

The Production of Space:  
The Conception, Construction, and Contestation of Colonial Cuzco

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*A mi amor,  
con admiración y respeto*

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## ABSTRACT

The imperial Inca Empire (1438 to 1533), *Tawantinsuyu*, which spanned Panama and most of western South America, was centered in Cuzco in modern-day Peru. After Spanish occupation in 1533, Cuzco began to transition from the former Inca capital into a Spanish colonial *cuidad*. Thus, in post-Conquest Cuzco, urban planning embodied important cultural and political messages. The brick and mortar of Spanish colonial edifices and the spatial layout of seventeenth-century Cuzco reinforced socio-ethnic order, imperial Spanish authority, and the supremacy of Christianity. However, the city's inhabitants, Andean native peoples and Spanish colonizers, understood the symbolic and material significance embedded in their shared environment in significantly different ways. Whereas the Spanish based their understanding of space on Euro-Christian utopian ideals, the Inca used urban space to celebrate their ritual mastery over the unordered natural environment and its peoples. These fundamentally different worldviews, each developed before contact, continued to exist within colonial Spanish frameworks. This thesis explores how space was conceived, constructed, and contested within colonial society by analyzing seventeenth-century maps, paintings, and ethnohistoric accounts of Cuzco. It considers the historical significance of the former Inca capital and documents changes and continuities between pre-Hispanic and Hispanic colonial architecture and cultural practices. Thereafter, it contends that colonial Cuzco retained elements of its pre-Hispanic Andean identity after the Spanish occupied and redesigned it. Cuzco and its inhabitants—both Andean and Spanish—adapted to the new colonial context by integrating Spanish and indigenous elements, ideologies, and designs into a new, highly contested spatial lexicon.

## INTRODUCTION

The Inca (Inka, Inga, Ynga) Empire and its capital city, Cuzco (Cusco, Q'osq'o), existed as a cultural production-in-progress, as they witnessed continual transformations in organization, consolidation, and expansion from the thirteenth century until 1532. Despite the many changes experienced within the empire and its capital, the imperial Inca state was defined by its unique architectural and spatial practices. For it was through these means that the Inca represented their cosmology, ethnic identity, history, daily life, and religion—indeed, their entire culture. Following Spanish contact in 1533, conquest, and colonization, Inca architectural practice and spiritual understandings of stone remained central in shaping and re-shaping the visual and material culture of an evolving socio-political context.

By the time Spanish conquistadors reached the city, Cuzco was the political, religious, and cultural center of the Inca Empire (figure I.1). It was the hub of an intricate and far-reaching road system, along which walked a seasonal flow of visitors, pilgrims, and tribute-bearing llama caravans (figure I.2). Built of unparalleled masonry and well-integrated into the Peruvian landscape, Cuzco's design and architecture embodied the power that had been the Inca genius. The city itself was home to both the Inca and other ethnic Andean groups.<sup>1</sup> At the end of the fifteenth century, Andean society was highly stratified and composed of diverse indigenous groups, each with its own ruling aristocracy, and the concept of unity in pre-Columbian Peru existed only within these ethnic enclaves.<sup>2</sup> By allowing local *curacas* (nobles) to remain in power in peripheral provinces, the Inca never succeeded in inciting or establishing a common sense of statehood. Although the Inca's political system of reciprocity initially facilitated the advancement of the empire without extensive military activity, the reciprocity-based state was inevitably vulnerable. Under this complex system, the Inca state was obligated to make regular

tribute to military leaders and nobles throughout the empire to maintain order. It could only satisfy these material demands by annexing more land to increase agricultural output, which resulted in further demands for largesse from newly conquered territories.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, the Inca state lacked strict laws regulating succession of the throne, which in turn sparked a protracted, continental civil war that hastened the Spanish Conquest.<sup>4</sup> Ultimately, the Inca were defeated by widespread discontent among native populations, who saw Spanish newcomers as a means of deliverance from the prevailing state of affairs. The arrival of the Spanish in the sixteenth century offered non-Inca *curacas* the opportunity to challenge Inca imperial authority, and many joined forces with the conquistadors. After the military suppression of the Inca in the late sixteenth century, Spanish colonial power in South America shifted from Cuzco to the coastal viceregal capital Lima.

Art and architecture, which throughout this thesis are understood as representations of space and perceived space, played significant roles in colonial Andean society's formation and intercultural negotiations. In both Andean and European traditions, objects and monuments stood in public areas to embody ideas associated with the state. Before 1533, Inca constructions in Cuzco climbed to the skies, just as post-conquest spires and domes of Spanish churches and buildings would thereafter. Yet, while these architectural traditions differed greatly in form, both marked the religious fervor, socio-political power, and desire to control space of the states that constructed them. Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Cuzco's complex colonial society, comprised of Inca, other indigenous Andean peoples, Spaniards, Creoles, and mestizos, was formed by the creation, alteration, and destruction of pre-Hispanic markers of power in the ensuing negotiation of space. This paper examines the process of conceptualizing and contesting space in colonial Cuzco. It argues that the *kamay*, or inherent sacredness, of building materials in

Cuzco persisted even when they were appropriated for Spanish use and that this cultural transference and material hybridity resulted in indigenous agency in the Andes. Colonial space drew from, built upon, and therefore was informed by pre-existing Inca design, sacredness, and everyday practices. Armed with *tinkuy* and *quariwharmi*, Andean concepts of complementarity, indigenous groups occupied the spaces provided for them by the new colonial order, wherein they formed new, composite identities that drew upon both indigenous and Spanish understandings of power.

Early scholarship on colonial Latin American history emphasized a smooth, uncontested process of conquest and assimilation. Historian Felipe Fernández-Armesto calls this dehumanizing narrative the conquistador myth. He describes this myth as “the notion that Spaniards displaced incumbent elites in the early modern New World because they were in some sense better, or better-equipped, technically, morally, or intellectually.”<sup>5</sup> Today, however, there is growing scholarly interest in uncovering the many complexities, conflicts, continuities, transformations, and ambiguities in colonial histories. Many view the indigenous response during the colonial period in the Andes as a form of cultural negotiation. As Elizabeth Hill Boone writes in the introduction to *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World*, this approach takes “the perspective of the native people as they moved within and responded to the cultural and intellectual climate of the postconquest period” and focuses on indigenous culture and everyday activities rather than “large-scale, formal, colonial institutions.”<sup>6</sup>

The works of authors examining Inca stonework and their relationship with the natural environment have been essential to shaping the discourse on space. In *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, Carolyn Dean makes a compelling argument for re-reading Inca architecture and its impact before and after colonization. Focusing on integrated rock outcrops,

worked masonry, and freestanding *huacas* (sacred rocks), Dean argues that Inca understandings of materiality and construction deliberately created ordered chaos and exerted dominance in the Andes. Among this work's many benefits is its careful and lucid unpacking of Quechua, the spoken language of the Inca, words and concepts that are fundamental to deciphering the way the Inca conceptualized stone—which is, simply put, far outside the typical Western purview. Other important discussions of this unique worldview include *The Stone and the Thread: The Andean Roots of Abstract Art* by César Paternosto, the bulk of which analyzes of the development of Inca masonry and stonework, tracking their progression over the Inca imperial period. Paternosto himself is an artist, and one of the strengths of the work lies in its attention to the tectonic principles of both technique and form. Similar works include the doctoral dissertations of Maarten Van de Guchte, “*Carving the World*”: *Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape*, which analyzes the meaning and significance of natural rock outcrops in the vicinity of Cuzco, and Jeremy James George, *Four Parts Together, Shaping Shapelessness: The Cultural Poetics of Inka Spatial Practice*, which examines the construction and material importance of Inca architectonics throughout the Urubamba River Valley.<sup>7</sup>

The scholarship specific to Inca architecture builds on these studies of Inca stonework. It examines Cuzco and Inca royal estates in the Andean region, underscoring its context of power and history. To a certain extent, it focuses on Inca architecture in the context of self-fashioning, or how the Inca constructed an image of their own identity, always imperial and royal, though architecture. This is a crucial discussion in the literature. Given that the Inca imperial signature was signed in stone, in various permutations in sculpted rock, raw rock integrated into architecture, and unmodified rock forms, the literature is also rich in discussions of masonry typology and characteristics. Important resources on these topics include the seminal study by

Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies of Inca urban and architectural forms, *Inka Architecture*. Architectural historian Jean-Pierre Protzen's illustrated discussion of architecture, construction technology, and construction episodes in *Inka Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo* is a model for those interested in pre-Hispanic Andean architecture. Stella Nair's doctoral dissertation, *Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa Inka to the Spanish Occupation*, and her recent publication, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, are important analyses of an Inca royal estate that cuts across the temporal threshold of the Conquest and examines material and visual culture in terms of articulating, reinforcing, and responding to authority and identity. Susan Niles' account of the third Inca sovereign Huayna Capac's estate in *The Shape of Inka History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* analyzes royal architecture in terms of memorials and monuments that in turn shaped and defined Inca history. Lastly, John Hyslop's works, *Inka Settlement Planning* and *The Inka Road System*, explore how the Inca shaped and connected settlements across space.<sup>8</sup> The scope of my project draws from and builds on this corpus of research, focusing on stone, material that has been worked by masons, and rock, material that held pan-Andean cultural and spiritual significance, and the making of space as an evolving cultural construct.

While scholars, particularly historians, have typically favored the analysis of culture in and through time, the focus of this analysis of Inca culture is through spatial terms. Space is a fluid entity that is produced by material, theoretical, political, cultural, and everyday practices.<sup>9</sup> Spatial practice describes the cohesive patterns and places of social activity, how a society produces, reproduces, and extends its own idea of space for its own ends. In my research, I have found that the Inca primarily expressed themselves through their spatial practices and that their



unique understanding of space likely shaped their interactions with other ethnic groups.

However, I did not find any studies that related the specific climate and topography of Cuzco with Inca culture and architecture during the early colonial period. This observation was surprising, given the city's historic significance and the endurance of Inca stonework. Many focused on reconstructing the city based on archeological evidence or on Spanish modifications to the city after 1533. Few examined the continuity of Inca religious and cultural practices within the context of Spanish Christian ones. Thus, my work seeks to address this lacuna within current scholarship.

On the simplest level, urban space can be defined as the built environment—actual, physical spaces within a city fabric, such as buildings, streets, and plazas. However, the built environment constitutes only a single type of space; the built environment itself is activated by, and therefore defined by, everyday uses of space. Social spatialization is thus a constant process that has physical, conceptual, and psychological effects on people, places, ideas, and objects. It is not homogenous and systemic but rather heterogeneous, filled with distinctions, contested, and constantly forming. Thus, social spaces are the object of struggle over their form, how they are represented, and their cultural meaning. This study asks how space, as it is defined through specific spatial practices, becomes a sign not just of pre-Hispanic polities or Inca ethnicity but of something larger, a kind of extra-temporal cultural totality, call it Incaness, in the first half of the sixteenth century. Cultural negotiation in the colonial era was not limited to indigenous groups nor was there one single way to resist cultural hegemony. Like space, cultures are perpetually in flux, constantly evaluating and re-evaluating ideas, accepting those that make sense and offer some advantage, and rejecting those that do not. While the viceregal social hierarchy placed peninsular-born Spaniards at the top and common *Indios* at the bottom, each ethnic group

negotiated its position and asserted its interests within this system. Colonial players repeated this process of evaluation, acceptance, and rejection as they navigated the unfamiliar colonial landscape.

In this thesis, I focus on the physical construction of space, its symbolic resonance, the experience of space, and how different ethnic groups envisioned the same space.<sup>10</sup> In relation to Cuzco, the emphasis on visual images is necessary because the Inca had no history of alphabetic text. Rather, they expressed themselves and recorded their histories with mnemonic devices called *kihpus*, a series of colored knotted strings joined to a main cord.<sup>11</sup> Because the histories recorded in *kihpus* are no longer available to us,<sup>12</sup> I turn frequently to a group of texts in order to reencounter the historic space of Cuzco: *La nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615) written by Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, an indigenous chronicler; *Comentarios reales de los Incas* (1617) written by “El Inca” Garcilaso de La Vega, a mestizo writer; Pedro Cieza de León’s *Primera parte de la Crónica del Peru* (1640), a Spanish conquistador and chronicler; and *Relación de las fábulas y ritos de los Incas* (1575) by Cristóbal de Molina, another Spanish author.<sup>13</sup>

In the following chapters, I will move through a discussion of Cuzco as Incan imperial space, and then as Hispanic colonial space. Addressing the conceived and perceived aspects of space in Chapters 1 and 2 will allow us to examine Cuzco as a space that was simultaneously new and ancient, both Spanish and Andean, a stage where colonial politics and cultural negotiations unfolded. It also allows us to engage conflicting colonial accounts critically and treat them simply as different perspectives since space has the capacity to contain differing conceptions of colonial Cuzco (the Inca capital and the Spanish *ciudad*). In Chapter 1, I analyze pre-Hispanic Inca space as a cultural construct based in the principles of centeredness and

balance. Here, I establish the material, historical, and spatial significance of Cuzco, define key Andean concepts, and outline indigenous worldviews to contextualize my argument in the following chapters.

Chapter 2 describes how different ethnic groups perceived their shared and evolving space in Cuzco. It documents changes to the urban fabric after 1533 and articulates how these physical modifications, specifically the construction of Catholic churches, reflected the interests of different colonial players and how these changes were perceived by Andean and European audiences. Furthermore, it asks about what happened to the social and structural being of the Inca after contact. What role did space, and changing ideas about space, play in the re-shaping of Andean culture during the colonial period? What role, if any, did the re-making of centeredness have on the ongoing re-construction of Andean culture? By examining several seventeenth-century maps of Cuzco by both indigenous and European artists, which either reflect or ignore these architectural developments, Chapter 2 compares Spanish and native conceptions of space in the Andes.

In Chapter 3, treating Cuzco as a lived space rather than a static entity provides temporal continuity, which otherwise would be lost if we defined the city as a political domain that merely transferred hands after the Conquest. Lived spaces endure despite political, economic, and physical changes to the city. Over time, new structures replaced or were built on the foundations of old ones, but the physical and therefore lived presence of the Inca could never be erased in Cuzco. In Cuzco, utopian ideals dictated by royal land ordinances and Early Modern designs were initially transformed by the city's geography, and again after post-Conquest modifications, the space was changed as it was appropriated by its inhabitants for their own purposes. In Chapter 3, I analyze representations of space to discuss social spatialization and how different

groups sought to control public space in Cuzco. I focus on several paintings of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo and the Plaza Mayor, *Cuzco after the earthquake of 1650* and the Santa Ana Series of Corpus Christi processions, to illustrate ritual uses of public space in the colonial context. Because these paintings were displayed publicly in a Western Christian context, this chapter asserts that these artworks communicate an idealized Spanish version of colonial life. I compare these visual images with historical accounts of these events. I suggest that lived spaces offer countering and abundant evidence of the city's pre-Hispanic continuities both before and after the Conquest, irrespective of who claimed political authority in colonial Cuzco.

## CHAPTER I: STORIES IN STONE, PRE-HISPANIC SPACE IN THE ANDES

Buildings, like poems and rituals, realize culture.  
—Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture*<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

As the capital and conceptual center of the imperial Inca empire, Cuzco was saturated with political, religious, and cultural power. The city itself was considered sacred, an idea reflected in the city's layout and its monuments, which paid homage to the Inca's intimate relationship with the natural environment. In examining Inca architecture and its trademark stonework, Chapter 1 explores the ways the Inca perceived and organized their visual culture within, and as a part of, the natural environment. Moreover, it delineates how the Inca reinforced their worldviews and authority over other Andean ethnic groups. Finally, this chapter sets the stage for later discussions of Cuzco as a colonial space by exploring its pre-Hispanic significance.

### Inca Architecture as Cosmology

In Andean cosmology, the universe was perceived as an organic and fluid whole in which its inhabitants could freely move between worlds.<sup>2</sup> The physical world (*Kai Pacha*) was conceived as a flat layer that separated *Hanan Pacha*, the World Above, from *Uka Pacha*, the World Below.<sup>3</sup> In addition to this vertical segmentation of the world into three realms, the universe was sectioned horizontally by the four cardinal directions (figure 1.1). The universe and its inhabitants were composed of complementary parts existing in constant conflict, but always tending toward unity, order, and balance.<sup>4</sup> Thus, every being (including ones that observers today would consider inanimate) simultaneously embodied harmonizing opposites, for example male and female, upper and lower, hot and cold, and light and dark. This concept reflects fundamental

Andean principles called *tinkuy*, the conjoining of complementary forces,<sup>5</sup> and *qhariwarmi*, the embodiment of conjoined complements.<sup>6</sup> Quechua speakers use the word *tinkuy* to identify places or events in which complements merge, such as the confluence of rivers. *Qhariwarmi*, meanwhile, expresses the powerful union of complements, such as the resultant stream from the two rivers. Cuzco represented one such powerful conjoining of complements and was therefore considered a sacred site.<sup>7</sup>

Cuzco's inherent sacredness stems also from Quechua creation stories. According to these accounts, *Pachamama* (Mother Earth) gave birth to the Inca when she married the Sun.<sup>8</sup> Today, traces of the supernatural union between the earth and the Inca are visible in the form of stone outcrops, masses of bare rock protruding from the surface of the earth that Inca masons incorporated these outcrops into urban structures (figure 1.2). These natural rock outcrops were carved with bedding joints, manually chiseled with hammer stones, so that masonry walls rested firmly on and around them (figure 1.3).<sup>9</sup> As a result, the walls appear to grow directly from the earth's surface, rendering the natural environment inseparable from the built environment—a marriage between the Inca and the earth.<sup>10</sup> In this way, the natural environment became inseparable from the built environment. Moreover, the stone outcrops were revered for being shaped from the earth and their ability to fit comprehensibly within a built, ordered, structure. In short, these Inca architectural sites embodied the complementary components of *tinkuy* and *qhariwarmi*.

Anthropologist John Bierhorst observes in his study of Andean oral culture that human activities, such as agriculture and architecture, ordered the chaotic Andean landscape and made it comprehensible according to Andean ways of thinking.<sup>11</sup> Bierhorst's perspective can be extended to the etymology of Inca architecture as well. The Inca word for finely joined masonry,

*canincakuchini* derives from the Quechua verb *canini*, meaning “to bite or nibble.”<sup>12</sup> This word aptly describes the nibbling technique used to create well-joined, mortarless Inca masonry.<sup>13</sup> Once a block of stone was quarried, it became subject to the blows of hammer stones used to further refine the original block into individual shapes. Initial strokes removed large pieces of stone before the Inca nibbling technique was used to peck persistently at the stone to achieve the desired result—a stone block that fit precisely in one, and only one, location within a wall.<sup>14</sup> The concept of nibbling is key not just in the architectural process, but also in understanding the Inca worldview, in which the process transforms the natural environment into ordered Inca architecture.<sup>15</sup>

On a practical level, building directly onto bedrock provided stable foundations in an area prone to earthquakes.<sup>16</sup> However, the use of integrated rock outcrops in Inca architecture was more than a utilitarian adaptation to seismic activity.<sup>17</sup> The Inca asserted a unique relationship with the earth through their regular integration of rock outcrops within their built space. Many sites like Machu Picchu famously embrace the earth’s curved geography, adapting building strategies to acknowledge and accentuate their natural topographic character (figure 1.4). Unlike other Andean cultures, such as the Moche and Chimú, the Inca consistently emphasized extant natural forms in their urban structures.<sup>18</sup> For example, trapezoidal windows and doorways in Inca buildings throughout the Andes “frame” nearby natural features (figure 1.5). Another example are freestanding stones that echo the shape of distant mountains (figure 1.6).<sup>19</sup> In Cuzco, one particularly striking example is the *Coricancha*, the temple dedicated to the Inca patron solar deity, *Inti*. At an altitude of 11,200 feet in the Andean sierra, the clarity of atmosphere in Cuzco would have produced a dazzling contrast of light and shadow on the exterior of the *Coricancha*, or “Golden Enclosure,” which in pre-Hispanic times was covered with hundreds of solid gold

panels.<sup>20</sup> The interplay of sunlight and Inca architecture subtly and skillfully intensified of the capital's metaphysical splendor.<sup>21</sup> In this way, through their careful consideration of natural surroundings, Incan urban planners made visible their relationship with the earth, and through it the creation of their idea of an orderly civilization.

In his *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* (1617), the mestizo chronicler “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega relates Inca creation stories that explain this understanding of spatial order. As children of the sun and earth, the Inca considered themselves divinely appointed with the task of “civilizing” the landscape and peoples of the Andes. According to this conception, Inca architecture was the literal actuation of Inca order, leaving indelible marks on the earth testifying to the regulating presence of the Inca state. The construction of residences, palaces, temples, terraces, and storage facilities in the Inca style demonstrated their dominion over the Andes and rendered Inca supremacy as logical—even proper. Such symbolic statements became especially powerful when Inca masons entered newly annexed territories and integrated rock outcrops considered sacred by rival Andean groups into the foundations of new Inca structures. In essence, this practice demonstrated Inca superiority over competing Andean ethnic factions by conjoining the land on which those groups lived, altering their sacred sites, and visually unifying their geography with Incan cosmology.<sup>22</sup>

### **Cuzco: Moving, Balancing, and Centering the Universe**

Underpinning the exponential expansion of the Inca empire were the administrative and military strategies developed to subjugate newly conquered territories and devise effective means of appropriating their productive capacity. The political and ritual actions emanating from the Inca capital impacted even the most far-flung provinces. Connections were formed and



reinforced between Cuzco and other imperial provinces through ritual processes of reciprocal cultural and material exchange. Early colonial chroniclers reported a number of cases in which Inca rulers ordered their subjects to haul stones and soil over long distances in and out of the capital.<sup>23</sup> From ethno-historic evidence of these undertakings, we examine the imperial motivations behind them and how Inca ideology was reinforced through the long-distance transport of materials from the periphery to the capital and vice versa.

The practice of transporting materials was noted by several early colonial observers, including Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de León, who recounted indigenous claims that most buildings in Tumbamba were built with stones quarried from Cuzco.<sup>24</sup> Spanish friar Martín de Murúa also attested to the practice by providing a detailed story of two buildings that were disassembled and carried north by Andean tribute labor, only to be abandoned near Saraguro, Ecuador.<sup>25</sup> Another example comes from Governor Juan Polo de Ondegardo, who described a building in Quito that was constructed with “worked stone from the quarries of Cuzco.”<sup>26</sup> Some chroniclers also describe stones being transported in the opposite direction. Indigenous author Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala also described stones being carried from the capital to Quito, Tumbamba, and Huánuco.<sup>27</sup> Murúa’s famous story of the “stone that cried blood” describes a large stone being transported from Quito that never made it to its intended destination of Cuzco because it had become too weary of being moved (figure 1.7).<sup>28</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega’s version of the crying stone specified that the large stone had been quarried for the construction of *Sacsayhuaman*, and in his discussion of Cieza de León’s claims that the structures of Tumbamba had been built with stones from Cuzco, De la Vega noted that these buildings were not just made from the same material as their cuzqueño counterparts, but that they were considered to be the *same* buildings.<sup>29</sup> Each of these varied accounts attests to the Inca’s political

and cultural authority to command the movement of materials and people throughout their extensive empire.

One of the most visible expressions of Inca imperial integration is the construction of the *Huacapatya*, the great plaza at the center of Cuzco. Polo de Ondegardo, describing the process of completing the *Huacapatya*, wrote that the Incas demanded tribute from subject communities in the form of soil from the inland provinces and sand from the coast to create the main plaza. He also described in detail how all of the provinces contributed to this task, implying that each contributed some quantity of sand or soil to create the space.<sup>30</sup> In exchange, the original soil from the plaza was excavated and redistributed to each of *Tawantinsuyu*'s provinces. The placement of sand and soil in the main plaza from each of the provinces was not only a method of tribute, but it located those lands in the center of the empire and the heart of the capital. Likewise, provinces that received soil from Cuzco could claim to be part of Inca Empire, as soil from the capital itself was materially and symbolically present in even the more remote areas of *Tawantinsuyu*.

Although stone and soil came from and moved to all parts of the Andes, the materials themselves maintained an inextricable relationship to their places of origin. The incorporation of these materials into public spaces was a crucial component of Inca statecraft, as it literally and figuratively joined the imperial center to each of its outlying provinces. The significance of this act was especially powerful during annual celebrations and ritual processions that routinely brought together many imperial subjects in Cuzco within the *Huacapatya*. The potency of Inca power was greatly enhanced by being conducted within a space that stood as a symbol of the enduring connection between subject peoples and their lands with Cuzco and the Inca. Although

this example implies an empire united by peaceful, symbolic acts, it stands counter to other methods of imperial Inca statecraft.

In a well-known practice, the Incas collected important religious objects from around the empire by taking the most revered relics of newly subjugated polities to Cuzco.<sup>31</sup> They were then placed in the *Coricancha* alongside Inca religious objects. On one level, this served as a political means of demanding peace and respect from other Andean groups by holding their gods hostage in the Inca capital. On another level, it functioned as a political and religious strategy that subdued provincial gods to those of the Incas. Above all, this practice established and increased the status of Cuzco as the most sacred place, and center, of the empire.

The Inca further reinforced their conception of Cuzco as the center of the Andean world by bringing *mitmaqkuna* (subjects made to permanently relocate outside their homelands) from all the provinces of the empire to settle in and around the capital. The Incas made an effort to ensure that those *mitmaqkuna* resided in sectors of the city that mirrored the orientation of their homeland within the Inca realm—effectively recreating the ethnic geography of the empire around the capital.<sup>32</sup> This microcosm served as a physical manifestation of the political connection between the periphery and capital and the ideology of the empire as an interrelated whole, united at Cuzco. This large-scale transformation of Cuzco required the reciprocal relocation of cuzqueño natives to outlying provinces as another form of *mitmaqkuna*, creating another symbolic connection between the center and the periphery.

In addition to the practice of *mitmaqkuna*, sons of provincial leaders were fostered in Cuzco before returning to their respective homelands to replace their fathers as local *caciques* (chiefs). This strategy instilled Inca political ideology in young *curacas* (nobles) and, theoretically, indoctrinated them into become cooperative partners of the imperial regime.

Ideally, these children came to Cuzco and learned the ways of the Inca before teaching them to the people of their own provinces once they returned home.<sup>33</sup> A related practice involved both sons and daughters being sent to Cuzco to serve in religious ceremonies. The participants engaged in rituals in Cuzco before returning to their respective provinces as ritual sacrifices on mountain shrines (*unsus*).<sup>34</sup> This practice emphasized the status of Cuzco as the undisputed religious and political center of the Andes.

The practices discussed in this section individually and collectively emphasized and reinforced Inca dominion and highlighted the ideological significance of Cuzco by integrating the empire and maintaining Inca control. As Carolyn Dean has noted, through these and other practices, the Incas “repeated centered Cuzco in an expanding landscape of sacred places.”<sup>35</sup> The constant movement of people and materials to and from Cuzco were highly visible demonstrations of Inca control over labor and material resources while creating a symbolic link between the center and the periphery. Through labor-intensive building campaigns, such as the construction of the *Huacapatya*, the Inca established the presence of Cuzco in the periphery and the presence of the periphery in the capital—reiterating the fundamental, intertwined concepts of *tinkuy* and *qhariwarmi*.

### **Material Presence and Power**

The material significance of stone and soil was not limited to Inca architecture. Andean belief held that material objects embodied a powerful living presence within them.<sup>36</sup> This concept, called *kamay*, attests to the inherent sacredness of an object. The word *kamay* stems from the Quechua word *kama*, which means to order, to organize, or to have an essence.<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, it connotes the “energizing of extant matter... a continuous act that works upon a

being as long as it exists” and is inherent in the object’s material rather than in its physicality.<sup>38</sup> Even when the physical form of an object is destroyed or damaged, the object’s *kamay* remains intact and continues to convey sacredness. As we will see in Chapter 2, the *kamay* of Incan building materials continued to communicate the same messages of pre-Hispanic Inca power and sacredness despite Spanish attempts to dissociate the two.

To characterize Andean spirituality in the following chapters, a brief discussion of *huacas* is warranted because they exemplify the concept of *kamay*.<sup>39</sup> Physically, *huacas* were natural forms, although occasionally they were sculpted or painted (figure 1.8). The term *huaca* derived from the Quechua verb *huacay* meaning “to wail,” which refers to the way native people would worship.<sup>40</sup> Yet like many Quechua terms, *huaca* defies exact description. *Huacas* were not restricted to a physical place or object; they implied something sacred that deserved reverence, including animals, places, or people. Early Spanish chroniclers struggled with this conception of divinity, noting that *huacas* could be devotional figurines, peaks of mountains (*apus*), an animal or plant that is either exceptionally beautiful or horribly deformed, ancestral remains (*malquis*), burial sites, and even an entire city like Cuzco. In the early seventeenth century, indigenous chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega offered nine possible meanings of *huaca*, going to great lengths to establish solid reasons that would differentiate *huaca* from the Spanish gloss of *ídolo* (idol). De la Vega stressed that all things which, either in their “beauty of excellence” or their capacity to “inspire horror and alarm,” set themselves apart from others of their kind were thought of as *huacas*.<sup>41</sup> Yet, even the Spanish had difficulty distinguishing the concept of *huaca* worship from their own cultural and religious beliefs. They often relied on comparisons with classical Greek and Roman temple statues as “pagan idols” or the false gods of infidels recounted in Judeo-Christian tradition.<sup>42</sup>

The key difference between Christian religious objects and Andean *huacas* is the *kamay* of the latter. In *La extripación de la idolatría en el Perú* (1621), Pablo José Arriaga addressed his fellow clergymen and lamented that the physical destruction of *huacas* was woefully inadequate in attempting to extirpate reverence of them:

One must be very careful about [the disposal of the sacred remains], scattering them, burying them, or covering them up where the Indians will not see them or know their whereabouts. This takes a great deal of trouble, for one can trust no Indian to it, however good and reliable he may be.<sup>43</sup>

Great care had to be taken to dispose of the remnants of *huacas* even after they had been physically destroyed. Arriaga recounts the story of a Dominican priest who gathered up all of the *huacas* in Huaylas, an inland Peruvian province, and took them to Lima, the coastal viceregal capital, where he threw them into the river. Decades later, indigenous peoples still travelled from Huaylas to Lima (more than 500 kilometres) to worship on the bridge from which their *huacas* had been thrown. These instances of *huaca* worship and the belief in their spiritual significance demonstrate how Andean and Euro-Christian ideas of representation and sacredness differed drastically.

Indeed, the Andean concept of *kamay* posed problems for seventeenth-century Creole scholars in their translation efforts, as Andean languages did not include a word that conveyed the meaning of “representation.”<sup>44</sup> In 1608, the Jesuit linguist Diego Gonzales Holguín translated *rickchhay* as the “fabrication with anything of a face, picture, or figure.”<sup>45</sup> In 1612, Ludvico Bertonio’s *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara* translated *imasena* as “image,” and *ahano* connoted “making a figure of an angel or a demon, or taking it from an angel or a demon.”<sup>46</sup> In the Aymara translation of the 1585 *Tercero cathecismo y exposicion de la Doctrina Cristiana*, specifically its nineteenth sermon, which addressed issues of representation and embodiment in depth, none of these Quechua or Aymara words were used. Instead, the Spanish word *ymagen*

(image) was used to describe the notion of representation. This linguistic quandary underscores the difficulties missionaries faced in their efforts to communicate the fundamental Catholic distinction between representation and material embodiment—how an *ymagen* could represent something else when an object's *kamay* was intrinsic.<sup>49</sup>

## Conclusion

The Inca employed various imperial building strategies to manifest their worldviews. In particular, their architecture integrated built and natural environments to make permanent and powerful statements about a unique Incan relationship with the earth. Indeed, Inca architectural campaigns visually transformed unordered or “uncivilized” Andean land into Inca territory. The built environment produced by these architectural strategies, the site where the worked and unworked rock conjoin, is where we witness the introduction of Inca order. These spatial practices served Inca ideology by establishing and maintaining Cuzco as the principle religious and political center of the region. As we will see in Chapter 2, as long as these Inca structures remain either intact in the foundations of colonial buildings like the Convent of Santo Domingo or in ruins like *Saqsayhuaman*, Inca order and cosmology will continue to endure.

Given that the nature of Andean beliefs was reinforced by Inca spatial practices, it was impossible for the Spanish to convey an unambiguous message of cultural domination. Until the early seventeenth century, evangelization efforts in Peru mainly consisted of baptisms, confessions, and the destruction of *huacas*. These had little success in the Andes, as we will see in Chapter 3, where indigenous cultural practices continued under the guise of Catholic symbols and celebrations. European conceptions of sacredness did not account for the inherent *kamay* of objects. When Spanish friars attempted to eradicate idolatry in the Andes, they had great

difficulty disassociating sacred indigenous objects from power even after their destruction. It was impossible for the Spanish to identify and effectively remove all connections to the pre-Hispanic past despite the Catholic clergy's best efforts. Therefore, as we will see in Chapters 2 and 3, indigenous sources and signs of pre-Hispanic power continued to exist well into the eighteenth century, whether or not they were sanctioned by the Spanish, through material objects and analogous cultural practices. Similarly, the intertwined concepts of complementarity, *tinkuy* and *qhariwarmi*, would later come into play during the Spanish colonization of Cuzco as indigenous groups reconciled the old with the new and defined themselves as more than colonial Spanish subjects.



## CHAPTER II: CUZCO IN THE CONQUEST'S WAKE

Whoever does not found a town, will not have a good conquest,  
and if you do not conquer the land, the natives will not be  
converted. Thus the maxim: to conquer, found a town.

—Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia General de Las Indias*<sup>1</sup>

### Introduction

From the early years of the Spanish conquest, urban planning played a fundamental and strategic role in the colonial enterprise. In the Viceroyalty of Peru, the systematic development of urban spaces was informed by practical administrative concerns, preexisting Incan structures, and potent symbolism. This chapter examines the role of urban planning in reframing Cuzco's position within the evolving Spanish colonial context. What once was a sacred space and the imperial Inca capital was methodically re-formed into a colonial Spanish *ciudad*. I argue that to achieve this goal, the Spanish made strategic decisions in urban planning, to modify Inca structures and space to promote Hispanic understandings of social, political, and administrative order. This chapter investigates how spatial practices, namely the appropriation of Inca building materials into the design of Spanish colonial constructions, played a role within viceregal statecraft. It examines sixteenth- and seventeenth-century maps of Cuzco made by native and European artists after this architectural re-structuring to articulate how European and indigenous populations framed their perceptions of colonial space. Whereas the Spanish saw Cuzco as a “pagan” city incapable of assimilating to European customs, indigenous Andeans, armed with the Andean concepts of complementarity (*tinky* and *qhariwarmi*), understood the transition from Inca capital to Spanish *ciudad* as fluid and continuous. From this analysis, I argue that differing conceptions and perceptions of space generated a sense of cultural ambiguity, Cuzco was neither indigenous nor was it fully Spanish after the Conquest; rather, the colonial city was an uneasy amalgamation of both cultures.

### Efforts to Transform Cuzco into a Spanish City

When Spanish conquistadors entered Cuzco in 1533, they encountered a city built around a large, rectangular dual plaza bordered by royal palaces and impressive structures of refined masonry. The city of roughly 200,000 residents was the center of Incan religious and political power.<sup>2</sup> The Spanish marveled at the city plan and grandeur of its buildings. In awe of its material wealth, Spanish conquistador and Francisco Pizarro's secretary, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, marveled in 1533:

The city of Cuzco... is so beautiful and has so many buildings that it would be worthy of admiration even in Spain... The majority of these houses are stone... and they are well ordered, the streets are set at right angles to one another, all quite straight, and all are paved, and down the middle of each runs a stone-lined water conduit.<sup>3</sup>

Given its “well ordered” spatial layout, its apparent significance as the seat of Inca political and spiritual power, and its strategic location between the profitable silver mines of Potosí and the sea port of El Callao in Lima (figure 2.1), Pizarro claimed the former Inca capital as a burgeoning *ciudad* in the new Spanish colony. In the ensuing years, Spanish colonial administrators and various religious orders attempted to refashion the historic Inca space into an urban Spanish metropolis.

The resultant political transition was as much physical as it was symbolic. Royal settlement ordinances for Spanish colonies were based on Renaissance architectural treatises that emphasized geometric regularity.<sup>4</sup> Systems and structures were devised to bring cities and their inhabitants into a new political administrative system that would promote Spanish ideals of social harmony and political order. In establishing a Spanish city, choosing a suitable site required the consideration of several factors, including the nature of the terrain, access roads, security, availability of water, farmland, and building materials. To bring Cuzco to this ideal, during his tenure from 1569 to 1581, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo initiated a two-pronged urban

planning model that called for the construction of separate spaces for Spanish settlers and the indigenous population.<sup>5</sup> The idea was to create separate worlds based on ethnic distinctions: *ciudades* for the Spanish and *reducciones* for the Amerindians.<sup>6</sup> Although these spaces were conceived of as separate, the colonial *ciudad* required an indigenous population from its inception because they provided a reliable source of labor, essential to sustaining Spanish urban life.

This Spanish colonial model generally followed a prescribed strategy. Urban planners would define a city grid, resettle indigenous populations to the periphery, and establish provisional parishes.<sup>7</sup> Eventually, these prescriptive plots would become colonial cities. There were practical reasons for designing gridded cities; they were relatively easy to implement, accommodated growing populations, and allowed for equitable distribution of land among colonists. This did not mean, however, that the ideal model of Spanish urban development was easily transferrable to the Andes. Despite the regulations and ordinances issued by Spanish authorities, colonial cities took shape largely in response to local necessity.<sup>8</sup> While many Spanish American cities implemented the checkerboard plan, Cuzco's geographic location made it unsuitable for such rigid regularity.<sup>9</sup> A friar who visited the city in 1750 remarked, "[Because] most of the city is founded on the side of a hill, its founders did not divide it into blocks like most of the others in this kingdom."<sup>10</sup> Spanish settlers had to adapt their model to the realities of the Andean terrain, accounting for its site-specific inhospitable elevation, soil erosion, seismic activity, and recurrent drought.<sup>11</sup>

Despite the difficulties they faced in modifying Cuzco's intractable landscape to match their urban ideals, the Spaniards persisted in their endeavors to transform the former Inca capital. Colonists renovated buildings located around the plaza to suit European tastes. They built brick

homes with elaborately carved stone portals and teracotta tile roofs on top of Inca stone foundations (figure 2.2a and 2.2b). Some of the two-story dwellings gained decorative wooden balconies (*miradores*) and sequences of long columns (*colonnades*) for mercantile activities on the lower level (figure 2.3). The Inca walls along the north side of *Hatunrumiyoc* street, originally part of the palace of Sapa Inca, became the foundations of the Marquis of Buenavista's palace and later the residence of the Archbishop of Cuzco (figure 2.4).<sup>12</sup> These and other structures were later converted into Spanish residences and administrative buildings. Another alteration to the city's urban fabric occurred when colonial officials, overwhelmed by the large size of the Inca dual plaza, resolved to restructure the space. As discussed in Chapter 1, the *Huacapayta* and *Cusipata*, the two parts of the plaza, were used for major events such as victory celebrations and seasonal *raymis* (festivals) prior to the Conquest. This space was divided in two by the Huatanay River, which ran through the center of Cuzco. After 1539, the larger *Huacapayta* became the Plaza Mayor (the contemporary Plaza de Armas), and the smaller *Cusipata* ("place of joy") was divided into the Plaza de San Francisco and the Plaza del Regocijo, the plaza of joy (figure 2.5).<sup>13</sup> The Hispanicization of the *Cusipata* involved more than a translation of its name; the space was permanently altered by the construction of bridges over the Huatanay River, joining the two halves of the city. Slowly, Cuzco became an approximation of a Spanish *ciudad*. It was in keeping with enough of the proscribed Spanish standards of urban life that Fray Diego de Ocaña remarked in 1603 the city "look[ed] almost Spanish."<sup>14</sup>

Missionaries such as Diego de Ocaña participated in Cuzco's spatial redevelopment while simultaneously overseeing its residents' spiritual conversion. Indigenous Andeans watched as Spaniards leveled pre-Hispanic structures and erected new buildings from the same stones. Colonial accounts reveal that Spanish authorities chose these building materials not only for their

convenience but also as a statement of imperial authority.<sup>15</sup> These and other symbolic acts of physical and artistic imposition were intended to communicate the power and supremacy of Spanish political and spiritual institutions. However, although Spaniards modified the existing space in and around Cuzco, it was impossible to communicate a universally intelligible message of cultural dominance.

No amount of redevelopment could entirely mask the presence and significance of the Inca past in Cuzco, particularly not when this past remained visible through repurposed building materials. Stones from *Saqsayhuaman* (figure 2.6), the most impressive and widely heralded of pre-Hispanic monuments in Cuzco, were routinely quarried for new structures, and existing Inca foundations were continuously incorporated into new colonial buildings.<sup>16</sup> The mestizo chronicler “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega, who grew up in Cuzco during the sixteenth century, witnessed the process of the site’s ruination:

The Spaniards... demolished [*Saqsayhuaman*] to build private houses in Cuzco. And to save themselves the expense, effort and delay with which the Indians worked the stone, they pulled down all the smooth masonry walls. There is indeed not a house in the city that has not been made of this stone, or at least the houses built by the Spaniards.<sup>17</sup>

Colonial Cuzco’s most important religious, civic, and private buildings either rested on or were built from stones of deliberately ruined Inca structures.<sup>18</sup> While these Spanish structures were erected, *Saqsayhuaman* was partially and imperfectly erased; its ruined state came to be understood not only as evidence of the Conquest and religious conversion but as an actuation of those events.<sup>19</sup> In the mid-seventeenth century, one of Cuzco’s ecclesiastic authorities wrote, “[*Saqsayhuaman*] was once dedicated as a house of the Sun [the Inca’s patron deity] and in this time serves only as a witness of its ruin.”<sup>20</sup> This reuse of Inca building materials, while it created structures suitable for a fledgling colonial society, was an uneasy and constantly evolving amalgam of Spanish and indigenous elements.

One such example of a contested space is the Convent of Santo Domingo. After the Conquest, Dominican friars built an imposing Christian church and monastery over the *Coricancha*, a sacred Inca temple and reliquary. They partially razed the original building, stripping it of its riches and gold ornament, but reused much of its foundation and some of its interior walls in the new church and convent complex.<sup>21</sup> The Dominicans built the church's apse wall over the curving Inca foundation walls beneath, using the pre-Hispanic masonry as support (figure 2.7). The monastery, as it now stands, is a two-story building grouped around a cloister. One side is occupied by the entrance halls and part of the church, while well-preserved Inca rooms comprise the ground floor, and fragments of the original enclosure wall are embedded the monastery's walls (figure 2.8).

An analysis of the convent's building materials reveals their symbolic significance. At the apse of the convent, Dominican priests could proselytize from a balcony by exhibiting a monstrance to the indigenous audience gathered below.<sup>22</sup> The display of the monstrance was intended as a public demonstration of spiritual force that sanctioned any gathering below as a Christian assembly—as a way to “Christianize the pagan practice.”<sup>23</sup> Although outdoor ceremonies such as this were common throughout the colonies, the ritual act at the Convent of Santo Domingo was particularly noteworthy, as newly converted Andeans still gathered publicly to venerate the sacred stones of the *Coricancha* that formed the convent's foundations.<sup>24</sup> The site's supreme historical and ritual importance in the colonial context was rooted in its religious and political importance as a fluid sacred space dedicated at once to the Inca solar deity (*Inti*) and the Christian God. For both Spaniards and indigenous groups, such spatial and architectural superimposition was simultaneously a visual reminder of the new social and political hierarchy and an inexorable connection to the pre-Hispanic past.<sup>25</sup> While each group must have attributed

its own meanings to buildings like the Convent of Santo Domingo, which appropriate and reinterpreted pre-Conquest sites and concepts, these colonial structures made manifest the political force of visual culture in colonial Spanish America.

Whereas the Convent of Santo Domingo was built on top of the foundations of *Coricancha* to demonstrate the Catholic Church's symbolic triumph over indigenous heresy, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo (figure 2.9), built in 1559, was meant to efface the indigenous past and construct a new Christian present. According to Carolyn Dean, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo represents a monumental metonym of the Conquest; its construction permanently altered Cuzco's sacred geography to reflect Spanish Christian triumph.<sup>25</sup> Once the former palace of Inca Viracocha was razed, Governor Juan Polo de Ondegardo ordered the removal of sand from the *Huacapayta* and designated it for reuse in the foundations of the cathedral,<sup>26</sup> and stones from *Saqsayhuaman* served as the primary source of building material.<sup>27</sup> Despite Spanish efforts to extirpate indigenous idolatry, the Cathedral of Santo Domingo was inherently saturated with sacred meaning for Cuzco's indigenous population due to its material construction and physical location. As a local product built by Andean labor, the cathedral provided an opportunity for indigenous draftsmen to assert ritual mastery over building materials and processes, much like their pre-Hispanic ancestors discussed in Chapter 1.<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, the material used in the cathedral's construction was considered inherently sacred. The *Huacapayta*, as noted earlier in Chapter 1, was venerated as a sacred site long before Cuzco was founded as a Spanish city in 1534.<sup>29</sup> As Polo de Ondegardo explained in 1558 when he ordered the plaza to be excavated and the sand to be used in construction the Cathedral of Santo Domingo:

The Indians would have paid any price we could have asked if we had left the plaza as it were, but I deemed it better that the sand go to [the building of] the Cathedral... the principle reason of which was that it removed the great reverence which they held for the plaza.<sup>30</sup>

For Polo de Ondegardo, the *Huacapayta*'s sand held no intrinsic sacred essence; he therefore reasoned that removing the sand from the context of the plaza not only destroyed its sacredness but also reclassified it as suitable building material for the cathedral. However, the site's past was not easily replaced by the new Christian structure. Within Andean logic, the *kamay*, or sacred essence, of the sand from the *Huacapayta* and the stones quarried from *Saqsayhuaman* were not lost even as the materials were appropriated and embedded in the cathedral's walls and foundation.

Scholars today are particularly interested in the effects that the symbolic imposition of Spanish authority on former Inca structures may have had on native viewers, particularly since the Inca celebrated the sacredness of both location and material. Spanish colonialists failed to account for the complexities and continuities of Andean spirituality and cultural values when they began to implement gridded cities and modify the urban fabric of Andean cities. Furthermore, sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spaniards seemed unable or unwilling to examine their efforts according to an Andean worldview, as Valerie Fraser explains:

It was expedient to take over the existence of large Indian towns full of civilized Indians, it was expedient to skirt round the Spanish appropriation of such towns, and it was expedient to appropriate them because not only did they provide temporary accommodations and a supply of Indian labor to hand, together with ready-made foundations for the new colonial buildings and a large, leveled central plaza but also because once appropriated by the Spaniards they of course no longer existed as Indian towns.<sup>31</sup>

The materials used to construct these new, Hispanicized structures were taken from indigenous constructions and were already imbued with *kamay*. As discussed in Chapter 1, the cultural and spiritual meaning of objects could not be destroyed. Thus, the Convent of Santo Domingo and the Cathedral of Santo Domingo probably continued to communicate the same sacred meaning to a sixteenth-century indigenous viewer. The visible and tangible embodiment of Cuzco's Inca



past in the form of colonial building materials served to complicate any Spanish attempt to send the indigenous Andean population an unambiguous message of European domination.

### **Spanish Perceptions of Space and Power**

Urban planning was the colonial solution to extirpate any lingering pre-Hispanic loyalties, inculcate the city's indigenous inhabitants with Christian virtues, and situate them within the new socio-political hierarchy. To the Spanish, ordered communal space promoted peace, prosperity, and Christian values while offering indigenous Andeans a better, more civilized way of life. As one Spanish official observed, "The peoples have to be ordered. The towns have to be ordered. People cannot live in *policía* unless they live in ordered towns."<sup>32</sup> By modifying some Inca structures to house colonial institutions and completely dismantling others, the Spanish state asserted its power to define social reality and become architects of human behavior. These changes sought to dictate cultural order by imposing European designs and practices onto indigenous groups, who had their own distinct notions of space and power. Colonial maps of Cuzco dating from the sixteenth century visualize the resulting dissonance between Spanish and Andean perceptions of space and power.

The 1556 woodcut map of Cuzco by Giovanni Battista Ramusio, an Italian geographer, is one of the earliest European representations of the city.<sup>33</sup> It shows a perfectly ordered and square city, nestled in a lush mountainous valley and flanked by two rivers (figure 2.10). Although it includes all of the architectural elements described earlier by Sancho de la Hoz in 1533, it does not resemble the city Pizarro and his men actually saw. Instead, the Ramusio engraving reflects sixteenth-century European ideals, depicting a city that conformed to their standards of urban life: large, walled, and symmetrical. In accordance with Early Modern design, the artist

resituated *Sacsayhuaman*, which Sancho de la Hoz had described as being on the city's outskirts, to a site directly overlooking the main plaza, a space that was actually occupied by the Palace of Inca Viracocha.<sup>34</sup> Other details, such as two- and three-story European style houses and the imposing perimeter wall with fortified gates that never existed, expose the engraving's imagined character. These European elements represented a colonial utopia, not the actual city itself. Finally, as if to further suspend the reality of the Conquest, the city appears as if it were still ruled by the last Sapa Inca, Atahualpa, who is seated in a Roman style sedan chair being carried across the main plaza by attendants.

When the first Spanish translation of Sancho de la Hoz's account of Cuzco was published in 1849, the editor Joaquín García Icazbalceta referred to the Ramusio engraving as a *capricho*, an image that had more to do with imagination than reality.<sup>35</sup> The perspectival techniques used in Ramusio's view of Cuzco convey a sense of cartographic accuracy, and they present the city as an icon of civilization, lending credence to the idea that the Inca had attained an advanced stage of human development enabling them to construct cities comparable to those of Europe. A final function of these images was to record a perspective of Cuzco as European artists wished to envision it. These early images reduced Cuzco to a series of topographical tropes and did little more than situate the image of a European city in a vaguely American and somewhat exotic environment.

As prints and variations of the Ramusio engraving circulated, this imagined version of Cuzco persisted as Europe's only image of the city. The view of Cuzco published by German engraver Theodore de Bry in *Great Voyages* (1596) was virtually identical to the Ramusio engraving published almost two decades earlier. However, unlike Ramusio, de Bry features a series of seven figures that symbolize various aspects of Inca life (figure 2.11). On the far left,

two men play with a ball, a clear reference to the distinctive games that Spanish observers described in New Spain amongst the Aztecs and the Maya. However, these games had no cognate amongst the Inca, who did not engage in this particular pastime.<sup>36</sup> Next to the ball-players, two acrobats stand on their head and juggle logs with their feet. Again, these figures had little to do with Cuzco as they were modeled on the drawings of Dutch artist Christoph Weiditz, whose famous *Trachtenbuch* contained sketches of native acrobats from Mesoamerica (figures 2.12 and 2.13).<sup>37</sup> To the right, three men hold golden statuettes symbolizing both the wealth of the Inca and their idolatry. As noted in Chapter 1, Spaniards who wrote about *huacas* in the sixteenth century generally failed to understand their function and meaning, and as a result tended to liken *huacas* to idols—an idea that ostensibly influenced de Bry as well.<sup>38</sup> All but one of the figures holding the statuettes are depicted either in loincloths or nude.

Even though many Spanish chroniclers had documented the elaborate dress and textile production of the Andes, in this instance, de Bry resorted to the archetype of indigenous peoples as naked idolaters.<sup>39</sup> Strangely, the map's composition conveys two starkly contrasting ideas about Cuzco and its inhabitants. Through the regularity of the city's design, the use of stone and other durable materials, and the grandeur of its citadel, towers, and perimeter walls, the view suggests Cuzco's civility in a manner that matches a European understanding of a city. However, the presence of naked figures and golden idols in the foreground suggest what was to Spanish eyes an idolatrous and uncivilized locale and populace. De Bry's view summarizes a tug-of-war in which Spanish understandings of civilization and a still powerful Inca past pulled Cuzco in opposite directions. Cuzco was rendered motionless as a pre-Hispanic city, and an Andean civilization, incapable of change.

Despite the physical changes to the city's design from its many urban planning campaigns discussed earlier, Europe's conception of Cuzco remained unchanged from Ramusio's woodcut well into the seventeenth century.<sup>40</sup> This image appeared in the border of many seventeenth century world maps, such as Dutch engraver Willem J. Baleu's engraving of Cuzco in *Theatrum orbis sive Atlas novus* (figure 2.14a and 2.14b). The atlas' accompanying text describes Cuzco as a "metropolis of Peru" and explicitly mentions four great churches belonging to different religious orders, yet the published map does not include references to these structures or the changes to the city's layout. The persistence of this view is unsurprising since it conforms to the evolutionary theories of Charles-Louis de Secondat, Baron de La Brède et de Montesquieu and other seventeenth-century European authors who theorized that societies evolved along a single developmental track from barbarism to civilization.<sup>41</sup> Compared to Europe, seen by seventeenth-century European thinkers as the ultimate developmental stage, Cuzco was firmly set within an earlier time. The city, and by extension the rest of Andean society, was situated within a continuum on the path to civilization that Europe had already traversed. It thus made sense that Cuzco appeared as a city that had outward trappings of both civility and barbarism in seventeenth-century European maps.

### **Andean Perceptions of Space and Power**

For the Inca and other indigenous Andean groups, the physical environment was considered sacred, dynamic, and powerful. As analyzed in Chapter 1, architecture was an imperialistic Inca strategy that expressed itself through place-making spatial practices, the conversion of Andean land into Inca territory. Architectural historians Granziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies coined the phrase "architecture of power" to describe the way the Inca

repeatedly inscribed their presence throughout *Tawantinsuyu*.<sup>42</sup> Indeed, the Inca naturalized their presence throughout the Andes and successfully equated the pre-Hispanic Andean past with the Inca past through their expansive spatial practices. Although the Spanish dismantled and razed many Inca buildings, many sanctioned or hidden structures remained untouched by the colonial enterprise. Certainly, as these structures and stones remained throughout the Andes, Inca symbols of power maintained a connection to the pre-Hispanic past.

The Inca's distinctive conceptualization of spatial ordering in relation to their imperial empire is reflected in seventeenth-century maps of the Andes drawn by indigenous artists. The oldest known map of Cuzco painted by an anonymous indigenous artist in 1543 provides a very different perspective of the colonial city as compared to the European ones discussed earlier—one in which the artist acknowledges both the city's indigenous character and its European elements (figure 2.15). Here, the dense urban fabric laid out by the Inca is punctuated with European churches, monasteries, and convents. The map is oriented along the main northwest axis of the city and features the Indian parishes of Santa Ana and San Pedro.<sup>43</sup> In contrast to the European prints discussed earlier, it reflects Cuzco's natural, undulating topography; with the hill of Carmenca at the top of the page and ravines along the bottom, the map reflects the city's narrow, meandering streets and layout, which conforms to the geography of the Peruvian highlands.

In addition to its topographic sensitivity, the map's architecture expresses colonial socio-political hierarchies and reflects ethnohistoric veracity. At the time this map was completed, the indigenous population of Cuzco was around 20,000, at least four times the city's European population.<sup>44</sup> This substantial population imbalance gave Cuzco a distinctively indigenous look. This detail, possibly reflecting the point of view of the artist, is especially evident in the 1543

watercolor map. Towards the center of the map where Spanish terracotta tile-roofed compounds, like the Plaza de San Francisco dominate, and the streets are wider and set perpendicular to one another. The periphery on the other hand, where indigenous groups like the Cañari and Chachapoya were relegated, is filled with winding streets and disorderly clusters of small, single-story houses with blue, pre-Hispanic straw-thatch roofs.

Evidently, pre-Hispanic ethnic distinctions continued to shape post-conquest urban life just as Inca structures framed the colonial Spanish city. As Inca structures were demolished and replaced by Spanish constructions, these structures assumed permanent positions in Cuzco's urban fabric, literally and figuratively changing the space to represent a new religious and social order. These acts were probably understood by indigenous viewers as powerful assertions of Spanish authority and statecraft. However, the imposition of Spanish urban ideals was ultimately imperfect and failed to account for the heterogeneity of indigenous worldviews and conceptions of space. This dissonance, as envisioned by comparing seventeenth-century maps of Cuzco created by the indigenous chronicler Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, complicated the colonial enterprise as reminders of the pre-Hispanic past and power remained present during the colonial period.

Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala wrote and illustrated the *Nueva crónica y buen goberno de las Indias* in 1615. His manuscript was written in the form of a 1,189-page letter addressing King Phillip III, denouncing the ill treatment of indigenous populations in the viceroyalty. He passionately described the extent to which “*policía, regla, y gobierno*” had collapsed under Spanish colonial institutions such as the *encomienda*<sup>45</sup> and the *corregimiento*<sup>46</sup> and implored the monarch to enact the necessary legislative reforms.<sup>47</sup> In an attempt to persuade King Phillip III to restore peace, order, and good government in Peru, he included 398 drawings to illustrate the

history of Andean civilization prior to Spanish arrival and the prevailing state of affairs in the viceroyalty, including individual city maps that enabled the monarch to “visit” each of the settlements.<sup>48</sup> His drawings, which depict both pre-Hispanic and colonial individuals, institutions, events, and worldviews, demonstrate disparate conceptions and perceptions of space, power, and order among indigenous and Spanish groups.

Guáman Poma used both text and image as rhetorical tools to create a comprehensive work that combines multiple literary genres, including the historical chronicle, epistle, and religious sermon. The first two-thirds of the *Nueva crónica* attempts to communicate the nobility and sophistication of Andean civilization prior to Spanish contact while the last third of the book documents the destructive effects of Spanish corruption and greed on Peruvian society. While Guáman Poma drew from Western European literary genres, he wrote in multiple languages, including Spanish, Latin, Quechua, and Aymara. Likewise, the manuscript’s illustrations stylistically combine Spanish and indigenous elements to create narrative scenes to educate a European audience about traditional Andean cosmology and cultural concepts. Although Guáman Poma applied European notions of space, composition, and naturalistic representation in his drawings, he drew with simple pen-and-ink contour lines, flattening and abstracting his forms and figures in a way that is strongly associated with the geometric abstraction of traditional Inca textiles and ceramics.<sup>49</sup>

One example is the *Mapa mundi del reino de las Indias* (figure 2.16), which utilizes European symbols to communicate Inca worldviews. The map is oriented to the east with Cuzco in the center of an ever-expanding periphery that includes all the *puertos* (sea ports) along the Pacific coast, the dense Amazon forest and Peruvian highlands, and the Atlantic Ocean beyond. Although it is asymmetric, the space feels ordered because of the map’s quadripartite division of

the Andean world. Guáman Poma gave Cuzco a prominent position, placing the city at the center of the map between the escutcheons of Castile and the Papacy. Here, the artist utilizes European symbols to communicate Cuzco's relative status in the Incan worldview, as the empire's cultural, political, and religious center. In addition to representing the expanse of the Inca Empire, the map also specifies different indigenous groups and local features, such as the relative sizes of settlements and native animals of the area, acknowledging their existence as essential complements to the Inca (*tinkuy*) and positioning the unifying Inca Empire as an example of *qhariwarmi*. By ordering the space of the imperial Inca Empire, *Tawantinsuyu*, the heterogeneous and far-flung populations ruled by the Inca were put in their places relative to the Inca religious and political center of Cuzco.

Though Guáman Poma claimed to be a devout Christian himself and included numerous illustrations that attested to his faith, some of the *Nueva corónica*'s images confirm his piety while undermining Spanish authority. In *Pontifical mundo* (figure 2.17), another illustration from the book, Guáman Poma again uses spatial composition in a symbolic way to suggest that Cuzco, and by extension the pre-Hispanic Inca past, maintained a formidable presence during the colonial period. The image of a Christian European city, similar to the archetype in the Ramusio engraving, is repeatedly stamped across the expanse of the Andes without regard for the topography, culture, or peoples of each site. Guáman Poma's drawing includes ten colonial cities symmetrically spaced across a mountainous landscape with an anthropomorphized sun in the distant horizon. Each city is defined by a church and an administrative center that face a central, rectangular plaza. Their design and orientation are homogeneously applied across the Peruvian landscape, demonstrating compositional and ideological unity of the viceroyalty. Cuzco is centered underneath the sun and situated directly across from Lima, the Spanish viceregal



capital. Guáman Poma's arrangement of these two cities reflects Andean concepts of complementarity; the opposing cities, the former Inca capital and the new Spanish viceregal capital, are shown embodying *tinkuy*. Here, Cuzco and Lima are set respectively in balancing *hanan* (upper) and *hurin* (lower) positions. Whereas to a European audience, this perspective of the two cities would merely indicate that Cuzco was further away than Lima from the viewer, this placement is characteristic of Inca power dynamics as noted in Chapter 1. Ordered upper and lower halves were associated with relative authority and status, the *hanan* half being the more privileged moiety. The placement of Cuzco in the upper position, positioned closer to the sun and higher up on the page, thus possibly reflects the author's own perceptions of his noble Inca heritage.

In Guáman Poma's map of Cuzco, the city appears indigenous rather than Spanish in design (figure 2.18). Unlike other city views included in the *Nueva corónica* such as Quito (figure 2.19) or Huamanga (figure 2.20), Cuzco's visual frame is densely crowded with historical information and architectural features. His accompanying written description presents Cuzco as a city of "total *policía*" yet one whose native population spoke "Inga," or Quechua.<sup>50</sup> Evidently, the artist wished to demonstrate that Cuzco exhibited many of the same qualities that Spaniards associated with *policía*: order, sociability, and organized mercantile life. Guáman Poma therefore fashioned an image of Cuzco that incorporated certain Spanish architectural elements and design principles while also capturing the sacred essence of what he referred to as "the capital and royal court of twelve Inca kings." Although the map includes colonial Cuzco's three plazas, he respected the Inca's original spatial organization discussed earlier and correctly located the *Huacapayta* and *Cusipata*. He also identified most of Cuzco's major monuments, including the Convent of Santo Domingo, which he labeled as the *Coricancha*.

To this extent, this vantage of Cuzco was topographically accurate. However, Guáman Poma relocated several iconographic Inca monuments to appear in close proximity to the city center. He repositioned the *Coricancha*, which was actually located about 300 meters south of the *Huacapayta*, to a site immediately adjoining the Plaza Mayor.<sup>51</sup> He also omitted the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, which dominated an entire side of the Plaza Mayor, and instead featured three Indian parish churches: Belén, San Blas, and San Cristóbal. These decisions may have been accidental or perhaps were made in an effort to include more of Cuzco's architectural features into a single visual frame.<sup>52</sup> This selective rearrangement, reminiscent of the Ramusio engraving's restitution of *Saqsayhuaman*, may have been influenced by Spanish urban ideals of having a city's governing institutions overlooking the main square.<sup>57</sup> In this way, it suggests the artist's desire to communicate the sophistication and civility of Cuzco. The omissions, however, subtly suggest a hierarchy of Christian faith that favors humble indigenous parishes over the ornate Spanish cathedral. Another potential reason why Guáman Poma included the *Coricancha* but neglected the Cathedral of Santo Domingo is possibly because the latter was seen as a visual metonym of the Conquest, as discussed earlier in the chapter. The Convent of Santo Domingo, on the other hand, retained the sacred foundational stones of the Inca *Coricancha* where native inhabitants continued to gather and worship. Whatever his reasoning, Guáman Poma demonstrated exceptional cultural sensitivity by combining both European and Andean signifying systems and manipulating his drawings' compositions to communicate his version of Cuzco, an uneasy and complex amalgamation of both cultures. Both his illustrations and the 1543 watercolor map of Cuzco demonstrate a colonial awareness of the pre-Hispanic past in the former Inca capital as well as continuity between Inca rule and Spanish colonization.

## Conclusion

Cuzco presented a space for a simultaneous aesthetic experience of past and present that was neither European nor Andean but instead entirely new and colonial. This experience was possible not only for those who stood in the Plaza Mayor looking at the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, but also for those who contemplated the Inca foundations and construction of Cuzco's colonial buildings. After 1534, the Spanish began to modify the urban fabric of Cuzco to suit their religious and administrative needs. They destroyed some Inca structures, appropriated others, and constructed new buildings from Inca stones. Seventeenth-century maps of Cuzco made by indigenous and European artists attempted to illustrate Spanish presence in the Andes and reflect post-Conquest changes. By comparing images of colonial Cuzco by European and indigenous artists, we can begin to envision the multitude of different perceptions of Spanish colonialism and shift from one vantage of Cuzco to multiple envisionings of the city's history, culture, and legacy after the Conquest.

For the Spanish, Cuzco was imagined as a "pagan city" still subject to Inca rule. Popularized European prints, such as the Ramusio and the de Bry engravings, did not reflect accurate views of the colonial city. Instead, they merely represented the idea of urban life based on Early Modern models. In this context, these images conveyed a clear ideological message: European and Christian dominion over the New World was actualized through spatial ordering meant to "civilize" the land and its peoples. On the other hand, indigenous perceptions of Cuzco depicted in 1643 watercolor map of Cuzco and in the drawings of Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala demonstrate spatial and historical continuity between Inca rule and Spanish colonization. Rather than a temporal tug-of-war depicted in de Bry's map, both indigenous and Spanish cultures and peoples were present in seventeenth-century Cuzco. Pre-Hispanic foundations gave form and

structure to the urban fabric of the city, and the use of these Inca foundations and the appropriation of Inca stones as building material meant that colonial Cuzco's streets and walls were constructed out of an Inca past that continued to be materially and visually present during the colonial period.

### CHAPTER III: THE COLONIAL CITY VISUALIZED, THE COLONIAL CITY LIVED

An existing space may outlive its original purpose and the *raison d'être* which determines its forms, functions, and structures; it may thus in a sense become vacant, and susceptible of being diverted, reappropriated and put to a use quite different from its initial one.

—Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*<sup>1</sup>

#### **Introduction**

In this discussion of colonial space, we will now consider how Cuzco's inhabitants, both Spanish and Andean, interacted with their surroundings both before and after the city's colonial transformation. Spanish colonial cities, Cuzco especially, were sites of impressive performances that symbolically reinforced the official positions of the Catholic church and state already articulated in the brick and mortar of colonial Spanish architecture. This chapter posits that Cuzco followed the colonial practice of establishing cities as sites wherein Spanish and indigenous agents performed their real and symbolic roles within the evolving socio-political milieu. Thus, I describe public spaces, such as the Plaza Mayor, as veritable stages for the performance and reinforcement of colonial social and ethnic order. As we shall see, these views of Cuzco functioned as visual assertions of the new political, social, and ethnic order. Most importantly, this chapter demonstrates how Cuzco's spatial organization and representations of its space communicated ambiguous messages of Spanish dominion that referenced, and therefore maintained, a connection to the pre-Hispanic past.

#### **Corpus Christi as Lived Space**

The Corpus of Santa Ana, a seventeenth-century series of Corpus Christi paintings, presents a view of Cuzco as a socio-political stage. For this reason, and because they portray important indigenous elements of the city, the paintings warrant close examination. The many,

often contradictory, views of colonial Cuzco in these commissioned canvases allow us to widen our vantage beyond dominant Euro-Christian narratives. This section explores the semantics of representation in these paintings, particularly aiming to determine how indigenous bodies and cultural practices signified within the colonial performances depicted.

A brief historical contextualization of Corpus Christi is needed before delving into the paintings. The feast of Corpus Christi was initially instituted to affirm the controversial Roman Catholic doctrine of transubstantiation. Declared a “triumph over heresy” by the Council of Trent in 1551, it proved useful in countering heretical assertions that the Eucharist was not the actual Body of Christ.<sup>2</sup> As Corpus Christi celebrated Christ’s victory over death, it also metaphorically paralleled the success of the Conquest and Spanish domination over non-Christian Andeans. Spanish colonial ecclesiastic and civic authorities promoted the festival as an affirmation of *policía* and as evidence of fruitful evangelization efforts in Cuzco. According to Carolyn Dean, Corpus Christi was based on signs of cultural difference and defined by its symbolic triumph over Andean subalterns: “While from the moment of its instigation the ravenous festival fed on the colonized, consuming their markers of cultural differences, Andeans themselves could not ingest the Corpus Christi. Corpus Christi alienated the colonized and enacted colonization.”<sup>3</sup> In this way, the concept of Corpus Christi relied upon and celebrated Andean subjugation in order to develop a new social order in which Euro-Christians would always occupy a greater station in the newly evangelized realm.

To evoke and actualize this “triumph over heresy,” Corpus Christi processions intentionally incorporated references to non-Roman Catholic beliefs, cultures, and peoples over which Christ would symbolically triumph in the form of the consecrated host. It would reference historical and contemporary political triumphs involving non-Christian peoples, explicitly

linking the state's political and military victories with divine triumphs.<sup>4</sup> Thus, the formal and festive languages of Corpus Christi not only encouraged but required the presence of an ethnic Other.<sup>5</sup> Unlike contemporaneous celebrations of Corpus Christi in Spain, which featured Spanish Christians dressed as Moors and Turks, the prerequisite opponents of colonial society and Christian religion in the Andes invoked the pre-Hispanic Inca. For Spaniards, it was not only important to include indigenous participants in Corpus Christi, but it was essential that they perform as native Andeans, as people over whom Christianity had triumphed. Indigenous participants of Corpus Christi thus *embodied* rather than represented alterity. Their cultural and religious differences were signified by pre-Hispanic costume, song, and dance—all the necessary trappings of indigeneity.<sup>6</sup> In annually performing alterity through pre-Hispanic cultural practices, indigenous Andean participants provided the necessary festive opponent.

Although it was an important celebration in all of the Spanish colonies, Corpus Christi was especially meaningful in Cuzco due to the city's historic significance. When Spanish chronicler Martín de Murúa wrote in his description of the Peruvian Viceroyalty, Cuzco was the first of the seventeen cities covered, explaining his decision:

even though today [Lima] is the principal city, having the most authority and glory of all of Peru because it is where the viceroys, *audiencia*, archbishop, and Inquisition are located...I shall speak first of the great city of Cuzco because it was the capital of these kingdoms and today, by royal grant, uses this title in Spanish writings and contract is named as such, and because the Inca from Cuzco brought civilization and urbanity to the provinces they conquered, and had in Cuzco had their seat, residence, and court, and finally, because Cuzco was the capital of all the kingdom of the Incas.<sup>7</sup>

Cuzco's colonial leaders had a vested interest in constructing remembrances of the pre-Hispanic past partly because their own prestige within the viceroyalty hinged on Cuzco's historic glory.<sup>8</sup> That glory literally rested on the stones of its Inca past; the triumphal aspects and festive language of Corpus Christi resonated profoundly in the streets and public spaces of Cuzco. As discussed in Chapter 2, Cuzco's central colonial monuments were visible, tangible, metonyms of

the Conquest. Framed by these structures, Corpus Christi in Cuzco was understood, and written about, as the triumph of Christ over *Inti* (the patron Inca sun deity) and the triumph of the Spanish over the Inca. Andean participation in Corpus Christi festivities, at least for colonial Spanish authorities, constituted conquest and victory in the ongoing battle against idolatry, with which indigenous groups were tacitly aligned.<sup>9</sup>

Native participation in Corpus Christi did not go unquestioned or unqueried. Spanish missionaries surreptitiously monitored celebrations to ensure that the indigenous Andeans were not using the feast as a pretext for worshipping their “idols.”<sup>10</sup> To quell colonial authorities’ anxieties, Spanish missionaries focused their efforts on re-contextualizing and replacing indigenous practices with analogous Christian ones. The Spanish chronicler “El Almagista” Cristóbal de Molina was one of the first to appreciate the potential of Andean religiosity. In 1535, he witnessed an Inca harvest festival and concluded:

Even though this [giving thanks to the Sun for the harvest] is an abominable and detestable thing, because this festival honors that which was created rather than the Creator to whom gratitude was owed, it makes a great example for understanding the thanks that we are obliged to give to God, our true Lord, for the good we have received, of that which we forget how much more do we owe.<sup>11</sup>

Spaniards did not necessarily find references to indigenous religious practices anathema; rather, colonial authorities recognized the practical value of maintaining certain Andean customs that were considered conducive to Christian worship.<sup>12</sup> They attempted to distinguish between the act of celebration and the object being celebrated by divorcing Andean festive forms from Andean religious beliefs so that these practices could be used in celebration of Catholic ideology. In fact, ecclesiastic leaders stressed the utilization rather than eradication of native religiosity and the careful application of substitutions.<sup>13</sup> In the case of Corpus Christi, the Council of Lima ordered that indigenous seasonal festivals be refocused on temporally equivalent Christian celebrations.<sup>14</sup> Indeed, the serendipitous temporal coincidence between Corpus Christi and the pre-Hispanic



festival of the June solstice, *Inti Raimi*, afforded Spanish missionaries an opportunity to redirect “misguided” Andean religiosity.

Reflecting the “triumph” of Corpus Christi in Cuzco is a series of paintings by indigenous artists from the last quarter of the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> Initially, these canvases, which describe the festive excesses and whole-hearted participation of the city’s Christian celebrants, appear to have succeeded. An analysis of this series reveals how “triumph over heresy” was transformed through Cuzco’s diverse colonial inhabitants and institutions into multiple, often competing and contradictory triumphs. In fact, Corpus Christi seems to have promoted annual dialogues about who was “triumphing” in colonial society.

The canvases, although painted by at least two anonymous indigenous artists, constitute a stylistically coherent festive record. They are sometimes referred to as the Corpus of Santa Ana or the Santa Ana Series because they were created to adorn the walls of the titular parish church.<sup>16</sup> According to an early nineteenth-century parish inventory, there were once eighteen canvases in the series, though only sixteen can be safely identified today (figures 3.1 to 3.14).<sup>17</sup> Of those, twelve belong to the Museo Arzobispal del Arte Religioso in Cuzco, and four reside in private collections in Santiago, Chile.<sup>18</sup> The paintings themselves vary in size from the smallest at approximately six square feet to the largest at roughly seven by eleven and a half feet. All sixteen canvases feature complex compositions with large arrays of personages; the least number of people portrayed in any single canvas is around thirty, while the most is more than a hundred and fifty.<sup>19</sup> Each illustrates a different stage of the festival in serial fashion with the triumphal floats of different parishes as the procession winds its way through the streets of Cuzco towards the city center, culminating in front of the Cathedral of Santo Domingo.

As the procession passed by Cuzco's eleven parishes on its way to the cathedral, each parish would join the cortege and display images of their patron saints or banners representing them (figure 3.15). Eight canvases depict the procession of saint images and their parishioner devotees (figures 3.2 to 3.9), including five of Cuzco's *parroquias de indios* (Indian parishes) with elite indigenous standard bearers in royal, pre-Hispanic dress (figures 3.6 to 3.9). Four other canvases feature Cuzco's four main religious orders: the Mercedarians, Augustinians, Franciscans, and Dominicans (figures 3.10 and 3.11).<sup>20</sup> Secular clergy members and key religious and political leaders of Cuzco, such as Bishop Manuel de Mollinedo y Angulo and Corregidor General Alonso Pérez de Guzmán, are also represented. The background in many of the canvases is occupied by Cuzco's local elites watching the passing procession from building windows and balconies, while members of the middle and lower economic sectors of colonial society are depicted in the foreground.

Since the paintings were a visual testament to Spanish triumph in Cuzco, the location and intended audience of the paintings is equally important. The parish of Santa Ana, the primary threshold between the city's indigenous outskirts and its Spanish center, was a particularly meaningful place to display paintings of Corpus Christi and all that they entailed. As discussed in Chapter 2, Santa Ana parish is located on the top of the hill of Carmenca and is the first church encountered as one arrives at Cuzco from the direction of the capital, Lima. Since Spanish cities in the viceroyalty conceptually faced the viceregal capital, Santa Ana was widely regarded as the entrance or beginning of Cuzco.<sup>21</sup> Cuzco's symbolic self-definition at this junction is significant, and one documented advent ceremony is revealing in this regard.<sup>22</sup>

In February 1571, Viceroy Francisco de Toldeo visited Cuzco, and his arrival was recorded by his secretary. The ceremony began at the arch on the slopes of "Carmega." Before

that point, indigenous Andeans had performed native dances and other “*invenciones*,” but once Toledo reached the arch, he was greeted by Spanish municipal officials, who then escorted the viceroy through Cuzco’s decorated city streets to the Plaza Mayor.<sup>23</sup> According to the performative code of the ceremony, Santa Ana parish was conceived of as native territory; the place where the road passed underneath the liminal arch was the beginning of Spanish Cuzco. Because this parish was the entrance to colonial Cuzco, it was in this space that the arriving dignitary formed his first impression of Cuzco. Hence, it was also the space where Cuzco’s indigenous Andean characteristics were most heavily accented. Here, visiting dignitaries were escorted through history as well as space. Native dances performed outside of the archway metonymically recalled the “pagan,” Inca capital and past that were banished from Spanish Cuzco in 1534. The idea that Corpus Christi replaced Andean *raymis* (festivals) resonated strongly in this location where Inca Cuzco was superseded by Spanish Cuzco. The Series of Santa Ana alludes to the triumph of Christianity over Inca religion and culture in that the *parroquias de indios* are led by native standard-bearers wearing pre-Hispanic regalia that recalled noble indigenous rulers.<sup>24</sup> These costumed indigenous Christian elites thus *embody* the conversion of their ancestors, and their painted evocations similarly echo Cuzco’s performative conversion, which would take place outside of the parish walls as those arriving at Cuzco passed under the arch, moving from indigenous space to Spanish space.<sup>25</sup>

The identification of the paintings as varying visions of the feast of Corpus Christi undermines the credibility of any single canvas, or any single perspective on colonial society in Cuzco, and it promotes a reevaluation of how the documentary mode operates in the series. The canvases themselves purport to record a single, seventeenth-century festival as it happened in serial fashion. Well-known citizens of Cuzco are portrayed, such as Mollinedo, Perez, civil

council members, and parish leaders, and actual buildings are also recognizable. The Cathedral of Santo Domingo is seen in two canvases (figures 3.15 and 3.16), and both La Merced, the Mercedarian church, and La Compañía, the Jesuit church, are realistically portrayed in two others (figures 3.3 and 3.2).<sup>26</sup> Also depicted are the town hall and other recognizable structures like the Palacio del Almirante (figures 3.11, 3.5, and 3.13).<sup>27</sup> In addition to recording recognizable people and places, the canvases emphasize the diversity of Cuzco's society in the last quarter of the seventeenth century. They include representatives of different racial groups: indigenous Andeans, people of European descent, and people of African descent as well as persons of mixed ethnicity (*mestizos*). Both genders are also represented in the canvases as well as a range of ages and social classes. It is through this complex assemblage of personages, architecture, and social classes that the series purports to represent objective reality, recording Cuzco's Christian community in all its heterogeneity and complexity.

Indeed, this is evident in the final and largest painting of the series *The Processional Finale* (figure 3.14).<sup>28</sup> Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the series, the emphasis is on amity and racial harmony as the procession enters the cathedral. Over ninety persons are depicted gathering in front of the building. The procession arrives from the lower right and enters the open doors of the cathedral in the center of the canvas. At the head of the procession are Spanish priests carrying high crosses and candlesticks. They are followed Bishop Mollinedo and the monstrance underneath the processional canopy, flanked by two Spanish priests. Behind the clergy are ten laymen, possibly political leaders of Cuzco as they are well-dressed and five of them carry staffs.<sup>29</sup> From left to right, members of the parishes of Santiago, San Cristóbal, Santa Ana, Belén, the Hospital de los Naturales, and San Sebastián witness the procession with their respective patron saint images. Several native dignitaries with staffs can be spotted in the group

surrounding their patron saints. In the lower left, the canvas features a group of thirteen non-Inca Andeans wearing pre-Hispanic feathered headdresses, matching European-style breeches, and billowing lace sleeves. Eight of them discharge firearms; four hold staffs; and one kneels waving a Spanish royal banner, saluting the procession. An analysis of the painting's composition, namely individual's and groups' relative proximity to the monstrance, reveals the underlying colonial social hierarchy. In terms of social and political hierarchy, the processional order was understood as a function of the participants' relative importance in society.<sup>30</sup> Interestingly, this is not the same processional group seen in *Bishop Mollinedo* (figure 3.13); the pole bearers and the ecclesiastic members are changed between the canvases. This and other inconsistencies suggest that although the canvases are organized to appear as segments of a single procession, they actually represent multiple versions and visions of Corpus Christi.

Clearly, the Series of Santa Ana allowed multiple individuals, groups, and institutions to fashion and advance their own visions of themselves and their roles in seventeenth-century Cuzco. Having their public visage commemorated on the walls of Santa Ana parish allowed the canvases' subjects and sponsors to introduce themselves to anyone entering the city and offered them an opportunity to formulate local culture. The series functioned less as a historical record than as a historical process. Earlier, we acknowledged colonial authorities' anxieties about indigenous participation in Corpus Christi. In light of this discord, it is perhaps not coincidental that a small child in the *Corregidor Pérez* canvas aims a peashooter off canvas toward what can only be the approaching bishop (figure 3.12a and 3.12b). On the far right edge of the canvas, in the background of the procession, a group of people direct their attention to that which follows the procession in front of them. All of these characters appear to be in the process of kneeling, and one man doffs his hat in a sign of respect, indicating that he has spotted Bishop Mollinedo

bearing the monstrance in the following canvas. In the midst of this reverent and unifying moment, the child's disrespectful action bespeaks underlying ethnic and social tensions between Cuzco's inhabitants and the current political order.

While scholarly opinion about the series' artistic merits varies, the canvases have been unanimously hailed for their documentary value and have been cited frequently as a testament to the diversity of Cuzco's seventeenth-century society. Many scholars have regarded the Series of Santa Ana as a window into Cuzco's past rather than a construction of that past. It has been evoked repeatedly as a vibrant document of viceregal culture, history, society, and religious practices. Since it was displayed publicly in a Western Christian context at the entrance of Cuzco, the Series of Santa Ana only depicts the sanctioned aspects of the pre-Hispanic past. However, we cannot discount the suggestive power that ritually donning pre-Hispanic costume and partaking in pre-Hispanic rituals may have held for an indigenous Andean audience and indigenous elite Corpus Christi participants. Nor can we discount the effect of publically visualizing the pre-Hispanic past at the entrance of Cuzco in the Santa Ana series. When the Corpus Christi festival was performed annually in Cuzco, it maintained and renewed the city's historic connection to its Inca past. It offered an opportunity for indigenous groups to define and affirm their respective ethnic identities.

### **Unstable Ground, Christ of the Earthquakes**

Like the Series of Santa Ana, which memorializes a religious celebration that unified Cuzco's diverse society, the documents discussed in this section were created to commemorate another unifying religious event: the earthquake of 1650. On 31 March 1650, a massive earthquake shook Cuzco. The main earthquake lasted for about five minutes and was followed

by as many as three hundred tremors over the following month.<sup>31</sup> Almost all of the city's structures were destroyed.<sup>32</sup> One eyewitness described the destruction of Cuzco's city center as nearly total:

It also damaged all of the houses of the town, crashing them to the ground, and those that remained standing are so damaged that it is not possible to enter them due to the risk they pose with their collapse.<sup>33</sup>

Other accounts describe widespread structural damage and underscore the confusion and desperation of the city's inhabitants.<sup>34</sup> One Spanish cleric reveals the anxiety and fear that he, and presumably others in Cuzco, must have felt: "El vivir en esta Cuidad, es morir, en medio de tantos temores, y sobre saltos, sin dar paso sin riesgo de la vida, ni hallar lugar seguro para ella" (To live in this city is to die, amidst so many fears and starts, unable to take a step without risking a life, unable to find safety).<sup>35</sup> Indeed, the earthquake of 1650 brought death, despair, and destruction to Cuzco.

In response to the damage, the earthquake of 1650 also ushered in a period of intense architectural production to rebuild the city in the second half of the seventeenth century. It also drove several additional areas of cultural production: a corpus of representations of the seismic event itself, including written correspondence between colonial administrators, official surveys of the damage, and at least one painting. Like the Series of Santa Ana discussed earlier, these textual and visual accounts provide windows into the construction of seventeenth-century colonial Spanish discourses and reveal a complex array of socio-spatial and ethnic tensions. These accounts are unified in their focus on a single event and emphasis on the devastation it caused. The following analysis of these sources explores the strategies through which architecture was linked with conceptions about colonial personhood in seventeenth-century Cuzco, and it reveals some of the values associated with architecture from the perspective of Spaniards and others involved in the governance of the Spanish colonial state.

The conceptual ties that bind architecture to space are clear in the correspondence between Juan de la Cerda y de la Coruña, the *corregidor* of Cuzco at the time of the 1650 earthquake, and García de Sotomayor, the Second Count of Salvatierra and Viceroy of Peru from 1648 to 1655. Three of the letters discuss the 1650 earthquake and its impact at length.<sup>36</sup> The earliest is signed and dated 6 April 1650, one week after the initial tremor. De la Cerda begins to describe the event, but shortly after the subject turns to death:

It seems that approximately twenty-eight to thirty Indian women, children, and men died, but the exact number remains unknown since others may be discovered. A three-year-old son of the Viscount died as did a high-ranking administrator of Santo Domingo, who was hit and killed on the street by a falling piece of wood. No nobleman, Spaniard, or woman died.<sup>37</sup>

In the form of a falling piece of wood, de la Cerda identifies architecture as the cause of the Dominican administrator's death. He goes on to stress architecture's potential to cause death but emphasizes that damage to buildings associated with Spanish institutions resulted in few fatalities. He notes that the bell tower of the monastic complex of San Francisco fell and destroyed the choir loft, and two cells and the kitchen of Santa Clara Convent had collapsed—but no one died in either of these instances. De la Cerda also notes that two of Cuzco's buildings most closely associated with Spaniards and the Crown, the Hospital for Spaniards and the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, suffered no damage.<sup>38</sup>

A week later, de la Cerda reported in his second letter that in spite of continuing aftershocks, no more tragedies had occurred. However, he later recounted that the Indian parishes of Belén, San Blas, Hospital de los Naturales, and Santiago had collapsed and caused “haber muerto quece o viento indias y muchachos” (fifteen or twenty Indian women and children to die).<sup>39</sup> It would seem that according to de la Cerda “no more fatalities” meant “no more fatalities, except among Cuzco's indigenous population.” Similar contradictions appear in his previous letter, in which he mentions that several Indian women had died. Again, in his last



letter, dated 13 May 1650, he notes that in the weeks that had passed that “no ha muerto más gente sino solo dos indios que cayeron del techo de una iglesia” (no more people died except for two Indians who fell off the roof of a church).<sup>40</sup>

In contrast to the diversity and racial harmony of Cuzco’s society depicted in the Series of Santa Ana, de la Cerda’s letters construct a version of Cuzco with only two ethnic groups: Spaniards and indigenous Andeans. In spite of the documented existence of Africans and their descendants in the city as well as mestizos, the ideological work performed by such statements is unmistakable.<sup>41</sup> They flatten a heterogeneous city into a one-dimensional space, and moreover, create a link between architecture and specific social and ethnic groups. The disproportionate ratio of indigenous fatalities to Spanish deaths reflects the city’s seventeenth-century demographics, as discussed in Chapter 2. De la Cerda, however, does not acknowledge or make any reference to this fact, alluding instead to divine forces at work in determining who lived and who died. In his second letter, he writes:

With this wickedness and the confessions that have been made for twenty and thirty years, the thanks that are owed to God for not having swallowed the entire city into the earth as happened in the time of the Inca with other earthquakes, which we see when we break ground for some foundations.<sup>42</sup>

Here, perhaps more than anywhere else in the letters, the link between unorthodox Andean religiosity and the destruction of indigenous architecture becomes clear. De la Cerda interprets the presence of Inca architecture underneath the city as proof of destructive earthquakes in the past. He describes Inca elements as being invisible under normal circumstances, and visible only when “we break ground for some foundations.” As we have seen in Chapter 2, there were many Inca walls and stones that remained visible in Cuzco in 1650, notably the apse wall of the Convent of Santo Domingo. De la Cerda, however, describes these Inca structures as “buried underground,” and in doing so associates colonial Spanish architecture with religious orthodoxy.

It is likely that his reference to the “confessions that have been made for twenty and thirty years” refers to the Archdiocese’s campaigns to extirpate lingering forms of pre-Hispanic “idolatry,” which were discussed earlier in Chapters 1 and 2. What these letters ultimately imply is that the unorthodox religiosity of Cuzco’s indigenous inhabitants was the reason the earthquake of 1650 struck the city, killed members of that sector of society, and destroyed their churches. De la Cerda’s assertion that the cathedral and the Hospital of the Spaniards in Cuzco survived the earthquake of 1650 with little or no damage thus serves as evidence of Spanish piety and the probable reason for the relatively few number of fatalities among Spaniards.

Some of the details reported by de la Cerda are echoed in the *Relación del terremoto*, a four-page pamphlet published in Madrid in 1651 by Julián de Paredes. Like de la Cerda’s letters, the report also mentions the deaths of the Dominican administrator and the Viscount of Portillo’s three-year-old son, and it catalogs the extensive damage the city. In other details of the earthquake, however, the *Relación del terremoto* differs from de la Cerda’s account. For example, it reports that the Cathedral of Santo Domingo was damaged so severely by the initial tremor that “será menester derribar la mayor parte de ella” (it will be necessary to demolish most of it).<sup>43</sup> This detail directly contradicts de la Cerda’s assertion that the cathedral did not suffer any damage. Additionally, the *Relación del terremoto* documents a greater total number of fatalities than what was reported by the *corregidor*. Although it is uncertain why the *Relación* reports almost twice as many deaths, it concludes that the earthquake of 1650 was a demonstration of divine might and suggests that survival and death are linked to differing degrees of religious piety and orthodoxy among the city’s inhabitants.

Furthermore, the *Relación del terremoto* goes into detail about how the city’s Spanish residents responded to the natural disaster. Midway through the Madrid report, Paredes describes

the ceremonies enacted by Spaniards to appease the Lord's anger. Among the acts described is a procession led by the Order of San Juan de Dios, in which the devotional saint images were presented in the Plaza Mayor and surrounded with candles to be venerated openly. The public candle display evoked an impassioned response among Cuzco's inhabitants: "[T]antas las lágrimas, alaridos, y sollozo que parecía que se acabava el mundo, y que era el día del juizio llegado" (There was so much crying, shrieking, and sobbing that it seemed that the world was ending and that Judgment Day had arrived).<sup>44</sup>

When the construction of the cathedral was finished in 1654, artworks were commissioned to decorate the new church. One of these paintings, the ex-voto *Cuzco after the 1650 Earthquake*, was commissioned by Alonso de Monroy y Cortés to commemorate the manner in which Cuzco's local citizenry had gathered in prayer to solicit divine intervention (figure 3.16).<sup>45</sup> According to the painting's inscription, the earthquake began at 1:30 P.M. with an initial tremor that lasted for about nine to ten minutes. It struck with "such violence and force that it destroyed churches, convents, and houses in all parts of the city," and aftershocks continued to ravage the city for another six weeks. Here, Cuzco is portrayed from an elevated vantage point to the northeast overlooking the cathedral. In the center, there are three plazas: the Plaza Mayor in the foreground, the Plaza del Regocijo in the middle, and the Plaza de San Francisco, which appears furthest from the viewer.

The plazas are filled with people engaged in various activities, but the damage inflicted on the city's architecture by the earthquake is equally important pictorial theme. The way in which architectural damage is represented visually departs in some ways from the textual accounts discussed earlier. In the letters of de la Cerda and in the *Relación del terremoto*, the architectural damage was described in terms of structural collapse. Scenes of Spanish terracotta

tilled roofs cracking and falling in appear throughout the image, as do huge cracks traversing the walls of buildings. Other symbols of architectural destruction in *Cuzco after the 1650 Earthquake*—the fires raging out of control and white smoke billowing from windows—are not mentioned in any of the texts. This difference may be due to the patron's or the anonymous painter's own memories of the event, but it may also be a result of the comparisons made in the *Relación del terremoto* between the earthquake and the Final Judgment. Indeed, flames and smoke were pervasive in images of the Final Judgment, and a number of such paintings and prints were produced in the seventeenth-century Andes.<sup>46</sup> Another parallel between apocalyptic imagery and the ex-voto painting is the scene of divine intervention in the upper left corner, since representations of the Virgin Mary praying to the Holy Trinity are standard parts of the iconography of the Final Judgment.<sup>47</sup> Here, *La Nuestra Señora de los Remedios* appears alongside the bishop, pleading on behalf of Cuzco to Heaven.<sup>48</sup>

Although the painting departs from some of the details in the written accounts, in other ways, it corroborates them. Notably, the cathedral appears undamaged as described in the letters of de la Cerda. Its vaulted domes are among the few rounded shapes in the visual frame, and they are shown as intact, reinforcing the association between the religiosity of the city's Spanish populace and the fortitude of their architecture. The painting also depicts the deaths of few Spaniards. In addition to the attention to detail on the city's built environment and its destruction, the anonymous artist is equally concerned with the manner in which the citizens of Cuzco have publically gathered to pray for divine intervention, which evokes a mood of penitence rather than panic. Like the *Relación del terremoto*, the painting records the repentant and pious actions of Cuzco's Spanish citizens. The Catholic clergy leads a procession of parishioners on the left side of the Plaza Mayor, carrying the statue of Christ of the Earthquakes, followed by the Eucharist

underneath a canopy, as both Spaniards and Creoles gather to beg for divine mercy (figure 3.17). The letters “INRI” are visible on the cross’ plaque. In the adjacent Plaza del Regocijo, huddled groups of indigenous peoples pray under the instruction of Dominican friars. The marginality of this scene demonstrates that the earthquake’s impact on the city’s indigenous population was not the main concern of the painter or patron. Rather it focuses on the fate and actions of Spaniards. From processions of saint images to leading others in prayer, such acts appear in all of the plazas, forming a central axis in the painting.

Disparities in the way the earthquake of 1650 was described in the letters of de la Cerda, the *Relación del terremoto*, and the ex-voto painting bespeak the different functions each of those representations were designed to fulfill. De la Cerda’s inclusion of more details about the fate of Cuzco’s indigenous population might be seen as a reflection of his desire to present an image of himself as provider of good government to all of those under his charge. In contrast, the *Relación del terremoto*, with its description of the Spaniards’ acts of piety, may have been intended to appeal to a larger audience in Madrid eager to learn the fate of Spaniards in the face of such a violent demonstration of God’s wrath. The painting’s focus on the Spanish and Creole populations of Cuzco and their survival may relate to the fact that it was commissioned by a Spaniard whose portrait appears in the lower right corner of the painting.<sup>49</sup> *Cuzco After the Earthquake of 1650* was meant to deliver a spiritual message about the protective powers of Christianity and to illustrate the efficacy of individual and collective prayer. Hence, it was displayed publicly just inside of the Cathedral’s main entrance to memorialize the event.<sup>50</sup> The ex-voto illustrates a communal identity promoted by colonial authorities, with colonists on bended knee before the upraised sculpture of a single Christian deity: Christ of the Earthquakes.

Indeed, after almost a century of effective evangelization, the plaza is the location of the supposed homogeneity of cuzqueño faith.

Despite the differences in these accounts of the earthquake of 1650, the texts and image are unified in their assertion that the earthquake brought about the destruction of most of Cuzco's buildings, the death of some indigenous inhabitants, and the death of few Spaniards. It is clear that the representations discussed in this section often contradict one another on details. However, they also construct a coherent socio-spatial universe by linking the fortitude of architecture with religious piety. Fatalities among indigenous populations occurred in concert with the destruction of their parish churches and are associated, in at least some cases, with their unorthodox religious practices. In contrast, the survival of Spaniards is linked to the structural strength of their institutions and orthodox religiosity. The consistency with which these associations are made in these accounts reveals some of the ideals and values in seventeenth-century Cuzco, in which ethnicity is linked with morality through architecture.

## **Conclusion**

As we have seen in Chapters 1 and 2, space in Cuzco was produced through acts of alteration, destruction, and construction. As a result, urban space in Cuzco was a literal and symbolic combination of Inca and Spanish elements. However, as we have seen in this chapter, uses of space, such as processions, celebrations, and other events that unfolded publically, were equally as important as Cuzco's physical architecture and monuments. In examining documented uses of public spaces, like the Plaza Mayor and the Cathedral of Santo Domingo, we see how Cuzco's Spanish and indigenous inhabitants contested and contextualized colonial space. Visual representations and textual accounts of Corpus Christi and the earthquake of 1650 reveal signs of

cultural and ethnic discord in many, often conflicting accounts of these historical events. The works discussed in this section provide a partial record of Spanish colonization.

The Spaniards' unrelenting desire to convert native Andeans to Christianity inevitably created possibilities for cultural resistance. Although the feast of Corpus Christi was intended to celebrate the triumph of the Conquest over native Andeans and Inca culture, it provided annual opportunities for Cuzco's indigenous inhabitants to maintain a connection to their pre-Hispanic heritage and cultural practices. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2, the linguistic and cultural challenges in communicating religious beliefs that differentiated between representation and embodiment complicated the colonial enterprise. Because native participants in Corpus Christi embodied rather than simply represented the pre-Hispanic past, colonial administrators and institutions inadvertently maintained a salient link between the colonial present and the Inca past in Cuzco. By annually referencing this contentious history through Corpus Christi performances, Corpus Christi highlighted ethnic and social differences among all of its inhabitants rather than unifying Cuzco's citizenry in religious devotion.

Ultimately, any triumph Spanish colonizers achieved was ambivalent, and their efforts to proclaim the Conquest as a "triumph over heresy" were often premature or overly optimistic. Likewise, in comparing textual and visual accounts of the earthquake of 1650, we see how Cuzco's architecture was linked explicitly to the morality of its Spanish and indigenous inhabitants. In other words, the built space of the city directly reflected the identity, culture, and beliefs of its inhabitants, and these associations reveal the complex constructions of culture in the Spanish colonial enterprise. Similar to the maps discussed in Chapter 2, these signs of cultural negotiation illustrate the complex process of colonization as Cuzco's different ethnic groups

navigated the unfamiliar colonial landscape to assert their individual and collective interests within the new socio-ethnic and political hierarchy.



## CONCLUSION

As the capital and conceptual center of the imperial Inca empire, Cuzco was saturated with political, religious, and cultural power. The city itself was considered sacred, and this idea was reflected in the city's layout, its monuments, and the Inca's cultural practices that repeatedly centered the rest of *Tawatinsuyu* in relation to Cuzco. By integrating the natural landscape into their architecture, serving both as a visually distinct architectural style and as culturally resonant symbols of *tinkuy* and *qhariwarmi*, the Inca demarcated their claims to the possession and assimilation of Andean land. Inca cultural practices, such as the long-distance transport of materials, objects, and people, likewise created symbolic and material links between Cuzco and provinces throughout the empire. As discussed in Chapter 1, architecture for the Inca was a pursuit that defined civilization itself. The ways in which the Inca cultivated and reinforced this unique perspective through their spatial practices made potent statements of their political authority and presence throughout the Andes. My study supports the conclusion that these powerful statements, which manifested in Inca constructions and were embedded in the building materials, continued to exist post-Conquest and communicated the same messages to sixteenth- and seventeenth-century indigenous Andean audiences in spite of Spanish modifications to the urban fabric.

With the arrival of the Spanish in 1533, Cuzco underwent an extensive urban planning campaign endeavoring to redesign the former Inca capital in Spanish colonial terms. Whereas Inca spatial practices celebrated ritual mastery over the unordered natural environment and its peoples, the Spanish based their understanding of space on Early Modern utopian ideals. They attempted to transcribe these principles into the Andean landscape. Notably, the constructions of the Plaza Mayor from the Inca dual plaza, *Huacapatya* and *Cusipata*, the Convent of Santo

Domingo from the foundations of the *Coricancha*, and the Cathedral of Santo Domingo from the stones from *Saqsayhauman* and the sand from the *Huacapatya*, embody and express different Spanish colonial strategies for assimilating Cuzco's indigenous population into the new social, political, and ethnic order. Through processes of construction, destruction, and alteration, these physical changes to the sacred geography of Cuzco express conflicting aspirations. On one hand, colonial administrators adapted Cuzco's Inca architecture to conform more closely to Spanish urban ideals in order to promote *policía* among the city's inhabitants. On the other hand, they maintained connections to the pre-Hispanic past since their own position in the viceroyalty hinged on Cuzco's historic significance and many indigenous cultural practices were deemed conducive to evangelization. The cultural ambiguity of these urban modifications is reflected in seventeenth-century maps of the city made by indigenous and European artists, which function less as cartographically accurate depictions of space and more as diverse perspectives on colonial identity.

Indeed, both Spaniards and native Andeans identified visual art as a potentially powerful advocate, capable of conveying, solidifying, and advancing their positions in an ever-evolving colonial society. Both the Series of Santa Ana and the corpus of material generated after the earthquake of 1650 contain internal contradictions and inconsistencies. Rather than discounting these conflicting narratives, however, these differing perspectives on uses of space are valuable precisely because they provide a partial record of Spanish colonization in the Andes. They demonstrate the importance of urban space and architecture during the colonial period. How space was constructed and produced in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Cuzco was deeply meaningful and as powerful as the political statements that the Inca had made with their imperial architectural campaigns. These accounts also illustrate social, political, and ethnic tensions

among seventeenth-century Cuzco's diverse inhabitants and institutions as they negotiated their positions in the the new colonial order.

In the aftermath of the Conquest, Cuzco was a liminal space. It was a manifestation of both the pre-Hispanic Inca past and the Spanish colonial present. Although the Spanish tried to imbue the city with significance in accordance with their worldview, Cuzco retained great political and religious sway in the colonial period because of enduring Inca spatial practices. In spite of Spanish efforts to assert political dominance and evangelize native populations, pre-Hispanic Andean traditions and practices were not easily removed, replaced, or re-contextualized due to their material nature. Given the continuing existence of sacred buildings and building materials, this was especially true in Cuzco. The process of Spanish colonization was complex and contested through indigenous understandings of space, Andean cultural concepts like *kamay*, and Spanish religious practices like Corpus Christi, which maintained connections to the pre-Hispanic Inca past throughout the colonial period.

## NOTES

### Introduction

1. The term “Inca” is used throughout this thesis to refer to the Quechua-speaking peoples of the Andes as well as, more generally, the imperial Inca Empire itself. To this extent, “Inca” refers to a collective ethnic identity. The terms “Andean,” “Amerindian,” and “indigenous” are all used to describe aboriginal inhabitants of the Andes in South America, which include the Inca.
2. J. H. Elliott, “Spain and America in the Sixteen and Seventeenth Centuries” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America Volume I*, ed. Leslie Bethell (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 303.
3. Laura Laurencich Minelli, introduction to *The Inca World, the Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, ed. Laura Laurencich Minelli (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 3.
4. Garcilaso de La Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, trans. Harold V. Livermore, ed. Karen Spalding (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc. [1609], 2006), v.
5. Felipe Fernández-Armesto, “Aztec Auguries and Memories of the Conquest of Mexico,” *Renaissance Studies* (1992): 288.
6. Elizabeth Hill Boone, introduction to *Native Traditions in the Postconquest World a Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks 2<sup>nd</sup> through 4<sup>th</sup> October 1992*, eds. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas B. F. Cummins (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Trustees for Harvard University, 1998), 6.
7. See Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010); Maarten J. D. Van de Guchte, “*Carving the World*”: *Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape* (PhD diss., University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990); César Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: The Andean Roots of Abstract Art*, trans. Esther Allen (Austin: University of Texas Press, [1989] 1996); Jeremy James George, *Four Parts Together, Shaping Shapelessness: The Cultural Poetics of Inka Spatial Practice* (PhD diss., The City University of New York, CUNY, 2012).
8. See Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inka Architecture*, trans. Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980); Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inka Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo* (London: Oxford University Press, 1993); Stella Nair, *Of Remembrance and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa Inka to the Spanish Occupation* (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2003) and *At Home with the Sapa Inca, Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2015); Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inka History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999); John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement*

*Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990) and *The Inka Road System: Studies in Archaeology* (St. Louis: Academic Press, 1984).

9. Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. D. Nicholson-Smith (Malden and Cambridge: Blackwell [1974] 2000), 33.
10. Anthropologist Setha Low distinguishes between the “construction” and “production” of place. According to Low, construction is the symbolic experience of space whereas production is the physical creation of the material setting. Setha Low, “Spatializing Culture: The Social Production and Social Construction of Public Space in Costa Rica,” *American Ethnologist*, (1986): 861. In regards to the Inca and colonial Andean architecture, the phenomenological distinction between “place” and “space” is equally important. In current literature, “space” is defined as either three-dimensional geometry or as a perceptual field. Architecture has the ability to make the environment meaningful through the creation of concrete places, which are socially experienced as opposed to the abstract connotations of “space.” Kenneth Frampton, “On Reading Heidegger” in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture, an Anthology of Architectural Theory*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996). However, human actions do not take place in this abstract, homogenous space; rather they occur in a space distinguished by qualitative differences and unique character, in concrete places. Christian Norberg-Schulz, “The Phenomenon of Place” in *Theorizing a New Agenda for Architecture, an Anthology of Architectural Theory*, ed. Kate Nesbitt (New York: Princeton University Press, 1996). Whereas the Inca’s spatial practices emphasized place, constantly centering their expanding imperial empire in and around Cuzco, Spanish administrators were more concerned with the abstract production of space in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.
11. In the Andes, there was no pictorial tradition in any indigenous medium that could accommodate European images in the same manner as in Mexico. Cummins and Boone have argued that although indigenous Andean groups were capable of assimilating European forms and ideas and emulating Spanish pictorial traditions for their own purposes, but they did not necessarily follow the same trajectory as their Mexican counterparts. Elizabeth Hill Boone and Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Colonial Foundations: Points of Contact and Compatibility,” *The Arts of Latin America, 1492-1820*, eds. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2006), 11-21.
12. Thomas B. F. Cummins, “Sacred Threads and Golden Needles: The Inca, the Spanish, and the Sacred World of Humanity,” *Contested Visions in the Spanish Colonial World, The Colonial Andes: Tapestries and Silverwork, 1530-1830*, (2004): 18.
13. For an overview of colonial sources see Kathleen Ross, “Historians of the Conquest and Colonization of the New World: 1550-160,” *The Cambridge History of Latin American Literature. Volume I, Discovery to Modernism*, ed. Roberto González Echevarría, and Enrique Pupo-Walker (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 101-142. See also Stella Nair, *Of Remembrance and Forgetting* for a recent overview of Spanish chronicles specific to Inca architecture and ritual.

## Chapter I

1. Henry Glassie, *Vernacular Architecture* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000), 17.
2. Gary Urton, *At the Crossroads of the Earth and Sky, An Andean Cosmology* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1946), 37.
3. Ibid., 38.
4. Carolyn Dean, "The Inca Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *Art Bulletin*, (Sept 2007): 504.
5. Ibid.; Carolyn Dean, introduction to *Inka Bodies and the Bodies of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 3.
6. Tristan Platt, "Mirror and Maize: The Concept of *Yanantin* among the Macha of Bolivia," *Anthropological History of Andean Politics*, eds. John V. Murra, Nathan Wachtel, and Jacques Revel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 228-259.
7. It is important to note that Andean conception complementarity does not connote equality; the system subjects the lower (*hurin*) to the upper (*hanan*) complement. However, these pairs are conceived as flexible and relative rather than fixed hierarchies.
8. Dean, "The Inca Married the Earth," 502.
9. John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944), 15.
10. Following the observations of the John H. Rowe, most scholars recognize two main styles of Inca stone wall construction: coursed masonry (referring to parallelepipeds placed in relatively regular courses) and uncoursed masonry (referring to polygonal blocks or irregular shapes and heights that interlock forming discontinuous courses).
11. John Bierhorst, *Black Rainbow: Legends of the Inca and Myths of Ancient Peru* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1976), 20.
12. Domingo de Santo Tomás, *Grammática o arte de la lengua general de los Indios de los Reynos del Peru* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1560] 1951), 116; Diego González de Holguín, *Arte y diccionario Qquechua-Español* (Lima: Imprenta del Estado, [1608] 1901), 271.
13. Jean-Pierre Protzen, "Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44, no. 2, (1985).
14. For a detailed description of the Inca's fitting and laying technique, see Ibid., 169-180.

15. Dean, "The Inca Married the Earth," 509.
16. Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella Nair, "Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills? A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry," *Journal of Society and Architectural Historians* 56, no. 2, (1997): 160.
17. John Hyslop, *Inca Settlement Planning*, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 102-28; see also Margaret Greenup MacLean, *Sacred Land, Sacred Water: Inca Landscape Planning in the Cuzco Area* (PhD diss., University of California, Berkeley, 1986) for a description of Inca terraced agriculture.
18. In fact, it is likely that the Inca cast their architectural building in opposition to Andean groups that employed other site-planning patterns like the nearby Huari at Pikillacta.
19. See Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999) for more examples and a discussion of Inca sensitivity to local topographic features.
20. Thomas B. F. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities, Lima, and the Construction of Colonial Representation," *Converging Cultures: Art and Identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996), 158.
21. Ibid.
22. In pre-Hispanic times, rocks could be considered sacred for a variety of reasons. Some were thought to be the petrified heroes, ancestors, or owners of territories. See Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on Rock*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010) and Claudia Brosseder, "Cultural Dialogue and Its Premises in Colonial Peru: The Case of Worshipping Sacred Objects," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, (2012): 383-414.
23. Dennis E. Ogburn, "From Cusco to the Four Quarters and Vice Versa: Connecting Sacred Spaces in the Inca Empire through the Movement of Stone, Sand, and Soil," *Inca Sacred Space, Landscape, Site, and Symbol in the Andes*, eds. Frank Medden, Katie Willis, Colin McEwan, and Nicholas Branch (London: Archetype Publications Ltd., 2014), 98.
24. Pedro de Cieza de León, *The Discovery and Conquest of Peru: Chronicles of the New World Encounter*, trans. David Cook Noble and Alexandra Parma Cook (Durham: Duke University Press, [1553] 1999), 190.
25. Martín de Murúa, *Historia general del Piru: Facsimile of J. Paul Getty Museum Ms. Ludwig XIII 16* (Los Angeles: The Getty Research Institute, [1616] 2008), 103.
26. Juan Polo de Ondegardo, *Narratives of the Rites and Laws of the Yncas*, trans. and ed. Clements R. Markham (New York: Burt Franklin, [1571] 1990), 111-112. According to Denis E. Ogburn, "Quito" was often used as a generic term to refer to the northern portion of the Inca

empire that was more or less equivalent to the extent of modern day Ecuador. Ogburn, "From Cusco to the Four Quarters," 92.

27. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *The New Chronicle and Good Government, Abridged*, rans. David Frye (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., [1538] 2006), 160.
28. Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 43.
29. De la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, 445, 488.
30. According to Polo de Ondegardo, the *Huacapatya* was covered in fine, white beach sand to a depth of two and a half palms (about 54 centimeters). Ian Farrington, "The Centre of the World and the Cusco *Ushnu* Complexes," *Inca Sacred Space: Landscape, Site, and Symbol in the Andes*, eds. Frank Meddens, Katie Willis, Colin McEwan, and Nicholas Branch (London: Archetype Publications Ltd., 2014), 198.
31. Polo de Ondegardo, *Narratives of the Rites*, 42.
32. Ogburn, "From Cusco to the Four Quarters," 93.
33. *Ibid.*, 94.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 122.
36. *Ibid.*, 4; Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities," 161.
37. Thomas B. F. Cummins and Bruce Mannheim, "The River Around Us, the Stream Within Us: The Traces of the Sun and Inka Kinetics," *Anthropology and Aesthetics* (The Present and Fellows of Harvard College, 2011), 6.
38. Frank Salomon and George Urioste, eds. and trans. *The Huarochiri Manuscript* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 16.
39. For more on the history of *huacas* see Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and Its Enemies, Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1997), 45-52.
40. De La Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, v.
41. *Ibid.*, 76-77.
42. Sabine MacCormack, "Limits of Understanding: Perceptions of Greco-Roman Amerindian Paganism in Early Modern Europe," *America in European Consciousness, 1493-1750*, ed. Karen Ordahl Kupperman (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 85.



43. Pablo José de Arriaga, *The Extirpation of Idolatry in Peru*, trans. Clark Keating (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, [1621] 1999), 25-26.
44. See the discussions in Henrique Urbano, ed., *Mito y simbolismo en los Andes: La figura y la palabra* (Cuzco: Centro de Estudios Regionales Andinos "Bartolomé de las Casas," 1993).
45. Diego Gonzáles Holguín, *Vocabulario de la lengua general de todo el Perú llamada lengua Qquichua, ó del Inca*. Facsimile edition of R. Matos Mendieta, ed., 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, [1609] 1989), 315, 355.
46. Ludovico Bertonio, *Vocabulario de la lengua Aymara* (Arequipa: Ediciones El Lector, [1612] 2006), 269, 239.
47. The twenty-fifth session of the Council of Trent refuted the allegation that Catholics worshipped pictures as gods. Instead, images of the divine *represented* Christ or the saints.

## Chapter II

1. Francisco López de Gómara, *Historia general de las Indias* (1549), I:181.
2. Ibid., 158.
3. Giovanni Battista Rumsio, *Navigazioni et viaggi*, vol. 3, ed. R. A. Skelton and G. B. Parks (Amsterdam: Theatrum Orbis Terrarum, 1967-1970), cited in Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest, Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru 1535-1635* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 27.
4. Alfonso Ortiz Crespo, "The Spanish American Colonial City Its Origins, Development, and Functions," *The Arts of Latin America, 1492-1820*, eds. Joseph J. Rishel and Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt (New Haven: Yale University Press. 2004), 25.
5. *Reducciones* were often built adjacent to Spanish cities, which provided access to native labor without co-mingling the two worlds. Zelia Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of Towns," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, (May 1922): 249-254.
6. Kenneth J. Andrien, "Spaniards, Andeans, and the Early Colonial State in Peru" *Transatlantic Encounters, Europeans and Andeans in the Sixteenth Century*, eds. Kenneth J. Andrien and Rolena Adorno (Berkley: University of California Press, 1991), 126.
7. Nuttall, "Royal Ordinances," 249-254.
8. Crespo, "The Spanish American Colonial City," 26.

9. Many Spanish colonial cities were already established before the issuance of King Phillip II's 1573 settlement ordinances. Thus, even if Spanish urban planners were intent on implementing a geometric grid, not all cities were built according to this plan.
10. Fray Reginaldo de Lizarraga, "De la ciudad llamada el Cuzco," cited in Raul Porras Barrenechea, *Antologíca de Cuzco* (Lima: Fundación M. J. Bustamante de la Fuente, 1992), 111.
11. In 1550, during a particularly severe drought, citizens in Cuzco had become so desperate that one faction proposed to abandon the city all together and relocate to another, more salubrious area near Yucay, a town located in the well-watered Inca Valley about thirty kilometers away.
12. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 33.
13. This smaller plaza was also called the Plaza del Tianguetz, since it was the site of an Andean outdoor market; *tianquiz* is the Nahuatl (central Mexican) word for market.
14. Diego de Ocaña, *Viaje fascinante por la América Hispana del siglo XVI* [1599], 260, cited in Crespo, "The Spanish American Colonial City," 26.
15. Kelly Donahue-Wallace, *Art and Architecture in Viceregal Latin America, 1521-1821* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2008), 90.
16. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities," 158.
17. De la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, I:471.
18. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 26.
19. Carolyn Dean, "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco: Sacsahuamán and What was Made of It," *Andean Past* 5, (1998):159-181.
20. The original text reads, "*Fue dedicada al principio para casa del Sol y en este tiempo, sólo sirve de testigo de su ruina.*" Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 27.
21. Several hundred plates of gold were removed from the *Coricancha* and transported to Cajamarca. William H. Prescott, *The History of the Conquest of Peru* (Mineola: Dover Publications Inc., 2006), 112.
22. A monstrance is a receptacle in which the consecrated Eucharist is exposed for veneration
23. Astvaldur Astvaldsson, "The Powers of Hard Rock: Meaning, Transformation, and Continuity in Cultural Symbols in the Andes," *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies*, (2009): 213.
24. Dean, *A Culture of Stone*, 38.

25. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 26.
26. Polo de Ondegardo, *Narratives of the Rites*, 98.
27. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 26.
28. Ibid.; Susan Verdi Webster, "Vantage Points: Andeans and Europeans in the Construction of Colonial Quito." *Colonial Latin American Review*, (December 2011): 310.
29. Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities," 160.
30. Polo de Ondegardo, *Narratives of the Rites*, 98.
31. Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 69.
32. Ibid., 25.
33. Although the Ramusio engraving of Cuzco appears to be a naturalistic representation of the city, it has been written about and referred to by scholars as a "map." Hence, I will also refer to it, other European engravings, and indigenous drawings as "maps" throughout this thesis.
34. Richard Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000), 69.
35. Ibid., 70. Although the image was not based on the actual city, the Ramusio engraving belonged to a well-established European tradition of city views that privileged symbolism and moralized geography over scientific cartography. Most sixteenth-century cartographic views of cities rarely reflected a city's actual appearance or accurately reflected urban realities.
36. Ibid., 98.
37. Theodore Hampe, ed., *Das Trachtenbuch des Christoph Weiditz von seinen Reisen nach Spanien (1529) und den Niederlanden (1531-32)* (New York, 1994).
38. See Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies, Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation 1640-1750* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997), 39-74 for a discussion on colonial Spanish perceptions of *huacas*.
39. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 98.
40. See also other seventeenth-century European world maps by Petrus Plancius (1605), Jodocus Hondius (1608), and Claes J. Visscher (1614) where the image of Cuzco remained virtually unchanged from the original Ramusio engraving.
41. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 99.

42. Garziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, trans. Patricia J. Lyon (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 195-303.
43. The 1542 watercolor map was created in conjunction with a lawsuit over the boundaries between the two parishes. Padre Gaspar de Villagra, the parish priest of Santa Ana, commissioned the map to support his claim. The original map was produced in Cuzco, but it was sent to Lima as part of the legal process.
44. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 182.
45. A royal grant by the Spanish Crown conferring the right to demand tribute and labor from indigenous inhabitants of the surrounding area
46. The colonial Spanish administrative system that geographically divided provinces into smaller municipalities, which reported directly to the Crown
47. Although it is unclear whether the *Nueva corónica* ever reached King Phillip III, it is currently housed in the Royal Library in Copenhagen (so it did at least reach Europe), and there is evidence that it circulated in the viceregal court in Lima. George, *Four Parts Together*, 8.
48. Guáman Poma included written accounts of thirty-eight Peruvian cities, including Lima, Nazca, Cuzco, Guamanga, and Potosí. Each excerpt included information about the economy, climate, and history as well as editorialized comments concerning the condition of the local population. He supplemented these textual descriptions with city views drawn in pen and ink.
49. Maya Stanfield Mazzi. *Object and Apparition: Envisioning the Christian Divine in the Colonial Andes* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2013), 43.
50. Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *The New Chronicle and Good Government, Abridged*, trans. David Frye (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 2006), 136.
51. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 128.
52. How exactly Guáman Poma collected the information on the thirty-eight towns is unknown, but his knowledge of these communities was undoubtedly first-hand. It is probable that he relied on oral sources together with information garnered from other contemporary chroniclers.

### Chapter III

1. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 65.
2. Nina Epton, *Spanish Fiestas (Including Romerías, Excluding Bullfights)* (London: Cassell, 1968), 92.
3. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 12.

4. For a history and description of Corpus Christi processions in Spain see Francis George Vary, *The Spanish Corpus Christi Procession: A Literary and Folkloric Study* (Valencia: Tipografía Moderna, 1962)
5. See Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 7-22 for an excellent discussion on the history and use of triumphal arches in religious processions.
6. Despite evidence to the contrary, some scholars maintain that Spaniards did not willingly allow pre-Hispanic symbols or symbolic acts into postconquest festive life. See Felipe Cossío del Pomar (1928, 62) and Castedo (1976, 33).
7. Murúa, *Historia general del Piru*, 499-504.
8. See Cummins, "A Tale of Two Cities," 157-170 for a discussion on the historic power and significance of Cuzco and how this translated into colonial terms.
9. Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun, and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 173-174.
10. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 19.
11. Cristóbal de [Bartolomé de Segovia] de Molina (El Almargista), "Destrucción del Perú" in *Las crónicas de los Molinas*, ed. F. A. Loayza (Lima: Domingo Miranda, [1553] 1943), 51.
12. The practice of religious substitution was not uncommon in European traditions, in which Greek and Roman deities were often associated with members of the Christian pantheon. For a longer discussion of how some Greco-Roman and Christian personages were represented in the art of viceregal Peru see Teresa Gisbert and José de Mesa, *Arquitectura andina: 1530-1830, historia y análisis* (La Paz: Embajada de España en Bolivia, 1985), 27-39.
13. The first provincial councils of Cuzco decreed in 1551 that *huacas* were to be destroyed and replaced with churches or crosses. The second council of Lima, which convened in 1567, ordered that crosses should be erected at all *huacas* and *pichitas* (indigenous shrines located on hills or promontories).
14. Spanish civic authorities also condoned the practice of substitution. Viceroy Francisco Toldeo approved the policy when he commanded that native images be removed and Christian emblems be put in their place. Francisco de Toldeo, "Carta a S. M. (Cuzco, 8 de mayo de 1572)" in *Gobernantes de Perú*, ed. R. Levillier, 14 vols. (Madrid: Sucesores de Rivadeneyra, [1572] 1921-1926), 171.
15. In 1922, the series was hailed for its artistic merits by José Uriel García, and since then the Series of Santa Ana has been the subject of considerable scholarship. Although individual paintings have been considered in the context of various studies, Ricardo Mariátegui Oliva (1951, 1954, and 1983) was the first to offer a substantial analysis of the paintings as a whole

series. His studies were followed by those of Gisbert and Mesa (1962 and 1982), Dean (1990), Luis Eduardo Wuffarden (1996).

16. Although the Series of Santa Ana purports to depict a single seventeenth-century Corpus Christi procession in serial fashion, internal inconsistencies contradict this claim. Carolyn Dean has suggested that the canvases were produced over a number of years. Carolyn Dean, "Ethnic Conflict in Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco," *Colonial Latin American Review*, (February 1993): 98.
17. An inventory of Santa Ana parish dated 1836 lists "diez y och lienzo de la procesión de corpus con sus emarcados dorados entre grandes y pequeños" (eighteen paintings of the Corpus Christi procession between large and small gold frames). Later in 1851, another note in a different hand added that only seven of the paintings still had their frames (ACC, Libro de Inventarios de Parroquia de Santa Ana, 1836-1861). Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru* (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1990), 7-9.
18. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 64.
19. For exact measurements and a complete description of each painting see Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi*, 19-63.
20. Since both reside in the Larraín Peña collection in Santiago, Chile, I was unfortunately unable to find quality images of *The Franciscans* and *The Dominicans* from the Santa Ana Series. In *The Franciscans*, twenty-one friars in traditional ash-colored tunics, capes, and hoods of the Franciscan order are shown passing through a triumphal arch in front of the Portal de Panes in the Plaza Mayor, heading towards the Plaza del Regocijo. In *The Dominicans*, sixteen friars process through the Plaza del Regocijo, wearing the traditional Dominican white tunic, black cape, and white hood.
21. For instance, Polo de Ondegardo ([1571] 1916, 107), governor of Cuzco at the time Santa Ana was founded, described the parish as being "where Cuzco commences (*donde empieza el Cuzco*)."
22. An annual Western Christian tradition, symbolizing the passage of the four weeks during the Advent season in the church's liturgical calendar
23. Dean, *Inka Bodies*, 29.
24. See Ibid., 122-159 for a complete description and analysis of the Inca *mascaypacha* (royal headdress) and *borla* (royal red fringe) worn by indigenous standard-bearers in the Series of Santa Ana.
25. Ibid., 97.

26. The Jesuit church can be identified in the *Four Saints* painting by the distinctive white cross behind the red drapery in back of the temporary altar. Similarly, the Mercedarian's coat of arms order is visible above the building's entrance in the background of *Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter*.
27. The elaborate carved stone portal of Cuzco's town hall is visible in the background of *San Sebastián Parish*, and a part of the building is also seen in the *Augustinian Friars*. In the background of *Bishop Mollinedo Leaving the Cathedral*, the Palacio del Almirante pictured on the left with its distinctive coat of arms.
28. *The Processional Finale* has been badly damaged in several places. The lower central portion of the painting sustained the worst damage; the restorer was forced to leave a large blank space.
29. Being portrayed carrying a staff is a traditional symbol of political office. Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi*, 51.
30. Ibid., 140.
31. Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth-Century Cusco," *Hispanic Research Journal*, (2007): 445.
32. Ibid., 449.
33. The original text reads, "Y todas las casas del pueblo, asimiso arrunió, y echó por el suelo, y las que quedaron en pie, tan mal tratadas, que no es posible entrar en ellas, sino derribarlas, por el riesgo que están amenazando con su caída." *Relación del temblor*, (Madrid: Julián de Paredes, 1651), 1r, quoted in Michael Shreffler, "To Live in this City is to Die: Death and Architecture in Colonial Cuzco, Peru," *Death and Afterlife in the Early Modern Hispanic World*, eds. John Beusterien and Constance Cortez, *Hispanic Issues On Line* (Fall 2010): 55.
34. Horacio Utega Villanueva, "Documentos sobre el terremoto de 1650" (*Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco*, 1970), 203–209.
35. *Relación del temblor*, 1r, quoted in Michael Shreffler, "To Live in this City is to Die," 55.
36. This correspondence is held today in the Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, and they were transcribed and published in 1970 by Horacio Urtega Villanueva in the *Revista del Archivo Histórico del Cuzco*.
37. The original text reads, "Parece han muerto entre indias muchachos e indios hasta en cantidad de vient y ocho o treinta personas más o meno que no hay número cierto por si fueren decubriendo otros. Murió un hijo del Vizconde de edad de tres años y el procurador de Santo Domingo que yendo por la calle cayó un palo y le mató; no ha muerto ningún caballero ni español ni mujeres." Juan de la Cerda y de la Coruña, quoted in Michael Shreffler, "To Live in this City is to Die," 55.

38. Villanueva, "Documentos sobre el terremoto," 204.
39. Ibid., 207.
40. Ibid., 208.
41. See James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru, 1533-1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968).
42. The original text reads, "[C]on esta maldad y confesioenes que se han hecho de viente y treinta años las gracias que se deben dar a Dios de que no se haya tragado la tierra toa esta ciudad como sucedió en tiempo del inga con otros temblores y se sabe por tradición de lose antiquoes y se ven lose edificios cuando se abren algunos cimientos." Villanueva, "Documentos sobre el terremoto," 206.
43. *Relación del temblor*, 1r, quoted in Shreffler, "To Live in this City," 62.
44. Ibid., 1v, quoted in Shreffler, "To Live in this City," 62-63.
45. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 180.
46. Suzanne Stratton-Pruitt, *The Virgin, Saints, and Angels: South American Paintings 1600-1825 from the Thoma Collection* (Stanford: Cantor Center for the Visual Arts, 2006), 126-129.
47. Shreffler, "To Live in this City," 64.
48. Kagan, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World*, 178-179.
49. Ibid.
50. Ibid., 180.



## ILLUSTRATIONS

### Introduction

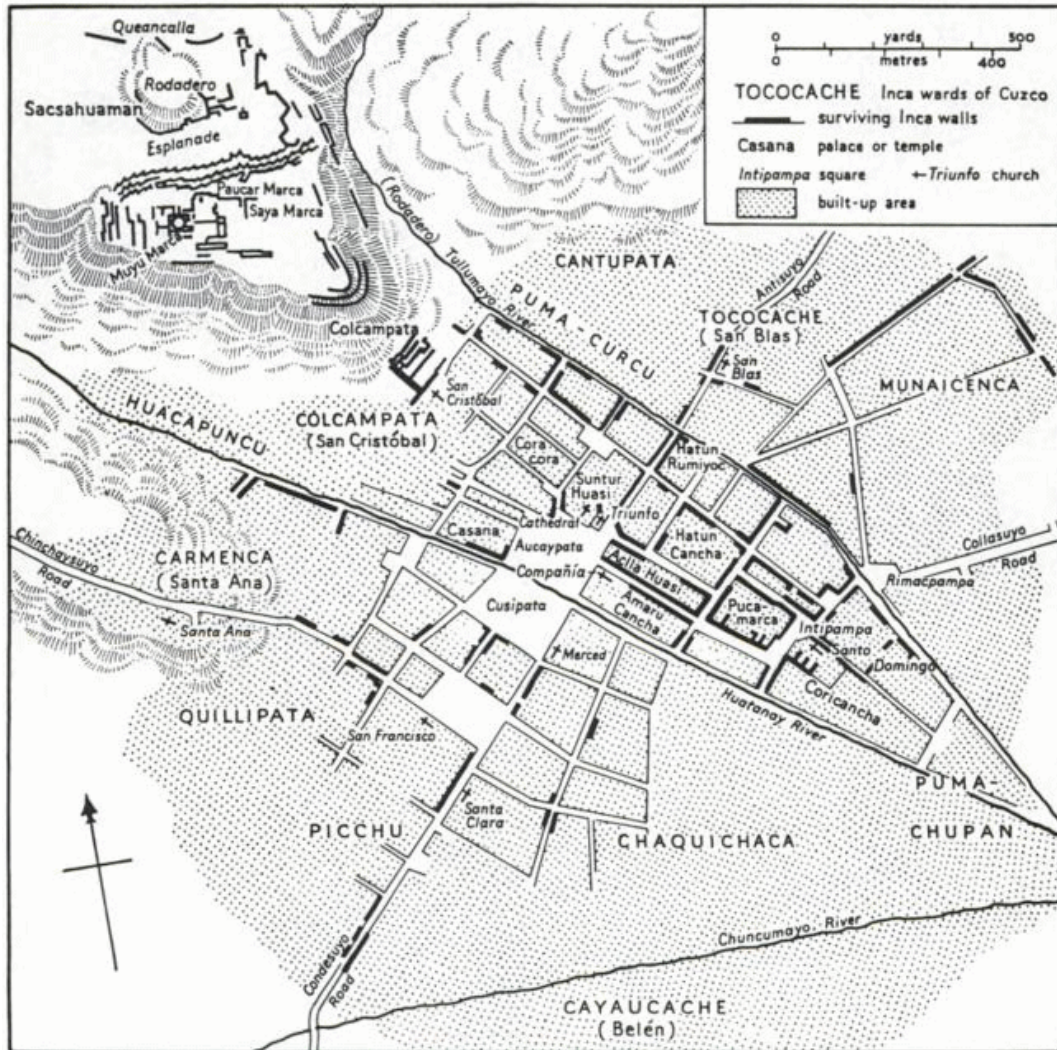


Figure I.1 Map of Cuzco at the time of Conquest

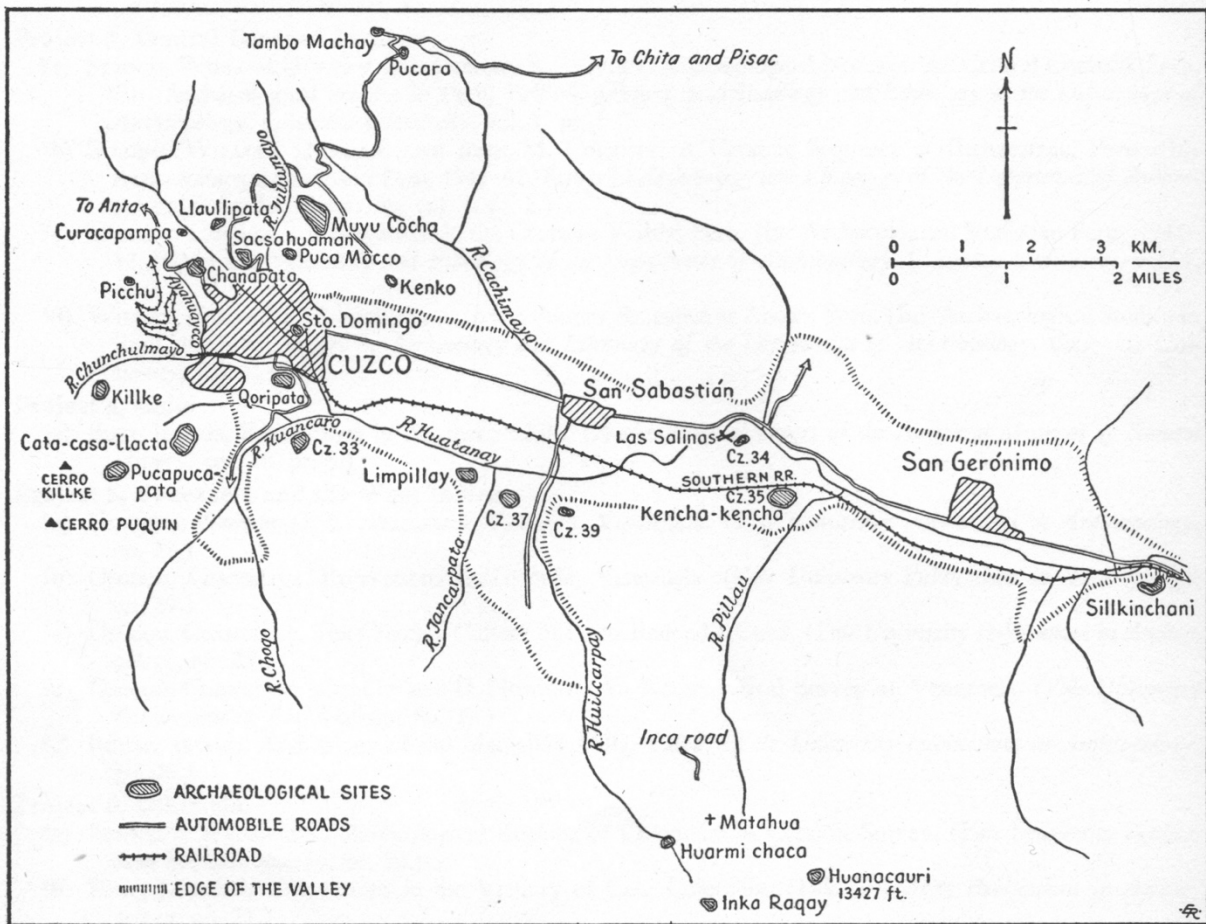


Figure I.2 Sketch map of the Cuzco Valley. In Rowe, John H. *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*. Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1944. Figure 1.



## Chapter I: Stones in Stone, Pre-Hispanic Space in the Andes

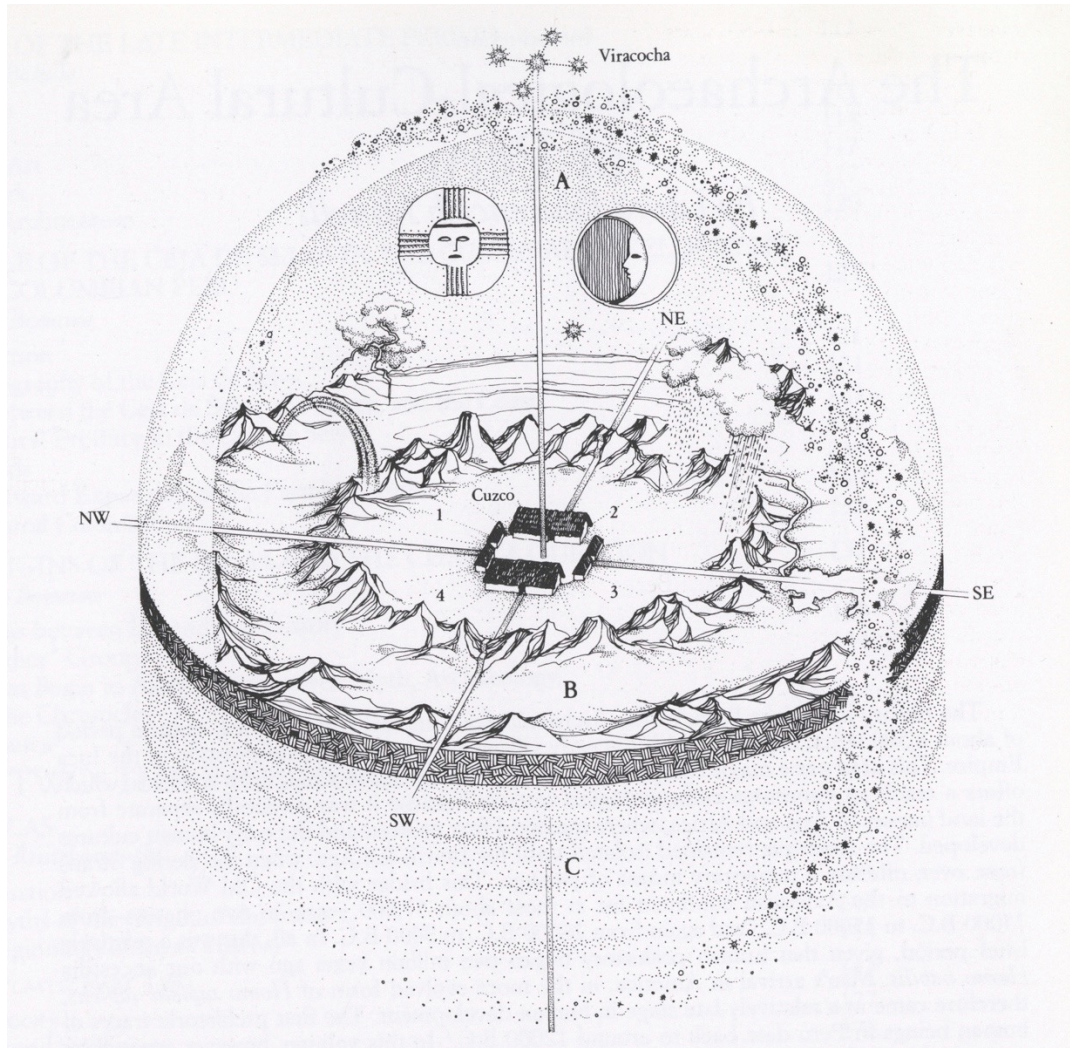


Figure 1.1 Diagram of the Inca universe with the three realms of *Hanan Pacha* (A), *Kai Pacha* (B), and *Uku Pacha* (C). Cuzco is shown as the center of the universe with the creator god *Viracocha* presiding over all domains. The city is aligned along both the vertical axis and the four cardinal directions, which further divide the Inca empire into four *suyus*, sections: *Chinchasuyu* (1), *Antisuyu* (2), *Collasuyu* (3), and *Cuntisuyu* (4). From: *The Inca World, the Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, ed. Laura Laurencich Minelli. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 2000. Figure 1.5.



Figure 1.2 Inca, Natural rock outcrop integrated with Inca coursed masonry, ca. 1438-1530, Pisaq, Peru. From Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *Art Bulletin* (September 2007). Figure 1.

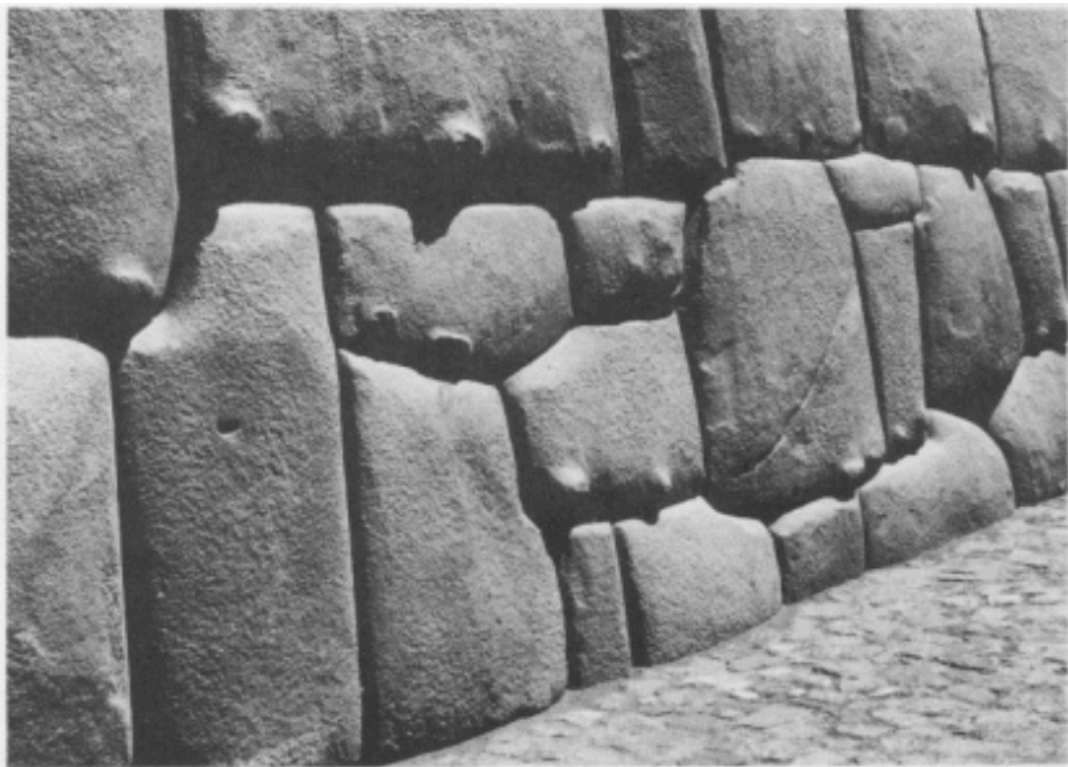


Figure 1.3 Inca, Uncoursed masonry showing beveled joints of carefully fitted stones, Cuzco.





Figure 1.4 Inca, Royal Mausoleum, Machu Picchu, 1438-1530.



Figure 1.5 Inca, View through a window that frames a distant mountain, 1438-1530, Machu Picchu, Peru. From Carolyn Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," *Art Bulletin* (September 2007). Figure 8.



Figure 1.6 Inca, Sacred Rock, 1438- 1530, Machu Picchu, Peru.



Figure 1.7 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *El noveno capitán, inga vrcon*, from *La nueva corónica y buen goberino*, ca. 1615, ink on paper.





Figure 1.8 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Capítulo de los idolos*, ca. 1615, ink on paper. The Tupac Inca Yupanqui talking to *huacas*, asking about the past and future.

## Chapter II: Cuzco in the Conquest's Wake



Figure 2.1 Map of South America showing the relative distance from the silver mines located in Potosí, Bolivia to the coastal viceregal capital of Lima, Peru.



Figure 2.2a Casa del Almirate, ca. 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 2.2b Casa de las Cuatro Bustos, ca. 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru.





Figure 2.3 Wooden balconies with room for mercantile activities underneath, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 2.4 Hatunrumiyoc Street, ca. 16<sup>th</sup>-17<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru.

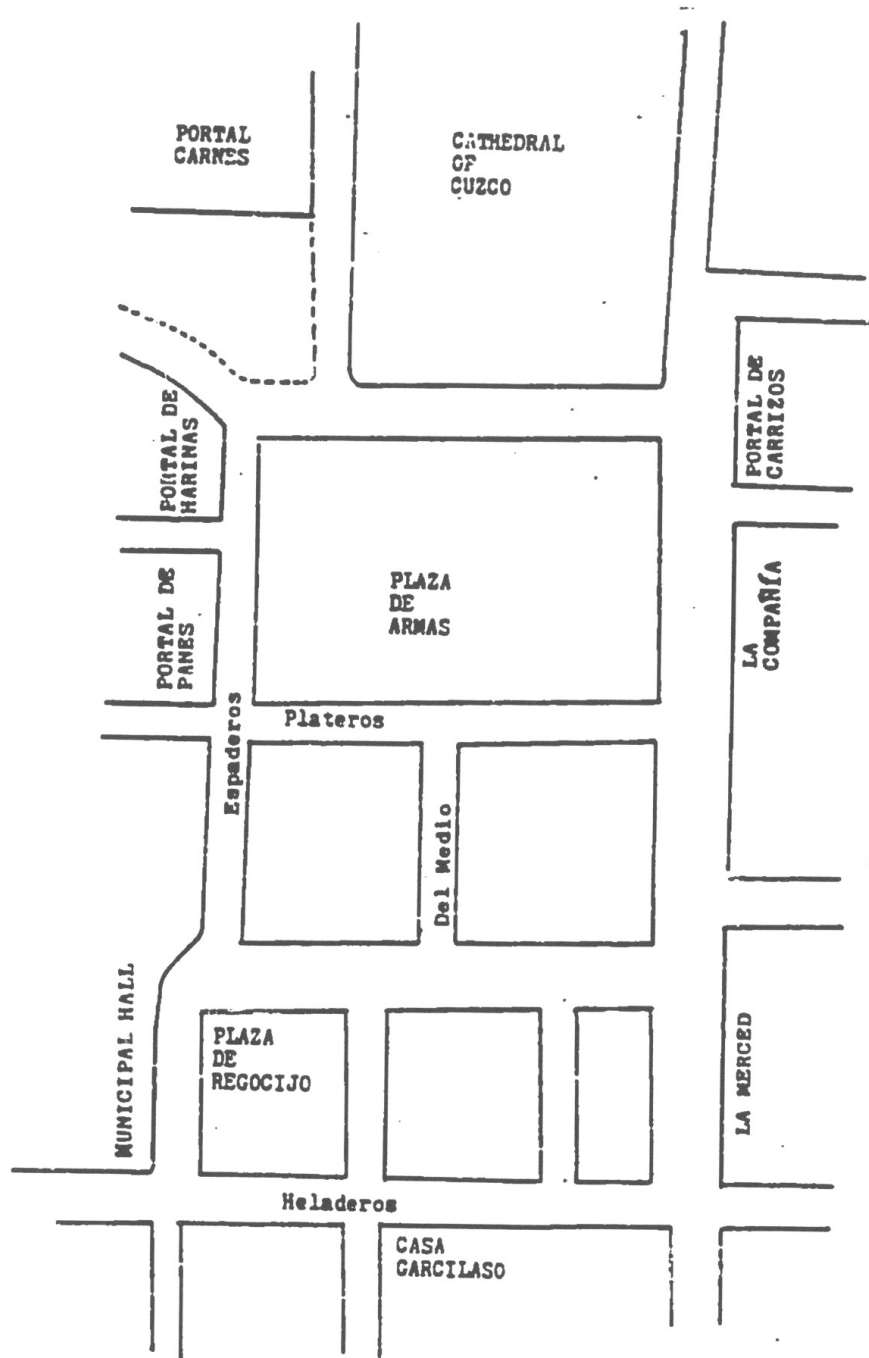


Figure 2.5 Plan of Cuzco's Ceremonial Center showing the relative locations of the Plaza Mayor (now the contemporary Plaza de Armas), the Plaza del Regocijo, and the Cathedral of Santo Domingo. From: Carolyn Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict in and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru*, 1990, (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles), Figure 18.



Figure 2.6 Inca, Saqsayhuaman, ca. 10<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru.





Figure 2.7 Apse wall of the Convent of Santo Domingo with visible Inca foundations, ca. 15<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru.

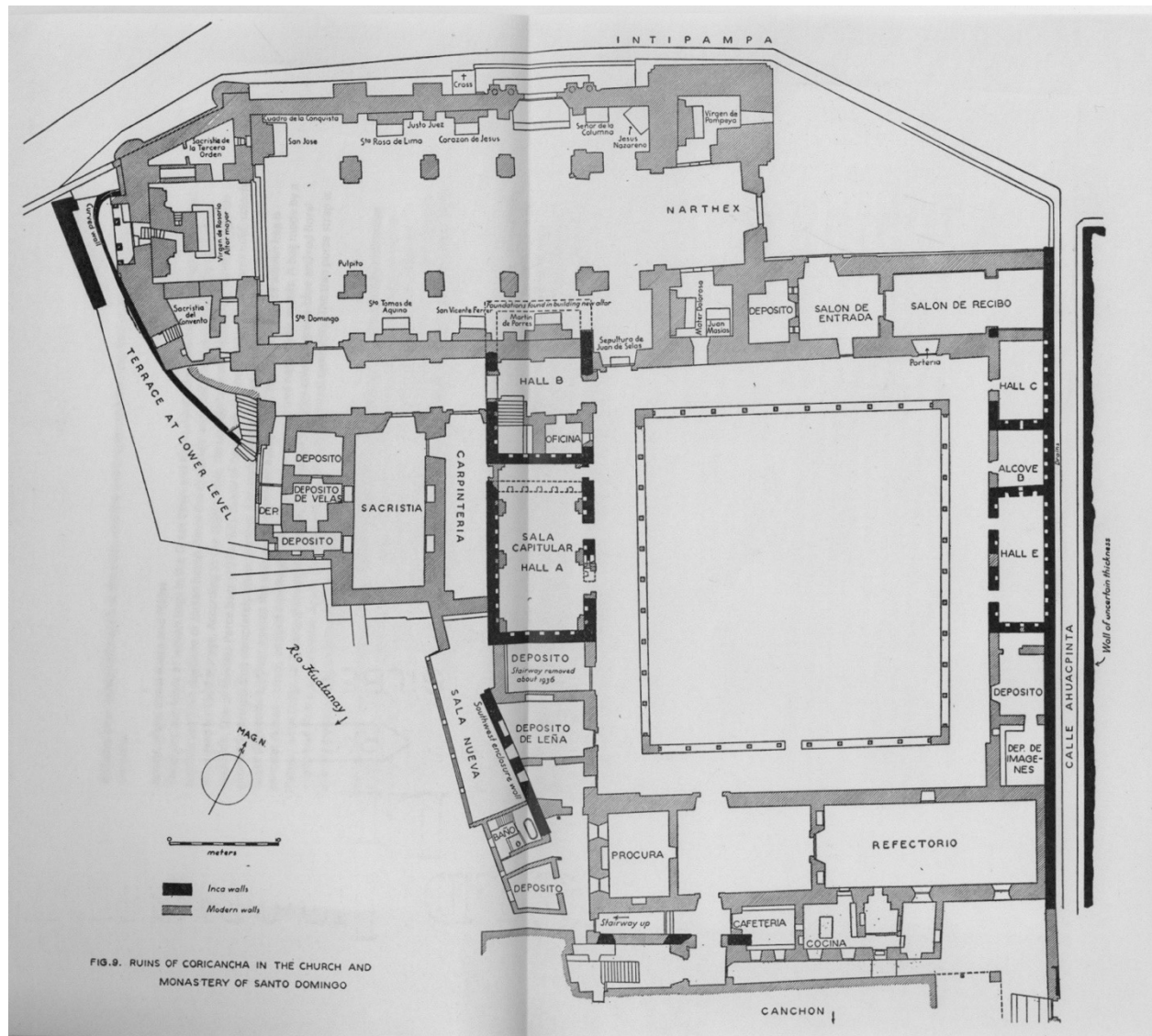


Figure 2.8 Diagram of the Church and Convent of Santo Domingo showing the location of the original Inca structure, ca. 17<sup>th</sup> century, Cuzco, Peru. From: John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1944). Figure 9.



Figure 2.9 Cathedral of Santo Domingo, ca. 1655. Francisco Becerra, Bartolomé Carrión and Francisco Domíngue de Chávez y Arellano, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 2.10 Giovanni Battista Ramusio, *Il Cuscho Citta Principale Della Provencia Del Peru*. Engraving. *Viaggi et Navegationi* (Venice, 1556).





Figure 2.11 Theodore de Bry, *Cuzco Urbis nobilissima et opulentissima Peruan regni*, Engraving, *Great Voyages*, Book VI (1596). Kunstbibliothek, Staatliche Museum, Berlin.





Figure 2.12 Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch Indianer beim Ballspiel*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.



Figure 2.13 Christoph Weiditz, *Trachtenbuch Indianische Vorführung mit einem Holzklotz*. Germanisches Nationalmuseum, Nürnberg.





Figure 2.14a Willem Blaeu, *America Nova Tabula*, Engraving from *Theatrum orbis sive Atlas novus*, vol. II (1645). Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.

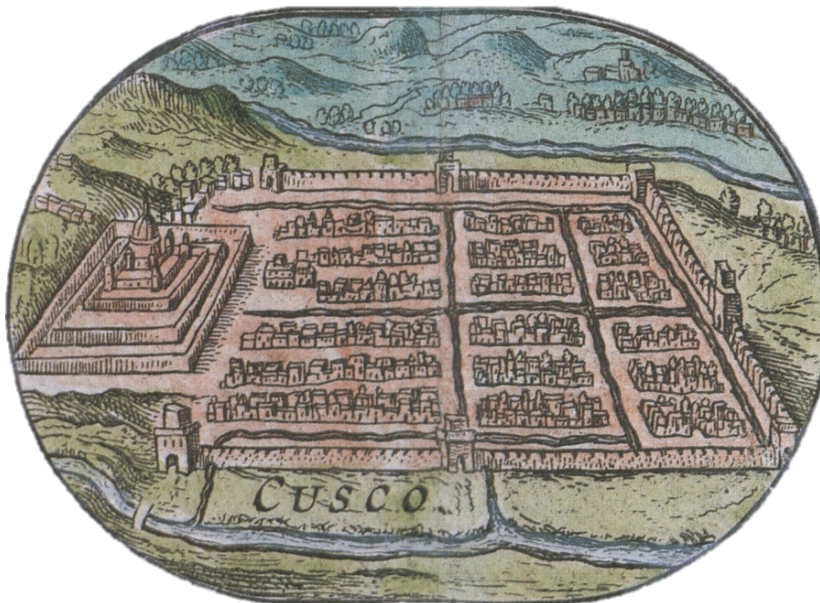


Figure 2.14b Detail of Cuzco from *America Nova Tabula*.





Figure 2.15 Anonymous, *Plan of Cuzco*, 1543, Watercolor on paper, Archivo Arzobispal, Lima. This is the oldest known map of the city. It includes portions of the parishes of San Pedro and Santa Ana and two *barrios*, in which some of the houses maintain a pre-Hispanic appearance.





Figure 2.16 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Mapa mundi del reino de las Indias*, from *La nueva corónica y buen goberino*, ca. 1615, ink on paper.

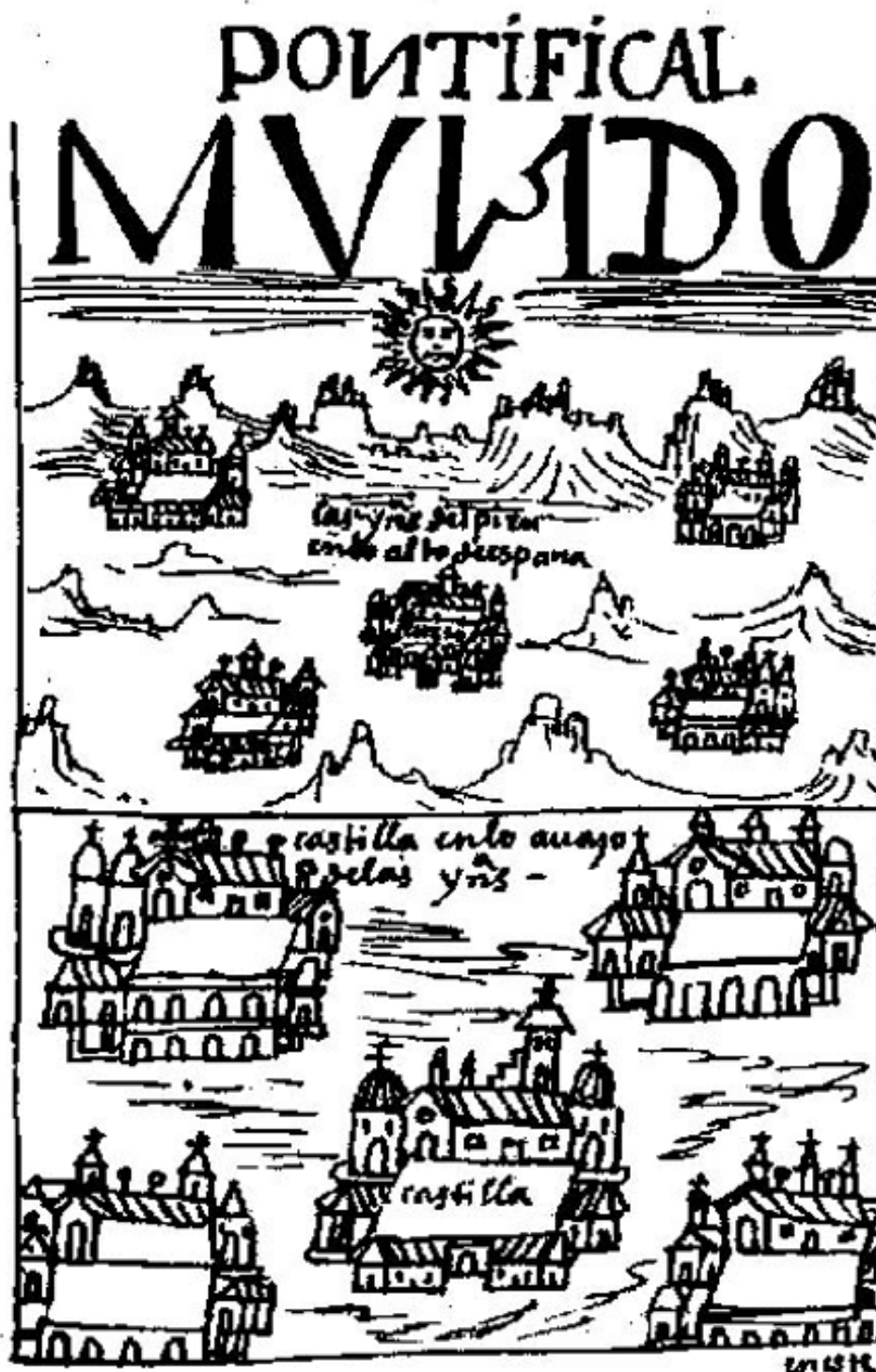


Figure 2.17 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Pontifical mundo*, from *La nueva corónica y buen goberno*, ca. 1615, ink on paper.



# CIVDAD LA CIVDADIAV DIENCIA DE QVITO

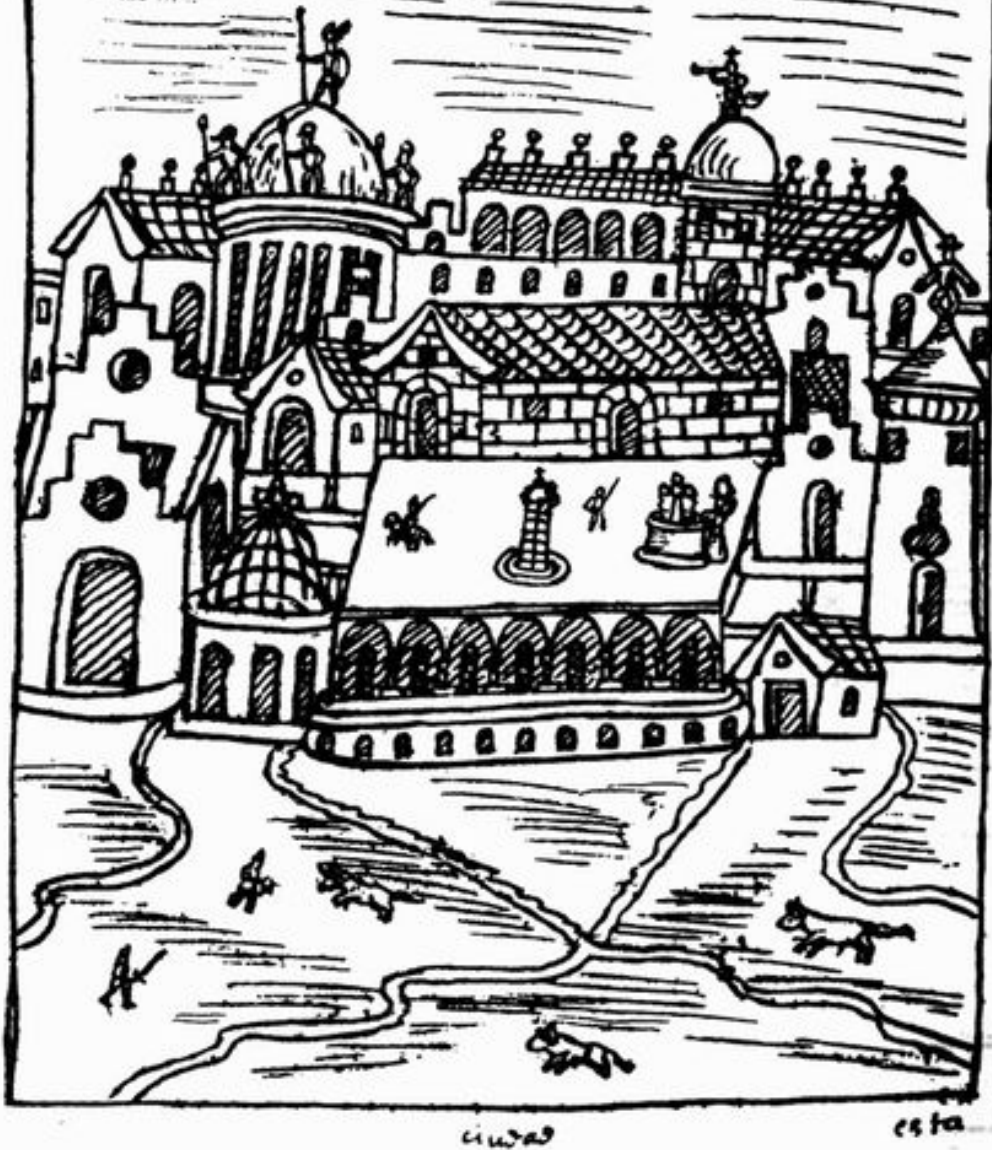


Figure 2.19 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Quito*, from *La nueva corónica y buen goberino*, ca. 1615, ink on paper.

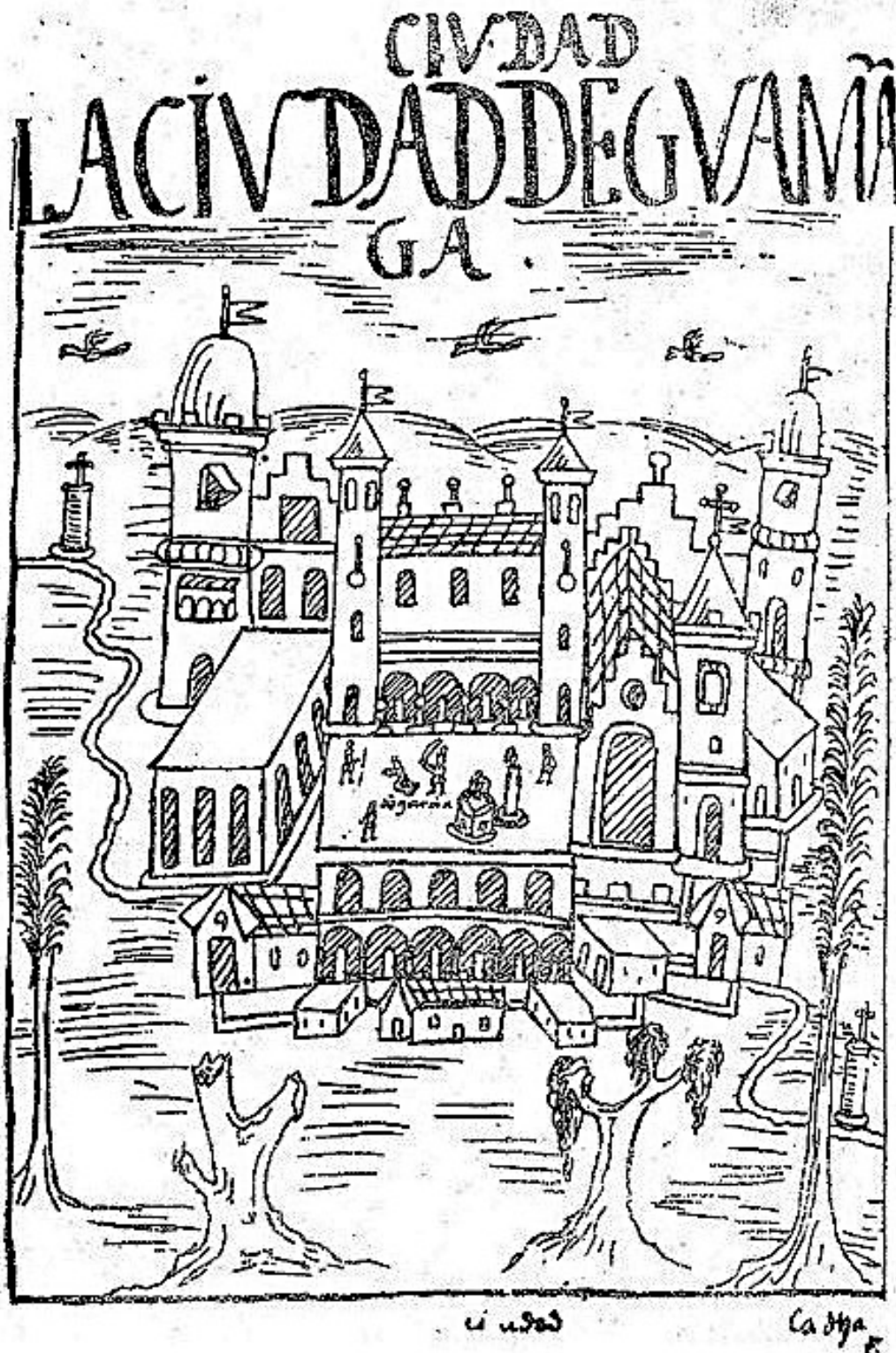


Figure 2.20 Felipe Guáman Poma de Ayala, *Huamanga*, from *La nueva corónica y buen goberino*, ca. 1615, ink on paper.



### Chapter III: The Colonial City Visualized, the Colonial City Lived



Figure 3.1 Anonymous, *The Last Supper*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.

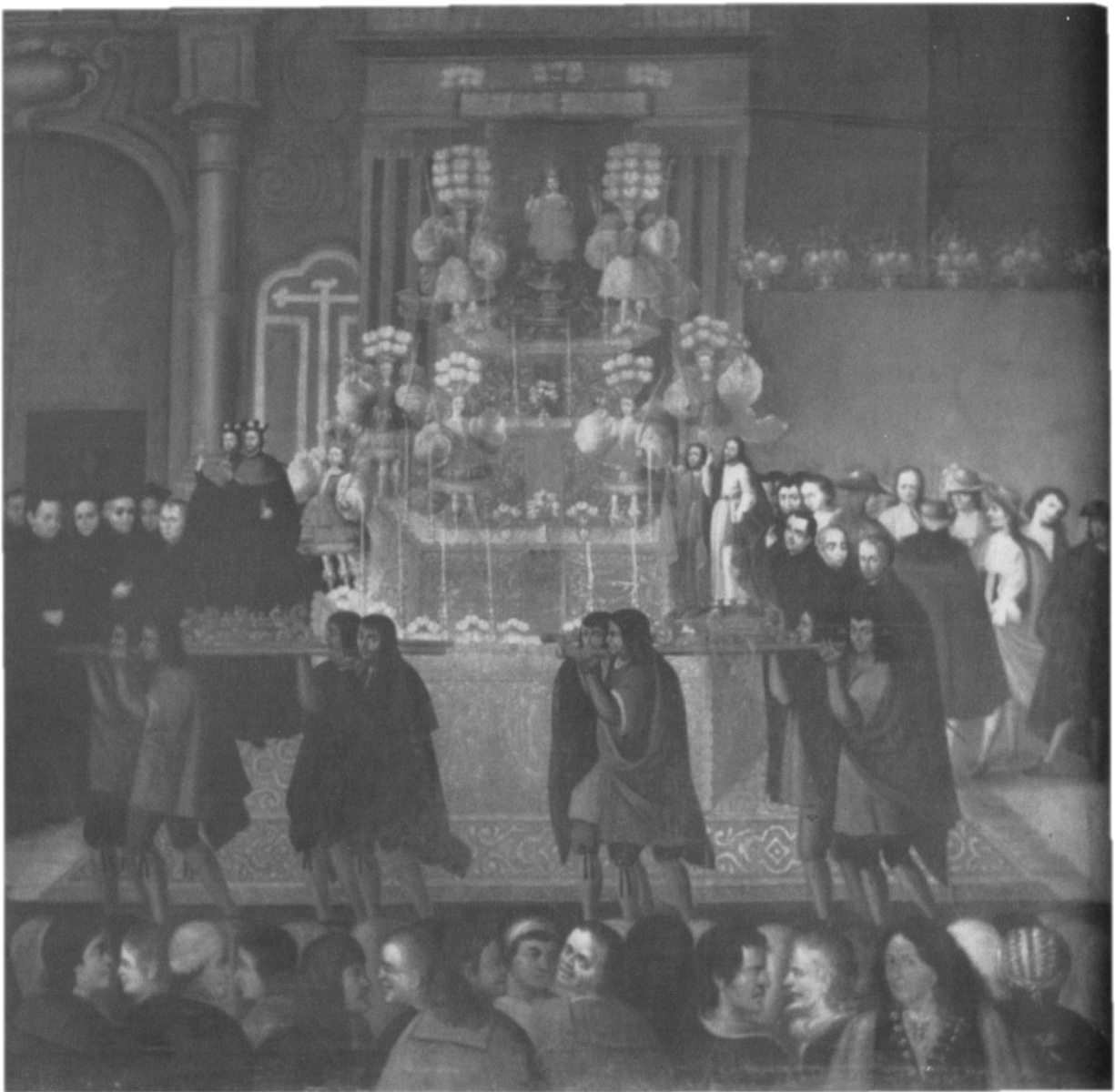


Figure 3.2 Anonymous, *Confraternities of Four Saints*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 3.3 Anonymous, *Confraternities of Saint John the Baptist and Saint Peter*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.





Figure 3.4 Anonymous, *Confraternities of Saint Rose and La Linda*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 3.5 Anonymous, *San Sebastián Parish*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.

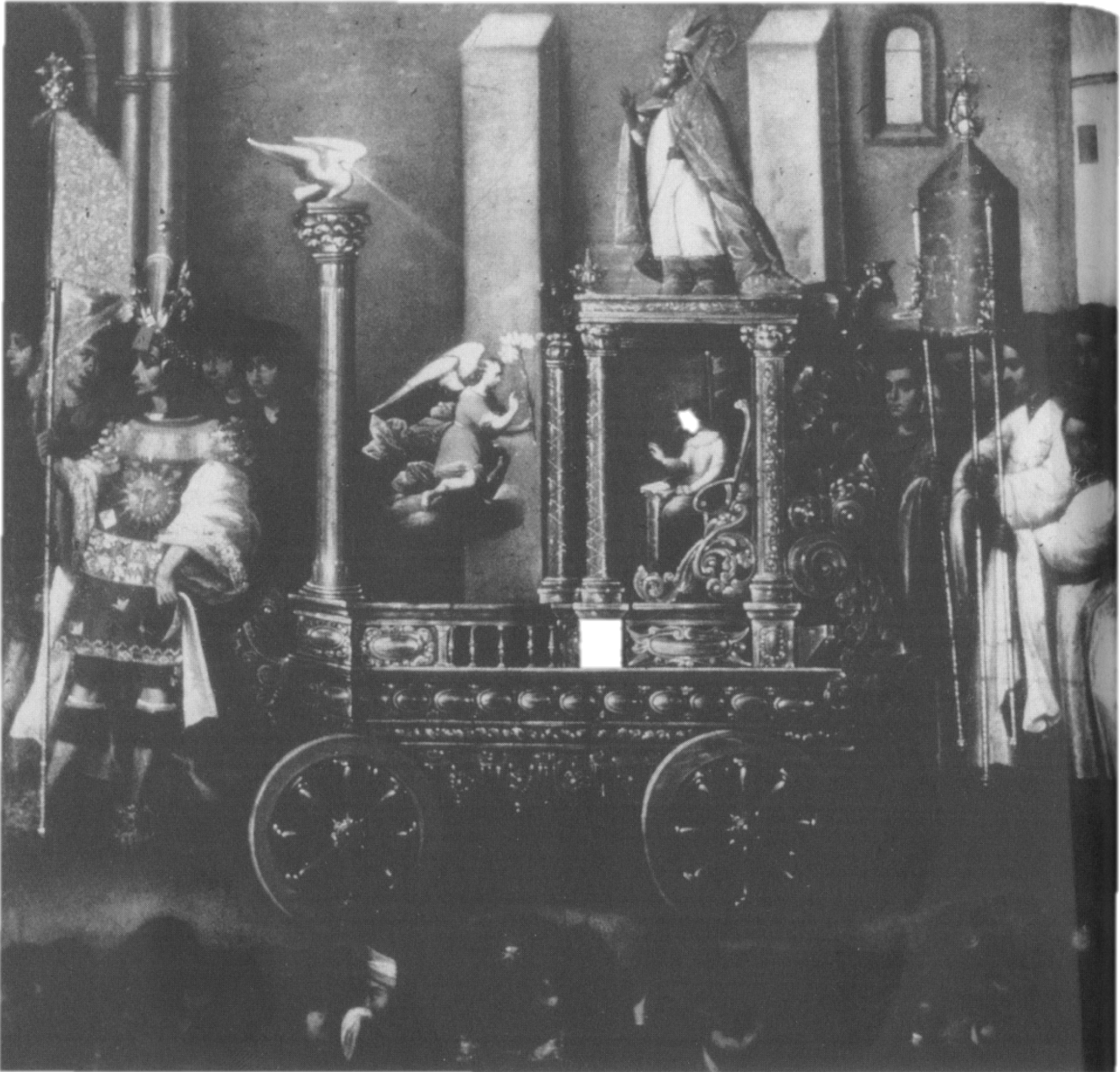


Figure 3.6 Anonymous, *San Blas Parish*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Private collection, Santiago de Chile.



Figure 3.7 Anonymous, *San Cristóbal Parish*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 3.8 Anonymous, *Hospital de los Naturales Parish*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.

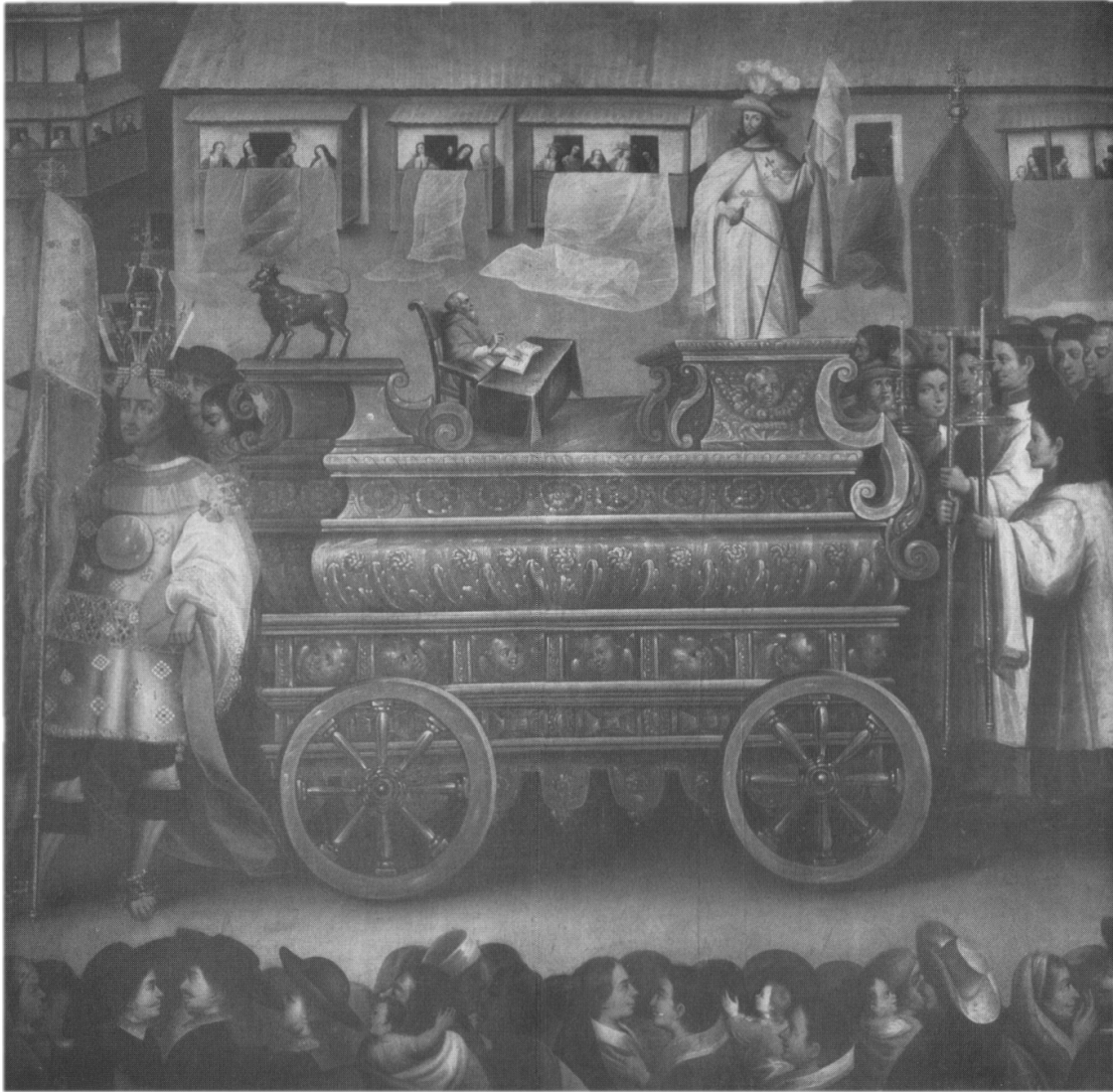


Figure 3.9 Anonymous, *Santiago Parish*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.





Figure 3.10 Anonymous, *Mercedarian Friars*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.

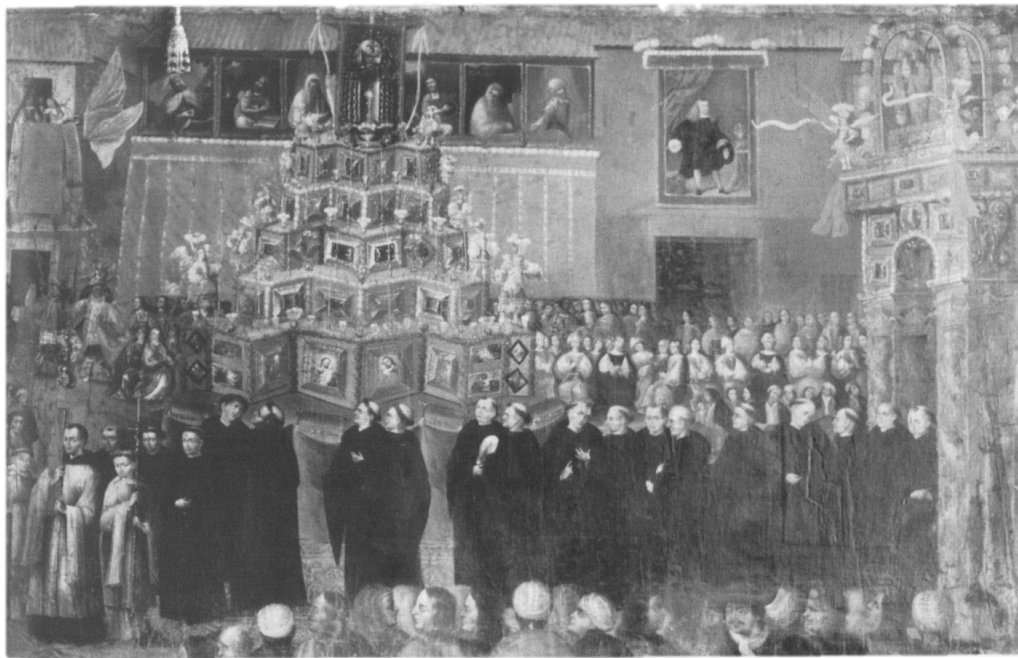


Figure 3.11 Anonymous, *Augustinian Friars*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Private Collection, Santiago de Chile.



Figure 3.12a Anonymous, *Corregidor Pérez*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 3.12b Detail of *Corregidor Pérez*, showing the child with the peashooter





Figure 3.13 Anonymous, *Bishop Mollinedo*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.



Figure 3.14 Anonymous, *Procesional Final*, 1674-1680, Corpus Christi Series, Museum del Arzobispo, Cuzco, Peru.

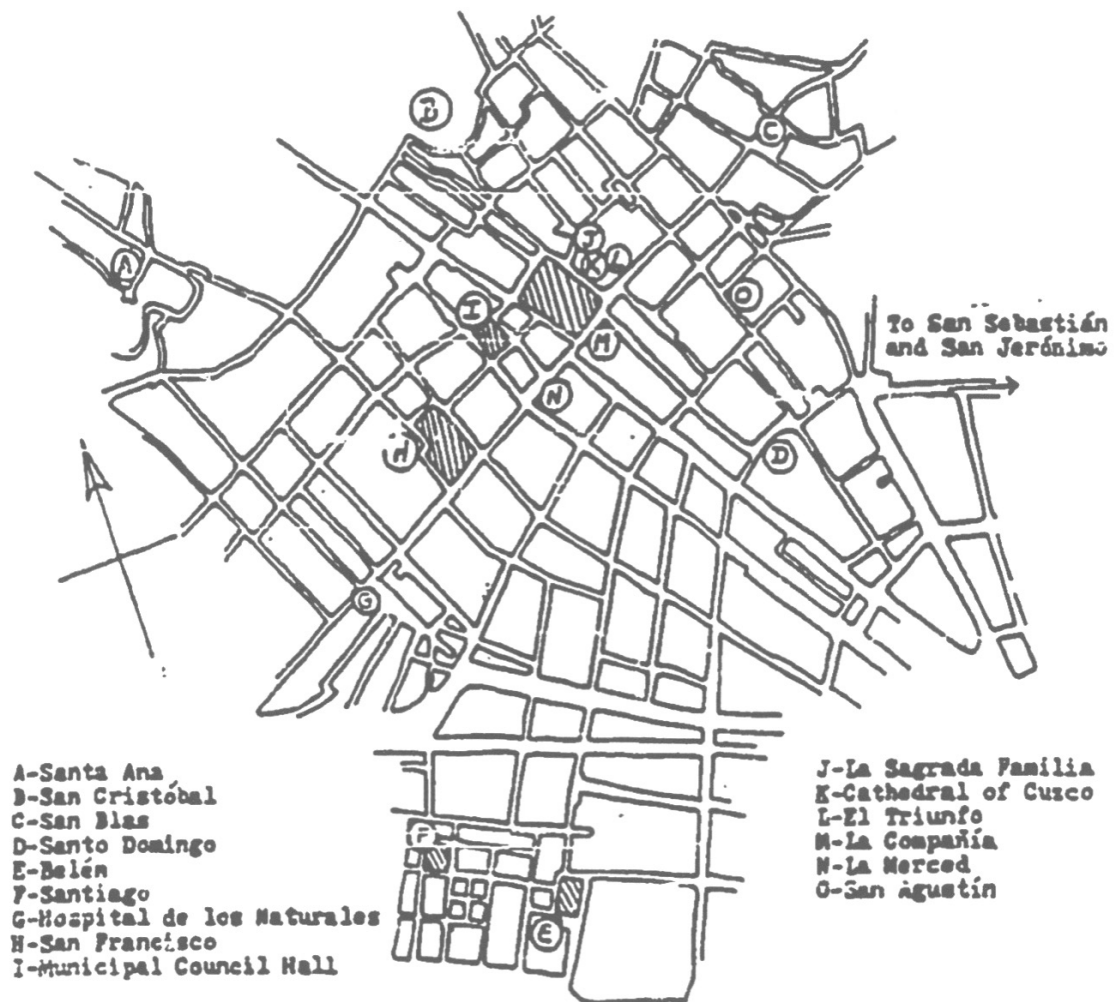


Figure 3.15 Plan of Cuzco showing the relative locations of its eleven parishes. From: Carolyn Dean, *Painted Images of Cuzco's Corpus Christi: Social Conflict in and Cultural Strategy in Viceregal Peru*, 1990, (Ph.D. Diss., University of California, Los Angeles), Figure 17.



Figure 3.16 Anonymous, *Cuzco After the Earthquake of 1650*, ca. 1670, oil on canvas, Cathedral of Cuzco, Peru.





Figure 3.17 *Christ of the Earthquakes* on processional platform, statue, ca. 1570, various materials; platform, ca. 1680, wood and silver, Cuzco, Peru. From: Maya Stanfield-Mazzi, "Shifting Ground: Elite Sponsorship of the Cult of Christ of the Earthquakes in Eighteenth-Century Cusco," *Hispanic Research Journal* (December 2007). Figure 1.

## GLOSSARY OF QUECHUA TERMS

*Apu* – “Lord,” often a term of address used to refer to sacred mountains

*Canincakuchini* – finely joined Inca masonry

*Cacique* – leader or chief

*Curacas* – noble

*Hanan Pacha* – World Above

*Hanan* – upper

*Huaca* – spirit or sacred thing, landscape feature, or shrine

*Hurin* – lower

*Inti* – Sun as well as Inca patron deity

*Inti Raimi* – pre-Hispanic festival of the June solstice

*Kai Pacha* – physical world

*Kamay* – the vital essence of a thing or inherent sacredness of an object

*Khipu* – a series of colored knotted strings joined to a main cord, pre-Hispanic mnemonic device

*Malquis* – sacred human remains

*Mitmaqkuna* – imperial Inca subjects made to permanently relocate outside their homelands

*Pacha* – the earth as well as periods of time

*Pachamama* – Mother Earth

*Raymi* – Andean seasonal festival

*Quariwarmi* – Andean concept of complements and balance

*Tawantinsuyu* – imperial Inca Empire, “Empire of the Four Corners”

*Tinkuy* – Andean concept of duality

*Uka Pacha* – World Below

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