule by raising the Sun into the sky and shriveling them. The second age was/is the present age of *runa*, or the people, beginning with the first Inka, *Manqo Qhapaq*, and continuing to current times and incorporating the descendants of the Inka. Due to modern Christian influence, this age is now believed to end with Judgement Day. The third age, now referred to as that of *Espiritú Santo* (the Holy Ghost), was/is the age of the afterlife (Sallnow 1987:127-128). The past-world coexists under/within the present world and the dead reach the next world, or upper world: "the three ages or worlds, while sequential in one representation, are co-existent in another" (Sallnow 1987:128).

Ethnographic accounts indicate that the modern Quechua recognise the earth as having a curved surface:

> At the northern and southern extremities of the earth are two enormous mountains. These mountains, both called Volcán, stand at the boundary of the earth, the sky, and the cosmic sea, which completely encircles the earth. Through the center of the earth, from the southeast to the northwest, flows

> the Vilcanota (or Urubamba) River... The Vilcanota River is the major artery for the movement of water collected from the smaller tributaries of the earth back to the cosmic sea, from where it is taken up into the sky within the Milky Way and recycled through the universe. The Milky Way [Mayu] is itself thought to be a celestial reflection of the Vilcanota River (Urton 1981:37-38).

The point of convergence between the earth and the sky is the horizon. The ocean, or *Mamaqocha*, is celebrated as the source of all water, both terrestrial and celestial. Particular landmarks on the horizon are named and provide "points of orientation *from which* lines of sight may be extended into the night sky" (Urton 1981:54). These (spiritual) landmarks, or *apu*, are transitional spaces. While major *apu* are often mountain peaks, an *apu* may also be a lake, marsh or other physical feature. In Inka times, as well as in the present, several *apu* dominated the immediate area surrounding Cuzco: *Apu Ausangate* (a snow-capped peak 6384 metres above sea level) is now considered the ruler of cattle; mountains such as *Apu Akhanaku*, in Paucartambo, rule over Andean tubers; *Apu Sawasiray*, between Paucartambo and Calca, is considered the ruler of maize; *Apu Salkantay* is the ruler of Amazonian produce; and *Apu Willkar*, the Urubamba or Vilcanota River, represents male virility as the water which sustains *Pachamama* (Dr. Aureliano Carmona, personal communication 1997). These primordial *apu* are endowed with human characteristics, celebrated along with the other deities, and are considered to be directly responsible for the well-being of the community.

Based on ethnographic research, the most important nighttime celestial body for the Quechua is the *Mayu* (river), or Milky Way (Urton 1981:55). In Misminay, the *Mayu* is directly equated with the Vilcanota or Urubamba River, which flows from the southeast to the northwest through the Department of Cuzco. But the celestial/terrestrial

circulation of water is more complex. When examining a typical Andean river and irrigation canal system, one may see that the

> pattern of tributaries converging with the main course of the river is duplicated, or reversed, after the river is channelized for irrigation purposes. The main course of the river flows from right to left... [so that]tributaries flow downward and inward to converge with the river, whereas... irrigation canals conduct the water away from the river at a reduced angle [see Figures 14 and 15]. The critical point in this hydrolic system is the point at which the inward motion of branching reverses to outward; that is, at the point where the river attains its maximum input and begins discharging water into the canals. From the point of view of a community living alongside of a river and utilizing it, the river is oriented from this central point which divides the upper river (= inward motion) from the lower river (= outward motion)... The "center" of the celestial River may be taken as the point which falls nearest to - and revolves around - the unmarked south celestial pole [the Southern Cross]... This area may be referred to as the center in the sense that it separates the hemispheres of the River with respect to the pole, thus separating the eastern rising half from the western setting half (Urton 1981:57-59).

Additionally, the position of the Milky Way changes during the year: the May-August orientation of the *Mayu* is northeast-southwest, and the November-February orientation is northwest-southeast. At the June solstice, which is in the middle of the dry season, the sun rises in the northeast and sets in the northwest; at the December solstice, during the rainy season, the sun rises in the southeast and sets in the southwest. Therefore, the solstices and the seasonal axes of the *Mayu*, or Milky Way, serve to quadri-partition the sky (see Figures 16, 17 and 18).

The principle of intersecting axes is an important element in Andean cosmology; so too is cyclical movement through space and time. "In order to flesh out our understanding of cosmology in the Andes, we must integrate *celestial* space with terrestrial space and *operational* time (i.e. astronomical, biological, and seasonal periodicities) with historical time" (Urton 1981:194). Part of doing this is understanding that physical distance in the Andes is often reduced by sentimental and social proximity.

That is, in a sense, the celestial realm is present on earth, expressed through settlement planning and associated social aspects. One could claim that the Western distinction between the earthly and heavenly realms is rendered effectively meaningless due to the social importance attributed by the Inka and their descendants to their points of intersection or convergence. The *ceque* system underlaid the "formal ordering both of space, orienting the topography of the region toward Cusco, and of time, providing horizon markers for the observation of the rise and set of heavenly bodies from which the state calendar was constructed. [The *ceques*] further sustained the hierarchical order of social groups in the capital and joined this hierarchy with the temporal and spatial orders by an elaborate calendrical division of ritual labor between the various groups [of people in the Empire] (Sallnow 1987:38). In addition to cosmological concerns, there are several aspects of Inka architecture and settlement planning which can be couched in economic, political, and religious terms if it is made explicit that they should not be considered mutually exclusive domains of analysis. This thesis is concerned specifically with the social dimensions of spatial experience in one architectural complex, and will not attempt to provide an exhaustive interpretation of all Inka socio-cultural practices. [4] What follows is a necessarily simplified overview to provide the reader with basic background information.

The Inka had a policy of forced relocation of its subjects; these "settlers" were referred to as *mitmaquna*. Some *mitmaquna* served the Inka directly as *kamayuq* (economic specialists or labour leaders) or *yanaquna* (royal retainers with hereditary status) and Rowe (1982:105-106) lists two other kinds: one kind "who were incorporated

into the regular administrative structure of the provinces. There were [*mitmaquna*] of this kind in all parts of Inca territory... The second kind...consisted of colonists sent by the sierra *naciones* of *Qollasuyu* to grow crops at lower elevations. These colonists remained under the jurisdiction of the *curacas* [local lords] of the districts from which they came". As Sarmiento de Gamboa (1967 [1572] ch.39) wrote, *Pachakuti*:

> designated people to go to the subject provinces and examine them and to make clay models of them. And such was done. And the models and descriptions were placed before the Inka, who examined them and considered the plains and fortresses. He ordered the investigators to watch well what he was doing. Then he began to level the fortresses he wished, and moved those inhabitants to lower land. And he moved those of the plains to the heights of the mountains, each so far from the others and so far from their natural [land] that they could not return to it...

It was, then, official Inka policy to resettle people in unfamiliar surroundings, and in effect, create a new, Inka, sense of space for them. The *mitmaq* policy also sent loyal people from *Qosqo* or other areas, to live with and administer rebellious local populations; often, strategic marriages were formed between the *kuracas* or local lords and the Inka or Inka-by-Privilege, those non-Inka peoples who were incorporated into the Inka socio-political framework and allowed greater social standing than non-Inka peoples, as well as forging alliances with newly conquered peoples. *Mitmaq* were also moved from over-populated areas, or those of low agricultural productivity to places of greater economic viability. While this policy resulted in the resettlement of entire villages, the Inka often built their provincial settlements on existing ones, and both styles of architecture were present. *Mitmaquna* usually lived on the outskirts of Inka centres, left to build in their own way, and therefore easily identified as outsiders (Rowe 1946, 1967). Relatedly, it was also Inka practice to allow everyone to keep their own style of

dress and much of their own internal social organisation and subsistence practices; this served the dual purpose of maintaining ethnic solidarity among conquered people, as well as making them instantly recognisable as different from their rulers and social superiors. The *mitmaq* policy was one effective way the Inka undercut provincial loyalties, and strengthened the sense of unification within the empire (Rowe 1982). This spatial relocation can also be extended to include the Inka practice of establishing counterparts to the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun, in major provincial centres.

> Monthly sacrifices were performed in these provincial temples to match those in Cusco, recreating the local in the image of the center. The export of the state cult to the provinces was matched by the transfer of subsidiary images of provincial wak'as to the metropolis, where they were kept in a special temple, each on its own altar with its insignia and attendants but with a chain around its foot to signify the vassalage of its people. By this means the Inkas appropriated and made into a whole the symbolic capital of their subjects (Sallnow 1987:36).

The Inka also imposed a rotational labour-tax system called the *mit'a*. Part of one's obligation to the state was to provide labour on a rotational basis; all of the supplies, accommodations, food and drink were provided by the Inka. This labour included all agricultural work beyond subsistence farming, the manufacture of such goods as textiles, ceramics and metals, the construction of buildings, terraces, canals, bridges and roads, as well as religious service. At all times, somewhere in the empire, there were people serving their *mit'a* rotation; the rest of the time, the Inka appear to have left their subjects to their own ways of life (Murra 1980).

Central to the understanding of all Inka social practices, and therefore spatial and temporal experience, is the Andean notion of *ayni*, or reciprocity. Essentially dualistic in character, *ayni* implies a two-way exchange between people, and even between people

and the gods. Explicit is the notion that any exchange is not complete unless each side contributes something. For example, offerings are made to the ancestors or *wakas* in order that they give something to the people, be it advice (through oracles) or life (through the fertility of the land and her peoples); it would also include exchanges of material goods. There is no social obligation of an equal exchange, and *ayni* is often seen to reciprocally maintain asymmetrical relations. Contemporary ethnographies of the central Andes (Allen 1988; Condori Mamani 1996; Isbell 1978; Meyerson 1990; Skar 1997; Urton 1981) describe how *ayni* is still at the centre of all ritual practices, which for the Quechua as well as the Inka, extend well into what we might term political, economic, and social practices. In this way, the *mit'a* and *mitmaq* policies can be seen to express an exchange (not necessarily equal) between the Inka and their people: they served to integrate everyone into a common system or space, as well as to delineate the boundaries within that system or space. In other words, certain Inka practices, such as the *mitmaq* and *mit'a* policies, served to further distinguish Inka from non-Inka both socially and spatially. In the spirit of *ayni*, these same practices simultaneously served to integrate a large and diverse group of people.

Inka Architecture

Like all great builders, the Inka were both influenced by their antecedents and innovative on their own terms. So, while Inka architecture can certainly be described as unique, it also embodied characteristics from the architecture of Tiwanaku, in highland Bolivia, and from Chimú and Wari sites, in northern Peru (see Figure 19). Gasparini and

Margolies (1980) provide the most comprehensive discussion of technical and formal antecedents to Inka architecture.

It is suggested by Gasparini and Margolies (1980:7) that the Inka may have developed rectangular plans for their enclosed architectural compounds (*kancha*) from the great walled enclosures at the Chimú centre of Chan Chan. The introduction of settlements based on the grid, with straight streets and rectangular areas may also have been influenced by those at Chan Chan or Wari sites like Pikillaqta during the periods of Inka conquest of those areas.

And although Tiwanaku had long ceased to be an influential cultural centre in the Andes, its magnificent monumental architecture can be seen to this day and likely impressed the Inka as well. There appears to be some continuity between Tiwanaku building technique and form and those of Inka architecture. Of particular note is the introduction of fine stone-working and certain elements of form and aesthetics such as the niche and double-jamb doorway. *Lupaqa* stoneworkers from *Qollasuyu* are known to have been in great demand, and likely fulfilled their *mit'a* obligation by constructing many Inka buildings; but there were several centuries between the decline of Tiwanaku and the rise of the Inka in that area lacking any cut-stone construction, making it difficult to account for the continuity of masonry practice. The few formal components of Inka architecture, such as the double-jamb doorway and decorative niches, could have been taken from Tiwanaku. But, while Tiwanaku architecture emphasised rectangular openings, the Inka consistently used trapezoidal shapes. However, in the end "the Incas assimilated and developed these influences, finally transforming them into an

independent expression" (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:7).

The architecture of *Qosqo* and its immediate environs is not entirely indicative of all Inka architecture. Most notably, the superb quality of finished stonemasonry appeared quite suddenly, and is generally associated with *Pachakuti's* influence; however, fieldstone, or *pirca*, construction appeared throughout the entire Inka sequence and was the more common type of construction. It seems that the character of architectural form was more closely linked to the use and meaning of the building than to its geographic location in the empire. As well, both in *Qosqo* and the rest of the empire it was common to build adobe walls on top of stone foundations, in both the most common and most sacred architecture (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:131).

Inka Stonemasonry

Understanding how the Inka worked stone is central to an understanding of how they constructed many of their buildings. The quality of Inka masonry is considered to be among the finest in the world. In the area of *Qosqo*, monumental stone walls were constructed without the use of mortar, and cut stones were fitted with a precision which to this day does not allow the insertion of a knife-blade. Unlike their cultural antecedents, the Inka used very few decorative elements; the aesthetic character of their architecture relied on a rigorous simplicity. One element of Inka architectural aesthetics seems to have involved an appreciation of the visual effect of irregularly patterned joints and the "play of light and shade produced by recessed joints" (Protzen 1983:183). Research concerning Inka quarrying, stone-cutting and building techniques has been conducted in the Cuzco area by Protzen (1983, 1986, 1993) and Lee (1986).

Protzen (1983) examined several quarries in the area, but focussed on those at *Kachiqata*, where the Inka mined red granite for the construction of parts of *Ollantaytambo*, and at *Rumiqolqa*, which provided andesite for the construction of *Qosqo*. The *Kachiqata* quarries are located across the Urubamba River, about 4 kilometres southwest of *Ollantaytambo*, and between 700 and 900 metres above the valley floor. The quarries of *Rumiqolqa* are 35 kilometres southeast of Cuzco on the bank of the Vilcanota River, just off the Inka road from *Qosqo* to *Qollasuyu*. Protzen (1983:184) suggests that quarrying must have been of upmost importance to the Inka, and "not a routine matter," due to the difficulty in accessing such quarries and transporting materials from so far away. Access roads to the quarries were complemented by "additional works of infrastructure," such as the great retaining walls at *Kachiqata* and water canals leading from both quarries to nearby ruins. At both *Kachiqata* and *Rumiqolqa* are ruins which are currently referred to as the supervisor's or administrator's residences and the workmen's quarters, although excavation has never been undertaken to confirm or reject these interpretations (Protzen 1983). *Kachiqata* is unique in that many circular or square burial towers, or *chullpas*, are found in the areas of *Muyapata* and the north quarry. As well, only at *Kachiqata* were stone-cutting and temporary storage facilities separate from the actual extraction areas. Finally, within each quarry separate quarrying areas exploited different types of stone, or different qualities of the same stone.

At *Kachiqata*, the Inka stonecutters did not cut stone from bedrock; instead they selected blocks of stone suitable to their needs, minimally shaped them with

hammerstones and sent them to construction sites where finishing took place (Protzen 1983:185). Even today one can still see stones in various stages of work within settlements and dotting the landscape. When appropriate boulders (usually granite) were found, they were likely lashed to ramps in order to be moved; some of these stones would have weighed several tons each and it would have been no small feat to move them.

In one pit at *Rumiqolqa* about 250 cut stones were "finished and ready to be shipped" (Protzen 1983:186), as well as samples of blocks in all stages of production. Hammerstones (usually andesite) included simple river cobbles from the Vilcanota River. Shaping was accomplished by flaking, just as one might make stone tools, and "dressing was done using medium weight hammers to cut the surfaces and smaller ones ... to draft and finish the edges (Protzen 1983:191). Finally, polishing may have been achieved by using pumice, as there is some indication that stones may have been cut by abrasion, rather than by crushing or pounding (Protzen 1983:191).

As to the actual fitting and laying of stone, Protzen (1983) experimented by using one dressed stone and cutting bedding joints into another, in an attempt to understand how they may have been fitted together. With the sap from the root of a local bush, Protzen outlined the bedding joint and pounded it out. The dust produced while pounding was useful in determining where further pounding was needed, as it only compressed in certain areas. Although archaeologists seem unable to suggest how long it might have taken, it is claimed that through repeated fitting and pounding, the "technique for fitting two stones is thus one of trial and error ... [and while] this technique appears to be tedious and laborious ... to the Incas time and labor were probably of little concern,"

not to mention that the work would become easier with practice (Protzen 1983:192). Rising (or lateral) joints were dealt with similarly, as the "new block to be laid is fitted into, and the joint cut out of, the lateral block or blocks already in place" (Protzen 1983:193).

A discussion of lateral fitting leads to the question of laying sequence, and while the order is not of much importance for masonry with a regular bond, it "certainly becomes critical in masonry with an irregular bond," which is the character of most, if not all, Inka masonry (Protzen 1983:193). The walls at *Saqsawaman*, in *Qosqo*, have been one area of investigation of laying sequences and other construction techniques. Lee's (1986) study of the building of *Saqsawaman* calls into question several points made by Protzen (1983) concerning construction techniques. Lee (1986:49) instead suggests a "scribing and coping" technique, which is the "precise opposite of the trial and error approach in that it achieves the desired fit in one operation, and thus requires only a single lowering of each stone into place". This technique is similar to the modern process of building log cabins, and is entirely within the range of possible Inka technologies. It differs from the approach suggested by Protzen (1983) in that the stones to be fitted next would have been completely shaped before moving; this process involves pre-shaping the upper stone, moving the upper stone, immobilising the upper stone above where it is to be fitted, and finally scribing and cutting the lower stone in preparation for the lowering of the upper stone. While Lee (1986) is likely correct in suggesting that the trial and error approach of constant movement becomes increasingly difficult as the stones increase in size and weight, as with the "cyclopean" stones at

Saqsawaman, the prospect of suspending and immobilising several ton stones strikes one as no less daunting a task. Lee (1986) also argues that the protuberances and indentations often found on Inka stones would have provided the means by which these rocks could be stabilised during coping and scribing. However, if this was the case one might suppose that they would be removed after they ceased to be useful; alternatively, Gasparini and Margolies (1980) suggest that protuberances and indentations may have been of a purely aesthetic character.

While the Inka engaged in various quarrying techniques apparently guided by the type of stone desired for building, it cannot be overstated that the Inka placed a rather marked emphasis on these endeavours, bringing sometimes enormous stones over long distances in a rugged landscape of rivers and mountain valleys. Very little is known about how stones were transported. For example, Betanzos (1996 [1552]:158) only mentions that "these stones were pulled with thick ropes made of braided sinews and braided sheepskin [llama skin]". Today, one can see the *Kachiqata* quarry from the ruins of *Ollaytambo* and it seems as though huge rocks were simply rolled down the mountain slope, and some of them got stuck. Even if they were rolled, once they got to the bottom of the slope they remained to be transported across a river and up the next mountain slope to the construction site. Some stones, which were likely dropped during transport and impossible to pick up again, are still readily visible on the landscape. [5] Whatever techniques the Inka used, there is little doubt as to the need for a large, organised system of labour such as the *mit'a*.

State Constructions

It is useful here to provide a brief description of the most common formal elements of Inka buildings. Notably,

> besides stone, the Incas made considerable use of adobe, both in modest houses and in palaces and temples. Important structures frequently combine the two materials in their walls, with stone to a height of two to four metres and adobe up to the top. Although walls of stone are especially striking because of their exquisite finish and the perfection of the joining of the blocks, adobe was surely the building material most commonly employed by the Incas (Gasparini and Margolies 1989:131).

The use of adobe was more common in Inca coastal settlements, although there was no lack of adobe walls in highland Inka architecture. At least in the highlands, the use of timber was generally limited to the construction of wooden frameworks for thatched roofs.

The most common structural form was rectangular with a pitched roof, although flat roofs are known and even common in coastal settlements. According to Kendall (1985:13-14), Inka architecture in the highland *Qosqo-Urubamba* region comprised single rooms which were either closed (with four walls) or open (with three walls). There were also back-to-back double structures of closed and open types, as well as open and closed side-by-side double structures. A related architectural concept of great importance to the Inka was the *kancha*, or "a walled rectangular block enclosing groups of one room buildings ... [uniting] within its confines, buildings intended for a single function" (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:181) (see Figures 20 and 21). Round ground plans were also known, although rarely used for domestic buildings and often characteristic of *chullpas*, or burial towers, and storehouses, or *qollqas*, outside of the

Qosqo area. Oval and curved plans also appeared, but in rare circumstances, "particularly in association with enclosure walls and where the topography was not conducive to rectangular plans" (Kendall 1985:15). Additionally, "most curved buildings and planned enclosures include[d] a mixture of curving and straight walls," such as in the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun (Kendall 1985:16); these compound forms included semi-circular plans of open and closed types, semi-circular segments, and irregular compound plans. Most Inka structures were single-storied, although two-storeys were certainly known and three-storied buildings occurred in very rare circumstances (Kendall 1985:18-19). Inka roofs were generally of hip or gable construction, and thatch was tied onto a woven frame and wooden superstructure (Kendall 1985:20-22). Finally, all walls were slightly inclined and often contained doorways with lintels or ones which extended from floor to roof (like a missing segment of the wall), windows, and/or niches; these trapezoidal apertures sometimes with double jambs, were a hallmark of Inka architecture (Gasparini and Margolies 1980).

Additionally, there were those "edifices constructed by the Inca government for collective, administrative, religious, and military purposes ... [which we might] call public works, in spite of the fact that there were many limitations to public participation" (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:196). First, is the *kallanka*, which consisted of "a great rectangular hall, very long, with a gabled roof supported by a series of pillars set the entire length of the long axis. One of the longer sides, with various doorways, always opens onto the main plaza" (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:196). Some of the chroniclers claim that these large halls were used to shelter activities in the plaza during

poor weather conditions. On the wall opposite the doors facing the plaza there was always a sequence of windows or niches, and frequently two *kallanka* were lined up side-by-side (see Figure 22). According to historic sources, the *kallanka* were often interpreted as some sort of barracks or communal lodging. Second, were the elaborate temples and other "sacred and hallowed places where religious rites and ceremonies were carried out" (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:220), which might have included natural *wakas* and open-air *usnu* shrines. The most famous temple was the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun in *Qosqo*, although elaborate temples were found in all parts of the empire. An *usnu* might have been a "simple stone or structure, an altar, or a throne," often taking the form of a raised platform or stepped pyramid-like structure imposed upon a larger open space (Gasparini and Margolies 1980:267). A more detailed discussion of the *Qori Kancha* and *usnus* will be undertaken in chapter 4. Other "public works" included the *qhapaq-nan*, or Inka road system (see Hyslop 1984), as well as impressive bridges, extensive agricultural terracing and storage facilities, or *qollqas* (see Figures 23, 24 and 25).

Finally, despite the variety of Inka buildings, there appear to have been particular standardised forms such as the *kancha* enclosures. As well, *kallankas* (great halls), temples, *usnu* (shrine/throne) and other large-scale constructions widely distributed throughout the empire tend to be indicative of an overriding state presence in architectural matters.

Open Spaces

In Inka architecture one may distinguish between two main types of urban open spaces. First are those open spaces which form part of larger architectural compounds, and second are those open spaces which constitute complete entities in and of themselves, although remain associated with bordering architecture. The first type is similar to an internal patio or courtyard, and appears within the *kancha* enclosures or compounds. The second type is of direct concern in this thesis: those Inka urban open spaces recognised by Westerners as plazas or squares.

If *Qosqo* is used as an example, one can see that the Inka distinguished between at least two types of "plazas" by using the suffixes "*pampa*" or "*pata*". According to Holguin (1989 [1608]:275) "*pampa*" means "plaza," "flat ground," or more generally an open field. In southeastern *Qosqo*, near the road to *Qollasuyu*, was a place called *Rimacpampa*, or "talking square," where the Inka consulted oracles. On the other hand, Holguin (1989 [1608]:280) defines "*pata*" as a bench or terrace. The subject of this thesis, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, is this type of open space (see Figures 26, 27 and 28). Most scholars tend to gloss "*pata*" as "place," such as when *Kusipata* is translated as "place of joy" (Dr. Bruce Mannheim, personal communication 1998). However, when compared to "*pampa*," the word "*pata*" develops more specific connotations. A *pampa* may be understood to refer to topographically flat spaces, whereas a *pata* refers directly to a constructed or levelled section of land. Therefore, while Western scholars have treated the two types equally as "plazas," one may suggest that the Inka did not conceive of them as entirely the same. A *pampa* occurred as "naturally" flat, while a *pata*, at least

in part, had to be made flat. In the case of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* historical records claim that there were terraces on which buildings were constructed, and the name might refer specifically to those sections within the open space. Yet, historical documents also describe the Inka transformation of a swamp into the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, an endeavour which included the total replacement of the existing substrate and the construction of a level area. Subsequently, it is not unreasonable to maintain the above distinction between *pampa* and *pata*.

Every Inka settlement included one or several "plazas," although without the original names it is difficult to suggest whether they were *pampas*, *patas*, or another category entirely. Despite state-organised construction, there is not one single type of Inka "plaza," and if we take the name to refer to any open spaces then the connection must lie in the sheer frequency of such places rather than in any real shared form, alignment or presumed usage. However, most Inka settlements were arranged around a centrally located open area of sometimes enormous dimensions and virtually unrestricted access, and the shape of it usually defined or repeated the architectural alignments of surrounding buildings. According to Hyslop (1990:234) the Inka used various "plaza" shapes in their settlements: rectangular, trapezium (a plane figure with four sides, no two of which are parallel), irregular, and most rare, trapezoidal.

Outside of *Qosqo*, these central "plazas" range in size from between 5000 and 7000 square metres at royal estates like Ollantaytambo and Chinchero in the Urubamba Valley near *Qosqo* and at Tomebamba in modern-day Ecuador, to the almost 19,000 square metre "plaza" and associated *usnu* (platform) at the small administrative centre of

Willka Waman near present-day Ayacucho, Peru. Large Inka administrative centres in the Peruvian central highlands like Pumpu and Huánuco Pampa each had massive central "plazas" of approximately 200,000 square metre areas. As well, both of these "plazas" were the site of convergence for the roads leading to and from the site, and each contained *usnus*, or large well-constructed masonry platforms, centrally located within the open area. Most rectangular "plazas" were oriented within a few degrees along north-south or east-west axes (Hyslop 1990:236). The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of *Qosqo* is unique in that it appears to have been the unification of two trapeziums, with the northeast-southwest axis considerably longer than the northwest-southeast width (26, 27 and 28). Other trapezium-shaped "plazas" are found at Tomebamba, the Inka capital in Ecuador, where the longest axis is aligned east-northeast to west-southwest, and at Pumpu, where the "line from the usnu platform to the main gate on the east is about two degrees off a zenith sunrise azimuth... [and] the north side of Pumpu's plaza may point to the zenith sunrise" (Hyslop 1990:237). And yet, despite the variation among Inka "plazas," they all stand in contrast to the urban open spaces of the earlier Chimu and Tiwanaku sites because of their unrestricted and open character.

The Chimu state (AD 900-1470) of the north coast of Peru is best known by the site of Chan Chan. Chimu architecture can be described simply as dominated by rectangular walled enclosures, and as Conklin (1990:61) states, the "repetitive form of the compounds creates a pattern of urbanization unlike any other in the entire world. Hence the analyst lacks explanatory analogies or metaphors. The individual compounds have been called appropriately *ciudadelas*, that is, citadels or little cities".

Architecturally, there is little to suggest a unified state: there is no real central section which might speak of common ground, nor main or shared road and water systems, and there is little or no public art since decoration in the form of elaborately carved friezes is limited to certain areas; neither is there a main plaza. Instead, open spaces at Chan Chan comprised enclosed courts incorporated into the individual *ciudadelas*. As Moore (1996:94-95) points out, "activities within the *ciudadela* were invisible to outsiders, and the plazas were placed such that encounters were tightly controlled... the focal point of the plaza... [was] a ramp and bench... designed to be viewed and approached from a single direction... Access was restricted, participants were limited, and the interactions were visually anchored... The open spaces in Chimu *ciudadelas*... [were] where ruler and ruled came together in arenas where social distances were rearticulated and maintained". In other words, Chimu architecture and the articulation of open spaces was most likely used to separate, rather than integrate diverse social groups. This likely was not a particularly oppressive practice meant to punish people, but part of a broader attempt to create and maintain particular social ties through reciprocal arrangements involving obligations and privileges.

The Tiwanaku state (AD 300-1200) of the southern Andes is largely defined by the site of Tiwanaku near Lake Titicaca, a site "dominated by an urban core of monumental edifices, monolithic gateways and great stelae" (Moseley 1992:203). The largest structure at the site is the *Akapana*, a massive terraced platform with a flat summit which likely held a sunken court. Surrounding the great mound are various building complexes and an unprecedented proliferation of elaborated doors and gateways

which often lead to small sunken courts associated with terraced platforms. According to Kolata (1993:104) it is these multi-level open spaces that "dominate the civic-ceremonial core of Tiwanaku and that of its satellite communities". The sunken rectangular plazas were "relatively private interior spaces, though located in central positions in constructed, urban space" (Moore 1996:796). One could suggest that entering the plazas was just as important as being in the plazas: access was restricted and space was limited, and the often elaborate decoration of the surrounding walls and passages likely had the effect of drawing attention to the boundaries rather than to the space in-between. Again, the effect of Tiwanaku-style plazas would have been to promote social encounters of a privileged character, and while such a goal may be comparable to those at Chimu sites, the ways in which the different plazas influenced and/or reflected these goals was likely very different.

In sum, Inka urban open spaces may be understood only loosely as "plazas" in the Western sense, although we will never know precisely how the Inka conceptualised these open areas. What we are able to suggest is that Inka "plazas" appeared in various forms, likely indicating the different roles of the places in different spatial contexts. Although sight-lines and architectural alignment were likely more complex than we can now determine, the *usnu* platforms or shrines served as centripetalising and centrifugalising structures within the open space, and were often connected to astronomical observations. And finally, the non-restricted character of Inka "plazas" firmly distinguishes them from those of cultural antecedents, suggesting that the primary role of the Inka "plaza" was to integrate (although not necessarily equally) the varied social groups who used them.

Inka Settlement Planning

Inka settlements may be understood to include not only the sites of towns or cities, but also wide-spread modifications to, and incorporations within, the physical setting in which they were built. Inka stonemasonry was not limited to the construction of buildings, but included elaborate waterworks and landscape modification including terraces and carved rocks and outcrops. No two Inka settlements were identical and many factors came into play when Inka settlements were planned.

Beginning with the layout of Inka settlements, there seem to have been two recurring patterns: orthogonal and radial patterns set around a centre. Both were "rarely found together, and each may be found in only one sector of a larger settlement. Still other Inka sites have no orthogonal or radial planning" (Hyslop 1990:191), suggesting that there was no universal planning concept for Inka settlements. The Inka orthogonal plan was characterised by streets that crossed each other on a roughly perpendicular axis. The result was a type of rhomboidal patchwork appearance, reminiscent of an irregular grid (a factor later "corrected" through Spanish reconstruction). One or more *kancha* (enclosed architectural compounds) may have composed the units formed by the streets. The central sector of *Qosqo* had a type of orthogonal plan, as did sections of *Ollantaytambo* and *Chinchero*; and although according to Hyslop (1990:192-209) few examples existed outside of the *Qosqo* area, they were evident at *Hatunqolla*, *Huamachuco* and *Tomebamba* (Cuenca). More widespread in Inka settlements were radial plans. Curiously, with the exception of radiality found in *Qosqo's* planning, most examples are located far from the capital. Two types of radiality were used in *Qosqo*:

the *zeque* system, and "that of streets connecting the central sector with a ring of about a dozen peripheral districts surrounding the central sector. Thus at Cuzco an orthogonal street pattern in its central sector becomes a radial pattern as the roads leave the center" (Hyslop 1990:202-203). Radial plans outside of *Qosqo* included that at *Huanuco Pampa* (Morris and Thompson 1985), where the site is clearly divided into four main parts with an *usnu* (shrine/throne) at the centre; another example was *Inkawasi*, where fourteen units were arranged around a plaza with an *usnu*-like platform in the middle (Hyslop 1985).

As mentioned above, integral to Inka spatial planning were ideas of bi-, tri-, and quadri-partitioning, often centred around a large open space. Relatedly is the orientation and alignment of Inka settlements to astronomical features. These ideas are very complex and not within the scope of this discussion, although some attention will be given to astronomical observations in chapters 4 and 5. While not wishing to grossly oversimplify the connection between astronomy and Inka architectural planning, the Inka have been shown to be concerned with horizon observations of celestial phenomena, which were sighted from towers, through particular windows and by lights and shadows cast by certain pillars found both within the settlements proper, and in the nearby landscape (as such these places of observation should be considered part of the closest Inka settlement) (Bauer and Dearborn 1995).

Stone

Inka architecture was often integrated with natural rocks and outcrops, and stones themselves were part of Inka settlement plans. As Hyslop (1990:102) notes, "boulders

and outcrops may form parts of terraces or freestanding walls, rest conspicuously on terraces, platforms or plazas, be placed in or between buildings, or simply be freestanding features". There were hundreds of carved stones in *Tawantinsuyu*, ranging in size from small rocks to large areas of bedrock on the mountain slopes. Sometimes architectural features surrounded otherwise unmodified rocks. In addition to the sites of *Suchuna* and *Kusillochoj*, an example of the importance of stone and its varied treatment is the site of *Kenqo*, where a carved outcrop with a passageway and niches beneath it had a platform built around it. Other modified rock included shelves and niches carved in stone, as well as carved channels generally connected to small or large depressions or basins (Hyslop 1990:103-105). Numerous examples of special boulders or outcrops directly incorporated into Inka settlement plans are known; that is, buildings were extended out from these features which sometimes served as foundation stones and other times seem to have governed where Inka architecture "began" or "ended". This tendency further links Inka buildings with the landscape, and culture with nature. As part of larger settlements, outlying stones of cultural importance included the impressive *Saywite* stone near Apurimac, the *Wanakauri* stone near *Qosqo*, and the "Tired Stone" north of *Saqsawaman*. Paternosto (1996:177) would describe such feats as Inka "sculpture in the round". Hyslop (1990:125-126) suggests that a particular stone was a criterion in and of itself for selecting settlement location, an idea not unfeasible considering that the "symbolism of rocks and stone outcrops in Inka culture was so complex that one cannot simply refer to a 'cult of stone' or the 'sacredness of rock' and expect to explain why such stone is important" (Hyslop 1990:128).

Paternosto (1996:180) refers to a quality of "stoniness" found in Inka architecture and sculpture:

> this stoniness responds to deeper causes: stone appears to represent itself, its own essence, because it was, beyond all other things, a transcendent material, significant in and of itself, heavy with symbolic potential. A Western artist uses sterile, neutral materials, but among the Incas, the sculptural medium itself was numinous. From time immemorial stone has been contemplated as the intrinsic structure, the very foundation of the universe, and has had a multiplicity of referents and meanings in different cultures. Among these meanings, stone represents the antithesis of biological matter, which is subject to change, decay, and death. The whole stone - the rock - symbolizes cohesion and a harmonious relation with being and, in this sense, is the opposite of sand, dust, and splinters of stone, which represent phases of disintegration.

Indeed, the Inka were known to have considered stone itself to be *waka*, or sacred (see Figure 29), and one may suggest that for the Inka, stone takes "on the ontological sense of the foundation of being" (Paternosto 1996:183). It has also been proposed that the

> fundamental *asymmetry* of Inca sculpture is the direct result of its adhesion to the primordial form of the chosen rock, the *waka* - an adhesion that is substantially analogous to the accommodation of topography typical of Inca buildings, which are the true outgrowths of an 'organic architecture'. The sculptural transformation of rock... involves its incorporation into the cosmos: therefore it takes place in situ, within the numinous natural surroundings... [and] the 'memory' of the stone's original form is never totally erased. It remains rooted, immobile, in a landscape with which it establishes an infinite number of relations (Paternosto 1996:185-186).

Relatedly, Van de Guchte (1990:334-339) suggests that for the Inka

> the mythological relations between different points in the landscape [were] expressed in a system of geographical relations, organized along generational lines. It appears that carved rock complexes function[ed] as commemorative features in the landscape, linking people spatially with their temporal past... Aesthetics mix with agriculture, social structure with sculpture. The occupation of space by the Incas was always governed by social practices... The socialization of nature in the thinking process of the Incas ascribed behavioral characteristics to aspects of the environment which all transcend the purely physical. Stones, water, and the land received dictates from the realm of metaphysics.

Water

Neither should the fundamental significance of water to the Inka be underestimated, as it, or at least its source was also considered sacred in Inka cosmology;

furthermore, people's relationships to water sources could be used to express ideas of origin and ethnicity (Rowe 1946). The location of settlements near important bodies of water or particular river systems was common, as in *Qosqo* and *Tomebamba*. The Inka dependence on agriculture required extensive terracing and water management systems; the sources and canals of these irrigation systems were often regarded as *waka*, and much effort was put forth in their construction and maintenance. In this way, ceremonial and utilitarian water systems merged as part of Inka settlement planning. As Sherbondy (1982:127) notes, "the canals were referred to as *puquios* (springs) and the reservoirs as *cochas* (lakes)," again suggesting the inter-connection between "nature" and "culture" in Inka architecture. In addition to the canals, complex drainage systems, elaborate baths and fountains were constructed. None of these Inka waterworks appear to have been part of a sewage system, as there is no evidence for any water facilities for human defecation; perhaps, as today in many parts of the Andes, one simply urinated and defecated in the open fields. The question of the ritual significance of Inka waterworks will be dealt with more fully in chapters 4 and 5.

Conclusion

Inka settlement planning involved the partitioning of space into two, three or four sectors, and the utilisation of both orthogonal and radial patterns. Of great importance was the connection of Inka architecture with the landscape, suggesting, perhaps, that the Inka did not perceive or experience the distinction made in Western philosophy between nature and culture. As well, central to Inka settlement planning was the integration of

important water sources and the construction of elaborate waterworks. Fundamental to any consideration of Inka architecture and settlement planning is the understanding that the boundaries between the natural and built environment were fluid. From the selection of a building site and the quarrying of stone, to the construction and use of their buildings, the Inka created and reflected the cosmos in *Tawantinsuyu*.

Tawantinsuyu, the Inka Empire of the Four Quarters, comprised a magnificent landscape extended and modified through the construction of stone and adobe architecture and sculpture, extensive road systems, bridges and terracing projects, as well as elaborate waterworks. Inka mythohistory reveals that from the time of the first ancestors, there was an inextricable connection between the people, the land, and the cosmos. Particular cultural practices, such as the *mitmaq* and *mit'a* policies, as well as the *ceque* system bi-partitioning of *Hanan* (upper) and *Urin* (lower) and tri-partitioning of *qollana* (upper, Inka), *payan* (middle, Inka and non-Inka), and *Callao* (lower, non-Inka), all incorporate spatial dimensions. In sum, Inka architecture need not be understood as a separate domain from the landscape itself or from social, political, economic and ritual contexts. In other words, to maintain the Western distinction between the natural and human-made world is an ineffective way to approach the Inka and their architecture; Inka architecture is the material expression of their universe. The following chapter will seek to further expand these notions in the context of a particular architectural complex, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of central *Qosqo*.

Chapter 4 - Colonial (Re)Construction of the Inka *Haucaypata-Kusipata*

The Writing of Histories

We will never know objectively and verifiably what the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of Inka *Qosqo* was "really" like. But we can take a look at what it "has been" to suggest how it may have been experienced by the Inka. If we understand that as soon as a moment passes it becomes history (past), and the only way in which we may describe it is from the present, then history (or the process of communicating the past in the present) necessarily comprises the cultural contexts of all its narrations. In this way, architecture and culture are not things to be made or un-made, but are in a continuous process of and in the making. It might help to look at it as erecting buildings upon buildings: the Inka built/created the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*; the colonial Spaniards built/created the *Great Square* that no longer existed; this thesis will attempt to address the cultural correlates of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as they may have been understood by the Inka.

Rather than understanding history as a sequence of events that actually occurred in the past, and that can be used to predict the future, "histories are ways of knowing what happened in the past" (Dening 1991:352). Furthermore, the presentation of the past through histories constitutes a perpetual (re)formulation of meanings: "Relics of what happened in the past are cultural artifacts of all the moments that give them permanence... They gain meaning out of every social moment they survive" (Dening 1991:354-355). Since no single position can encompass every point of view, ethnohistory and ethnography are most productive in attempting to "locate human

behaviour in more than one frame of reference at once" (Rapport 1997:183). These frames of reference can be spatial, temporal, cultural, etc., but if the goal of anthropology is to express the human experience, it should be acknowledged that human experience occurs simultaneously in all those dimensions and in multiple and sometimes contradictory ways.

The colonial Spanish chronicles of the Inka are not treated as "History," in the sense of definitive and verifiable accounts of actual events or ideas. They are instead those histories, or ways of understanding the past that various people, from diverse positions, wrote in the first hundred or so years after the invasion of *Tawantinsuyu*. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of Inka *Qosqo* was constantly created and recreated by the people who built and used it, and its sense of place involved the realm of history. When the Spaniards redesigned the city in 1535, that space was forever altered and its sense of place became the realm of a different and continuing history. In turn, these histories create and recreate the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* from colonial viewpoints. What follows is a recreation of these histories, providing biographical information for the authors, the social contexts of writing, and initial interpretations of the narratives and their value for historical architectural reconstructions.

The Chronicles

Since the Inka did not use a system of alphabetical writing to record their stories, most of what we now know about the Inka is based on post-contact European texts. These documents include eyewitness accounts of contact and conquest, letters to Spain,

and chronicles written in the tradition of Spanish historical epics with aesthetic and moralising tendencies. Each sought to represent a different aspect of Inka culture and history, as much as each reflects the motivations of the individual writers. Many of the Spanish writers relied on the remaining *khipukamayoq* (keepers of the *khipu*) to provide the stories of the Inka, but very little is known about these informants (see Figure 30).

An early attempt by Markham (1980 [1910]) to interpret the chronicles created a double- classification based on race and profession. Accordingly, chroniclers were divided into either Spanish or Indian/Indigenous categories. Although Markham recognised the different intents of the individual chroniclers, he made no attempt to evaluate the chronicles contextually in terms of historical chronology and change.

Louis Baudin (1961:238-253) proposed instead five categories for interpreting the chronology of the early chronicles. The first group comprised "Eyewitnesses of the Inka Empire," or those who saw it firsthand and thereby had greater credibility than those who only heard about it from others, including soldiers such as Sancho, Estéte, and Pedro Pizarro. The second group consisted of chroniclers who were "Post-contact arrivals" and could only witness traces of the prior Inka state, including Cieza de León. The third group comprised "Collectors of the first reports, not themselves on the scene," including Las Casas. The fourth group consisted of "Collectors, in Peru, of accounts by the Incas' descendants during the colonial period," including Garcilaso, Sarmiento de Gamboa, Molina "el Cuzqueño," and Polo de Ondegardo. The fifth group comprised "Spanish historians of the 17th century," who were largely clergymen far removed from the period of conquest, including Murúa and Cobo. The strength of Baudin's framework is his

attention to the historical and social distance of the writing from the period and people which they purport to describe.

Philip Ainsworth Means (1973), more concerned with content and representation of the Inka, divided the chronicles into two large categories: 1) chroniclers called "Garcilasistas," who in accordance with Garcilaso de la Vega supported an idea of the gradual formation of the Inka Empire as a benevolent and innocent patriarchy; and 2) chroniclers called "Toledans," who were inspired by the Viceroy of Toledo and favoured a late formation for the tyrannical and barbaric Inka Empire.

More recently, the interpretive categories outlined by Porras Barrenechea (1986:16-18) provide a synthesis of views on the transformation of an historical genre of literature and on the peculiarities of individual authors. He outlines five general categories of chronicle: 1) "Chroniclers of the Discovery Period," comprising such varied individuals as soldiers, secretaries and pilots who acted primarily as geographers between 1524 and 1532; 2) "Chroniclers of the Conquest Period," or those soldiers who invaded *Tawantinsuyu* and founded the first Spanish cities; 3) "Chroniclers of the Civil Wars," which began in 1538 and lasted until 1550, including such writers as Las Casas. These writers condemned warfare, downplayed the glory of the original conquistadores and exalted the Native; 4) "Chroniclers of the *Incario*," or priests and professionals who began writing about the Inka during the civil wars and continued through 1650, and who used information primarily from Inka *quipucamayoqs* and from oral histories. This category was sub-divided further into three groups of interest here: a) "Chroniclers of the Indies," including de las Casas; b) "Pre-Toledan Chroniclers" who wrote from 1550 to

1569, including the chronicles by Cieza de León and Betanzos, who spoke Quechua fluently and advocated the antiquity and greatness of the Inka and condemned the cruelty of the conquistadores; and c) "Toledan Chroniclers," or those writers who wrote under the direction and in the spirit of the Viceroy of Toledo who ruled in Cuzco between 1569 and 1581, including Sarmiento de Gamboa, Molina, Polo de Ondegardo, and Acosta. These writers favoured a short history of the Inka Empire, and emphasised the cruelties of the Inka toward their subjects and the redemptive power of the Spaniards; and finally, 5) "Post-Toledan Chroniclers," who wrote during the late 16th and early 17th centuries and based their accounts on information from the descendants of the Inka, taking a sympathetic tone which likely idealised life in the Inka Empire before it was destroyed by the Spanish invaders. Porras Barrenechea (1986:18 *translation mine*) includes such chroniclers as "Inka descendants like Garcilaso... natives like Santa Cruz Pachacuti or Guaman Poma de Ayala, and animated Spanish priests with folkloric curiosities and vivid imaginations, like Murúa... and the Anonymous Jesuit".

This thesis relies mainly on Porras Barrenechea's (1986) historical and literary categories for the Peruvian chronicles listed above. While Porras Barrenechea considers some chronicles to be more reliable than others, yet still subject to cautious use and an awareness of their own contexts, his reliance on literary analysis and biography may be seen to present the chronicles as Spanish stories or epic histories, rather than as trustworthy sources for an "Actual Inka History".

Narratives concerning the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of Inka *Qosqo* can be found in all categories except the first, which treats the period before the Spanish entry into the

capital of *Tawantinsuyu*. Only those passages directly pertaining to the physical appearance and activities of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* will be considered. This decision comes from the temporal and spatial limitations of a Master's thesis, and the desire to focus closely on a single architectural complex. As such, this thesis attempts to interpret, in detail and as closely as possible, the early histories of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. No attempt is made to recover an "authentic" history of the compound; this thesis is less concerned with what the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* actually was (its physical form), than it is with how it may have been understood by the people who used it (its cultural ideals). The historical narratives are amplified and (re)contextualised through ethnographic analogy in the final chapter.

In the tradition of previous scholars, this thesis discusses the written accounts in chronological order, so that the context in which they were written may be more easily and systematically explored and discussed. By doing so, this thesis attempts to qualify some of Porras Barrenechea's (1986) interpretations in order to re-evaluate the written descriptions of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* through time.

Eyewitness Accounts: the Soldier Chroniclers

Although many authors have described the ancient capital of the Inka, very few accounts were written by those who saw the city before it was set ablaze by the Inka themselves in an attempt to take *Qosqo* back from the Spanish in 1535 (see Figure 31). After the fire, the city was rebuilt by the Spanish according to European specifications, forever altering the design intended by the Inka. Of those accounts which make specific

mention of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, the first was written by Francisco Pizarro's secretary, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, on the spot in 1534 when the Spaniards entered the city . The anonymous "Noticia del Perú," likely authored by Miguel de Estéte, was probably written in 1535. And finally, in 1572 Pedro Pizarro completed writing what he had seen.

Porras Barrenechea (1986:20-26) characterises chronicles written during this early period as conquest chronicles, written by soldiers or their associates and constituting a distinct style of representation. Central to this style is the writing of an official history of conquest, to be sent to Spain and survive as the grand story of Spanish accomplishment in the New World. These writings are often impersonal accounts, lacking reference to proper names or individual actions beyond those of the Spaniards in charge. Another characteristic of the soldier-chronicles is the "vagueness and imprecision of their remembrances" (Porras Barrenechea 1986:22 *translation mine*). However, they were often impressed by Inka architecture and made comparisons to known European buildings. The Inka were most often described as an extraordinary people, more primitive and cruel than the Spanish in their beliefs and practices, yet sufficiently civilised to constitute a formidable and worthy opponent. Finally, in contrast to later chronicles, the soldier-chronicles were sparse and pointed accounts largely lacking in conjecture and likely intended to be realistic and pragmatic renditions of Spanish history in the making (Porras Barrenechea 1963). Although several eyewitness accounts of *Qosqo* were written, only three make specific mention of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* compound. The first two were written in Cuzco between 1534 and 1535, but

the third description by Pedro Pizarro in 1572 will be addressed later, in the context of its date of completion.

Pedro Sancho de la Hoz

The first written account of the city of *Qosqo* was recorded by Sancho de la Hoz when he entered the Inka capital with Hernando Pizarro in 1534, shortly after the execution of *Inka Atawallpa* in Cajamarca. The Spaniards had been in *Tawantinsuyu* since 1532, and Francisco de Xérez had served as Francisco Pizarro's secretary. According to Esteve Barba (1964:405), Sancho was a veteran of the wars of conquest, and had served in the ranks of Pizarro's army from the outset. Sancho later replaced Xérez, who had taken ill, and served as secretary from 1533 to 1535. For unstated reasons, Pizarro considered Sancho to be a man of "falsity and of suspect moral character," and Sancho's account is considered to be more personal and expressing "more mobility and freedom of imagination" than the dryly written calendars of other soldier-chroniclers (Porras Barrenechea 1986:110 *translation mine*).

Sancho de la Hoz (1917 [1534] Chapter XVII:154) described the area of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as "rectangular, and the greater part of it is flat and paved with small stones. Around the plaza are four houses of noblemen, who are the chief men of the city; [the houses] are of stone, painted and carved, and the best of them is the house of Guaynacaba [*Wayna Qhapaq*], a former chief, and the door of it is of marble [coloured] white and red and of other colors; and there are other very sightly buildings with flat roofs...". In addition to this brief physical description, Sancho (1917 [1534] Chapter XIX:170) discussed the mummified corpse of *Wayna Qhapaq*, stating that in

reverence,

> frequently they take the [body] out into the plaza with music and dancing, and they always stay close to it, day and night, driving away the flies. When some important lords come to see the *cacique*, they go first to salute these figures, and they then go to the cacique and hold, with him, so many ceremonies that it would be a great prolixity to describe them. So many people assemble at these feasts that their number exceeds one hundred thousand souls.

Sancho recognised a "plaza" surrounded by elite architecture, not entirely unlike the contemporary plazas of Spain. He portrayed the austere stonemasonry we now see as impressive multi-coloured and carved walls. Sancho also gave some indication of the size of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* when he claimed that certain feasts drew at least one hundred thousand people; he described its appearance as largely flat and paved with stone. As well, both accounts point to the immortality of *Wayna Qhapaq* through the preservation and maintenance by his lineage of both his body and his belongings. By focussing on Inka ancestor worship, Sancho initially linked the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* with ritual practices related to the maintenance of proper social relations in space and time.

Miguel de Estéte

Born in 1507, Estéte joined Pizarro's mounted cavalry and actively participated in the capture and execution of *Inka Atawallpa* in Cajamarca (Esteve Barba 1964:401). Estéte contributed a brief relation of Hernando Pizarro's voyage from Cajamarca to Xauxa which was incorporated into Francisco Xérez's official 1534 account of the conquest. Additionally, he is considered by some scholars (see MacCormack 1991) to be the most likely author of the anonymously written "Noticia del Perú," tentatively dated to 1535. Estéte's writing has been considered to generally exhibit a playfulness and

freshness of vision (Esteve Barba 1964:403), a view difficult to reconcile with the brief and pointed nature of his descriptions.

In the "Noticia del Perú," Estéte (1924 [1535?]:390-392 *translation mine*) describes the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in the following manner: "The city's plaza was almost square, neither big nor small". He claims that "Atabalica's [*Atawallpa's*]" house had two towers and a doorway adorned with silver and other precious metals, both "of good appearance". The only other building that Estéte mentioned is a "monastery called Atuncancha," a building "encircled by a beautiful masonry wall" with a door bordering the plaza. Inside this building, he claims were more than one hundred houses where priests, ministers, and many *mamaconas*, or women dedicated to religious service, lived. Finally, he mentions that close to this enclosure was the street leading to the Temple of the Sun.

The physical description of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as almost square and neither big nor small, contradicts recent surveys and plans which indicate that while the area was not a perfect rectangle, it was considerably longer than it was wide; furthermore, using Gasparini and Margolies' (1980:54) map, the possible area was between 100,000 and 110,000 square metres. As such, it was more than thirteen times the size of a regulation football (soccer) field, making it difficult to understand why Estéte could not commit to an impression of its size. The two towers in front of *Atawallpa's* house are the only vertical elements described within the horizontal space; they did not form the compound's boundaries, they sat within the delineated area. The religious compound he described was likely the *Aqllawasi*, or House of the Chosen

Women (see MacCormack 1991; Silverblatt 1987). "*Atuncancha*" was the only proper name given to the surrounding architecture, beyond the indication that one could enter and leave the plaza by a particular street leading to the Temple of the Sun. In González Holguin's (1989 [1608]154) Quechua-Spanish dictionary, there is no entry for "*atun*" but "*hatun*" (silent 'h') means the "greatest, principle, or best known" and "*cancha*" means "enclosure". "*Hatunkancha*," then, could be understood as the "Great Enclosure". Estéte made no mention of activities in the plaza, and consequently presented a sense of static space; however, by mentioning the "monastery" and street to the Temple of the Sun, he also attributed a religious character to the general area.

In sum, the soldier-chronicles of Sancho de la Hoz and Estéte provided brief descriptions of the Inka *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in *Qosqo*. Both men recognised the compound as a "plaza," or open space surrounded by elite architecture, but it is difficult to get a sense of its magnitude from their descriptions. Sancho focussed on the richness of the palace of *Wayna Qhapaq*, and the awe-inspiring Inka practice of worshipping ancestral mummies in the open area (see Figure 32). Estéte placed two towers in the open space, identified *Atawallpa's* palace and a compound most likely the *Aqllawasi*, or House of the Chosen Women (see Figures 33 and 34). And despite falsely attributing it to the *Aqllawasi*, he provided a proper name for one of the buildings, *Hatunkancha* or the Great Enclosure. From their writings, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges as an open space containing two towers, and as surrounded by buildings of royal and religious character where ritual practices were common.

The Pre-Toledan Chroniclers

Unlike the soldier-chroniclers before them, the Pre-Toledan writers actively sought to understand the "mind of the Native," and became the first writers who were fluent in Quechua. The Spanish Crown and the Church actively encouraged learning the language of the Inka so that they could know the history and customs of their new colony, as well as to better communicate with their new subjects (Porras Barrenechea 1986:34). Spanish administrators gathered many *khipukamayoq* (keepers of the *khipu*) in order to collect the official Inka information encoded in the knots, which was to be used to facilitate the transition to a colonial society and economy. These chronicles are often fervently pro-Native, and constitute the first Spanish attempt to systematically explore the epic history of the Inka.

Juan de Betanzos

Believed to have been born in Galicia, Spain in 1510, the date of Betanzos' arrival in Peru is unknown. He was one of the first Spaniards to become a Quechua-speaker, as sometime after 1541 he married a daughter or niece of *Wayna Qhapac*, Doña Angelina Yupanqui (*Cuxirimay Ocllo*), herself a former wife of *Atawallpa* and concubine of Francisco Pizarro (Porras Barrenechea 1986:309). Due to his marital connections with the Inka nobility, he was used as an intermediary between the Inka and Spanish viceroys, and Betanzos served in Peru as an official Crown interpreter, ordered by Viceroy Antonio de Mendoza to write down the Inka traditions he knew. In 1551 he completed his "Suma y Narración," although it was not published until 1557 (Porras Barrenechea 1986:310).

Considered to be a pre-Toledan chronicler, Betanzos' narrative is a history of the Inka from the legends of their origin to the time of the Spanish invasion (Porras Barrenechea 1986:310). In the pre-Toledan tradition, Betanzos favoured a long and established history for the Inka, despite effectively attributing the way things were to the 9th *Inka Pachakuti* and his successors. His account is considered to be poorly written, monotonous and impersonal, much like those of the uneducated soldiers of the conquest (Porras Barrenechea 1986:310), but he did state in his letter of introduction that his style was affected by trying to provide the most literal translation possible of the Quechua oral traditions he had collected (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:ix). Informed by the members of *Atawallpa's* family, Betanzos' account exalts the actions of *Inka Pachakuti*, great great-grandfather of *Atawallpa*, and belittles the actions of *Waskar Inka* in comparison to those of *Atawallpa*. Betanzos does not appear to have aspired to have his work published, although there is some indication he was financially compensated for his efforts (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:xii-xiv).

In Betanzos' (1996 [1551] Pt.1,Ch.III:13) rendition of the Inka origin myth, the first ancestors came across a small town, where they were to build the city of *Qosqo*:

> The rest of the area around this town was a marsh of sedge with sharp-edged leaves. This marsh was created by the springs from the sierra and came forth from the place where the fortress [*Saqsawaman*] is now. This marsh was located and formed in what is now the square and houses of the Marquis Don Francisco Pizarro...

The next mention of the "square" is in Chapter XI "Wherein Inca Yupanque made the house of the Sun, the statue of the Sun, and of the long fasts, pagan rites, and offerings that he did". Deciding to rebuild *Qosqo*, *Inka Pachakuti Yupanqui* began with the design

and construction of the "House of the Sun," or the *Qorikancha* (not changed since *Manqo Qhapac's* time), "in which there would be placed a statue to whom, in place of the Sun, they could worship and make sacrifices" (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:44). *Pachakuti* placed the golden statue on a tropical feather-decorated bench, in a chamber of the Temple. Only he was able to pray and make sacrifices in that room; the other lords "remained in the patio, and there outside they made their sacrifices and their reverent gestures. The common people had to worship outside, not even entering the patio as the lords did" (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:47). And so, on the day the statue was placed in the temple, *Pachakuti*

> had placed in the middle of the square of Cuzco, where the pole of the gallows is now, a stone made like a sugarloaf pointed on top and covered with a strip of gold... When the stone was placed in the middle of the square of Cuzco, first a large hole was made there where all the people of Cuzco, old and young alike, offered to the Sun as many pieces of gold as they saw fit. Afterward, they filled up the hole and built a stone font about one-half *estado* [about two and a half feet] high. All around the font they buried some gold statues, each one about the length and thickness of one finger. Before these little statues were buried this way around the font, they made as many small squadrons as lineages of the city of Cuzco. Each statuette represented the most important lord of each of those lineages. After these squadrons were set up and put in order, all were buried under the earth by the wall of the font. In the middle of the font they put the stone that represented the Sun. Putting these statues around the font that way was an offering which they made to the Sun of the generation of people of Cuzco and the lineages from the time of Manco Capac had founded up to the lineages of that time. Once this was done in the way you have heard, all the people of the city sacrificed large numbers of sheep [llamas] and lambs. From that time until the Spaniards entered the city of Cuzco, the natives always made this sacrifice to this stone idol. So many sheep and lambs were sacrificed there to that idol that they do not know nor can they count them. But they say that the least number of sheep and lambs sacrificed at one time amounted to more than five hundred (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:47-49).

Betanzos continued describing the great deeds of *Inka Pachakuti* in Part I, Chapter XIII, when *Pachakuti* wanted state storehouses built, and in order to promote that he organised a fiesta. A large amount of sedge was spread in the "square," along with branches and flowers and live birds. Chicha was brought out into the plaza and the Inka had "four

golden drums" placed at intervals, and everyone joined hands and danced in a circle. They sang hero songs (*hallyi*) about Inka history and triumph, and after six days of drinking chicha and chewing coca, the *caciques* (lords) agreed to build the storehouses the Inka wanted, and repair the banks of the rivers. After the work was completed, the Inka held a thirty day fiesta in thanks, and ordered that all the single men and women of the Empire be married, and that men of one province could marry women from another (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:55-57).

Betanzos' discussion continued in Part I, Chapter XIV, where he wrote that *Inka Pachakuti* wanted to establish a yearly festival to the Sun

> for the victory which was given to him and made him ruler... So that this fiesta would always be remembered. Inca Yupanque told [the lords] that it would be good to confer the title of *orejon* warrior with certain ceremonies and fasts. 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 all the land as children of the Sun. It seemed to him that from that time on those of that city should be held in more esteem and respected more than they had been before by those of all the land (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:59).

Betanzos (1996 [1551]:63-64) gave a detailed description of the Inka male rite of passage to adulthood and warrior status: after visiting the *waka* "called Yavira" the young men "will all come down together to the square of the city...When the neophytes reach the square they will spread out in wing formation at the lower end facing toward the direction the sun comes up". After certain rites were performed, they celebrated for thirty days, at which point the neophytes and their relatives gathered in the square before the initiates left for the "fountain called Calizpuquio," where they would bathe. Upon returning to the square, they would hold a mock battle (*tinkuy*), and they would "fight this battle with the objective of learning how they should fight their enemies. It seems to

me that this is the way these ceremonies should be. This rite will provide the order for making these *orejon* warriors, and not what has been done before this time". Betanzos refers to this celebration as "Raime," or simply "festival," and claims that despite Spanish efforts to eradicate its practice, people still performed it secretly at the time of writing.

Betanzos also described activities in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* concerning the death of *Inka Pachakuti*. He stated that before the people of *Qosqo* would know of *Pachakuti's* death the lords would elect the new ruler and send him out into the plaza where his status would be made public (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:131). This action could have served to provide the people with a smooth transition, with no perceived loss of leadership. And after any kin or servants chose to be buried with him, "all the lords of Cuzco should go out into the plaza and cry for him there and, crying, tell in a loud voice of his famous deeds such as planning the city and subjugating and acquiring lands and provinces under his dominion as well as the organization he had in ruling and giving orders for the well-being of the city as in everything else of all the land" (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:132); his wrapped body was to be placed with the mummies of the ancestors and carried throughout the land, and one thousand boys and girls were to be brought to *Qosqo* for the *Capacocha* sacrifice, and afterwards buried throughout the land.

Again, Betanzos (1996 [1551] Pt.2, Ch.I:189) discussed the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in the context of *Wayna Qhapaq's* death and the succession of *Waskar Inka*:

> When he became lord, he went out into the square and declared that henceforth the lands of coca and maize production that had been owned by the Sun and the bodies of the dead rulers, including those of his father, Huayna Capac, would be taken from them. All these he took for himself, saying that neither the Sun nor the

> dead nor his father who was now dead ate. Since they did not eat, he had needs of their lands. This action horrified the lords. And they were saddened because they had permitted him to become lord.

Betanzos also described the funeral procession as chaotic: before the litter marched *Wayna Qhapaq's* prisoners of war, including a dwarf who was ferociously attacked by the lords and ladies of *Qosqo* because they felt it unjust that their benevolent ruler had been taken from them and replaced by such a "vile being". When the men in charge of the litter tried to protect the prisoner from the hysterical mob, "the women saw that the dwarf had been taken from them [and] they shouted amid their tears and cried of the great valor and the goodness of this good man, Huayna Capac. Later the men placed his body in Caxana, Huayna Capac's own house," and after the body was buried in the Valley of Yuqay, "the lords of Cuzco celebrated the fiesta of Purucaya [mourning] with great solemnity" (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:190-191).

Betanzos described the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as a place of public announcement, when *Waskar Inka* and the warrior *Aguapante* went out into the plaza to warn the nobles that they were under imminent attack by *Atawallpa's* forces; this caused such fear that when the *ñacas*, or matrons, heard the news "the cries they raised in the city all that day were so great that nothing else got done. Huascar even came out and tried to calm the women... These *ñacas* paid no attention to what Huascar or the other lords told them but, rather, increased their lamentations and cries" (Betanzos 1996 [1551]:220).

In the rendition of Inka history presented by Betanzos, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were built on top of a marsh, presumably during the time of *Manqo Qhapac* and the foundation of *Qosqo*, thereby establishing it as a centre-point from the earliest times.

When *Pachakuti* is attributed with the rebuilding of *Qosqo* and the introduction of many rituals, the "square" existed before the *Qorikancha* was rebuilt, as it had already been allocated as the place of worship for those not permitted to enter the Temple itself. Betanzos makes no reference to the physical appearance of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, and instead portrays the area as a forum for ritual and political activity.

According to Betanzos, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was where the "commoners" worshipped the Sun (*Inti*) through regular offerings and animal sacrifices at a pointed stone covered with a "strip of gold" placed by *Pachakuti* in the open space. Beneath this stone, itself circumscribed by a stone wall, reportedly were buried gold figurines representing the lineages of *Qosqo* to that time; their presence may have served to extend the sense of history in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. Other activities or fiestas described by Betanzos include those used to entice and reward work from the Inka's subjects, state-sanctioned male coming-of-age rituals (*huarochico*), elite funerals (*purucaya*) and inaugurations, and public announcements. As Betanzos describes these affairs, moments of transition and the balance between harmony and conflict are negotiated within that space, rendering the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as central to the integration of the entire population of the empire, and of the empire and the cosmos. This stands in contrast to architecture like the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun, where access was restricted to the elite members of Inka society.

Pedro Cieza de León

Cieza de León was born in either Llerena or Sevilla, Spain between 1520 and 1522 (Esteve Barba 1964:413). According to Porras Barrenechea (1986:281), we know

that Cieza arrived in Peru in 1548, in the midst of the civil wars between the Spanish *conquistadores* and the subsequent Inka insurgencies. He returned to Sevilla in late 1550, married Isabel López de Abreu in 1551, and died two months after his wife in 1554; he completed his work in intervals up to the time of his death (Esteve Barba 1964:414). Despite experiencing Peru as a soldier in a time of chaos, Cieza de León's account is considered to be one of the best written and comprehensive chronicles: he is thought to have revealed himself to be straight-forward or unaffected and without pretension in his geographical and ethnographical approach (Porras Barrenechea 1986:282). This "second wave" of soldiers distinguished themselves from the *conquistadores* by appealing to peace and civility and, despite writing for his commander, Cieza's account reflects a seemingly genuine affection and appreciation for the land and her peoples; his perceived impartiality is considered his greatest strength by Porras Barrenechea (1986:282) and Esteve Barba (1964). However, one might note that this "impartiality" is assumed because of his methodical expression of sympathy and humanity, without exaggeration or idealism, towards the Native peoples of Peru.

Cieza's *Crónica del Perú* downplays any Inka social practices likely to be considered "barbarian" at the time, and generally insists that the Inka were a noble and civilised people. Yet, Cieza also reveals himself to have been a devout Catholic and becomes less attentive to his descriptions of Inka religion (although he seems to have been impressed by the *Qorikancha*), and goes so far as to rejoice that temples and idols had been destroyed in order that their enemy would tremble at the sight of the Cross (Porras Barrenechea 1986:283). When discussing Inka history, Cieza relied on

translating from Quechua the oral testimony of *orejónes* (Inka nobility), especially that of *Cayo Thupaq*, and the declarations made by *khipukamayuq* (keepers of the *khipu*). Like other pre-Toledan chroniclers, he favoured a history in which the Inka were a long-established benevolent presence in the land (Porras Barrenechea 1986).

Cieza makes specific reference to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* several times in his chronicle. He writes that "there were many...highways all over the kingdom, both in the highlands and the plains. Of all, four are considered the main highways, and they are those that start from the city of Cuzco, at the square, like a crossroads, and go to the different provinces of the kingdom"(Cieza 1959 [1554]:137).

Later discussing the history of the Inka, Cieza (1959 [1554]:144) states that "midway between the hills, where most of the inhabitants resided, there was a good-sized square which they say was a swamp or lake in olden times, and which the founders of the city filled in with stones and mortar and made it as it is now". Further elaborating on this description Cieza (1959 [1554]:193) writes that with the succession of *Sinchi Roq'a*, after *Manqo Qhapac's* death,

> some of the natives of that city [Qosqo] state that where the great square was located, which is the same place it now occupies, there was a small lake and bog which made it difficult to erect the large buildings they wished to begin to construct. When the Inca Sinchi Roca learned of this, with the aid of his allies and the inhabitants of the city, he went about draining that swamp, blocking it up with great stones and thick logs, filling in where water once stood until it was made as it is now

And again, when the 6th *Inka Roq'a* succeeded *Qhapac Yupanqui*, he went to sit at a nearby mountain because his ear hurt from being pierced. Cieza (1959 [1554]:202) states that at the time there was no river running through the city, and the new Inka prayed to the gods to help him solve the water problem. A great clap of thunder frightened the

Inka and he bowed his head to the ground, and with his ear bleeding he heard rushing water beneath the earth.

> When he perceived this wonder, he joyously ordered many Indians to come from the city, who quickly set about digging until they reached the stream of water which had made a channel through the bowels of the earth and was flowing without doing any good... After they had dug deep and discovered the underground stream, they made great sacrifices to their gods, believing it was by virtue of their godhead that they had received this blessing, and with great skill they conducted the water through the middle of the city, having first paved the ground with great stones and built fine walls with strong foundations along either side of the river, and, to cross it, stone bridges at intervals. I have seen this river [the Watanay], and it is true that it flows as they say, its source being in the direction of that hill (Cieza 1959 [1554]:202-203).

Further describing the appearance of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, Cieza (1959 [1554]:205-206) claims that *Pachakuti Inka Yupanqui* "ordered much gold and silver to be brought from many places for the temple [of the Sun], and the stone they call the stone of war was made in Cuzco, large and set with gold and precious stones". This stone was set in the square, and captains seemed to have sworn their fealty to the Inka on it and met there before embarking on conquests. When narrating activities occurring in the area, Cieza, in Part 1, Chapter 21, describes the inauguration festivities held for *Waskar Inka*; in Part 2, Chapter 57, he addresses the celebration of *Hatun Raymi* (*Qhapac Raymi* in December); and in Part 2, Chapter 60, the *Capaqocha* sacrifice.

Cieza's picture of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges primarily as a site inextricably connected to water, and to the worship and management of that water by spectacular Inka rulers. He confirms Betanzos' claim that the "square" was built over a marsh. Additionally, the mention of the "stone of war" conjures an image not unlike Betanzos' description of the sugarloaf-shaped stone representing the Sun; albeit the attributed meanings are different, there is no reason to assume those roles were

incompatible. Finally, by discussing the rites associated with royal funerals, the celebration of the December solstice, *Qhapac Raymi*, and the *Capaqocha* sacrifice, Cieza constitutes the area as one of solemn and profound ritual activity.

The Toledan Chroniclers

The arrival of Viceroy Toledo in Peru in 1569, and his subsequent influence on colonial policy-making, greatly influenced the tone of chronicles written during this period. Porras Barrenechea (1986:37) considers the writings of the time to be the "Golden Age" of colonial chronicles, in terms of a fluorescence in the description of Inka religion and history. These chronicles have been the subject of much discussion, primarily because despite the use of Quechua informants, such as *khipukamayoq*, the political agenda of Toledo allowed the accounts to be reinterpreted according to colonial Spanish goals and pre-existing social and political institutions (Porras Barrenechea 1986:38). Central to the Viceroy's goals was a desire to understand Inka political and economic organisation, in an attempt to re-establish the Inka tribute system (the *mit'a*) in a manner most profitable to the Spanish Crown. Despite the variation of style and content between the writings of soldiers, clergy and administrators, the Toledan chronicles generally exemplify the following five qualities: 1) the view that Inka Empire arose suddenly and violently during the reigns of *Inka Pachakuti* and *Inka Thupaq Yupanqui*; 2) the view that the Inka were tyrannical and barbaric leaders who had cruel rites and customs including human sacrifice; 3) an admiration for the effectiveness of Inka social and economic organisation; 4) an intensive study of the superstitions and

idolatries of the Inka, accompanied by a moral condemnation; and 5) an Imperial Spanish political viewpoint (Porras Barrenechea 1986:39). In short, the Toledan chronicles may be seen as a combination of aesthetic and political narratives.

Pedro Pizarro

Although Pizarro was among the few eye-witnesses of Inka *Qosqo*, and might therefore be considered a soldier-chronicler, he did not write his "Relación del descubrimiento y conquista del Perú" until he became Mayor of Arequipa, Peru in 1555, twenty-one years after he accompanied Francisco Pizarro to the capital of the Inka Empire. He finally finished his account in 1571, at the age of fifty-six (Esteve Barba 1964; Porras Barrenechea 1986). Writing from memory, and living in Peru during the time of Viceroy Toledo, it may be more useful to consider Pizarro's account as a product of that time, and not so much of the time of soldiers like Sancho de la Hoz or Estéte.

Pedro Pizarro was born in 1515 in Toledo, Spain, a son of Francisco Pizarro's paternal uncle, making him a cousin to the great *conquistador* of Peru. At the age of fifteen, Pedro joined Francisco Pizarro's soldiers, serving as the Marquis' page, and witnessing the entire sequence of the Spanish invasion (Esteve Barba 1964:407). His personal life in Peru was always connected to the internal dissent among the Spanish *conquistadores*, and he did manage to accumulate significant wealth in the form of land and a large *encomienda* of Natives to provide labour, as well as inheriting the prestige (and disadvantages) of being part of the Pizarro family in Peru (Porras Barrenechea 1986:134-136).

Considered a soldier-chronicler by Porras Barrenechea (1986:137), Pedro

Pizarro's account is noted for its veracity, sensibility, sobriety, and lack of artifice. However, one might hesitate to suggest that an eyewitness account is more reliable than one written after-the-fact, let alone an eyewitness account written at least twenty years after-the-fact. Still, Porras Barrenechea (1986:138) continues to describe Pizarro's account as one of the most truthful and direct accounts of the conquest, if only because in his writing, Pizarro describes himself, often in third-person, as a trustworthy individual. Again, one might not wish to attribute a distanced, or objective quality to what may merely be a convention of literature; Pizarro's self-reflexive writing is just as likely representative of a certain degree of self-aggrandisement and arrogance. In the end, it is difficult to assess Pizarro's writing as the witnessing of actual events, because the history he writes is filtered through years of changing memories. Yet, unlike the "second wave" of Toledan soldiers writing at the same time, Pedro Pizarro distinguishes himself as part of the initial group of *conquistadores*, and tends to maintain their dry style of writing and seemingly objective, due to the lack of explicit interpretation, descriptions.

Despite missing passages in the original, Pedro Pizarro (1969 [1571]:250) provides a fairly detailed physical description of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as he saw it when the conquistadores entered the city:

> When we entered with the Marquis, he caused all the troops to be lodged around the plaza, he himself taking up his abode in Caxana, certain rooms which ... of Guainacapa, and likewise Johan Pizarro and Gonzalo Pizarro his brothers. In others ... were near to this Caxana. Almagro [was lodged] in other quarters which were near to the place where the Cathedral now is. Soto [was lodged] in Amarocancha in some rooms which are so called [and which were the property] of the ancient Ingas, which were in the plaza of the other part. And the rest of the soldiers were quartered in a large galpón which was near the plaza, and in Atun Cancha, which was a huge enclosed area with but one entrance. On the plaza side of this enclosure was [a house of] mamaconas, and there were in it many rooms

And despite the passage of years, Pizarro seems to have remained quite awed by the spectacle of Inka ancestor worship, providing a wonderful and surprisingly detailed, if perhaps tainted by nostalgia, description worth quoting in its entirety:

> It was the sight of the soldiery who were in this city of Cuzco that caused wonderment... most of who served these dead folk whom I have mentioned, for each day they took them all out into the plaza and sat them down in a row, each one according to his antiquity, and there the men and women servitors ate and drank. And for the dead they made fires before them with a piece of very dry wood which they had worked into a very even shape. Having set this piece of wood on fire, they burned here every thing which they had placed before the dead in order that he might eat of the things which they eat, and here in this fire they consumed it. Likewise before these dead people they had certain large pitchers, which they called verquis [w'irki], made of gold, silver or pottery, each one according to his wish, and into [these vessels] they poured the chicha which they gave to the dead man with much display, and the dead pledged one another as well as the living, and the living pledged the dead. When these verquis were filled, they emptied them into a round stone in the middle of the plaza, and which they held to be an idol, and it was made around a small opening by which it [the chicha] drained itself off through some pipes which they had made under the ground. This... had a sheath of choir which in... in the whole of it and covered it up, and thus they had built a sort of hut of woven mats, round, with which... .night they covered it in the same manner. They took out a small covered bundle which they said was the Sun, carried by an Indian whom they had as a priest[...] Then came two others who, like the first one, were called guardians of the Sun. Each of these two bore in his hand a lance somewhat larger than a halberd, and upon them were lashed clubs, and axes of gold. They carried them covered up with woolen sheaths, for they covered them up entirely and fell below. All these lances were dressed around the middle with girdles of gold. These Indians said that they were the arms of the Sun. Wherever they set this bundle down, they saw the head [of the Sun]. For the Sun, they had placed a bench in the centre of the plaza, all garnished with mantles of feathers, very colourful and very delicate, and here they placed this bundle, grounding the halberds on either side of him. Holding the axes erect, then, they gave this Sun food to eat in the manner which I have already described while speaking of the dead, and they gave him drink. Then, when they burned the dinner of the Sun, one Indian raised his voice and gave a cry which all heard, and, hearing the cry, all those who were in the plaza, and all those outside of it who heard, sat down, and, without speaking or coughing or moving, kept silence until the dinner was consumed which they had thrown into the fire they had made, all of which did not take very long, for the wood was very dry. All the ashes which were left over from these fires they threw into the round stone trough shaped like a teat which, as I say, was in the middle of the plaza, and into which they threw the..... (Pizarro 1969 [1571]:251-254).

Of particular interest is Pizarro's claim that these customs and celebrations were performed in the plaza by the "lords and ladies" and that the rest of the Indians did not

celebrate with them, and were even ordered to leave the city (Pizarro 1969 [1571]:274-276).

In sum, Pedro Pizarro seems to remember the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as the "plaza" taken by the *conquistadores*. He identifies the *Caxana* and notes the *Hatun Kancha* and the *Aqllawasi*, distinguishing between the two when Estéte did not. Pizarro states that Hernando de Soto took *Amarukancha*, a building belonging to the ancient Inka, "which [was] in the plaza of the other part". It is unclear to which "other part" Pizarro refers; perhaps he is distinguishing *Hanan* from *Urin Qosqo*, the dividing line of which comprised the roads to *Antisuyu* and *Kuntisuyu*, and the buildings on the northeast border of the *Haucaypata*. Through his discussion of Inka ancestor worship, Pizarro locates a sacred "round stone trough shaped like a teat" in the middle of the plaza, which surrounded a small opening where *chicha* was offered and drained away through the connected underground pipes. This is suggestive of Betanzos' and Cieza de León's descriptions of a pointed stone in the plaza. Mentioning the drain serves to further connect the stone, and thereby the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, with the redirection and worship of water. Pizarro also refers to some sort of round hut of woven mats located in the plaza, and although the missing text prevents one from suggesting its purpose, it may have been used to cover the sacred stone, or *usnu*. Pizarro's description of the offerings made to the ancestors of the Inka again grants the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* a primarily ritualistic character, although inseparable from the royal buildings comprising its perimeter.

Juan Polo de Ondegardo

Depending on the source, Polo de Ondegardo was either from León, Salamanca, or Valladolid, Spain, and belonged to a well-educated and professional family (Esteve Barba 1964:464; Porras Barrenechea 1986:336), although his date of birth is unknown. Polo was not a chronicler in the sense of being an historian; he seems to have happened upon particular histories during his administrative duties as Corregidor of Cuzco between 1558 and 1560. Polo de Ondegardo was the first to systematically and methodically study the political and judicial institutions, religious beliefs, and particularly the economic organisation of the Inka in an attempt to create a Spanish tribute system based on existing Inka practices; writing Inka history was secondary to this endeavour (Porras Barrenechea 1986:335). His pragmatic approach to the history of the Inkas as something that could inform his present is seen to have stripped his chronicle of the fantastic tone attributed to the chronicles as a genre of literature (Porras Barrenechea 1986:335). However, he tends to treat Inka myth as an absurdity of the Indians and, in the tradition of las Casas, Polo condemns the Inkas as idolaters. But, in the end, his administration seems to have advocated an amalgam of Spanish right and Native custom for the governance of Peru. He remained in Cuzco, a wealthy man, and finished his *Relación* in 1571. He died in the city of La Plata, Peru in 1575.

Polo de Ondegardo (1990 [1571]:97-98) discusses the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in his Chapter (XVII) concerning the soil brought to Cuzco for sepulchres, when he claims that the original inhabitants of Cuzco removed the soil from the area of the plaza and replaced it with sand from the Pacific coast. The original soil was esteemed and was

transported to other parts of the empire; sand of a depth of "two and a half *palmos* or more" was laid down in its place. Buried in this sand were many cups, animal and human figurines made of silver and gold, which along with the sand were reported to have been offerings to *Wiraqocha*. When Polo ordered the foundations made for the Cathedral on the Plaza de Armas, he was told that the sand had been difficult to bring and still he ordered it to be removed and again replaced with soil. He claims that this caused the Indians great suffering, as they told him that each province had contributed labour to transport the sand, and that among the whole empire the plaza was much venerated because of the sand from the coast and because of the festivals and sacrifices performed by the Inka for the benefit of the empire (Polo de Ondegardo 1990 [1571]:98).

Like Cieza de León before him, Polo de Ondegardo tied the significance of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* to water, in this case the sand represented the ocean, or *Mamaqocha*, the (feminine) source of all water and life. Polo confirms Betanzos' claim that gold and silver figurines were buried in the open space as offerings to the Sun, or according to his informants, to *Wiraqocha*, the (male) Creator. One might assume that if Polo had not perceived a real threat of "idolatry" in the plaza, he would not have demanded the removal of the sand; his response may attest to the continued reverence of the ancient *Haucaypata-Kusipata* into his time. Although recognising that the plaza was a place of important Inka ritual, he did not provide any details concerning these rites beyond the statement that his informants considered these practices to have been for the well-being of the entire empire.

Sarmiento de Gamboa

As Porras Barrenechea (1986:362 *translation mine*) states, Sarmiento de Gamboa's biography reads like a novel: he was a "pilot, astrologist, miracle-worker, culprit of the Inquisition, prisoner of privateers and Huguenots, seeker of legendary islands, dreamer who glimpsed fabulous cities and races of giants... [the] discoverer of the Solomon Islands and coloniser of the Straits of Magellan". Born in 1532 in Alcalá de Henares, Spain, by age 18 Sarmiento was fighting for Spain in either Flanders or Italy, and in 1555 he left for Mexico. After living in Mexico and Guatemala, Sarmiento went to Peru. He was a well-known adventurer and explorer, and was sent by Governor Lope García de Castro to explore the Pacific Ocean, where he "discovered" the Solomon Islands. Upon his return, Viceroy Toledo commissioned him to write a history of the Inka and in 1572, Sarmiento finished his "Historia Indica". Toledo had gathered over one hundred *quipukamayoq* (keepers of the *quipu*) in Cuzco to inform Sarmiento and collect the information necessary to reinstitute the Native tribute system and solidify the control of the Spanish Crown; consequently the Inka were portrayed as tyrannical and cruel in order that Toledo might justify the eradication of Native practices contrary to the goals of Spain. Upon finishing his account, Sarmiento gathered forty-two male members of the Inka royal lineages, read his account out loud and in Quechua, and these descendants of the Inka verified its content. The remainder of Sarmiento's life retained its sense of adventure and exploration, and in 1590 he returned to Spain and there he died, likely in 1592 (Porras Barrenechea 1986:362-365).

Sarmiento's vision of the Inka Empire is vital, powerful and barbarian. While

post-Toledan chroniclers tended to describe the Inka in idyllic and benevolent terms, the account by Sarmiento de Gamboa is considered to be more realistic by Porras Barrenechea (1986:365) because the descendants of the Inka (his informants) had described their ancestors as fearless and lacking in compassion. Certainly, the number of informants and the "approval" of forty-two members of the remaining Inka nobility lends Sarmiento's account a credibility lacking in others. And despite the characterisation of the Toledan chroniclers as writers determined to destroy the culture of the Inka. Sarmiento's account emerges as one ultimately acknowledging the strength of the Empire.

Sarmiento makes specific reference to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* very few times, despite often mentioning (and naming) buildings and activities that other chroniclers attribute to the area. When describing the *Chanca* War, Sarmiento (1967 [1572]:91) claims that the *Chancas* had advanced to "a place very near Cuzco called Cusi-pampa, there being nothing between it and Cuzco but a low hill". It is possible that he was referring to the *Kusipata*, which later chroniclers identify as terraces directly west of the *Haucaypata* and *Watanay* River, eventually dissolving into agricultural lands. Furthermore, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1967 [1572]:102-103) describes *Pachakuti Inka* rebuilding the Temple of the Sun, disinterring the bodies of the seven deceased Inka rulers to be worshipped in the open, and causing

> to be made a great woollen chain of many colours, garnished with gold plates, and two red fringes at the end. It was 150 fathoms in length, more or less. This was used in their public festivals, of which there were four principle ones in the year. The first was called RAYMI or CCAPAC RAYMI, which was when they opened the ears of knights at a ceremony called *huarachico*. The second was called SITUA resembling our lights of St. John. They all ran at midnight with torches to

> bathe, saying that they were thus left clean of all diseases. The third was called YNTI RAYMI, being the feast of the Sun, known as *aymuray*. In these feasts they took the chain out of the House of the Sun and all the principal Indians, very richly dressed, came with it, in order, singing, from the House of the Sun to the Great Square which they encircled with the chain. This [chain] was called *muru urco*.

In Chapter XIII, Sarmiento (1967 [1572]:53) mentions the *quicochico* ceremony, when girls attained puberty, the *rutuchico* ceremony when one-year old girls and boys were named and had their first haircuts, and the *ayuscay* ceremony when a child was born. Despite the obvious ignorance of Inka female experience in the chronicles, it is most likely that these ceremonies were also celebrated with the same reverence in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

Finally, Sarmiento de Gamboa (1967 [1572]) provides the names of several Inka buildings, which Pizarro (1969 [1571]) identifies as having surrounded the *Haucaypata* in Inka times. He describes the "Casana" as the house of *Wayna Qhapaq* in *Qosqo* (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1969 [1572]:158) and the "Amaru-cancha" as the palace built by *Waskar Inka* in *Qosqo* (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1969 [1572]:170). As well, Sarmiento (1969 [1572]:98-99) mentions the *sucanca*, or solar pillars at Qosqo:

> ... the Inca caused four poles to be set up on a high mountain to the east of Cuzco, about two *varas* apart, on the heads of which there were holes, by which the sun entered, in the manner of a watch or astrolabe. Observing where the sun struck the ground through these holes, at the time of sowing and harvest, marks were made on the ground. Other poles were set up in the part corresponding to the west of Cuzco, for the time of harvesting the maize. Having fixed the positions exactly by these poles, they built columns of stone for perpetuity in their places, of the height of the poles and with holes in like places. All around it was ordered that the ground should be paved; and on the stones certain lines were drawn, conforming to the movements of the sun entering through the holes in the columns.

These *sucanca* were used to determine the time of the solstices, and they may have been observed from the *usnu* in the *Haucaypata*. Rowe (1990:98) cites the 1570 anonymously written "Discurso de la sucesión y gobierno de los Yncas" as claiming that the Inka used

the *usnu* as a solar observation point to determine the time to plant their crops. However, according to Sarmiento, the equinoxes were observed from the point of a stone column known as the *Inti-watana*, or Sun Circle, located in an internal patio of the *Qorikancha*, and it is possible the solstice observations were made from that place (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1969 [1572]:99). Archaeological investigation has been unable to locate the remains of any of these pillars, which due to the significant growth of Cuzco in recent years, now likely lie buried under new areas of construction (Bauer and Dearborn 1996; Hyslop 1990).

In sum, Sarmiento de Gamboa's treatment of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is relatively brief and pointed. If he was referring to the *Kusipata* when he used "Cusi-pampa," then this may be the first time in the chronicles that the "Great Square" was given an indigenous name. While discussing the golden "woolen chain" used to encircle the Great Square during festivals, Sarmiento claims that the *Qhapaq Raymi*, *Situa*, and *Inti Raymi* ceremonies took place within the area, again creating a sense of profound ritual significance connected to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. Since *Inti Raymi* coincides with the summer solstice, and *Qhapaq Raymi* with the winter solstice, it is possible that part of the festivities included astronomical observations made from within the *Haucaypata*. And finally, unlike Pizarro before him, Sarmiento seems less interested in associating a more political character with the Great Square, as he does not mention any buildings surrounding it, despite providing the same name for the palace of *Wayna Qhapaq* as did Pizarro (1969 [1571]), as well as attributing the *Amarukancha*, also mentioned by Pizarro, to *Waskar Inka*.

Cristóbal de Albornoz

We know very little about Albornoz beyond what is included in the letter of introduction to his chronicle. He was born in Castilla, Spain in 1530. By 1560 he was a clergyman n Cuzco, and became famous for opposing the Native religious insurrection known as *Taqui Onqoy*. In 1584 he completed his "Instrucción para descubrir todas las guacas del Piru y sus camayos y haziendas" (Urbano and Duviols 1988:142-149).

The passage of interest to this thesis is Albornoz's definition of an *usnu*. He claims that there is a general type of *waka* found on the royal roads and in the plazas of towns called *usnu*: they were the shape of a "bolo" and made of stone, gold or silver. The Inka sat on the *usnu*, drinking to the Sun, and many sacrifices were made (Albornoz in Urbano and Duviols 1988:176).

The pointed stone previously described as located in the *Haucaypata* was most likely an *usnu*, or sacred place from which offerings were made. There is no indication that the *usnu* at *Qosqo* actually served as a throne, but the descriptions of it certainly indicate its status as a *waka*.

Father Cristóbal de Molina, "el Cuzqueño"

Very little is known of Cristóbal de Molina's origins, except that he was born in Baeza, Spain before 1529. Although his name does not appear on the list of travellers to the Indies between 1539 and 1559, he claimed to have arrived in Cuzco in 1556 (Porras Barrenechea 1986:350). As a bilingual (Spanish-Quechua) preacher and avid historian of Inka religion, his chronicle is well-known for its detailed account of Native spiritual

practices, without any particular political agenda. By the time Viceroy Toledo arrived in Cuzco in 1572, Molina had established himself as an excellent linguist and scholar: his writings were considered valuable by his peers and he was trusted by his Quechua parishioners (Porras Barrenechea 1986:351-352). In 1583 he completed his "Fábulas y Ritos de los Incas," a comprehensive account of Inka religion according to his Native informants. He generally writes without moral judgement, not condemning such Inka "sins" as human sacrifice, but neither idealising their world.

Molina names the "Aucaypata" for perhaps the first time in the chronicles. He (in Urbano and Duviols 1988:59) claims that the "Quisuarcancha" was the temple of *Pacha Yachachi*, or *Wiraqocha*, and it gave way onto the *Haucaypata*. This may have been the unnamed building which Pizarro claims housed many Spanish soldiers. He continues to write that a statue of the Creator was kept there, made of gold and the size of a small child. Discussing the Inka festivals and ancestor worship, Molina makes reference to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* many times as the place where drinking, dancing and offerings occurred. Specifically, he again mentions the *usnu*, where warriors from each of the four *suyus* gathered to make offerings of *chicha* (Molina in Urbano and Duviols 1988:74). He continues to claim that, while in the plaza, the people of *Hanan Qosqo* sat separately from those of *Urin Qosqo* (Molina in Urbano and Duviols 1988:78, 94, 108). Discussing the festival of *Qhapaq Raymi*, Molina (in Urbano and Duviols 1988:103) claims that in the square were statues of the Creator, the Sun, Thunder and the Moon, accompanied by the Inka and the priests who served them.

In sum, Molina's chronicle continues to present the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as a

place of utmost sacredness, where the people of the Empire gathered to celebrate. This unity also served to maintain social divisions, as each lineage had its designated place within the area. All of the regular activities described by Molina involve the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as the place where representatives of the four *suyu* gathered to make offerings to the gods, drink, dance and sing before and after rituals at other *wakas*. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is created as a central place, again reminiscent of the Quechua concept of *chawpi*.

Post-Toledan Chroniclers

The post-Toledan chronicles are primarily characterised by their anti-Toledan viewpoint. That is, about twenty or thirty years after the departure of Viceroy Toledo there emerged a sentimental attitude towards the history of the Inka by the first generation of bilingual (Quechua-Spanish) mestizos writing in Peru (Porras Barrenechea 1986:39). There appears to be a consensus by the chroniclers of this time, that earlier writers had not properly understood the Quechua language and had therefore misrepresented the history of the Inka. The post-Toledan writers tended to work with one main informant who interpreted the *khipu* for them, and the stories were then translated into Spanish. There is also a tendency to describe the Inka in Christian terms, both by clerics and by mestizos seeking to prove their (historically verifiable) moral worth and civilised natures. Porras Barrenechea (1986:40) also suggests that these chroniclers created a sense of exoticism characteristic of viewing the Inka as "curiosities". Due to the temporal distance of these writers from the time of the Inka,

there begins to appear a sense of nostalgia for a disappeared peoples. These chronicles take on a fantastic tone more reminiscent of novels than of the work of traditional historians. Porras Barrenechea (1986:41) considers these histories to be conjectural at best, and the "delirium tremens" of the chronicles at worst.

The post-Toledan chronicles are often divided into two main types: Spanish and Native. That is, if the writer was not Spanish, he was mestizo and therefore capable of describing the Native point-of-view. However, to conflate the separate identities of colonial mestizos and the natives of the Inka Empire creates a misleading sense of the Native point-of-view.

Friar Martín de Murúa

Very little is known about Martín de Murúa, including his place and date of birth, but there is some confirmation that he was in Cuzco before 1595. His contemporary, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, considered him to be an unworthy clergyman, and Murúa's account certainly exhibits a curiosity for sensual matters (Porras Barrenechea 1986:477-478). Murúa was fluent in both Quechua and Aymara, and used information from the remaining *khipukamayoq* for his account. "La Historia de los Incas" was written between 1590 and 1600, and by 1616 Murúa was back in Spain. It is believed that the original contained many illustrations, but when it was published in 1616 they were missing (Porras Barrenechea 1986:478). Murúa's writing is considered to be disorganised, repetitive, contradictory, and as relaying his sense of awe at the more sumptuous and decorative Inka practices and the beauty of Inka women. His attention to detail compelled him to describe the intricacies of sacrifices or offerings, as he was never

content to describe, for example, a llama without mentioning its colour, age, and/or sex and how these factors influenced the rituals. Porras Barrenechea (1986:480) considers Murúa's narrative to be one of the better written chronicles from a literary viewpoint and an admirable attempt to tell the history of the Inka from both male and female perspectives.

In Part Three, Chapter X, Murúa claims that the city of *Qosqo* had an enormous plaza, which had since been divided into two plazas: one side was called "Aucaypata" and the other was called "Cusipata," which in his time was an Indian marketplace (1986 [1590]:503).

In Part Two, Chapter II, Murúa describes the adornments of the Inka palace of *Manqo Qhapac*, two buildings together called *Cuyusmanco*. Murúa (1986 [1590]:346-347) claims that the building had two great doors: at the first door stood about two thousand soldiers (*Cañares* and *Chachapoyas* - Inkas by Privilege) on daily rotation, guarding the Inka. At the inside door stood one hundred more guards, but they were *Qosqo* natives (Inka). Beside this second door were the insignia of the emperor; and on the inside was another patio for official guests and ordinary service; beyond that was where the Inka lived. The walls were adorned with plaques of gold and silver, sometimes imbedded with precious stones, and inside there were beautiful gardens.

Although Murúa gives rather detailed discussions of the festivals, offerings and sacrifices of the Inka, he repeatedly claims that they were held in the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun. And although he names the "plaza" of *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, it did not appear to have struck him as particularly important architecture in comparison. He

does mention the *Kiswarkancha*, or Temple of *Wiraqocha*, where a golden statue of a small boy was kept, but does not state where this building was (Murúa (1986 [1590]:443-44).

In sum, although certainly acknowledging and naming both the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, Murúa creates a vague and disjointed picture of its appearance and use. In discussing the history of the Inka, he describes the magnificent palaces of *Manqo Qhapac*, called *Cuyusmanco*, and the *Kiswarkancha*, although it is difficult to determine exactly where they were. Furthermore, despite his interest in Inka religion, he did not impart any particularly religious character to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, instead reserving that quality for the *Qorikancha*.

Inca Garcilaso de la Vega

Garcilaso de la Vega occupies a special place in the histories of the Inka, if only because he has been considered one of the first mestizo chroniclers, and "spiritually, the first Peruvian," as his writing exemplifies the synthesis of pre-contact *Tawantinsuyu* and the Spanish Renaissance (Porras Barrenechea 1986:391). His imposing narrative, "The Royal Commentaries of the Inca," speaks from a place of peculiar privilege: he was a direct descendant of the Inka, son to an Inka princess, *Isabel Chimpu Ocllo*, granddaughter of *Inka Thupaq Yupanqui*, and a Spanish captain, Garcilaso de la Vega, of an eminent family of letters from Extremadura, Spain. He was born in Cuzco in 1539, and was taught by a tutor along with the mestizo children of the *conquistadores*. At home, he spent his time with his mother's family, some of the remaining Inka nobility, and his chronicle maintains a sense of nostalgia and of the profoundly sad loss of Inka traditions.

Yet, he also grew up with his father's friends, Spanish military men and the *conquistadores*, until Captain Garcilaso died in 1559, leaving young Garcilaso money to be educated in Spain, where he arrived in 1560 (Porras Barrenechea 1986:392-393). From the age of twenty-one, the Inka Garcilaso de la Vega dedicated his life to the pursuit of battles, to reading and writing, and to God. He never returned to Peru, and in 1609, at the age of seventy, Garcilaso published his history of the Inka.

The "Royal Commentaries of the Inca" are essentially the histories of a man very proud of his land and of his people. Porras Barrenechea (1986:397-398) suggests that after arriving in Spain, Garcilaso missed the place of his childhood, where he felt he belonged, and therefore always wrote of the magnificence of his homeland. Accordingly, Garcilaso's narrative is complicated by the selective information provided by the remaining *khipukamayoq*, the experiences of his mother's family before and after the Conquest, and his own nostalgia so many years later. He writes of a city and empire as wondrous as any in the Classical world, and his work on the Inka provided the inspiration for Sir Thomas Moore's "Utopia". His writing is a curious combination of oral history and epic poetry.

By far, the most information pertaining directly to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is provided by Garcilaso de la Vega. Beginning with a physical description, Garcilaso provides the names of the Spaniards who took the houses surrounding the main square, as well as the Inka names for the buildings and to which lineage they were attributed. Accordingly, the eastern side of the square contained "a fine hall which was used in bad weather as a place of assembly for festivities. It had been the site of the palace of *Inca*

Viracocha, the eighth king... When the Spaniards entered the city, they all lodged in it... When I saw it it was covered with thatch... [near it was the place] called *Hatuncancha*, 'big ward.' It had been the site of the palace of one of the kings called *Inca Yupanqui*" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609] Book 7, Chapter IX:424). Garcilaso continues to claim that to the north of the square was *Wakapuncu*, the "gate of the sanctuary," a place beside the *Watanay* River and almost parallel to the *Colcampata* or palaces of *Manqo Qhapaq*; arriving from *Chinchaysuyu*, it was through this "gate" that one could enter the "sanctuary" or sacred city of *Qosqo* and continue directly to the square. According to Garcilaso, moving southwards towards the square, there were two royal palaces that

> filled the whole [north] side of the square: one of them, to the east of the other, was called *Coracora*, 'the pastures,' for the place used to be pasture and the square in front of it was a swamp or marsh until the Incas had it transformed to its present state... The other royal palace, to the west of *Coracora*, was called *Cassana*, 'something to freeze.' The name was applied to it out of wonder, implying that the buildings in it were so large and splendid that anyone who gazed on them attentively would be frozen with astonishment. They were the palaces of the great *Inca Pachacutec*... I saw in my time a great part of the walls of the building called *Cassana*, which were of finely worked masonry, showing it had been a royal dwelling, as also a splendid hall which the Incas used for festivities and dances in rainy weather. It was so large that sixty mounted men could easily joust with canes in it... In front of these houses, which were formerly palaces, stands the chief square of the city called *Haucaipata*, 'terrace or square of festivities and rejoicing.' From north to south it would measure about 200 paces in length, or some 400 feet. From east to west, it would be a 150 paces wide as far as the stream. At the end of the square to its south, there were two other royal houses, one that was near the stream, and opposite, called *Amarucancha*, 'ward of the great snakes.' It faced *Cassana* and was the palace of *Huaina Capac*... I remember seeing still a great hall, though not so large as that of *Cassana*. I also saw there a very fine round tower which stood in the square before the house... East of *Amarucancha*... is the suburb called *Acllahuaci*, 'the house of the chosen virgins,' where stood the convent of the maidens dedicated to the Sun... (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609] Book 7, Chapter X:425-427).

He elaborates on the tower in Part Two, Book One, Chapter XXXII, stating that in his time the

> walls were about four times the height of a man; but its roof, made of the excellent timber they used for their royal palaces, was so high that I might say without

> exaggeration that it equalled any tower I have seen in Spain in height, with the exception of the one at Seville. Its roof was rounded like the walls, and above it, in place of a weathervane... it had a tall and thick pole that enhanced its height and beauty. It was more than sixty feet in height inside, and was known as Sunturhuaci, 'excellent house or room.' There was no other building touching it (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:701).

While his description of the height of the building is undermined by the fact that he only saw it as a child, he provides a name for the tower: *Sunturwasi*. However, both Markham and Squier provide similar descriptions of a *Sunturwasi* seen at Azángaro.

Garcilaso's description both confirms and contradicts earlier histories. He describes the *Cassana*, but attributes it to *Inka Pachakuti*, when both Pizarro and Sarmiento de Gamboa attributed it to *Wayna Qhapaq*. He also claims that a building called *Qoraqora*, or "the pastures," was located by the *Cassana*, and was so-called because the area was once a swamp, further corroborating both Betanzos and Cieza de León. Garcilaso attributes the *Hatunkancha*, also mentioned by Pizarro, to *Inka Yupanqui*, and identifies another un-named building as belonging to *Inka Wiraqocha*. The *Amarukancha* is attributed to *Wayna Qhapaq*, although Sarmiento attributed it to *Waskar Inka*, his son. Garcilaso further associates the *Amarukancha* with a tower, much like the ones described by Estéte, and associated with the *Qasana* by Pizarro. Again, Garcilaso confirms the presence of the *Aqllawasi*, or "House of the Chosen Women". Since *Hatunkancha*, *Amarukancha* and the *Aqllawasi* comprised the southern boundary of the *Haucaypata*, they also constituted the boundary between *Hanan* (Upper) and *Urin* (Lower) *Qosqo*, themselves belonging to *Urin Qosqo*. Finally, as did Murúa before him, Garcilaso de la Vega provides a name for the great square: "Haucaipata," or square of festivities and rejoicing.

After providing a description of the buildings to the east of the *Watanay* River, Garcilaso continues with a description of what lay to the west:

> To the west of the stream is the square called *Cussipata*, 'the terrace of pleasure and joy.' In Inca times the two squares were one: the whole stream was covered with broad beams, and great flags were laid over them to make a floor, for so many lords of vassals rallied to the chief festivals performed in honor of the Sun that there was no room for them in the main square; it was therefore extended with another and rather smaller space... To the west of the stream the Inca kings had raised no buildings, and there was nothing but the outer ring of suburbs. The space had been kept for future kings to build their palaces as had been done in the past, for though it is true that successors inherited their predecessors' palaces, they also had a new one built for themselves to add to their greatness and majesty and perpetuate their names as builders... In my time Indian men and women drove a miserable trade there, bartering various objects one for another (Garcilaso de la Vega 1966 [1609] Book 7, Chapters XI:428).

Again, Garcilaso confirms Murúa's name for the square to the west of the river, the *Kusipata*, and further points out that in Inka times, the squares were one. According to Garcilaso, within the square, the canalised *Watanay* River was covered with timber and stone in order to facilitate the passage between the two halves. In Holguin's (1989 [1608]:155) dictionary, the word immediately following his definition of "Haucaypata" is "Yccussipata;" since "y" in Spanish means "and" in English, this suggests that the whole square was actually named "*Haucaypata-Kusipata*". The definition for "Yccussipata" is the "other" square where military displays and battles took place; and "cussi" is defined as joyous and considered synonymous with "atau" or "ataucay," which refer to the bliss of battles and other serious and laudable things or practices (Holguin 1989 [1608]:36 and 56). When Garcilaso claims that the *Kusipata* was smaller than the *Haucaypata*, he appears to have ignored that his father's home was built on top of the *Kusipata*, which, along with other Spanish buildings, resulted in a significant reduction of the open area during colonial times.

Like the writers before him, Garcilaso's history also focussed on the activities which took place inside the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* during Inka times. In Book Six, Chapters XX through XXIII, Garcilaso (1969 [1609]) describes the "principal feast of the Sun," or *Inti Raymi*, which celebrated the June solstice. On the first day of the festival,

> the Inca went out at daybreak accompanied by his whole kin. They departed in due order, each according to his age and rank, to the main square of the city called Haucaipata. There they waited for the sun to rise and stood with bare feet, attentively gazing toward the east... The *curacas* [lords] who were not of the royal blood went to another square next to the main one, called Cussipata, where they worshipped the Sun in the same way as the Incas" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:358).

After the Inka invited his kin to drink, the Inka "poured the contents of the vessel in his right hand, which was dedicated to the Sun, into a gold basin, and from the basin it flowed along a beautifully made stone-work channel which ran from the square to the House of the Sun [*Qorikancha*]... From the vessel in his left hand the Inca swallowed a draught, which was his portion, and then shared what was left among the other Incas... The rest of the *curacas* [lords] in the other square drank the same brew prepared by the women of the Sun, but not of the part that was sanctified, which was reserved for the Incas" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:359). After this ceremony, everyone proceeded in order to the *Qorikancha*, and "two hundred steps before they reached it they removed their shoes, with the exception of the king who only took them off at the very door of the temple" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:359). After the offerings to the Sun were performed, they returned in order to their two squares, where the Inka priests sacrificed black llamas in an attempt to divine the coming year. The animal's entrails were used to predict good or bad fortune, as "the things they feared were bitter wars, the

sterility of their crops, the death of their sheep [llamas], and similar evils" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:362). Then "all the meat for the sacrifice was burnt [cooked] in public in the two squares and shared [eaten] among all those who had been present at the festivity: Incas, *curacas*, and common people, according to their rank" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:362).

At least in the case of *Inti Raymi*, Garcilaso describes the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as hierarchically ranked, since Inka participants remained in the *Haucaypata* side, while local lords (*kuraqas*) and commoners remained in the *Kusipata* side. If the *Haucaypata* was indeed *Hanan*, or upper, and the *Kusipata* was *Urin*, or lower, then this dividing line was almost perpendicular to the dividing line between *Hanan* and *Urin Qosqo*. The point of intersection, or the pivot, would have been located within the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, possibly where the roads to *Kuntisuyu* and *Antisuyu* intersected with the *Watanay* River. It may have even been marked by the *usnu* stone described by Betanzos, Cieza de León and Pizarro, or by the *Sunturwasi* described by Estéte, Pizarro and Garcilaso. Holguin (1989 [1608]:99) defines "chaupi" as the middle, or centre of things, spaces, and times. In Garcilaso's history, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is alluded to as the *chawpi* of *Tawantinsuyu*.

Unlike some previous historians, Garcilaso discusses the *huarochico* festival, where young Inka males had their ears pierced, without claiming that any associated activities took place in the square. The third main festival he describes is "Cusquieraimi," which "took place after the sowing and when the maize had appeared. Many lambs, barren ewes, and rams were offered up to the Sun, with prayers that he

should not send frost to spoil the maize..." (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:412). He was likely referring to *Qhapac Raymi*, the celebration of the December solstice. Again, Garcilaso does not locate the festivities in the square, but describes the festival as much like that of *Inti Raymi*, and it is possible they were celebrated in the same places. However, Garcilaso also states that, "suffice it to say that all such celebrations took place in the temple of the Sun, like the main festival, though the others were done with much less ceremony and solemnity and without going out into the marketplace" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:412). Perhaps the confusion stems from Garcilaso's inability to represent the "important" rituals occurring anywhere but the *Qorikancha*: for him a temple was more monumental than an open space.

The final celebration considered to be most important by Garcilaso was the *Situa* festival, which "was celebrated with great rejoicing by everyone for it represented the expulsion from the city and its district of all the diseases and other ills and troubles that man can suffer. It was like the explanation of the ancient pagans, when they purified themselves" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:413). At one point, the Inka emerged from *Saqsawaman* carrying a spear and ran downhill to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* brandishing his spear, as in times of battle. In the square he met four members of the royal family and

> he touched the spears of the four Indians with his own, and told them that the Sun had bidden them to go forth as his messengers to expel the diseases and other ills there might be in the city and its neighborhood. The four Incas ran down the four royal highways leading out of the city to the four quarters of the world, which they called Tahuantinsuyu... The messengers ran with their spears a quarter of a league out of the city, where four other Incas, not of the royal blood, but Incas by privilege, took the spears and ran another quarter of a league, and handed them to others, and so on until they were five or six leagues from the city, where the spears were stuck in the ground as a barrier to prevent the ills from re-entering the area

from which they had been banished" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1969 [1609]:414-415).

In the *Situa* festival described by Garcilaso, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is the place entered by the Inka and exited by the first set of runners. It remains a place of privilege, as only the Inka and runners from the nobility enter and leave from this point; the farther the runners travel from this centre point, the farther they are socially removed, as the following sets of runners are Inka-by-Privilege and perhaps even non-Inka. It is again unclear where the subsequent offerings and sacrifices were made, and if they took place in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, who participated. However, it is likely that all four festivals described by Garcilaso contained rituals performed in the area.

In sum, Garcilaso de la Vega's history expands the image of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* by both corroborating and contradicting previous histories. No other chronicle provides such a detailed description of the buildings surrounding the *Haucaypata*, and Garcilaso stresses the connection between buildings and lineages, although there appears to be little consensus between the chronicles as to which buildings belonged to which lineages. He describes the *Sunturwasi*, or round tower, and like Pizarro, mentions a basin which drains to the *Qorikancha*, again establishing two vertical elements within the horizontal space. Pizarro connects that basin to the pointed stone earlier described by Betanzos, and called an *usnu* by Albornoz. In this way, the *Haucaypata* is connected to the *Qorikancha* by an underground pipe, and the mediating point between the two is the pillar/basin or *usnu*, again reiterating the importance of waterworks and religion in the area, as well as portraying the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as the middle, or joining-point between the people and the gods.

Garcilaso's descriptions of the four main Inka festivals also supports this image of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* serving to integrate, or join, the people together, as well as joining the people and the cosmos. Holguin (1989 [1608:342) defines "tincu" as the joining of two things; *tinkuy* is also the name given to ritual battles, which are associated with the Kusipata. Furthermore, Garcilaso's descriptions of the ways people were organised within the area suggests that this integration did not attempt to dissolve social boundaries, but rather to reiterate them through public display. If the two halves of the square were indeed hierarchically ranked, then the distinction between *Hanan* (upper) and *Urin* (lower) is spatially perpendicular to the bi-partite *ayllu* division constituting *Hanan* and *Urin Qosqo*. The pivot created by this intersection would have fallen within the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, likely marked by the *usnu* stone. And finally, Garcilaso repeatedly describes the square as the place entered or exited before performing other rites at the *Qorikancha* or other *wakas* (sacred places) within and surrounding the city. As with others before him, the prominence attributed to the *Qorikancha* in these festivals, at least in part reflects Garcilaso's (Western) association between "importance" and the monumental status of the Temple. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* seems to have struck him as "empty" space, and comparatively, of only ephemeral significance in these celebrations.

Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui

Santacruz Pachacuti Yamqui was a full-blood Quechua Native, born and raised in Cuzco. His narrative, although glossed in Western and Catholic terms, is partly bilingual (Quechua-Spanish) and maintains an acceptance of the wonderous so characteristic of

Inka epistemology as we have come to know it (Porras Barrenechea 1986:544). His descriptions of Inka religion are reminiscent of the syncretism between Inka and Catholic beliefs during the colonial period, and his political histories are almost surreal.

Pachacuti Yamqui makes little reference to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, but does claim that in the time of the fifth ruler, *Qhapac Yupanqui*, the Inka journeyed to Lake Titicaca in order to see where the Creator God, *Tonapa*, had originated. While there they located a freshwater spring within the rock, and called the water "*capacchana quispisutocuno*," or crystaline water which makes one powerful; it was used to anoint *Qhapac Yupanqui's* newborn son *Inka Roq'a*, who later became the sixth Inka ruler. Pachacuti Yamqui concludes this discussion by claiming that in later times, the Inka collected some of that water and kept it in a "*coriccacca*" or flask-like container made of gold and lead, which was kept in the "middle of the plaza of Cuzco, called Haocaypata Cuçcapata, [thereby] honouring the water touched by *Tonapa*" (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 1927 [1613]:167 *translation mine*).

Pachacuti Yamqui further claims that in *Thupaq Inka Yupanqui's* time, after "uaracauacos" (likely the ritual battles of the *huarochico* celebration) and the singing of *haylli* (songs of triumph), the men marched to the *Qorikancha* and shortly thereafter "the captains came forth by the other door [of the *Qorikancha*?] to the square of Haocaypata and Cuçipata" (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui 1927 [1613]:194 *translation mine*). In the square, *Thupaq Inka Yupanqui* sat with his brother and father, *Inka Pachakuti*, all three displaying the insignia of royalty as they took their places on golden seats. In the end, they celebrated the festival of *Qhapaq Raymi*.

For Pachacuti Yamqui, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is referred to in the singular, again suggesting that the two parts formed a whole. His description of sacred water from Titicaca in the *Haucaypata* and *Kuispata* serves to connect the image of the square with water brought from the origin place of the first peoples. And again, Pachacuti Yamqui associates the square with solemn festivals like the *huarochico* (Inka rite of male passage) celebration and *Qhapaq Raymi*. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is described as a place where the nobility celebrated in "traditional" European regal fashion: well-dressed men on golden seats, watching their young men become "knights."

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala

Guaman Poma de Ayala was also a self-described full-blood Native, born in 1567 to the royal lineage of *Yarovilcas* in Huánuco, subject to, but pre-existing the Inkas. Under *Inka Thupaq Yupanqui*, the ancient *Yarovilcas* were conquered and bestowed many privileges in the empire. He wrote his profusely illustrated narrative, "Nueva Crónica y Buen Gobierno," in Quechua and Spanish. But not to be confused with the Inka, Guaman Poma definitely writes from the position of a Native in colonial Peru. His sources of information derived from both personal and family histories concerning the Inka.

Guaman Poma (1980 [1615]:398) describes the Great City of Cuzco, and in his illustration draws the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as they appeared in his time. Although lacking accurate spatial perspective, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is clearly visible, divided by the *Watanay* River and depicted as two plazas separated by Spanish constructions. However, beyond that, he makes little reference to the plaza. One of his illustrations of

the festivals names the *Haucaypata* as the place where celebrations and sacrifices were made (Guaman Poma 1980 [1615]:227). When he discusses the royal palaces, he also presents a drawing of the *Haucaypata*, including the *Cuyusmanco* and *Sunturwasi* (Guaman Poma 1980 [1615]:236; see Figure 33). In short, the greatest contribution Guaman Poma makes to the reconstruction of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* are his excellent drawings of the area and of the celebrations which took place there.

Father Bernabé Cobo

Bernabé Cobo was a Jesuit priest and historian extraordinaire. Whether Cobo was writing a general history of the New World or one of the Inka, his work is the monumental synthesis of one hundred years of colonisation. Born in 1580 in Lopera (Jaén), Spain, Cobo arrived in the Indies at sixteen years of age. He spent twenty years in Mexico and forty years in Peru before his death (Porras Barrenechea 1986:509). In 1610 he interviewed the descendants of Cuzco *caciques*, and visited the temples, *zeques*, and *wakas* in the area. Cobo also read the earlier chronicles and makes extensive use of them in his own account; if not directly citing earlier authors, his work has been assumed to reiterate unidentified and/or unpublished manuscripts (Rowe 1979:2). His investigations resulted in the "History of the Inca Empire" and "Inca Religion and Customs," both finally completed in 1653. A great naturalist, Cobo strove to categorise everything he encountered and learned, from strange plants and animals to strange peoples and customs. Interestingly, Porras Barrenechea (1986:513) considers Cobo's writing to reflect the preoccupations of the Toledan chroniclers, despite arriving in Peru twenty years after Viceroy Toledo had left. However, his work is classified here as Post-

Toledan due to its time of writing and publication; likely, his heavy reliance on earlier narratives is what gives his work a more Toledan quality. Cobo concedes a four-hundred year history for the Inka and attributes their expansion to the final years before invasion. However, he remains a pessimist concerning the past and potential of the Natives, and considers them barbarian at best and animals at worst. Cobo describes the rule of the Inka as completely tyrannical and akin to slavery, and their religion as ludicrous superstition. And yet one cannot help but sense an animism or vitality in what he describes, as he lends a sense of raw sentiment to his subjects.

In "Inca Religion and Customs," Cobo provided a list of over three hundred shrines in Inka *Qosqo*. These *wakas*, or sacred places, were located along the *ceque* lines radiating out from the *Qorikancha*. There were four main sections to this radial plan, corresponding to the four quarters of the Empire: *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu*, *Qollasuyu* and *Antisuyu*. In turn, each of these sections was divided into *Qollana* (Inka), *Payan* (Inka and non-Inka), and *Callao* (non-Inka) segments, denoting which social group was responsible for the maintenance of the *wakas* on each *ceque* line. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was located within the areas covered by the *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu*, and *Antisuyu ceque* lines.

Cobo (1990a [1653]) lists at least eight *wakas* associated with the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. The fifth *ceque* in the direction of *Chinchaysuyu* was considered *Cayao*, and the ten *wakas* on this line were therefore maintained by non-Inka peoples. They are described as follows:

> [Ch-5:2] The second *guaca* was a temple named Pucamarca, which was the house which belonged to the Licentiate [Antonio] de la Gama; in it was an idol of the Thunder

called Chucuylla.

[Ch-5:4] The fourth *guaca* was the main square, named Aucaypata, which is also the main square at the present time. In it was made the universal sacrifice for the Sun and the rest of the *guacas*, and the sacrifice was taken to the other parts of the kingdom. It was a very venerated place.

[Ch-5:5] The fifth *guaca* was a *buhio* named Coracora, in which Inca Yupanqui used to sleep, which is where the cabildo [municipal council] houses are now. This said Inca ordered worship of that place and burning of clothing and sheep [llamas/alpacas] in it, and so it was done (Cobo 1990a [1653]:57).

The second *waka*, *Pucamarca*, may have been *Kiswarkancha*, or the Temple of *Wiraqocha* described by Molina. The fourth *waka* was the *Haucaypata* itself, which was a venerated place to make sacrifices and from there, distribute them to the four quarters of the empire. Accordingly, it was the "empty" space, or the earth itself, which was *waka*. The fifth *waka* was a *buhio* (house) called *Coracora*, which belonged to *Inka Pachakuti Yupanqui*, as also described by Garcilaso. All three *wakas* were considered to be on *Payan*, or non-Inka *zeques*.

The sixth *Chinchaysuyu zeque* was called *Qollana*, and it had eleven *wakas* maintained by the Inka nobility. The *wakas* of interest to this thesis are described as follows:

[Ch-6:2] The second *guaca* was named Pucamarca [*sic;* probably for Quishuarcancha]; it was a house or temple designated for the sacrifices of the Pachayachachic [Creator/Wiraqocha] in which children were sacrificed and everything else.

[Ch-6:3] The third guaca was called nan, which means road. It was in the plaza where one took the road for Chinchaysuyu. Universal sacrifice was made at it for travelers, and so the road in question would always be whole and would not crumble and fall.

[Ch-6:4] The fourth *guaca* had the name of Guayra and was in the doorway of Cajana. At it sacrifice was made to the wind so that it would not do damage, and a pit had been made there in which the sacrifices were buried.

[Ch-6:5] The fifth *guaca* was the palace of Guayna Capac named Cajana, within which was a lake named Titticocha which was an important shrine and at which great sacrifices were made (Cobo 1990a [1653]:58).

Again, Cobo mentions *Pucamarca*, or the Temple of the Creator *Wiraqocha* (*Pachayachachic*). If he was indeed referring to *Kiswarkancha*, then it was likely an important *waka*, as the *Capaqocha* sacrifice of children was only performed on the most crucial occasions. Cobo (1990b [1653]:134) claims that *Pachakuti Inka* built the Creator (*Wiraqocha*) a temple called *Kiswarkancha* and in it he placed an image of the deity:

> it was made of gold, the size of a ten-year-old boy, the shape of a shining man standing upright with his right arm raised, his hand almost closed, and his thumb and first finger held up, like a person who is giving a command.

The fourth and fifth *wakas* are both associated with the *Qasana*, or palace of *Wayna Qhapaq*. The fourth *waka* was a shrine to the Wind, with a pit for offerings in the doorway of *Qasana*; the fifth was *Qasana* itself, and specifically a sacred body of water located within the palace. It was called *Titiqocha* or, as Holguin (1989 [1608]:334) defines "titi" as lead, the "Leaden Lake". These three *wakas* were considered *Qollana*, and thereby were maintained by the Inka.

The eighth *Chinchaysuyu ceque* was called *Payan*, and the thirteen *wakas* on this line were maintained by Inka and non-Inka peoples. Two *wakas* of interest are described as follows:

> [Ch-8:3] The third ***guaca*** was a fountain named Aucaypata [Paccha], which was next to where the house of the municipal council is now. In it the priests of Chucuilla said that the Thunder bathed, and they made up a thousand other absurdities.

> [Ch-8:4] The fourth ***guaca*** was called Cugitalis; it was flat place where the house of Garcilaso was built. The origin they tell was that Guayna Capac slept there and dreamed that a certain war was coming. Because it afterward came to pass, he ordered that that place be venerated (Cobo 1990a [1653]:60).

The third *waka* describes what may have been one of the few vertical elements within the horizontal space of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. According to Rowe (1990:94) there are no

other descriptions in the chronicles of this fountain, so very little is known beyond Cobo's comments. The fourth *waka* is the only one securely located within the *Kusipata* (where Garcilaso's house was built) and appears to have been a particular spot where *Wayna Qhapaq* had a prophetic dream. It is possible that he slept in a building there, but since no buildings have ever been described as having occupied the *Kusipata*, he likely slept in a temporary shelter or even the open air. The prophecy of war serves to further connect the *Kusipata* with the bliss of battles implied by its name. These two *wakas* were considered *Payan*, or on Inka and non-Inka *zeques*.

Finally, in the fifth *Antisuyu zeque*, named *Payan* (Inka and non-Inka), was the following *waka*:

> [An-5:1] The first was a stone named Usno, which was in the square of Hurin Aucaypata; this was the first *guaca* to which those who were *orejones* made offerings (Cobo 1990a [1653]:66).

The mention of the *usnu* in the "square of Hurin [lower] Aucaypata" is a bit perplexing. By Cobo's time, the image of the *usnu* in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is well-established in the written histories of the Inka. However, Cobo (1990a [1653]:154) also claims that the *Hurinaucaypata* "was located at the edge of town on the road to Callao [*Qollasuyu*]". It is confusing as to why Cobo would describe the place as on the way to *Qollasuyu*, when he had listed it as a *waka* on the *Antisuyu zeque*. The area he describes is usually referred to as *Rimac Pampa*, a "square" (*pampa*) where oracles were heard (from "*rimac*," or "talking"). He claims that this is where Inka coronations took place, instead of in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as Betanzos claims. On the other hand, *Urin Haucaypata* could also refer to the section of the *Haucaypata* falling in *Urin* (Lower) *Qosqo*, which

comprised the buildings of *Amarukancha*, the *Aqllawasi* and *Hatunkancha*. Unfortunately, there is no indication in the chronicles as to precisely where the *usnu* stone was located in the square; perhaps it could have been close to one of the above buildings. Regardless, the concept of *usnu* is broad enough to incorporate a portable bench or throne which may have been carried to *Rimac Pampa*, or even a carved stone *usnu* found there as well, as Qosqo was known to contain more than one *usnu* (Zuidema 1983b).

With the exception of the last *waka* described, all of the Inka shrines related to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were among the *Chinchaysuyu ceque* lines. They also represent *Qollana* (Inka), *Payan* (Inka and non-Inka), and *Callao* (non-Inka) social divisions, suggesting that the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was a dynamic (in the sense of continual maintenance) sacred place for all the people of *Tawantinsuyu*. According to Cobo, not only was the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* itself a *waka*, but there were *wakas* located in the surrounding buildings and even in places within the open area. This description adds a sense of sacredness and fullness of space that is lacking in most early colonial descriptions of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

Cobo's remaining accounts of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* are incorporated in his discussions of Inka festivals and "idolatries". Like other historians before him, Cobo relates his version of how the Inka worshipped their ancestors. He claims that the mummies were arranged according to their seniority in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, where the Inka would make many offerings, including pouring *chicha* "over a round stone idol located in the centre of the square. There was a small reservoir made around the stone

where the *chicha* filtered through certain hidden drains. Normally, this stone was covered with a sheet of gold that fit entirely over it, and in addition there was a kind of round *buhio* or hut made of woven fibres; it was used to cover the stone at night" (Cobo 1990a [1653]:40). This description of the *usnu* is almost identical to that of Pizarro, and was most likely borrowed.

Cobo goes on to write about the regular, or monthly, festivals of the Inka. The first month, *Raymi*, was when the Inka celebrated the December solstice with *Qhapaq Raymi* and the *huarochico* rite of male passage. According to Cobo, the Inka forced all non-*Qosqo* residents to leave the city for the duration of this celebration. During the festival, in the square sat statues of *Wiraqocha*, *Inti* (the Sun), *Quilla* (the Moon), and *Illapa* (Thunder), as well as the mummified Inka ancestors. One hundred llamas from the four *suyus* or quarters of the empire were sacrificed on the first day, and many others throughout the duration. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is described as the place where the young men congregated to begin their rites of passage, always returning to the square between activities to perform certain offerings, dance and sing. The *Qhapaq Raymi* festival was supposed to have lasted the entire month (Cobo 1990a [1653]:126-134).

According to Cobo (1990a [1653]:135-138) in the second month, called *Camay*, the Inka gathered in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* to make offerings to *Wiraqocha* and *Inti* (the Sun), again sacrificing more than one hundred llamas of specific colour. More offerings and sacrifices were made there at the times of the new and full moons. The people performed dances and sang and drank for many days, and *tinkuy* or ritual battles took place between the *orejones* of *Hanan* and *Urin Qosqo*. And again, the area is

described as a point of entry from, and departure to, rites occurring in other locations. Cobo claims that these celebrations and offerings to *Wiraqocha* were established by *Inka Pachakuti* and the people followed his directions and made offerings to him as well.

Concerning the festivals and sacrifices of the following four months, Cobo claims that in the third month, called *Hatun Puquy*, the Inka gathered in the square to sacrifice another differently coloured group of a hundred llamas. After other offerings, the people proceeded to their agricultural fields, and "they begged the Sun to help them work their fields so the crops would be good" (1990a [1653]:139). When this was done, they began working the fields. Cobo mentions nothing for the fourth month, but writes that in the fifth month, *Ariguaquiz*, in order to make the maize seeds develop, another hundred llamas were sacrificed, and the llamas which had been part of the *Qhapaq Raymi* festival were kept in the square. The priests fed them chicha, and the animals would knock over the jars and spill it on the ground, thereby making offerings in their own name. During the period of the festival, in the square was placed the *sunturpaucar*, a "staff covered from top to bottom with small feathers of different colours: three of the feathers rose from the top. It was one of the royal symbols of the Inca" (Cobo 1990a [1653]:139, 226). The sixth month was called *Hatun Cuzqui*, and a hundred llamas were sacrificed in the square for the celebration of *Aymoray*, or the maize harvest. Ceremonies to *Mamasara*, or Mother Maize, included going to the fields to begin the harvest and returning to the square for games and dancing (Cobo 1990a [1653]:140-141).

Continuing with the sacrifices and festivals of the seventh, eighth and ninth months, Cobo writes that in *Aucay Cuzci*, the people would celebrate *Inti Raymi*.

commemorating the June solstice. Again, a hundred llama were sacrificed, and while Cobo states that the festivities took place in various locations, everyone returned to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* for the concluding celebrations (Cobo 1990 [1653]:142-143). According to Cobo, the eighth month was called *Cahua Huarquis*, and many sacrifices and offerings were made to the *wakas* associated with water sources. He claims these rituals were established by the second *Inka Roq'a* when he sought to establish irrigation for Qosqo. After these offerings were made, the people "busied themselves with repairing the irrigation ditches" (Cobo 1990a [1653]:143). In the ninth month, *Yapaquis*, another hundred llamas were sacrificed in the square, and the festival of *Guayara*, complete with dancing, was held to ask for an abundant year. Before sowing, sacrifices were made in the fields to the Frost, the Wind, and the Sun "and to all things that seemed to them capable of making their sown fields grow or capable of harming them" (Cobo 1990a [1653]:144). After the completion of these festivities the people went to do their farming.

According to Cobo (1990a [1653]:145-148), in the tenth month, called *Capac Raymi*, the solemn *Situa* festival was performed in *Qosqo*. This festival fell at the beginning of the rainy season, and the people made offerings to *Wiraqocha* in order to cleanse the empire and her peoples of sickness, disaster and misfortune for the coming year. Cobo claims that all people from the provinces, and any residents of *Qosqo* who had physical defects, were forced to leave the city. One of the rites taking place in the square is described as follows:

> ...from before the time that the new moon appeared, a goodly number of Indians armed for war according to their customs, with spears in their hands,

> were at the Square of Coricancha, and likewise in the Main Square there were people ready for war, four hundred of them, divided into four troops around a certain font which was there. This was the font into which they poured the beverages offered as a sacrifice. These troops were from different lineages of the natives of Cuzco, and the members of each troop stood facing the direction in which he would have to run. This corresponded to the four quarters of the world... (Cobo 1990a [1653]:146).

After the runners finished their relays out of the city, further sacrifices were made to the statues of *Inti* (the Sun), *Quilla* (the Moon), and *Illa* (Thunder), as well to as the ancestor mummies in the square. After the sacred objects had been put away, the people who would had left the city were allowed to return with unblemished livestock from each of the four *suyus*. These animals were sacrificed in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, and their inflated lungs were used to divine the coming year (Cobo 1990 [1653]:148).

Concerning the festivals of the last two months, Cobo (1990 [1653]:149-150) writes that in the eleventh month, *Hatun Raymi Pachayquiz*, "the ordinary sacrifice of one hundred sheep [llamas] was made". If there was no rain, additional sacrifices of llamas and offerings of *chicha* were made. The women occupied themselves, presumably sometimes in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, preparing for the upcoming *huarochico* festival and the men completed the tasks assigned by the Inka. Cobo concludes his account with the last month, called Ayamarca, when another hundred llamas were sacrificed with the usual solemnity. The young men preparing for the *Huarochico* festival made sacrifices to certain *wakas* outside the city, practised their exercises and dances in the square, and (may have) held great celebrations reserved only for the residents of *Qosqo*, called *Itu Raymi*. The two moieties, *Hanan* and *Urin*, sacrificed four llamas each "when it rained too much or very little or when there was a

plague" (Cobo 1990 [1653]:150). When these sacrifices were completed, people were allowed to return to the city for more festivities in the *Haucaypata* and *Kusipata*.

Cobo also makes brief mention of the types of ceremonies held at no specific or regular time, but rather when the circumstance arose, such as in the death of the Inka and the coronation of the new Inka, or in times of dire need such as the *Itu* festival mentioned above and the human sacrifice *Capaqocha* (Cobo 1990a [1653]:151-152). Cobo states that these festivals were either entirely restricted to the Inka nobility, or to the residents of *Qosqo*, or if declared "general" by the Inka, open to everyone in *Tawantinsuyu*. While each had sacrifices, offerings, and dancing in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, only the general celebrations would have brought all of the people of the Empire to the Great Square.

Finally, while Cobo (1990a [1653]) discusses both Inka burials and coronations, none of his account locates any activities in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. If nothing else, the lineages who had palaces along the boundary would have entered the area to go anywhere else. Like other Catholic writers interested in the religion of the Inka, Cobo devotes several chapters to the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun and the *Aqllawasi*, or House of the Chosen Women. If the historical descriptions are accurate, one would have passed between the *Aqllawasi* and *Amarukancha*, leaving the *Haucaypata* to arrive at the *Qorikancha*. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were therefore indirectly connected to the *Qorikancha*, and the "cloisters" of *aqllakuna* (young women) and *mamakuna* (matrons) serving the Sun (see Figure 34). Many, if not all, of the rites performed in the *Qorikancha* involved passing through the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, and usually concluded there with general festivities.

In summary, Cobo's religious perspective and his heavy reliance on the work of earlier chroniclers creates a sense of vitality and resonance lacking in many of the Spanish histories of the Inka. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges as not merely religious, but as the sensuous, animated expressions of a living entity. The sense of sacredness, or *waka*, is equally applied to Water, Earth, and the buildings and actions of people. Daily maintenance and regular festivities celebrated the *wakas* of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. In his narration, Cobo creates the area as one where the whole people of *Tawantinsuyu* merge with, or join the cosmos (*Wiraqocha*, *Inti*, *Quilla*, *Illa*, *Pachamama*, *Mamaqocha*, etc.) through celebration, and emerge again. There is also a sense of balance implied by the exchanges made not just *in* the square but actually *with* the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. Cobo's narrative is the culmination of over one hundred years of writing about the "Great Square"of Inka *Qosqo*. His writing incorporates the views of *conquistadores*, soldiers, administrators and other priests. For him, the Inka practices in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have been heathen or barbarian, but nonetheless aesthetically and sensuously charged, if not actually "living".

Conclusion

Despite the diversity of perspectives and interests represented in the Spanish colonial chronicles, a cohesive sense of how they perceived the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges from their narratives. With the exclusion of the soldier eyewitnesses of Inka *Qosqo*, all the chroniclers presented above wrote about a complex that "used to be". With few exceptions, these writers would have walked across the much smaller colonial

Plaza de Armas in Cuzco, surrounded by merchant's shops and shaded by the Cathedral (see Figure 35). They would have also seen remnants of Inka buildings supporting those of the Spanish, just as one may see today (see Figures 36 and 37). And while they stood on the same ground, they created a distinct impression of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as very different from the *Plaza de Armas* they knew. The chroniclers may have viewed the area as open or empty space, but their narratives reveal the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* with a fullness of meaning suggestive of monumental space.

Considering the space of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, the colonial chronicles describe an open area, but one which unites the elements of earth, water, and sky. The *Watanay* River runs through the centre of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, dividing it into two unequal halves (see Figures 26, 27 and 38). The entire area was levelled and the soil replaced with consecrated sand from the Pacific coast, hundreds of kilometres away, and then paved with stone. Underground pipes channelled liquids from the *usnu* stone to the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun. Sacred fountains and other bodies of water were located in the open area and within the surrounding buildings. And although never explicitly stated in the chronicles, an open space also opens upwards into the sky, and lets in light, wind and rain. And, as described in Chapter 3, these elements were part of Inka cosmology and ritual. The architecture of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* manifests the Inka universe.

The chronicles profess that buildings surrounded only the *Haucaypata* half of the square, and that terraces were built in the *Kusipata* for future royal architecture. Despite the disagreement over which buildings belonged to which lineages, the chronicles agree

that around three sides of the *Haucaypata* were the palaces of deceased Inka rulers, huge halls or *kallanka*, a Temple to the Creator, *Wiraqocha*, and the *Aqllawasi*, or House of the Chosen Women, dedicated to the Sun. And within the open area itself were the *usnu* stone, and at least one round stone tower, known as the *Sunturwasi*. All of these structures are of the highest prestige, and exemplify some of the finest stonemasonry and most sumptuous decoration described in the chronicles.

The chronicles also create a sense of profound religious and political significance to the activities described as taking place in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. The Inka rulers left the area to embark on campaigns of war and diplomacy (see Figures 39 and 40). Daily and monthly offerings and sacrifices were made to the *wakas*, including the open worship of the mummified bodies of deceased Inka rulers. Festivities marking the rites of passage of the Inka nobility, the solstices, the planting and harvesting seasons, the funerals and coronations of Inka rulers, and the ritual cleansing of the Empire brought some or all of the people of *Tawantinsuyu* together in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* (see Figures 41-52). There were designated places for people of the four *suyus* and the two moieties to sit, and order to the movement of people through the area. All of these actions serve to create a sense of centrality, where the four *suyus* or quarters, the three social categories of *Qollana*, *Payan* and *Callao*, and the two moieties of *Hanan* (upper) and *Urin* (lower) come together, while simultaneously maintaining internal social divisions (see Figures 53-56).

The following chapter elaborates on the points drawn above in order to further the picture of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as a meaningful social space. As such, it can be

seen to manifest elements of stone, water and light and to mediate social relations.

Chapter 5 - Space and Time at the Centre

Two modern histories

At the beginning of Chapter 4, the writing of histories was presented as ways of knowing the past. Implicit is the recognition that what happened in the past is only known through the perpetual reconstruction of meaning in each subsequent social moment in which the past is invoked and given permanence. In this sense, the past is being actively created each time it is recollected and retold. The previous chapter focussed on narratives written during the first hundred or so years after the Spanish invasion of *Tawantinsuyu*, in order to describe the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as it was envisioned during that time by particular writers. And yet, inevitably, that period of time was also being reconstructed from the present moment.

Two modern narratives of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* will be examined in order to further illustrate how our understanding of Inka architecture is rooted in previous histories. The first article, "Huakaypata: la plaza mayor del viejo Cuzco" (*Huakaypata: the main plaza of old Cuzco*), was written by Peruvian anthropologist Jorge Cornejo Bouroncle in 1946. The second article, "Los monumentos perdidos de la Plaza Mayor del Cuzco Incaico" (*The Lost Monuments of the Main Plaza of Inca Cuzco*), was written by American anthropologist John Rowe in 1990. The two articles are very different in their style and content, and again provide scholars the opportunity to consider the strengths and weaknesses of such approaches to architectural reconstruction.

The first striking characteristic of Cornejo Bouroncle's (1946) narrative is the

complete absence of references: there are no citations and no bibliography despite being published in the Revista Universitaria Cuzco (*Journal of the University of Cuzco*). Consequently, according to current Western standards of academic scholarship, this article does not meet the burden of proof necessary to constitute a reliable source of information. However, if we return to the notion that histories are ways of knowing the past, then surely this article can provide insights that do not require proof in order to be considered valuable. The tone of the article is presented in the opening paragraph, worth translating here in its entirety:

> The enormous and old main plaza of Cuzco is charged with legends, bejewelled with mysteries, covered in blood, gods and gold... The centuries have passed, slipping their silhouettes like shadows in the traces of time, which sink in the erasing and distant thicket of a remote yesterday. Men and communities have passed, as have the heroic periods of war and the tranquil hours of peace, the joyous cries of triumph and the prayers of disgrace. And all, like the smoke of a mysterious and silenced offering, bring us the echo, the quieted murmur of past days. We make memories of the plaza, which is, in reality, the same heart of the *patria*, the motherland, her altar and her promise (Cornejo Bouroncle 1946:85 *translation mine*).

The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges not merely as the "main plaza" of Inka *Qosqo*, but as the very foundation of what constitutes being "Peruvian". Cornejo Bouroncle urges the (Peruvian) reader to recapture that part of the(ir) past that has been lost or silenced.

Cornejo Bouroncle considers the *Haucaypata* to be the birthplace of the Inka Empire. From that place left the Inka expeditions to conquer and civilise the known world, and to that place they returned victorious. The *Haucaypata* is described as the "heart of the authentic Peru, the head of the Indian world, and the promise of better days, which, joined with the memory of imperial centuries, has given us a name, fame and sentiment in History" (Cornejo Bouroncle 1946:87 *translation mine*).

A further point of interest is the name ascribed to the "plaza". Throughout this thesis the name of *Haucaypata-Kusipata* has been used to refer to the "plaza". While Cornejo Bouroncle names the *Kusipata*, he still focusses on the *Haucaypata* half, which was reconstructed in colonial times to become the Plaza de Armas. But, Cornejo Bouroncle chooses an alternate spelling for the *Haucaypata*: "Huacaypata". This seemingly subtle difference has interesting implications. Foremost is the linguistic dualism established between "Huacaypata" and "Kusipata".

According to Holguin (1989 [1608]:155), "Haucaypata" is the "plaza of *fiestas*, strikes and drunks in Cuzco," and "haucay" refers to times of rest and celebrations. The words "auca," "aucca," and "aucay" refer to warriors, battles, and victories, and many North American and European scholars have favoured this connotation for the "plaza". However, by using "Huacaypata" instead, this half of the "plaza" becomes the "place of lamentations," thereby serving as the complimentary opposite of *Kusipata*, "place of joy". Certainly there are many discrepancies in spelling the names of the "plaza" in the chronicles, and it is difficult to suggest which one is "correct". To use "Huacaypata" instead of "Haucaypata" requires a strict adherence to notions of Andean dualism; accordingly, the most reasonable assumption is that the two halves of the "plaza" formed a unified whole of complimentary opposites. However, according to Dr. Bruce Mannheim (personal communication 1998), the name of the "plaza" was *Haucaypata*, with the "h" pronounced, which together with *Kusipata* formed a semantic minimal pair or near synonyms; he considers the use of both "Huacaypata" (place of lamentations) and "Aucaypata" (place of enemies/warriors) to be "inventions".[1] Perhaps Cornejo

Bouroncle, in his search for "authentic" Peruvian history, felt compelled to work within the constraints of established, yet also historically created, notions of Andean dualism.

The "Huacaypata" of Cornejo Bouroncle is a vivid and lively place. His narrative evokes colourful and dynamic images of a proud people celebrating their victories and mourning their losses. But the most profound contribution of his narrative is the continuation of his story into Republican and even contemporary times; that is, he continues to describe the "Huacayapata" as it was transformed over almost five hundred years, without ever losing sight of its "original" spirit. Throughout his descriptions of the conquest period, Cornejo Bouroncle (1946:95-100) refers to the "evils of the White Man" and to the ensuing period of blood, misery and fanaticism. The "Huacaypata" is portrayed as the place from which the Spaniards sought to establish this new era by destroying the Inka buildings to build their cathedrals and homes, and converting the area to a familiar Spanish-style *Plaza de Armas*. From this place the *conquistadores* organised their internal battles and external conquests and in the plaza were executed Spanish traitors and Inka enemies. During the colonial period, the "Huacaypata" served as a public forum for the Spanish Crown's attempts to "take the gold and the faith of the Indians" (Cornejo Bouroncle 1946:101 *translation mine*). The once great "Huacaypata" of the Inka was plunged into a period of oppression, only to be later reclaimed during the historical period of Peruvian emancipation. The "Huacaypata" is then presented as the inspiration for the new generation of freedom-fighters:

> How many heroes were forged here amidst the inspiration of legends and traditions; how many patriots would swear the liberty of the motherland secretly in their hearts while contemplating the overthrown centuries in the sands of the Huacaypata, which cried out for vengeance, which asked for

> liberty, rights, dignity, humanity, and justice! (Cornejo Bouroncle 1946:102 *translation mine*).

And indeed, the author goes on to describe the glorious people who left the plaza to fight for freedom and the unfortunate ones who were captured and executed there. All of these struggles are seen to be reflected in the space of the "Huacaypata," and the triumphs of the Liberators are interpreted as re-establishing the "original" and superior history of the place.

Cornejo Bouroncle (1946:107-116) concludes his article by appealing to the youth of his time to experience the plaza through which they walk as a monument to their country's past, to the glory of their ancestors, the Inka, and to the many heroes who lived and died so that they could be free. He laments the current state of affairs, claiming that thousands of Indians still toil under the oppression and exclusion of a nation that neglects its history. He reminds the reader that history is constantly unfolding, and the ideals of *patria* [2], liberty and democracy must be upheld in order to survive. And one cannot but get the impression that he also means to suggest that as long as we remember buildings and places, we keep their spirit alive as well.

The second article by Rowe (1990) is presented in contrast to that of Cornejo Bouroncle (1946). Where Cornejo Bouroncle writes from the heart, Rowe writes from the brain. Undoubtedly, this variation is due, in part, to authors of different nationalities writing at different points in history. Cornejo Bouroncle writes from the position of an "insider," a Peruvian and inheritor of the legacy of Inka-inspired nationalism; Rowe writes from the "outside," an American and inheritor of the legacy of imperialism and Western scholarship. Cornejo Bouroncle's narrative is personal, passionate and part of

the historical process he describes, whereas Rowe's article attempts an objective distancing and search for the "Truth".

To be certain, the intent of Rowe's (1990) article is to clarify history by seeking to determine which buildings actually surrounded the *Haucaypata*. His opening statement describes the *Haucaypata* as the scene of many religious and civil ceremonies, and yet the focus of the article is on the buildings which comprised the boundaries rather than on what occurred within them. In fact, by focussing exclusively on the *Haucaypata* half, Rowe defines the entire "plaza" by the buildings appearing along a limited section of it. Rowe meticulously provides his "proof" by repeatedly citing the colonial period Spanish chronicles, and attempting to reconcile the conflicting information. While not wishing to deride such competent scholarship, what Rowe is able to glean of the "truth" tells us little about what the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* has been over time or how it may have been understood by the people of *Tawantinsuyu*. In the end, he is only able to provide a tentative spatial (i.e. geometrical) reconstruction of the "plaza" in Inka times. And yet, he closes his article by again stating that the data reveal a centre of religious activity of the utmost importance. He writes that,

> in a situation in which the temples had a character so sacred that only the priests and people of highest status could penetrate them, the public ceremonies were realised in the open air of the plaza, on top of the layer of sacred sand and in front of the usnu... [and] the usnu of the Inkas was succeeded by the pillory of the Spanish city (Rowe 1990:98-99 *translation mine*).

It is unclear as to how Rowe is able to conjure such an image after reducing the experience of the "plaza" to the proper identification and location of its associated buildings. It would seem that, for Rowe, what gave the *Haucaypata* its sacred character

was not so much what happened in the horizontal area, but rather which buildings, or vertical elements, could be connected to ceremonial activity.

Now, it is not a matter of deciding which article is "better," but a case of evaluating what each one can and cannot tell us about the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. All discussions of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* are treated here as equally valid, but none is to be understood as the final and superior interpretation; each narrative has its strengths and flaws. For Cornejo Bouroncle at the time of writing, the "plaza" still existed in the sense of preserving the memories of times gone by and having the power to inspire the future. He was not seeking to determine what the "plaza" was in a material sense, but rather what the "plaza" has been and may continue to be. On the other hand, Rowe sought to define in formalist terms what the "plaza" of the Inka actually was in their time, based on colonial accounts. The former approach allows us to conceive of architecture as a product of all the moments it survives and the manifestation of human spatial understanding; the latter approach maintains that architecture can be defined by its material components as they appear at a particular point in time. Rowe's (1990) article provides a genuine attempt to reliably reconstruct a no longer existing architecture. Cornejo Bouroncle's (1946) narrative suggests that architecture, if inextricably connected to space and time, can be understood according to the different meanings attached to it through historical and social experience. Where Rowe sought to distance himself socially and spatio-temporally, Cornejo Bouroncle aspired to connect himself and his fellow Peruvians to a long period of spatial experience. One might even suggest that Rowe described a "dead" architecture limited by the need for verifiable and

quantitative data, whereas Cornejo Bouroncle depicted a "living" architecture endowed with dynamic social qualities.

In order to contextualise some of these observations we may look to the Quechua word *pacha*, or space-time, in contrast to the Western distinction between space and time.

Andean *pacha* or space-time

Bouysse-Cassagne (1986), in her ethnohistorical account of Aymara (Titicaca region) concepts of space, makes the immediate distinction between *urco* and *uma*. The term *urco* was used to represent the highlands where the Aymaras lived, and referred to the "manliness associated with violence, aggression and war, the male domain par excellence" (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:205). On the other hand, *uma* was used to represent the eastern lowlands, or valleys, and since the word means water, it referred to liquidity or a lack of solid consistency, and "hollowness (the hollowness of a furrow, of valleys, of lowlands, or the concave parts of an object)... [as well as] the contained... [and] the container... [all] associated with the idea of femininity" (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:207). However, the conceptual opposition between *urco* and *uma* was mediated by the intermediate zone, or *taypi* (Quechua: *chawpi*), thereby converting the apparent dualism to a tri-partite organisation. Since *urco* was associated with the highlands, and *uma* with the lowlands, it was Lake Titicaca itself which was considered *taypi*, or the middle.

> As an element of Aymara thought, Lake Titicaca is not merely a specific geographical location: It is at once a centrifugal force that permits the

> differentiation of the two terms in opposition and a centripetal force that ensures their mediation. In the symbolic architecture, the *taypi*, place of convergence, is crucial to the equilibrium of the system (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:209).

And like Quechua notions of space-time, Aymara spatial experience is always already social experience. That is, "through ritual mediation, a rupture is avoided between individuals, on the one hand, and the binary structure of the Aymara universe on the other" (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:213). The point of convergence may also be where two halves (right and left) intersect with another two halves (upper and lower), forming the centre of a quadri-partite division.

This is similar to the structure of *Tawantinsuyu*, with *Qosqo* as its centre or *chawpi*. The empire was also quadri-partitioned, "but the *suyu*, considered as quadrants of a circle, are oriented in relation to the center, and it is the symbolic hierarchy of these quadrants that provides the main axis between the two moieties of the system: Their orientation inclines from northeast to southwest" (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:216). Perhaps the Inka were familiar with pre-existing Aymara spatial/social organisation, and expanded upon that system in their own. What seems to have remained apparent at the core is the organisation of "spatial relations in triadic terms: two elements and a center. Each [element] implies the presence of the opposite, but the symmetry is imperfect..." (Bouysse-Cassagne 1986:221).

While the Inka horizontally quadri-partitioned their world into the four *suyus*, vertical division in Quechua is expressed by the adjectives *hanan* (upper) and *urin* (lower), directions which are defined in relation to a centre, *chawpi*. At the same time, today when referring to a physically lower place, the word *ukhu* or "inside" is used,

resulting in the opposition between "above" and "inside," rather than "above" and "below" (Earls and Silverblatt 1976:300). We might recall the Quechua identification of *Ukhu Pacha*, the underworld, or inside world, as part of the tri-partite construction (with *Hanan Pacha* and *Kay Pacha*) of the universe. Where Westerners usually relate two places together in terms of horizontal space, in the Andes places are related according to vertical space; without connotations of environmental determinism, this sort of thinking does evoke the steep landscape of the high Andes.

Andean conceptions of time involve a linear progression not unlike that understood by Westerners; however, Andean time only progresses forward insomuch as it needs to before it can form a loop. In this way, Andean time is cyclical rather than linear. As mentioned above, the term *pacha* refers both to space and time, as well as to the Earth. Relatedly, the Quechua word *nawpa* refers to the temporal qualities of "before," "anterior," and "ancient," while it simultaneously refers to the spatial signification of "in front". *Qipa* designates temporal aspects of "closeness" or "next," while also referring to the spatial notion of "behind". Accordingly, the future is considered to be behind the observer, and the past in front (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:301-302).

The conjunctions of space and time described above could not exist outside of a curved and finite geometry. In Chapter 3 the structure of the Inka universe was briefly discussed, and the reader might recollect that *Mamaqocha* (Mother Water) is considered to be the source of all water; *Wiraqocha*, the Creator, himself emerged from her waters (Lake Titicaca) and continued his journey to the ocean, where he disappeared within

(under). A *pachakuti* is a cataclysm or reversal of space-time; when one cycle is completed, another begins (such as in the act of creation). While the world ocean cosmologically exists in horizontal space, Lake Titicaca exists as an axis in vertical space; an axis conceptualised by the existence of a great subterranean lake (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:303). The direction of creation is vertical, as is the vertical movement of water evaporation; the cyclical movement of water is expressed through its return in the form of rain (see Figure 57). This understanding of spatial geometry is different from Western or Euclidian concepts. *Pacha*, or space-time, is characterised by being closed and without a fixed point of orientation. The conceptions of "outside/inside" or "upper/lower" can only be affected by one point of view relative to another (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:304) (see Figure 58).

Andean social organisation also falls within the realm of *pacha*. Beginning at Lake Titicaca, the origin place of human beings, people emerged and ventured from the centre to the peripheries, only to return in death to the centre again. In the case of the movement of water described above, centrifugal motion begins "outside" the earth's surface to return "below," by centripetal motion, to the centre at Lake Titicaca. Social life similarly takes a cyclical path, but in reverse to that of the hydrolic cycle; the two cycles function as part of the same system but are distinguished by the sense of contrary orientations. So, while there are no fixed points of reference within the flow of *pacha*, social experience (including genesis myths) delineates a centre from which relative points may be meaningfully distinguished (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:305).

The notion of disorder, for example caused by miscommunication, is seen to exist

within the notion of natural and social order. The fundamental principle of interaction at work in this notion of order is *ayni*, or reciprocity (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:309). However, beyond reciprocity, one might suggest that *ayni* is everything, or the universe itself. The actual experience or expression of *ayni* occurs in both symmetrical and asymmetrical ways. Symmetrically, at one time Person A may provide labour for Person B, in exchange for goods, and at another time, Person B provides labour for Person A, in exchange for goods; the exchange is equal but not immediate. Asymmetrical *ayni* always involves a hierarchically arranged exchange in which no equivalent exchange is made. Both types of *ayni* include exchanges between individuals, between individuals and communities, between communities, and between communities and the external world. However, the distinction between "outside/inside" and "natural/social" is blurred, as each half compliments the whole and is subject to the same obligations of *ayni*. A person may make an offering to *Pachamama* in the hope of securing her goodwill towards their crops or animals; *ayni* is also at the core of the exchange of waters between the earth and the sky.

The *mit'a*, or rotational labour system of the Inka, is an example of *ayni*. In its temporal aspect, it is governed by the calendar or measured passage of time. Spatially, it may be connected to areas of production or worship and social life. This sort of spatio-temporal bifurcation is further exemplified by Quechua ideas of *pallqa* and *tinkuy* (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:311). *Pallqa* refers to the division of one thing into two, without implications of spatial directionality; it is temporally reversible. An example would be the canalisation of a river. *Tinkuy* refers to the convergence or unification of two parts

into one, with implications of uni-directionality in space and irreversible time. An example would be a natural river system. Social intervention is understood in terms of *pallqa*: it must be constructed, and it can be, in a sense, deconstructed. *Tinkuy* can also be applied to social relations, but only of the irreversible kind. As well, social organisation can locate a *tinkuy* between different cycles of interaction; this requires a dialectic formation of irreversible character (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:313). While *ayni* and *pallqa* serve to bring order and equilibrium to the universe, *tinkuy* serves as the result of those principles.

Disorder, or ruptures in social order and balance, may be understood by the Quechua term *amaru* (Earls and Silverblatt 1978:314). *Amaru* refers to a great subterranean serpent in Andean myth, and is usually associated with explosive forces and the presence of water. For example, a violent explosion might cause an *amaru* to exit the earth and enter the water, travelling in a downward motion. A state of disequilibrium is understood to result from forces beyond control, and the explosion associated with *amaru* tends to re-establish a state of equilibrium by venting the pressure. As well, according to Earls and Silverblatt (178:317), the expression of *amaru* may be analogous to that of *tinkuy*, in that social relations may connect with the circulation of natural forces. For example, at the burial of an unbaptised infant an *amaru* may appear which will bring disastrous hail to the area.

A final concept related to the connection between "nature" and "culture" is the Quechua word *sami*. Just as social life is constantly changing, so too is the landscape. That is, its features change with varying degrees of light, cloud and storm. Rural

inhabitants of the Andes today have a remarkable knowledge of their land, and orient themselves according to landmarks rather than by abstract cardinal directions. But perhaps the term "landscape" is not entirely applicable, as the land is not considered inanimate. As Allen's (1988) ethnography of the Sonqo Quechua demonstrates, places on the land are now known as *tirakuna*, and they watch and interact with people regularly. "*Tirakuna* are not spirits who inhabit the places, but the Places themselves, who live, watch, and have ways of interacting with human beings, plants, and animals that live around and upon them" (Allen 1988:41). This stands in distinction to the anthropological notion of a symbolic landscape; it can be suggested that the Inka and their descendants did not make the distinction between "nature" and "culture" in a way that would also maintain the (Western) distinction between "material" and "ideological" constructs. For example, just as people are organised hierarchically, so too are the *Tirakuna*, or Places; in effect, the land is no different from the people who live there. However, as discussed above, vertical (hierarchical) space meets horizontal (heterarchical) space, so that while a person or place may be "higher" in one context, they can be "lower" in another.

> [T]he vigilant *Tirakuna* provide an orientation that is both emotional and cognitive, for space is experienced and organized in terms of this ever-widening circle of landmarks. The mountainous landscape provides an immediate and unique orientation relative to an individual's position at any given moment, an orientation that shifts as the individual moves (Allen 1988:44).

Furthermore, the *Tirakuna* are associated with male qualities, and serve as localised expressions of the female *Pachamama*.

> The world, when viewed as singular (that is, without internal differentiations), is female and biologically nourishing. However, this singular world contains plurality; she is internally differentiated into parts that are organized to make

> up the whole. These differentiated parts are conceptualized as being male and social (Allen 1988:49).

This fluid expression of *pacha* is regulated by the flow of *sami*. The Quechua word "to create" is *kamay*, which "refers to creation not in the sense of making something from nothing, but in the sense of controlling how something happens, of directing its mode of existence... While everything that has material existence is alive, the intensity of a thing's liveliness varies and can be controlled, at least to some extent... Andean ritual works at holding, controlling, and directing the flow of *sami* (Allen 1988:50). *Sami* may be understood as energy, not unlike *ch'i* or the fluid movement of *tao* in Chinese thought. The most tangible manifestations of *sami* are water and light, without which the earth could not survive. As discussed in Chapter 3, *pacha* (the world) is full of water which breaks through the surface as the springs or lakes where streams originate. In a sense, *pacha* (the earth) mediates between the upward/downward cycles of water and light; it is through the circulation of water and light through *pacha* that *sami* flows. A tangible manifestation of the flow of *sami* includes the distribution of water through the vast circulatory system of land and (especially nighttime) sky. For example, a rainbow, or *k'uychi*, acts as an *amaru* by leaving his rain-filled (terrestrial) home and arching across the sky to another spring, to which he siphons water from the first spring. As well, the wind, or *wayra*, leaves his house (a high inaccessible cave) to "flow like a river of air through the atmosphere before returning [to his terrestrial] home" (Allen 1988:53). Among the most powerful manifestations of concentrated light are *rayu*, or lightning and the stars; however, none is more important than *Inti*, or the sun himself. Water and light are moved by the power of *sami*, to flow through *pacha*, the world, and

emerge over and over again.

In sum, the notion of *pacha* incorporates both space and time simultaneously. While *pacha* may be understood as a singular force, it also manifests as any number of internal differentiations. The experience of *pacha* is regulated through *ayni*, or reciprocity; this principle is applied equally to the Western distinctions between nature and culture, effectively blurring the division. Furthermore, although one can distinguish the direction of flow of *sami* through the universe, there is no beginning or end point. Future time is considered to be behind oneself, whereas the past is in front. Positions within the circulatory flow are relative and changing, depending upon their orientation to the locus of mediating forces. In a way, this spatial centre, or *chawpi*, exists simultaneously in the present, past and future times. And from this point of convergence, or *tinkuy*, people use social means to influence the flow of *sami*.

By using these conceptions of *pacha*, the remainder of this thesis will focus on how historical representations of Inka architecture can be (re)contextualised through the ethnohistorical and ethnographic research described above to suggest how the Inka may have understood the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

Qosqo in Tawantinsuyu, *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in Qosqo

Tawantinsuyu was sub-divided into *Chinchaysuyu*, *Kuntisuyu*, *Qollasuyu*, and *Antisuyu*. These four parts of the empire comprised a radial pattern centred on the sacred city of *Qosqo*. The city itself manifested the centrifugal force that allowed this quadri-partitioning, as well as the centripetal force that ensured the mediation of these parts

through the centre. Although the *Qorikancha* served as the locus for the *ceque* system, it was in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* that the four roads to the four parts of the empire converged. In addition to serving as the centre for the quadri-partitioned empire, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* also served as the centre or point of convergence for the bi-partitioned spaces of *Hanan* (upper) and *Urin* (lower) *Qosqo*. This bifurcation was again internally manifested through the *Watanay* or *Saphi* River dividing the space into two unequal halves of right and left. Therefore, *Tawantinsuyu* was divided into four parts; *Qosqo* was divided into two parts; and the bi-partite *Haucaypata-Kusipata* comprised the ultimate centre of all the parts.

None of these spatial divisions existed without social correlates. As we know, the *ceque* system was quadri-partitioned according to the four parts of the empire, and it was used to create and maintain a tri-partite social division of *Qollana* (first/Inka), *Payan* (second/Inka-by-privilege), and *Callao* (primordial/non-Inka). As well, these divisions were hierarchically based. *Chinchaysuyu* and *Qollasuyu* (both in the highlands) were the largest and most important *suyus* of the empire; *Hanan* (upper) outranked *Urin* (lower) *Qosqo*; and *Qollana*, *Payan* and *Callao* were ranked in descending order, with the Inka at the top (Zuidema 1983; Rowe 1985). Different people occupied different places in the empire, where spatial and social divisions converged. For example, spatial partitioning influenced administrative organisation, determined ceremonial precedence, and affected social obligations. According to Zuidema (1983:69), "data on Inca society reveal, in general, a strong interest in global oppositions, like those of conquerors to conquered, of governing class to peasant class, of Incas to non-Incas; with classes like that of the Incas-

by-privilege in an intermediate position". It is this intermediate position, both integrating and separating, which transforms the principle of dual opposition into a dialectic relationship between three parts.

Chawpi: the centre

Any attempt to conceptualise *chawpi* requires the integration of spatial, temporal and social aspects. Therefore, the centre can be understood both as an undifferentiated whole and as a plurality of constituent parts. Using the human body as a metaphor, the centre or middle is known as *sonco*. According to Holguin (1989 [1608]:328) *sonco* refers to the heart and entrails, and is considered to be where one's conscience, reason and memory are located. One's *sonco* can be used to stand for one's whole person. If *Qosqo* was indeed shaped like a puma, as discussed in Chapter 3, then the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was located in the middle of the body, thereby comprising the *sonco* of *Qosqo*. However, as Classen (1993:99-100) states,

> Cuzco was in the center both of the vertical body of the cosmos and the horizontal body of the land. It provided an umbilical cord between Heaven and Earth, and it concentrated and radiated power and meaning throughout *Tahuantinsuyu*... If Cuzco was the *sonco*, or heart and entrails, of the body of *Tahuantinsuyu*, then the *sonco* of Cuzco was *Coricancha*, the temple of the Sun.

The association of the *Qorikancha* with the centre is common in the literature, as both historical chroniclers and modern scholars have interpreted the Temple of the Sun as the most important building in *Qosqo* and the centre of the *ceque* system (see Zuidema 1964; Gasparini and Margolies 1980; MacCormack 1991). Certainly, there is no reason to disagree that the *Qorikancha* was the centre of the *ceque* system. However, the opinion

that the *Qorikancha* was the centre of *Qosqo*, and by extension, of *Tawantinsuyu*, likely derives from almost five hundred years of imperial history concerned with the accumulation of wealth and power. That is, from the first time Westerners set eyes on the *Qorikancha*, they were overwhelmed by its magnificent and copious works of gold and its restricted or obviously sacred character. It is not unreasonable to suggest that the Temple of the Sun was, at least initially, interpreted with the same reverence accorded to a European cathedral or palace. To the *conquistadores* and even contemporary scholars, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* could not compare.

And indeed, the *Qorikancha* appears to have had little in common with the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. From an architectural perspective, the *Qorikancha* was a great enclosure of imposing buildings with highly restricted access. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have been delineated in part by Inka palaces and/or temples, but it remained an open space, largely devoid of the vertical and material elements associated with important architecture, and yet its access was virtually unrestricted. If the notion of *sonco* implies integration, it is difficult to suggest that the *Qorikancha* had that power. However, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* did effectively integrate (not necessarily equally) the vertical space of the cosmos, the horizontal space of *Tawantinsuyu*, the subsequent temporal aspects of each, and all their social correlates. So, while the *Qorikancha* was undoubtedly a focal point for the city and empire, it was not the only focal point and certainly not a focal point in the same ways as was the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

The tri-partite organisation of the Inka cosmos corresponds to the tri-partite division of the human body: *Hanay Pacha* and the upper body are associated with

structure; *Kay Pacha* and the middle of the body are associated with integration; and *Ukhu Pacha* and the lower body are associated with fluidity. As Classen (1993:111) states, the "trunk of the body corresponds to the living and to the present, and mediates between the feet and the head (the past and the future)". It may be suggested that the *Qorikancha*, although located in *Kay Pacha* (this world and time of humans) is better understood as exemplifying the ideals of *Hanay Pacha*, or those hierarchical social structures and connections to the Upper World which make life in *Kay Pacha* possible. On the other hand, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, while also located in *Kay Pacha*, may be better understood as manifesting the associated ideals of integration and mediation between separate spatial, temporal, and social parts.

Pacha and the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*

Since *pacha* connotes both spatial and temporal aspects, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* cannot be understood without a simultaneous consideration of both. In many ways, the most interesting task of reconstructing Inka architecture according to historical and modern narratives is the opportunity to address the spatial and temporal aspects of these narratives. Virtually all of the accounts of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* described in this thesis were written by people spatially and temporally "outside" of the Inka society which built and used the "great plaza". Despite its conversion to a Spanish-style *plaza de armas* shortly after conquest, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of the Inka continues to be created and recreated in each telling of its history. This thesis uses descriptions of how the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* has been seen over time, and (re)contextualises them through

ethnographic analogy, in order to present a plausible description of how the place may have been understood by the Inka.

Stone, Water and Light

Through historical chronicles and modern ethnographic accounts, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* emerges as both the integration of, and mediation between, stone, water, and light. While the convergence of these elements may indeed have been understood by the Inka, the description provided here is understood to be the product of post-Inka narratives, and can only be used to suggest possible Inka understandings of the built environment.

It may seem peculiar to identify an architecturally open space with stone, but historical and ethnographic accounts suggest that the organic qualities associated with stone are inextricably connected to Inka notions of building. Not only were Inka builders extraordinary stonemasons who constructed imposing and symbolically rich buildings, but the stone itself was significant. In Chapter 3 it was suggested that Inka architecture exemplifies an aesthetic quality of "stoniness," where the stone is self-referential. This creates a double significance in any stone building: not only is the building itself meaningful, but the material used is equally meaningful. In the Andes, stone, like all matter, is alive and endowed with human characteristics. Since *sami*, or energy, flows through stone just as it does through people, a person and a stone have a shared composition. Historical chronicles claim that the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was surrounded along the northeast section by elaborate stone palaces and temples. Furthermore, internally placed buildings like the *usnu* (shrine) and *Sunturwasi* (tower) were also made

of stone. The *Watanay* River was completely canalised with stone, and the section within the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was covered by both stone and timber. Related are accounts claiming that the ground of the "plaza" was paved with stone. It can be suggested tentatively that the stone used in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was an extension of the people who built and used it; conversely, perhaps they too were an extension of the stone.

The importance of water in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* cannot be overstated. Most apparent was the canalised *Watanay* River flowing through the area and separating the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* halves. Several chronicles claim that the site was originally a swamp or marsh, and historical narratives describe the "plaza" as covered with tons of sand brought from the Pacific coast. Furthermore, from the *usnu* stone to the *Qorikancha* ran a subterranean drainage channel and one chronicle claims that a flask of Lake Titicaca water was kept in the middle of the "plaza". Within the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were several *wakas*, or sacred places connected to water, including a lake within the palace of *Wayna Qhapaq* and a fountain located within the open area. In Inka cosmology the source of all water is *Mamaqocha*, and Lake Titicaca, as a manifestation of the ocean, is the origin place of all peoples. *Wiraqocha*, the Creator, emerged from Lake Titicaca and journeyed to the Pacific ocean; the sand in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* contained many offerings to *Wiraqocha*. And last, but not least, since the area lacked a roof, water entered the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* as rain which seeped into the earth or returned to the sky as evaporation. While historic sources do not explicitly claim this awareness, ethnographic accounts (see Allen 1988; Urton 1981) suggest that the modern Quechua

are aware of the cyclical movement of water in these ways. Inka architecture may be understood to involve building *with* water, rather than merely building in harmony with natural water sources.

The aspect of light embodied in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was made possible by the absence of a roof. The "plaza" opened both to daylight and to the darkness of night. The "roof" of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was the sky, and its sources of light were the sun, lightning, the moon, and the stars. Other celestial and cosmological phenomena such as rainbows or the Milky Way would have also been visible. The changing characteristics of light through time would have changed the features of the "plaza," by highlighting or obscuring certain architectural features. From the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* one would have been able to see the cycle of light and dark complete itself and begin again every day. And from within the "plaza," at the usnu and Sunturwasi, observations of the sun's passage through zenith and anti-zenith were made to mark important agricultural times (Zuidema 1981).[3] Again, the use of light in Inka building was more than a formal consideration; it involved the incorporation and extension of another meaningful element of the world.

In the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, the Inka built a forum for the integration of, and mediation between, stone, water and light. Within this place the flow of *sami* and the rhythm of *pacha* were integrated to form complete and reciprocal cycles of interaction. These cycles necessarily involved social correlates. For example, the Inka "applied the principles of beliefs held by Andean peoples about their origins in lakes to create an ideology that was useful to them for incorporating new chiefdoms into the Inca polity"

(Sherbondy 1982:129). That is, despite social differences, people could be politically integrated according to their (watery) places of origin. The coastal sand in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* "ritually placed the sea in the religious and political center of the Inca Empire. [The Inka] utilized a religious symbol to express a political concept: the origin and foundation of the Empire. In this way they managed to symbolize the unification of almost the entire Andean world" (Sherbondy 1982:139). The Inka also incorporated Lake Titicaca into the capital by storing water from the Island of the Sun in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, effectively integrating the peoples of the Titicaca basin into the Empire as well. On a practical level, the Inka may have also wanted to associate themselves with a spring, or opening in the earth when they founded Qosqo; certainly, swampy soils are organically rich and indicative of abundant water, both of which are needed for intensive agriculture (Sherbondy 1982:132).

As well, the sky above the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* affected Inka subsistence practices and their associated social practices. That is, the seasonal cycles of agricultural production were inextricably connected to Inka social life. The Inka used a practical and relatively simple calendar system where "solar motion was marked with pillars on the Cuzco horizon and was watched during the large celebrations in the city. These ceremonies, centered on the Cuzco pillars, highlight the importance that astronomical observations held in Inca society as a method of reckoning time as well as publicly reaffirming the legitimacy of Inca rule" (Bauer and Dearborn 1995:153).

***Celebrations in the* Haucaypata-Kusipata**

If the Inka *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was a place where the integration of, and

mediation between stone, water and light was made possible, so too was it a place where the interactions between the vertical world of the cosmos, the horizontal world of Tawantinsuyu, and the experiences of her peoples could be regulated and influenced through ritual activity.

Unfortunately, the historical chronicles provide very little information concerning the everyday uses of the "plaza," since in many cases they tended only to relay those stories which alluded to the "idolatry" of the Indians; accordingly, modern scholars have retained this focus under the less obviously judgmental analysis of "ritual". Knowledge of the "secular" activities in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is likely lost to us forever, and it must again be pointed out that the current focus on ritual activity is, in part, forced by the types of data available today. To describe the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* only in terms of ritual architecture, then, is thoroughly rooted in historical (i.e. non-Inka) circumstance. This does not mean that the Inka did not understand the "plaza" as sacred; it suggests that any other meanings attributed to the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* during Inka times have not survived in Westerner's stories.

However, the motivations of the historical chroniclers encouraged a focus on Inka political and religious activity in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* (see Figure 59). From the initial accounts by Spanish soldiers entering the sacred city, the Inka practice of ancestor worship focussed prominently in historical narratives. Certainly, one can imagine that seeing mummies treated like living people would catch the attention of any Western observer, then or now. And undoubtedly, the descriptions provided reflect this sense of awe towards a likely commonplace experience of the Inka. Likewise, other Inka

celebrations such as various rites of passage, marking the solstices and agricultural cycles, royal inaugurations and ritual cleansings, equally confused or offended the Spaniards in the conquest and colonial periods. Inka ritual is most often described as isolated activities according to an established, and disconnected, order of presentation. However,

> the festivals were not isolated occasions celebrated one by one in the course of a calendar year. Instead, they formed an interconnected fabric of sacred time. The initiation of young men was followed by the summer solstice, the longest day of the year, which the Incas celebrated in its own right. And the celebration of harvest and plowing was followed by the winter solstice, the shortest day of the year, itself the occasion of a set of rituals. The festivals in December and June were accordingly brought into relation with each other not merely by ceremonies focusing on the course of the divine Sun but also by ceremonies focusing on growth and change in human society (MacCormack 1991:117).

That is, ritual and human time progressed in conjunction with each other; human time was integrated into the rhythm of *pacha*.

If the Inka had control over the land, so too did the rulers have control over time, both in life and death. The daily and public worship of ancestral mummies, or *mallki*, in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have "provided the basis upon which the kin of deceased Incas continued wielding political and economic power. In religious and philosophical terms, the *mallquis* anchored Inca power in the order of nature... As *mallquis*, the Incas shaped on the one hand the historical past, and on the other, they shaped the natural environment, the geographical cosmos" (MacCormack 1990:22). By adding the solstice celebrations, which involved the inauguration of harvesting and plowing seasons by the ruling Inka, this sense of political manipulation can be extended to include Inka legitimation in the "natural" order of things; that is, Inka social practices and relations were effectively rendered self-evident.

The centripetalising function of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is made even more apparent in the descriptions of Inka ritual. As described in Chapter 4, the "plaza" was the place from which all participants left for rituals at other *wakas*, and returned to upon completion of these rituals. The *usnu* stone in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was a crucial aspect of this process of dispersal and reintegration (see Figure 60). If the "plaza" can be described as the *chawpi* of *Qosqo* and *Tawantinsuyu*, the *chawpi* of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* was the *usnu*. According to Zuidema (1981b:324-327) the *usnu* in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, one of two in *Qosqo*, has been described alternatively as a pillar, a bench, and a basin. In all of these forms, the *usnu* may be connected to experiences of exhaling (outward motion) and inhaling (inward motion). To illustrate this outward and inward motion, the opening of the ground at plowing time would have allowed "illnesses" to escape from beneath the earth into the air, where they could be inhaled by people or the land; the *Situa* festival, or ritual cleansing of *Qosqo*, in the following month involved the expulsion of "illnesses" from the Empire by representatives of each *suyu* leaving from the *usnu* to cleanse their respective lands. Additionally, particular rituals involved people consuming large amounts of water in imitation of the water absorbed by the land; the *usnu* as a basin with a subterranean channel brought into the land whatever liquids were offered, including the waters carried there by the wind (Zuidema 1981b:335). This sort of cyclical interaction is at the heart of *ayni*, or reciprocal relations between people and between people and the cosmos.

The *usnu* in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* also served more specifically political purposes. In Chapter 4, it was mentioned that some chroniclers referred to the *usnu* as

the "stone of war". In this function, the *usnu* may have served as the point from which the Inka addressed his warriors before and after campaigns organised in *Qosqo*. Certainly, the *usnu* is described in the chronicles as the place from which public announcements were made. Furthermore, the presentation of offerings to the Inka by provincials were always made at the *usnu* (Duviols 1976:14). In this way, the *usnu* became the locus for integrating the sacred objects of all four *suyus* at the centre. The chronicles also indicate that all sacrifices in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were made at the *usnu*. In the case of the most solemn of all sacrifices, the *capaqocha*, sometimes involving human sacrifice, people and objects were brought from the four parts of the Empire to the centre of the "plaza" before being taken to their final place of sacrifice, further exemplifying centripetal and centrifugal motion in and out of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* (Duviols 1976:17).[4] Again, the ultimate centralisation of the area appears through actions attempting to bring about redistribution and balance.

All of the Inka rituals performed in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* were inextricably connected to notions of *pacha*, or space-time. As mentioned above, this involved the integration of seasonal and human time and space to form a cohesive body of space-time where each complements the other to fulfill the cycle. The celebrations focussed on cyclical renewal, rather than on strictly linear progression (Urbano 1974:16).[5] One may suggest that Inka spatial experience served to perpetuate these cycles of interaction, or rather to (re)establish a sense of balance during times of change; neither is it unreasonable to suggest that the notion of *pacha* effectively blurs the distinction between nature and culture by combining the two in a repetitive cyclical exchange.

Conclusion

This chapter began with the comparison of two very different types of historical architectural reconstructions: Rowe's, which presented the traditional Western formalist approach to space and time, and Cornejo Bouroncle's, which suggested a more fluid and relativist approach. It was the latter which inspired the subsequent focus on ethnographic interpretations of Andean *pacha*, or space-time, as a way of understanding the built environment of the Inka. Not only can the notion of *pacha* be used to demonstrate that how we view the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* depends on the spatial and temporal positions of the narratives at hand, but also how *pacha* can be used to interpret the accounts we do have. Both the architecture itself and the activities within the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may be understood as serving to integrate and mediate between different, and sometimes conflicting, aspects of human experience in the Inka world. Social identities were negotiated within its confines, and the inherent tension between the vertical or cosmological realm and the horizontal or human realm was mediated through the activities of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

Chapter 6 - Summary and Conclusion

If we are to understand architecture then we must acknowledge that buildings and the spaces they enclose or define are more than their material and functional qualities. The concept of the "built environment" allows an opportunity to examine the ways in which people construct and interpret the world around them. Working with the assumption that buildings and space are inseparable from the human experience of them, this thesis has concentrated on the phenomenological qualities of building, space and dwelling. The experience of being-in-the-world in general already has spatial, temporal and social dimensions. In this way, architecture is a key factor in cultural experience. People attach culturally relevant meanings to the places which they inhabit. Places, then, emerge as the means by which people negotiate relative personal and group identities through the ways in which they interact with the "natural" and "constructed" world around them.

In applying these concepts to ancient architecture, this thesis has focussed on the ways in which people may have understood their architecture and space. No attempt to define the geometry or function of a building extant alone allows scholars to suggest how those buildings were experienced. However, examining the narratives about ancient buildings allows us to understand architecture and space in terms of wider existential and ontological concerns. By contextualising architecture within the broader cultural experience and understanding of space, buildings emerge as part of that culturally constituted space, rather than as mere impositions upon the landscape.

Since scholars are currently unable to interpret reliably the Inka *khipu*, or numerical and narrative system of knotted strings, what is now known about the Inka has been largely gleaned from conquest and colonial period Spanish documents. Despite the biases of the authors, and the lack of information regarding their informants, the Spanish narratives provide valuable insights into how the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have been understood by the Inka themselves. In order to (re)contextualise these texts, contemporary Andean ethnohistories and ethnographies were used to provide a larger context for the interpretation of Inka structural and spatial experience.

The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is most often described in the chronicles as having profound connections to stone, water and light. But these phenomena cannot be appreciated without an understanding of how they may have been understood as part of Inka world-view. Current ethnographies provide discussions of Andean pacha, or space-time, which locates relative spatial and temporal relations as they interact with people. The natural and cultural worlds exist as inter-penetrations of each other, both inextricably connected to the cyclical exchanges between material and ideological realms. These exchanges are mediated through a centre point, or chawpi, where the different elements merge, negotiate identities and relations, and re-emerge.

The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* of *Qosqo* can be understood to reflect the Quechua concept of *chawpi*. Its central location within the capital served as the place of convergence for the four roads leading to the four parts of the Empire, thereby conceptually extending its horizontal reach. The vertical realm manifested its magnitude through the incorporation or appropriation of elements of the natural world: stone, water

and light. These two cyclical directions, horizontal and vertical, intersected in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. The rituals of the Inka provided the social means to mediate and negotiate the interactions of horizontal and vertical dimensions. Through these festivals, the space and time of the entire universe was brought together symbolically in one place. This sense of unification, however, had few implications of equality. The Inka rituals in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* seem to have served to delineate each social group, while simultaneously bringing them together. Thus, social order intertwined with spatial order.

In sum, without notions of the built environment, as well as the historical chronicles and contemporary ethnohistories and ethnographies, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* would be condemned to exist merely as an open space defined by the buildings that bordered that surface. By examining these histories, or ways of knowing the past, and further contextualising them within broader cultural experiences of space, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may be seen to have manifested Inka spatial order and meaning. The understanding of this architecture by the people who built and used it had to extend beyond form and function. Therefore, this thesis presents a plausible explanation for how it may have been experienced. This reconstruction undermines contemporary acceptance of the *Qorikancha*, or Temple of the Sun, as the most important structure in Inka *Qosqo*.

While there is no need to abandon the notion of centrality connected with the *Qorikancha* and the *zeque* system, we must expand it to include that associated with the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*. As previously stated, the *Qorikancha* may have served as the centre of *Hanay Pacha*, whereas the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* likely acted as the centre of

Kay Pacha. The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may be seen to have embodied Quechua notions of *ayni* (reciprocity) and *chawpi* (the mediating centre) in a farther reaching and less restrictive manner than did the *Qorikancha*, although the two were likely connected in ways we are still unable to appreciate.

ENDNOTES

Chapter III - Inka Space

1.Urton (1990) provides a thoughtful and comprehensive discussion of the political and social contexts of production involved in the recording of the Inka origin myth by Spanish chroniclers in the colonial period that is beyond the scope of this thesis. Of particular interest is how *Pacariqtambo* came to be identified in the chronicles.

2. Sarmiento's and Betanzos' versions rank the sexes differently: Sarmiento wrote that the men emerged before the women, whereas Betanzos wrote that the men and women emerged as equal male/female pairs ranked according to other equal male/female pairs. Since Andean peoples use complementary opposites as in important means of classification, it would make sense that the sexes emerged together, going on to function as "wholes". It is also likely that the colonial period Spaniards were less inclined to accept a woman as equal to a man, and Duviols (1979) has questioned whether the Inka monarchy might not be better understood as a diarchy, with the *Inka* ruling the male subjects and the *Qolla* (his wife) ruling the female subjects.

3. One such song makes explicit reference to the singer's mother being the river, the clouds, or the moon and his father being the stone, the wind, or the sun (Escobar 1981:54-55).

4. For the comprehensive treatment of Inka social practices, the reader is referred to the still excellent review by Rowe (1946) and the work of Rostworowski (1988).

5. There is an Inka myth concerning the "Tired Stone," a massive rock which needed to rest during transport, wept tears of blood, forever remained in that spot, and thereafter was worshiped as a *waka*.

Chapter V - Space and Time at the Centre

1. For a more in-depth discussion of the language of the Inka at the time of Spanish invasion and during the colonial period, the reader is referred to Mannheim (1990).

2. Although "patria" derives from "pater," or father, and may be translated as "fatherland," in Spanish "la patria" is a feminine noun and may be literally translated as

"mother-fatherland" or simply as "motherland".

3. The Inka may have built as many as sixteen pillars on the horizon near Qosqo to mark specific sunrises and sunsets, the equinoxes and solstices. While observations must have been made from several places in the city, including from the Qorikancha, at least some were made from the usnu and/or the Sunturwasi in the Haucaypata-Kusipata, including those which would have marked the August planting season (Zuidema 1981; Aveni 1981). The significance of these astronomical observations relied on the use of this information by the Inka rulers. As Bauer and Dearborn (1995:155) point out, "when the Inca co-opted the power of the sun, they took control of time itself". That is, the passage of the seasons was a primary means by which the Inka organised political, religious, and social obligations among the various peoples of the Empire.

4. Due to the inevitable restrictions of producing a Master's thesis, please see Duviols (1976) for a comprehensive interpretation of the spatial, temporal, and social aspects of the capaqocha ritual.

5. Urbano's (1974) article on the space and time of Inka ritual comprehensively addresses the major Inka celebrations through a symbolic interpretation.

Glossary of Quechua Terms
(adapted from Hyslop 1990 and MacCormack 1991)

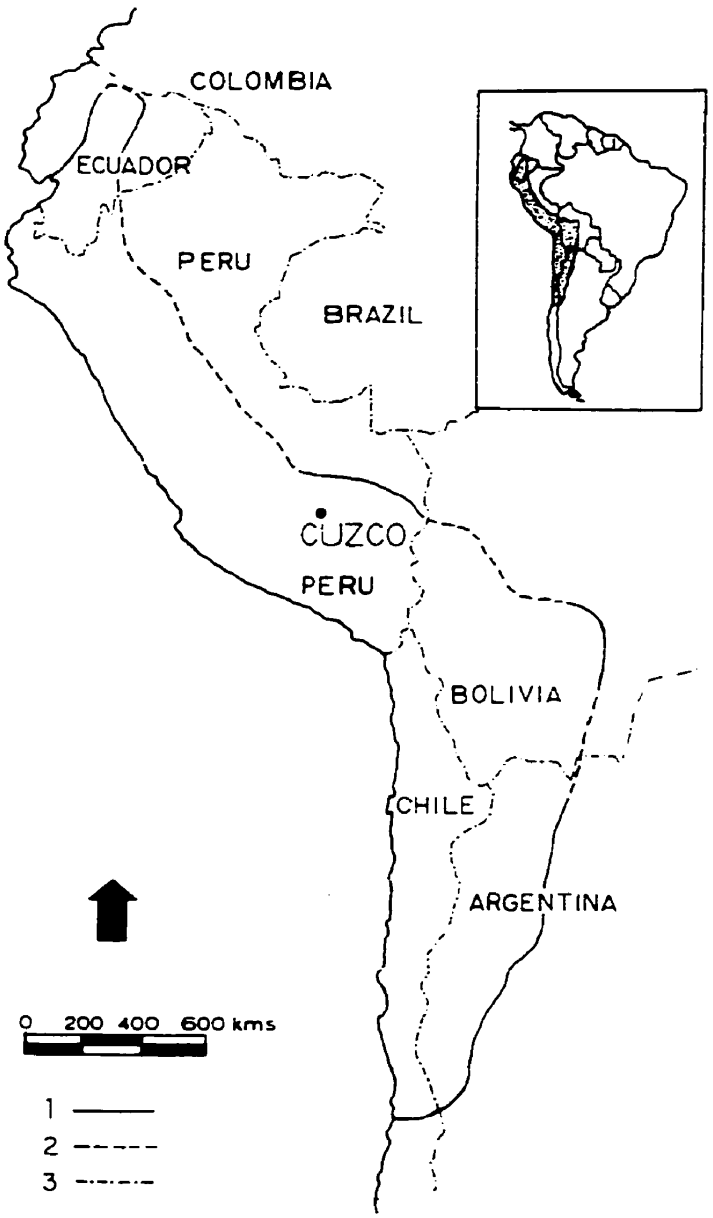
amaru	great subterranean serpent associated with explosions and water
Amarukancha	one of the buildings bordering the *Haucaypata*
Antisuyu	one of the four parts of *Tawantinsuyu* to the east: Amazonian lowlands
apu	sacred landmarks in the Andes
aqlla	woman chosen for the service of the Sun (*Inti*)
Aqllawasi	the "House of the Chosen Women"
ayllu	subdivision of a social unit, based on geneaology, lineage or kinship
ayni	Andean practice of reciprocity
Ayuscay	Inka childbirth celebration
cacique	local (non-Inka) level "lord" or political leader
Capaqocha	solemn obligation or ritual; sacrificial ceremony of the Inka, often involving human sacrifice
ceque	see *zeque*
chawpi	centre; middle
chicha	fermented maize beverage
Chinchaysuyu	one of the four parts of *Tawantinsuyu*, to the north
chullpa	burial tower
Citua	see *Situa*
callao	primordial, non-Inka; lowest ranked of three Inka social divisions
conopa	domestic holy objects, often representative of pastoral and agricultural figures buried as offerings
curaca	see *kuraqa*
hallyi	song of triumph, also sung at harvest
hanan	"Upper," one of the moieties of Inka Qosqo
Hanay Pacha	"Upper World" in Inka cosmology
Hatunkancha	one of the buildings bordering the *Haucaypata*
Haucaypata	northeastern half of the "great plaza" in Qosqo
Huarochico	Inka male rite of passage
Huatanay	see *Watanay*
Illapa	Lightning (deity)
Inti	Sun (deity)
Inti Raimi	"Festival of the Sun," celebrating the June solstice
kallanka	Inka architectural term applied to massive roofed halls opening onto a plaza
kancha	Inka architectural term applied to enclosed complexes
Kay Pacha	"this earth" and "this time" as distinct from the afterlife or world

	of the dead
Kiswarkancha	one of the buildings bordering the *Haucaypata*
Kuntisuyu	one of the four parts of *Tawantinsuyu*, towards the Pacific coast
kuraqa	Andean "lord" or political leader
Kusipata	southwestern half of the "great plaza" in *Qosqo*
K'uychi	Rainbow (deity)
machu	spirit of the dead or ancestors
mallqu	"ancestor," "ancient one"
Mamaqocha	"Mother Sea," the source of all the world's water
Mayu	"River;" the Milky Way
mit'a	rotational labour system of the Inka
mitmaq, mitmaquna	"settlers" moved from one part of the Empire to another
nawpa	temporally: "ancient," "before;" spatially: "in front"
orejón	Spanish term given to Inka nobles, thus named for earlobes enlarged by the earspools worn by noblemen
Pacariqtambo	origin place of the Inka
pacha	space-time, earth (world)
pachakuti	cataclysm, reversal of space-time
Pachamama	"Mother Earth," primary deity
pallqa	the division of one thing into two; temporally reversible
pampa	topographically flat place, sometimes used as a "plaza"
panaqa	royal *ayllu*
paqarina	place of origin
pata	terrace or bench; constructed or leveled area, sometimes used as "plaza"
payan	second, Inka and non-Inka (Inka-by-privilege); middle ranked of three Inka social divisions
pirca	Inka fieldstone masonry technique
Pumac Chupan	"Puma's Tail," point where *Watanay* and *Tullumayo* Rivers meet in Cuzco
puna	Andean high altitude lands
Purucaya	ritual of mourning for the Inka
puquio	spring or source of water
Qasana	one of the buildings originally bordering the *Haucaypata*
qhapaq-nan	Royal roads of the Inka (highland and coastal)
Qhapaq Raymi	"Royal Festival," celebrating the December solstice
Qilla	Moon (deity)
qipa	temporally close, next; spatially behind
qocha	"lake"
qollana	first, Inka; highest ranked of three Inka social divisions
Qollasuyu	one of the four parts of *Tawantinsuyu*, to the south
qollqa	storage facility
Qori Kancha	"golden enclosure," the Temple of the Sun in *Qosqo*

Quechua	language of the Inka and their modern descendants
Quicochico	Inka female rite of passage
quinoa	Andean grain well adapted to very high altitudes
quipu	knotted cords used by the Inka to store numerical and narrative information
raimi	dance, festival
Rayu	Lightning (deity)
runasimi	"Language of the people," Quechua
Rutuchico	Inka naming ceremony when children receive first haircut
sami	"energy"
Situa	ritual cleansing of *Qosqo* and *Tawantinsuyu*
sonco	heart and entrails, the seat of reason and memory in the human body
sucanca	horizon observation pillars
Sunturwasi	round tower originally located in the *Haucaypata*
Tawantinsuyu	"Empire of the Four Quarters," the realm of the Inka
taypi	Aymara word for middle or centre, analogous to Quechua *chawpi*
tinkuy	the convergence of two parts into one, temporally irreversible; ritual battle
tirakuna	Places; the living landscape
Titicaca	largest lake in the Andes and the origin place of all humans
Ukhu Pacha	the world inside the Earth; Inka cosmological afterworld
uma	Aymara word for lowlands, liquidity and hollowness (feminine)
urco	Aymara word for highlands, battles (male)
Urin	"Lower," one of the moieties of Inka *Qosqo*
usnu	place for sacrificial offerings, Inka throne structure
Wanakauri	*waka*, or sacred place in *Qosqo* landscape believed to contain the spirit of one of the first Inka ancestors
waka	Andean object or place of veneration; sacred
wayno	contemporary Quechua songs, often sad or romantic in content
Wayra	Wind (deity)
Wiraqocha	Inka Creator deity (masculine)
zeque	in Inka Qosqo, sight line marked with shrines, going from the *Qorikancha* to points on or beyond the horizon

FIGURE 1

Tawantinsuyu - the Empire of the Inka.



1.1. Tawantinsuyu, the Inka Empire. Its capital was Cuzco, a city now in southern Peru. At its greatest extent, Tawantinsuyu controlled the region from the Colombian-Ecuadorian border to a point south of Santiago, Chile. The eastern boundary of the Inka Empire in Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia has not yet been precisely defined. It bordered on, and occasionally extended into, the Amazonian lowlands. The Andes were the backbone of Inka territory. The desert strip along the Pacific coast from the southern Ecuadorian border to north-central Chile is punctuated with irrigated river valleys. Inka settlements in northwest Argentina are located along irrigated valleys in arid territory to the east of the high Andes. Key: 1. *Inka border, relatively accurate;* 2. *poorly defined Inka border;* 3. *modern international boundary between republics.*

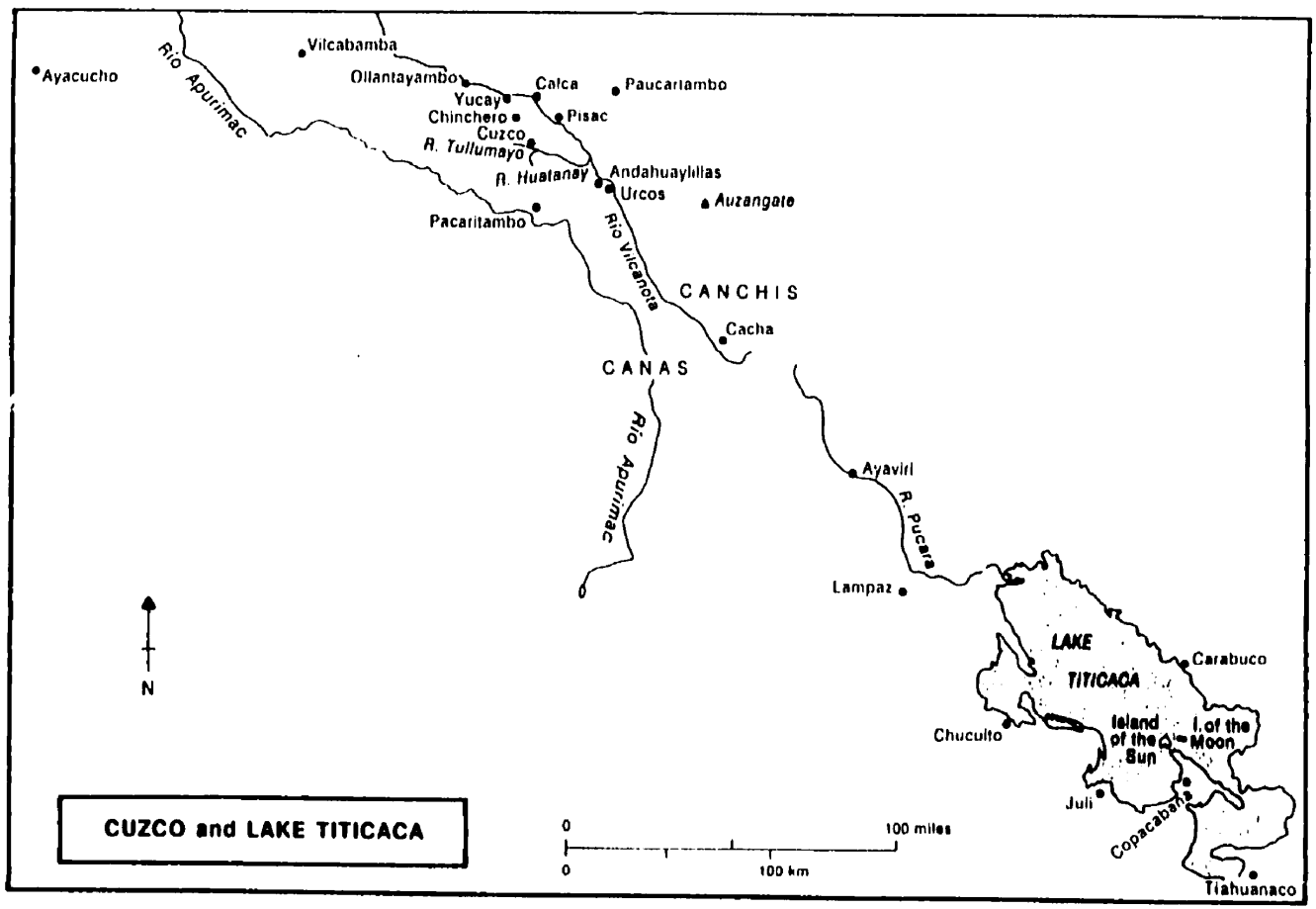


FIGURE 2

Map of Cuzco and Titicaca Region.

Idolos de los Ingas / Intiuanacauri, Tambotoco / Uanacauri / Tambotoco / Pacari-tambo / en el Cuzco.

FIGURE 3

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka idols, including the three caves of *Pacariqtambo*, the origin place of the Inka.

De Ingas. Mango Capac Inga / este Inga reino solo el Cuzco Acamama [nombre antiguo del Cuzco] / quitasol.

FIGURE 4

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of *Manqo Qhapaq*, the first ruler of the Inka.

La primera historia de las reinas Coya Mama Huaco Coya / reinó en el Cuzco.

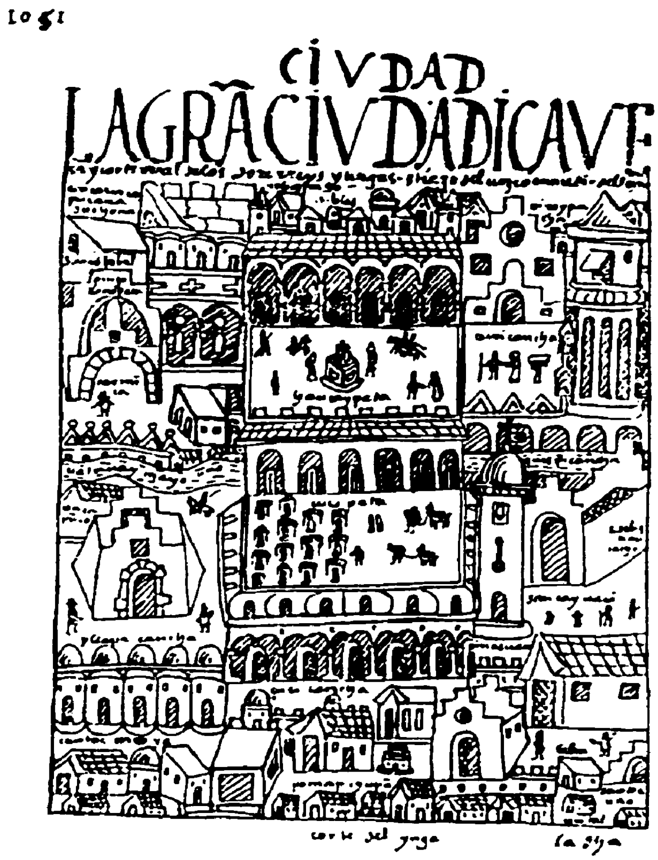
FIGURE 5

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of *Mama Oqllu*, wife of *Manqo Qhapaq* and co-ruler.

El noveno Inga Pachacuti Inga Yupanqui / reino hasta Chile y de toda su cordillera.

FIGURE 6

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of *Pachakuti Inka Yupanqui*, to whom the rebuilding of *Qosqo* is attributed.



Ciudad / la Gran Ciudad cabeza y corte real de los doce reyes ingas. Santiago del Cuzco, en medio del reino y obispado / Sincasurco pucara suchuna / San Blas / Uiompaccha / San Cristóbal / Pingollonapata / Curicancha / Carminca / Huacaypata / Cusipata / Quispicancha / Catanas mayo uno / Uacapunco / San Sebastian cachi / Sancasuasi / Illapacancha / Cusicancha / Pinasuasi / Cantocmoya / Belen / Pomapchupan / Cantoc uno / capital / corte del Inga.

FIGURE 7

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Cuzco.

The *Haucaypata-Kusipata* is named and placed in the centre, although colonial Spanish construction had divided the area into two separate plazas by that point.

15 Plan of Inca Cuzco. 1. Kiswarkancha 2. Cuyusmanco 3. Coracora 4. Cassana 5. Amarukancha 6. Aqllawasi 7. Pucamarka 8. Qorikancha 9. Harunkancha 10. Yacha Wasi.

16 Cuzco. Aerial view of the city. The zone delimited by the Huatanay and Tullumayo rivers is clearly visible.

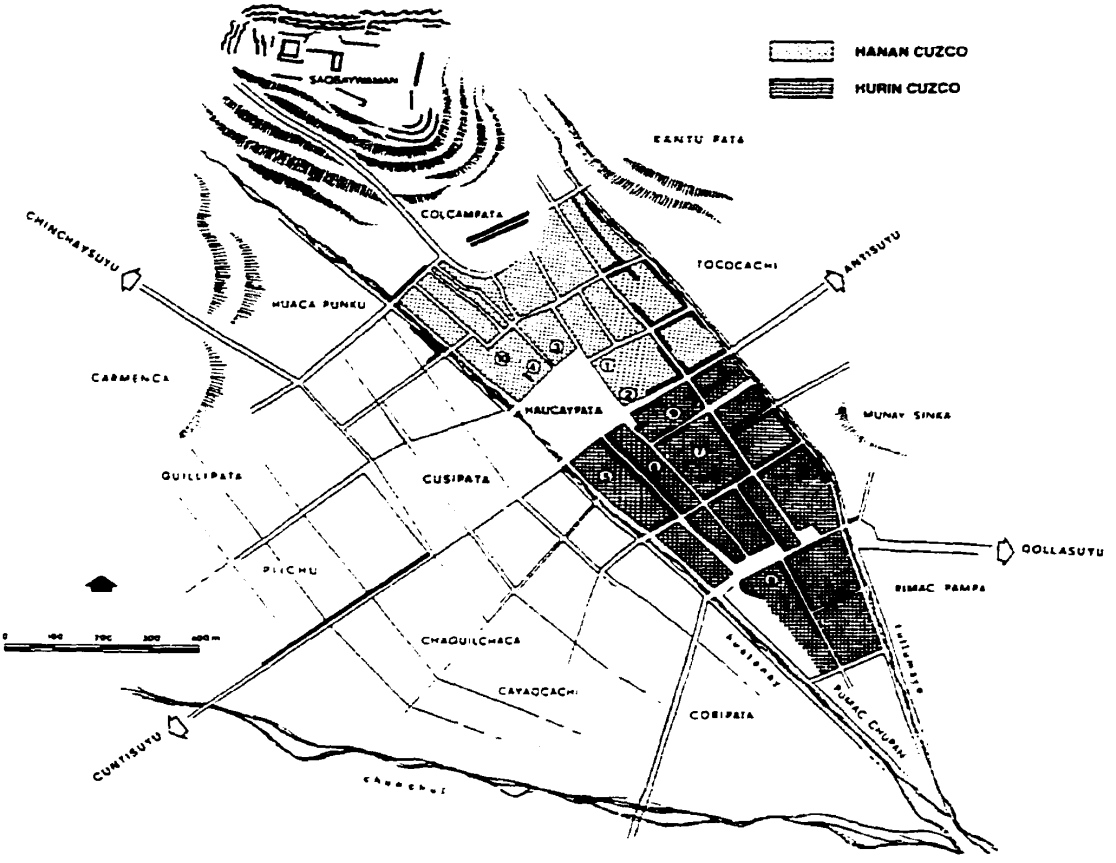


FIGURE 8

Map of Inka *Qosqo*, including the *Hanan* and *Urin* divisions and the centrally located *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

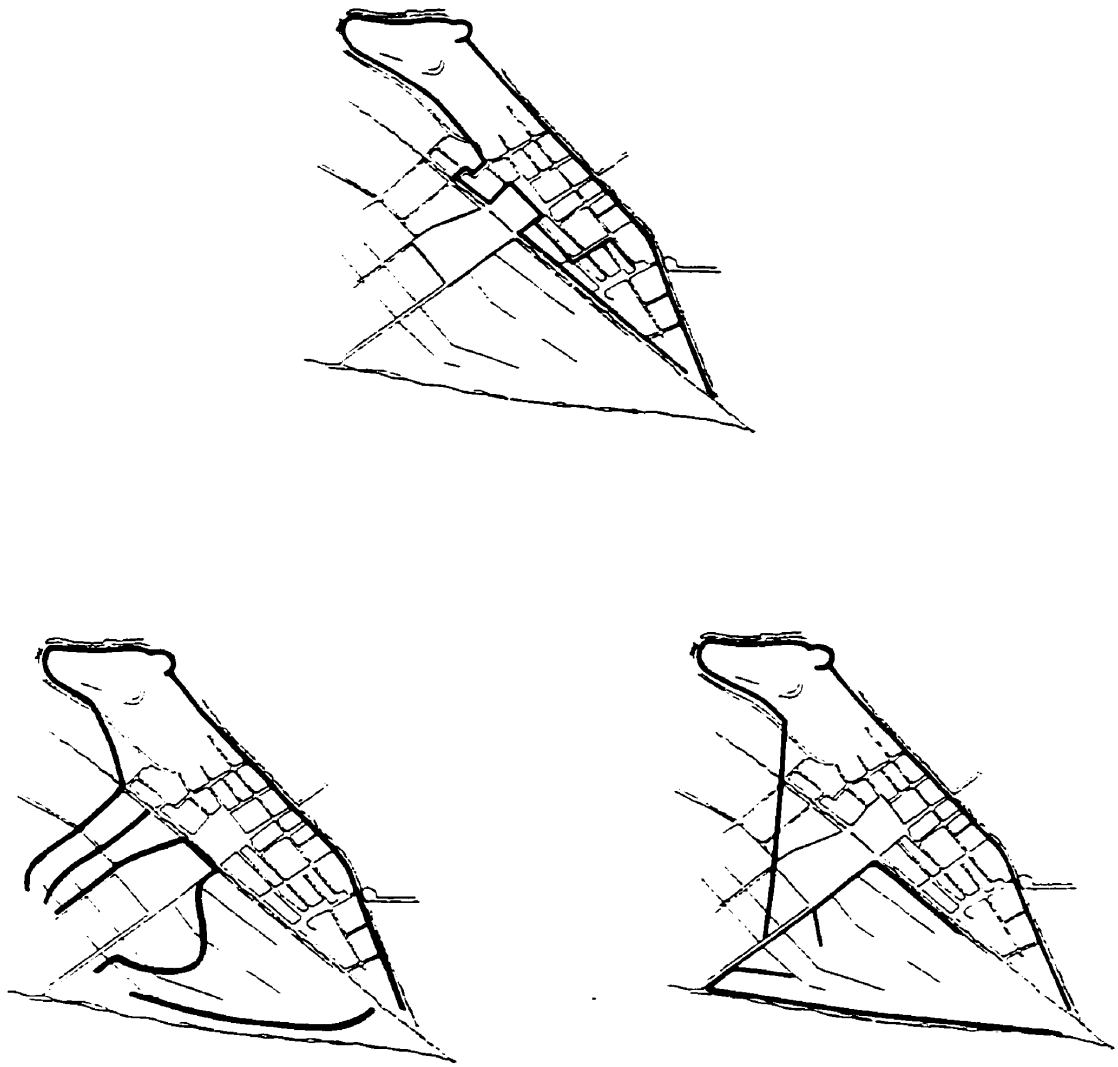


FIGURE 9

Possible "puma" shapes applied to Inka *Qosqo*.

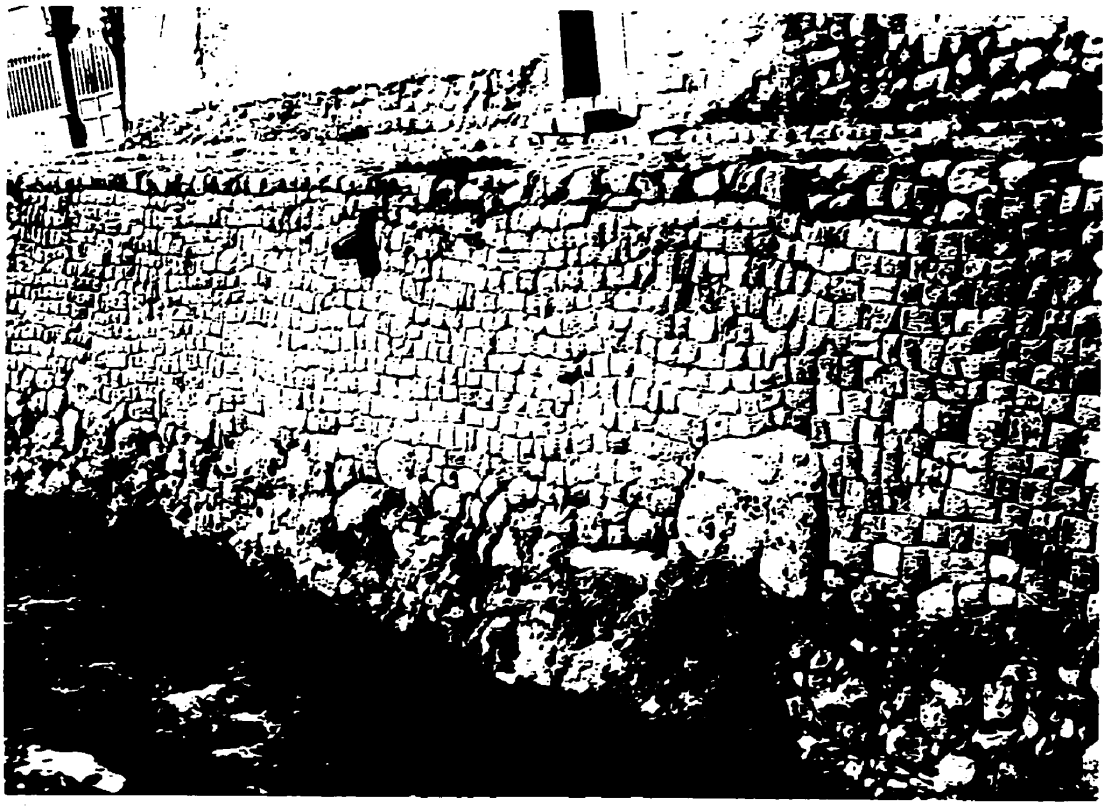
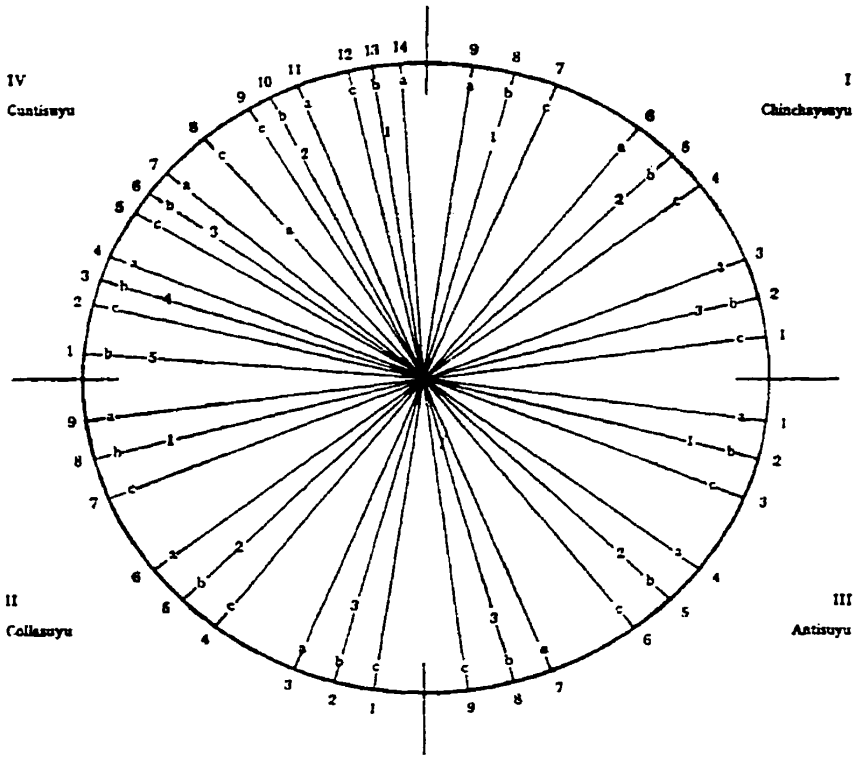


FIGURE 10

1934 photograph of the Watanay River at Saphi Street in the centre of Cuzco. Today the entire course of the river through the city is covered.



The ceque system

FIGURE 11

The *Zeque* System radiating out from the *Qorikancha*, quadri-partitioned according to the four *suyus* of the Empire.

Cuzco. Relationship between the cardinal points and the departure of the four highways toward the four *suyu*.

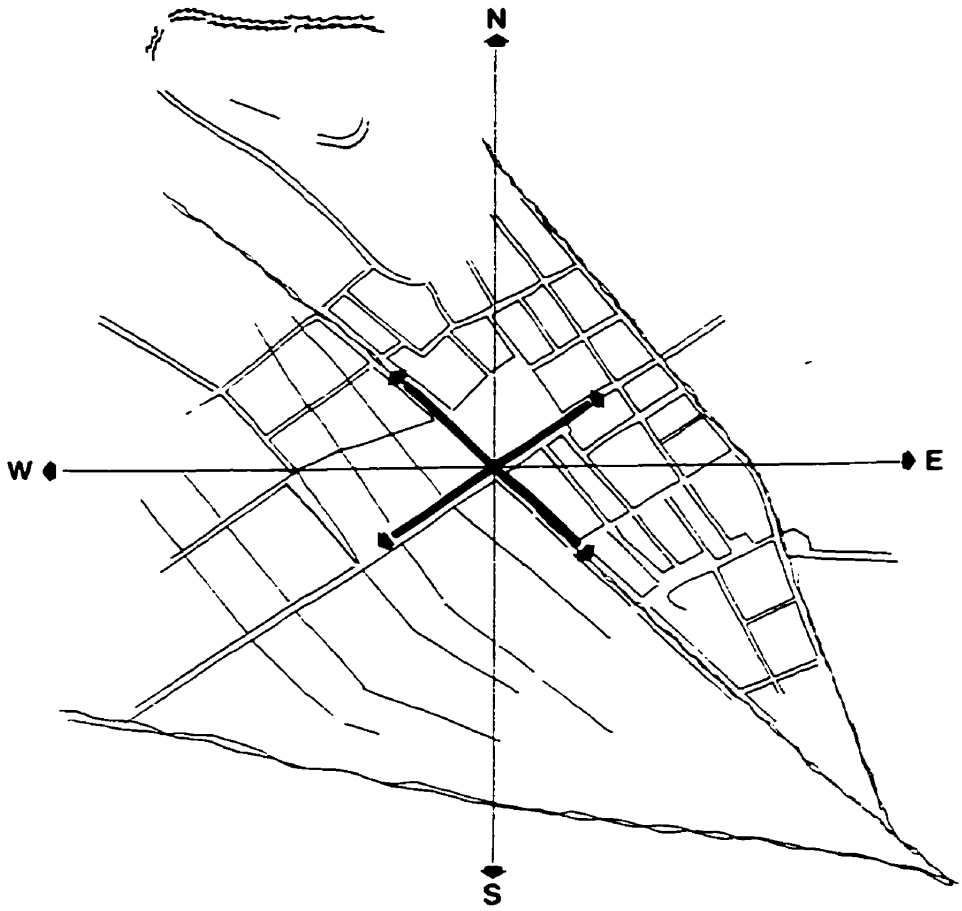
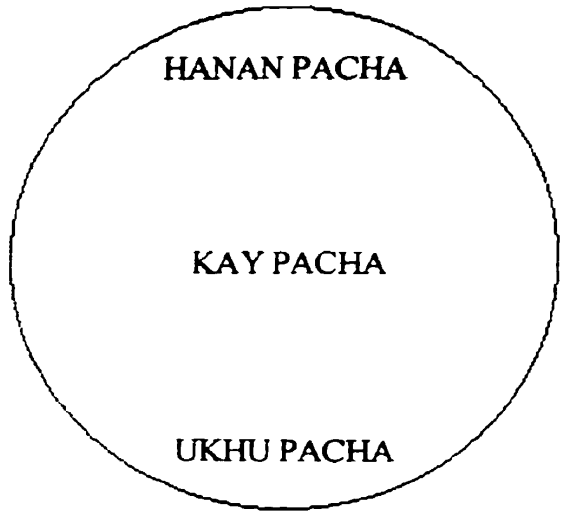


FIGURE 12

The roads to the four *suyu* of the Empire form an X in relation to the cardinal directions.

FIGURE 13

The three worlds and ages of the Inka.



upper; above

middle; here

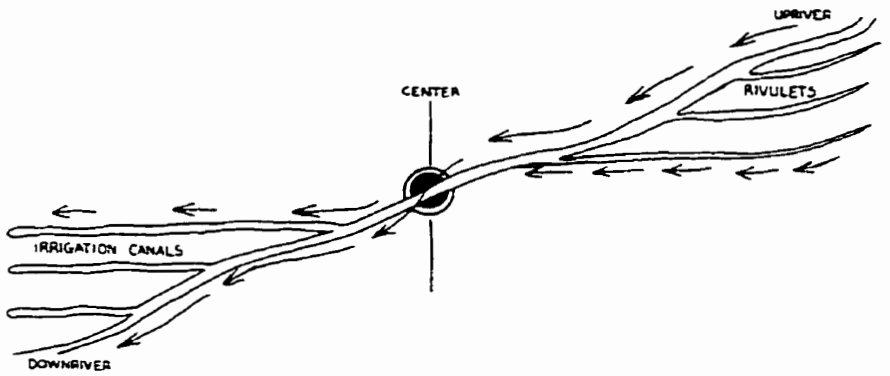
lower; below

The three worlds (above) and three ages (below) in Quechua thought exist simultaneously, mediated through the centre of the here and now.

before; in front

now; here

after; behind

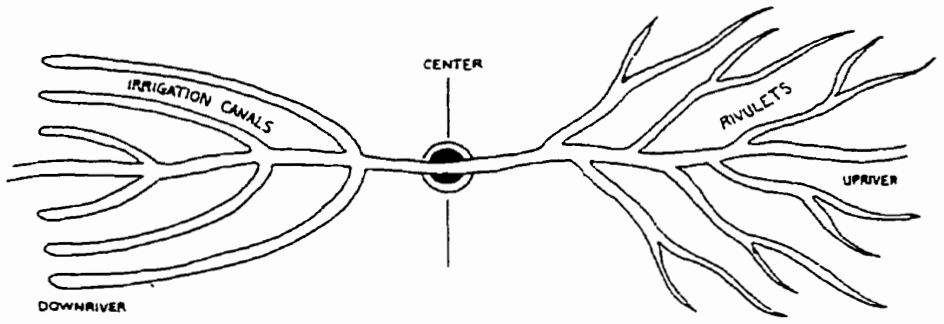


Side View of River/*Acequia* System

FIGURES 14 & 15

Side and top views of a typical

Andean river system.



Top View of River/*Acequia* System

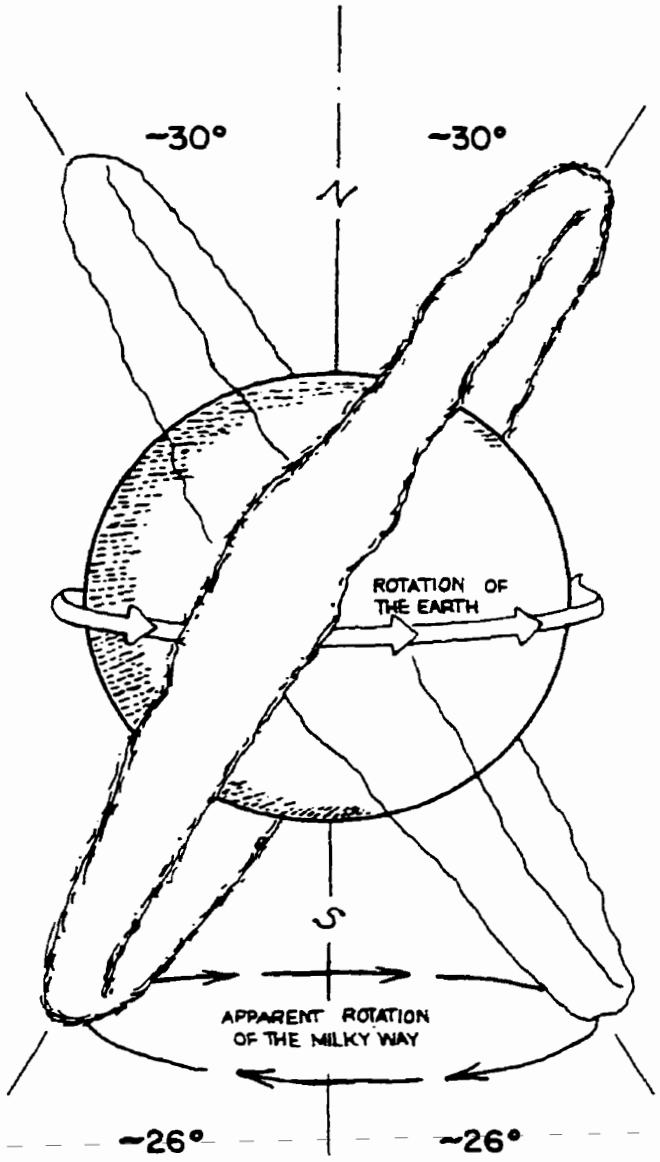


FIGURE 16

The alternating axes of the Milky Way from a fixed point on earth.

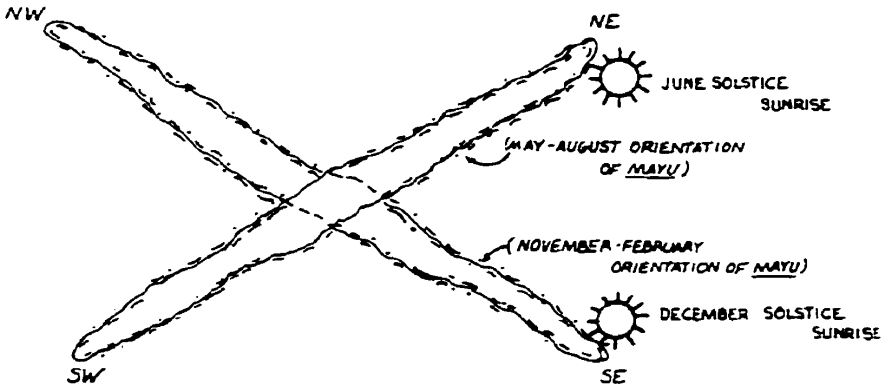


FIGURE 17

The solstices and the seasonal axes of the Milky Way.

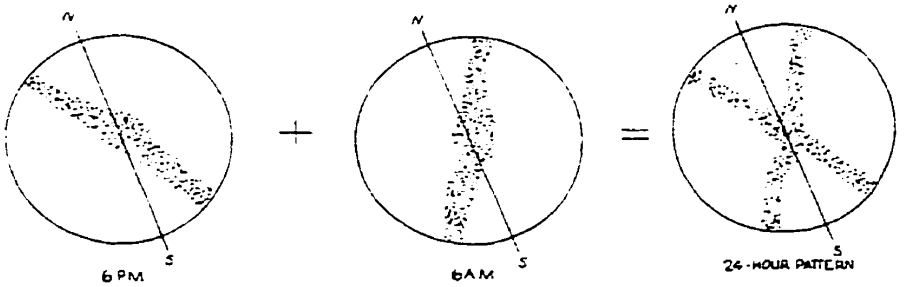


FIGURE 18

12-hour and 24-hour orientations of the Milky Way in the zenith.

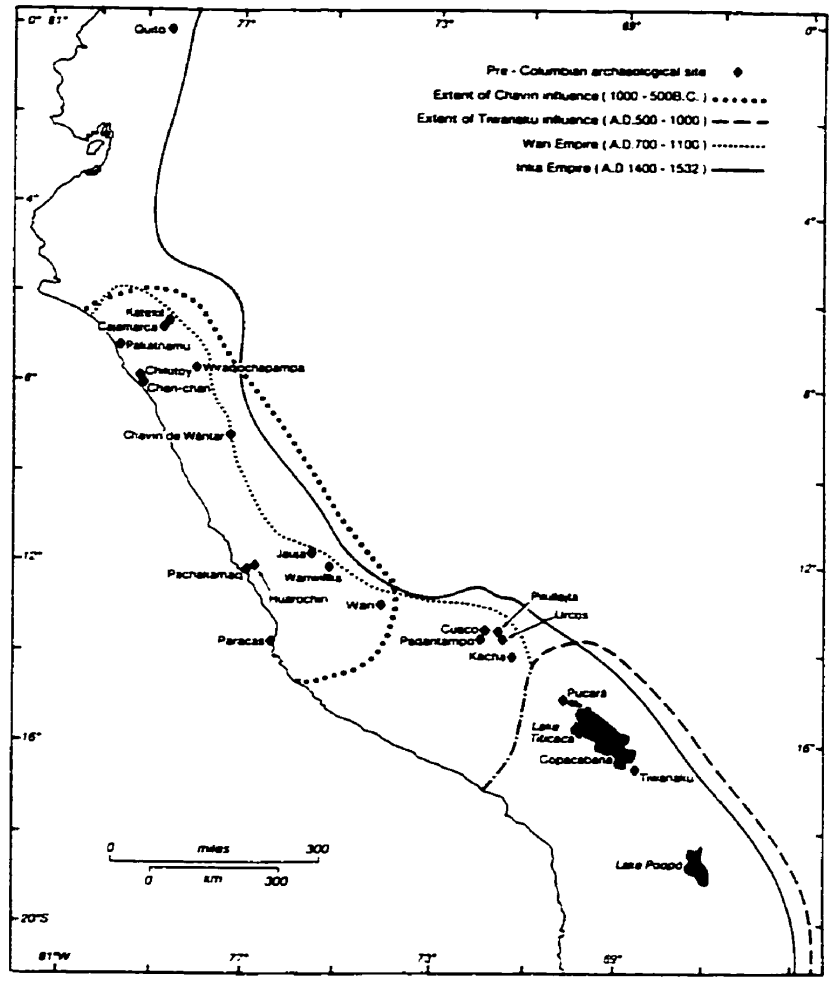


FIGURE 19

Spatial and temporal map of Chavin, Wari and Inka cultures.

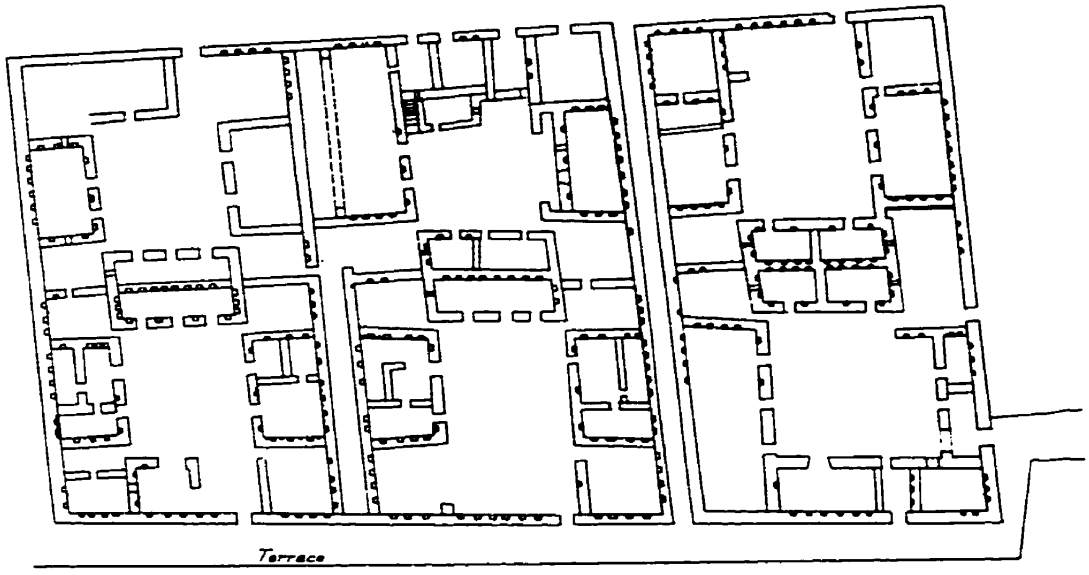


FIGURE 20

Plan of a *kancha* enclosure at Ollantaytambo.

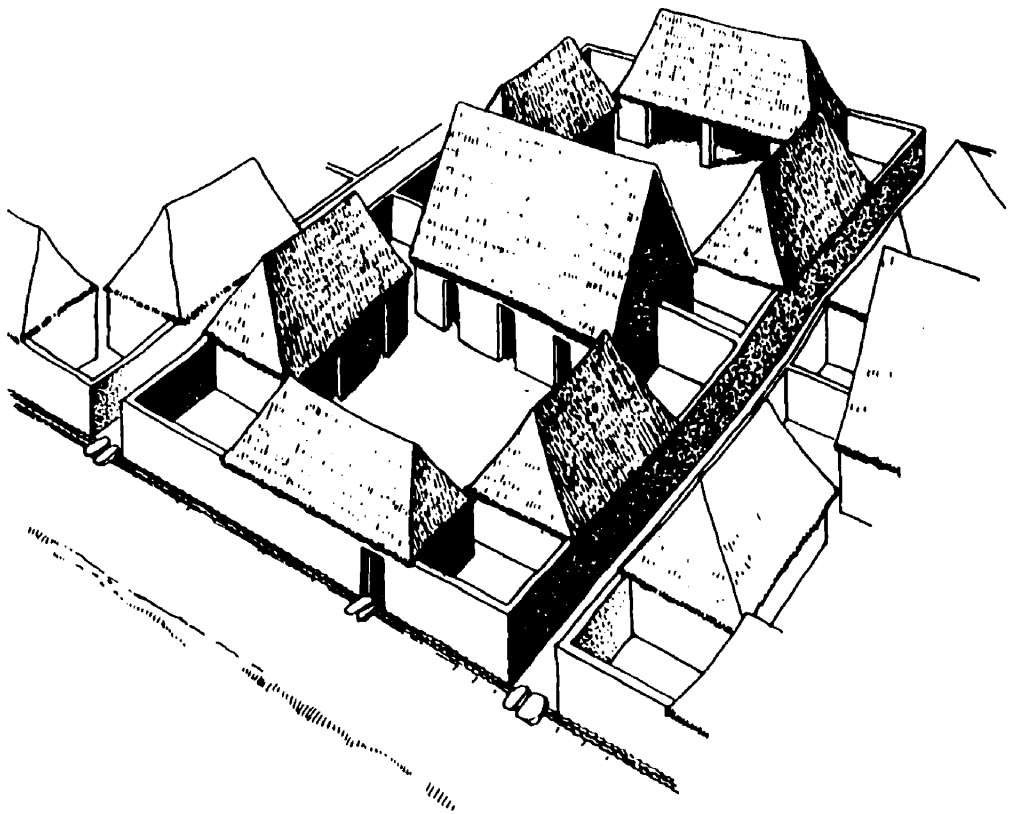


FIGURE 21

Hypothetical reconstruction of a double *kancha* enclosure at Ollantaytambo.

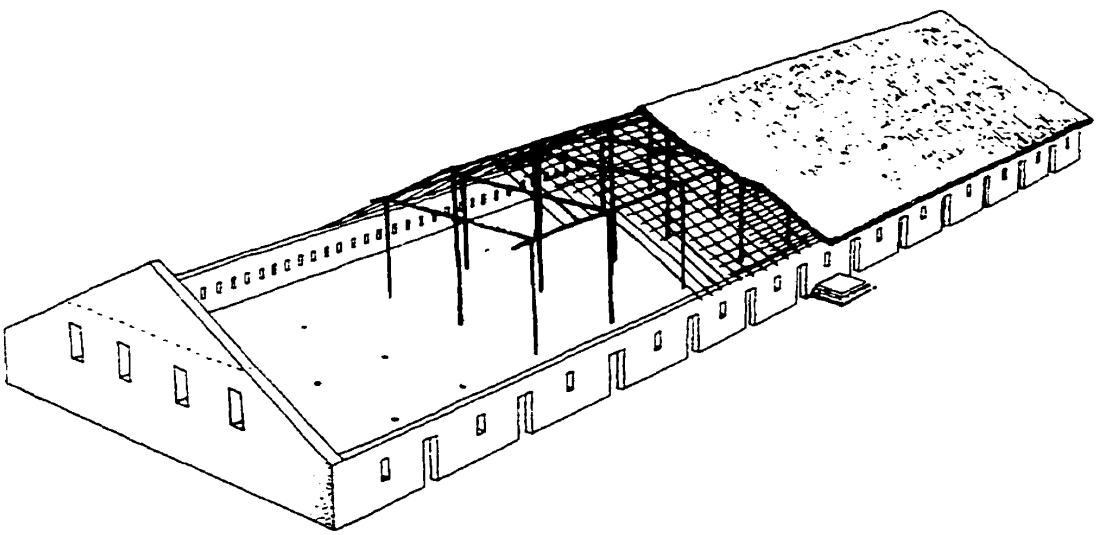


FIGURE 22

Hypothetical reconstruction of a *kallanka* at Inkallaqta.

Gobernador de los caminos reales / Capac-ñan Tocricoc Anta Inga / Chacllococha-ñan / Vilcasguaman / Capacñan [camino real] / veedor de los caminos.

FIGURE 23

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the Inka road system, or *Qhapaq Ñan*.

Gobernador de los puentes de este reino / Chasnoyoc acos inga / guambochaca / veedor de puentes.

FIGURE 24

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka suspension bridges.

43. Cuzco. Possible dimensions of the plazas of 1. Haucaypata and 2.Cusipata *Inca period: a.* Cuyusmanco *b.* Kiswarkancha *c.* Coracora *d.* Cassana *e.* Yacha Wasi *f.* Amarukancha *g.* Aqllawasi *h.* Harunkancha *i.* Pucamarka. *Colonial period: A.* Cathedral *B.* Triunfo *C.* Sagrada Familia *D.* La Compañía *E.* La Merced *F.* San Francisco *G.* House of Garcilaso

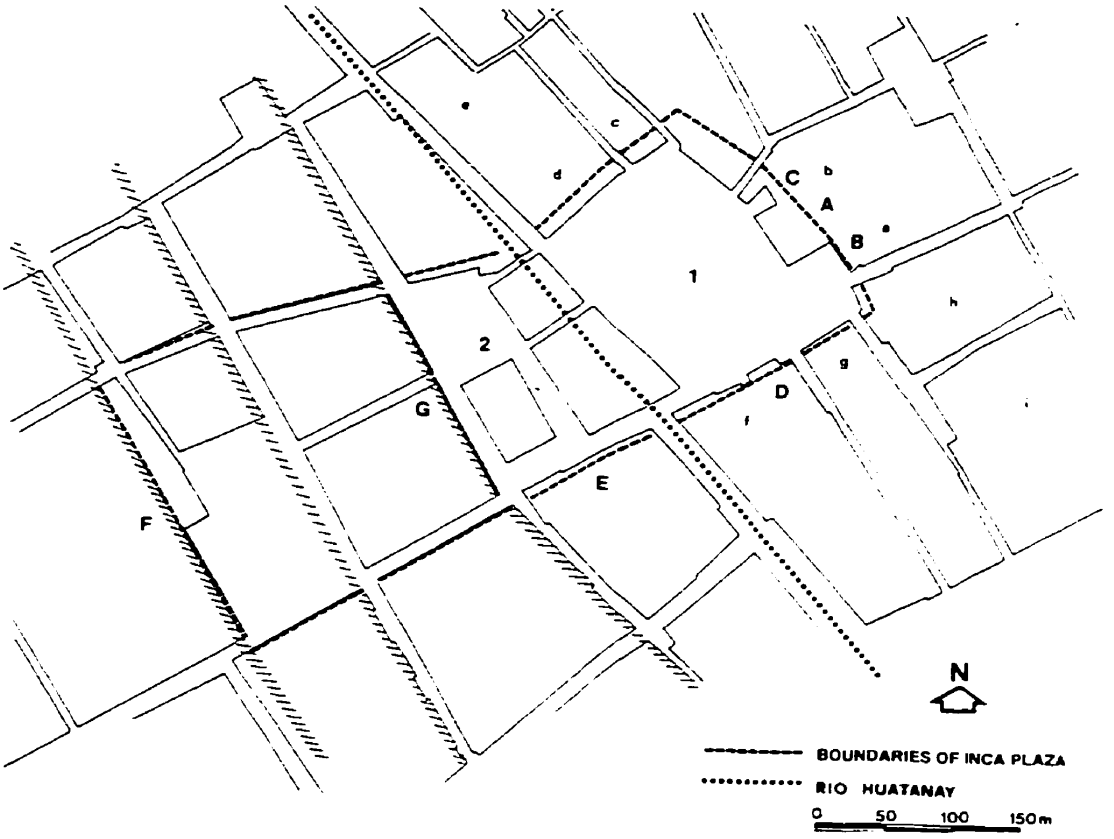


FIGURE 26

Possible dimensions of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

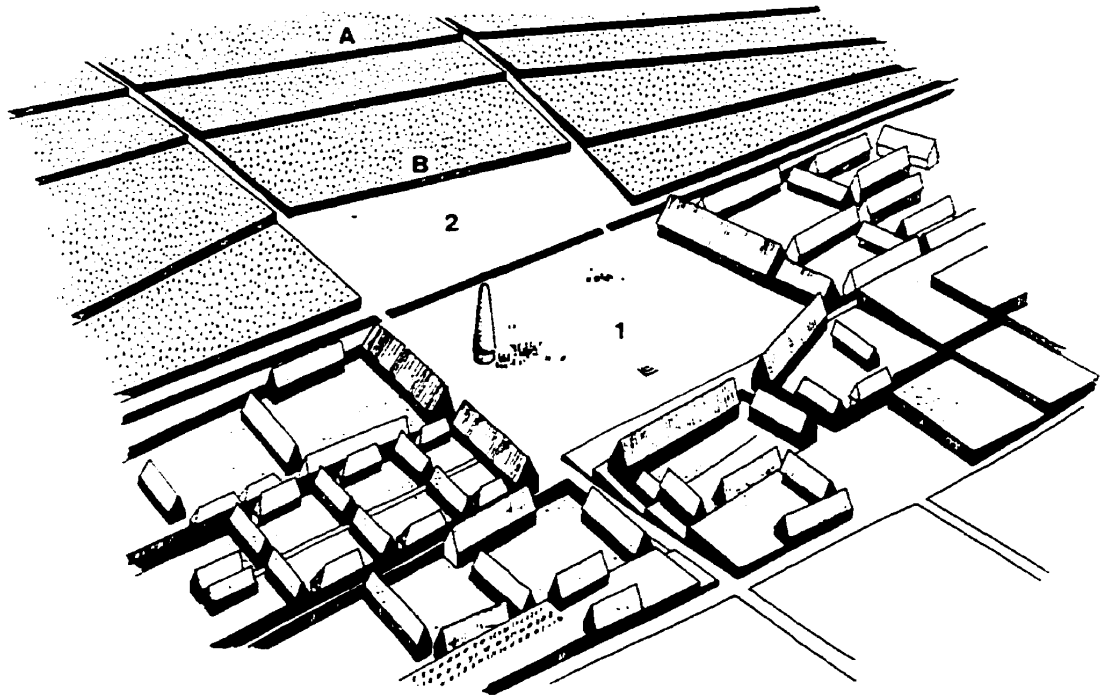
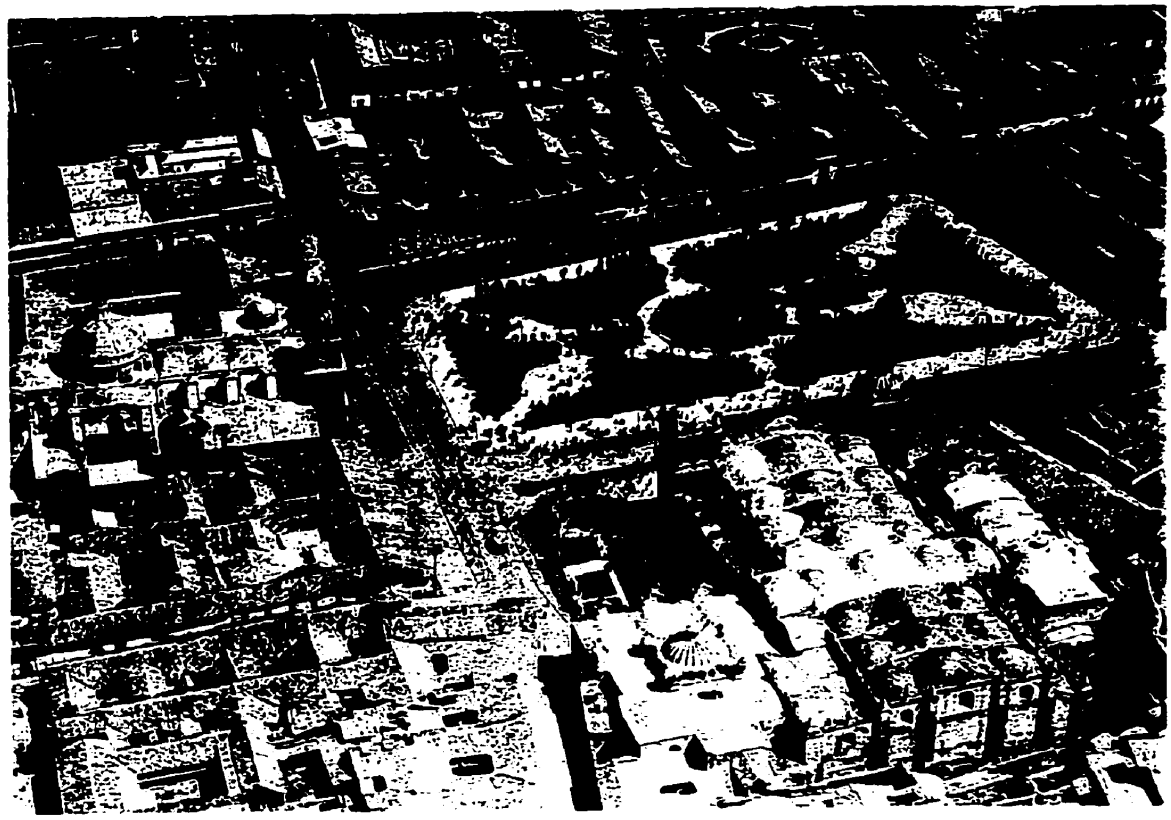


FIGURE 27

Hypothetical reconstruction of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.



2.4. The Plaza de Armas of modern Cuzco, once the Inka plaza Haukaypata. Adjoining it was the Kusipata Plaza, now partly covered over with buildings. It extended to, and possibly beyond, the small plaza in the background (top right). Courtesy Department of Library Services, AMNH, Neg. no. 334760 (photo by Shippee Johnson).

FIGURE 28

The Plaza de Armas in present-day Cuzco.

Capitulo de los Idolos / Uacabilca Incap / uanacampi / uaca / Tupaynga / uacapilcacona pimcamcuna manta amapiarachun cazachun runtuchun ninquitimarichaylla manam nocacunaca ynga [Dioses uacas, que por ustedes no llueva, no hiele, no granice, han dicho ahora, no, ninguno de nosotros inca] / con todas las huacas habla el Inga.

FIGURE 29

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka *wakas*, including animate stones which acted as oracles.

Contador mayor y tesorero / Tauantinsuyu quipoc / Curaca Condor Chaua / contador y tesorero.

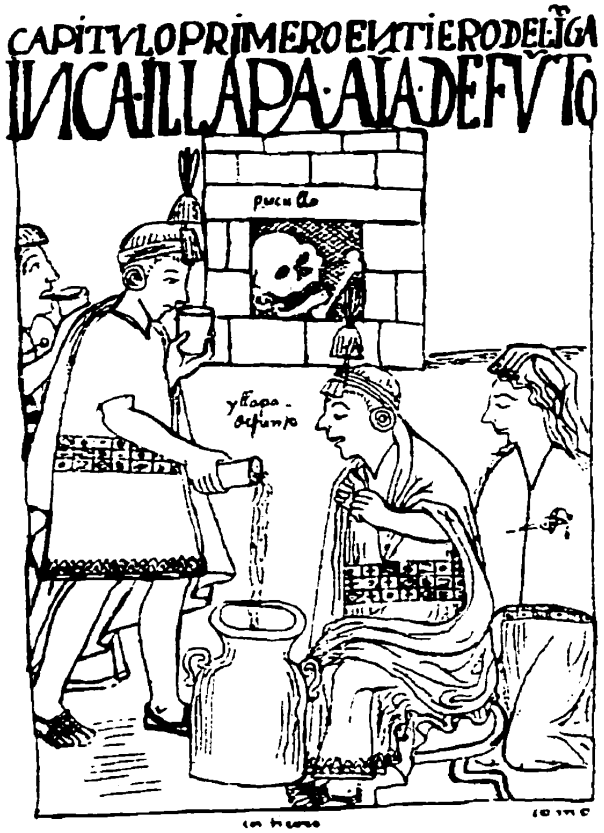
FIGURE 30

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka *khipu*,
or numerical and narrative systems of knotted strings.

Conquista / Manco Inga pega fuego al Cuyusmango / a la Santa Cruz y hizo milagro de Dios y no se quemo / en el Cuzco.

FIGURE 31

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of *Manqo Inka* setting fire to the buildings surrounding the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* in an attempt to regain *Qosqo* from the Spanish invaders in 1535.



Capitulo primero, entierro del Inga / Inga Illapa Aya difunto / puculio [casita, tumba] Illapa [rayo] / difunto.

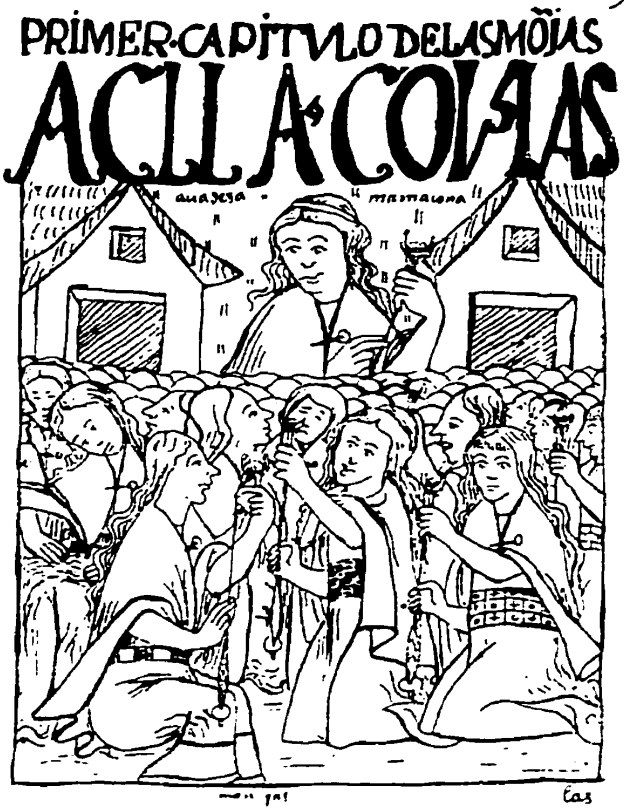
FIGURE 32

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka burials and ancestor worship.

Palacios reales / Incap uasi Cuyusmaco [casa del Inga . Cuyusmaco] / Chutaconi uasi [deposito] / carpa uasi [casa de tres paredes] . quenco uasi [casa de escondrijos, ¿laberinto?] / suntur uasi [casa redonda] / casas del Inga.

FIGURE 33

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of Inka palaces surrounding the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*, including the *Sunturwasi* (round tower) in the foreground.



Primer capitulo de las monjas / Aclla Conas / abadesa, mamacona / monjas yuyas carmi [esta recordando].

FIGURE 34

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the *Aqllakuna*,
or Chosen Women of the Sun, who resided in the *Aqllawasi*.

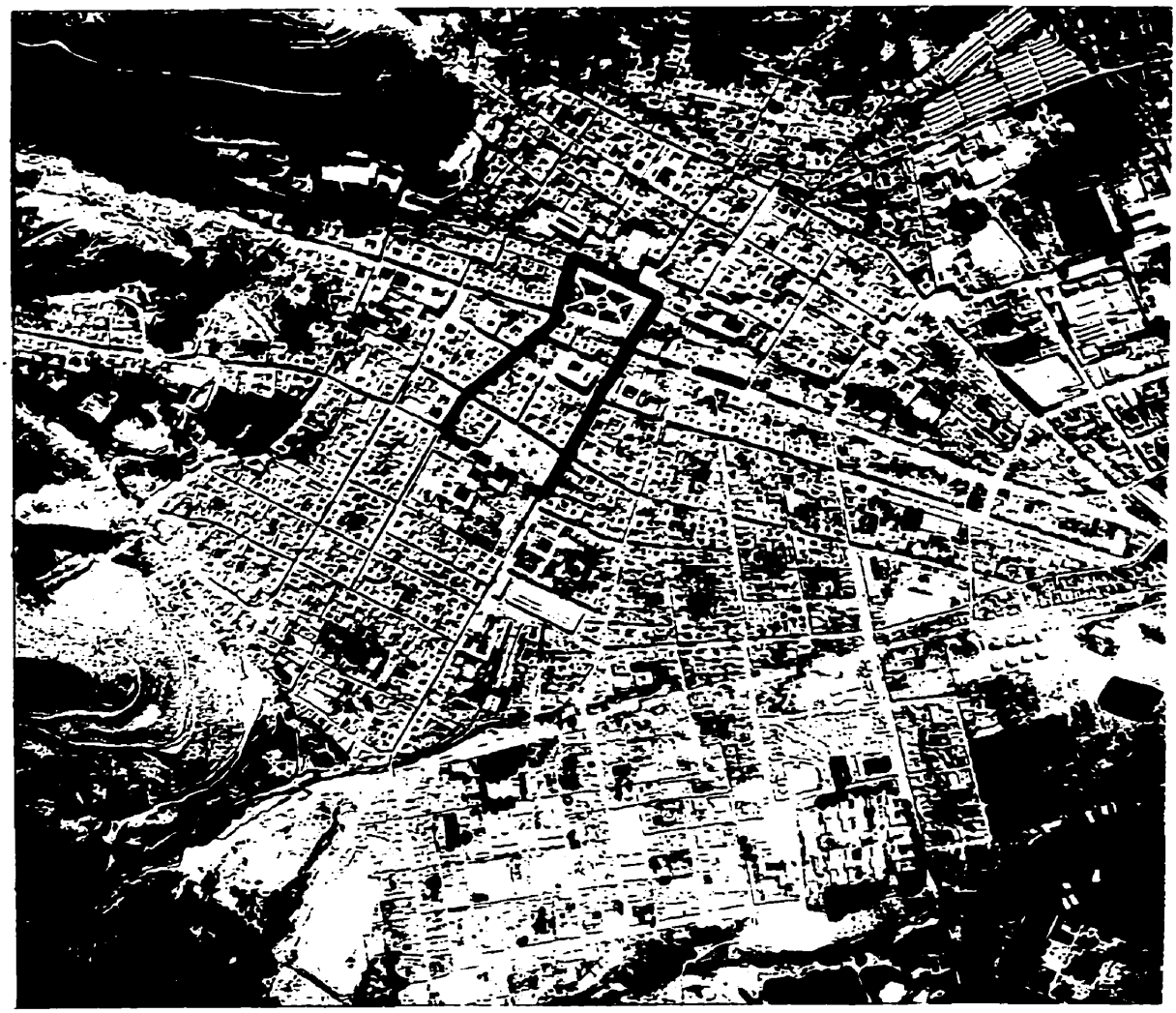


FIGURE 35

Aerial photograph of present-day Cuzco. The possible boundaries of the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* are drawn in black, and the actual Plaza de Arms is clearly visible.

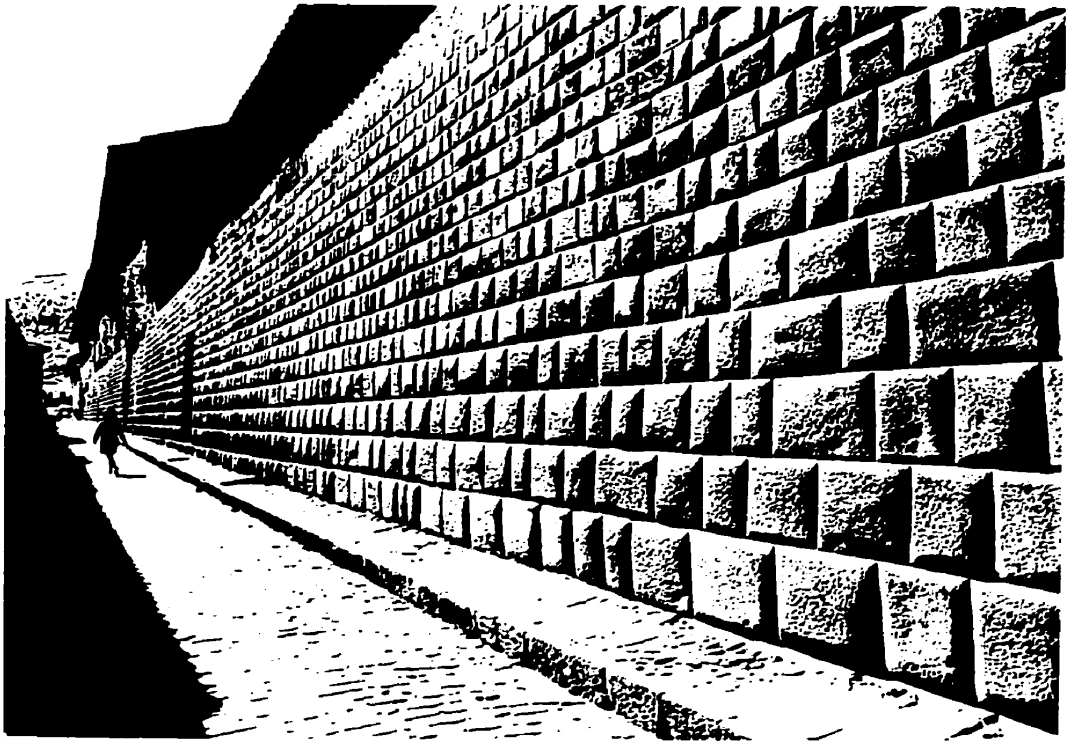


FIGURE 36

Present-day Inka remains belonging to the *Aqllawasi* compound, once accessible from the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.

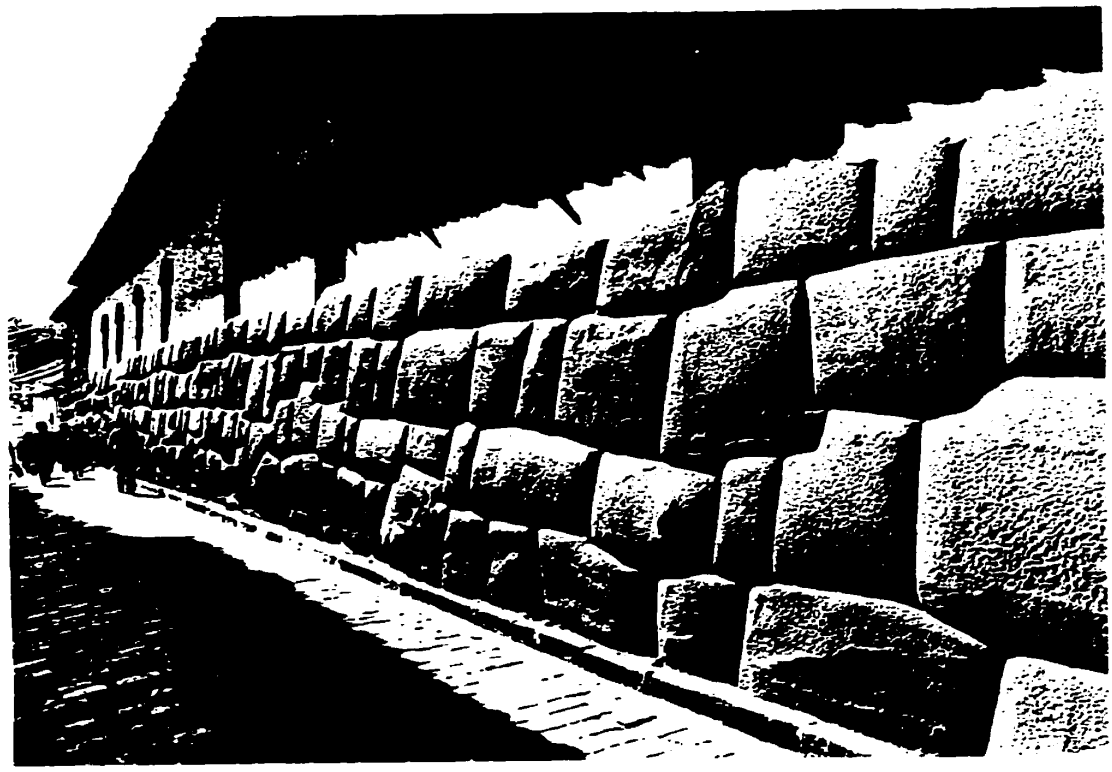


FIGURE 37

Present-day architecture on the street of Hatunrumiyoq in Cuzco.

Note the Inka foundations and Spanish-style additions.

FIGURE 38

Present-day remains of Inka underground canals and bridges in Cuzco. In Inka times something similar may have covered the *Watanay* River where it crossed between the *Haucaypata* and *Kusipata*.

Andas del Inga / Quispi ranpa [andas de piedras preciosas] / Tona Inga Yupanqui / Mama Ocllo Coya / llevan al inga los yndios Callauaya, despacio, a pascarse / pascase el inga.

FIGURE 39

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of a royal litter and procession.

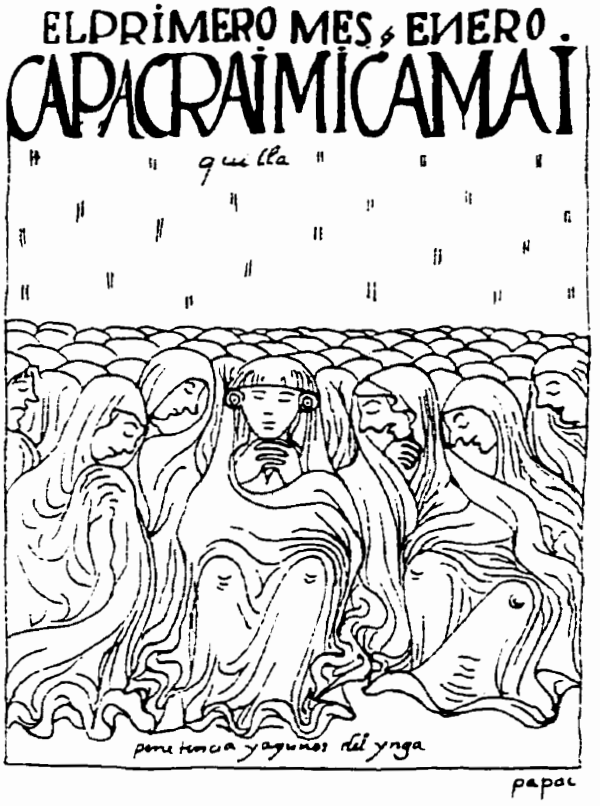
Perhaps Inka rulers entered and left the

Haucaypata-Kusipata in this way.

Andas del Inga / Pillco ranpa [andas rojas] / Guayna Cápac Inga va a la conquista de los Cavambis, Guancavilca, Cañari, Cicche, Chachapoya, Quito, Lataconga / llevan los indios Andamarcas y Soras, Lucanas, Parinacochas, a la guerra y batalla de priesa lo llevan / batalla del inga.

FIGURE 40

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of *Wayna Qhapaq* leaving for battle. Perhaps soldiers carried the Inka in this way after rituals at the *usnu* stone in the *Haucaypata-Kusipata*.



El primer mes enero / Capacraimi Camai Quilla / penitencia y ayunos del Inga.

FIGURE 41

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the *Qhapaq Raymi* festival in the first month of the Inka calendar.

El segundo mes, febrero / Paucar Uaras Quilla / sacrificio con oro y plata, y lo recibe, y molio y uiui, sacrificio con oro y plata, abundancia
[Uaras=pantalon de bayeta=epoca de tejer o preparar?]
[mullu=concha rodada de caracol marino, uiui=yerba (yuyo?)]

FIGURE 42

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of sacrifices of gold and silver during the second month.

El tercero mes, marzo / Pachapucuy Quilla / sacrifica con este carnero negro [Pachapucuy=tierra o epoca de vientos].

FIGURE 43

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the sacrifice of a black llama during the third month.

Abril / Camai Incap[r]aimi / fiesta del Inga.

FIGURE 44

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festival of the Inka, *Camay Inka Raymi*, during the fourth month.

Mayo / Hatuncusqui Aymoray Quilla / llevan al depósito las comidas.

FIGURE 45

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of taking food to storage places during the fifth month.

Junio / Haucaicusqui / bebe con el sol en la fiesta del sol.

FIGURE 46

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the celebration of the June solstice, when the Inka drinks with *Inti*, the Sun.

Julio / Chacraricuichac / Racunacui Chauauarqum Quilla / Uallaurza, pontifice / sacrificio.

FIGURE 47

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the sacrifices made during the seventh month.

Agosto / Chacrayapuy Quilla / tiempo de labranza Hayllirmi inga.

FIGURE 48

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivities associated with the planting season in the eighth month.

Setiembre / Coya Raimi Quilla / la fiesta solemne de la Coya, la reina.

FIGURE 49

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the *Coya Raymi* festival, dedicated to the *Coya*, or Queen, during the ninth month.

Noviembre / Ayarmaicai Quilla / la fiesta de los difuntos.

FIGURE 51

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festival of the dead during the eleventh month.

Diciembre / Capac Inti Raimi / la gran pascua solemne del sol.

FIGURE 52

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the *Qhapaq Raymi* festival.

a solemn celebration of the Sun in the twelfth month.

Fiesta de los Chinchaysuyos / Uauco Taqui uacon / guanoc pampa / Paucar pampa [toponimos] / fiesta.

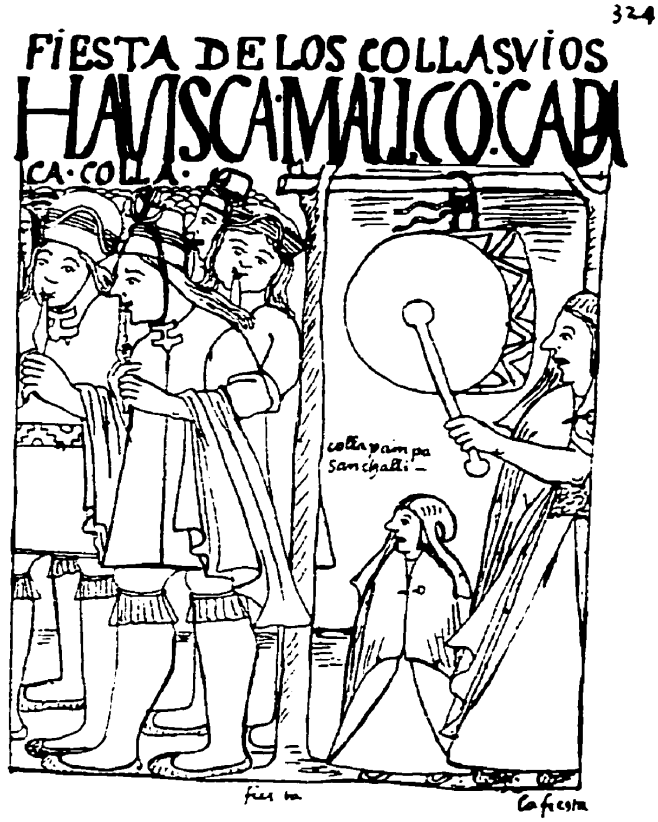
FIGURE 53

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivities of those from *Chinchaysuyu*.

Fiesta de los Andesuyos / Caia Caia uarmi auca [Aqui esta la mujer de Auca. Amazonia] / Curipata Anti [Andes de Curipata].

FIGURE 54

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivities of those from *Antisuyu*.



Fiesta de los Collasuyus / Hausca Mallco Capaca Colla / Collapampa / Sanchalli, fiesta.

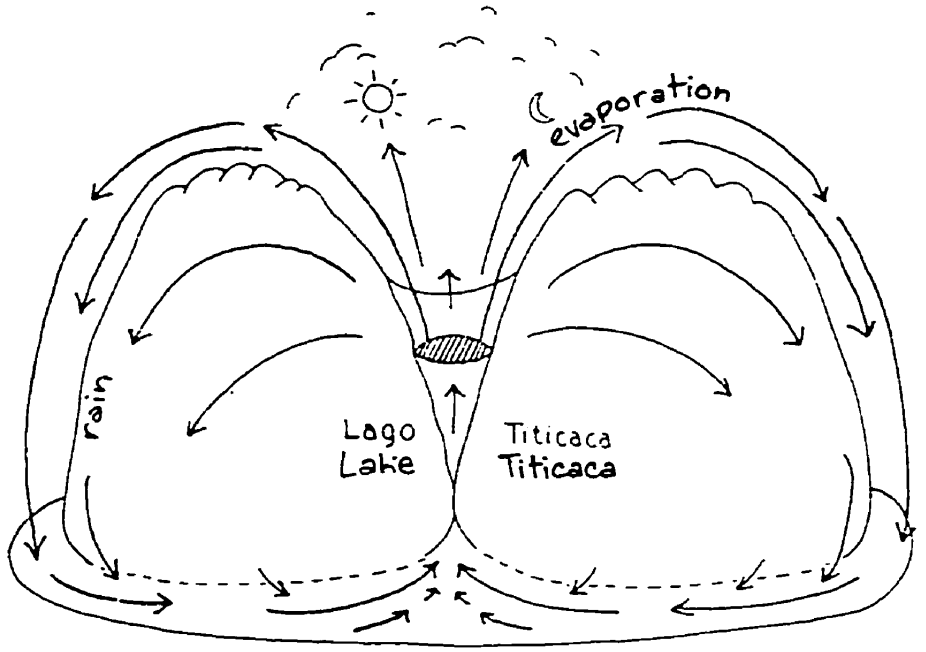
FIGURE 55

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivities of those from *Qollasuyu*.

Fiesta de los Condesuvos / aya milla zainata [enmascarados cadavéricos, repugnantes] / Coroponapampa saynata [enmascarados de Coropona, fiesta]

FIGURE 56

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivities of those from *Kuntisuyu*. When the four *suyus* were present at the *Qosqo* celebrations, the *Haucaypata-Kusipata* may have united them in one place, but each *suyu* would have been easily distinguished by dress and ritual.



El Oceano Circum-mundo

FIGURE 57

The Cosmological Ocean: schematic drawing of the origin and circulation of Lake Titicaca waters.

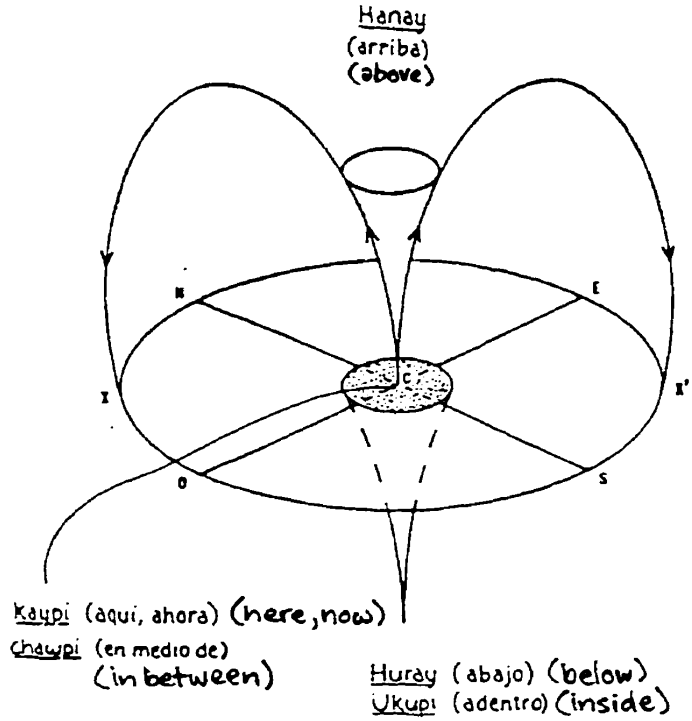


FIGURE 58

The definition of local space relative to the position of *kaypi*, or here.

Fiesta de los ingas / Uaricza, araui del / Inga, canta con su Puca llama [llama roja] / Puca llama / haucarpata / fiesta.

FIGURE 59

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing of the festivals of the Inka identifies the *Haucaypata* as the place in which the figures stand.

Conquista / levantose por rey Inga Mango Inga / trono y asiento del Inga llamado Usno, en el Cuzco.

FIGURE 60

Guaman Poma's 1615 drawing represents the *usnu* of *Qosqo* as a platform, rather than as a pointed stone.

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