

## ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: **Slithering Serpents and the Afterlives of Stones: The Role of Ornament in Inka-Style Architecture of Cusco, Peru**

Lisa Senchyshyn Trever, Master of Arts, 2005

Directed By: **Professor Joanne Pillsbury  
Department of Art History and Archaeology**

Serpent reliefs and other pre-Hispanic motifs occasionally appear on the façades of early colonial Inka-style masonry buildings in Cusco, the former capital of the Inka empire, although similar carvings are only rarely seen on earlier Inka architecture. This research demonstrates that while some ashlar were reused from pre-Hispanic Inka walls, the reliefs were likely carved during the colonial era. Central to this analysis is the premise that the breakdown of Inka state iconoclasm allowed native masons greater decorative license. The appearance of Andean motifs on houses built for the city's Spanish inhabitants reveals the complexity of early colonial attitudes toward indigenous culture. The carvings provide an opportunity to investigate the shifting meanings of Andean symbols during the early years of the Spanish presence in Peru. Indeed, these motifs, carved after the Inka imperial collapse, have since become iconic of "Inka-ness" and are replicated in Cusco's twentieth-century municipal architecture.

SLITHERING SERPENTS AND THE AFTERLIVES OF STONES: THE ROLE OF  
ORNAMENT IN INKA-STYLE ARCHITECTURE OF CUSCO, PERU

By

Lisa Senchyshyn Trever

Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the  
University of Maryland, College Park, in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Arts  
2005

Advisory Committee:  
Professor Joanne Pillsbury, Chair  
Professor Sally M. Promey  
Professor Marjorie S. Venit

© Copyright by  
Lisa Senchyshyn Trever  
2005

## DISCLAIMER

The thesis that follows has had referenced material (illustrations) removed in respect for the owner's copyright. A complete version of this document, which includes said referenced material, resides in the University of Maryland, College Park's library collection.

## Acknowledgements

I am very grateful to my advisor, Joanne Pillsbury of the University of Maryland and Dumbarton Oaks for her steadfast support of my research. I must also thank the other members of my thesis committee, Sally M. Promey and Marjorie S. Venit, for their excellent suggestions and critical comments on this work. At Yale University, Mary Ellen Miller introduced me to the George Kubler photographic archives and Katherine Haskins and Helen Chillman of the Yale University Art Libraries facilitated the initial research that sparked this inquiry into the appearance of serpent carvings on Inka-style buildings. In Cusco, Antonia Mirada Ayerbe, director of the Museo Inka, generously allowed me to study and photograph Inka stone objects in the museum's collection. Mónica Paredes García, subdirector of the Centro Histórico, Municipalidad de Cusco, provided invaluable advice and insight into the Inka-style architecture of the city. Tom Cummins, Susan Niles, and Stella Nair have warmly shared their expertise in Inka and colonial Andean art and architecture. Brian Bauer and Carolyn Dean were also very generous in sharing unpublished drafts of their research with me.

The architectural observations that form the core of this essay were made possible by a grant-in-aid from the Cosmos Club Foundation of Washington, D.C., which funded my three-week research trip to Cusco in May and June 2005. An early version of this research was presented at the 2005 annual meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians in Vancouver, British Columbia, where my ideas were tested and refined. I must thank the Scott Opler Foundation, the University of Maryland's

Jacob K. Goldhaber travel grant, and the department of Art History and Archaeology at the University of Maryland for supporting my participation in that meeting.

Last, but certainly not least, this thesis would never have come to be without the unflagging support of my husband Stephen and our family. I dedicate this essay to them.

# Table of Contents

Acknowledgements.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Illustrations.....	v
Chapter 1: Untangling the Architectural Heritage of Cusco.....	1
Chapter 2: Inka Architecture and Imperial Aesthetics.....	10
Form and Function of Inka Imperial Architecture.....	10
Inka Cusco.....	21
Ornament, Aesthetics, and Mythology.....	27
Chapter 3: The Colonial Remaking of Cusco.....	33
Circa 1534.....	33
Andean Masons, Spanish Edifices, and the Afterlives of Stones.....	38
Defining Post-Conquest Inka-Style Architecture.....	41
Chapter 4: Zoomorphic Reliefs as Architectural Ornament.....	44
Zoomorphic Architectural Ornament in Cusco.....	44
The Lintels of Calle Loreto and Calle Ataúd.....	45
Beaterio de las Nazarenas.....	48
Calle Zetas.....	52
Cuesta del Almirante.....	55
Calle Pumacurco.....	56
Plazoleta Santo Domingo.....	57
Calle Maruri.....	57
Casa de los Pumas.....	58
The Church of San Francisco.....	59
Zoomorphic Architectural Ornament Beyond Cusco.....	61
Native Motifs and European Heraldry.....	63
A Proliferation of “Inka” Motifs in the Modern Era.....	66
Conclusions: Tracing Architectural Seams.....	69
Bibliography.....	72
Illustrations.....	80

## List of Illustrations

- Fig. 1 Map of Peru showing the locations of Cusco and other cities and sites
- Fig. 2 The church of Santo Domingo built upon the Qorikancha
- Fig. 3 Serpent reliefs on an Inka-style doorway in Cusco
- Fig. 4 Map of central Cusco with selected sites and monuments indicated
- Fig. 5 Aerial view of central Cusco
- Fig. 6 View of Cusco toward Santo Domingo, after the 1950 earthquake
- Fig. 7 The famous twelve-sided stone in an Inka palace foundation
- Fig. 8 Corner of the Aqllawasi, Calle Arequipa
- Fig. 9 Zigzag wall at Saqsawamán
- Fig. 10 Corner of the palace of Inka Roqa, Calle Hatunrumiyoc
- Fig. 11 Palace entrance with feline sculpture at Huánuco Pampa
- Fig. 12 Usnu with feline sculpture at Huánuco Pampa
- Fig. 13 Felines carved near the entrance to a *chulpa* at Cutimbo
- Fig. 14 One of the “tabernacles” in the Qorikancha
- Fig. 15 Carved rock outcropping at Q’enqo
- Fig. 16 Inka-style *chulpa* with serpent carving, Wapaca
- Fig. 17 Drawing of zigzag wall with snake carving at Saqsawamán
- Fig. 18 Detail of snake carving on zigzag wall at Saqsawamán
- Fig. 19 Carved snake entering the cave at Laco
- Fig. 20 Superior view of the Sayhuite monolith by Léonce Angrand
- Fig. 21 Partially-reconstructed “tabernacle” niche in the Qorikancha,



- showing Inka and modern tool marks
- Fig. 22 Modified Inka wall on Calle Agustín, showing Inka and modern tool marks
- Fig. 23 Snake lintel, Calle Loreto
- Fig. 24 Snake lintel, Calle Ataúd 154
- Fig. 25 Serpent on the Aqllawasi side of Calle Loreto
- Fig. 26 Detail of Calle Loreto snake lintel showing modern tool marks
- Fig. 27 Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 28 Drawing of the doorway of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 29 “The Schools,” Cuzco. Illustration from E. George Squier, *Incidents of travel and exploration in the land of the Incas*
- Fig. 30 Beaterio de las Nazarenas lintel
- Fig. 31 Details of snakes at doorjambs, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 32 Serpents at the corner of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 33 Serpents on the wall facing the plaza, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 34 Drawing of serpents facing the plaza, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 35 Serpents facing the Callejón de las Siete Culebras
- Fig. 36 Drawing of serpents facing the Callejón de las Siete Culebras
- Fig. 37 Snakes carved into surfaces of stones, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 38 Horse relief, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 39 Cross engraved on an ashlar, Beaterio de las Nazarenas
- Fig. 40 Doorway at Calle Zetas 400
- Fig. 41 Drawing of doorway at Calle Zetas 400
- Fig. 42 Oblique view of reliefs on left side of entrance to Calle Zetas 400

- Fig. 43            Oblique view of relief on right side of entrance to Calle Zetas 400
- Fig. 44            Two serpents carved inside the vestibule of Calle Zetas 400
- Fig. 45            Inka stone with protuberances on top edge, Calle Zetas
- Fig. 46            Drawing of doorway at Calle Zetas 390
- Fig. 47            Serpent carved along top edge of an Inka ashlar, Calle Zetas 390
- Fig. 48            Drawing of Inka-style doorway with carved serpents at Cuesta del Almirante 282
- Fig. 49            Detail of the serpents on the doorjamb at Cuesta del Almirante 282
- Fig. 50            Stone *mortero* with snakes heading toward opening, Museo Inka
- Fig. 51            Palacio del Almirante
- Fig. 52            Drawing of doorway with serpent reliefs at Calle Pumacurco 336
- Fig. 53            Detail of serpent carved at right side of entrance to Pumacurco 336
- Fig. 54            Hotel el Libertador, Plazoleta Santo Domingo
- Fig. 55            Inka-style wall with reliefs, Plazoleta Santo Domingo
- Fig. 56            Drawing of doorway and reliefs on Calle Maruri
- Fig. 57            Detail of zoomorphic reliefs on Calle Maruri
- Fig. 58            Casa de los Pumas, Calle Santa Teresa 385
- Fig. 59            Detail of pumas (left side)
- Fig. 60            Detail of pumas (right side)
- Fig. 61            Colonial Andean bracelet
- Fig. 62            Carved stone from Capachica, Puno
- Fig. 63            Stone with serpent and rainbow carvings, church of San Francisco
- Fig. 64            Spiral motif carved into an ashlar, church of San Cristóbal

- Fig. 65 Modified Inka wall with zoomorphic reliefs, Vilcashuamán. Illustration from Charles Weiner, *Pérou et Bolivie*
- Fig. 66 Zigzag reliefs on modified Inka wall, Vilcashuamán.
- Fig. 67 Lizard carved on an Inka wall, Vilcashuamán. Illustration from Charles Weiner, *Pérou et Bolivie*
- Fig. 68 Lizard stela from the Hacienda Umayo, Sillustani
- Fig. 69 Lizard carved on a *chulpa* at Sillustani
- Fig. 70 Coat of arms of Garcilaso de la Vega
- Fig. 71 “Second Coat of Arms of the Incas.” Illustration from Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*
- Fig. 72 Neo-Inka architectural ornaments (alpaca and serpent), Plaza San Francisco
- Fig. 73 Neo-Inka architectural ornament (*urpu*), Plaza San Francisco
- Fig. 74 Neo-Inka architectural ornaments (serpents and *urpu*), Calle Teqsiquocha 415
- Fig. 75 Neo-Inka architecture, Palacio de la Municipalidad
- Fig. 76 Cusqueña advertisement, featuring the famous twelve-sided Inka stone

## Chapter 1: Untangling the Architectural Heritage of Cusco

Upon entering the historic center of Cusco, Peru (fig. 1), one is immediately confronted by the juxtaposition of the ruins of the city's imperial Inka past and the imposing cathedral, ornate mansions, and parish churches of the Spanish colonial period.<sup>1</sup> This architectural contrast is set amid the modern urban matrix that today binds the city together. In many places the built components of the city's pre-Hispanic, colonial, and republican eras are inseparably locked together in a patchwork of stone, plaster, adobe, metal, and tile.<sup>2</sup> At times the superimposition of architectural styles is well-defined. The Spanish domination over the native Andean world is made visible, for example, in the foundation of the church of Santo Domingo directly upon the curving andesite wall of the paramount Inka temple known as the Qorikancha or "Golden Enclosure" (fig. 2). Elsewhere, however, centuries of construction, destruction, reconstruction, and, at times, imitation of earlier styles have blurred the neat boundaries separating one chronological period and architectural type

---

<sup>1</sup> In this essay I use the more recently accepted, less Hispanicized spelling "Inka" (more frequently spelled "Inca" elsewhere) to describe the empire that united the Andean region during c. 1400–1532. For the names of sites in and around Cusco, I employ the same orthography, using Qorikancha instead of Corikancha, and Saqsawamán instead of Sacsayhuamán. Beyond the Cusco area, I retain the names of sites more commonly and consistently used in the archaeological literature (such as Huánuco Pampa and Vilcashuamán) to prevent undue confusion. The spelling of the name of the Peruvian city in question was changed from Cuzco to Cusco in the 1990s, although it is also less frequently spelled Qosqo.

<sup>2</sup> Certainly the indigenous occupation of Cusco began before the Inkas established the seat of their empire there. John H. Rowe's excavations at the Qorikancha in the 1940s revealed the earlier Chanapata and Killke occupations beneath that structure. John Howland Rowe, "An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, Vol. 27, no. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.: The Peabody Museum, 1944). For a survey of the pre-Inka occupation of the Cusco basin from the Archaic period to the foundation of the Inka empire, see Brian Bauer, *Ancient Inca; Heartland of the Inca*, Joe R. and Teresa Lozano Long series in Latin American and Latino art and culture (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004). Since these pre-

from another. It is often difficult to discern the seams between original architectural heritage and more recent replication in this Peruvian city where the past and present are so palpably intertwined.

This essay seeks to clarify, contextualize, and ultimately address the function and meaning of one particular feature that recurs throughout Cusco's architecture: the carved zoomorphic reliefs that appear on the façades of early colonial Inka-style masonry buildings within the central core of the city (fig. 3). These reliefs mostly take the form of serpents, but other animals and Andean motifs occasionally appear as well. The serpent is one of the most widespread symbols in the Americas, but this essay is not concerned with establishing any totalizing, universal meaning of the symbol. Rather, its aim is to scrutinize the particular occurrences of carved serpents on the walls of Cusco. This research demonstrates that such ornament is found on the stone lintels and walls of buildings that, at first glance, appear to have been built for the Inka empire, but, upon closer examination, reveal their early colonial date.

Although there is evidence for stylistically similar zoomorphic carving during the Inka imperial period, the creatures that inhabit the architecture in question date to the decades after the first Spanish soldiers set foot in Cusco in 1533. Yet the dating of these carvings is complicated by the fact that, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, stone ashlar were often "quarried" from Inka structures in and around the city for reuse in the construction of Cusco's cathedral and private homes.<sup>3</sup> This essay intends to comprehensively survey, document, and analyze these reliefs, which are so

---

Inka traditions are largely absent from the standing architecture of central Cusco, they are not addressed in this essay.

<sup>3</sup> See Carolyn S. Dean, "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco: Sacsahuamán and What was Made of it," *Andean Past* 5 (1998), 161–183.

often overlooked by colonial architectural historians and largely dismissed by Inka specialists because of their post-conquest context.

Any attempt to clarify the physical prehistory and history of Cusco must be multidisciplinary by necessity and this essay is no different. Only rarely can the architecture of central Cusco be analyzed via archaeological methods. Though isolated excavations have yielded invaluable results, one cannot systematically tear away layers of the living city to reveal the material remains of the more distant past. Peruvian and foreign scholars have carried out important excavations in Cusco at the Qorikancha, in the Haukaypata (Plaza de Armas), and at Saqsawamán, but excavations elsewhere in the city have been limited (figs. 4, 5).<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, field reports from excavations carried out by the Instituto Nacional de Cultura (INC) of Cusco are unfortunately seldom published. Previously unknown Inka and colonial architectural remains have been rather haphazardly exposed in the twentieth century during civic works projects and, most dramatically, after a 6.0 magnitude earthquake rocked Cusco on May 21, 1950 (fig. 6).<sup>5</sup> One can only imagine what traces of centuries-old structures remain hidden beneath the surface.

Early colonial narrative accounts and other documents are some of our richest sources for understanding the architecture of the city, but even the most informative

---

<sup>4</sup> For excavations at the Qorikancha see John H. Rowe, “An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cusco” and Raymundo Béjar Navarro, *El Templo del Sol o Qorikancha*, (Cusco: Imprenta Yañez, 1990). Most data from excavations at that site in the 1980s at Saqsawamán has not been published, but for early archaeological investigation see Luis E. Valcárcel, “Cuzco Archaeology,” in: *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 143 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1963 [1946]), 177–181. The availability of information from Haukaypata is also very limited, but artifacts from those excavations, including offerings of small figurines, are on display in the Museo Histórico Regional (Casa Garcilaso) in Cusco. Investigators have focused predominantly on the city’s Inka and, to a lesser extent, pre-Inka past, but historical archaeology of colonial sites has not been a priority.

sources are frequently vague or contradictory. For example, a crucial source for understanding Cusco during the first years of the Spanish occupation, the “Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad de Cuzco,” records the distribution of property lots to the Spanish conquistadors, but the locations of these lots are often difficult to pin down.<sup>6</sup> Other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century religious and legal documents may yield insight into the built landscape of Cusco during those years, but these materials are not readily accessible and have not yet been fully analyzed.<sup>7</sup> Since the Spaniards immediately tapped into the Inka labor tax system, called *m’ita*, and conscripted native builders to erect their churches and homes, one can not rely upon building contracts from the early colonial period either.<sup>8</sup>

Since the pre-Hispanic cultures of the Andean region used no written language, the most valuable descriptions of Inka Cusco are those that were recorded by the first Spanish soldiers and secretaries who entered the Inka capital in 1533–34. These include the narratives of Cristóbal de Mena, Miguel de Estete, Francisco de Xerez, Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, and Pedro Pizarro.<sup>9</sup> Their accounts are generally

---

<sup>5</sup> See George Kubler, *Cuzco, Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments*, Museums and monuments, 3 (Paris: UNESCO, 1952).

<sup>6</sup> Paul Rivera Serna, ed., “Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad del Cuzco,” [1534], *Documenta IV* (1965), 441–480.

<sup>7</sup> Such legal documents are the subject of an on-going research project and forthcoming book on the architecture of Cusco by Susan A. Niles, professor of anthropology at Lafayette College.

<sup>8</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest; Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535–1635* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 87.

<sup>9</sup> Anonymous [Cristóbal de Mena], *The Conquest of Peru as related by a member of the Pizarro Expedition*, Reproduced in facsimile from the edition of 1534, Joseph H. Sinclair, ed. and trans. (New York: New York Public Library, 1929 [1534]); Miguel de Estete, “Noticia del Perú,” *El Descubrimiento y la Conquista del Perú; relación inédita de Miguel de Estete*, Carlos M. Larrea, ed. (Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad Central, 1918 [1534]). Franklin Pease indicates that this chronicle was probably written in the 1540s and was probably not written by Estete. Franklin Pease García Yrigoyen, “Chronicles of Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries),” *Guide to Documentary Sources for the Andes*, Joanne Pillsbury, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming 2007). Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*, edición de Concepción Bravo, *Crónicas de América 14* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1985 [1534]); Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, *Relación de la Conquista del Perú escrita por Pedro Sancho Secretario de Pizarro*, versión castellana con

shorter and less descriptive than later chronicles, but their early date and preoccupation with Inka building and engineering practices make these texts important sources for architectural studies.<sup>10</sup>

The extensive early-seventeenth-century narrative *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, penned by “El Inca” Garcilaso de la Vega, provides the most detailed written account of Cusco, but it is also one of the most problematic.<sup>11</sup> Garcilaso (1539–1616), the son of the Spanish soldier and an Inka *ñusta* (princess), was born and raised in Cusco, but at age twenty-one he departed Peru and sailed to Spain, where he wrote his two famous volumes late in life. Although he is more reliable in his descriptions of the buildings of Cusco *as he saw them* in the mid-sixteenth century, Garcilaso is notorious for his exaggerations and fanciful descriptions of Inka history, culture, and religion.<sup>12</sup> Thus, as John Hyslop comments, “nearly all descriptions of central Cuzco—those for academics and tourists alike—are flawed because of an over-reliance on the famous but often inaccurate chronicle by Garcilaso de la Vega.”<sup>13</sup> Garcilaso’s descriptions of the city often contradict the early soldiers’ accounts. In one passage, for example, Garcilaso identifies the owner of the Cusco palace called the Casana as Pachakuteq Yupanqui (Pachacuti Yupanqui), the ninth Inka king and imperial founder, whereas other chroniclers, including Pedro Pizarro, concur that the

---

anotaciones por Joaquín García Icazbalceta (Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrua Turanzas, 1962 [1534]); Pedro Pizarro, *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*, translated into English and annotated by Philip Ainsworth Means (New York: Cortes Society, 1921 [1534]).

<sup>10</sup> John Howland Rowe, “Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest,” in: *Handbook of South American Indians*, Vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations, Julian H. Steward, ed., Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 143 (Washington, DC: US Government Printing Office, 1963 [1946]); Franklin Pease, “Chronicles of Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries).”

<sup>11</sup> Garcilaso de la Vega, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, Angel Rosenblat, ed., 2 vols. (Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1945 [1609, 1617]). For an English translation, see: Garcilaso de la Vega, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*, Harold V. Livermore, trans., 2 vols. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966).



Casana belonged to the eleventh Inka king Wayna Qapaq (Huayna Capac).<sup>14</sup>

Although these early texts remain invaluable resources, one must not rely too heavily on any one historical account, but approach these documents critically and in cooperation with other sources.

Given the complications of urban stratification and problematic textual sources, individually neither historical nor archaeological methodologies yield a comprehensive understanding of the architectural heritage of Cusco. Alternatively, this essay examines both archaeological and historical data, in cooperation with an art historical attention to the form and style of the standing architecture itself. This art historical approach to the architecture of Cusco is surprisingly scarce in the scholarly literature on the city. Much can be gleaned by examining the worked surfaces and shapes of ashlar, and the joins, courses, batter, and ornament of the walls. A close, almost connoisseurial, attention to the physical properties of the buildings themselves, considered in light of comparative archaeological materials and historical sources, allows one to render a more fully-informed picture of the city's past. This multidisciplinary approach is especially effective in contextualizing a select set of architectural features, such as the zoomorphic reliefs.

Once the physical and temporal contexts of these reliefs have been established, this essay explores the function and meaning of the carvings and the ways that their significance has changed through time. One might use these reliefs as

---

<sup>12</sup> John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture," 196.

<sup>13</sup> John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990), 37.

<sup>14</sup> For a comparison of palaces and their owners according to the historical sources, see: Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire* (Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999), Table 3.2 "Inca Palaces," 76–77. Garcilaso, *Comentarios reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 10, 109–110.

a key to illuminating a slice of the social and material circumstances of a crucial period in the city's early colonial history. As a group, these carvings, which are small architectural details that go unnoticed by the majority of visitors to Cusco, might serve as a visual corollary to the literary anecdote that is central to the "new historicist" project and its "commitment to particularity."<sup>15</sup> One might characterize such a visual anecdote as a hermeneutical peephole, through which a larger vision of early colonial Cusco might be glimpsed.

The architectural reliefs serve as an example of interstitial cultural production that can expose the reality of the colonial experience as something more complicated than a binary opposition pitting the conqueror against the conquered.<sup>16</sup> The conspicuous use of native icons on structures erected for the city's Spanish residents upsets clear-cut notions of the eradication of native visual culture under colonial rule. In 1961, George Kubler, considered the founder of pre-Columbian art history, described what he saw as the colonial extinction of pre-Columbian motifs, explaining that "'Enemy' works of art are destroyed during cultural conflicts. The triumph of one culture over another is usually marked by the virtual cessation of the art of the vanquished, and its replacement by the art of the conqueror."<sup>17</sup> In Cusco, as elsewhere in the Americas, however, one finds that all native imagery did not cease upon the arrival of the Spaniards. Rather than dismissing native artistic traditions as Kubler's moribund casualties of the Spanish conquest, a new generation of scholars

---

<sup>15</sup> Catherine Gallagher and Stephen Greenblatt, *Practicing New Historicism* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000), 19.

<sup>16</sup> For analysis of the role of the interstitial cultural object and its role in post-colonial studies, see: Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1994).

<sup>17</sup> George Kubler, "On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art," in: *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961), 15.

has demonstrated that the colonization of Latin America created a setting in which native artists and patrons actively developed diverse strategies of visual expression, often by preserving or adapting indigenous styles and motifs in art and architecture.<sup>18</sup> In the case of the serpent reliefs on the buildings of Cusco, potentially threatening “heathen” imagery was permitted to exist on the façades of secular colonial architecture, I will argue, because the function and meaning of native signs could conform to the colonial environment and be re-conceptualized in light of European heraldic traditions. In the process, the presence of the native Andean—possibly Qolla—masons is revealed. These ornamental carvings, which only rarely appear on pre-Hispanic Inka architecture and which do not have a direct European source, emerged from the social and political “Third Space” of the early years of the Spanish occupation of Peru.<sup>19</sup>

To approach an understanding of the zoomorphic reliefs on Inka-style buildings, one must begin by surveying pre-Hispanic Inka architectural traditions. In particular, the next chapter will consider Inka architecture in terms of imperial aesthetics and mythology and will address the role of ornament in Inka architecture. Ornament is one of several features that can be examined to discern pre-Hispanic Inka from post-conquest Inka-style architecture, the latter of which was built by Andean hands but for new, European masters. The broader setting of Cusco in the years 1533–1572 and specific Inka-style structures with carved reliefs are the subjects of chapters three and four, respectively. The artistic choice to use indigenous fauna as architectural ornament is considered in conjunction with Inka and European

---

<sup>18</sup> See, for example, Emily Umberger and Tom Cummins, eds., *Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America, Phoebus 7* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, 1995).

understandings of these motifs. These stone creatures, which mostly postdate the collapse of the Inka empire, have been replicated and reinvented as latter-day, nationalist “Inka” icons in Cusco’s twentieth-century municipal architecture.

---

<sup>19</sup> For discussion of the “Third Space,” see Homi Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 36–39.

## Chapter 2: Inka Architecture and Imperial Aesthetics

### *Form and Function of Inka Imperial Architecture*

Fine masonry architecture is perhaps the most powerful of Inka visual arts and the clearest hallmark of Inka control of their empire Tawantinsuyu (“the land of the four quarters”), a territory that eventually covered the Andean region, from Ecuador to Chile, beginning around AD 1400. Although many people around the world are now familiar with the image of the precisely-fit, eccentrically-shaped stones of the finest Inka masonry, epitomized by the famous twelve-sided stone on Calle Hatunrumiyoc in Cusco (fig. 7), the pre-Hispanic function and meaning of the Inka structures are not well-understood. Attempts to clarify the significance of Inka buildings and sites at a public level are hindered by far-fetched, yet tenacious, popular theories that often rely upon New Age metaphysical experience and even extraterrestrial intervention. Nevertheless, since the mid-twentieth century, a dedicated community of Peruvian and foreign scholars has created a burgeoning body of research that seeks to explain how Inka masonry buildings were used, and possibly understood, by their creators and inhabitants.<sup>20</sup>

Fine masonry architecture may be the most iconic of Inka art forms, even though it accounts for only a modest portion of all Inka buildings. Most Inka architecture was constructed of local materials that included sod, adobe, and

---

<sup>20</sup> These scholars include John Howland Rowe, Emilio Harth-Terre, Santiago Agurto Calvo, Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, John Hyslop, Ann Kendall, Jean-Pierre Protzen, John Hemming and

fieldstones set in mud, known as *pirca*.<sup>21</sup> The most impressive imperial buildings, however, were erected for the state by Andean masons—conscripted from throughout the empire under the *m'ita* labor tax system—who quarried and shaped andesite, diorite, and limestone ashlar so precisely that no mortar can be seen binding them together.<sup>22</sup> Through stone-cutting experiments at the Kachiqhata and Rumiqolqa quarries, which once supplied the building stones for Inka projects at Ollantaytambo and Cusco, respectively, Jean-Pierre Protzen has demonstrated that even the finest Inka masonry walls could have been shaped using only a small toolkit of hammer stones, and in a more modest amount of time than previously had been thought possible.<sup>23</sup> Smaller tool marks are seen on the edges than on the centers of stones, where masons used larger hammers. Protzen also concludes that the angle at which Inka masons used a smaller hammer stone to finish the edges of a building block accounts for the signature convex, “pillowed” shapes in much Inka masonry. The pillowed surfaces of the stones and beveled joints between them create a *chiaroscuro* effect of light and shadow that accentuates the texture and patterns of the walls. The profiles of individual stones tend to bulge out, especially along the bottom edges, as if under the pressure of their own weight. One, two, and sometimes three rounded protuberances also frequently appear along the bottom edges of Inka building blocks. On even the smoothest walls, such as the curving enclosure wall of the Qorikancha,

---

Edward Ranney, Craig Morris, Susan Niles, Stella Nair, Lucy Salazar and Richard Burger, Francesco Menotti, and Vincent Lee.

<sup>21</sup> John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 222–227.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>23</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen, with original drawings by Robert Batson, *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993); Jean-Pierre Protzen, “Inca Stonemasonry,” *Scientific American* 254:2 (February 1986), 94–103; Jean-Pierre Protzen, “Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting,” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44:2 (May 1985), 161–182; Jean-Pierre Protzen, “Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting,” *Ñawpa Pacha* 21 (1983), 183–214.

one can identify at least one or two subtle protrusions. These stone bosses might have served a practical purpose as leverage points for ropes or levers used to position the stones into place,<sup>24</sup> but their ubiquity on even the finest walls suggests a more complicated purpose, which will be discussed below. Most Inka walls have an inward batter, or slope, of up to ten degrees that would have been effective as an anti-seismic precaution and to support a very heavy roof. But this batter, along with the diminishing size of the stones at greater height, also increases the imposing and impenetrable visual effect of these imperial buildings on the viewer (fig. 8).<sup>25</sup> The trapezoidal forms of windows, niches, and doorways, where the thresholds are wider than the lintels, are characteristic of Inka architecture and visually complement the battered walls. The finest trapezoidal doorways are often double-jambed, or even triple-jambed.

Fine masonry is often categorized into four main types based upon the size and shape of the stones employed.<sup>26</sup> Important temples and palaces tend to be built of regular courses of smooth, roughly rectangular andesite stones (termed “sedimentary”) (fig. 8). Foundation and retaining walls are often built of polygonal diorite stones that fit together like a jigsaw puzzle (“cellular” or “encased”) (fig. 7). The zigzag wall at Saqsawamán contains colossal foundation stones, some weighing many tons apiece (“cyclopean”) (fig. 9). At times, one can still find remnants of Inka

---

<sup>24</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*, 200–202.

<sup>25</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, translated by Patricia J. Lyons (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980), 310–311.

<sup>26</sup> Sometimes a fifth category “rustic” is also used, but the joins are not as precise or the stones as carefully shaped as the examples of fine Inka masonry explored in this essay. See Santiago Agurto Calvo and Elías Mujica B, *Estudios acerca de la construcción, arquitectura y planeamiento incas* (Lima: Cámara Peruana de la Construcción (CAPECO), 1987); Franceso Menotti, *The Inkas: Last Stage of Stone Masonry Development in the Andes*, BAR international series; 735 (Oxford: Archaeopress, 1998).

palace or temple walls set upon their original foundations (fig. 10). Although stones were never cut to uniform specifications, but were shaped to fit snugly against each other, the sizes of the stones within a given course of masonry tend to be fairly consistent, regardless of the specific stylistic category.

Despite the relative ease with which an experienced mason could shape a course of blocks, however, Inka masonry architecture required a considerable investment of both time and labor. Through geochemical analysis, Dennis Ogburn has shown that 450 large blocks of andesite were dragged at least 1,600 miles across the empire from the Rumiqlqa quarry to highland Ecuador, most likely for the construction of imperial buildings at Wayna Qapaq's new northern capital at Tomebamba (modern Cuenca), despite the fact that local andesite was available from nearby quarries in Ecuador. Ogburn interprets this feat as an expression of Inka imperial might, a "made-work" policy, and the symbolic transfer of power from the traditional Inka capital to Wayna Qapaq's "new Cusco" in the north.<sup>27</sup> Clearly, a premium was placed on the use of stones originating from the Cusco area. In an early account of the conquest of Peru, Cristóbal de Mena writes that the Inka king Waskar (Huascar) was called "Cuzco," as if the body of the king and the capital city were conceived of as a single entity.<sup>28</sup> Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins argue that the body of the Inka king formed the effective axis of the empire that shifted as the regent and his entourage moved throughout the land. Thus, they conclude, "the center of Tawantinsuyu was not, in theory, the fixed geographical site of Cusco. Instead the

---

<sup>27</sup> Dennis E. Ogburn, "Evidence for Long-Distance Transportation of Building Stones in the Inka Empire, from Cuzco, Peru to Saraguro, Ecuador," *Latin American Antiquity* 15:4 (2004), 419–439; Dennis Ogburn, "Power in Stone: The Long-Distance Movement of Building Blocks in the Inca Empire," *Ethnohistory* 51:1 (Winter 2004), 101–135.



living body of the ruling Inca *was* Cusco and Cusco *was* the living Inca.”<sup>29</sup> Stones from Cusco, like the body of the king, were metonymic representations of the sacred capital that embodied the very substance of imperial power and divine authority. The materiality and mythology of stone in Inka ethnohistory has been the subject of much scholarly discussion and will be examined later in this chapter.<sup>30</sup>

In analyzing the architecture of Cusco and other Inka imperial sites, it is crucial to bear in mind that the buildings do not appear today as they did when they were built in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Only rarely are the upper walls of the Inka buildings of Cusco preserved.<sup>31</sup> Upper courses of buildings with masonry foundations were often made of adobe, and roofs were constructed of very thick layers of *ichu* grass thatch, which were sometimes woven in patterns.<sup>32</sup> Adobe upper walls survive in Inka structures at Raqchi, Huaytará, and elsewhere.<sup>33</sup> Native roofs were swiftly replaced by Spanish-style ceramic tile soon after the fall of the Inka empire. In his 1877 *Incidents of travel and exploration in the land of the Incas*, E. George Squier illustrates and describes the thatch roof of a building in the town of Azángaro near Lake Titicaca as a last remaining Inka-era roof. Squier’s 1865

---

<sup>28</sup> Anonymous [Cristóbal de Mena], *The Conquest of Peru*, 25, 34.

<sup>29</sup> Stephen D. Houston and Tom Cummins, “Body, Presence, and Space in Andean and Mesoamerican Rulership,” in: *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 371.

<sup>30</sup> See, for example, Carolyn Dean, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on/in Rock*, forthcoming.

<sup>31</sup> Mónica Paredes García illustrates an Inka building whose adobe upper structure and stone roof pegs survive. Mónica Paredes García, *El Cusco Incaico: Análisis e interpretación de un registro de restos prehispánicos* (Surco, Peru: Ediciones El Santo Oficio Gráficos S.R.L., 2001), 76, gráfico no. 7.

<sup>32</sup> John Howland Rowe, Review of *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments*, *American Antiquity* 21:1 (1955), 92; John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 227. For a discussion of Inka roofs, see Vincent R. Lee, *The Lost Half of Inca Architecture*, A paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies in Berkeley, California (Wilson, Wyoming: Sixpac Manco Publications, 1988).

<sup>33</sup> See Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 234–261.

photograph and illustration of this roof provide a valuable image of a roofing tradition that is now lost.<sup>34</sup>

Unlike the stark lithic surfaces that one sees today, the interior, and perhaps exterior, walls of Inka buildings were probably often plastered and painted. Upon arrival in Cusco, Francisco Pizarro's secretary Pedro Sancho described the Inka buildings as "painted, worked, and made of stone."<sup>35</sup> Today traces of polychrome paint, sometimes with geometric patterns, remain on the walls of a few Inka buildings in the highlands—such as the great hall at Raqchi, where one can still observe a decorative stepped motif in the red stucco<sup>36</sup>—and on the coast—such as at Tambo Colorado. In 1943 John Rowe noted that, beneath a colonial layer of whitewash, the walls of the Qorikancha were painted gray with a black band, about two meters high, on the interior walls of the temple.<sup>37</sup> A similar black line was painted on fine Inka walls at other sites as well, although the significance of this feature is unknown.<sup>38</sup> In Susan A. Niles and Robert N. Batson's reconstruction of Wayna Qapaq's royal country estate at Quispeguanca, exterior surfaces are plastered white, in contrast to the red used on doorways and niches.<sup>39</sup> There is, therefore, archaeological evidence for painted Inka walls, which supports Sancho's observation that Inka buildings in Cusco were painted. His comment that the buildings were also worked, or carved, is

---

<sup>34</sup> E. George Squier, *Peru: Incidents of travel and exploration in the land of the Incas* (New York: Henry Holt, 1877), 394. The photograph of this thatch-roofed building is in the Latin American Library, Tulane University and has been published in Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, photo 10.8, p. 120.

<sup>35</sup> "...pintadas, labradas, y de piedra." The original Spanish manuscript by Sancho was lost but an Italian copy survived. The Italian copy has been translated back into Spanish and published. Pedro Sancho, *Relación de la conquista del Perú*, 89.

<sup>36</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 253, fig. 241.

<sup>37</sup> John H. Rowe, *An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco*, 30–32.

<sup>38</sup> Maarten Van de Guchte, "'Carving the World': Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape," PhD dissertation, department of anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990, 192; Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*, 237.

probably best understood as describing the appearance of the surfaces of the masonry walls. This description might imply that the texture of beveled joins and pillowed stones remained visible beneath a layer of painted plaster.

Whereas one finds a virtuosic treatment of stone in Inka architecture, the layout of architectural forms is less elaborate. The basic unit of Inka architecture is the *kancha*. A *kancha* is a rectangular domestic unit, enclosed by a single wall, which contains several house structures arranged around a central patio. Domestic architectural groups consist of several *kanchas* abutting one another and each complex likely housed a kin group.<sup>40</sup> Inka palaces, one of which was called the Hatunkancha (“great *kancha*”), were essentially *kanchas* writ large and constructed of finer materials.<sup>41</sup> Craig Morris has compared Martín de Murúa’s c. 1590–1609 description of the Casana palace in Cusco to archaeological palaces at the Inka sites Huánuco Pampa, Tambo Colorado, and La Centinela to show that there are great similarities between them.<sup>42</sup> Inka palaces contained domestic buildings, courtyards, and great halls, which were surrounded on all sides by a high enclosure wall and were entered through an increasingly restricted and guarded series of entryways. The interiors of some Inka palaces were especially complex and labyrinthine, such as the *Aqllawasi* that housed the “chosen women of the Sun” who wove fine cloth and

---

<sup>39</sup> Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, Pl. 1–2.

<sup>40</sup> John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 223; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 181–191.

<sup>41</sup> Lucy C. Salazar and Richard L. Burger, “Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous: Luxury and Daily Life in the Households of Machu Picchu’s Elite,” in: *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. (Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 328–329.

<sup>42</sup> Craig Morris, “Enclosures of Power: Multiple Spaces of Inka Administrative Palaces,” *Palaces of the Ancient New World*, Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004), 299–324; Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Inças del Perú*, introduction, notes, and arrangement by Constantino

brewed *chicha* (corn beer) for state consumption, but they all still derived from the basic *kancha* form.

Inka palaces served many functions including state feasting and housing the elite—both living and dead. Inka kings and royalty were mummified after death and continued to hold court and be served much as they were in life.<sup>43</sup> Each Inka king built his own palace in the city, as well as royal estates in the country. After his death, the palace would remain the property of his royal kin group (or *panaca*) and his successor would be charged with building a new palace under the Inka tradition of split inheritance.<sup>44</sup> Susan Niles has observed a conservative tendency in the palace architecture of Cusco, which she contrasts to greater innovation at more remote royal estates.<sup>45</sup> Presumably the royal architects were compelled to maintain the traditional appearance of the center's core architecture and these palaces reflected such a pressure. The city palaces and country estates of the dead kings served a funerary role but it seems that the Inka did not build architecture for solely funerary purposes. An exception might be the square structure at Huchuy Cusco, which resembles the square *chulpas* (funerary towers) from the Lake Titicaca region and is thought to have housed the mummified body of the king Viraqocha Inka.<sup>46</sup>

---

Bayle (Madrid: Biblioteca Missionalia Hispánica 2, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946 [1590-1609]), 165-166.

<sup>43</sup> Frank Salomon, "'The Beautiful Grandparents': Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Ritual as Seen Through Colonial Records," *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*, Tom D. Dillehay, ed. (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995); William Isbell, *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: a Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997).

<sup>44</sup> John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture," 259.

<sup>45</sup> Susan Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, 236.

<sup>46</sup> Photographs of this building are published in Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 174, Photos 12.1 and 12.2.

Inka halls served as sites of royal pageantry and public feasting and had at least two distinct forms in Cusco and other settlements. One type of hall, sometimes referred to as a *kallanka*, is a narrow, rectangular structure with multiple entrances on the long side of the building.<sup>47</sup> Such halls bordered the plazas of Inka administrative centers and were also built at *tambos* (way stations), along the extensive Inka road system called *qhapaq-ñan*.<sup>48</sup> The second type of hall, sometimes called a *cuyus manco* or a great hall, was more expansive and had just one large, trapezoidal entrance along its short wall. Susan Niles has argued that the seating of the Inka king on his *tiana* (stool), surrounded by his retinue, in front of this large entrance was an important part of the visual rhetoric of rulership within the Inka empire.<sup>49</sup>

The architecture of Inka centers revolved around a single or double plaza that served as an open-air venue for the appearance of the living king, presentation of the mummified kings, and state-sponsored feasting and drinking ceremonies.<sup>50</sup> The ceremonial center of each plaza was the *usnu*. The *usnu* was the focal point for royal pageantry and religious worship, wherein it functioned as the site of ritual libations and sacrificial offerings. The size and shape of the *usnu* varied from site to site: a single, gold-sheathed stone at Cusco, a stepped pyramid at Vilcashuamán, and a large stage-like platform at Huánuco Pampa.<sup>51</sup>

---

<sup>47</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 196–219.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 67.

<sup>49</sup> Susan A. Niles, “Standing Architecture and Misunderstanding Architecture: Form and Function in Inca Great Halls,” paper presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vancouver, British Columbia, April 8, 2005.

<sup>50</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen and John Howland Rowe, “Hawkaypata; The Terrace of Leisure,” *Streets: Critical Perspectives on Public Space*, Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

<sup>51</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 264–280.

Curved walls and round buildings are rare in Inka architecture, but where they do appear they are often thought to have had a sacred significance. The curve of the famous wall of the Qorikancha is echoed at royal estates in the Cusco region, specifically in the Torreón at Machu Picchu and the “Temple of the Sun” at Písaq, where curved temple walls enclose natural outcrops of bedrock that are partially sculpted into abstract forms.<sup>52</sup> Other round buildings included one or two now-destroyed towers called “suntorhuasi” within the Haukaypata in Cusco.<sup>53</sup> Some houses and storage buildings in the Cusco area, and funerary towers near Lake Titicaca, are also circular in plan, but it is difficult to ascribe the same significance to these other round buildings.<sup>54</sup>

Inka architects often emphasized the connection between the built and natural landscapes of the empire. As at Machu Picchu and Písaq, rock outcroppings were sometimes set like gems within architectural settings. Furthermore, carved bedrock serves as the foundation for the Torreón and the so-called “Royal Mausoleum” as well as for structures within the “Prison Group” at Machu Picchu.<sup>55</sup> Elsewhere, at the Cave of the Moon at Machu Picchu and at Choquequilla, natural caves were modified into architectural spaces.<sup>56</sup> Inka sites such as Patallaqta and Wiñaywayna in the Urubamba valley appear molded to the surrounding topography, visually linked to the

---

<sup>52</sup> See John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas* (Boston: Little Brown, 1982), 134–135; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 81, fig. 66.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 56.

<sup>54</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 147–158, 303.

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 134–138; John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas*, 156–157.

<sup>56</sup> *Ibid.*, 150–159.

landscape by the integration of architectural forms and the nearly sculptural terracing of adjacent hills and fields.<sup>57</sup>

Through its emphasis on the materiality of stone and the ability to reshape the landscape, Inka architecture announced the state's ability to harness nature and bend it to its will. These finely-wrought walls signified the presence and power of the Inka king throughout the empire, but also referred to the more ancient masonry architecture of Tiwanaku (AD c. 500–1000).<sup>58</sup> In redesigning the architecture of Cusco around 1440, the ninth Inka king Pachakuteq Yupanqui is said to have been inspired by the stone architecture that he had seen at this southern ritual center, near the Inka mythological origin site of Lake Titicaca. In 1653, Bernabé Cobo wrote:

Pachacutic saw the magnificent buildings of Tiaguanaco, and the stonework of these structures amazed him because he had never seen that type of building before; and he commanded that his men should carefully observe and take note of that building method, because he wanted the construction projects in Cuzco to be of that same type of workmanship.<sup>59</sup>

Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella Nair have demonstrated that even though Inka architecture might have been *inspired* by the ruins of Tiwanaku, stylistically and technically it is very different and is not directly derived from earlier southern building traditions.<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, it is clear that the Inka kings identified themselves and their ancestors with the builders of Tiwanaku's temples and courtyards, and

---

<sup>57</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 77–79; John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas*, 125.

<sup>58</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 3–33.

<sup>59</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *History of the Inca Empire*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton from the holograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979 [1653]), book II, chapter 13, 141.

<sup>60</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen and Stella Nair, "Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills? A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry," *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56:2 (June 1997), 146–167.

attempted to convey this important affiliation through their art and architecture.<sup>61</sup>

Cusco, where the Inka established their own center, became the architectural type site and political (if not mythological) place of origin of the empire.

### *Inka Cusco*

To understand the context of Cusco during the early years of the Spanish occupation, one must first comprehend the physical and conceptual layout of the Inka city. According to legend, the original Inka settlement was established sometime in the thirteenth century by the first king Manqo Qapaq (Manco Capac), who emerged along with his seven mythical siblings from three caves at Tambo-ttoco near Paqaritambo.<sup>62</sup> However, it was not until the defeat of the rival Chanca tribe by Pachakuteq Yupanqui in about 1438 that the Inkas became the true powerhouse in the Cusco valley and from there went out to establish the vast empire that they would come to control.<sup>63</sup> Once he seized control of the kingdom from his father Viraqocha Inka, Pachakuteq is said to have personally designed a major rebuilding of Cusco.<sup>64</sup> As part of this rebuilding campaign, he ordered the prior occupants of the settlement out of their homes, which were demolished, and in their place built new residences, temples, and other state buildings. Only the Inkas and certain “Inkas-by-privilege”

---

<sup>61</sup> For discussion of the Inka appropriation of the Tiwanaku architectural style and drinking vessel form called the *quero*, see Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002), 59–68.

<sup>62</sup> John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 316–318.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, 203–204.

<sup>64</sup> Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan from the Palma de Mallorca manuscript, (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996 [1557]), Part 1, Ch. 16.



were then permitted to reside in the new city.<sup>65</sup> Juan de Betanzos describes this reordering thus:

After [Pachakuteq] Inca Yupanque divided up the city of Cuzco in the way you have already heard, he named all the places and lots. He named the whole city lion's body, saying that the residents of it were limbs of that lion. He personally was the head of that lion.<sup>66</sup>

This passage, and another by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, led John H. Rowe to conclude that Pachakuteq's new layout of the imperial city was based upon the shape of a *puma* (lion).<sup>67</sup> Rowe explains that the straight but irregularly arranged streets of the city were laid out, not only to conform to the topography of the low ridge of land between the Saphi (or Huatanay) and Tullumayu rivers, but also to form the physical shape of a puma.<sup>68</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies have offered schematic drawings indicating three ways that the plan of Cusco might be viewed as a puma.<sup>69</sup> In his article "The Lion in the City," Tom Zuidema refutes this interpretation, arguing that Betanzos' description of the lion form of the city was meant to be understood *metaphorically* and that Pedro de Sarmiento manipulated Betanzos' words, which were later misunderstood by Rowe.<sup>70</sup> Whether or not Cusco was literally shaped like a puma, the concept of an Inka body politic that linked the physical being of the king to the built form of the city may still be valid, although Betanzos' metaphoric language might be overly colored by European influence in this passage.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>65</sup> Juan de Betanzos, *Narrative of the Incas*, Part 1, Ch. 16., 69-73.

<sup>66</sup> *Ibid.*, Part 1, Ch. 17, 74.

<sup>67</sup> John H. Rowe, "What Kind of a Settlement was Inca Cuzco?" *Ñawpa Pacha* 5 (1967), 60.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 60.

<sup>69</sup> Gasparini and Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, fig. 37.

<sup>70</sup> R. Tom Zuidema, "The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco," *Journal of Latin American Lore* 9, no. 1 (1983): 39-100.

<sup>71</sup> Zuidema points out the possibility that "Betanzos probably fused European concepts of the 'mystic body' and 'body politic' with Incaic concepts concerning the Puma." *Ibid.*, 81.

Cusco never functioned as a capital city as the term is understood today in Western civilization. Alan Kolata writes that “the *raison d’être* of the Andean city was not fundamentally economic but political and ideological.”<sup>72</sup> There were no markets in Cusco or in any pre-Hispanic Andean center, and the city proper was inhabited solely by the political and religious elite. One might compare Inka Cusco, not to Washington or London, but to China’s Forbidden City or to the Vatican City, the sacred nerve center of the Catholic world, which the CIA describes as having a “unique, noncommercial economy” that is sustained primarily by an annual tax on Roman Catholic dioceses throughout the world and its very substantial investments.<sup>73</sup>

From the beginning of the imperial period, Cusco was the physical and conceptual center of the Inka empire, located at the nexus of the four *suyus* (quarters) and the ritual *ceque* system. During Pachakuteq’s reign, the *suyus* were probably of roughly equal size, but during the expansion campaigns of Thupa Inka, Chinchasuyu (the northwestern quarter) and Qollasuyu (the southeastern quarter) grew disproportionately large.<sup>74</sup> The four main highways that ran into the *suyus* converged in central Cusco, along the southeast side of the dual plazas of Haukaypata (“leisure terrace”) and Kusipata (“fortunate terrace”).<sup>75</sup> Garcilaso writes that this road also served to divide the city into the *hanan* (upper and dominant) and *hurin* (lower and

---

<sup>72</sup> Alan Kolata, “Of Kings and Capitals; Principles of Authority and the Nature of Cities in the Native Andean State,” *The Archaeology of City-States; Cross-Cultural Approaches*, Deborah L. Nichols and Thomas H. Charlton, eds. (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997), 247.

<sup>73</sup> “CIA; The World Factbook,” <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/vt.html>, accessed May 23, 2004.

<sup>74</sup> Martin Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu: The Inca State and Its Political Organization* (Helsinki: SHS, 1992), 73, map 1.

<sup>75</sup> Martin Pärssinen suggests an alternate reading of the road system that would place this convergence at the Coricancha. *Ibid.*, 228-235.

subordinate) moieties.<sup>76</sup> Many scholars have accepted the southeast side of the dual plaza as the locus of this fundamental division,<sup>77</sup> but others locate the hanan/hurin division at the Qorikancha.<sup>78</sup> The hanan-hurin duality was not just a physical division within the city but also a social one that divided kin groups into two unequal yet complementary moieties. According to John Rowe the first five Inka kings (Manqo Qapaq to Qapaq Yupanqui) and their descent groups were considered part of the hurin moiety and the following five kings (Inka Roqa to Thupa Inka) and their lineages were considered hanan.<sup>79</sup> It must be significant that all of the palaces attributed to the hanan kings are located to the north of those of the hurin kings, since the social and spatial divisions of Cusco were linked.<sup>80</sup>

The Qorikancha was also the center point from which the forty-one conceptual lines of the Cusco ceque system radiated out, like spokes on a bicycle wheel, into the areas surrounding the city. These lines connected at least 328 shrines and sacred places, known as *wak'as* (*huacas*), which were maintained by local kin groups (or *ayllus*), and converge at the Qorikancha.<sup>81</sup> Cusco was the center of the Inka cosmos and the Qorikancha constituted the ritual center of that nexus.

Whereas the Qorikancha was the spiritual center of the kingdom, the dual plaza was the physical center where the imperial highways converged. George Kubler

---

<sup>76</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 8, 103–104.

<sup>77</sup> See, for example, Susan A. Niles, *The Shape of Inca History*, fig. 3.5.; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 58.

<sup>78</sup> See, for example, Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, map 10.1; Martin Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu*, 232-33; Catherine Julien, *Reading Inca History* (Iowa City: University of Iowa, 2000), map 2.

<sup>79</sup> John Rowe notes that this was the situation during the reign of Huayna Capac and does not include this king's *panaca* in this scheme because it had not yet begun to function fully at that time. John Howland Rowe, "La Constitución Inca del Cuzco," *Histórica* 9, no. 1 (July 1985), table 1 and p. 36.

<sup>80</sup> Martin Pärssinen, *Tawantinsuyu*, 233-234.

<sup>81</sup> Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

characterized the urban design of central Cusco as a network of “constricted streets and alleys with frowning Inka walls [that] would be psychologically intolerable were it not for the fact that they begin and end at open spaces.”<sup>82</sup> Indeed, the general architectural program of Cusco consists of massive, masonry-walled kanchas set off by the negative spaces of the dual plaza. Bordering this trapezoidal plaza on three sides were palaces, halls, and temples, but the fourth side, off of the Kusipata to the southwest, was left open except for agricultural terraces so that future kings could build their own palaces there.<sup>83</sup> Ironically, this space was later filled in, not by Inka palaces, but by the *casonas* of the Spanish soldiers and their descendants.

The Haukaypata and the Kusipata would have appeared as one open space, separated by the canalized Saphi river, but the former was primarily a location for feasting and sacrifice and the latter is said to have been used for military reviews.<sup>84</sup> The festivals held in the Haukaypata were often occasions for the Inkas to bring the mummies (*mallquis*) or effigies (*wawkis* or *bultos*) of the dead kings out from their palaces to the plaza to be fêted while libations were poured at the usnu. Pedro Pizarro observed that the Inkas also brought a “small covered bundle which they said was the Sun”<sup>85</sup> into the plaza for feasting and libations. Carolyn Dean has brought the ritual significance of this open space into sharper focus by explaining how it was intentionally altered by the Spanish specifically to eliminate its native religious

---

<sup>82</sup> George Kubler, *Cuzco*, 32.

<sup>83</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 11, 112.

<sup>84</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen and John Howland Rowe, “Haukaypata; The Terrace of Leisure,” 239.

<sup>85</sup> Pedro Pizarro, *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*, 252.

importance. It is in this Hispanicized space that the Corpus Christi festival is held in place of Inka rites.<sup>86</sup>

Perhaps the most impressive aspect of the Haukaypata was that its entire surface was covered with a half meter of sand from the coast, in which gold and silver figurines were buried as offerings.<sup>87</sup> Some scholars have pointed out that this action might have transformed the plaza into a symbolic sea.<sup>88</sup> The marine metaphor might have been intended to evoke not the ocean, but Lake Titicaca, which was the legendary location where the Inka creator god Viraqocha caused the sun and the moon to rise out of the islands in the center of the lake that today are called the Islands of the Sun and the Moon. Extending this symbolism, the usnu at the center of the Haukaypata could stand in for these islands. In the design of the plaza and usnu, the Inka kings might have meant to evoke the site of divine origin in the very heart of their dynastic center.

---

<sup>86</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ; Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999), 30-31.

<sup>87</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen and John H. Rowe, "Haukaypata; The Terrace of Leisure," 240-241.

<sup>88</sup> John Hyslop, *Inka Settlement Planning*, 38.

## *Ornament, Aesthetics, and Mythology*

Most Inka art and architecture tends to be highly abstract and lacks elaborate figural decoration. Where architectural ornament does occur, however, it can be understood as consistent with Inka imperial aesthetics and linked to the state's foundational mythology. In most cases, it seems that the only ornamentation on the walls of Inka buildings was the pattern of light and shadow created by the sunken masonry joins and the rows of trapezoidal niches on interior and, sometimes exterior, walls.<sup>89</sup> But there is also evidence that buildings displayed more elaborate ornamentation, which can be interpreted in light of Inka ideology.

Although most traces of paint on Inka architecture reveal only solid colors or occasional geometric patterns,<sup>90</sup> ethnohistoric evidence also points to figural painting that might have had metaphoric significance. Miguel de Estete, for example, noted that he saw painted jaguars at the entrance of an Inka building at Paramonga.<sup>91</sup> Such jaguars might be interpreted as metaphoric representations of elite Inka individuals, like the condors that were painted on a rock face outside of Cusco, recorded by Garcilaso. Garcilaso describes one condor with its wings outstretched and its head turned toward Cusco and the other condor with its wings closed, its head hidden, and its back to Cusco. He explains that these two birds of prey represent Pachakuteq Yupanqui and his father Viraqocha Inka when the former took up the military charge

---

<sup>89</sup> John H. Rowe, "Inca Culture," 226-227; Susan A. Niles, "Niched Walls in Inca Design," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46:3 (September 1987), 277-285.

<sup>90</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen, "Inca Architecture," in : *The Inca World : The Development of Pre-Columbian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*, Laura Laurencich Minelli, ed. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992), 198-199.

against the Chanca army after his father abandoned the city to its foes.<sup>92</sup> Garcilaso's interpretation of this painting reveals the kind of historical content that non-narrative Inka art may contain. Gary Urton has argued that animal motifs should not be interpreted as totemic symbols in the Andes, since individual kin groups were not associated with specific ancestral species, but rather as "metaphoric comparisons" between "conceived similarities and differences between animals and particular types of human beings living in these societies."<sup>93</sup> Perhaps the jaguars at Paramonga, the carved felines on the royal buildings at Huánuco Pampa (figs. 11, 12), or the pumas and other Andean fauna that adorn Inka-style chulpas near Lake Titicaca (fig. 13),<sup>94</sup> once held similarly complex, even mythological or historical, messages in abstracted visual form.

Many sixteenth-century Spanish writers in Peru eagerly describe the vast quantities of gold and silver that were assembled as ransom for the Inka king Atawalpa, who was held captive in Cajamarca by Francisco Pizarro. Among this booty were strips of gold plating that were pried off of the walls of the Qorikancha. In Cusco, both Pedro Pizarro and Pedro Cieza de León describe a gold band, one to two *palmas* wide, which was attached to the front of the temple enclosure, about half-way up the wall.<sup>95</sup> Francisco de Xerez saw these dismantled plates when they arrived in Cajamarca and compared them to "the boards of a chest; three and four palms in

---

<sup>91</sup> Estete's observation is referred to without an exact citation in Ann Kendall, *Aspects of Inca Architecture: Description, Function, and Chronology* (Oxford: BAR Series, 1985), 266. I have been unable to locate this observation in the 1918 publication of Estete's "Noticia del Peru."

<sup>92</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 1, part 1, book 5, ch. 23, 273–274.

<sup>93</sup> Gary Urton, *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985), 4.

<sup>94</sup> See, for example, Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 157, fig. 146.

length,” which “had holes in them as if they had been nailed.”<sup>96</sup> Both Garcilaso and Cieza describe large niches within the temple, which were decorated with gold molding and inlaid with precious stones.<sup>97</sup> Beyond the Qorikancha, Martín de Murúa describes the walls of Inka palaces as “wrought in rich work and adorned with much gold and embossed figures and feats of the Inca ancestors.”<sup>98</sup>

Despite the Spanish propensity to exaggerate Peru’s gold wealth, there is some evidence for possible armatures where gold plating could have been attached to the walls of the Qorikancha, and elsewhere. Perhaps the most intriguing masonry features in the Qorikancha are the holes and grooves found around the so-called “tabernacle” niches (fig. 14), and along the top course of masonry of two interior structures. Using these carvings, Raymundo Béjar suggests, Inka artisans could have affixed gold plating, perhaps by passing rivets or wire through the holes in the gold plates that Xerez describes, and then attaching them to the grooves in the wall.<sup>99</sup> These fasteners would have been held in place, about halfway up the walls, after courses of adobe were added. One finds a similar pattern of eyelets and grooves on the Sayhuite monolith north of Cusco, which suggests that a band of metal might

---

<sup>95</sup> Pedro Pizarro, *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*, 254. Pedro de Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas* [Segunda parte de la Crónica del Perú], edición de Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois (Madrid: Dastin, 2000 [1553]), ch. 27, 98.

<sup>96</sup> “...la mayor parte de todo esto eran planchas, a manera de tablas de cajas, de a tres y a cuatro palmos de largo. Esto quitaron de las paredes de los bohíos, y traían agujeros, que parece haber estado clavadas.” Francisco de Xerez, *Verdadero relación de la conquista del Peru*, 150. The English translation is from John Rowe, “Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco,” 38.

<sup>97</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 1, part. 1, book. 3, ch. 22, 176; Pedro de Cieza de León, *El Señorío de los Incas*, ch. 27, 98–99.

<sup>98</sup> “...estaban labradas las paredes de labores ricas y adornadas de mucho oro y estampería de las figuras y hazañas de los antepasados Ingas.” Martín de Murúa, *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Inças del Perú*, 166.

<sup>99</sup> Raymundo Béjar Navarro, *El Templo del Sol o Qorikancha*, (Cusco: Imprenta Yañez, 1990), Lamina 6, 59.



have encircled that sculpture.<sup>100</sup> Ethnohistoric accounts describe gold sheathing on revered stones, such as a famous stone at Titicaca,<sup>101</sup> but little evidence has been found for this practice. The carvings on the Sayhuite monolith suggest that metal plating was used beyond the Qorikancha, and perhaps there is more truth to Spanish claims of gold-clad Inka buildings and stones than is often accepted.

As alluded to previously, the stone protuberances that appear on Inka walls in the Cusco region might have been not only functional, but also ornamental and even symbolic. Several scholars point out that, since many of these protuberances were not removed during the finishing of the walls, but rather appear polished, they must have been aesthetically desirable.<sup>102</sup> Indeed, if one considers the forms of monumental Inka stone sculpture, which often feature gnomons or stone bosses,<sup>103</sup> one sees how these protuberances easily fit within the “canon” of Inka sculpture that includes carved stones such as the Intiwatana (“Hitching post of the sun”) at Machu Picchu or the carved rock outcropping at Q’enqo (fig. 15). Thus, even if they were used to move ashlar, these protuberances should be considered sculptural as well.

Although there is a general consensus that the protuberances played an aesthetic role, there is less agreement on their meaning, where interpretations have been offered at all.<sup>104</sup> A particularly notable set of stone protuberances is located around the large niche on the inside of the curved wall of the Qorikancha.

Descriptions of the ceques indicate that this niche might have once held a revered

---

<sup>100</sup> This suggestion is also made in John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas*, 167.

<sup>101</sup> Maarten Van de Guchte, “Carving the World,” 31.

<sup>102</sup> John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 226; John Hemming and Edward Ranney, *Monuments of the Incas*, 33; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 325; Cesar Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996), 150.

<sup>103</sup> See, for example, Maarten Van de Guchte, “Carving the World.”

stone named Subaraura. Subaraura was the chief of the *pururaucas*, who were said to be stones that rose up from the battlefield and became soldiers to lead Pachakuteq to his pivotal victory against the Chanca forces.<sup>105</sup> After the battle, the soldiers returned to stone, were gathered up by the Inka, and were installed in shrines throughout Cusco.<sup>106</sup> Perhaps these particular bosses were associated with this legendary lithic general.

Consideration of the active role of stone in Inka mythology—as men turned into stone and stones turned into men and back again—may shed light on the broader meaning of the protuberances on Inka masonry architecture. In an Inka origin myth, two brothers of the dynastic founder Manqo Qapaq, Ayar Oco and Ayar Awqa, turned into stone before reaching Cusco.<sup>107</sup> Manqo Qapaq is the only king whose mummified body was not preserved after his death because it was widely believed that he also turned into a stone.<sup>108</sup> Frank Salomon describes how after a one-year transitional period after death, the mummified bodies of the deceased Inkas were considered “made of harder or purer”—and stonier—“stuff.”<sup>109</sup> In light of Inka beliefs about the fluid relationship between stones and human bodies, the massive and imposing masonry walls of Inka temples and palaces might have conveyed a message that, if need be, the very stones of the buildings could come to life to defend the Inka king. The protuberances along the bottom of these stones might be read as organic vestiges of the former, or potential, human bodies of the stones.

---

<sup>104</sup> For suggested interpretations, see Cesar Paternosto, *The Stone and the Thread*, 145–158, for suggested interpretations.

<sup>105</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, translated and edited by Roland Hamilton (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990 [1653]), Ch. 16, 78, [Cu-1:1].

<sup>106</sup> John H. Rowe, “Inca Culture,” 203–204.

<sup>107</sup> *Ibid.*, 317.

<sup>108</sup> Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 172.

Figural ornamentation is rare in pre-Hispanic Inka architecture but instead one often finds what might be considered a typically Andean strategy of ornamentation. In 1893 Alois Riegl made a clear-cut distinction between pure ornament and motifs with symbolic content.<sup>110</sup> Following this precedent, Oleg Grabar defines an ornament as “that aspect of decoration which appears not to have another purpose but to enhance its carrier.”<sup>111</sup> My reading of Inka architecture, however, suggests that even seemingly superficial ornamentation might have been deeply symbolic, not just visually pleasing, if understood in its proper context. Painted and carved animals could have been metaphoric references to events and characters in Inka history and mythology. Gold plating on the Qorikancha, often interpreted as the temple of the sun, would have caught and amplified the rays of *Inti*, the Inka solar deity. Stone bosses throughout the imperial city might have had an ornamental function, but also could have been visual references to the mythological importance of stone and its alliance with the Inka dynasty.

---

<sup>109</sup> Frank Salomon, “The Beautiful Grandparents,” 325.

<sup>110</sup> Alois Riegl, *Problems of Style; Foundations for a History of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992 [1893]), 49.

<sup>111</sup> Oleg Grabar, *The Mediation of Ornament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 5.

## Chapter 3: The Colonial Remaking of Cusco

*Circa 1534*

Inka architectural production did not cease in Cusco upon the arrival of the Spaniards. Rather, throughout the colonial era, native masons continued to erect structures for the Inka puppet monarchs, as well as for the city's Spanish inhabitants. In some cases it might never be possible to distinguish architecture that was built with traditional Inka technology in the first years after the Spaniards' arrival from earlier Inka architecture based solely on stylistic and formal analysis. Yet, by the end of the sixteenth-century, native masons had learned to emulate the Spanish style so well that hardly any trace of the indigenous hand remained. But in exceptional early colonial cases, a combination of Spanish and Inka elements is clear. Some residential buildings in central Cusco exhibit Inka-style masonry in conjunction with Spanish-style decoration, architectural forms, and stone-cutting technology. These hybrid buildings responded to the social and political changes of the Spanish conquest of the city and incorporated the architectural preferences of their new patrons while retaining some traditional techniques. Although limited Inka features remain in these buildings, the Inka mode of ornamentation, as described in the last chapter, is largely replaced by Spanish decorative strategies. Yet also, however, new native motifs, which were virtually unprecedented as architectural ornament in the Cusco area before 1533, appear with some frequency on the early colonial Inka-style buildings.

Although Francisco Pizarro first encountered the Inka king Atawalpa in Cajamarca in 1532, and the first Spanish soldiers entered Cusco in search of gold and silver for the ransom for the captive Inka king in 1533, the Spaniards did not formally establish their city on the site of the former Inka capital until August 4, 1534 and they did not gain true control of it until 1536. The 1534 “Repartimiento de solares” (“Distribution of property lots”), which is included in the “Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad del Cuzco,” indicates that former Inka palaces were granted to Spanish soldiers, either in whole or in parts. For example, Wayna Qapaq’s city palace, the Casana, was awarded to Francisco Pizarro and another palace called the Amarukancha (“snake enclosure”) was given to the general Hernando de Soto.<sup>112</sup> Additional lots and portions of Inka buildings were distributed among other members of Pizarro’s company. Sometimes the original Inka names of the buildings are recorded, but mostly the list indicates only the relative location of lots next to or across from other properties, which makes a reconstruction of the map of property distributions very difficult, but perhaps not impossible. Sometimes contradicting the *repartimiento*, Garcilaso also recorded whom he remembered as the Spanish residents of Cusco and the owners of former Inka properties.<sup>113</sup> Another valuable source for identifying the locations of Spanish residences in the city is the ceque list that the priest Bernabé Cobo included in his 1609–1653 manuscript *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*.<sup>114</sup> Copied from an earlier c. 1575 source that no longer exists, Cobo’s ceque list gives the name, description, and location of over 300 shrines along the forty-one ceque lines, including sacred places and objects located in or near Inka and Spanish

---

<sup>112</sup> “Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad de Cuzco,” 469.

<sup>113</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 9–11, 106–114.

colonial structures. For example, for the second shrine on the first ceque line of Qollasuyu, the list recounts:

[Co-1:2] The second was called Mudcapuqui. It was a small fountain which comes out below the houses which belonged to Anton Ruiz. They offered it only shells.<sup>115</sup>

Although some Inka edifices might have been inhabited by the Spaniards with little modification in 1534, the failed revolt of the late Inka king Manqo Inka in 1536 resulted in the widespread burning and destruction of the city, after which most of central Cusco had to be rebuilt. This massive rebuilding campaign encompassed residential, civic, and religious construction, which sometimes reused remaining Inka walls, foundations, and cut stones. Planning and construction of the cathedral began in 1538 but its completion was greatly prolonged, in part due to a change in its site and the complexity of the design, and it was not consecrated until 1668.<sup>116</sup> The Church of San Francisco was founded on its original site in the San Blas district in 1538, but in 1549 it was relocated to its current site, south of the main plaza, where terraces once ran up to the open fourth side of the Inka dual plaza.<sup>117</sup> Parish churches and other religious buildings were established by the 1550s.<sup>118</sup>

Architectural conventions were not explicitly mandated in Peru until the Spanish king Phillip II sent instructions for the layout of towns in 1573,<sup>119</sup> yet certain features may serve to distinguish between ecclesiastical and secular buildings in viceregal Cusco. Most architecture—especially religious architecture—constructed in

---

<sup>114</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, book 1, ch. 13–16.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, book 1, ch. 15, 70.

<sup>116</sup> Oscar Chara Zereceda and Viviana Caparó Gil, *Iglesias del Cusco; Historia y Arquitectura* (Cusco: Editorial Universitaria UNSAAC, 1998), 37–38.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid.*, 59.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>119</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 37–38.

sixteenth-century Cusco is markedly European in style although, according to historian Valerie Fraser, there were no European architects in South America until the beginning of the seventeenth-century. Instead, town founders directed building projects.<sup>120</sup> Church architecture always included references to classical architectural traditions and often exhibited the Plateresque style of early sixteenth-century Spain, which melded aspects of Renaissance, Gothic, and Islamic architectural traditions.<sup>121</sup> The classical arch was reserved exclusively for the portals of churches in sixteenth-century Spanish colonial America, whereas secular doorways were built with lintels and were generally more heterogeneous in design.<sup>122</sup> The Inka-style residences that were built for Spanish conquistadors in Cusco diverge from strict European-style design by incorporating Inka-style masonry and relief carving.<sup>123</sup>

This Inka-style residential architecture was most likely constructed in Cusco between 1534 and 1572, during the tumultuous years of the early colonial period. During these years, the Spaniards struggled for power among themselves and with the sons of Manqo Inka, who fled to the strongholds of Vilcabamba in the Urubamba valley after their father's failed attempt to reclaim the city in 1536. Indeed, the Spanish conquest of Cusco was not a single event, but a prolonged process that lasted decades.

The sixteenth-century Spanish occupiers of Peru were concerned with establishing and strengthening not only political, but also social and religious control of the territory. From the outset of their campaign in the central Andes, Spanish

---

<sup>120</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 106.

<sup>121</sup> Valerie Fraser, "Architecture and Imperialism in Sixteenth-century Spanish America," *Art History* 9:3 (September 1986), 326.

<sup>122</sup> *Ibid.*

priests and soldiers alike saw demonic forces at work in native culture and religion, which they felt compelled to eradicate and replace with biblical truths.<sup>124</sup> Inka religious traditions, especially drinking ceremonies, were frequently the target of early extirpatory campaigns of the sixteenth-century. Yet, despite great efforts, indigenous traditions were not immediately effaced in the Andes; rather, some continued largely unchanged even into the early years of the Viceroyalty of Peru, which was established in 1542. In some places, imperial Inka visual traditions persisted during these years, but elsewhere in the empire, such as on the south coast where Inka control was not as deeply rooted, native artists returned to their own local styles.<sup>125</sup> Yet, viceregal control of native culture and religious practices gradually tightened. In about 1559, Juan Polo de Ondegardo, *corregidor* (chief magistrate) of Cusco embarked upon a major reconnaissance project to report on idolatrous Inka practices, in order to discover how best to eliminate them.<sup>126</sup> A major blow was dealt to Inka religious and socio-political traditions when, as part of this project, Polo de Ondegardo tracked down and seized all of the mummies and effigies of the Inka kings, which had been carefully guarded from the Spanish and moved around by their descendants under cover of night since 1536.<sup>127</sup>

After the final session of the Council of Trent in 1563, even greater restrictions were placed on native culture and religion in the Andes. In part as a reaction to the indigenous movement called Taqui Onkoy (“Dance of Disease”) in the

---

<sup>123</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 119.

<sup>124</sup> Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes; Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 7.

<sup>125</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 140, note 1.

<sup>126</sup> Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 159.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 172.



early 1560s, the Second Council of Lima was convened to put the new regulations of the Counter Reformation into effect in the viceroyalty.<sup>128</sup> Beginning in 1570, the new viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, carried out the strictest set of reforms yet, with the goal of eliminating any native culture, religion, or visual arts that offended Spanish Catholic sensibilities.<sup>129</sup> Toledo also ordered that the last Inka hold-outs in Vilcabamba be routed out of their strongholds and brought before the viceregal administration. The last Inka sovereign, Tupaq Amaru, was captured by the Spanish captain Martín García de Loyola and executed in the Plaza de Arms of Cusco, in the presence of Viceroy Toledo, on September 24, 1572. Only with the death of Tupaq Amaru did the Spanish government of Peru finally solidify its control of Cusco.<sup>130</sup>

*Andean Masons, Spanish Edifices, and the Afterlives of Stones*

In constructing colonial Cusco, the Spaniards selected the best-suited building material that they had at hand and methodically stripped away tons of ashlar from Inka structures including those at Saqsawamán, where today only the largest, most immobile stones remain. This action, which continued into the seventeenth-century, was not simply based on economics. As Carolyn Dean has argued, the dismantling of a pre-Hispanic complex of such paramount importance as Saqsawamán, in order to acquire building material for the construction of the cathedral, was an explicitly

---

<sup>128</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 144–150.

<sup>129</sup> *Ibid.*, 146–155.

<sup>130</sup> Sabine MacCormack, “The Fall of the Incas: A Historiographical Dilemma,” *History of European Ideas* 6:4 (1985), 430.

symbolic act of the Catholic domination and destruction of the Andean world.<sup>131</sup> Inka stones were also reused in the erection of residential colonial buildings. Garcilaso recalled that, “There is indeed not a house in the city that has not been made of this stone [from Saqsawamán], or at least the houses built by the Spaniards.”<sup>132</sup> In some cases Inka buildings in the city were rebuilt, and in other cases ashlar were reused for Spanish construction projects.<sup>133</sup>

If pre-Hispanic stones were reused in colonial construction, might the zoomorphic ornament that appears on some Inka-style walls also be recycled from original Inka buildings? Although rare, there is a limited precedent for abstract zoomorphic carving on Inka buildings and in Inka sculpture. In particular, zoomorphic sculpture tends to occur around portals and entrances to Inka buildings and modified caves. In Quechua, the *lingua franca* of the Inka empire, a door or window was called a *ttoco* and was considered a liminal place of transition, like the three caves at Tambo-ttoco in the Inka origin myth. As Carolyn Dean explains, “the *ttoco* is a *tinkuy*, a place where complementary opposites (*qhariwarmi*) meet.”<sup>134</sup> Felines, perhaps pumas, stand at attention on either side of two double-jambed, trapezoidal entrances to the Inka palace and along the corners of the usnu at Huánuco Pampa (figs. 11, 12).<sup>135</sup> These felines might have metaphorically represented specific Inka kings, or perhaps elite representatives of the two complementary Inka moieties.

---

<sup>131</sup> Carolyn Dean, “Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco,” 161–183.

<sup>132</sup> “no hay casa en la ciudad que no haya sido labrada con aquella piedra, a lo menos las que han labrado los españoles.” Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 29, 153. The English translation is from Garcilaso, *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, part 1, 471.

<sup>133</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 62–63.

<sup>134</sup> Carolyn Dean, “Rock and Reciprocity,” Chapter 3, *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on/in Rock*, forthcoming.

<sup>135</sup> See Craig Morris and Donald E. Thompson, *Huánuco Pampa*, 68, color plate IV; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 280, fig. 175.

Pumas, snakes, and lizards are often found on Inka-style masonry chulpas, especially framing the low entrances of the funerary towers at Sillustani, Cutimbo, Calacota, and Wapaca in the Aymara-speaking region around Lake Titicaca (figs. 13, 16).<sup>136</sup> John Hyslop argues that these chulpas were built during the Inka domination of the region, not for burial of Inka rulers, but as the funerary structures of local Lupaca lords. This use of imperial stonework on provincial tombs, like the application of painted Inka tunic designs on adobe chulpas in Bolivia,<sup>137</sup> functioned as a visual statement of the privileged relationship between the local lords and the Inka empire.<sup>138</sup>

Carved snakes and pumas are found at sites near Cusco but their appearance on Inka architecture in that area is rarer. At Saqsawamán serpentine carvings twist around the surfaces of the so-called “snake rock,” which was revealed by archaeologists working in the northern zone of the site in the late 1980s.<sup>139</sup> Upon close examination, one can also discern the inconspicuous form of a single serpent carved just below a masonry join on one of the massive zigzag terrace walls in the southern sector of the site (figs. 17, 18). At the Inka site of Laco, north of Cusco near Q’enqo, a puma and a serpent are carved near the entrance to a modified cave in the enormous rock outcropping. The body of the snake appears to slither perpetually into the opening of the cave (fig. 19). Carvings of serpents, pumas, and other Andean

---

<sup>136</sup> See, for example, John Hyslop, “Chulpas of the Lupaca Zone of the Peruvian High Plateau,” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4 (1977), 149–170.

<sup>137</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Incas*, 134, fig. 6.5.

<sup>138</sup> John Hyslop, “Chulpas of the Lupaca Zone.”

<sup>139</sup> Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 99.

animals are most densely—and perhaps most famously—carved on the Sayhuite monolith (fig. 20).<sup>140</sup>

The next chapter highlights specific examples in Cusco where reused Inka stones can be seen in the façades of early colonial Inka-style buildings, some of which are adorned with zoomorphic reliefs. Only through the following detailed visual analysis of the stones and the carvings can one determine if these reliefs were created in the pre-Hispanic or the colonial period. But first let us consider the other diagnostic features that are found in the early colonial, or “transitional,” Inka style of architecture.

#### *Defining Post-Conquest Inka-Style Architecture*

Since Emilio Harth-Terre’s 1958 essay “Contribución al Estudio de la Arquitectura del Cuzco; Los Últimos Canteros Incaicos,” and Federico Kauffmann Doig’s study of Inka “influences” in the architecture of Huamanga, published in 1965, scholars have begun to differentiate between Inka architecture and what is often called “transitional” Inka-style architecture.<sup>141</sup> Harth-Terre argues that some Inka-style buildings were built after the arrival of the Spanish because seemingly Inka-style structures, such as the house of Garcilaso, are found in areas that were open plazas or agricultural terraces in Inka times. Similarly, Kauffman Doig concludes that Inka-style buildings and zoomorphic ornament in Huamanga (modern Ayacucho)

---

<sup>140</sup> See, Léonce Angrand, *Imagen del Perú en el siglo XIX*, Pl. 248.

<sup>141</sup> Emilio Harth-Terre, *Contribución al Estudio de la Arquitectura del Cuzco; Los Últimos Canteros Incaicos*, (Lima: Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú, 1958); Federico Kauffmann Doig,

must date to the colonial period because there was no pre-Hispanic Inka settlement at that site. Since the mid-twentieth century, other architectural historians have taken notice of post-conquest buildings with Inka-style masonry and have compiled lists of features that define them.<sup>142</sup>

“Transitional” Inka architecture has been characterized by perpendicular walls that lack the characteristic Inka batter and by rectangular, instead of trapezoidal, doorways. Inka-style masonry is only found on façades and within Spanish-style vestibules of these buildings. Stones are not as precisely joined as in earlier Inka architecture and one often finds a more haphazard arrangement of sizes and shapes of stones. In “transitional” Inka architecture, the form of lintels often diverges from the Inka standard; they are taller than adjacent courses of masonry and sometimes have a recessed soffit (for example, fig. 23). Most conspicuously, the appearance of Spanish coats of arms and allegorical figures or portraits on lintels of buildings that otherwise appear to be Inka structures indicate that these buildings were built, or at least rebuilt, in the colonial era. Less obvious but as diagnostic, the tool marks on stones shaped with stone hammers in the Inka imperial period differ noticeably from marks made with iron or steel tools, which were introduced after the arrival of the Spaniards.<sup>143</sup>

The contrast between Inka stone tool marks and more recent metal tool marks is clearly seen by comparing the original and reconstructed parts of one of the

---

*Influencias “Inca” en la Arquitectura Peruana del Virreinato: “El Fenómeno Huamanguino,”* (Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1965).

<sup>142</sup> See, for example, Santiago Agurto Calvo, *Cusco: La Traza Urbana de la Ciudad Inca*, Proyecto PER 39 (Cusco: UNESCO and Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1980); Jose Carlos Gutierrez Samanez, *La Destrucción del Patrimonio Monumental del Cusco* (Lima: Lluvia Editores, 2000); Mónica Paredes García, *El Cusco incaico; Análisis e interpretación de un registro de restos prehispánicos* (Surco, Peru: Ediciones El Santo Oficio Gráficos S.R.L., 2001); Stella Elise Nair, “Of Remembering and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa ‘Inka to the Spanish Occupation,” PhD dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2003.

“tabernacle” niches in the Qorikancha (fig. 21). On the left one can see the broad, soft pock marks made by Inka masons, whereas on the right the marks made by metal tools are smaller, sharper, and more linearly ordered. This same contrast is seen on Calle Agustín in Cusco where an Inka wall (left) is punctured by a modern doorway (right) (fig. 22). Zoomorphic sculpture is sometimes added to the lists of characteristics of “transitional” Inka architecture. My own observations of early colonial Inka-style architecture indicate that, with few exceptions, stone protuberances do not appear on these walls.

---

<sup>143</sup> Jean-Pierre Protzen, *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*.

## Chapter 4: Zoomorphic Reliefs as Architectural Ornament

### *Zoomorphic Architectural Ornament in Cusco*

In 1957 Luis Pardo interpreted all zoomorphic reliefs on Inka-style architecture in Cusco as heraldic decoration on original Inka palaces.<sup>144</sup> More recently, architectural historians have attributed these carvings to the “transitional” category described in the preceding pages. This chapter will take a closer, comprehensive look at these sculpted forms in an attempt to more fully understand their context, and ultimately their function and meaning.

Regarding the distribution of zoomorphic ornament in Cusco, Pardo states that pumas and serpents only appear on architecture in the northern part of the city.<sup>145</sup> In contrast, Maarten van de Guchte indicates that such carvings were predominantly found in the Antisuyu, or northeastern, quarter of the city.<sup>146</sup> My own field observations show that this type of architectural ornament occurs throughout the city, but does predominantly exist in the northern and eastern regions. None of these carvings is found on facades that directly border the Plaza de Armas, but rather they appear on secular buildings—indicated by lintel door construction—within about four blocks of the plaza. During the Inka imperial era this area would have been occupied by noble, if not royal, residences, temples, and other imperial buildings. The

---

<sup>144</sup> Luis A. Pardo, *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*, (Cuzco: Impr. Colegio Militar Leoncio Prado, 1957), vol. 1, 114–120.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 120.

<sup>146</sup> Maarten van de Guchte, “Carving the World,” 81.

zoomorphic sculpture that decorates these buildings tends to cluster around doorjambs, corners, and lintels—all architectural points of spatial transition.

#### The Lintels of Calle Loreto and Calle Ataúd

Located on nearly opposite sides of the city's center, on Calle Loreto near Calle Afligidos and at Calle Ataúd 154, two Inka-style doorways are spanned by very similar stone lintels, which are both carved in relief with the forms of two undulating serpents that meet at center (figs. 23, 24). Both lintels are about two and a half meters long, although the Loreto lintel is slightly larger. They are both as tall as at least two courses of masonry, which is typical of colonial lintels, but the Loreto lintel also has a concave bottom surface. Inka lintels were sometimes flanked by figural ornament, but the lintels themselves were never carved. In typical "transitional" style, these two doorways are rectangular and the adjacent walls are perpendicular, not battered.

The snake compositions on the two lintels are nearly identical but there are some slight differences in form. The snakes on the Loreto lintel are very flat, carved in sharp relief, and are more tightly flexed than the snakes on the Ataúd lintel, which are slightly more extended and have rounded edges. The style of carving on the Loreto lintel is similar to the flat relief carving on the c.1670 lintel above the Colegio de San Borja, also in Cusco.<sup>147</sup> A faint serpent (35 cm long) can be discerned on the left jamb of the Ataúd doorway. A small serpent (c. 30–35 cm long) with a triangular head is carved into a block to the right of the Loreto lintel, and another serpent (c. 20–

---

<sup>147</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, fig. 44–45.



25 cm long) is found high up on the wall of the Aqllawasi, directly opposite the doorway on Calle Loreto (fig. 25).

Calle Ataúd is within the northern part of the city that is popularly known as Amaruk'ata (Snake Slope).<sup>148</sup> This name might have been given to this area northwest of the Plaza de Armas because of the number of Inka-style serpents carved on the walls there, but it could also refer to an earlier, Inka designation of that area. The lintel at Calle Ataúd 154 is clearly a colonial piece, but some of the andesite stones in the surrounding wall could have been reused from Inka structures in or around Cusco.

The Calle Loreto lintel is installed over a colonial doorway in a remodeled Inka wall that was once part of the Inka palace called the Amarukancha, which might have been the last Inka palace, built for Atawalpa's brother Waskar in the first third of the sixteenth-century.<sup>149</sup> The Inka palace would have had extremely restricted access, probably limited to a main portal opening onto the Haukaypata. The placement of this doorway on the narrow street separating the palace from the Aqllawasi, therefore, would have been very unlikely in Inka times. Moving down Loreto toward the Plaza de Armas to the next doorway, one finds a similarly-shaped lintel that is clearly incised with a Spanish-style coat of arms containing two foxes running toward a tree. Perhaps the snakes on the colonial Inka-style lintel were intended as a heraldic device, recalling the original Inka name of the building. In 1534 the Amarukancha was granted to Hernando de Soto, but it was later seized by Hernando Pizarro, who gave the property to the Jesuits. In 1571 Viceroy Toldeo

---

<sup>148</sup> Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Cusco Histórico* (Lima: Casa Editora "La Crónica" y "Variedades" S.A. Ltda., 1934), 78.

ordered the founding of the church of the Compañía de Jesús on the part of the palace closest to the plaza.<sup>150</sup> Garcilaso recalled that other parts of the palace were awarded to Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, Antonio Altamirano, Alonso Mazuela, among others.<sup>151</sup> Although Garcilaso may not be correct in all of his attributions, his list illustrates the point that property ownership in colonial Cusco was complicated by subdivisions of Inka buildings and frequent transfers of land grants. As such, it is not possible at this time to identify either the builder of this particular colonial doorway in the Amarukancha or the specific meaning of the snake carvings on the lintel. These serpent lintels might have been carved for a colonial patron who traced his or her ancestry to the Inka kings and took pride in such a royal heritage.

The stones around the colonial doorway at Calle Ataúd 154 might have been reused from Inka buildings, but tool marks on the lintel and several ashlar in the wall along Calle Loreto indicate that those stones were shaped much more recently (fig. 26). Upon close examination of the small, sharp pock marks, one can see that many of the stones in this wall were shaped with modern metal tools. In 1934 Rafael Larco Hoyle noted that the serpent on the wall across from the lintel was “recently reconstructed.”<sup>152</sup> The physical evidence suggests that the snake lintel and perhaps both smaller snakes on Calle Loreto were carved during an early twentieth-century restoration project. The lintel might be a copy of an earlier, perhaps damaged,

---

<sup>149</sup> Brian Bauer, *Ancient Cuzco*, 125.

<sup>150</sup> *Ibid.*, 125–126; Oscar Chara Zereceda and Viviana Caparó Gil, *Iglesias del Cusco*, 27. The church was entirely rebuilt after the 1650 earthquake. George Kubler, *Cuzco*, 10.

<sup>151</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 10, 111.

<sup>152</sup> The caption to the illustration reads: “Muro del callejón de Loreto recientemente reconstruido.” Rafael Larco Hoyle, *Cusco Histórico*, 71.

architectural element, or it could, in fact, be a more imaginative, modern reconstruction.

### Beaterio de las Nazarenas

Currently, the early history of the former Beaterio de las Nazarenas, sometimes called the “Casa de las Sierpes” (House of the Serpents) (figs. 27, 28) is even more obscured than that of the Amarukancha. Based on Garcilaso’s identification of this area in the San Blas district as the location of the Inka “house of teaching,” E. George Squier captioned his illustration of this façade as “The Schools” (fig. 29).<sup>153</sup> This structure has all of the key aspects of an early colonial Inka-style building: Spanish-style decorated lintel, perpendicular walls, rectangular door, lack of stone protuberances, and irregular courses of masonry with metal tool marks in some places, but it is still considered an Inka building by many of the populace and tourists in Cusco. That the Beaterio was even built on the site or foundations of an Inka school is not corroborated by any other source. Gasparini and Margolies suggest that Garcilaso invented the idea and location of the Inka schools because he wanted Inka Cusco to seem like a sophisticated city to his Spanish readers.<sup>154</sup>

The early colonial history of the Beaterio is just as problematic as its supposed Inka origins. Most writers repeat the popular account that the Beaterio was either constructed or remodeled from an Inka structure for the conquistador Mansio Serra de

---

<sup>153</sup> Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, Vol. 2, part 1, book 7, ch. 10, 109; E. George Squier, *Incidents of Travel*, 447.

<sup>154</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 56.

Leguizamón, but none provides any documentary evidence for this attribution.<sup>155</sup>

Serra is also the legendary figure who is said to have received a massive gold disk of the sun from the Qorikancha as a reward for his role in the Spanish campaign in Peru, but gambled it away in an infamous night of drinking. As noted previously, however, Garcilaso claimed that Serra had received property within the Amarukancha. The *repartimiento* describes Serra's land grant as a half a lot bordering the property of Francisco de Villafuerte. The lot given to Villafuerte backed onto the lot given to Juan Flores, which in turn backed onto the property of someone named Ledesma, which was on a corner next to the "houses of the sun," or the Qorikancha.<sup>156</sup> Based on this indirect description, it is impossible to say exactly where Serra's original property grant was, but it seems that it could not have been in San Blas, rather distant from the Qorikancha. Cobo's ceque list indicates that the first wak'as of the first and third ceque lines of Qollasuyu were located in or near Serra's house.<sup>157</sup> Since the ceque lines all commenced at the Qorikancha, and the first wak'as were closest to the lines' origination point, Serra's house should have been located near this temple, or just southeast of it since Cobo indicates that the house was within Qollasuyu. Instead of pointing to Serra for the early history of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, George Kubler recorded that, "the Nazarene mothers trace the origins of their establishment to a sixteenth-century orphanage founded by Spanish women in the city."<sup>158</sup> This

---

<sup>155</sup> See, for example, Stuart Stirling, *The Last Conquistador; Mansio Serra de Leguizamón and the Conquest of the Incas* (Stroud: Sutton Publishing, 1999).

<sup>156</sup> "Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad de Cuzco," 472.

<sup>157</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, book 1, ch. 15, 70 [Co-1:1], 71 [Co-3-1]. In his study of the ceque system, Brian Bauer's analysis of these wak'as also relies upon the popular identification of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas as the former house of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón, which complicates Bauer's mapping of the wak'as. Brian Bauer, *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca*, 96, 99, 102, 116–117.

<sup>158</sup> George Kubler, *Cuzco*, 19.

story of the building's origins is more convincing than the one involving the almost mythical character Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.

Looking at the façade of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, the viewer's attention is immediately captured by the high-relief, polychrome decoration of the lintel (fig. 30). Only later does one see the low-relief serpents that slither across the walls. The coat of arms painted on the sculpted lintel could be an essential clue to the early history of this structure, but it has not been identified, and I have been unable to link it to any of the coats of arms of the Spanish conquistadors. Perhaps most significantly, however, it is *not* the crest of Mansio Serra de Leguizamón.<sup>159</sup> Within the shield, certain painted features can be identified. A seven-pointed crown (perhaps the emblem of a count) is painted atop a crisscrossed design (perhaps containing initials ending in "R") between the pillars of Hercules. Below is an unidentified white shape that resembles an upside-down crest. The coat of arms is held by two male sirens. Female sirens in colonial Andean art are sometimes understood as representations of the mythical sisters Quesintuu and Umantuu from the Lake Titicaca area,<sup>160</sup> but there is not a similar indigenous understanding of male sirens. Nor is it clear from European iconography why male sirens, if that is indeed what they are, would be represented above this doorway.

Turning to the other stone carvings on the Beaterio, one finds at least twenty serpents (20–50 cm long) carved in relief on the façade of the building and around the corner on the wall facing the Callejón de las Siete Culebras (Alley of the Seven Snakes). Five serpents cluster around the doorway and two on the left are sculpted in

---

<sup>159</sup> Compare the lintel in figure 30 to the coats of arms illustrated in Stuart Stirling, *The Last Conquistador*, 6, 120.

especially high relief (fig. 31). The Inka-style masonry around the doorway is separated from the rest of the stone façade by two prominent seams that indicate a remodeling of this wall, which might suggest that the five serpents closest to the door were carved either earlier or later than the others on this façade. Two serpents frame the edge of the building's corner, which marks another point of architectural transition (fig. 32). Other serpents twist across the walls, some in vertical positions, others horizontal, without any apparent logic to their arrangement (figs. 33–36). Some serpents are recessed into the convex surfaces of Inka stones and easily could have been carved after the stones were already dressed, perhaps even as late as in the colonial period (fig. 37). The clearest evidence that at least some of these reliefs were carved after the arrival of the Spaniards is the appearance of a four-legged animal about half-way between the doorway and the corner of the building (fig. 38). Maarten van de Guchte neutrally describes this creature as an “(unidentified) animal with four legs,” though Luis Pardo identifies it as a small puma.<sup>161</sup> Nevertheless, the long neck of this animal precludes its identification as a puma. Nor can it be a llama, alpaca, or other camelid because Inka artists always represented these species with a short or up-turned tail, never with the long tail seen here.<sup>162</sup> Instead, this creature looks more like some horses represented in colonial-period Inka art.<sup>163</sup> This carving of a European animal reaffirms the façade's colonial date and serves as circumstantial

---

<sup>160</sup> Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 46–60.

<sup>161</sup> Van de Guchte mistakenly locates eighteen serpents and this “quadruped” on the corner of Santa Teresa, although they can only be the Nazarenas reliefs since this is by far the largest group of such carvings in Cusco. Maarten van de Guchte, “Carving the World,” 37, note 15. Luis Pardo, *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*, 117.

<sup>162</sup> For representations of camelids on Inka pottery, see Jenaro Fernández Baca Cosío, *Motivos de Ornamentación de la Cerámica Inca-Cuzco*, volume 2 (Lima: Librería Studium, 1989), 98–112.

evidence to suggest that the other reliefs were also carved during the colonial era, perhaps into pre-existing Inka blocks. Why Spanish Catholics—either a conquistador or Nazarene nuns—would have permitted such a concentration of serpents, which they would have associated with the Devil and the Fall of Man, remains provocatively unresolved but indicates that native symbols were better tolerated during the early colonial period in Cusco than they were after the Toledan reforms. The permissibility and visibility of native, pagan imagery in this colonial context will be addressed below. Though perhaps as a way of negating the heathen power of the *glissant* bodies of the serpents carved into these walls, or as a way to reclaim symbolically the Christian possession of this building, two small crosses have been carved into the stone façade, probably during the modern era (fig. 39).

### Calle Zetas

Seven carved serpents (28–108 cm long) are found on a stretch of Inka-style wall along Calle Zetas on the Llimacpampa Chico plaza, just north of the Qorikancha. The walls along this block are typical of “transitional” Inka-style architecture in their perpendicularity, rectangular doorways, mixed sizes and shapes of andesite stones, and Spanish-style vestibules. The portal at Calle Zetas 400 (figs. 40, 41), which was damaged during the 1950 earthquake, is spanned by a large stone lintel that bears a Spanish-style coat of arms. The coat of arms is divided into quarters that are now worn clean of all heraldic elements. This building was identified in the twentieth

---

<sup>163</sup> e.g. Jenaro Fernández Baca Cosío, *Motivos de Ornamentación de la Cerámica Inca-Cuzco*, 151, fig. 141; Tom Cummins, “The Madonna and the Horse: Alternative Readings of Colonial Images,” 57, fig.

century as the Casa de Castro,<sup>164</sup> and, in fact, the house is still owned by the Castro family today. It is tempting to think that this building might have been built for the first *alcalde* (mayor) of the city, Don Beltrán de Castro, who was awarded a substantial property grant in 1534,<sup>165</sup> but insufficient evidence exists to confirm this hypothesis.

Three serpent carvings are clearly visible near the jambs of this doorway. When one examines these reliefs closely and at an oblique angle, one sees that the serpents do not protrude from the ashlar, but are recessed into the surfaces of the stones (figs. 42, 43). Like the engraved snakes on the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, these serpents were carved into already dressed stones. Inside the vestibule of this entrance, along the right wall, are two more carved serpents (fig. 44). Even from within the vestibule, these reliefs are hidden behind the heavy wooden door that is propped open during the day. These two serpents are all but unseen where they are, and their placement there problematizes the intended visibility of the carvings.

To the right of the doorway at Calle Zetas 400, one finds what is clearly an Inka ashlar, with two broad, round stone protuberances—a hallmark of Inka masonry—re-set into a course of masonry (fig. 45). Striking about this stone, however, is that the protuberances are located on the top edge, instead of on the bottom. In Inka architecture protuberances are only seen on the bottom edge of stones. This stone, therefore, must have been taken out of its original Inka context and rotated 180 degrees before being used in the wall along Calle Zetas. In an almost

---

5.

<sup>164</sup> Luis Pardo, *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*, 114; Santiago Agurto Calvo, *Cuzco; La Traza Urbana de la Ciudad Inca*, 88.

<sup>165</sup> “Libro Primero de Cabildos de la Ciudad de Cuzco,” 469.



identical example, an upside-down Inka stone in the partially reconstructed Inka wall of the Aqllawasi along Calle Loreto also has two round bosses at its top edge. Instead of bulging out along the bottom edge as Inka ashlar often do, other stones in the wall between Calle Zetas 400 and 390 are bulkiest at the top, as if these stones have also been set into the wall upside-down relative to their original orientation. Furthermore, a serpent relief, immediately to the left of the doorway at Calle Zetas 390, seems to be carved into this top, bulky section of a reused Inka stone (figs. 46, 47). Based upon the appearance of this carved stone, one can imagine a scenario in which masons took stones from Inka buildings for reuse in a new, colonial façade, but intentionally turned them upside-down before refitting them into the wall so that they could carve into this bulky area, now at the top of the stone, which would have been an ideal raw surface for such relief sculpture. If one looks again at the carved serpents on the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, one finds two serpents on the wall facing the Callejón de las Siete Culebras that are sculpted in exactly this way—at the top of ashlar, into what appears to be the thickest part of the stone (figs. 35, 36). Thus, these reliefs must have been carved sometime after the stones were dismantled from their original walls for colonial reuse. It is significant that these early colonial serpents are carved into, and indeed negate, the part of the stones that most emphasized the essential stoniness and imperial power of Inka architecture.

### Cuesta del Almirante

Located one block north of the Plaza de Armas at Cuesta del Almirante 282, across from the Palacio del Almirante, is an Inka-style doorway with four serpents (28–45 cm long) carved on and near the doorjambs (figs. 3, 48). The history of this building is all but unknown; the only published information about its history that I have encountered states that in 1957 it was owned by the La Torre family.<sup>166</sup> Of all of the “transitional” doorways investigated thus far, this one most resembles an Inka doorway because of its slightly trapezoidal shape and the size and shape of the lintel. Nevertheless, other features expose this portal as a colonial construction. The walls are very thin and perpendicular, the stones lack consistency in size and shape, many joints at the right of the doorway are poorly fit, and there are no stone protuberances visible. The two serpents on the right jamb were carved so deeply out of the stone that the remaining face of the block is no longer convex but concave (fig. 49).

These two exceptional serpents bend and twist around the doorjambs, as if stretching their bodies toward the entrance. Serpents, sometimes known in Quechua as *amarus*, can pass between the terrestrial and subterranean worlds and their movement here, heading into the liminal zone of the threshold, is appropriate. These serpents are remarkably similar to serpents carved on Inka or colonial Inka-style stone bowls, *morteros* (mortars), and some *pacchas* (ceremonial drinking vessels) that curl and stretch themselves toward the openings of the vessels (fig. 50).<sup>167</sup>

---

<sup>166</sup> Luis Pardo, *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*, 117.

<sup>167</sup> There are several such objects in the Museo Inka in Cusco. Other stone bowls and *morteros* are held in the collections of the Museo Nacional de Antropología, Arqueología, e Historia in Lima, the Museo de la Nación in Lima, the British Museum, the Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology at

Across the street, an isolated stone with a pair of carved serpents (47 and 49 cm long) is located within the foundation of the Palacio del Almirante, which is now the Museo Inka (fig. 51). This stone might have been set in place during the construction of the house in the first third of the seventeenth century or it might have been placed there after the 1650 earthquake when the house was rebuilt by Pedro Peralta de los Rios, “Conde de la Laguna,” whose arms appear over the door.<sup>168</sup> This stone could have been part of an original Inka structure from the surrounding area of the Amaruk’ata that was later reused for colonial construction.

#### Calle Pumacurco

Just up the street and to the northwest of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas is an Inka-style doorway at Calle Pumacurco 336 (fig. 52). There is no stone lintel and only the lower portions of the walls of the façade and vestibule are made of masonry. The door is rectangular and the walls are perpendicular. Metal tool marks are found on some of the stones around this doorway but are not as clear on the three ashlar that are carved with serpents (39, 42 and 51 cm long). The serpents nearest to the doorway are carved on long, dark andesite ashlar that might have been taken from a different, earlier context (fig. 53), but this possibility is not verifiable.

---

Harvard University, the University of Pennsylvania’s Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, and the Museo de América in Madrid.

<sup>168</sup> On the history of the Palacio del Almirante (also called the Casa del Almirante), see George Kubler, *Cuzco*, 26; R.P.D. Antonio San Cristóbal, *La Casa Virreinal Cuzqueña* (Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, Facultad de Arquitectura Urbanismo y Artes, Instituto de Investigación, 2001), 108.

### Plazoleta Santo Domingo

A single carved serpent is located high on the wall of an Inka-style building that is now the Hotel el Libertador (fig. 54). Also on the Plazoleta Santo Domingo, across from the Qorikancha, the wall of a storefront is carved with four reliefs (19–42 cm long) (fig. 55). Three are serpents but the fourth form (at far right) is ambiguous. It might be a serpent maw or other creature. These carvings are significantly flatter and broader than those found elsewhere in the city, which suggests that they are the work of a different hand. Although some of the walls surrounding this doorway are original Inka walls that have the characteristic batter, the section of the wall where the serpents are found is perpendicular.

### Calle Maruri

The masonry around a doorway on Calle Maruri contains a number of stones carved with zoomorphic reliefs (7–34 cm long) (fig. 56). The doorway provides access to the INC's restoration project of the Inka sector called the Kusikancha. This façade is a modern pastiche of stones. Some might have been carved by the Inkas, but others were clearly cut recently given the fresh metal point marks that appear on their surfaces. Along with several serpents are two small quadruped animals, which could be camelids or perhaps canines, carved on a single stone (fig. 57).

### Casa de los Pumas

The colonial house at Calle Santa Teresa 385, also known as the “Casa de los Pumas” (fig. 58), is unique in having Inka-style masonry on its first and second stories. Yet the building clearly belongs to the “transitional” category, based on the shape of the lintel and the form of the doorway. In 1981 the Argentine architect Ramón Gutiérrez published a list of the owners of the house since the 1620s, but it is impossible to say precisely when the house was built, by whom, or who was responsible for the incorporation of the puma carvings in the second story façade. Among the house’s most notable inhabitants was the bishop Manuel Mollinedo y Angulo who lived there for eight years until his death in 1700.<sup>169</sup>

Above the lintel, to the left and right, are a set of six pumas carved in relief on six andesite ashlar (figs. 59, 60). Three profile pumas approach the center of the building from each side. Their forms are flat, with little modeling, and they do not resemble the pumas carved at Huánuco Pampa, Laco, or on the Sayhuite monolith. Instead, their forms—especially the treatment of their limbs—are similar to the felines embossed on a colonial gold bracelet that Tom Cummins describes as related to south coast forms (fig. 61).<sup>170</sup> The carving technique, arrangement of forms, and the down-turned tails of the pumas are very similar to the felines on a stone from the Capachica peninsula on Lake Titicaca (fig. 62). Very little is known about this stone, but the faces of the felines are stylistically similar to Wari sculpture from the southern

---

<sup>169</sup> Ramón Gutiérrez, Paulo de Azevedo, Graciela M. Viñuales, Esterzilda de Azevedo, Rodolfo Vallín, *La Casa Cusqueña* (Corrientes, Argentina: Departamento de Historia de la Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, 1981), 112–113.

<sup>170</sup> Tom Cummins, “The Madonna and the Horse: Alternative Readings of Colonial Images,” in *Native*

highlands (AD 750–1000). Joanne Pillsbury has also suggested that the two-dimensional series of pumas on this house could be related to Andean textile motifs.<sup>171</sup> Although the composition of processing pumas is akin to some pre-Columbian works of art, the flat relief carving seen on these six stones is more similar to the colonial style of carving lintels, including that of the Colegio de San Borja, which suggests a seventeenth-century date.

#### The Church of San Francisco

The church of San Francisco may have the only example of an Inka-style carved serpent appearing on a church façade, although Andean animals are sometimes incorporated as minor details into church decorative programs.<sup>172</sup> On the northern exterior wall of the church is one stone that displays two distinct Inka motifs (fig. 63). The first is the serpent and the second is an arch with two small figures standing beneath it. The latter motif is eroded but is probably a rainbow with either a pair of tassels (like the royal tassel of the Inka crown called the *maskaypacha*) or the figures of a generic Inka king and queen standing beneath it. This rainbow motif is frequently painted on colonial Inka *queros* and Tom Cummins has interpreted it as a sign of prosperity and fecundity that, by the mid-seventeenth century, became a heraldic device associated specifically with *kurakas* (local Andean lords) who were loyal to the colonial government. Like many Andean motifs, the rainbow could also be a

---

*Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America*, 57, fig. 5.

<sup>171</sup> Joanne Pillsbury, personal communication, 2005.

<sup>172</sup> See, for example, the decoration around the doorway of the church of Santo Tomás in Chumbevilcas. Teresa Gisbert, *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*, 61.

destructive symbol, associated with earthquakes and chaos.<sup>173</sup> Both the serpent and the rainbow on this stone are isolated and reduced to their simplest visual form, which suggests that they served as signs, perhaps with a pictographic purpose.

The Church of San Francisco was first constructed on its present location in 1549 but the church was rebuilt between 1645 and 1652 with the labor of native stonecutters.<sup>174</sup> The above-described stone and its two Inka motifs—the snake and the rainbow—seem to function like a kind of cornerstone that might be engraved with the name of the architect and date of construction. In carving these two Inka motifs on this prominent stone, Andean stone workers might have similarly “signed” the product of their labor. Perhaps this interpretation can be applied to the serpents carved on earlier Inka-style houses as well. Mónica Paredes García, an archaeologist in the Centro Histórico of the Municipalidad de Cusco, believes that carved serpents on “transitional” Inka-style architecture can be understood as signatures of native stone masons, who continue to carve these serpents in modern stone working.<sup>175</sup> Paredes also interprets spiral motifs engraved on stonework, for example at the parish church of San Cristóbal in Cusco (fig. 64), as masons’ signatures. One wonders if the single, inconspicuous snake carved on the Inka zigzag wall at Saqsawamán might also be interpreted as a kind of pre-Hispanic signature. Given the consistency in the form of these serpents across the city, however, it is unlikely that each represented a true signature of an individual. But perhaps, instead, they referred to a particular association or guild of native masons

---

<sup>173</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 261–267, 280.

<sup>174</sup> George Kubler, *Cuzco*, 11.

*Zoomorphic Architectural Ornament Beyond Cusco*

Federico Kauffman Doig's study of colonial-period Inka-style architecture and architectural ornament in Ayacucho includes a discussion of Andean fauna carved as decorative features within the house of the Velarde Alvarez family. Profile serpents, felines, and lizards encircle the tops of six columns and two puma heads were carved at the bottom of the balustrades of a flight of stairs.<sup>176</sup> The decorative use and interior context of these zoomorphic figures are unlike the serpents and pumas found on Inka-style walls in Cusco. Yet Kauffman also mentions serpent reliefs carved in high relief on some ashlar of an exterior Inka-style wall of the Casa Carrasco, which once stood two blocks southwest of the town's plaza.<sup>177</sup> These ornaments no longer existed when Kauffman made his study, but this description, which was provided by Ayacucho resident Manuel Bustamante, recalls the appearance of the carved serpents on the Inka-style architecture of Cusco.

Serpents and a lizard were also carved on an Inka doorway that was remodeled during the colonial period at Vilcashuamán, a town eighty kilometers southeast of Ayacucho. At Vilcashuamán, as at Cusco, the colonial and modern town sits directly upon Inka foundations.<sup>178</sup> Like the church of Santo Domingo in Cusco, the church of San Juan Bautista was built within and on top of an Inka structure known as the "Temple of the Sun," which more likely functioned as a pre-Hispanic

---

<sup>175</sup> Mónica Paredes García, personal communication, 2005.

<sup>176</sup> Federico Kauffman Doig, "Influencias 'Inca' en la Arquitectura Peruana," 27–37.

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 18, Pl. 1.

<sup>178</sup> Enrique Gonzalez Carré, Jorge Cosmópolis, and Jorge Lévano, *La Ciudad Inca de Vilcashuamán* (Ayacucho, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1996).



palace or ceremonial hall.<sup>179</sup> In 1880 Charles Weiner illustrated an entryway into this church and one can see five serpents, a lizard, and an unidentified bifurcated form carved on the right door jamb in this drawing (fig. 65).<sup>180</sup> Weiner also published a detail of the lizard (fig. 67), which he referred to as a frog (*grenouille*).<sup>181</sup> The vertical position of this lizard, on all four legs and seen from the back, seems formally related to the lizards on a pair of stele found at the Hacienda Umayo in Sillustani on the shores of Lake Titicaca (fig. 68).<sup>182</sup> The lizard is also found on a cylindrical chulpa, also from Sillustani (fig. 69),<sup>183</sup> but carved lizards do not appear on extant colonial Inka-style architecture in Cusco.

At the beginning of the twentieth-century, the orientation of the church of San Juan Bautista was changed by ninety degrees and fluted columns and a triangular pediment were added to the doorway. In a twentieth-century photograph published by Graziano and Margolies, the serpents appear more like abstract zigzag lines and the lizard and the bifurcated motifs are gone (fig. 66).<sup>184</sup> Beneath the cornice are remnants of plaster that partially cover some of the masonry. If the entire wall had been coated in this kind of plaster when the church was first built, the low-relief carvings on the doorjamb would not have been visible. Thus the possibility remains that some of the low-relief serpents carved on the walls of colonial buildings in Cusco also might once have been hidden from view beneath a thick layer of plaster.

---

<sup>179</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 112–116.

<sup>180</sup> Charles Weiner, *Pérou et Bolivie; récit du voyage* (Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1880), 269.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>182</sup> Alfred Kidder II, "Some Early Sites in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin," *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*, Vol. 27, No. 1 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Peabody Museum, 1944), 15, 35, Pl. 6, #5.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 39; Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 149, fig. 136.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 115, fig. 99.

## *Native Motifs and European Heraldry*

A deeper understanding of the serpents and pumas carved on early colonial Inka-style architecture can be gained by tracing the meanings of these creatures in pre-Hispanic times and during the colonial era as they were received by the Andean and Spanish residents of Cusco. Both serpents and pumas were associated with royalty and change, as well as with water and fertility.<sup>185</sup> The puma was associated with royal men and was an index of places and times of transition in Inka Cusco,<sup>186</sup> but later became conflated with the royal lions in the coat of arms of Castille. Inka kings often identified themselves with the puma and also with the *amaru*. Stone and metal effigies of the Inka kings, which were called *wawkis* and were sometimes referred to as the kings' "brothers," frequently took the form of serpents.<sup>187</sup>

In Inka mythology the serpent had both positive and negative associations. Snakes, lizards, spiders, toads, and other such creatures were used in Inka divination and were considered evil omens. They were indexical of anxiety and change.<sup>188</sup> Amarus could embody the natural destructive forces of lightning, earthquakes, and floods that could be unleashed to reestablish social and natural equilibrium.<sup>189</sup> The revolutionary potential of the *amaru* had special currency in early colonial Peru since,

---

<sup>185</sup> Graziano Gasparini and Luise Margolies, *Inca Architecture*, 68.

<sup>186</sup> R. Tom Zuidema, "The Lion in the City."

<sup>187</sup> Maarten van de Guchte, "Carving the World," 284.

<sup>188</sup> Bernabé Cobo, *Inca Religion and Customs*, book 1, ch. 38, 175; Maarten van de Guchte, "Carving the World," 160–161.

<sup>189</sup> Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996), 6.

before his death in Cajamarca, Atawalpa promised his loyalists that he would reappear to them in Tomebamba in the form of a serpent.<sup>190</sup>

For the Catholic occupiers of Peru, however, the serpent had a more consistently negative connotation as an embodiment of the Devil, temptation, and Man's Fall from Grace as told in the book of Genesis. In the words of Aby Warburg, Christianity considers the serpent "the most provocative symbol of hostility."<sup>191</sup> From the very beginning of their campaign in Peru, Spanish soldiers and priests were acutely aware of what they saw as frequent manifestations of the Devil in the religious experiences of native people.<sup>192</sup> Surely painted or carved representations of serpents in native arts would have confirmed their concerns that the Devil was especially active in the New World. By the beginning of the seventeenth century, Christian writers in Peru directly connected the Andean amaru with the Devil.<sup>193</sup> Yet, even for the Spaniards in Peru, the serpent might not have had entirely evil meanings. This symbol might have evoked ideas not simply of devilry, but also of the Greek caduceus—the snake-entwined staff carried by Hermes, or the miracle of the transformation of Aaron's staff into a snake when he threw it down in front of Pharaoh in the book of Exodus.<sup>194</sup> The serpent is the form through which the Devil tempts Eve in Genesis, yet the text nevertheless maintains that the serpent was still

---

<sup>190</sup> Sabine MacCormack, "Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru," *The American Historical Review* 93:4 (October 1988), 963.

<sup>191</sup> Aby M. Warburg, *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*, translated and with an interpretive essay by Michael P. Steinberg (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 45.

<sup>192</sup> Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes*, 7.

<sup>193</sup> Nicholas Griffiths discusses the equation of the serpent with the Devil in Antonio de la Calancha's *Corónica moralizada* (1639). Nicholas Griffiths, *The Cross and the Serpent*, 5–6. Sabine MacCormack has analyzed Guaman Poma's translation of *amaru* as devil. Sabine MacCormack, "Pachacuti," 974.

<sup>194</sup> Exod. 7:9–10.

one of God's creatures, if indeed the most cunning.<sup>195</sup> Although the serpent was probably most often received as a symbolic representation of evil, this signification might not have been absolute in the minds of the entire Christian population of Cusco. In the years prior to the conclusion of the Council of Trent, there was often greater room for "play" with symbols, images, and their meanings in the colonial Spanish context. The symbol of the serpent likely conveyed multiple messages to many inhabitants of mid-sixteenth-century Peru.

Nevertheless, why would the Spaniards have permitted the appearance of dozens of serpents on the walls of their residential, and sometimes religious, buildings in Cusco? Native stoneworkers might have surreptitiously hidden some low-relief carvings within dark vestibules and under layers of plaster, but not all serpents could have been thus disguised. Very thick plaster would have been required to obfuscate the two high-relief serpents at the doorjambs of the Beaterio de las Nazarenas. The twin serpents on carved lintels could not even have been disguised in this manner. What phenomenon might account for their visible presence?

The answer might lie in the transformation of Inka symbols into conventional heraldic devices during the early years of the colonial period. After the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Peru, the puma, the serpent, the jaguar, and the condor were soon represented within European-style coats of arms given to the Inkas and their descendants (figs. 70, 71).<sup>196</sup> These animals are also depicted as heraldic devices within the headdress (*llawt'u*) worn by Inka figures in seventeenth-century

---

<sup>195</sup> Gen. 3:1.

<sup>196</sup> Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark, <http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/>, fol. 83; Garcilaso, *Comentarios Reales de los Incas*, frontispiece.

painting.<sup>197</sup> In these heraldic compositions the suspended bodies of the serpents dangle and their undulating lateral movement, which is so prominent in the architectural serpents, is disallowed.

As Tom Cummins has argued, through the act of granting Andean nobles the formal right to use pre-Hispanic motifs in their coats of arms, the Spanish Crown mollified, or even nullified, the autochthonous power of these symbols. Native fauna, which once signified the unbounded sovereignty of Inka kings, were recast as emblems of those Andean nobles who had pledged their loyalty to the viceroy of Peru and to the king of Spain. Through this critical manipulation of signs, Inka motifs were stripped of their visual power and the threat that they posed to the viceregal administration.<sup>198</sup> Perhaps the Inka-style snakes and pumas were allowed on lintels and façades of colonial buildings in Cusco because their original symbolic content had been evacuated. Although these peripheral forms were not true heraldic devices, the serpents on walls and doorjambs could have been read, with the European tradition of heraldic emblems in mind, as sanctioned symbols that declared the presence and recognized the labor of the native masons.

#### *A Proliferation of “Inka” Motifs in the Modern Era*

Although most of the zoomorphic ornamentation on colonial Inka-style architecture discussed thus far likely dates to the first decades of the Spanish presence in Peru (1534–1572), it is not possible to limit these architectural motifs exclusively

---

<sup>197</sup> Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ*, 128–140.

<sup>198</sup> Thomas B. F. Cummins, *Toasts with the Inca*, 274–281.

to these decades. Walls like those on the Plazoleta Santo Domingo and on Calle Pumacurco do not have elaborate Spanish-style decorative elements that would help to establish their date of manufacture. Although it is unlikely that indigenous masonry styles would have been employed in Cusco after Viceroy Toledo's reforms in the 1570s, it is conceivable that some Inka-style structures could have been built in the 1780s, when the native uprising led by Tupaq Amaru II incited an indigenous political movement and revival of Inka artistic forms.<sup>199</sup>

More recently, since the 1930s, Cusco has experienced another revival of Inka cultural and artistic forms under the banners of Peruvian nationalism, civic pride in the Inka past, and increased international tourism. As part of this twentieth-century revival, Cusco has seen an explosion of Inka-style ornamentation on the masonry façades and interior walls of public and commercial architecture, though these motifs differ in style from their predecessors (figs. 72–75). The shapes of the serpents frequently carved on these modern walls, for example, are more elongated than in colonial constructions. Modern architects have even added round protuberances to these walls, although they are far more spherical than the protuberances on Inka architecture. Motifs such as alpacas and *urpus* (Inka ceramic vessels), which never appear on either pre-Hispanic or colonial Inka-architecture, are frequently carved on Neo-Inca structures. Indeed, none of these symbols—except for the protuberances—were ever common motifs on Inka architecture in Cusco, but today they have come to symbolize the city's celebrated Inka heritage. In one case, on the Palacio de la Municipalidad built in 1934, the precise arrangement of the stones around the famous

---

<sup>199</sup> See, for example, John Rowe, "El Movimiento Nacional Inca del Siglo XVII," in *Tupaq Amaru II - 1780*, Alberto Flores Galindo, ed. (Lima: Retablo de Papel Ediciones, 1976), 13–66.

twelve-sided stone on Calle Hatunrumiyoc is reproduced in miniature, just below a carved serpent (fig. 75). Like the original twelve-sided stone, which is featured on the label of Cusco's local beer Cusqueña (fig. 76), serpents on masonry walls have become iconic of "Inka-ness" in modern Cusco.

## Conclusions: Tracing Architectural Seams

Inka architectural traditions did not cease in 1534 but, instead, native Andean masons adapted to the new requirements and possibilities of the early colonial era. Architectural forms and ornament were quick to change to suit Spanish tastes, but the breakdown of Inka state iconoclasm also allowed masons greater freedom of visual expression. The abundance of zoomorphic reliefs on Inka-style masonry in the early colonial period may be compared to the proliferation of figural decoration in other Inka visual arts after the collapse of the Inka empire.<sup>200</sup>

Many ashlar from Inka buildings in and around Cusco were reused for colonial building projects, but the zoomorphic reliefs on Inka-style structures were carved after the Spaniards arrived in the city. At least some of these serpents could have been hidden from view, as secret, transgressive symbols of a hope for a return to the pre-Hispanic social order. Where visible, other serpents and pumas might have been understood by the Spanish inhabitants of these buildings in light of—but not specifically as—European heraldic conventions. The shifting meanings of these pre-Hispanic symbols occurred in the context of early colonial Cusco that can be considered a cultural “Third Space,” which, as Homi Bhabha explains the term, “constitutes the discursive conditions of enunciation that ensure that the meaning and symbols of culture have no primordial unity or fixity; that even the same signs can be appropriated, translated, rehistoricized and read anew.”<sup>201</sup>

---

<sup>200</sup> See, for example, Joanne Pillsbury, “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru,” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art* 7, The Cleveland Museum of Art (2002), 68–103.

<sup>201</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, 37.



In the early colonial period, serpents carved on architectural façades in Cusco functioned as symbols that indicated the presence of the native masons themselves. More specifically, these serpents could be the “signatures” of Andean masons who were conscripted from Qollasuyu to build royal Inka houses in Cusco. Based on testimony from Aymara-speaking Indians from the Chucuito province near Lake Titicaca in 1567, Garci Diez de San Miguel recorded that many men from this province had been sent to Cusco to build houses for the Inka kings under the m’ita labor tax system.<sup>202</sup> When the Spanish soldiers arrived in Cusco, they stepped into imperial shoes left empty by the deaths of Atawalpa and Waskar, and drew upon this ready-made labor base for the construction of their own homes and religious edifices. In the fissure between Inka and Spanish domination of the city, these Qolla masons might have returned to a provincial tradition of adorning buildings and doorways with zoomorphic motifs, as they did in the construction of chulpas at Wapaca, Calacota, Cutimbo, and Sillustani. As argued in the previous pages, the serpent, puma, and lizard motifs that are carved on early colonial Inka-style buildings in Cusco and Vilcashuamán are stylistically most similar to sculptural forms from the southern regions of the Inka empire. It is tempting to suggest that a visual trace of the hand of the non-Inka, non-elite, Qolla mason might have emerged from the ruptures in the social and political fabric of Cusco during the pivotal years between the fall of the Inka empire and the establishment of the Viceroyalty of Peru.

Of the architecture of colonial Peru, historian Valerie Fraser wrote that “the Spaniards made use only of such Indian patterns and traditions as could easily be

---

<sup>202</sup> Garci Diez de San Miguel, *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito por Garci Diez de San Miguel en el año 1567* (Lima: Ediciones de la Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1964 [1567]), 116, 160.

incorporated, or subsumed, within their own world view.”<sup>203</sup> This essay has explored a notable exception to that rule. For a fleeting moment during the years of first encounters between the newly-arrived Spaniards and the Andeans of Inka Cusco, native architectural traditions were boldly employed in tandem with elements of Spanish architectural design.

In his sixteenth-century *Instrucción para Descubrir Todas las Guacas del Piro y sus Camayos y Haziendas*, Cristóbal de Albornoz recorded an Inka legend from an area near Lima. He writes, “And the natives around here believe and say that when the Spaniards entered this kingdom, a serpent called *amaro* leapt out of one lake to go to another but, with this news [of the Spaniards’ arrival], it froze and turned to stone.”<sup>204</sup> Like the serpent in Albornoz’s account, the stone serpents or amarus on Inka-style Spanish buildings are a fitting image to symbolize the tumult and anxious transition experienced by native Andeans during the early years of the Spanish occupation of Peru.

---

<sup>203</sup> Valerie Fraser, *The Architecture of Conquest*, 116–119.

<sup>204</sup> “Y los naturales cercanos a ella creen y dicen que, cuando los españoles entraron en estos reinos, salió de la una laguna la culebra llamada amaro para irse a la otra y con la nueva se enfrió y se tornó piedra.” Cristóbal de Albornoz, “Instrucción para Descubrir Todas las Guacas del Piro y Sus Camayos y Haziendas,” in: *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas*, Henrike Urbano and Pierre Duviols, eds., *Historia 16* (Madrid: Historia 16, 1989 [1581–85]), 175.

## Bibliography

- Agurto Calvo, Santiago. *Cuzco; La Traza Urbana De La Ciudad Inca*. Proyecto PER 39. Cusco: UNESCO and Instituto Nacional de Cultura, 1980.
- Agurto Calvo, Santiago, and Elías Mujica B. *Estudios Acerca De La Construcción, Arquitectura y Planeamiento Incas*. Lima: Cámara Peruana de la Construcción (CAPECO), 1987.
- Albornoz, Cristóbal de. "Instrucción para Descubrir Todas las Guacas del Piro y Sus Camayos y Haciendas." In: *Fábulas y mitos de los Incas*. Henríque Urbano and Pierre Duviols, eds. Madrid: Historia 16, 1989 [1581–85].
- Angrand, Léonce. *Imagen del Perú en el Siglo XIX*. Lima: Editor Carlos Milla Batres, 1972.
- Anonymous [Cristóbal de Mena]. *The Conquest of Peru as Recorded by a Member of the Pizarro Expedition*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1929 [1534].
- Bauer, Brian S. *Ancient Cuzco: Heartland of the Inca*. Joe R. And Teresa Lozano Long Series in Latin American and Latino Art and Culture. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2004.
- . *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cusco Ceque System*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998.
- Béjar Navarro, Raymundo. *El Templo Del Sol O Qorikancha*. Cusco: Imprenta Yañez, 1990.
- Betanzos, Juan de. *Narrative of the Incas*. Roland Hamilton and Dana Buchanan, ed. and trans. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996 [1557].
- Bhabha, Homi K. *The Location of Culture*. London and New York: Routledge, 1994.
- Chara Zereceda, Oscar, and Viviana Caparó Gil. *Iglesias del Cusco; Historia y Arquitectura*. Cusco: Editorial Universitaria UNSAAC, 1998.
- "CIA; The World Factbook."  
<http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/geos/vt.html>. Accessed May 23, 2004.
- Cieza de León, Pedro de. *El Señorío de los Incas* [Segunda parte de la Crónica del

- Perú]. Edición de Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois. Madrid: Dastin, 2000 [1553].
- Cobo, Bernabé. *Inca Religion and Customs*. Roland Hamilton, ed. and trans. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990 [1653].
- . *History of the Inca Empire*. Translated and edited by Roland Hamilton from the holograph manuscript in the Biblioteca Capitular y Colombina de Sevilla. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979 [1653].
- Cummins, Thomas B. F. *Toasts with the Inca: Andean Abstraction and Colonial Images on Quero Vessels*. Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Cummins, Tom. "The Madonna and the Horse: Alternative Readings of Colonial Images." In *Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America*. Phoebus 7. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, 1995.
- Dean, Carolyn. *A Culture of Stone: Inka Perspectives on/in Rock*. Forthcoming.
- . *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1999.
- . "Creating a Ruin in Colonial Cusco: Sacsahuamán and What was Made of it." *Andean Past* 5 (1998), 161–183.
- Estete, Miguel de. "Noticia del Perú." *El Descubrimiento y la Conquista del Peru; relación inédita de Miguel de Estete*. Carlos M. Larrea, ed. Quito: Imprenta de la Universidad Central, 1918 [1534].
- Fernández Baca Cosío, Jenaro. *Motivos De Ornamentación De La Cerámica Inca-Cuzco*. Vol. 2. Lima: Librería Studium, 1989.
- Fraser, Valerie. *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- . "Architecture and Imperialism in Sixteenth-century Spanish America." *Art History* 9:3 (September 1986), 325–335.
- Gallagher, Catherine, and Stephen Greenblatt. *Practicing New Historicism*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Garci Diez de San Miguel. *Visita hecha a la provincia de Chucuito por Garci Diez de San Miguel en el año 1567*. Lima: Ediciones de la Casa de la Cultura del Perú, 1964 [1567].
- Garcilaso de la Vega. *Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*.

- Harold V. Livermore, trans. 2 vols. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1966 [1609, 1617].
- . *Comentarios reales de los Incas*. Angel Rosenblat, ed. 2 vols. Buenos Aires: Emecé Editores, 1945 [1609, 1617].
- Gasparini, Graziano, and Luise Margolies. *Inca Architecture*. Patricia J. Lyon, trans. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1980.
- Gisbert, Teresa. *Iconografía y Mitos Indígenas en el Arte*. Gisbert y Cia. S. A. Libreros Editores, 1980.
- Gonzalez Carré, Enrique, Jorge Cosmópolis, and Jorge Lévano. *La Ciudad Inca de Vilcashuamán*. Ayacucho, Peru: Universidad Nacional de San Cristóbal de Huamanga, 1996.
- Grabar, Oleg. *The Mediation of Ornament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992.
- Griffiths, Nicholas. *The Cross and the Serpent: Religious Repression and Resurgence in Colonial Peru*. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1996.
- Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*. Royal Library, Copenhagen, Denmark. <http://www.kb.dk/elib/mss/poma/>. [c.1615].
- Guchte, Maarten van de. “Carving the World: Inca Monumental Sculpture and Landscape.” PhD dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, 1990.
- Gutiérrez, Ramón, Paulo de Azevedo, Graciela M. Viñuales, Esterzilda de Azevedo, Rodolfo Vallín. *La Casa Cusqueña*. Corrientes, Argentina: Departamento de Historia de la Arquitectura, Universidad Nacional del Nordeste, 1981.
- Gutiérrez Samanez, José Carlos. *La Destrucción Del Patrimonio Monumental Del Cusco*. Lima: Lluvia Editores, 2000.
- Harth-Terré, Emilio. *Contribución Al Estudio De La Arquitectura Del Cuzco; Los Ultimos Canteros Incaicos*. Lima: Centro de Estudios Histórico-Militares del Perú, 1958.
- Hemming, John, and Edward Ranney. *Monuments of the Incas*. Boston: Little, Brown, 1982.
- Houston, Stephen D. and Tom Cummins. “Body, Presence, and Space in Andean and

- Mesoamerican Rulership.” In: *Palaces of the Ancient New World*. Susan Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004, 359–398.
- Hyslop, John. *Inka Settlement Planning*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1990.
- . “Chulpas of the Lupaca Zone of the Peruvian High Plateau.” *Journal of Field Archaeology* 4, no. 2 (Summer 1977), 149-70.
- Isbell, William Harris. *Mummies and Mortuary Monuments: A Postprocessual Prehistory of Central Andean Social Organization*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1997.
- Julien, Catherine. *Reading Inca History*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 2000.
- Kauffmann Doig, Federico. *Influencias “Inca” En La Arquitectura Peruana Del Virreinato: “El Fenómeno Huamanguino.”* Lima: Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos, 1965.
- Kendall, Ann Kendall. *Aspects of Inca Architecture: Description, Function, and Chronology*. Oxford: BAR Series, 1985.
- Kidder, Alfred, II. “Some Early Sites in the Northern Lake Titicaca Basin.” *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*. Vol. 27, No. 1. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Peabody Museum, 1944.
- Kolata, Alan L. “Of Kings and Capitals; Principles of Authority and the Nature of Cities in the Native Andean State.” In: *The Archaeology of City-States; Cross-Cultural Approaches*. Chapter 14. Deborah L. Nichols and Thomas H. Charlton, eds. Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1997.
- Kubler, George. “On the Colonial Extinction of the Motifs of Pre-Columbian Art.” In: *Essays in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1961, 14–34.
- . *Cuzco, Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments*. Museums and monuments, 3. Paris: UNESCO, 1952.
- Larco Hoyle, Rafael. *Cusco Histórico*. Lima: Casa editora "La Crónica" y "Variedades," s. a. ltda., 1934.
- Lee, Vincent. *The Lost Half of Inca Architecture*. A paper presented to the Annual Meeting of the Institute of Andean Studies in Berkeley, California. Wilson, Wyoming: Sixpac Manco Publications, 1988.

- MacCormack, Sabine. *Religion in the Andes; Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- . “Pachacuti: Miracles, Punishments, and Last Judgment: Visionary Past and Prophetic Future in Early Colonial Peru.” *The American Historical Review* 93:4 (October 1988), 960–1006.
- . “The Fall of the Incas: A Historiographical Dilemma.” *History of European Ideas* 6:4 (1985), 421–445.
- Menotti, Francesco. *The Inkas: Last Stage of Stone Masonry Development in the Andes*, BAR International Series; 735. Oxford, England: Archaeopress, 1998.
- Morris, Craig. “Enclosures of Power: Multiple Spaces of Inka Administrative Palaces.” In: *Palaces of the Ancient New World*. Susan Toby Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004, 299–324.
- Morris, Craig, and Donald E. Thompson. *Huánuco Pampa: An Inca City and Its Hinterland*. London: Thames and Hudson, 1985.
- Murúa, Martín de. *Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Inças del Perú*. Introduction, notes, and arrangement by Constantino Bayle. Madrid: Biblioteca Missionalia Hispanica 2, Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1946 [1590-1609].
- Nair, Stella Elise. “Of Remembering and Forgetting: The Architecture of Chinchero, Peru from Thupa ‘Inka to the Spanish Occupation.” PhD dissertation, department of architecture, University of California, Berkeley, Spring 2003.
- Niles, Susan A. “Standing Architecture and Misunderstanding Architecture: Form and Function in Inca Great Halls.” Paper presented at the 58<sup>th</sup> Annual Meeting of the Society of Architectural Historians, Vancouver, British Columbia, April 8, 2005.
- . *The Shape of Inca History: Narrative and Architecture in an Andean Empire*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1999.
- . “Niched Walls in Inca Design.” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46:3 (September 1987), 277–285.
- Ogburn, Dennis E. “Power in Stone: The Long-Distance Movement of Building Blocks in the Inca Empire.” *Ethnohistory* 51:1 (Winter 2004), 101–135.
- . “Evidence for Long-Distance Transportation of Building Stones in the Inka

- Empire, from Cuzco, Peru to Saraguro, Ecuador.” *Latin American Antiquity* 15:4 (2004), 419–439.
- Pardo, Luis Alberto. *Historia y Arqueología del Cuzco*. Cusco: Impr. Colegio Militar Leoncio Prado, 1957.
- Paredes García, Mónica. *El Cuzco incaico; Análisis e interpretación de un registro de restos prehispánicos*. Surco, Peru: Ediciones El Santo Oficio Gráficos S.R.L., 2001.
- Pärssinen, Martin. *Tawantinsuyu; The Inca State and Its Political Organization*. Helsinki: SHS, 1992.
- Paternosto, Cesar. *The Stone and the Thread; Andean Roots of Abstract Art*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996.
- Pease García Yrigoyen, Franklin. “Chronicles of Peru (Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries).” *Guide to Documentary Sources the Andes*. Joanne Pillsbury, ed. Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, forthcoming 2007.
- Pillsbury, Joanne. “Inka Unku: Strategy and Design in Colonial Peru.” *Cleveland Studies in the History of Art*. Vol. 7. The Cleveland Museum of Art, 2002, 68–103.
- Pizarro, Pedro. *Relation of the Discovery and Conquest of the Kingdoms of Peru*. Translated into English and annotated by Philip Ainsworth Means. New York: Cortes Society, 1921 [1534].
- Protzen, Jean-Pierre. *Inca Architecture and Construction at Ollantaytambo*. With illustrations by Robert Batson. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- . “Inca Architecture.” In: *The Inca World: The Development of Pre-Colombian Peru, A.D. 1000-1534*. Laura Laurencich Minelli (ed). Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1992, 193–217.
- . “Inca Stonemasonry.” *Scientific American* 254:2 (February 1986), 94–103.
- . “Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting.” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 44:2 (May 1985), 161–182.
- . “Inca Quarrying and Stonecutting.” *Ñawpa Pacha* 21 (1983), 183–214.
- Protzen, Jean-Pierre, and Stella Nair. “Who Taught the Inca Stonemasons Their Skills? A Comparison of Tiahuanaco and Inca Cut-Stone Masonry.” *The Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 56, no. 2 (June 1997): 146–67.



- Protzen, Jean-Pierre and John Howland Rowe. "Hawkaypata: The Terrace of Leisure." In: *Streets; Critical Perspectives on Public Space*. Zeynep Çelik, Diane Favro, and Richard Ingersoll, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994.
- Riegl, Alois Riegl. *Problems of Style; Foundations for a History of Ornament*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992 [1893].
- Rivera Serna, Raúl, ed. "Libro Primero De Cabildos De La Ciudad De Cuzco," [1534]. *Documenta* 4 (1965): 441-80.
- Rowe, John Howland. "La Constitución Inca del Cuzco." *Histórica* 9, no. 1 (July 1985), 35–73.
- . "El Movimiento Nacional Inca del Siglo XVII." In: *Tupac Amaru II -1780*. Alberto Flores Galindo, ed. Lima: Retablo de Papel Ediciones, 1976, 13–66.
- . "What Kind of a Settlement was Inca Cuzco?" *Ñawpa Pacha* 5 (1967), 59-77.
- . Review of *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments*, *American Antiquity* 21:1 (1955)
- . "Inca Culture at the Time of the Spanish Conquest." *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations. Julian Steward, ed. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 143. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963 [1946], 183-330.
- . "An Introduction to the Archaeology of Cuzco." *Papers of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology, Harvard University*; V. 27, No. 2. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Museum, 1944.
- Salazar, Lucy, and Richard L. Burger. "Lifestyles of the Rich and Famous: Luxury and Daily Life in the Households of Machu Picchu's Elite." In: *Palaces of the Ancient New World*. Susan Evans and Joanne Pillsbury, eds. Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 2004, 325–358.
- Salomon, Frank. "'The Beautiful Grandparents': Andean Ancestor Shrines and Mortuary Ritual as Seen through Colonial Records." In *Tombs for the Living: Andean Mortuary Practices*. Tom D. Dillehay, ed. Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1995.
- San Cristóbal, R.P.D. Antonio. *La Casa Virreinal Cuzqueña*. Lima: Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería, Facultad de Arquitectura Urbanismo y Artes, Instituto de Investigación, 2001.

- Sancho de la Hoz, Pedro. *Relación de la Conquista del Peru escrita por Pedro Sancho Secretario de Pizarro, versión castellana con anotaciones por Joaquín García Icazbalceta*. Madrid: Ediciones Jose Porrúa Turanzas, 1962 [1534].
- Squier, Ephraim George. *Peru; Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas*. New York: Henry Holt, 1877.
- Stirling, Stuart. *The Last Conquistador: Mansio Serra De Leguizamón and the Conquest of the Incas*. Stroud: Sutton, 1999.
- Umberger, Emily, and Tom Cummins, eds. *Native Artists and Patrons in Colonial Latin America. Phoebus 7*. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona State University, 1995.
- Urton, Gary, ed. *Animal Myths and Metaphors in South America*. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1985.
- Valcárcel, Luis E. "Cuzco Archaeology." In: *Handbook of South American Indians*. Vol. 2: The Andean Civilizations. Julian Steward, ed. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin, no. 143. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1963 [1946], 177–181.
- Warburg, Aby M. *Images from the Region of the Pueblo Indians of North America*. Translated and with an interpretive essay by Michael P. Steinberg. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Weiner, Charles. *Pérou et Bolivie; récit du voyage*. Paris: Librairie Hachette, 1880.
- Xerez, Francisco de. *Verdadera relación de la conquista del Perú*. Edición de Concepción Bravo. Crónicas de América 14. Madrid: Historia 16, 1985 [1534].
- Zuidema, R. Tom. "The Lion in the City: Royal Symbols of Transition in Cuzco." *Journal of Latin American Lore* 9, no. 1 (1983): 39-100.

This thesis has had referenced material (illustrations) removed in respect for the owner's copyright. A complete version of this document, which includes said referenced material, resides in the University of Maryland, College Park's library collection.