The Life of Bodies: Considering Inka Mummies as Material Symbols

Morgan Kara Butts
University of Colorado at Boulder, morgan.k.butts@gmail.com

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholar.colorado.edu/arth_gradetds
Part of the History of Art, Architecture, and Archaeology Commons, and the Latin American Studies Commons

Recommended Citation
https://scholar.colorado.edu/arth_gradetds/29

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by Art and Art History at CU Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Art History Theses & Dissertations by an authorized administrator of CU Scholar. For more information, please contact cuscholaradmin@colorado.edu.
THE LIFE OF BODIES:
CONSIDERING INKA MUMMIES AS MATERIAL SYMBOLS

by

MORGAN KARA BUTTS

B.A., Western Michigan University, 2012

A thesis submitted to the
Faculty of the Graduate School of the
University of Colorado in partial fulfillment
of the requirement for the degree of
Masters of Arts
Department of Art and Art History
2016
This thesis entitled:
The Life of Bodies: Considering Inka Mummies as Material Symbols
written by Morgan Kara Butts
has been approved for the Department of Art and Art History

_________________________
Professor James Córdova

_________________________
Professor Robert Nauman

_________________________
Professor Annette de Stecher

Date____________________

The final copy of this thesis has been examined by the signatories, and we find that both the content and the form meet acceptable presentation standards of scholarly work in the above mentioned discipline.
Butts, Morgan Kara (M.A., Art History)
The Life of Bodies: Considering Inka Mummies as Material Symbols
Thesis directed by Professor James Córdova

Inka mummies have been researched extensively from a bioarchaeological perspective, but this research has objectified the body when its purpose in Inka society was social and symbolic. This thesis argues that mummified ancestral remains in the Andes entered the dynamic field of material culture, in which they symbolized and ordered social organization and genealogical collective memory. For the Inka, symbolism was constructed and contextualized through placement and preparation of the body, as well as associated funerary material culture. Each of these elements encoded the body with layers of meaning. This thesis examines the construction of these layers through a study of the social and cosmological organization of the Inka Empire, the built and natural funerary environments, and the ritual and physical treatment of the body. Its decolonial art-historical approach focuses especially on material agency, materiality, and the role of things in the construction of Inka culture, thereby complicating art history’s canonical epistemology and challenging the manner in which it has traditionally treated Andean visual and material culture. This thesis suggests an alternative means by which to study Inka funerary material culture; specifically one that takes Andean epistemology and ontology into account.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would first like to thank my advisor, Dr. James Córdova. I am grateful for his support, his advice, and his endless patience. I would also like to thank my committee members, Dr. Robert Nauman and Dr. Annette de Stecher for their encouragement and support as I found my academic voice. I will forever be grateful for the opportunity to work with three incredible mentors throughout this process.

I would also like to thank most humbly the following individuals and funding opportunities that provided me with the support that made travel to Peru possible: Courtney Vadnais, Sarah Epskamp, Andy Argo, Trish Tribble, Miriam Epskamp, Peter Butts, Carol Passage, Lindsay Wagner, Ellen VanderMyde, Kiah Dana, Emily Armstrong, H. Daniel and Barbara Butts, Scott Miller, Julie Scheeler, Sophie Boudreau, the United Government of Graduate Students Travel Grant, and the Bri Fera Scholarship awarded by the Department of Art and Art History at the University of Colorado, Boulder.

To my parents, Peter Butts and Angela Morris, because my education and love for learning was the greatest gift you’ve given to me. To my sister Aubrey, my best friend and fellow smasher of glass ceilings. To all four of my amazing grandparents, Danny, Bobby, Cece and David, who have all been such a source of inspiration throughout my life. To Abe, and the life we’ve built. I know myself best in relation to you.
# CONTENTS

## CHAPTER

### INTRODUCTION ............................................................................................................. 1

## I. FRAMING THE AFTERLIFE: ORGANIZATION, TRADITION, AND ONTOLOGY IN THE INKA EMPIRE ......................................................................................... 7

- Andean Ontology ........................................................................................................ 8
- Cosmology in the Andes ............................................................................................. 11
- The Social Spatial Organization of the *Tawantinsuyu* ............................................ 15

## II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE: ARCHITECTURE, LANDSCAPE, AND COSMOS IN RELATION TO INKA FUNERARY PRACTICES ........................................... 23

- Inka Funerary Architecture ..................................................................................... 24
- Landscape and Built Structures as Bodily Metaphor ............................................... 29
- *Yanantin-Masintin* in Place and Body ..................................................................... 34

## III. THE INKA BODY: ANCESTOR MUMMIES AND MATERIAL CULTURE .... 39

- Funerary Context of the Body .................................................................................. 40
- Funerary Material Culture ....................................................................................... 53
- The Body as Symbol ................................................................................................. 56

### AFTERTHOUGHTS ........................................................................................................ 59

## FIGURES ......................................................................................................................... 65

## BIBLIOGRAPHY ............................................................................................................. 96
FIGURES

FIGURE

1.1 Cosmological model of the *Qorikancha*, Santa Cruz Pachacuti, 1620.................... 65
1.2 Map of *Tawantinsuyu* ........................................................................................................... 66
1.3 Diagram of Andean symbolic spatial arrangement................................................................. 67
1.4 *Mapa Mundi*, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615......................................................... 68
1.5 The Cuzco Ceques, Brian S. Bauer, 1988........................................................................... 69
1.6 Silver Alpaca, Silver Llama, and Female Silver Figurine .................................................... 70
1.7 *Divinities of the Inka, Waqa willka inkap*, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. 71

2.1 *Chullpas* of Sillustani........................................................................................................... 72
2.2 Quarry with partially worked stones, Sillustani................................................................. 73
2.3 *Chullpa*, Sillustani............................................................................................................... 74
2.4 *Chullpa* entrance, Sillustani................................................................................................ 75
2.5 *Mach’ays* at Pisaq................................................................................................................. 76
2.6 Terraces at Pisaq..................................................................................................................... 77
2.7 *Pirkani* and imperial architecture, Saqsaywaman............................................................. 78
2.8 Polygonal block, Centro Histórico, Cuzco ............................................................................ 79
2.9 *Surveyers of this kingdom: Una Caucho Inka and Cona Raqui Inka, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615* .............................................................. 80
2.10 Ashlar block at the *Qorikancha* ....................................................................................... 81
2.11 Aqueduct and fountain at Ollantaytambo ........................................................................... 82
2.12 Integration of natural rock formation at Machu Picchu...................................................... 83
2.13 Integrated rock outcrop in mausoleum at Machu Picchu......................... 84

3.1 The eleventh month, November; Aya Marq'ay Killa, month of carrying the dead,
Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615.................................................. 85
3.2 Image of Inka mummy excavated at Puruchuco-Huaquerones .................. 86
3.3 Division of Sapa Inkas into hanan and hurin .................................... 86
3.4 *Burials of the Inka: Inka illapa, aya, the deceased Inka, his corpse*, Felipe Guaman
Poma de Ayala, 1615 ........................................................................... 87
3.5 Representation of Royal Mummy in procession at Inti Raymi...................... 88
3.6 *Qorikancha*, Cuzco ........................................................................... 88
3.7 *Burials of the Chinchaysuyus*, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615........ 89
3.8 *Burials of the Qullasuyus*, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615............. 90
3.9 *Burials of the Kuntisuyus*, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615............. 91
3.10 *Chanchay Funerary Bundle Head*, 1300-1532 AD................................. 92
3.11 *Paracas Mantle* and detail of border, Formative Period......................... 93
3.12 Diagram of a mummy bundle at Puruchuco-Huaquerones....................... 94
3.13 *Ancón Mummy with Four-Part Head Cloth*, Reiss and Stübel, 1880-87...... 95
INTRODUCTION

This study examines the burial traditions of the Late Horizon Period (1476 – 1534 C.E.) Inka, focusing specifically on Inka funerary rituals, mummy bundles, and mortuary architecture. I argue that mummified remains enter the dynamic field of material culture, through which they have the ability to express and symbolize Inka social organization and genealogical memory—a topic treated insufficiently by art history until now. In fact, the majority of existing research on mortuary practices and materials, and the treatment of the ancestral body in the Andes has been primarily carried out by the early efforts of archaeologists and bioarchaeologists. Early excavations of the Andes were primarily focused on examining preserved, intact funerary goods and human crania. This research has produced much knowledge about Andean daily life, including information on average lifespan, dietary habits, genetic makeup, body modifications, and causes of death. However, it objectifies mummy bundles as simple biological artifacts that amplify our knowledge of daily Andean life, meanwhile ignoring Inka ontologies on life, death, sacredness, and materiality.\(^1\) This thesis bases its study of Inka funerary material culture through these very ontologies as we are able to understand them today.

The perpetuation of a consistent, singular bioarchaeological agenda had created an overwhelmingly uncritical and Cartesian perspective on the role of the body in Andean society that has distanced us from understanding its position from an Andean ontological perspective.\(^2\) For the Inka, the body was not simply a biological entity; instead, it was a meticulously constructed part of material culture that represented not only perceptions of death and the afterlife, but also has societal implications on life and personhood that need to be taken into

---

\(^1\) Michael Parker Pearson, *The Archaeology of Death and Burial* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1999): 3.

consideration. This thesis grounds an art-historical approach in Inka ontology while simultaneously fostering cross-disciplinary inquiry into Inka funerary practices and material culture. This approach involves the reading of culturally constructed materials for their symbolic potential, and specifically for this study, it involves using this methodology in the examination of funerary material culture and architectural structures of social memory.

Recent studies posit how funerary spaces can deepen our understanding of Andean social structure. These efforts have worked towards two primary goals: exposing an organized political space around the sacred center of Cuzco (Zuidema 1977, 1983; Bauer 1998) and illustrating a sense of connection and collectivity within Inka society as a whole. An examination of the funerary sphere has allowed for a better understanding of personhood, and why the dead remain so closely associated with the living. The ties of kinship that bound an *ayllu* were not severed in death, and the placement and accessibility of the deceased demonstrate these impactful social connections. In current Andean studies, the body is understood as a social agent as well as a tool for a better biological understanding of what happens to us physically after death.

While this research has laid a foundation for an investigation of the Inka ancestral body and associated funerary material, limiting examination of remains and associated funerary goods exclusively to their biological and sociopolitical significance excludes what can be gained by approaching this topic from an art-historical perspective. Andean mummy research, through this particular lens, has remained largely untouched by scholarship compared to the study of other types of material culture from this region. This includes materials that are more relatable to a Western interpretation of art, such as ceramics and metallurgy. To distance this body of work

---


4 *Ayllu* is the “Quechua word meaning ‘family,’ ‘lineage,’ or ‘part.’” They were land holding kinship groups, based on both bonds of blood and mutually beneficial social ties. Gary Urton, *Inca Myths* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999): 8.
from potentially limiting historical constructions of the term “art,” this thesis employs the more inclusive phrase “material culture,” meaning that I look at objects as capable of establishing relationships with people and defining culture, but avoid the implicit value judgment of distinguishing art from artifact. It is the vocabulary of our discipline that establishes limitations that constrict art history’s ability to address cultures outside of the Western world’s periphery. Representations have become ubiquitous with the study of art, while implicitly dismissing the living presence of the material itself. An Inka understanding of material things collapsed the sign/signified relationship inherent in visual representation; instead, things were able to embody what they represented and shared vital animating energy. It is important to disassociate traditional understandings of representation from this art-historical study in order to avoid imposing a division of sign and signified on the material culture of the Andes, when this partitioned relationship was not within Andean perceptions of being.

The Inka revered the human body as animate and something that retained sociopolitical influence, and they regarded the funerary space these bodies inhabited as sacred. The body was tightly bound into a fetal position within twelve hours of death, prior to the onset of rigor mortis when it would become rigid and impliable. Andean mummy bundles were carefully curated, not only due to this positioning of the body, but also in regards to the material culture that surrounded the ancestor in death. The placement of the body, the rearrangement of the corpse’s position, and the surrounding funerary goods all contributed to the body’s symbolic significance, which places this study within the realm of art-historical interests. Rather than honoring and focusing on the life of the individual exclusively, the Andean cult of the ancestors allowed

---

genealogical memory to fade as the mummified body of a member of one’s *ayllu* assumed a more symbolic role of descendant and material of devotion.7

Along this same vein of inquiry, visual representations of ancestral mummies also expose a wealth of cultural and emblematic information. These representations are significant due to the few available written and illustrated selections that can be considered indigenous (Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615; Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, 1620), and these select documents were still drafted during and after the process of conquest. Many pictorial renderings provide insight into ritual and the placement of the body within sacred spaces that are lost from written Spanish chronicles.8 Conquistadors made contact with a thriving Inka culture, but while they bore witness to these funerary practices, their chronicles often misinterpreted the purpose of funerary bundles and death rituals by universalizing the Christian experience. This thesis destabilizes Spanish narratives by taking a critical, decolonial approach to the use of these primary sources in order to acknowledge bias and misunderstanding within colonial records. This same decolonial framework decenters the written word by focusing on Andean preserved remains and associated funerary goods, funerary landscape and cosmology, and contemporary anthropological studies of the funerary customs of Quechua highland groups, descendants of the Inka. The ancestral body represents the Inka past, and is consequently the authority on tradition.9

Ultimately, examination of the deceased catalyzes a better understanding of communal identity, since funerary rites were less about the dead than they were about the living who bury

---

them.\textsuperscript{10} It was the surviving kin that arranged the body, selected the associated funerary possessions, and either chose or constructed a final resting space. Beyond the biological discoveries from the study of the Andean mummy bundle, the ritual use of sacred space and funerary objects demonstrated that Inka civilization sought to reconstruct the science of death and decomposition into something symbolic of the values and customs of the culture.\textsuperscript{11} The body became a sign for genealogical memory and sociopolitical order through its contextualization and materiality.

To demonstrate the body’s material significance in Inka ideology, this study unpacks the treatment of deceased ancestors, the significance of their placement among the landscape and the cosmos, and the objects with which they were buried. The entwined relationships between land, cosmos, humans, and Andean mummy bundles complicate Western categories of being and Eurocentric binaries that have historically been intrinsic to art-historical research. It is important that art history expand its understanding of being in order to accommodate a plurality of ontologies. The incorporation of the body into the category of material culture through an Andean ontological perspective illustrates that both living and non-living beings have the capacity to actively participate in the dualistic, reciprocal entanglement that is Andean existence. The concept of being in an Andean worldview extends to objects and other material.

In order to contextualize the aims of this study, Chapter One frames burial practices within Andean history, social organization, and cosmology. This chapter also engages with theories of perspectivism, agency, and Andean ontologies in order to expand the application of art history, which has been incapable of adequately addressing the material culture of the Andes.

\textsuperscript{10} Michael Parker Pearson, \textit{The Archaeology of Death and Burial} (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1999): 3.
as well as other indigenous narratives. This is reflective of the discipline’s tradition of valuing aesthetics and essentializing the hierarchy of these aesthetics. The Inka did not prioritize aesthetics over symbolic potential and did not share an interest in realism or the ornate with the Western world.

Chapter Two closely examines the placement of Andean mummies within their funerary spaces, demonstrating the significance of locality through a study of how funerary architecture incorporates the existing landscape. In all cases of Andean mortuary structures, the body remained accessible so the community, or ayllu, retained a meaningful connection with the deceased. The location of funerary architecture solidified this connection. Ayllus buried their ancestors close to home or they traveled short distances to visit mummified ancestors that were buried in locations of cosmological, spiritual, or familial significance.

The importance of cosmology in the placement of the body and the dualistic structure of the Tawantinsuyu (Tahuantinsuyu) is also addressed in this chapter.12 Cosmology dictated not only the Inka calendrical system, but also the entire social and religious organization of the Tawantinsuyu.13 Ancestor mummies remained within this system, and the placement of their remains correlated with their social position in life and their continued ancestral and religious significance. Understanding the placement of human remains evidences the agency that Inka mummy bundles held in the realm of the living.

Chapter Three examines the treatment of the body and its associated funerary goods. Through the framing of Inka ideology and place, I argue that the mummy assumed the role of symbolic material and was considered an animate agent. All beings, human and non-human,

12 The Tawantinsuyu is the Quechua word for the Inka Empire, meaning ‘four united parts,’ in reference to the political and sacred division of the region into Chinchansuyu, Cuntinsuyu, Collasuyu, and Antisuyu. Gary Urton, Inca Myths (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1999): 7.
were perceived as animate and possessing a social existence.\textsuperscript{14} Death, lineage, and history were all placed within a single sociopolitical agenda, each holding implications for the other. For this reason, mummy bundles, like other funerary objects, actively construct the ancestral histories of the Inka. Recurring visual and conceptual motifs in the placement of the body, the architecture of the tomb, and the associated material culture demonstrate the significance of dualism and coexistence. The implications can be seen in the social, political, and religious systems that construct Andean histories.

This thesis also takes into consideration the ethical implications of studying human remains and approaches the topic from an Andean perspective that considers the role ancestors held, and continue to hold, in these communities. The conclusion examines contemporary museum policy in regards to the care and display of Inka mummies to demonstrate how this decolonial approach creates a dialogue between academic institutions and indigenous communities. This thesis expands and complicates Western perceptions of death as well as perceptions of personhood that have been mistakenly inferred as universal by emphasizing the unity between humans and all other beings in Andean ontologies. Consequently, this work also expands the limited manner in which traditional art-historical research has regarded the Andean region and suggests a new means by which to study Inka funerary material culture.

CHAPTER I

FRAMING THE AFTERLIFE: ORGANIZATION, TRADITION, AND ONTOLOGY IN THE INKA EMPIRE

Heaven, the Ocean beyond the Earth, and the Underworld together comprised the focus of interest in Andean Cosmology. Nonetheless, the action in Andean myth was always on Earth.


Reflexive selfhood, not material objectivity, is the potential common ground of being.


This chapter examines Andean ideology, sociopolitical order, and cosmology to provide a culturally-sensitive framework for determining meaning and agency in Inka funerary culture. Because Inka funerary culture was a central aspect of their social and physical space, and death was understood as a complimentary balance to life, this chapter specifically examines the spatial organization of the Tawantinsuyu and the Inka creation story, which established the foundational roles of life and death in human and non-human beings. For the Inka, all beings of different ontological origins were considered animate on some level, and by acknowledging their various unique perspectives, we better comprehend how Andeans sustained their relationships with each other and with non-humans. This culturally informed and decolonial approach challenges Western taxonomies and ontology, and sets the stage to properly address the topic of Inka funerary culture.
Andean Ontology

In the Andes, reciprocity and relatedness were understood as fundamental tenets of cosmic order.\(^1\) Accordingly, people were expected to engage in cooperative activities for the common good, as well as to share and exchange resources.\(^2\) In general, an Andean state of being was tied to relationships, and was defined through relatedness and complementary existence called *yanantin-masintin*, where *yanantin* was relatedness and unity between two beings and *masintin* was the product of this relationship.\(^3\) Andeans believed that other things also participated in this give and take, a view that is grounded in ontological terms that directly challenge dualistic modern Western categories to which art history largely adheres. The Andean worldview held that all things were personified, sensate, and capable of agency.\(^4\) Agency, then, is not specifically a human property, but instead applies to all things.

Anthropologist Eduardo Batalha Viveiros de Castro critiques the seemingly “natural” ontological dichotomies (nature/culture, subject/object) to demonstrate how they are inadequate in handling the Andean perspective.\(^5\) He makes several arguments that establish a useful decolonial framework for this thesis. The first is that all things exhibit aspects of humanity in unexpected ways.\(^6\) For example, both stone and body were seen as equivalent and their life

---


\(^2\) Ibid.


\(^6\) Ibid., 465.
energy, or *camay* (kamay), was equal and transferrable.\(^7\) Secondly, all things and states of being, including the human body, were conceived of as non-permanent rather than fixed.\(^8\) Accordingly, a stone or human being was capable of exhibiting animacy, and therefore agency, since forms were interchangeable. In counterdistinction, the Western mind premises agency to the tangible movements of human bodies and human interactions.\(^9\) We return to the example from the Andes where stone and humans were able to embody each other.\(^10\) As Malafouris argues, physical affordance should not be seen as permanently tethered to a body, or as a fixed limitation.\(^11\)

Thus in the Andes beings of different ontological origins were animate in some way, but how did these different beings communicate their points of view and establish relationships, which are so crucial to Andean identity? Viveiros de Castro also argues that a perspectivist approach reveals that all beings see the same world in different ways.\(^12\) For example, a human’s nature could be an animal’s culture. Specifically, the categories of nature and culture, in an indigenous worldview, are not fixed and they are relative to perspective. Catherine Allen argues that Andeans recognized the perspectives of different beings through reciprocity.\(^13\) In Inka rituals, for example, humans acknowledged the earth’s witnessing presence.\(^14\) The earth would reciprocate by bringing good weather or rain for agriculture, or it might have exhibited its dissatisfaction by sending rock slides, heavy fog, or a dry spell.\(^15\) Allen ultimately relates

\(^8\) Ibid., 475.
\(^9\) Ibid., 34.
\(^12\) Ibid., 466.
\(^14\) Ibid., 28.
\(^15\) Ibid.
perspectivism to the concept of “distributive personhood.” The phrase, proposed by Alfred Gell in 1998, argues that objects are granted a sense of personhood through their involvement in social relationships. This concept has particularly significant implications for this thesis, because Allen provides the example of feeding and clothing deceased ancestors as an example of distributive personhood. Because, in the Andes, the ancestors were continually involved in the social realm of the living, they were granted the animate, sensate traits that are associated with personhood. By recognizing other types of beings with animate presence, and acknowledging their unique perspective, we are able to examine the subject of Inka funerary culture with an Andean ontological framework in mind.

**Cosmology in the Andes**

Inka cosmology divided the universe into three planes that run vertical to each other: the *hanan pacha* (anan pacha), or the upper realm of Inka deities; *kay pacha* (kai pacha), or main earth that humans inhabit; and *unku pacha* (uku pacha), or the underworld of the dead. Between these three worlds, there needed to be a level of cosmic balance that was maintained through reciprocal relationships with beings from all three planes. The concept of *ayni*, or the “cosmological and material circulation of energy and care between entities,” was at the heart of Andean existence for this reason. If an individual did not contribute to relationships with others in their *ayllu*, supernatural beings, or their deceased ancestors, they were seen as sick or

---

16 Ibid., 31.
unsocialized and this would disrupt the ayni between the three levels of the universe.\textsuperscript{21} Mutual engagement on a cosmic level, which involved maintaining reciprocal relationships with a tangled and widely encompassing web of different kinds of beings, contextualized the social, political, and spiritual beliefs of the Inka.

The origin story of the Andean pacha and humankind also has its roots in cosmology. Variations of this story have been recorded by Spanish chroniclers (Juan Diez de Betanzos 1550; José de Acosta 1590; Cristóbal de Molina 1575–76; Bernabé Cobo 1653), writers of indigenous ancestry (Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala 1615; Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Tamqui Salcamaygua 1620), and through continued oral tradition in Quechua communities.\textsuperscript{22} According to Betanzos, for example, the world was in darkness, and from that darkness a lord named Viracocha created the first race of humans, but these people angered Viracocha for an unspecified reason so he abandoned them as punishment. Viracocha created the sun, the moon, and the stars to end the darkness. He then created a second race of men from stone found at Tiwanaku (Tiaguanaco) on the Bolivian coast of Lake Titicaca.\textsuperscript{23} These were the ancestors of all

---

\textsuperscript{21} Ibid., 319.


\textsuperscript{23} Betanzos explains the origins of the Andean world: "En los tiempos antiguos dicen ser la tierra e provincias de Piru oscura y que en ella no había lumbre ni día y que había en este tiempo cierta gente en ella la cual gente tenía cierto señor que la mandaba y a quien ella era sujeta del nombre de esta gente y del señor que la mandaba no se acuerdan y en estos tiempos que esta tierra era toda noche dicen que salió de una laguna que es e esta tierra del Perú en la provincia que dicen de Colla suyo un señor que llamaron Contiti Viracocha (comúnmente se le denomina Tici Viracocha) el cual dicen haber sacado consigo cierto número de gente del cual número no se acuerdan y como este hubiese salido de esta laguna fuese de allí a un sitio que junto a esta laguna está donde hoy día es un pueblo que llaman Tiaguanaco en esta provincia ya dicha del Collao y como allí fuese él y los suyos luego allí improviso dicen que hizo el sol y el día y que al Sol mandó que anduviese por el curso que anda y luego dicen que hizo las estrellas y luna. El cual Contiti Viracocha dicen haber salido otra vez antes de aquella y que en esta vez primera que salió hizo el cielo y la tierra y que todo lo dejó oscuro y que entonces hizo aquella gente que había en el tiempo de la oscuridad ya dicha y que esta gente le hizo cierto deservicio a este Viracocha y como della estuviese enojado tornó esta vez postrera y salió como antes había hecho y aquella gente primera y a su señor en castigo del enojo que la hicieron hizole que se tornasen piedra luego ansi como salió y en aquella misma hora como ya hemos dicho dicen que hizo el sol y día y luna y estrellas y que esto hecho que en aquel asiento de Tiaguanaco hizo de piedra cierta gente." Juan de Betanzos, \textit{Suma Y Narración De Los Incas} (Madrid: Atlas, 1987): 11.
Andean people.\textsuperscript{24} The majority of Andean creation stories follow a similar chronicle of events to Betanzo’s narrative, according to Andean anthropologist Gary Urton.\textsuperscript{25}

The Inka people also had their own origin story, which referenced cosmology to legitimize the social structure of the \textit{Tawantinsuyu}. Accordingly, the empire began when the ancestors of the Inka, led by Manco Capac, emerged from a cave just south of the capital city of Cuzco in the region of \textit{Paqariqtampu} (Pacaritambo), from a mountain called Tambo T’oco.\textsuperscript{26} As they traveled across the sacred valley, they accumulated a following of people from different ethnic groups that would become the Inka-by-privilege,\textsuperscript{27} or the common class of \textit{mitimae}.\textsuperscript{28} Their journey ended in the location that would become the \textit{Qorikancha}, or “golden enclosure,” a large architectural complex in the center of Cuzco dedicated to the sun god \textit{Inti}, and marking the axis mundi of the \textit{Tawantinsuyu}.\textsuperscript{29} The descendants of these people founded the nobility class of Inka Cuzco and occupied its center while the Inka-by-privilege populated the \textit{Tawantinsuyu} surrounding the capital.

In 1613, the indigenous chronicler Juan de Santacruz Pachacuti Tamqui Salcamaygua presented a conceptual drawing of the arrangement of the interior of the \textit{Qorikancha} that was rich with political and cosmological information (fig. 1.1). The illustration pictures a microcosm of the Inka universe, framed within an architectural line drawing of the \textit{Qorikancha}. At the top of the image, there is a celestial component with text that explains Viracocha as the creator deity. Below this, we see a division of the sun (\textit{Inti}) on the right and the moon (\textit{Killa}) on the left. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{enumerate}
\item Urton, \textit{Inca Myths}, 36.
\item Ibid., 35.
\item Ibid., 45.
\item Inka-by-privilege was the term that Andean studies scholars, such as Bauer and Zuidema, give to those who are descended from the populations that followed Manco Capac. Brian S. Bauer, \textit{Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca} (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004): 17.
\item Mitimae were people who were considered to have been conquered by the Inka and lived in the surrounding sacred valley outside of Cuzco. R.T. Zuidema, “Hierarchy and Space in Inciac Social Organization,” \textit{Ethnohistory} (1983): 49.
\end{enumerate}
\end{footnotesize}
image demonstrates the direct lineage that was perceived to run from the creator deity, Viracocha, through all of humankind in the Tawantinsuyu. Immediately below the sun and the moon, we see a man and woman, labeled hombre and mujer. Men are shown to have descended from the sun (Inti) and women from the moon (Killa) due to their spatial placement. These sides are not only gendered, but also hierarchically divided. According to cosmic spatial arrangement, the Inka perceived the right side as hanan (anan), or upper and masculine, and hurin (urin) as lower and feminine. Also in this image, on the bottom left below the mujer, there is a tree labeled arbol with the word mallqui (Founder mummy of ayllu) below signifying the lineage tree of all Inka. 

This representational model of cosmic lineage should not be read as something that gives equal importance to all men and women of the Tawantinsuyu, however. The man and the woman in the image are meant to be read as direct descendants of Manco Capac and part of the noble Inka class. According to Irene Silverblatt, this shows an attempt to justify power and social hierarchy through cosmology on the part of the Inka elite. This image represents not only a division between the genders, but also that the nobility class thought of themselves as closer kin to deities than to the Inka-by-privilege.

---

31 Zuidema, "Hierarchy and Space in Inciac Social Organization," 50.
The Social Spatial Organization of the Tawantinsuyu

The Inka Empire was culturally and ethnically diverse, but its social organization forged hundreds of individual communities into a unified entity. Yet it is significant to note that a unified and community oriented state, in the case of the Inka, did not imply a lack of social hierarchy. Each citizen of the Tawantinsuyu was either ethnically Inka or Inka by-privilege. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, a colonial writer and illustrator of indigenous Andean descent, explained that there was a clear hierarchy established between these groups from the start. The social and spatial division of the Tawantinsuyu was understood as both complementary as well as hierarchical. This system of organization expressed itself in the physical division of the city of Cuzco and its surroundings. According to the creation story of the Inka, Cuzco was both the political and spiritual capital of the Tawantinsuyu, and therefore the center of the empire. It was the panacas, the kinship groups of the noble class, that inhabited Cuzco. The city, at its height, was inhabited by over 20,000 people.

As the word Tawantinsuyu translates to ‘four parts,’ the Inka Empire was divided into quarters for ritual and administrative purposes. These quarters are the Chichaysuyu (Chinchay Suyo), Collasuyo (Colla Suyo), Cuntisuyu (Conde Suyo), and Antisuyu (Ande Suyo) (fig. 1.2). The four sectors of the state are then divided on a diagonal into hanan and hurin, or upper and lower parts (fig. 1.3). This is not only a physical division, but a hierarchical one as well, with those who inhabit hanan in the superior position.

---

38 Bauer, Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca, 3.
Mestizo Andean chronicler Inca Garcilaso de la Vega provides one of the most detailed accounts of how the land was divided and which Inka-by-privilege groups were relegated to each quarter by Manco Capac. Each of the sectors developed their own regional identity through this division.

Thus to the east of the city [Cuzco], with the people he [Manco Capac] brought from that direction, in the region that stretches to the side of the river called Paucartampu, he ordered thirteen towns to be settled on either side of the royal road of Antisuyu. We omit their names to avoid prolixity; they are all or almost all of the tribe called Poques. To the west of the city, in an area leagues long by nine or ten broad, he ordered thirty towns to be established scattered on either side of the royal road of Cuntisuyu. These were peoples of three tribes with different names: Mayu, Cancu, Chinchapucyu, Rimactampu… The remotest of these towns is seven leagues from the city, and the rest are scattered on both sides of the royal road of Chinchasuyu. South of the city thirty-eight to forty towns were set up, eighteen of the Ayamaca tribe, which are scattered on both sides of the royal road of Collasuyu for a distance of three leagues beginning from the place called Las Salinas, a short league from the city.  

In this description, Garcilaso de la Vega addressed the origin of each of the four quarters of the Tawantinsuyu, but he also implied in this same narrative another important detail about how nobility were differentiated from Inka-by-privilege through cosmic origin. In Comentarios reales de los Incas (1609), he was careful not to include these populations at Paqariqtampu, but instead alluded that Manco Capac picked up followers along the way to Cuzco. Thus, based on the origin story of the Inka, descendants of Manco Capac were cosmically entitled to privileges such as residing in Cuzco and benefitting from the collection of tributes.

Social structure in the areas surrounding Cuzco was based around a hierarchical system of ayllus. Like the panacas of the elite class, ayllus were kinship groups. However, these

groups were fluid and conceptual in nature, not necessarily based on blood relations but more so a mutually beneficial social and political alliance.\textsuperscript{43} Ayllus were self-sustaining communal entities, as the kinship groups maintained their own pastures of livestock, farmland, and supply of clean water.\textsuperscript{44} The organization of social and familial relationships was so important, Zuidema argues, that Inka cosmological worldview was built around the construction of ayllus.\textsuperscript{45} In comparison to cultures in Mesoamerica, such as the Aztec and the Maya, the Inka did not construct grandiose Underworlds and Heavens.\textsuperscript{46} Their cosmology was far less layered, and Zuidema contends that it is the combination of kinship and calendar that dictated Inka cosmology.\textsuperscript{47} While some aspects of the calendar, such as the solstices and the movement of planets and stars, are controlled by the earth’s rotation, much of what falls into this category can also be considered social. Mourning the passing of rulers, celebrating the lives of deities, and other ritual activities, including observing cosmological phenomena, also fell into calendrical classification and involved varied participation from the ayllus. Even events that occurred on a cosmic level were opportunities that revealed and recognized social and political alignment.

The organization of ayllus was also gender-based, with parallel hierarchical structures of men and women controlling the groups.\textsuperscript{48} This further implements the consistent arrangement of all aspects of Andean life around yanantin-masintin; men were born from the sun, and women from the moon.\textsuperscript{49} The aim of division in the Inka was not separation but balance and unification.

\textsuperscript{43} Ibid., 97.
\textsuperscript{44} Buikstra and Nystrom, “Ancestors and Social Memory: A South American Example of Dead Body Politics,” 249.
\textsuperscript{46} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{47} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{49} Ibid., 45.
The same balance that was necessary to sustain the social organization of the Inka Empire was present in the structure of *ayllus*. Hierarchy within kinship groups was established through masculine *yumay* and feminine *yuriy*.\textsuperscript{50} *Yumay* enforces the necessity of a common descendent and *yuriy* relates to birth order.\textsuperscript{51} These gendered, parallel categories of rank and distinction not only influence attire, behavior, and ultimately burial rites, but they reinforce *yanantin-masintin*. The dualistic structure of *ayllus* based on masculine and feminine delineation reflects the dualism present in the organization of Cuzco and the sacred valley into masculine *hanan* and feminine *hurin*.

In Guaman Poma’s *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno* (1615), he includes an illustration of the *Tawantinsuyu* that illustrates the division of the four sectors in a way that expressed hierarchy (fig. 1.4). Rolena Adorno argues that Guaman Poma’s illustrations used compositions that referenced the cosmological symbolism of Andean spatial organization, which is what allows this particular image to be read as a map that expresses not only geographic space, but also hierarchical divisions.\textsuperscript{52} In the center of the image, there are two intersecting lines of dissection across the mapa mundi, which locate the capital city of Cuzco. On the top of the image, the Amazon Rainforest and the Andes mountains are depicted to indicate the east side of the *Tawantinsuyu*. On the bottom of the image, Guaman Poma has drawn the Pacific Ocean and the coast. The division of the picture plane is from the perspective of the subjects in the illustration, so the image that the viewer sees, as an outsider to the scene is mirrored. With these landmarks in mind, one can compare the division of the *Tawantinsuyu* (fig. 1.1) to the division

\textsuperscript{50} *Yumay* translates as sperm in Quechua. *Yuriy* translates as birth in Quechua.
on this mapa mundi and locate each suyu: the Antisuyu is at the very top of the image, the Cuntisuyu is along the bottom, the Chinchasuyu is to the right, and the Collasuyu to the left.

A straightforward reading of this image, keeping in mind the division of hanan and hurin as dominant and subordinate, would place the Antisuyu in the most important position in the empire, after Cuzco as the axis mundi. However, Adorno argues that, in this image, the division of space is reversed.53 This is because the purpose of El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno was to express dissatisfaction with the post-Conquest government, and to argue to King Philip III of Spain that the colonial reorganization of Peru was turning the Andean world on its head. In the case of Guaman Poma’s mapa mundi, this reversed worldview became literal. The composition is meant to be read as the opposite of how the world should be in regards to Andean spatial ideology.54 However, reading this image of the Tawantinsuyu in such a way relies on hierarchical division of space, and when reversed back to its original position in line with the Andean universe, it can be read according to Manco Capac’s original intentions behind the division of the empire.

The Inka Empire is also divided into a system of lines that run through the axis mundi, located at the Qorikancha.55 These lines of division, called ceques, laid the framework for the sacred valley (fig. 1.5). In Brian Bauer’s ceque diagram, he illustrates how the chronicler Bernabé Cobo explained the division of ceques amongst the four sections of the Tawantinsuyu. While the chinchaysuyu ceques run counterclockwise, the antisuyu, collasuyu, and cuntisuyu ceques are said to run clockwise. The ceque system was an effort to reorganize the distribution of

53 Ibid., 109.
land and water by Pachacuti Sapa Inka in the Late Intermediate Period (1000-1476 AD). It disturbed the ruler that so much of the land belonged to ancestral mummies, who were able to own property in death. Marking several points along each ceque are huacas (wakas). A huaca is roughly defined as a shrine; a general object or location of veneration. The shrines could be things physically placed by the Inka, such as tombs, or more often they were pre-existing natural features such as mountains, caves, or rock outcrops.

Regardless of form, huacas supported a relationship with the supernatural world and provided points of contact for primordial forces that influenced the lives of the Inka. Cobo details the impact of a particular huaca on the surrounding inhabitants:

> It was a bit of flat ground which was there, in which they said that the earthquake was formed. At it they made sacrifices so that it would not quake, and they were very solemn, because when the earth quaked children were killed, and ordinarily sheep and clothing were burned and gold and silver were buried.

He not only points to the forces which the Inka believed this huaca controlled, but also to the offerings that local residents would leave in order to satiate the earth and prevent natural disasters. Offerings were either burned or buried, as mentioned by Cobo in this passage, or in the

57 Ibid.
58 A huaca is a broad term applied to a sacred place or object. While many Spanish chroniclers associated the term huaca with “idol,” this does not necessarily capture the function of a huaca in its entirety. Huacas were often nature features of immense beauty or monumental proportion. Spanish chronicler Garcilaso de la Vega includes examples that show the huaca’s variance of form, including everything from snowcapped mountains to the remains of individuals who had some sort of monstrous deformity. Sherbondy has posited that over one third of huacas could even be sources of water. Spanish chronicler Bernabé Cobo adds in his records that huacas are often locations where offerings are made or prayers and sacrifices are performed. Due to the extreme variance in form and the fact that Bauer has argued that ceque lines are not necessarily straight, huacas can be incredibly difficult to identify and therefore it is difficult to know whether the final count of huacas by Spanish chroniclers can be judged as accurate.
60 Ibid., 23.
case of rivers and lakes, the offerings were thrown into them. Offerings varied from natural items, such as shells and coca leaves, to specially crafted objects, such as miniature textiles or small animal figurines in gold and silver (fig. 1.6).

Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala also addressed the worship of huacas and their importance to the Inka in his 1615 magnum opus El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno. Although indigenous, Guaman Poma wrote from a Christianized perspective for a Christian audience—Spanish King Philip III—and thus conflated the worship of huacas with idolatry. In an image from his Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, Guaman Poma illustrated Topa Inka Yupanqui among his local huacas (fig. 1.7). The figure can be identified as the Sapa Inka not only through his tag, where he is labeled tupa ynga to the right of his head, but also through his attire, which matches the ruler’s portrait earlier in Guaman Poma’s text. Topa Inka Yupanqui is dressed in regalia to illustrate his status, with his masciapacha (mascapaycha), or royal crown, his sandals, and his tunic made of cumbi, or fine cloth, with topacu, square patterning that detail his status and lineage. In his left hand, he holds a uaman champi (hawk club) to highlight his role in the militaristic expansion of the Inka Empire. The index finger of his right hand is extended, and in the space between this finger and his mouth, Guaman Poma has indicated a verbal exchange with the huacas in Quechua. The Inka states “Huaca vilcacona-- pim cam cuna manta ama parachun-- caza chun runto chun ninqui rimari chaylla [Deities, who among you has said

---

65 Ibid., 71.
for it not to rain, not to freeze, not to hail? Speak, that is all],’’ to which the huacas answer

“Manam nocacunaca Inca [It was not us, Inca].”66

This exchange illustrates the same sentiments from Cobo’s example: the huacas were perceived to hold influence over the landscape, and therefore needed to be addressed as animate agents. The visual depiction of the huacas themselves shows a level of diversity, as some are figurative and others seem to be mountains or other naturally occurring phenomena. However, it is important to note that Guaman Poma did not see the huacas himself and therefore his interpretation was likely based on oral testimony and his own Christianized understanding of what he saw as the idolatrous practices of his ancestors.

Huacas and ceques plotted the landscape as ritual space, as demonstrated through examples of their veneration. The ceque system served not only to formalize and ritualize Inka geography, but it also solidified its hierarchical organization.67 These lines of division partitioned resources, designated the care of specific huacas, and laid the foundation of a hierarchical system of social organization.68 It gave ayllus allegiance and responsibility to a certain place.69 It is that need for a sense of belonging to a particular place that remains, even in death, as the following chapter addresses.

66 Ibid., 201.
CHAPTER II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF PLACE: ARCHITECTURE, LANDSCAPE, AND COSMOS IN RELATION TO INKA FUNERARY PRACTICES

There is an architectural space of death which, until our own time, has given rise to little comment. Yet in the tissue of urban and rural space, death forms a network of places and objects, with its allegories and symbols, its signs and its reference points, forming a specific course.

— Michel Ragon, The Space of Death, 1983

In order to further determine the mummy’s role as symbolic material that engages in an interconnected web of animate beings, it is necessary to examine the importance of place. While the placement of an ancestor was dictated by Andean understandings of the landscape and the cosmos, both of which played an active reciprocal role in daily life, the body itself influenced the social organization and build environments. The Inka effectively transformed the environment to further encode the land and cosmos with layers of meaning and symbolism, yet they understood that the earth also possessed control of its own existence. For them, the landscape was a natural setting constructed through the agency of Pachamama. In this way, the earth was not only active, but it was also perceived as animate.

This chapter examines how the Inka cosmology and the politics of spatial organization framed in Chapter 1 delineated the significance of place. I specifically analyze Inka funerary structures, and explain how their construction and placement have implications on ancestral remains. While the landscape influenced an Inka understanding of the body, I also demonstrate that the body became a metaphor for the landscape. According to Andean ideology, animating

1 Pachamama is the earth mother deity.
energy flows through the earth in the same way that blood flows through our veins. I finally characterize the dynamic relationship between the Inka and pacha\(^2\) as an embodiment of reciprocity and dualism using an Andean understanding of \textit{yanantin-masintin}. Specifically, I examine Inka architecture and landscape to draw connections between the political, the social, and the ritual. Ultimately, I argue the mummy bundle is contextualized through its placement among sacred architecture, ritual landscape, and the cosmos.

**Inka Funerary Architecture**

The architecture of death integrated with the pre-existing environment of the Andes as well as the social and ritual organization of the empire. Because of the social nature of relatedness, the source of identity for all things in the Andes,\(^3\) kinship became the primary criterion with which the Inka manufactured and organized their funerary spaces.\(^4\) Funerary architecture was fabricated to foster continued reciprocal interaction with the deceased.

Many Spanish chroniclers noted the vast diversity of funerary architecture within the Inka Empire. The diversity was not only indicative of the ecological divide of coast and highlands, where coastal tombs were often cited as being much more elaborate, but even among \textit{ayllus} of the same geographic region, there was variety. Spanish chronicler Pedro Cieza de Léon credits this to ethnic variance, writing that groups sought unique ways to entomb their dead.\(^5\) Despite this diversity, funerary architecture can be divided into two broad categories as identified both by the Spanish chronicler Bernabé Cobo and by Tom Zuidema’s seminal 1977 study. Cobo argues

\(^2\) \textit{Pacha} is Quechua for earth, but also implies the combined forces of space and time.


that the vast array of Inka tombs can be paired down to either above or below ground structures, while Zuidema further elaborates on this division as he identifies these structural categories as either elevated stone funerary structures called *chullpas* or subterranean shaft tombs.

Some of the most well-preserved *chullpas* can be found just outside of the city of Puno near Lake Titicaca (fig. 2.1). The site of Sillustani contains both Inka and pre-Inka *chullpas*. They are easily distinguished by their architectural style. The Inka *chullpas* differ in that they exhibit the unifying imperial ashlar architecture found on other important structures throughout the empire, employing a method of carefully cut stone that fit together without the use of mortar. The area surrounding the *chullpas* shows active mining for slabs of adesite, a type of volcanic rock. Several quarries had been left open, and many lone stones remain in the process of being formed around the base of several of the structures (fig. 2.2). There are also several *chullpas* that were either left unfinished or have been destroyed by lightning strikes. Sillustani is unique because these examples of incompletion and destruction detail the process it took to create the structures, and potentially many other structures that employ similar imperial architecture. An engineering marvel, these *chullpas* are not only made with tightly conjoined ashlar blocks, but the large stones towards the top of the towers were hollowed in order to balance the weight of the material with the daunting height of the final formation. One of the *chullpas* at Sillustani has been damaged by lightning, so the hollowed stones are visible along the top left and right side (fig. 2.3). Facing the east towards the sunrise, each *chullpa* has a small opening that leads to an internal chamber with which bodies were housed and remained accessible for visitation and

---

offerings (fig. 2.4). The opening is diminutive, but not altogether impassable. For myself at 5’4”, it would have been an uncomfortable but plausible fit.

While the shaft tombs discussed by Zuidema are vertically submerged in the earth, tombs are also chiseled horizontally from cliff sides. This type of crypt, where ayllu would carve out or utilize preexisting cave-like structures, was called mach’ays (machays). Their form recalled the creation story of the Inka Empire, where the founding ancestors emerged from caves.9 The Inka believed that the creator deity, Viracocha, and his two creator sons Imaymana Virachoca and Topaco Virachocha, called Manco Capac and the ancestors from the caves through their primordial journey across the sacred valley.10 Examples of this method can be found at the Inka city of Pisaq (Pisac), where hundreds of grouped mach’ays are visible along the cliffside (fig. 2.5)

Regardless of the diversity in the architecture of burials, several key factors remain the same. Tombs were never closed off completely, leaving some sort of entrance for offerings and continued social interaction.11 The dead were not relegated to distant locations, but instead were placed near or among social architectural groupings so that they could be visited regularly and maintain active relationships with local residents.12 In Pisaq, for example, the mach’ays were only elevated from the city, but still spatially proximal.

Cobo also notes that considerable attention was paid to the form of the tomb, not only to perpetuate social interactions between the living and the dead, but also to maintain relationships that contented the dead.

---

A universal custom among all the Indian nations was to pay more attention to the dwellings that they were to have after death than to the one they had during their lifetime... Though they made no effort to have big and attractive houses, they took great care in building and adorning the tombs where they were to be buried, as if all of their happiness resided there. These Peruvians observed the same custom, and with more care, style, and skill than any of the other peoples of the New World. Their pride and glory was to have the most lavish, impressive, and pompous burials and tombs possible, according to the importance of those to be buried.\textsuperscript{13}

While Cobo’s choice of adjectives, such as “pompous,” “lavish,” and “attractive” were not necessarily proper to the Inka who were constructing the tombs, he does point to something that the Inka did consider when he discusses the idea of happiness among the dead. It was less important to create a tomb that was be visually striking, and more significant to construct one that would please the dead and appropriately represent the social and political status of the deceased. Cieza de León also affirms Cobo’s observation about happiness: “It truly amazes me to think of how little store the living set by having large, fine houses and the care with which they adorned the graves where they were to be buried, as though this constituted their entire happiness.”\textsuperscript{14} When both Cobo and Cieza de León discuss adornment, they are speaking about the offerings that were left to appease the deceased in exchange for good health, fortune, and fertility, among other things over which the dead were said to have influence.

Tombs often facilitated preservation of the body by providing shelter from the elements that was cool, dark, and worked with the dry Andean climate. Additionally, they had to allow access to the community, provide space for ritual and veneration, and incorporate storage for offerings and associated funerary goods.\textsuperscript{15} It was essential, regardless of architectural form, that the tomb provides the ability to facilitate social interaction between the dead and the living.

\textsuperscript{14} Pedro de Cieza de León, \textit{The Incas of Pedro De Cieza De Leon} (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959): 311n.
\textsuperscript{15} Isbell, \textit{Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization}, 139.
Ancestor mummies served to solidify bonds of kinship as well as links between the world of the living and the supernatural. As with all aspects of Andean society, the closeness one felt with an individual ancestor was proximal. When someone died, other deceased members of the ayllu were moved aside within the tomb to make room for the most recent death, and genealogical intimacy was recalculated. Adjacency to the living became the standard of measure for identity. The more distant an ancestor’s death, the further he or she was consumed into the ayllu’s collective memory and became part of an ancestral assemblage. William Isbell argues that it is access to this ancestral assemblage of bodies that sustained the identity of the ayllu.

While space often amassed additional layers of sacred significance when used for funerary ritual, the materiality of the land and structures themselves were sacred. Stone was the material of the apu, or the sacred mountains, and Pachamama used it to map out sacred land. The Inka recognized these stones as revered landmarks, and in turn would integrate the sacred land into their architecture or chose particular quarries based on their spiritual significance. As with other Inka spaces of power, funerary spheres must be perceived as mobile within scholarship, and as contestable social representations in constant flux. They are reflections of a dynamic social and political order. Through landscape and architecture, the Inka made

---

20 Ibid.
symbolic statements about the ordering of their society. It is society itself that encodes place and material with sacredness.

**Landscape and Built Structures as Bodily Metaphor**

Space and time, the building blocks of Andean cosmology, retain a balanced, dualistic relationship. The merger of these elements defines the Quechua term *pacha*. While its literal translation is “earth,” this oversimplifies a fundamental part of Andean ideology. *Pacha* is not only the physical earth but also the concept of an experience-based landscape. It conveys the tangible landscape of the planet as well as its participation in the passage of time and memory. The earth becomes a memoryscape for place and time on a metaphysical level, and rocks, mountains, and other natural formations become marks of narration.

Stella Nair remarks that the term *pacha* is utilized in a way that linguistically denotes transformation as well. This implies that the landscape is continually changing, and even an active participant in its own dynamic metamorphosis. As every being, including the earth, is understood to have some degree of animacy, any sort of cosmic transition is both influenced and influential to all things. While the Inka perceived time and space as within a constant state of flux, they also saw this movement as repetitive. Antithetical to a Western understanding of the progression of time as linear, cultures across the Andes viewed time as cyclical. Inka conceptions of life and death also reflect this larger Andean cosmological system. These correlations are reflected in the metaphoric links between *pacha* and body.

---

22 Ibid., 88.
23 Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, 35.
The importance of body as metaphor is reflected in how Inkas perceived architecture and landscape, both of which became structures for the passing of fluids in the way that blood runs through our veins. In his contemporary study of a village from the Huarquira district, Peter Gose examines how the cyclical nature of fluids relate to place. The contemporary Quechua highland community in Huarquira believes that, in death, the animating fluids of life return to the earth and become embodied once again in physical landscape of the living. Because water is considered an animating element, it has no place in the realm of the dead and exits the body and into the earth. A living, malleable body, full of animating fluids and a dry, unalterable assemblage of bones and leathered flesh are just two extremes within a spectral life cycle. The cyclical nature of this return of fluids imitates the hydraulic system of rain that irrigates terraced crops and provides Andean communities with a fertile landscape. This system of returning animating fluids to the earth, influencing the land and its ability to grow and change, was one that centered around metamorphic cosmology. The ancestral mummy, literally dried of all fluids, remained integrated in daily Andean life, symbolizing this cyclical worldview. The physiological connection of place and body through the transference of animating fluids demonstrates the permeability of the boundaries between people and the landscape.

Fluids also influence how Inka architecture was intended to be understood. Early scholarship of George Kubler argues that the stagnant, utilitarian buildings of the Inka Empire reflect a lower level of visual and architectural achievement than other comparable civilizations.

27 Ibid., 254.
31 Acuto, Kergaravat, and Amuedo, “Death, Personhood, and Relatedness in the South Andes a Thousand Years Ago,” 320.
in the pre-Columbian Americas,\textsuperscript{32} and he is not alone in expressing such sentiments. Georges Bataille also has commented on the lack of visual interest in the architecture of the Inka Empire. He wonders that, for such a powerful society, the “Inka Civilization is relatively dull.”\textsuperscript{33} The root of their criticism is deeply entrenched in early colonial reactions to the architecture of the Inka in comparison to Spain. Art historian Valerie Fraser argues that chroniclers were frequently looking at similarities in achievement when addressing the Inka Empire, as opposed to attempting to decipher layers of otherness.\textsuperscript{34} However, these sentiments reveal preconceptions about the nature of Inka architecture. It is the mastery of engineering that impressed the Spanish, and the aesthetic component is taken for granted.\textsuperscript{35} These argument and ones akin to them misunderstand the way Inka structures were meant to be experienced.

Tom Cummins and Bruce Mannheim propose an alternative decolonial reading of Inka structures, arguing that stone has \textit{puriy}, or a kinetic existence.\textsuperscript{36} Not only is stone perceived as living and fluid, but the Inkas employed visual strategies in their architecture to simulate the flow of liquid. Agricultural terraces, for example, were not only used to encourage irrigation and create flat, harvestable land out of steep terrain, but also mimicked a sense of fluid movement. This can be seen at Pisaq, where the terraces were fully integrated into the landscape as they contour around the cliffside, effectively imitating the natural curvature of earth (fig. 2.6). The manner in which the stone and earth tumbled down the mountain ledges also mimicked the appearance of water flowing over land.\textsuperscript{37} Ordinary structures, used for domestic or agricultural

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid.
purposes, were constructed using a method called \textit{pirkani}.\textsuperscript{38} For structures of political or religious significance, however, the Inka used finely cut and joined masonry known today as the “imperial style.” An example from \textit{Saqsaywaman} shows the two types side by side (fig. 2.7). Pirkani is shown on the right, and imperial style is shown on the left. Imperial style utilized a type of bonded masonry, which was divided into two form based categories of cut stone: ashlar and polygonal.\textsuperscript{39} In another example the historic center of Cuzco illustrates the polygonal style (fig. 2.8), which was the more dynamic of the two. It was a constantly evolving process that involved the ability to adapt to strange, unpredictable shapes and anticipate unexpected deviations from the original plan.\textsuperscript{40} This was an effort to retain the integrity of the stone’s original shape. Polygonal block construction was antithetical to the use of ashlar blocks, which were cut in rectangles of consistent measurement. Guaman Poma illustrates Inka men constructing an edifice with ashlar blocks (fig. 2.9).\textsuperscript{41} Stella Nair argues that these men are constructing a \textit{callaca uasi}, a building in which ashlar block makes up the foundation.\textsuperscript{42} The curved walls around the base of the \textit{Qorikancha} are an example of this type of structure, as well as ashlar block construction (fig. 2.10). Both methods (polygonal and ashlar) were unforgiving of mistakes because each piece needed to fit together tightly and without the additional support of mortar.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{39} Nair, \textit{At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero}, 25.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid., 28.
\textsuperscript{42} Nair, \textit{At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero}, 18.
\end{flushleft}
These stones were cut with a method called *canincakuchini* (caninacukpirca). The widespread construction of imperial architecture created edifices across the Andes that were cohesively Inka and helped assert political dominance. In terms of visual design, the seams of these tightly compounded rocks not only flow down the sides of the walls themselves, but they also allow the flow of light. At different moments of the day, the seams are intensified by the movement of light and shadow.

Quarried rock was also worked in the interest of emphasizing the transformation between wet and dry stone. *Ollantaytambo*, an Inka city constructed by Sapa Inka *Pachakutiq* (Pachacuti), has several channels and fountains that move water through aqueducts and down the front of a large cut boulder (fig. 2.11). Wet stone becomes illuminated by the sun, and accordingly the principal Andean deity of energy and life, *Inti*. The damp surface captures the brilliance of the sun’s sacred energy.

Cummins and Mannheim bring the relationship between stone, fluid, and the body full circle when they address the idea of *pakchapakcha*, which holds that liquid is transformed from one state to another through kinesis. In the human body, *chicha* (fermented corn beer) enters through our mouths and undergoes a transformation as it becomes the fluid in our veins. Finally, liquid exits the body as urine. When liquid is expelled from our bodies, it is not understood to be

---

43 Dean sources the term to the Quechua verb *canini*, meaning “to bite or nibble.” This references the practice of taking small, patient “bites” of the stone until it takes the desired shape, one capable of fitting tightly and precisely with the surrounding rocks to form walls that do not need mortar to hold together.

44 Nair, *At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero*, 29.


46 Pachakutiq is the ninth Sapa Inka, and is most recognized for an elevated level of conquest during his reign. He is recognized as the emperor responsible for the expansion of the Inka Empire beyond the Sacred Valley, and across the entire Andes mountain range and Western side of South America.


48 Ibid., 10.

49 Ibid., 15.
waste, but instead to be part of the same cyclical cycle of which all things are a part.\textsuperscript{50} The nature of all liquids, as they relate to the earth, the stone, or the body, is transformative and animating.\textsuperscript{51}

The strong connection between people and place extended beyond the movement of animating fluids. The materiality of both the body and the land is perceived as interchangeable. Both people and place are understood as being made of the same matter.\textsuperscript{52} This thesis argues that the body enters the realm of material symbol. The symbolic code of the body, when applied to an understanding of the landscape, demonstrates the interconnected nature of stone and flesh. The Inka saw the entirety of humanity as complementary to the earth and \textit{Pachamama}.

\textbf{Yanantin-Masintin in Place and Body}

Being in the Andes was understood through relatedness, and how these relationships established a sense of balance. This correlates with the Andean belief of \textit{yanantin-masintin}.\textsuperscript{53} One of the most significant ways in which the Inka expressed relatedness and the significance of maintaining balanced \textit{yanantin-masintin} is through marriage.\textsuperscript{54} The unification of a man and a woman into a single social unit was commensurate to the relationship between the sun and the moon. Man and woman represent a societal mirror image. Unmarried individuals were seen as incomplete.\textsuperscript{55} This sense of necessary balance and completeness was also incorporated into their architecture. Because the Inka perceived certain stones as sacred, structures would be built around them, with the important rock outcrop fully integrated into the design.

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 16.
\textsuperscript{51} All of nature's liquids are known in Quechua as \textit{hisp’ay}.
\textsuperscript{52} Acuto, Kergaravat, and Amuedo, "Death, Personhood, and Relatedness in the South Andes a Thousand Years Ago," 321.
\textsuperscript{54} Acuto, Kergaravat, and Amuedo, "Death, Personhood, and Relatedness in the South Andes a Thousand Years Ago," 318.
\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
Carolyn Dean argues that an understanding of people and place as materially equivalent is expressed through architecture. By integrating natural rock outcrops into built structures, the Inka demonstrated an intertwinement with Pachamama and architecture as complimentary forces. These rocks were not only incorporated, but often highlighted as an aspect of visual significance, as many of the stones were perceived to have actively facilitated the expansion and prosperity of the Inka Empire. By incorporating the natural environment into their architecture, Inka society symbolically married the earth. The layout of Machu Picchu is an example of this on a large scale (fig. 2.12). The structures fully incorporate the winding, curving mountain ledge. The layout of the city fully embraces the topography of the landscape, and rather than working against what would typically be considered a difficult and uninhabitable area, each structure acknowledges and integrates the natural form of the rock. Within Machu Picchu is a royal mausoleum that provides another example of incorporated natural stone, where a large rock outcrop is “snuggled” by ashar blocks, “purposefully confusing the juncture between living rock and worked masonry” (fig. 2.13). This particular mausoleum is carved from a mammoth pre-existing rock formation that provides the foundation and left exterior wall of the tomb, and its sacred significance is solidified by its location in vertical alignment with the Temple of the Sun. The tomb, like the chullpas of Sillustani, was home to the remains of multiple mummified individuals.

Architecture itself was perceived by the Inka as a way to bring order to an untamed space. Therefore, it is the untamed natural earth that complimented the orderly Inka society.

57 Nair, At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero, 29.
59 Ibid., 502.
60 Ibid., 503.
The Inka idea of *tinkuy*, or place where compliments merge, identified the coalescence of nature and architecture, earth and Inka, and the orderly and disorderly.\(^\text{61}\) This becomes a reflection of how the Inka complicate ontological dichotomies, such as nature and culture, in the way that Viveiros de Castro argues.\(^\text{62}\) Nature is seen as untamed space, while Inka society reflects order. However, their consistent merger demonstrates that these elements exist along a spectrum. Nature and culture, both categories that are reflective of human perspective, meet and clash at various points along this spectrum. The very nature of *tinkuy* is a clash of uncontrollable things. The term specifically references ritual war dances between *ayllus*, but the concept has a much broader application. Catherine Allen describes the event as both a fight and a love affair.\(^\text{63}\) *Tinkuy* is both antagonizing and unifying. Both sides resist and give in in the process of fusion. When these fiercely independent forces assimilated, the third element created by this merger was known as *qhariwarmi*.\(^\text{64}\)

In the same way the Inka integrated the landscape their architecture, funerary architecture facilitated the merging of bodies with the natural environment. As bodies assume the role of general ancestor, there is a loss of specific individual memory. The Inka have established a symbolic code of identity, using carefully curated funerary goods and placement to contextualize meaning. Over time, the details of identity become diffused. Within the tomb, which is materially unified with the landscape, human remains combine with the remains of those who have been deceased for a greater length of time, and distinct identity gives way to collective memory. Collective memory in this case was less emblematic of the ordered symbolic code the

---

\(^{61}\) Ibid., 504.


\(^{64}\) Dean, "The Inka Married the Earth: Integrated Outcrops and the Making of Place," 504.
living assigned to the recently deceased. The body moves from the realm of ordered culture and was absorbed into unpredictable, untamed nature through its collective entombment. The mummy acted as a cultural symbol, constructed by the living to reflect Inka social order. The integration of the body into the landscape through funerary architecture reflects the merging of ordered culture into untamed natural space.

The relationship between water and stone can also be seen in the same lens of yanantin-masintin. Within Quechua poetics, for example, semantic coupling is a device commonly employed to emphasize that concepts do not exist in isolation, but are part of a dual relationship where the two terms share syntactic context. Tom Cummins and Bruce Mannheim argue this literary semantic coupling is uniquely Quechua. Within ritual poetry, terms are presented consecutively and within the same morphological context. Cummins and Mannheim evidence this in the pairing of the Quechua words intiqa (sun) and killaqa (moon) or mama (mother) and tayta (father). These couplets provide relatable examples as they also perceived as pairings in Western prose. However, the Quechua terms for river and stone, mayu and qaga, have this same sort of semantic connection. This coupling illuminates an important dualistic understanding for the Inka. In the sense that water flows, rock flows through the veins of the Andes. It is as familiar to them as the pairing of man and woman. The relationship between the two defines their characteristics and evidences their material animacy.

---

67 Ibid., 6-9.
68 Ibid., 9.
69 Ibid., 10.
Just as the Inkas themselves understood dualism in their own social relationships and how they have come to comprehend their physical presence, place is able to act as a metaphor for an Andean interpretation of their own bodies and is even perceived as materially interchangeable. In one telling of the Andean origin story from Spanish chronicler Juan de Betanzos, the creator deity Viracocha moulded the ancestors of all Andean people out of stone quarried from the shores of Lake Titicaca. Drawing from this version of the creation of humanity, it makes sense that embodiment and the transfer of camay occurred most easily between men and stone. It is within the realm of the deceased where culture, with physically constructed tombs and symbolically constructed bodies, was brought together with nature, and the materiality of flesh and stone was central to this union. In an Andean worldview, the earth and built environments were able to manifest and merge with the human body, as well as actively shape its symbolic meaning.

CHAPTER III
THE INKA BODY:
ANCESTOR MUMMIES AND MATERIAL CULTURE

*If the human body is a kind of model of society it is, obviously, much more than a mere physical body. As a symbol of society a body participates in that which is represents… Insofar as the body represents society, and as such it is an important symbolic entity, the death of the body might be thought to devalue that society which it symbolizes...The identity of the body is not extinguished, it is simply transformed and revealed in its new state.*


Douglas Davies argues that the body both symbolizes and transcends the society of which it belongs, even in death. This statement holds true for the Inka. This chapter examines the mummies of both Sapa Inka and ayllu ancestors, as well as the associated funerary goods, to demonstrate that the mummy bundle was a reified symbol of dualistic Inka social organization. Specifically, I argue that as crucial components of Inka material culture and as participants in cosmic-level entanglements of relatedness and reciprocity, mummies were invested with animacy and agency. This argument abandons Cartesian perceptions of death, being, and personhood in favor of Inka perspectives on ontology and materiality, and regards ancestor mummies as material symbols of a larger cultural structure.

This chapter begins with examining the context associated with interring the body. Following is an examination of the layers of meaning that associated funerary goods held. Finally, I posit that the mummified body serves the purpose of symbol and embodiment of genealogical memory and political influence.
Funerary Context of the Body

The preparation and preservation of the dead has deep historical roots in Andean tradition. The most ancient of Andean mummified remains date back approximately 7,000 years to the Chinchorro culture of southern Peru and northern Chile and show signs of repeated exposure to the elements which suggests that they serve as visual points of interaction with the living. While a consequence of the Andean environment was the unintentional preservation in several pre-Inka cultures, the Inka used the arid Andean climate to their advantage as they purposefully prepared the bodies of Sapa Inka and ancestors.

The preservation of kin validated familial and cultural identity, and male and female mummified ancestors could occupy roles of ayllu leadership. Placed in the fetal position at death, the ancestors spend eternity as a visual representation of the cyclical nature of life and rebirth. The fetal position also allowed the body to sit upright, analogous with the living, which preserved a sense of their social presence. In an illustration by Guaman Poma, a deceased lord is paraded through the streets in November, the month of carrying the dead and celebrating the feast of the dead (fig. 3.1). The mummy is in the fetal position, but is also fully clothed and placed upright to demonstrate its animacy. Rolena Adorno argues that Guaman Poma’s compositions are premised on the symbolic representation of Andean cosmology and assign

---

value to scenes and subjects. His images are organized along a primary diagonal that runs from the upper right through the lower left, signifying a complementary, yet hierarchical division between high and low, as well as left and right. This image clearly shows this division and its associated subject matter through the inclusion of the moon on the left half, which represents the feminine lunar goddess Killa, and the sun on the right, representing the masculine solar god Inti.

The dead were believed to watch over their ancestors in matters of health, fertility, and general fortune. In turn, descendants would care for their mummified remains and engage with them in various ritual and celebratory settings. This relationship created a sense of continuity between this life and the afterlife.

Bodies were preserved in ways that retained a sense of animacy. Cobo states:

The dead body was embalmed with great skill; much time was spent preserving it; this was done with such care and skill that two hundred years after death when some of them were found in Cuzco, the bodies were so complete and the hair so well fixed and preserved that it seemed that they had died less than a month before.

While many chroniclers mention embalming when discussing the preparation of mummies, there is actually very little physical evidence to suggest that this was the case. It is more likely that the mummies were placed within a vault and allowed to dry out naturally in an environment that was conducive to the preservation of organic material.

Cobo also discusses how Sapa Inka mummies were clothed, citing that it perpetuated the same status that the individual held in life. “Its eyes were made with a thin gold cloth; its hair was gray, and it was entirely preserved, as if he had died that same day. The body was very well

---

dressed with five or six magnificent mantles, the royal fringe, and some well made *llautos* (llawt'u)."\(^{11}\) When looking at examples of mummies that have avoided destruction at the hands of conquistadors, the intention of preserving animacy is apparent (figure 3.2). As Cobo mentions, the body seems remarkably complete for its age, a characteristic seen in an actual female body found at Puruchuco-Huaquerones, just outside current day Lima. Her hair is one of her most conspicuous features, and one can imagine how it would frame whatever material would substitute for the eyes, which are now empty sockets. Cobo mentions a thin gold cloth, but other materials historically have been used in the Andes, including the polished lenses of humboldt squids when within proximity to the coast.\(^{12}\) The objective in using any of these materials is to create shine and glisten from the sun to exhibit life-like energy. The dazzling reflection of light signified the metaphysical significance of *Inti*.\(^{13}\)

Early Spanish chroniclers found Inka royal mummies to be particularly noteworthy, but also idolatrous. Accordingly, all of the Sapa Inka mummies have been destroyed or lost as a consequence of Christianization, so inconsistencies in the written records, such as disagreements about the materials used for embalming, is untestable.\(^{14}\) While Cobo described mummification in great detail, and is one of the most valuable primary sources on the subject, his distaste for the practice as a Jesuit reveals itself in several instances. He notes:

> Although these Indians gave some justification for their other idolatries and error, none could be given for the beastly act of venerating the bodies of the dead as much as they did. However, since it was such an important matter to them, and for

---

\(^{11}\) Llawt'u, or llauto in the hispanicized spelling, refers to a textile headpiece composed of woven, multicolored plaits. Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, 141.


converting them, being the most prejudicial of their heathen customs, a special account must be given.\footnote{Cobo, \textit{Inca Religion and Customs}, 40.}

Spanish sources represent Catholic perspectives on mummification in the Andes, and accordingly exhibit widespread abhorrence and misunderstanding for the practice. Dismantling the cult of the ancestors became a pressing priority for conquistadors in the colonial Andes.

It was Polo de Ondegardo, \textit{corregidor} of Cuzco in 1558, who was responsible for the most successful campaign against the mummification of ancestors.\footnote{A \textit{corregidor} was an administrative official appointed by the crown that oversaw and implemented Spanish governance in the Americas.} He sent several royal mummies to Lima to be displayed, studied, and otherwise kept away from the Inka. Others were reburied in church cemeteries or were burned in an effort to stamp out any chance of idolatrous relapse. The Viceroy Andrés Hurtado de Mendoza, third Marqués de Cañete, appointed Ondegardo to his position, and he reported back to him with written reports of his findings. Ondegardo composed a lengthy investigation, now lost, of Inka practices in Cuzco along with several royal mummies, which was widely circulated and often referenced by other chroniclers, such as Cobo and José de Acosta.\footnote{Brian S. Bauer, \textit{Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca} (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004): 159-160.} It is through their chronicles that we are able to access the information from Ondegardo’s initial investigation. Cobo, for example, received a signed copy of the report and often quotes from it directly.\footnote{Ibid., 159.}

Written colonial records provide important, often first-person insight, but utilizing them involves noting biases as well as areas where there are silences. Taking this into account, it is important to acknowledge that Ondegardo also discovered mummified \textit{qoyas} (coyas) or Inka
queens, the favorite of many wives had by the Sapa Inka.\textsuperscript{19} However, the existence of \textit{qoya} mummies is absent in every other chronicle.\textsuperscript{20} Considering this lack of information, it would be problematic to attempt to include a thorough discussion of the role and treatment of \textit{qoya} mummies, but their dismissal from all other primary sources says much about the role of women in the post-Conquest world. I concentrate on the lineage of the eleven generations of Sapa Inka (fig. 3.3), as there are more records available to inform this study.

Guaman Poma distinguishes the Sapa Inka mummies from the mummies of others by the titles they held.\textsuperscript{21} Inka royalty were granted the title of \textit{yllapa} (illapa), or lightning, in reference to the powerful weather deity. All other ancestors were \textit{aya}, or dead body.\textsuperscript{22} With the exception of maintaining the social hierarchy of the Inka, the purpose of preserving ancestral bodies was largely the same for both royalty and all other ancestors. The mummified bodies of the Sapa Inkas were engaged with daily life just as all other mummified bodies were. Because the dead were not separated from their material possessions, royal mummies were offered gold, silver, and sacred coca leaves, which were placed in their eternally open mouths, and they were dressed in garments made from lavish textiles, or \textit{cumbi}.\textsuperscript{23}

The royal dead also continued to own all of the property that they retained in their lifetime. When a Sapa Inka died, his eldest son inherited his position while the rest of his descendants formed a \textit{panaca} in order to provide continued support for the cult of the now deceased Sapa Inka by giving regular offerings, caring for his estates, and upholding his

\textsuperscript{19} Bauer, \textit{Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca}, 160.
\textsuperscript{20} Isbell, \textit{Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization}, 41.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid., 224.
\textsuperscript{23} Isbell, \textit{Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization}, 41.
reputation.24 Pedro Pizarro, cousin of the conquistador Francisco Pizarro, declared in his own chronicle that the dead Sapa Inka “had the best of everything in his kingdom.”25

Emperors were the center of ritual and ceremony immediately upon their death and continuously thereafter. Cobo recorded details of the burial ritual following the death of a Sapa Inka, though it is unclear as to where he gathered such insight as his chronicle was written over 100 years after the death of Huayna Capac, the last Sapa Inka who died of natural causes. This may be an instance where Cobo is referencing Ondegardo, as he often quotes his 1559 report without credit.26

At death, his family unit [panacas] took charge of him, and before all else they took out his entrails and put them in a safe place with great solemnity and public lamentations, which lasted many days. At this time they had great drinking bouts with dances and mournful songs.27

Guaman Poma also elaborates on the burial ritual for the Sapa Inka, explaining that the mourning process lasted an entire month, and that in this time they refrained from eating customary delicacies to express grief.28 They also refrained from using salt, as it was believed to encourage decomposition.29 Guaman Poma’s description is accompanied by an illustration that depicts a deceased Inka royal and his qoya (fig. 3.4). The preserved corpses are dressed in fine textiles and are presented in an upright position, as though they were still animate. The pucullo (shared burial house) is labeled in the back, and a skull is shown to symbolically represent the structure as a final resting place. Mourners come to drink chicha (fermented corn beer) with the dead, and also serve them symbolically by pouring the liquid into a large vessel. Cobo observed that “the more

24 Bauer, Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca, 162.
26 Ibid., 160.
27 Cobo, Inca Religion and Customs, 251.
28 Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 226.
29 Ibid., 232.
honored the deceased was, the more *chicha* they drank. His remark demonstrates that the Inka would imbibe in large glasses of *chicha* to honor the dead, but his account should also be seen as potentially loaded with moralizing overtones. Through the lens of Christianity, the Spanish viewed drinking in the colonial Andes as irrational and excessive. For example, while chronicler Cieza de León did acknowledge drunkenness as a mark of culture, the tone of his writing enforced the condemnation of the inebriation of the indigenous Other. This moralizing discourse was used as a form of control and provided justification in the eyes of the Spanish for conquest. It enforced the idea that the Inka, who engaged in overabundant consumption of alcohol and practiced idolatry, and were therefore in dire need of Christianity and colonization.

The years following a death were comprised of consistent contact with the deceased. During important ceremonies in Cuzco, royal mummies were paraded around the plaza and given food and *chicha*. Processions were theatrical in nature, and called attention to the dualistic polarity between the realms of the living and the dead by representing that space through transitionary movement. Contemporary Cuzco recreates the procession of the royal mummies during the festival of Inti Raymi, the solar festival that honors the sun deity Inti around the June solstice. The *Qorikancha* is where the preparations would have been overseen by the deceased Sapa Inka, his body placed in an area of prominence to demonstrate his continual political influence. Today facsimiles of royal ancestor mummies are placed on platforms and carried through the Plaza de Armas in the historic center of Cuzco (fig. 3.5). Inti Raymi has since

---

32 Ibid., 6
become a singular representation of what were more frequent processions during the Inka Empire.

Cobo argues that the mummies would only come out for the most dignified of festivals, and for less solemn occasions the Inka would bring out the *wawqis* (guauguis, wawki) of each Sapa Inka. A *wawqi* is best translated as a “petrous brother,” and while none remain for reference, they could have been made from a variety of materials, including stone, gold, or even hardened masses of fingernails and hair. This practice further relates to the concept of *yanantin-masintin* in that the royal mummy and his *wawqi* were perceived to be complementary halves. *Wawqis* were created through a transfer of *camay*. So rather than viewing a *wawqi* as a substitute for the Sapa Inka’s body at ceremonies, it was better understood as an embodiment of the ruler. The ontological state of the Sapa Inka should be viewed, in the language of Wilkinson, as contagious. Being was seen as communicable, and could be transferred through contact. A *wawqi* was recognized as the ruler himself, and was respected as such. *Wawqis* received offerings, controlled property, and had many personal servants. They were revered as though they were living.

Royal ancestor mummies were housed either in their own estates or in the *Qorikancha* (fig. 3.6), where they would be placed to the left of the reigning Sapa Inka to represent *Hurin* Cuzco or to the right to represent *Hanan* Cuzco. Due to their status and political importance, royal mummies retained more individuality than ancestral *ayllu* mummies, who assumed a more

general role of significant ancestor and were often housed collectively. All mummies were symbols of a larger system of social organization within the Inka Empire. The treatment of royal mummies represented the significance of place, where the location of the body was illustrative of the dualistic division of the *Tawantinsuyu*, and the significance of materiality, where stone and body had equal *camay*.  

The bodies of deceased Sapa Inkas were treated both as treasures and oracles. The Inka often consulted their deceased kin directly in order to affirm or coerce deviation from the current balance of power. They were attended to by servants and consulted in order to continually affirm their political presence in the empire. Pedro Pizarro recounts an instance where the body of a royal ancestor was consulted:

> Well, I expected to speak with a living Indian but they took me before the bundle of one of those corpses, where it was placed in a litter, in the manner that they were kept, with the Indian designated to speak for him on one side and the woman in question on the other, seated next to the mummy. Once we went before the corpse the translator repeated the message.

Sapa Inka mummies were regularly engaged with in this way, demonstrating that they were prominent players in public affairs. The body was not merely a stagnant symbol of social and spatial organization, but an active and participatory agent in a diverse field of animate beings.

*The Bodies of Ancestors*

Like the mummies of Sapa Inkas, ancestor mummies also had significant sociopolitical influence. The body was a conduit of social memory, and able to affirm collective identity within

---

44 Ibid., 159.
an ayllu. The body itself was an object of immense authority. The social and celestial impact of the ancestor mallqui was analogous to that of the Sapa Inka mummies, and though royalty was on a higher scale, this difference was proportional.\textsuperscript{47} Like the royal mummies, mallqui held positions of power in their ayllus and owned property and other material resources, held social responsibilities, and ultimately were revered by the living. These were privileges that were afforded to both males and females.\textsuperscript{48} Yet the Quechua term mallqui is actually female in nature. It translates to a seedling yet to be sown.\textsuperscript{49} The mallqui, the mummified body itself, is understood to be the feminine half of an entire physical postmortem representation of the ancestor. Male halves are often wakas (huacas) or wawqis (huaquis), which are perceived to house more masculine cama\textsuperscript{y}.\textsuperscript{50} The seedling was understood as inactive, waiting to be sown, because it is through exterior forces that the male and female counterparts are brought together. The practice of associating every mallqui with a corresponding masculine energy draws parallels between a marriage in the world of the living.

Thousands of ancestor mummies were documented in colonial records as having been found around the sacred capital of Cuzco.\textsuperscript{51} Because of their continued influence on the realm of the living, the mummies of ayllu ancestors were considered integral for the well-being of the community. They retained such strong ties to the location of their own residence in life that it

\textsuperscript{50} Ibid., 165.
\textsuperscript{51} Buikstra and Nystrom, “Ancestors and Social Memory: A South American Example of Dead Body Politics,” 253.
was forbidden to keep ancestral remains in foreign or socially isolated locations. Cobo records that many ancestors were kept within the homes of their kin.

The relatives of the deceased would look after [the] dead bodies, and they kept them adorned and carefully preserved. The bodies were wrapped in a large amount of cotton with the face covered. [...] Some kept the bodies of their relatives in their own houses.

Reflective of the ethnic diversity of the Andes, mummies were kept in a variety of locations as long as they remained accessible and close to their ayllus. As discussed in Chapter 2, above ground chullpas and caves carved from mountain ledges were common in the highlands region.

Burial rituals also varied largely dependent on geography. Guaman Poma provides the most insight into the variance in burial practices from each of the four regions in the Tawantinsuyu through his illustrations. Burial in the Antisuyu expressed the most regional differentiation. The Ch’unchu (Chuncho), an ethnic group inhabiting the Amazonian Antisuyu, were largely considered savage outsiders by Guaman Poma, and did not practice mummification.

---

53 Cobo, Inca Religion and Customs, 41.
54 Guaman Poma has an illustration of burial practices in the Amazonian Antisuyu. However, the sacred human remains for groups in the Antisuyu, such as the Chachapoya, were handled differently and this has ethical implications on how they are studied today. The remains are not studied or interacted with frequently by those outside of the culture. In order to respect their deceased, remains in the Antisuyu will not be addressed in this study, nor will images be included here.
56 Guaman Poma was illustrating a bias based on personal experience with this statement. In order to aid his case in a property dispute, he had worked to establish ancestral ties to the elite of the Chinchaysuyu and his birthright to land in the rural area of Huamanga, which were under the control of the Ch’unchu from the Antisuyu at the time. Ultimately, judgment was passed against Guaman Poma and the case he brought against the Ch’unchu, who accused Guaman Poma of falsifying his identity and capitalizing on the privileges he saw granted to others through the colonial legal system. This litigation informed his opinion of the Ch’unchu, as they are illustrated and spoken of in his text as violent, infidel cannibals. Guaman Poma’s experience with his land dispute also provided him with an opinion of the failings of the new colonial government, which provided the framework for El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, which was meant to provide King Philip III of Spain an account of the ways that the new Spanish
In his illustrations of the burials practices of the Chichaysuyu, Collasuyu, and Cuntisuyu, Guaman Poma shows how they similarly mummified their deceased. People in the Chinchaysuyu were unique in that they had processions for all of their dead, as seen in Guaman Poma’s illustration (fig. 3.7). When an ancestor died, their kin would wait five days before burial, and as they did when royalty expired, they dressed their dead in regalia, refrained from using salt or other delicacies, and mourned by dancing, feasting, and drinking with their corpse. At the waiting period, the body would be taken into a vault called a pucullo, which is labeled in the image. It should be noted that in the pucullo, the remains shown are dismembered. This sort of secondary burial practice further obscures individual identity, and further emphasized the protective role of ancestors as the disembodied skull was often placed at the entrance to the tomb. The Collasuyo (fig. 3.8) and the Cuntisuyu (fig. 3.9) also dress and feed their dead, as well as mourn for five days before burial. However, neither region engaged in pre-burial processions. The composition of each of these images runs contrary to the Andean primary diagonal, which should place the largest focal figures at the top right of the composition with less significant figures or subject matter on lower left. Guaman Poma strategically composed his illustrations, not only to enforce positive Andean spatial arrangement, but he also flipped these diagonals to assign negative value to scenes and subjects. In each of these images, he places a figure in the upper left down to the lower right. Adorno argues that when the division of space is reversed, compositions become the opposite of how the world should be in regards to Andean government was unsuccessful. Adorno, Guáman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru, xxii-xxiv. Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 258.

57 Guaman Poma de Ayala, El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, 228.
58 Isbell, Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization, 41.
59 Ramos, Death and Conversion in the Andes Lima and Cuzco, 30-31.
spatial ideology. Guaman Poma adamantly protested the ways in which Spanish corregidores and priests treated the indigenous people, but he was also a Christian. He praised the pre-Columbian government of the Inka while simultaneously disavowing their idolatry. By reversing the organization of space, he is pictorially expressing his disapproval as a man of God. Guaman Poma’s illustrations can be read in ways that reveal as much about the Inka as they do the man who drew them. Through his text and images, there is a record of the diverse funerary practices within the Tawantinsuyu. While there are fewer samples to study due to intentional eradication by the Spanish, there are still divergent subjects of bioarchaeological research across the Andes that confirm the heterogeneity that Guaman Poma describes.

Over time, deceased bodies in the Andes ultimately shifted from maintaining a sense of individuality, into occupying a more communal and symbolic role. As Guaman Poma illustrates, the role of ancestral bodies became a unifying force among ayllus within the four sectors of the Tawantinsuyu. To accommodate the new role of symbol, “individual bodies become an assemblage of bodies.” The role of the body in the Andean highlands has been pervasively cooperative, even in this current day and age. Catherine Allen, in her contemporary ethnographic studies, addresses the continued ties that the Quechua community of Sonqo has with ancestral remains. While at the time of her study, the village was still using the same communal style grave that reflected similar characteristics to chullpas, the location had moved to a cemetery behind the community’s small church. Ultimately, she notes, the people of Sonqo know that their bones will join this same communal heap of jumbled bones.

---

62 Ibid., 109.
63 Ramos, Death and Conversion in the Andes Lima and Cuzco, 23.
64 Acuto, Kergaravat, and Amuedo, “Death, Personhood, and Relatedness in the South Andes a Thousand Years Ago,” 319.
65 Allen, The Hold Life Has: Coca and Cultural Identity in an Andean Community, 40-41.
66 Ibid., 40.
Funerary Material Culture

The material that mummies were buried with created a link between the afterlife and the domestic realm of the living. Funerary goods were not often manufactured exclusively for burial, but instead were originally made for domestic use. For example, ceramics, textiles, and metal objects were often placed next to Inka mummies to solidify postmortem identity. Cobo identifies the types of objects that were commonly associated with the mummy:

Dressed and adorned in his finest garments and jewelry, he was buried; next to him were placed other new garments that were folded, much food and drink, and with him they also buried his weapons, the implements of his craft and occupation, and all of his wealth and valuables. Silver and gold were usually placed in his mouth, hands, and bosom, or other places.

For the deceased, funerary goods helped maintain the role and status he or she enjoyed in life.

The utilization of textiles in burial practices was pan-Andean and perennial, expanding across several eras of cultural development. All ancestor mummies were dressed in some form of cloth, and many mummy bundles even enclosed abundant layers of cloth. While some funerary bundles simulate the appearance of an animate person dressed in their traditional attire, others are obscured by a mass of textiles and may even contain more than one body. For example, a single mummy’s shroud from the Paracas region included over 300 yards of textiles, needing more than two acres of cotton to create. Some bundles also contained falsa cabezas, or false heads. The addition of a falsa cabeza (fig. 3.10) was meant to replace the face of the deceased

---

68 Ibid., 309.
70 Cobo, Inca Religion and Customs, 250.
71 Ramos, Death and Conversion in the Andes Lima and Cuzco, 26.
with one that symbolized its ayllu and further emphasized its role as a communal ancestor.\textsuperscript{73} The actual head of the ancestor would be inside the bundle while falsa cabeza, stuffed with cotton, would rest on top. The falsa cabeza depicted in the figure is from the Chanchay, which was a post-Wari (500 – 1000 C.E.) culture that was conquered and assimilated into the Inka Empire. It is made from colored textiles with silver accoutrements designed to mimic the eyes, nose, and mouth of a person. There are also two pointed silver ears that give this falsa cabeza a feline appearance. Feline motifs in Inka visual culture often represent the puma, which was a symbol of noble masculinity.\textsuperscript{74} Because the falsa cabeza symbolized ancestral identity, this individual was likely a deceased male from an ayllu of noble status.

The motifs presented on funerary textiles are diverse, even when considering the relatively small sample of surviving pre-Columbian burial shrouds to which we have access. Naturalism, animal motifs, and geometric patterns are all present.\textsuperscript{75} One of the most complete examples known today, a mantle from Paracas, exemplifies the sort of pictorial narratives seen on burial textiles (fig. 3.11). The iconography is a combination of animals and geometry. The dominant motif includes two opposing felines with long, snake-like bodies, that create a repeating rectangular pattern along the top and bottom. The center stripes repeat the same cat-snake hybrid creature with the addition of schematized birds. Much like the falsa cabeza, the feline motif likely represents elite social status and masculinity. Neither the iconography nor the weaving style of funerary textiles is standardized, but instead they reflect local variations of

\textsuperscript{73} Funerary Bundle Head, Chanchay, Imperial Epoch. (Lima, Peru: Museo Larco, n.d.) Museum exhibit label.
\textsuperscript{74} Stella Nair, \textit{At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero} (Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015): 94-95.
\textsuperscript{75} Margaret Young-Sánchez, “Four-Part Head Cloths from the Peruvian Coast,” \textit{Andean Textile Traditions: Papers from the 2001 Mayer Center Symposium at the Denver Art Museum} (Denver, Co: Denver Art Museum, 2006): 97.
construction method and craftsmanship, as well as symbolize the identity of the individual with which it is buried.\footnote{Ibid., 96.}

Textiles not only signified identifiers such as class and profession, but they also provided an absorbent layer of protection against the elements. To aid in preservation, mummies were wrapped in an assortment of fabric, cotton, animal skins, and straw to keep the bodies in a dry and insulated environment.\footnote{Ramos, \textit{Death and Conversion in the Andes Lima and Cuzco}, 23.} The finest textile would be closest to the body within the bundle. The mixture of materials depended on the customs of the region and status of a particular \textit{ayllu}.

The amount of layers of offerings and absorbent material were one indication a person’s rank or status within regions that practiced bundling: the more effort it required to wrap the body, the more important the individual was.\footnote{Ibid., 24.} An example of an Inka bundle from Puruchuco illustrates a thorough layering of the body (fig. 3.12). The exterior consists of layered textiles and cottonseed to preserve the body. Sacred offerings were also buried inside the bundle, including coca leaves, shells, guinea pigs, corn, and vibrant macaw feathers, which also indicate that this was an individual of high status. Sacred objects were ones that were recognized for their powerful materiality. For example, the presence of spondylus shells correlates with the creator deity Viracocha and the creation story of all Inka.\footnote{Heather Lechtman, “The Inka, and Andean Metallurgic Tradition,” \textit{Variations in the Expression of Inka Power: A Symposium at Dumbarton Oaks, 18 and 19 October 1997} (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2007): 326.} There are several items that relate to the daily life of the individual as well. The bundle includes bowls made of gourds and a comb, objects used for routine or domestic use. Near the exterior are the individual’s sandals, which also indicate an elevated status as footwear was not common.\footnote{“Inca Mummies: Unwrap a Virtual Mummy.” National Geographic Channel Inca Mummies: Unwrap a Virtual Mummy.} The objects that are wrapped

---

within the layers of a mummy bundle indicate occupation as well.\textsuperscript{81} The mace and the sling within this particular mummy bundle may indicate a high ranking warrior. Ultimately, the final product often varies, as the objects with which an individual is buried are indicators of identity and the appearance of the bundle reflects regional and social differences.\textsuperscript{82}

Offerings were also placed around a mummy bundle, and ranged from domestic objects, like ceramics and baskets, to ritual ones, like coca leaves and feathers (fig. 3.13). Domestic objects established an unbroken, continuous connection with the living world, while ritual offerings were left by members of their ayllu because the dead were believed to be protectors of their descendants, and had supernatural influence in matters of health, fertility, and agricultural prosperity.\textsuperscript{83} Both interior and exterior associated funerary objects become vehicles for additional social, political, and ritual meaning, adding further intricacy to the body as symbol.

\textbf{The Body as Symbol}

In Inka tradition, the continued presence of the ancestral body symbolized the esoteric interconnection of all human and non-human beings, and the cyclical nature of existence and animation. All of the intersecting aspects of funerary culture institute the symbolism of the dead: placement of the body, the surrounding landscape and cosmos, architecture, what comprises a socially acceptable burial ritual, the preparation of the mummy, the associated funerary goods, and how relationships are sustained between the living and the dead. The power of the body lies in its ambiguity.\textsuperscript{84} Its symbolism does not pertain to one particular aspect of the Inka Empire, nor does its significance only refer to a people of a specific class or geographical location. The

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{81} Ramos, \textit{Death and Conversion in the Andes Lima and Cuzco}, 25.
\item \textsuperscript{82} Ibid., 26.
\item \textsuperscript{83} Dean, \textit{"The Afterlife of Inka Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization," Death and Afterlife in the Early Modern Hispanic World}, 29.
\item \textsuperscript{84} Ibid., 29.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
memory of individual life faded over time and the mummified remains assumed a more symbolic and generalized role. The living projected multiple meanings onto their deceased, who functioned on a symbolic level.

The meaning of life, what happened in death, and what it meant to be human were predominant questions that were embedded in the symbolism of a corpse, while simultaneously functioned as a political and social agent in the *ayllu* or the empire in the case of the Sapa Inka. Katherine Verdery argues that there is a level of self-referentiality in the construction of the symbolic body. We all have bodies, and this taps into intrinsic, experience-based associations. Ultimately, each layer of symbolic construction established Inka mummy bundles as multifaceted and ambiguous symbols. For the Inka, the role of the body was simultaneously symbol and material, and contained animacy and agency.

Inka funerary culture held a central role in shaping the collective identity of living groups and their beliefs in being, for mummies stood as eternal embodiments of genealogical memory, and monuments to the cyclical, generative nature of life and new life. The power of these bodies was recognized by the Spanish, and accordingly they became a target of destruction and conversion. Colonialism ultimately fostered a world in which certain types of beings were unacceptable. The idea that all things were animate is contrary to the Western ontologies with which the Spanish were familiar. Equal distribution of agency within the Andean world was also antithetical to Christianity, where humans are viewed as superior beings within a divine hierarchical order. In order to generate a more accurate and intellectually responsible

---

87 Ibid., 33.
understanding of Inka funerary culture and its symbols, we must abandon Western epistemologies in favor of ones that are Andean.\textsuperscript{89}

AFTERTHOUGHTS

This thesis examines Andean spatial organization, architecture and built spaces, the landscape and cosmology, funerary goods, and the ancestral body to argue for the agency of Inka mummy bundles. Addressing Andean ontology and cosmogony allows for a decolonial approach that recognizes mummy bundles as capable of establishing relationships and defining Inka social and cultural organization. Incorporating the Andean perception that all things are defined by relatedness is key to this approach. Examining the relationships between space, material culture, and the body allows us to more precisely determine the role of the Inka symbolic code within the social realm of death.

A critical reading of colonial primary sources, oral histories, and scholarship of Andean architecture and the natural environment provides insight into Inka funerary practices that demand to be unpacked through a decolonial lens so as to better approximate Inka perspectives. Funerary culture is key to understanding the social identity of the Inka past and a decolonial art-historical approach is especially capable of linking these components meaningfully.¹ Together, these chapters weave a narrative of the Inka funerary culture through a decolonial art-historical lens that privileges Andean perspective.

This thesis has also taken into account the ethical implications of studying human remains. Often these considerations are less about how the study of human remains impacts the wishes of the deceased and the groups to whom they belonged, and more about how they affect the living. Academics has historically favored this approach, as it eliminates metaphysical discussions about the intentions and preferences of the dead, but this would be an antithetical

A decolonial approach to the study of human remains looks not only at what needs to be done to assuage the kin and communities of the deceased, but also addresses the dead as active participants in their own afterlife and in the living communities to which they may still belong. My thesis promotes research of the deceased in a way that is respectful of both the living and the dead.

Studies such as this must address how public institutions that physically store, handle, and display human remains attend to the legal and ethical implications of collecting, research, and exhibition. I had the pleasure of speaking personally with Dr. Patrick Ryan Williams, associate curator and department head of Anthropology at the Field Museum in Chicago, about the museum’s protocol in dealing with human remains. The responses from this interview illustrate the need to treat indigenous cultures from all over the globe on a case-by-case basis and in alignment with each group’s practices and beliefs. The museum no longer acquires human remains from international locations, and does not acquire Native North American remains for legal reasons and because it lacks a proper research institute that specializes in this geographic area, however, it is home to the remains of several hundred individuals. In regards to Andean human remains, the vast majority were acquired through the 1893 World’s Columbian Exposition and from George Dorsey’s excavations for Harvard in the early twentieth century.²

Dr. Williams stressed the importance of treating each culture as a unique case.³ The Field Museum actively works with indigenous communities all over the world to accommodate different cultural customs for the deceased. Within the United States, legal regulations for Native American human remains were passed on November 16, 1990, and were a direct response to the

---
² Dr. Patrick Ryan Williams (Associate Curator, Chicago Field Museum) in discussion with the author, March 24, 2016.
³ Ibid.
protests of indigenous peoples for the right to the return their material culture and the remains of their kin.\textsuperscript{4} The Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act (NAGPRA) restored the right of possession of human remains and related funerary objects, sacred objects, and items of patrimonial significance to affiliated indigenous Nations in the United States. Compliance with NAGPRA is legally mandated for all federally funded institutions in the country.\textsuperscript{5} However, NAGPRA only outlines repatriation to federally recognized Nations within the United States, which means that there is more variance on how institutions chose to handle repatriation internationally. The Field Museum has worked closely with indigenous groups in Canada, Australia, and the Pacific Islands to ensure what Dr. Williams referred to as \textit{spiritual closure}.\textsuperscript{6} This means that the Field Museum will do whatever the community feels is necessary to allow the deceased to be at peace within the belief system of that culture. The decision to utilize language that relates to funerary or burial ceremonies as opposed to the traditional sterile, academic language of museum policy is a conscious choice that reflects an understanding that human remains reflect the life of an individual and are to be respected as beings with genealogical connections, as opposed to being strictly viewed as objects of scientific or historical research.

The concept of spiritual closure correlates to the responsibilities of the living, and what they feel they must do to give their ancestor an appropriate burial and afterlife experience in accordance to their beliefs. What achieves a level of spiritual closure in different cultures varies. For example, The Field Museum has worked closely with indigenous groups in Oceania in order to repatriate remains, regardless of the lack of legal mandate. Their most recent repatriation was

\textsuperscript{5} See Native American Graves Protection and Repatriation Act, section 25 U.S.C. 3003(b), Requirements.
\textsuperscript{6} Dr. Patrick Ryan Williams (Associate Curator, Chicago Field Museum) in discussion with the author, March 24, 2016.
to Tasmania, and this effort is a reflection of what the community believes and has requested of the museum.\textsuperscript{7} The remains needed to be returned in order for the living to fulfill their responsibilities to the deceased for spiritual closure. The indigenous cultures of the Andes, however, are very different in their funerary beliefs, and how the Field Museum handles their human remains currently expresses this.\textsuperscript{.} Throughout much of the Andes \textit{mestizaje}, or cultural and ethnic hybridity between indigenous Andeans and the Spanish greatly impacted the cultural landscape. Miscegenation between indigenous groups and Europeans also occurred in the United States and Canada, but not necessarily in comparable levels due to the marginalization and forced migration of native people, as well as the enforcement of blood quantum.\textsuperscript{8} The implications of \textit{mestizaje} in the Andes is that the people of Peru often have both Spanish and indigenous heritage to varying degrees. It thus becomes the responsibility of the Peruvian \textit{Ministerio de Cultura}, as opposed to individual indigenous groups, to determine procedure for the handling of material culture and human remains both in the country and abroad.\textsuperscript{9} Accordingly, the Inka bodies studied and photographed in this thesis would be considered cultural patrimony of all the citizens of Peru. As opposed to keeping the obligations of caring for the deceased specifically within kinship groups, the responsibility is shared on a national level.

After looking at the needs and responsibilities of the living, we must now examine how to address the agency of the indigenous dead. The remains of Native Nations in the United States were buried with the intention of not being disturbed in the afterlife. They were buried in subterranean graves in places of sacred and familial significance. It is contradictory and

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{7} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{8} Blood quantum laws established genealogical qualifications to claim Native American ancestry. By establishing a percentage of Native American blood that an individual must have, individuals who chose to marry people of different ancestries were punished, or their children were punished, by losing their indigenous status by either the Federal government or their own Nations. This ultimately discouraged interracial unions and cultural hybridity.
\end{flushright}

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{9} \textit{Ibid.}
\end{flushright}

62
disrespectful to the intentions of these indigenous peoples to disturb their remains, and this includes display, scientific inquiry, or relocation of any form. It is desecrating to the identity of the deceased individual. However, the Inka did not share this perspective with indigenous groups from North America, as their ancestors were never meant to be left undisturbed or inaccessible. In fact, it was the Spanish who insisted on good Christian burials in Church cemeteries without the ability to make venerative contact with the body, as this was perceived as idolatrous.\textsuperscript{10}

Because the deceased were viewed as social agents in the pre-Columbian Andes, repatriation for the process of reburial may be seen as a colonizing practice. Instead, the Field Museum works closely with several affiliated institutions in Peru and follows their practice of displaying mummified remains. Dr. Williams notes that in Peru, they view the display of the remains as in line with the social nature of the body. Bioarchaeological research has actually flourished at an impressive rate in Peru through an understanding that ancestral remains are meant to be handled, and that reciprocal relationships are still upheld when research on human remains is able to provide invaluable information in areas such as ethnic history, human health, and disease research.\textsuperscript{11} This thesis argues that from an Andean perspective, the bodies of deceased Inka ancestors are animate agents, and are meant to be involved in the social and political workings of the Inka Empire. Ultimately, due to the unique funerary beliefs in the Andes, indigenous communities and their ancestors are not disenfranchised by the display of remains, but are actually able to maintain a comparable level of social agency through museum practices in Peru and internationally.


\textsuperscript{11} Dr. Patrick Ryan Williams (Associate Curator, Chicago Field Museum) in discussion with the author, March 24, 2016.
Understanding Andean funerary practices and the symbolic potential of the body within the framework of this thesis involves engaging with the agency of both the living and the deceased in a manner that is similar to the ethical and legal policies within museums. The line between personhood and material culture in the Andes was not fixed, but instead was fluid along a spectrum of ontology. A gradual transition took place as individual memory faded into generalized genealogical memory. The body went through passage in the process of becoming symbolic. Inka mummified ancestors benefit from art-historical treatment as material culture is capable of symbolic meaning and advancing social relationships between humans and non-human material. Respectful and culturally-sensitive art-historical treatment of the body may align with Andean ideology in that mummified ancestors were perceived to be social agents that established relationships with the living and defined the cultural structure of the Inka. While an art-historical approach to this subject matter is in its early stages of development, I have experienced through my research the vast possibilities of approaching the construction of the Inka body as a material symbol of the social and political organization of the Tawantinsuyu.
Figure 1.1 Cosmological model of the interior of the Qorikancha, Relación de las antigüedades deste Reyno del Piru, Juan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua, 1620. Source: “The Social Basis of Sacred Spaces in the Prehispanic Andes: Ritual Landscapes of the Dead in Chimú and Inka Societies,” page 98.
Figure 1.2 Map South America with labeled placement of the four sectors of the Tawantinsuyu. Note the location of Cuzco at the intersection of all quarters. Source: Author’s diagram.
Figure 1.3 Andean symbolic spatial arrangement and the four suyus. Source: Author’s diagram.
Figure 1.4 Drawing 344. Mapa Mundi de las Indias del Perú, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno page 1001, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 1.5 The Cuzco ceques according to Cobo’s description, Brian S. Bauer, 1988. Source: *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System*, page 8.
Figure 1.6 Silver Alpaca, Silver Llama, and Female Silver Figurine, Lake Titicaca (Island of the sun). Source: Department of Library Services, American Museum of Natural History.
Figure 1.7 Drawing 102. Divinities of the Inka, Waqa willka inkap, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, page 263, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 2.1 Chullpas of Sillustani, Lake Umayo. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.2 Quarry with partially worked stones, Sillustani, Lake Umayo. Source: Author’s photo.
**Figure 2.3** *Chullpa*, Sillustani, Lake Umayo. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.4 Chullpa entrance, Sillustani, Lake Umayo. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.5 Mach’ays at Pisaq. Source: Author’s photos.
Figure 2.6 Terraces at Pisaq. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.7 *Pirkani* on right, imperial on left, Saqsaywaman. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.8 Polygonal block, Centro Histórico, Cuzco. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.9 Drawing 139. Surveyers of this kingdom: Una Cauchó Inka and Cona Raquí Inka, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: Nueva corónica y buen gobierno, page 354, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 2.10 Ashlar block at the Qorikancha, Cuzco. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.11 Aqueduct and fountain at Ollantaytambo. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.12 Integration of natural rock formation at Machu Picchu. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 2.13 Integrated rock outcrop in mausoleum at Machu Picchu. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 3.1 Drawing 100. The eleventh month, November; Aya Marq'ay Killa, month of carrying the dead, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, page 258, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 3.2 Image of Inka mummy, excavated at Puruchuco-Huaquerones, Museo Larco, Lima. Source: Author’s image.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Huan Cusco</th>
<th></th>
<th>Huan Cusco</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2) Sinchi Roca</td>
<td>1) Manco Capac</td>
<td>6) Inca Roca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Tarc Huaman)</td>
<td></td>
<td>7) Yahuar Huacac</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Llque Yupanqui</td>
<td></td>
<td>8) Viracocha Inca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Mayta Capac</td>
<td></td>
<td>9) Pachacuti Inca</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Capac Yupanqui</td>
<td></td>
<td>10) Tupac Yupanqui</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11) Huayna Capac</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Huascar</td>
<td></td>
<td>Atahualpa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.3 Division of Sapa Inkas into hanan and hurin, R.T. Zuidema. Source: Hierarchy and Space of Incaic Social Organization, page 51.
Figure 3.4 Drawing 112. Burials of the Inka: Inka illapa, aya, the deceased Inka, his corpse, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, page 289, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
**Figure 3.5** Representation of Royal Mummy in procession at Inti Raymi, Plaza de Armas, Cuzco. Source: Cat Horn Photography online.

**Figure 3.6** Qorikancha, Cuzco. Source: Author’s photo.
Figure 3.7 Drawing 113. Burials of the Chinchaysuyus, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, page 291, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 3.8 Drawing 115. Burials of the Qullasuyus, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. Source: El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno, page 295, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 3.9 Drawing 116. Burials of the Kuntisuyus, Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, 1615. 
Source: *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, page 297, Det Kongelige Bibliotek Website.
Figure 3.10 Chanchay Funerary Bundle Head, 1300-1532 AD, Museo Larco. Source: Author’s image.
Figure 3.11 Paracas Mantle and detail of border, Formative Period, Museo Larco. Source: Author’s image.
Figure 3.12 Illustration of a mummy bundle at Puruchuco-Huaquerones, John Dawson. Source: National Geographic, Mummy Bundles of Puruchuco online.
Figure 3.13 Ancón Mummy with Four-Part Head Cloth, Reiss and Stübel, 1880-87. Source: *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru.*
BIBLIOGRAPHY

Primary Sources


Secondary Sources


Nair, Stella. At Home with the Sapa Inca: Architecture, Space, and Legacy at Chinchero. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press, 2015.


Zuidema, R.T. “Inca Cosmos in Andean Context: From the Perspective of the Capac Raymi Camay Quilla Feast Celebrating the December Solstice.” In *Andean Cosmologies Through Time: Persistence and