

# INKA CUBISM

Reflections on Andean Art

ESTHER PASZTORY





To the memory of Alan Sawyer and Ed Lanning

“And this may, indeed explain the exceptional character of CADUVEO? Art: that it makes it possible for Man to refuse to be made in God’s image.”

-C. Lévi-Strauss, *Tristes Tropiques* (1967), p. 172



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## PERSONAL PREFACE

I have been interested in Andean art since entering graduate school in 1965. I came to Columbia to study what was then called “Primitive Art” and wrote my Master’s Essay on African Art. However, quite early, I became more fascinated by the mysteries of ancient America and changed my major to Pre-Columbian art, which consisted of Mesoamerican and Andean art. I can thank my training in the Andes to Alan Sawyer in art history and Ed Lanning in archaeology. Sawyer was a visiting professor and came to class with several trays of slides of unpublished works. Eventually, he let me duplicate some for my classes, many of which I still use. Lanning was a processual archaeologist in the anthropology department and showed no slides at all. He referred to art as “the fancy stuff” and did not discuss it. I learned to appreciate Andean culture from both of them.

For many years, my research concentrated on the Mesoamerican site of Teotihuacan; I was awed by the enormity of its architecture and challenged by the lack of information on its imagery. I sought to explain why Teotihuacan imagery lacked references to dynastic rulership and even to human figures in general – unlike most Mesoamerican representation. Much symbolism was either benign, impersonal or even standardized. I concluded that imagery was not being used to convey conflict and power but rather order and harmony. These values did not necessarily characterize Teotihuacan as a culture in action but they seem to have been its ideological profile. In my conclusion, I compared and contrasted Teotihuacan with other ancient cultures without dynastic representations, such as the Shang and Chou period arts of China, the Harappan civilization of the Indus valley, feeling that they had particularly strong parallels with Andean art. As I put it in the conclusion of *Teotihuacan: An Experiment in Living*, 1997:

“I therefore see Teotihuacan as a rebellion against the norms of Mesoamerican life and art, an experiment in living differently, and the creation of an ‘Andean’-style culture out of Mesoamerican building blocks. I imagine that the people of Teotihuacan would have been fascinated by objects such as the Tello Obelisk with its design of male and female caymans giving plants, the Gateway God of Tiahuanaco with its anonymous attendants, the endlessly varied and complicated Paracas embroidered beings, and the fragmented and distorted Huari textiles. They would have been fascinated by a world of nuanced image systems without writing (p.244).

I have continued these contrasts and parallels in *Pre-Columbian Art* (Cambridge University Press, 1998) in greater detail through all the major cultures of ancient America. I fleshed out the contrast of Mesoamerican representation glorifying anthropomorphic protagonists and scenes of conflict with the Andean insistence on more cosmic themes of order and organization. I argued that each region had a dominant “climate” or point of view but that one art and culture in each seemed to go in the opposite direction: Teotihuacan was more “Andean” in character, while the Moche were more “Mesoamerican.” These observations led me to discuss the nature of “traditions” and how much control they have over cultures:

“One of the most interesting facets of the comparison between regions is that it shows that tradition can be radically changed and opposed for a time, even though their main underlying ideals may last for over a thousand years. It also shows that tradition is not an inexorable force, but can be turned aside, modified, or abandoned within successive cultures” (p.164).

The Andean approach to representation is spelled out in the individual monuments discussed, such as the Inka Sayhuite Stone: “There is a strong respect for the form of the natural



boulder from which it is carved, the architectural forms provide the honorific manmade aspect, while the animal figures refer directly to the powers of the cosmos. Man is not the subject of the monument. He is on the outside performing ritual in which the rock participates. Man creates the network, the system, the idea and works through the organization and the essence of things rather than through his own theatrical appearance in images” (p.163).

This book had been extensively used as a text in Pre-Columbian art courses until it went out-of-print recently. Evidently, it was too expensive to reprint. My most recent comparative paper was on human sacrifice. (“Sacrifice as Reciprocity: Mesoamerican and Andean,” in *Adventures in Pre-Columbian Studies*, ed. Julie Jones, The Pre-Columbian Society of Washington, D.C., 2010; pp.120-136). In this study, I argued that while human sacrifice was practiced in both areas, its meaning and context was determined by the prevailing ideologies of each area. I described the Mesoamerican approach as “Dionysiac” while the Andean as “Apollonian.”

Apart from comparisons, I lectured and wrote on a variety of Andean topics starting with Inka stonework in 1983, Andean aesthetics in 1997, Moche and other portrait heads in 2000, and featherwork in 2008. Perhaps more significant for this project was a talk entitled “The Fancy Stuff: Western Perspectives on Andean Art” (2003). Familiarity with the Andean material was crucial in my synthesis of the global development of art in *Thinking with Things* (2005). I took the term “insistence” to refer to the underlying nature of an art and culture from a book on the Inka quipu (Urton 2003).

Given the extent to which Andean art and scholars have affected my theoretical thinking, it is not surprising that I chose to pull my ideas together for a book. In many ways this book was inspired by forty years of teaching lectures and seminars on Andean art as well as mentoring a

dozen M.A. and Ph.D. students some of whom are now highly respected professionals in this field. I illustrated these lectures partly with slides of photographs I had taken in Peru.

My aim in most of my Andean work has been to elucidate the basic nature of Andean art in its cultural context and its permutations in the various individual cultures. The nature of this art is not obvious and self-explanatory, in that it goes against the grain of Western (and Mesoamerican) insistence. It takes some time to understand how complex the seemingly simple images are because they are generally not naturalistic. I argue that Andean art most resembles Western Conceptual art, in which the idea is more important than the appearance or even the visibility of the work of art.

I argue that Andean art and thought represents another way of creating a civilization than the Mesoamerican and Egypto-Mesopotamian traditions we are familiar with. This is illustrated most deeply between the difference in hieroglyphic writing and the Andean coding device, the yarn quipu. Long considered secondary in intellectual development, the quipu is a part of an Andean visual system that is rich and complex on its own terms. The aim of my text is to bring out the unique traits of Andean insistence so that it can be more deeply appreciated for its difference. I felt that such “reflections” on Andean art would be useful alongside the more usual handbooks and textbooks long on detail but sometimes short on overall interpretations.

In so far as I once chose Teotihuacan as my subject, I was selecting an art that reminded me of the Andes. Studying the Andes I have now gone to the source.

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## INTRODUCTION

Less than a handful of books have been written on Andean art because Andean art does not fit well into Western concepts of art. In this book I explore some of the ways in which Andeans related to things and images. This book is not a handbook of Andean art and culture but an analysis of certain Andean artistic issues and problems.<sup>1</sup> Existing surveys of Andean art and culture do a good job of educating the interested public and students in the basics of the material.<sup>2</sup> Andean art is fascinating because of its many differences from the art of other early civilizations and therefore Western expectations. It broadens our horizons of what ancient people thought about and were capable of in the past. Moreover, it holds up a mirror to our civilization and its concerns. Here I analyze the concept of art as understood in Western culture and how it has been applied to Andean art over the centuries. An attempt is made to interpret Andean art in terms of an Andean world view while recognizing the fact that this too is an artifact of our thinking.

This book is about the art of Peru and Bolivia from about 3000 BC to the Conquest by the Spanish in 1531-32. The time and space of this culture area used to be called “Ancient Peru.” But in the interest of greater inclusivity and less emphasis on modern nationality, it has been renamed “the Andes.” However, the Andean designation is not familiar to most people who do not think of it as the area with the high Andean mountains to which it refers. When most people think of the prehispanic inhabitants of South America, they think of the Inka. While in fact the Inka were only the last historic culture of the Andes, their name often refers to all of the Andes in book titles, TV specials, movies, and other media. I chose to use it for my title because of its immediate recognizability and resonance. Moreover, I, as many others, will discuss the ancient Andes in part through the lens of the Inka.

The word “cubism” in my title may be startling in combination with “Inka” because it is an exclusively Western term that refers to the creation of abstract art by Picasso and Braque around 1911. Vauxcelles, a well known art critic in Paris, baffled by their new art in an exhibition, dubbed it derisively as “Peruvian cubism,” from which the term “cubism” originates (Penrose 1981, p. 148). Whatever he knew of Peru was likely to be little but it certainly meant something far away, exotic, and primitive. As he most likely did not know, Andean art, including that of the Inka, is indeed stronger in abstraction than in naturalistic representation. One of the aims of this book is to analyze why abstraction rather than naturalism was the Andean mode of representation.

Although the book is about “art” in the vernacular meaning of the term, it is understood that the concept of art is a Western concept and does not correlate with anything Andean. Over the years, scholars, collectors, dealers, museum curators, and others selected objects that, from the Western point of view, exhibited superior form and craftsmanship and fitted within Western styles of art. Although anthropologists designate all objects as “material culture,” they have tended to accept the “art” designations created by the art world. As I discussed in *Thinking with Things*, there is no indwelling quality in objects that make them “art” – individuals and societies decide what is art for their own reasons. For my purposes, art objects are things made or found that seem to have communicated on a visual or cognitive level among ancient Americans as well as with us.

What is the use of separating out such a vaguely defined corpus of “art” from the rest of Andean material culture? The answer is that they provide us with another source of information. We have an important source of information in the sixteenth-century chronicles and manuscripts. We have another source in the archaeological surveys and excavations. “Art” provides a third

source that is particularly valuable because the things analyzed were made by the Andeans and express Andean values directly. The analysis of art can result in the interpretation of some non-material aspects of culture, such as world view. My book is pushing the interpretation of these complex and multivalent things we call art towards the specificity of Andean character as we know it from recent anthropological research. The art and culture of the Andes were rescued from being considered second rate by scholars who argued for their unusual and exceptional character in comparison with the other ancient cultures of the world. A new generation of scholars has focused more on what the Andes share in the process of evolution with other cultures rather than their uniqueness. It is clear that both attitudes are valuable but in this narrative I focus more on what is special about the Andes rather than their parallels. The Andes went through their evolution into states and empires in their own unique ways.

While the aim of the book is to recover Andean ideas in things, it is obvious that it is done from a Western perspective. No matter how much we know, we can't become "Andean." Even the search to understand the Andes is a Western search. All we can do is to be conscious of our and our culture's Western perspectives all along – as I am being in the title of "Inka Cubism." By the "West," I mean both the scholarly and popular cultures of Europe and its derivatives in the world since the sixteenth century, but mostly spanning the last three centuries. These include the concept of art as a transcendent experience, the preference for naturalistic representation, and a liking for big stone monuments. It also includes a devaluation of decorative ornament and any kind of roughness or crudity. Western values have generally enshrined originality and denigrated craft. Seen through such lenses it is evident that, with few exceptions, Andean art fell short in Western eyes and was not much appreciated. It is a truism that we can only see in another culture what exists in our own. So it was that with the emergence of Cubism

in the West, many Andean things became “beautiful” and “interesting” works of art. Subsequent developments in Western abstraction, especially Conceptual art of the second half of the twentieth century have brought out many hitherto unappreciated aspects of Andean art and culture. New aspects may yet be revealed by new movements in Western art. Hence, any discussion of Andean art is also a dialogue with Western ideas.

Although the text is arranged more or less in the customary chronological time period order, it is actually more thematic than chronological. Each Andean chapter has a brief, basic introduction to the culture as a whole before the analysis of its art and architecture. The first chapter, on the Western reception of Andean art, sets the parameters for later discussion. I argue that Andean art has not been appreciated in the West as much as other ancient traditions because of its conceptual rather than mimetic nature. I trace some of the developments of Western appreciation and relate them to recent anthropological reconstructions of Andean culture. These reconstructions of economy and social structure go far in providing explanations for those aspects that have puzzled Westerners. Much of this work was pioneered by John Murra and his followers.

This chapter is followed by a discussion of whether the Inka state was a benevolent or malevolent organization, an issue that is deeply embedded in the literature and affects the Western evaluation of all Andean cultures. The Inka state controlled all aspects of its subjects' lives in a way that has been considered either “totalitarian” or benignly “utopian.” This is particularly relevant because I will relate the conceptual nature of Andean art to sociopolitical organization.

The chapter on Chavín art is selected for discussion next because of its paradigmatic nature. The complex and enigmatic reliefs are interpreted through the structuralism of Claude

Lévi-Strauss and I argue that Chavín makes a systematic and rational statement of the Andean world view in works of art that were not meant to be “beings” but visual diagrams. This world view is apparent in all the later cultures but appears here first in microcosm.

The fourth chapter picks up the earlier Preceramic architecture topic within the larger thematic rubric of architecture. There is a great quantity of interesting architecture in the Andes, but most books discuss mainly the spectacular Inka monuments and disregard the rest. Because of its important socio-political features I emphasize the role and nature of Andean architecture both in the early and late pre-Inka periods and I relate them to communal labor organization. I argue that architecture as shelter was a metaphor for the state and polity.

In Chapter 5, I note that Andeans rarely made large or colossal images in stone and that most of their works, including textiles, precious metals, and pottery were generally small in scale and intended for face to face contacts and not large scale theatrical displays, as it was a society based on kinship or the metaphor of kinship. As it has been pointed out by many scholars, such as John Murra and Anne Paul, textiles were the most important medium in the Andes and were mostly clothing for social and funeral occasions signifying identity. The necessity to work out a textile mentally before it is woven may be responsible in part for the Andean conceptual attitude.

The Moche were the major exception to the general conceptual nature of Andean art which at this point no one can explain fully. This chapter is concerned with the issue of why the Moche chose a naturalistic mode of self representation when their neighbors and successors preferred a more stylized artistic language. I discuss the role that such explicitness of representation may have played in Moche society.

The chapter on stone sculpture, like the one on architecture, seeks to put the well-known sculptures in the lesser known context of Highland sculptural traditions as a whole. I am



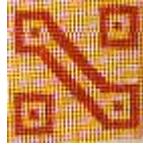
interested in discerning what is Andean in general from what is innovative in Tiwanaku. Despite the apparent emphasis on colossal human figures, Tiwanaku sculptures, like most Andean art, do not emphasize the body.

Chapters 8 and 9 focus on the remarkable fact that in the late periods there is less emphasis on images altogether, indicating that the image is less necessary to the negotiation of power. Among the Chimú, images tend to become repetitive decoration of harmless creatures. The minimalist geometric explorations in Inka art and architecture are seen as the highest development in this process. By comparison to the systematic restraint of Inka objects, Colonial continuations of Andean forms are striking in the freedom and haphazardness of their designs indicating the breakdown of the Pre-Columbian social order.

The conclusion deals largely with the question of why the cultures of the Andes emphasized concepts rather than the anthropomorphic figure in their representations. I argue that they chose to deal with reality with a certain immediacy of contact which did not require human images as intermediate forms of mediation, as in their emphasis on barter that did not require the mediation of markets and money.

As most of my previous publications dealt with Mesoamerica, Teotihuacan, the Aztecs, or art theory, I cannot help but look on the Andes in a comparative perspective and mention parallels or differences in the text when appropriate to highlight the Andean situation. Mesoamerican art is closer in spirit to Mesopotamian, Egyptian, and even Classical Antiquity, in its emphasis on the representation of the human figure and particularly on the quantity of stone sculptures. The Western reader is likely to be more familiar with these traditions. In its conceptual approach, abstraction, stylization and ornament, Andean art has been and remains

more of a challenge. Andean art and culture represent another way an ancient civilization was created and the themes I emphasize are a small step toward its understanding.



## **Chapter 1. ANDEAN ART: FROM OBSCURITY TO BINARY CODING**

I have pondered long the less-valued reception of Andean art and culture in the West, a difference that goes back to the time of the Conquest and persists to the present day. Mexico was conquered first, and with their grisly sacrifices, dramatic idols and painted books, the Aztecs captured the imagination of the West immediately. They came to symbolize the New World and were the quintessential “barbaric empire.” To a Westerner, Mesoamerica is instantly comprehensible, and my exploration of the ancient New World began there as a matter of course. What did Peru have but endless sixteenth-century descriptions of gold melted down and the non-aesthetic knotted recording device called the khipu? Furthermore, the lack of grisly sacrifices was not a plus for Peru – as it turns out, the Western imagination has been feasting on Aztec sacrifice, while at the same time disapproving of it, for over four hundred years. There were some nice textiles in Peru, but the West never valued textiles, an observation which is evidenced by the fact that hardly any Andean textiles sent to Europe in the sixteenth century survive. In sum, in comparison to the Aztecs and Maya of Mesoamerica, the Andes were seen as dull and backward. According to native writers like Garcilaso de la Vega or Guaman Poma, or men like Betanzos who married native women, the wonderful thing about the Inka Empire was its order and organization. Order and organization was not what the West applauds in a “barbaric empire” because Europeans felt – and still feel – that their order was and is superior to any other. To the Peruvians, the order the Europeans established was cruel and chaotic. It seems now that the European idea of order was closer to that of the Aztecs, revolving around competing lords, markets, currency, entrepreneurship, war, and burnings at the stake for heretical transgressions.

An Inka type of “benevolent” bureaucracy is not a Western ideal, especially today when the “welfare state” and “big government” – to say nothing of “socialism” – are all shunned.

Western valuations have affected not just sixteenth-century writers, but contemporary ones as well, and these valuations have been mostly negative. While Mesoamerica is often compared to classical Antiquity (the Maya being the Greeks of the New World, while the Aztecs are the Romans), the Inkas are often merely compared to the Aztecs, and secondarily also to the Romans. Pizarro began the comparison in the Conquest itself, taking Atahualpa hostage in the beginning much like Cortes did Montezuma ten years earlier in Mexico. For the West, Andeans always come in second best in the New World and last in world antiquity, as is indicated by a 1957 passage on art by J. Alden Mason:

“The ancient Peruvians erected no Parthenons or Colosseums, they carved no Venus de Milo, they painted no masterpiece. Their architecture was characterized by massiveness rather than by beauty, remarkable for its stupendous masonry rather than for its art. Stone sculptures are rare on the coast, ponderous and severe in the highlands. It was on the smaller objects, the pottery vessels, the textiles and the metal-work that the Peruvian artist lavished his skill and his creative art. Art was a constant element in his daily life, not an interest apart from it. However it was as a craftsman – or craftswoman – rather than as an artist that the Peruvian was pre-eminent. As weavers, potters, and goldsmiths they could hold their heads proudly among their peers anywhere in the world. And in the textile industry the Peruvian woman is considered by many technical experts to have been the foremost weaver of all time.”<sup>1</sup>

What is amazing in this passage is not just that Mason sees Andean art as lesser than the art of the West, but also his puzzlement about it: Why wasn't it better, and why does it not stand up to other ancient arts? He has no answer to this. In the 1950s cultures were popularly believed

to have their own individual “genius” and the Andean one was simply very limited. More devastating is his comment that the Andeans were great in “craft” but not in “art.” For centuries in the West craft has been seen as an unoriginal, imitative, secondary enterprise. Being the best in a craft was faint praise indeed. And this passage was written by someone who wrote a book on Peru and was generally sympathetic to Peruvian culture.

Westerners were more able to appreciate Mesoamerican culture because it is more similar to the West, while Andean cultures are more alien. Actually, some aspects of Andean culture are more like Asian cultures, and the modern Japanese in particular have been very interested in Andean art. Mesoamerican art is concerned with easily recognizable drama while Andean art deals in harder-to-discover subtleties. The Western view of Andean objects begins in the sixteenth century with the destruction of heathen idols, more a religious than an aesthetic statement. Textiles, pottery, woodcarving were mostly not figurative in Inka times and not a threat to Christianity. In any case these changed on their own as the Pre-Columbian rules of design slackened and European motifs were gradually accepted. The transformation into Colonial style was another way of both survival and destruction for the Inka tradition: while Colonial written recording was exhaustive, the actual things of the Pre-Conquest past were gradually disappearing. We now take Cobo’s 1653 description of the ceque shrines<sup>2</sup> and Colonial descriptions of textile techniques<sup>3</sup> and try to match them up with what survives. While craft techniques and big stones were praised by Colonial writers, they had no aesthetic attitude; they merely admired feats of human ingenuity and superhuman strength.

They had no aesthetic attitude for the good reason that the West had not yet developed a universal concept of aesthetics. Had they been familiar with Aristotelian concepts, those would have revolved around *mimesis*, or the realistic imitation of nature, which would have been of

little use with the Peruvian material.<sup>4</sup> Our current idea of art and aesthetics were developed in the eighteenth century and had everything to do with the waning of religious issues in science and philosophy. As proof in the Supreme Creator was deemed impossible, “divinity” was discerned in various aspects of human life. The supreme creation of man, “art” was elevated to the status of divinity itself and art objects were separated from ordinary or lesser things. The eighteenth century recognized that “art” existed in the past and among non-Western peoples.<sup>5</sup> In a remarkably tolerant fashion, philosophers like Kant believed that art was not only universal but was beautiful often only for the people who made it and did not have to be appreciated by everyone to be “art.” This transcendent concept of art had a long history from the narrower concept of *mimesis* through Renaissance Italy, where artists were eager to increase their social and financial status by acquiring the higher reputation of humanists and scientists rather than the lower ones of “craftsmen.” The division of “art” and “craft” became significant at this time. Art became something mystical or metaphysical and thus not easily describable in order to remove the label of the “craftsperson” dealing with materials. In the Early Modern period artists sought to acquire higher status as humanists and scientists. The idea of godlike “genius” was encouraged by writers such as Vasari, who called Michelangelo “divine.” This trend was rather exclusive to Italy in the sixteenth century while in Spain, where the Conquistadors and missionaries came from, had a more medieval concept of art as “craft.” Even if they were well learned in Latin authors, the chroniclers were far in attitude from the artistic circles in Italy.

Therefore it remained throughout the eighteenth century that the aesthetic attitude was introduced to the ancient Andes in the form of cultivated travelers. The closed worlds of Colonial Latin America were being opened by a more permissive Spanish crown and by local independence movements. This was a second discovery of the New World, not by conquistadors

but by wealthy and scientific-minded Europeans. Baron Alexander Von Humboldt was the most famous and celebrated of them.<sup>6</sup> He received world renown for the description of the natural wonders of Latin America on his return to Paris in 1804. Generally more interested in volcanoes than in “art,” he had an eighteenth century concept of art and, in Mexico, turned his attention to sculptures and manuscripts. Colonial Aztec illustrated manuscripts were eagerly collected in Mexico because of the interest in reconstructing native history and the presence of intriguing hieroglyphs. But Humboldt thought the paintings and sculptures were crude and worthy only of historic interest. Nevertheless, he illustrated some of these works and thus made it possible for scholars in Europe to study them. Humboldt was apparently enough of a Kantian in spirit to record “art” he did not particularly like. The illustration of exotic monuments was a key to the creation of aesthetics and more specifically art history from the eighteenth century on.

The traveler who put Andean art on the map was another naturalist, the Baron Alcide d’Orbigny, who was the first traveler to describe and illustrate the monuments of Tiwanaku in Bolivia and to enthuse over the colossal Gate of the Sun. This is how D’Orbigny narrated the encounter with an imaginary native intermediary:

“The first object I saw [at “Tiaguanaco”] had saved me from the disappointment that I felt at the first view of Peruvian monuments in my promenade around the lake [Titicaca].

“‘Don’t be surprised’, said Diego to me, ‘the monolithic portal you have before your eyes and whose surprising conservation attest to its solidity must have survived all storms because it did not tempt the cupidity of the conqueror. Its grandeur and mass as well as the singularity of the architectural system to which it belongs attest to the existence and passing of a nation that I see as more ancient and much more powerful than the nation of the Inka. Look at these colossal



statues, these enclosures surrounded by enormous pillars; contemplate this manner of construction whose stones cede nothing in dimension to the monuments of ancient Egypt . . . ?

“While Diego was talking to me, I saw only a laborer driving his cart at the foot of the ruins..little concerned about Peruvian history and archaeology.”<sup>7</sup>

Besides having great stone monuments, Tiwanaku was of interest to the explorer because of its apparent antiquity, unfamiliarity even to most natives and thus its availability to the European scholar-connoisseur. In a sense, Tiwanaku could be appropriated as part of a universal human heritage.

Like the Aztec Calendar Stone, the Gate of the Sun became symbolic of the achievements of the Andean in European eyes. Many subsequent travelers to South America searched out the famous gate at Tiwanaku, and even for those who did not travel it became emblematic of the achievements of the Inka through its illustrations. It is easy to see why that monument was singled out: first of all, it is stone, and the ancient works most valued in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were stone carvings – like the Greek and Roman remains. Circa 1800 is when Napoleon conquered Egypt and had its stone monuments brought to the newly created museum of the Louvre. Circa 1800 is when Lord Elgin removed the carvings off the Parthenon and shipped them to the British Museum. “Art” then signified a stone monument. The Gate of the Sun is not only stone but is very large, weighing ten tons, with the doorway opening about the size of a man. Any non-Western colossal monument excites Western admiration, a trend going all the way back Antiquity and the Seven Wonders of the World, most of which were colossal. Revealingly, admiration for the Gate of the Sun went so far as to imagine it as bigger than it actually was. In Squier’s 1877 travel account of Peru, the gate in the illustration is big enough for a man on horseback to pass under the opening. Robert Bradley suggested that the

engraver consciously or unconsciously made it look like a European triumphal arch.<sup>8</sup> This triumph was the discovery of the greatness of pre-Inka civilization and the antiquity of Andean culture.

Unfortunately, however, the Gate of the Sun and other Tiwanaku sculptures were unique in size and fineness of cutting – other Peruvian stone sculptures were either crude or apparently purely ornamental. (“Disappointing,” as D’Orbigny put it.) There was a great deal more interest in Maya stone sculpture with its elegant naturalism that was reminiscent of Classical Greek art. And even at its best, Tiwanaku was reminiscent only of its less accomplished forerunner, Egypt.

Andean artifacts were collected as curios and scientific specimens throughout the nineteenth century, but the only objects that received unqualified admiration were the naturalistic Moche (then known as Chimú) portrait heads. As some of these collections were given to museums around 1900, it is the heads that were singled out in publications and critical evaluations.<sup>9</sup> What does it mean when Westerners admire naturalism in a non-Western tradition? First of all, it is a favorable comparison with our culture and an indication that others have met our idea of civilization and aesthetics, which is at the highest level of development in our estimation. Second, it is amazement and applause that people at a lower level of culture could match our standards of representation. Third, indeed it makes the people of an ancient culture less remote when you see them frown and smile and look into your eyes – it makes those people “real.” Westerners desire to get to know the non-West, they just don’t know how. The portrait heads are wonderful entry points. We now know that the heads were made in a small area for a short period of time which means that, for Andeans, naturalism was not the dominant form of visual communication. We are appreciating an aberration rather than the norm. In appreciating the heads Westerners are admiring their own art and traditions and ignoring that of the Andeans.

The only Western artist of the nineteenth century to have been interested in Peruvian objects was Paul Gauguin, who is mostly known for his exotic depictions of Tahitian subjects. Less known is the fact that Gauguin was born in Peru and spent his early childhood there and had memories of it. He made ceramic self-portrait vessels of himself in imitation of the Moche portrait heads and in one painting he depicted his self-portrait vessel in a still life with the exotic addition of a Japanese print.

It is the theme of this essay that, for better or worse, Andean things cannot be seen except through a Western lens, and there are now a growing number of lenses.

While nineteenth-century Western art was slowly going in the direction of simple unornamented forms in art and architecture – a trend which was to culminate in the famous “less is more” statement attributed to Mies van der Rohe – a nineteenth century nostalgic countercurrent, such as the Arts and Crafts movement, was particularly interested in ornament and design. This was related to the anthropological debate as to whether “art” began in abstraction and eventually became more naturalistic, or whether it began in naturalism and degenerated into abstraction. Examples could be found either way among the objects of “primitive” groups such as the South Sea Islanders or Native Americans. Ornament thus had a major role to play in evolutionary theories of art in the nineteenth century. It was widely believed that “primitives” covered all surfaces in pattern in response to a *horror vacui*, that is, as a kind of apotropaic device that warded off evil. This was expressed most succinctly in the beginning of the twentieth century by Wilhelm Worringer, who created a developmental series of artistic types on the basis of Hegel’s aesthetics.<sup>10</sup> He divided arts into the primitive, classical, oriental and gothic (medieval). He derided the idea of the “noble savage” and claimed that primitive man “lives in a relationship of gloomy spiritual fear to the outer world” and in a state of “intense

metaphysical anxiety” that makes him create “symbols of the absolute in geometric . . . forms.” Worringer continues, “He seeks further geometrical possibilities of line, creates triangles, squares, circles, places similarities together, discovers the advantages of regularity, in short creates a primitive ornament which provides him not only with a mere delight in decoration and play, but with a table of symbolic absolute values, and therefore with the appeasement of his condition of deep spiritual distress.”<sup>11</sup> An art of pure ornament was therefore a sign of the primitive. Ornament in association with “Classical” and or “Gothic” arts was less reprehensible in that it was secondary and playful rather than serious.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, many books were published on ornament to appeal to popular taste, some of which had included designs from Peruvian textiles. In Speltz’s *The History of Ornament: Design in the Decorative Arts* (1915), the Peruvian objects, mainly textiles, are the first two plates, and stand for “primitive” beginnings which are mainly geometric, following Worringer’s typology.<sup>12</sup> Stylized but more figurative, Egyptian designs follow next. The Andean textiles come from Reiss and Stubel’s excavation on the Central Coast of Peru, published in the 1880s.<sup>13</sup> It is significant that the pieces are from recent archaeology and not sixteenth-century examples in museums or collections which were nonexistent.

A now famous textile in the Brooklyn Museum excited great interest after 1911 when it was found in southern Peru.<sup>14</sup> Taken to Paris in the 1920s and exhibited at the the Musee de l’Homme, the ninety or so needleknitted border figures, in their strange conventionalization and mysterious detail, were of interest to the art-world capital, which had just seen the birth of cubism and was fascinated by the exotic. In a cleverly worded and derogatory article, the critic Vauxcelles inadvertently coined the name of the new style as “cubism,” from the phrase “Peruvian cubism,” which he accused Picasso of creating.<sup>15</sup> It is unclear what Vauxcelles was

referring to as “Peruvian,” but there were Peruvian objects of various kinds in the Musée de l’Homme which was being frequented by artists looking for “primitive” art. Earlier, around 1889, Gauguin seems to have taken the pose of a Peruvian mummy in the museum as a model for one of his Breton Eve paintings.<sup>16</sup> However, Picasso had no such personal connection with Peru. Like the artists, Vauxcelles may have frequented the Musée de l’Homme whether he was sympathetic to the primitivist search of artists or not and may have seen its stylized and geometric Peruvian pieces, perhaps textiles, through Worringer-type negative ideas, which came to mind in seeing Picasso’s non-figurative abstractions. This may have given rise to the “Peruvian cubism” phrase used to describe the new and outlandish art of Picasso. Thus Andean textiles came into the orbit of Modern Art but were not as influential as the African and Oceanic sculptures were. Strangely enough, the painters preferred sculpture to two-dimensional things in exotica, perhaps because of the general bias against textiles, basketry, and “ornament.”

Peruvian designs, did, however, inspire Peruvian artists, such as the Izcue sisters, who made fabrics based on ancient textiles. The reworking of ancient or folk motifs in modern design was popular in the beginning of the twentieth century when composers such as Bartok and Kodaly collected folk music and blended it with high art. Elena Izcue treasured her native textiles and studied with Leger.<sup>17</sup> She wanted both worlds in one in her designs. As Means wrote, artists like her knew what was appropriate to modern times in the works of the past and what was not. As Means put it, Elena Izcue in her designs had “the ability to separate from the highly esoteric ancient model its aesthetic kernel and further the ability to interpret the very essence of the design in modern and practical form.”<sup>18</sup> The Brooklyn textile traveled with the Izcue sisters’ show to New York and was eventually bought by the Brooklyn Museum. There, too, the justification of the purchase was not that it was a great work of art but that it would have a good

effect on modern design.<sup>19</sup> Peruvian objects were appreciated more as “design” – a modern version of the concept of “craft” – than as “art” during the first half of the twentieth century.

Perhaps the moment when Andean art was recognized somewhat as “art” was in 1954, when the Museum of Modern Art put on an exhibition of it for the first time in an art museum. As exhibitions of Mesoamerican, Native American, and Oceanic art had already preceded Andean art, it was thus a latecomer in the Museum of Modern Art and was installed there partly to round out the encyclopedic picture. Andean art was explained in the text using the anthropological terms of up-to-date cultural studies, and only a few aesthetic comments were made by D’Harnoncourt in his introduction: “One of the most striking characteristics of the high civilizations of Peru is their common emphasis on sheer excellence of technique, the more noteworthy since mastery of the various media is nowhere accompanied by evidence of mechanical inventiveness. Spontaneity is not characteristic of late Peruvian art.”<sup>20</sup> The arts he liked were Inka stonework, Moche pottery, Paracas textiles and most of all the Wari- and Tiwanaku-style works. It is evident from the objects selected for exhibit and the venue of the Museum of Modern Art that Andean art was seen as quintessentially modern and a “cubistic” antecedent of modern art. In 1989, the Argentinian artist Cesar Paternosto eloquently expressed what is *not* explicit in the Museum of Modern Art catalogue.<sup>21</sup> He tried to demonstrate the idea that Native American art, and especially Peruvian art, was in fact at the heart of abstract art in the twentieth century Americas, both South and North, particularly in the 1930s and 40s, but that the debt had not been adequately understood. Paternosto went so far as to suggest that retrospectively Andean abstraction is a kind of ancestral root of all abstraction, regardless whether it was recognized as such at the time.

It is from the 1920s and 30s that one can talk of a wider appreciation of Andean art through the diverse lenses of modernism. From this point of view, some of the favorite objects were Wari textiles and their strangely syncopated abstractions. Since much of Andean representation is conventionalized and geometrically stylized, a modernist aesthetic brought to light many objects and features attractive to Westerners. What was missing from modernist appreciation was deeper meaning, which the anthropology of the first half of the twentieth century was unable to provide.

Greater meaning was ultimately found in the strange confluence of Conceptual art and Structuralism in the second half of the twentieth century. Cubism may have been abstract, but it was still visual; Conceptual art was sometimes not visual at all. Developing in reaction to a runaway art market, conceptual artists tried to create ideas rather than collectible things. In conceptual art the idea behind the material feature mattered more than its visual appearance. One reason for its emergence was the desire of some artists to subvert the art market by making non-collectible things. This strategy was also a way of creating an ideal higher and more profound than visuality. One aspect of Conceptual art in the 1960s was “Earth Art,” especially the work of Robert Smithson, Walter de Maria, and Michael Heizer among others.<sup>22</sup> Their earthworks were inspired by ancient mounds and lines, especially the famous Nazca lines in Peru. Michael Heizer was the son of the archaeologist Robert Heizer and, as a child, had traveled with his father in Mexico and Peru and visited sites. Once, he told an interviewer: “The only sources I felt were allowable were American; South American, Mesoamerican, or North American. That might mean Eskimos or Peruvians. I wanted to finish off the European impulse.”<sup>23</sup>

Nazca lines, created on a barren plateau in Southern Peru, came to light in the 30s and 40s through aviation, since they are mostly invisible from the ground. The idea of making



something that would be invisible, and yet you could walk along the design and comprehend it mentally was a perfect example of Conceptual art and is now thought of as the basic Andean attitude to the material world. Henceforth scholars were on the lookout for peculiar ideas suggested by other objects or techniques in the Andes that would be similar in mentality to the Nazca lines. In 1963, Alan Sawyer noted that the Wari textile “abstractions,” which had been so appealing to D’Harnoncourt at the MOMA, were actually the result of the compression and expansion of recognizable images in a highly systematic and cerebral way.<sup>24</sup> The metallurgist Heather Lechtman suggested that Andean metalworking techniques expressed a philosophy of essences rather than a purely utilitarian approach.<sup>25</sup> Many noticed that gold objects were often covered with paint, negating their gold surfaces which appear to have been less important than their invisible gold interior. Some sculptures still in situ would have been invisible in their time, to say nothing of all the mortuary objects buried with the dead and which had been visible for only a short time. Visibility was apparently not a major value in the Andean approach to things. A great deal was apparently invisible or based on ideas about material strange to the West. Nevertheless, these peculiar features went unrecognized by the West until the West had an artistic movement that dealt with issues of visibility and invisibility that made them suddenly emerge. Though we now know a great deal more about Andean art, it is still passive in the beam of a searching Western eye and we see only what we are capable of seeing through our own traditions. Andean art remains as Sleeping Beauty while we enact the role of the Prince.

Andean anthropology has relied heavily on the abundant sixteenth century written sources. Most of these texts became available for scholarship in the nineteenth century but suffer from a lack of illustrations. Because Mexico had a number of codices with illustrations, many copies of which had been made in the early Colonial period, we have a rich body of images to go

with the texts there. In the Andes in the last few hundred years before European contact figurative representations were rare or nonexistent in all media, except perhaps gold which was melted down. With the exception of the chronicler Murua<sup>26</sup>, whose history of the Inka kings was first published in 1911, no illustrations were known until 1928 when the numerous drawings of Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala came to light in a Copenhagen library – drawings which had been lost since the early seventeenth century.<sup>27</sup> The several hundred illustrations of Guaman Poma are related to those of Murua but cover aspects of native life much more extensively. Added to these illustrations some of the most important texts included those by Jose de Acosta, Bernabe Cobo, Pedro de Cieza de Leon, Juan de Betanzos, and Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa.<sup>28</sup> Some of the chroniclers had Inka mothers and conquistador fathers. Some were soldiers. Others were Jesuits on a missionary enterprise from Spain. In either case though they might have been reasonably knowledgeable about Inka culture, they interpreted it through the points of view of the Spanish Colonial era and intended it for Spanish readers in Europe. Some texts are just being recognized as important recently and translated in the twentieth century.

One author, however, became synonymous with the Inka for Europeans since his book, *The Royal Commentaries of the Inka*, was in some form continuously available since 1609.<sup>29</sup> His mother was an Inka princess and his father a Spanish captain. About the age of twenty he left Peru for Spain and lived in Cordova until his death in 1616. He began his historical work when it became evident that he would not go back to Peru. So despite his thorough upbringing as an Inka, the author Garcilaso lived most of his life as a Spaniard. In his book, Garcilaso painted the portrait of a benevolent Inka despotism that has fascinated and intrigued all those interested in political systems in the past three centuries. While his account is now considered overly

romantic, the issues he raised remain relevant for the foreseeable future in actual politics in Latin America, where he is very much read, and in theory elsewhere.

As these accounts of chroniclers became available, nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholars sought to interpret and reconcile their works. As the chroniclers were particularly interested in the history of the royal Inka, issues of the histories and the elite dominated the analyses. By the 1940s anthropology in all Pre-Columbian fields was turning away from the concerns of the elite to try to formulate research techniques that would throw light on the ordinary people's lives and how the elite and their people were integrated. In archaeology, this manifested itself in the study of surface surveys, in which an entire area of habitation was explored rather than simply the big, important monuments. The earliest and model project of these was in fact in Peru: the Viru Valley excavations led by Gordon Willey, for which the research was done in 1941-42.<sup>30</sup> At the same time, John Murra initiated archival studies that tried to understand the economic structure of the Inka Empire not through the Colonial histories but through more mundane (but factually reliable) legal and administrative documents.<sup>31</sup> These emphases on the everyday aspects of the Andean world revealed some surprising economic and social structures. While Garcilaso attributed the social protection of the ordinary Peruvian to the Inka ruler's largesse – quite comprehensible in an era of royal absolutism in the seventeenth century – Murra demonstrated that reciprocity was one of the basic principles of Andean social organization on both the village and empire level and was not a late Inka innovation. In fact, he was able to demonstrate how the Inka had used and subverted the principle of reciprocity in the creation of their empire.<sup>32</sup>

In Peru, trade took place often not in markets but through exchange systems that required face to face contact, real or fictitious kinship ties, and copious feasting. There was no currency

and the people owed labor service to the elite in return for which they received their necessities in goods and their relationship was celebrated through ritual drinking. The amount of labor and goods had to be calibrated so that all sides would consider the transaction fair, yet the elite and the empire could skim off a larger share without the appearance of force. Murra's further insight had to do with the varied geography of the Andes, from the deserts on the coast, to the snowy mountain peaks of the highlands to the jungles of the eastern slopes of the Andes, and how people organized exchange across the altitudes. It was evident from his sources that communities on the coast had related "kinship" communities in the highlands and jungle areas with whom they performed ritual and practical exchanges. He called this the system of "verticality," in which communities crisscrossed the Andes and thus divided it into units that shrank or grew depending on political and demographic circumstances. In a small way, this system still works among modern peasant communities. The idea that one of the major pristine civilizations of the world was based not on money and markets but on ritualized exchange was a very surprising interpretation that is still hotly debated. Such a situation was generally attributed to the unusually varied terrain of Andean geography and possibly to the isolation of the Andes from other civilizations in the Americas, such as Ecuador, Colombia, or Mesoamerica. In fact, areas on the coast, especially in the north, more in contact with other cultures had systems of trade and currency as well. While the accounts of the chroniclers made the Andes seem like any other ancient civilization – the Romans were often preferred parallels – works by Murra and his followers argued for a Peruvian exceptionalism that was unlike that of any other place. For example, Heather Lechtman's study of the peculiar approach to gold and precious metals illustrates this exceptionalism and links up the research of Murra and his followers also with the conceptual approach in art.

Murra's approach derived not from Americanist studies, but from cross-cultural, non-Inka studies of empire and economy which allowed him to see how special and different the Andes were. Following his work in the 1940s and 50s, the new approaches in Andean studies came from French and Dutch scholars whose work has been described as "structuralist."<sup>33</sup> At first these continental approaches which appeared in Andean studies after 1960 were experienced as alien though powerful, and these approaches were not easily integrated with previous scholarship. Structuralism refers to the logic of patterns of social relations beneath the apparently contradictory or meaningless behavior or stories of an alien culture. P. E. de Josselin de Jong studied the Minangkabau villages of Indonesia where society is divided into two reciprocal halves and in which there exist complex arrangements regarding marital rules. Mythology is involved with the origin and legitimacy of the power of local groups. His student, Tom Zuidema, found parallels with the dualistic structure of the Inka and the Andean area in general.<sup>34</sup> In a controversial study, *The Ceque System of Cuzco*, originally a 1953 thesis, he suggested that the long kinglist compiled by the sixteenth century chroniclers and accepted by modern scholars, such as the important John Rowe, was a Colonial misunderstanding of the dualistic system. He suggested that the "histories" were political legends accounting for local powers. The Spanish made a single list out of sets of two contemporary rulers who came from the two moieties. This cut down the king list by half and created havoc with Inka chronology. Zuidema put dual organization at the center of Andean scholarship, and it fitted well with the work of Murra and his followers.

The Inka ceque system was a conceptual arrangement of shrines imagined to radiate from a center in Cuzco relating both to social groups who cared for them and the calendar. While it was described in detail by Cobo, its structure and significance were understood primarily in

terms of structuralist studies of social relations arranged in space by studies of Indonesian and Amazonian villages in the 1940s and 50s. It is now evident that complex networks of social organization characterized the Andes.

Another less-discussed and less-acknowledged aspect of structuralism influential in Andean studies derives from the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss.<sup>35</sup> Lévi-Strauss did his fieldwork in the Amazonian villages of the Ge and the Bororo, neighboring the Andes, in the 1940s. He found and documented dualistic structures of radiating systems paralleling those of Indonesia and the Andes. He charted a complex mental map that included the village plan and social relations in one unconscious system. Since Zuidema's work has become more accepted, Lévi-Strauss has been recognized as someone who understood native South American thinking and is retroactively influential.

Both Zuidema and Lévi-Strauss dealt with native ideas that are not visible – or were seriously misunderstood in the texts – and that require a suspension of the Western ideas of how kingdoms and societies work. In this, they are similar to the contemporary “conceptual” trend in art, in which the mental concept is more important than visual appearances. Both deal with the invisible and the cerebral. Anthropology is not exempt from the rule that we see only what our current methods and ideologies allow us to see, however. Structuralism and conceptualism have a nice fit with Andean culture and have helped to remove it from limbo. New approaches may disclose other aspects. It is what happens in the zeitgeist of the culture at large that determines both cultural and artistic studies, and not the Andes.

The latest western invention/ interest to have had a dramatic impact on Andean studies is the structure of the computer as a parallel to the khipu. That knotted string mnemonic device which was so denigrated by the sixteenth-century Spanish is suddenly seen as a sophisticated bit

of preindustrial technology. Invented in the context of a dualistic Andean world view, the khipu is now seen as organized in a binary system, a simple code generating great complexity. Khipu studies have mushroomed in the last two decades, with Gary Urton in particular at the forefront of the discussion as to what extent the khipu is a “real” form of writing and how it was structured. As Urton observes:

“We work on a keyboard that allows us to produce on the computer monitor in front of us a typewritten version of a message. The message that we perceive on the screen before us in a familiar script . . . exists inside the computer in the form of binary-coded sequences in which each mark . . . that is produced by touching a key on the keyboard, coincides with, or is carried by, a particular eight-binary-digit . . . sequence of 1s and 0s . . . Whereas computers came to adopt binary coding through a process of trial and error, khipu were, or the most part, binary coding devices *by nature* . . . the systems of patterned differences in spinning, plying, knotting, numbers and colors in the khipu are *all* binary in nature.”<sup>36</sup>

The khipu was of great interest as a mnemonic device in the sixteenth century and there are many descriptions of it. All agreed however that the knots did not represent words or letters, and therefore the khipu was not a true writing system. Of all the great ancient civilizations in the world, Peru was the only one without a writing system, as a result making it “backwards” in comparison to the Aztecs and Maya, both of whom had hieroglyphs with some phonetic components. The decimal and numeral aspects of the khipu were first understood as well as their use in census taking, storage inventory, and other forms of accounting. Some chronicles like Garcilaso’s claimed that histories and other narratives were also recorded, but in the absence of the khipu camayoc specialist the oral accounts are lost and the stories cannot be read out from the knots.

The structuralist approach, however, has yielded amazing results. Researchers have not found the stories but have found the mechanism of recording: the knot can be made different ways, the yarns can be spun in different directions, and each of the differences could have had meanings. These were based on observations and *not* on sixteenth-century accounts. The khipu is now a more complex and subtle device; although it still does not tell a story, the potential is there. Recently Urton has seen calendrical notation in one khipu, thus demonstrating that the epic may not be far behind.<sup>37</sup>

One of the recent issues debated by archaeologists is when and where state formation emerged in the Andes. Some have seen state formation surprisingly early at some coastal sites with their impressive monumental architecture dating to c. 1800 BC as part of the “exceptionalism” of the Andes. Others see these early cultures as small chiefdoms. It has also been argued that true states were only found much later in the Moche, Wari and Tiwanaku kingdoms about 300-400 AD, when monumental architecture was associated with hereditary social classes and capital cities, along the lines of other cultures in the world. The argument is not just about a date, but whether the Andes shared the same developmental patterns of other ancient societies. The “exceptionalism” championed by Murra is under attack in the name of a universal theory of development. To this Mesoamericanist, it is clear that both views are correct – the basic schema of Andean development follows the universally demonstrable patterns of chiefdoms turning into states, but much of its content and way of doing things, or “insistence” as Ascher and Ascher called it, is unique to it.<sup>38</sup>

The obsession to find narrative in the khipu, and even to determine the development of the state, maybe considered Western; that is, they express equally the desire to raise the Andes to the level of other ancient cultures. It is born out of the same inferiority complex that afflicts other



Andean studies. We keep trying to fit the Andes into our idea of ancient cultures and the fit is not completely there. Andeans were not interested in monumental sculpture, in writing as we know it, and in demonstrating astronomic alignments. So what were they interested in? I will take a more or less structuralist approach to sketch the obsessions of the Andeans as we can reconstruct them through our necessarily current Western point of view.



## Chapter 2. THE INKA STATE: UTOPIA OR DYSTOPIA?

*The Inka Empire lasted for about a hundred years prior to the Spanish Conquest in 1531. Although it was similar to earlier empires in the Andes, it was by far larger – around 4000km long and, in fact, at that time, the largest empire in the world. The empire included many peoples speaking different languages, but the Inka Quechua became the lingua franca. Technically, the term “Inka” referred only to the ruler and his relations and not to his subjects, but it is now used in a general sense. Inka and all Andean people were divided into ayllu, or collective kin groups containing several lineages who married and exchanged among themselves and who even performed their building duties in separate segments. Inka power was manifested visually in architecture made from fine masonry and sometimes ornamented with plaques of gold. The most spectacular undertaking of the Inka was a road system from Ecuador to Chile, across deserts and highlands of about forty thousand kilometers. The wealth of the Inka was such that the gold and silver melted down to ransom the ruler Atahualpa from Pizarro’s prison is estimated at \$50,000,000 in modern currency. Despite the efforts of sixteenth-century chroniclers, we only know the history of the last five Inka rulers: The initial conqueror and builder Pachacuti (1438-1471), Topa Inka (1471-1493), Huayna Capac (1493-1525), Huascar (1525-1532), and Atahualpa (1532-33)*

Colonial writers admired the Inka – Guaman Poma de Ayala wrote the king of Spain a thousand-page complaint against the cruelty and disorder of Spanish rule. He contrasted that to the Inka, whose rule he depicted as just and orderly – and he wasn’t even of Inka origin. He belonged to a native ethnic group in Bolivia that had been conquered by the Inka and had every

reason to dislike them. He demonstrates the order of the Inka Empire through images of its bureaucratic officials: his more than 400 illustrations represent all of the Inka officials in charge of roads, bridges, masonry, storehouses, as well as the various khipu-holding accountants. The impression we get is of a thoroughly organized state in which there is a specific place and task for every individual and in that sense, that works to benefit the security and purpose of every individual. Guaman Poma's *Nueva corónica y buen gobierno* never reached the Spanish king and was lost until 1928, when it turned up in a Copenhagen library, but these sentiments are common to other Colonial texts.

Garcilaso de la Vega's writings, published in Spain as of 1607, are the chronicles on which most historians based their account of the Inka until the twentieth century. As the Christian son of a conquistador, Garcilaso often accepted Spanish superiority and dismissed Inka ideas as childish and silly – particularly in religion. But when it comes to descriptions of the Inka order of life, he is all admiration for his mother's people. Living in Spain since his twenties, he even added "The Inka" to his name: Garcilaso Inka de la Vega. (In Peru he was known as Gomez Suarez de Figueroa.<sup>1</sup>)

In his text, Garcilaso presented the Inka rulers as benevolent despots for which he gave the following evidence: upon marrying, every man received a plot of land enough to feed his family which was expanded with the birth of every child. The family received wool for its clothing. The census records kept accurate track of every child born and every death so that everyone was taken care of according to their needs. There was no begging or poverty under their rule.

"Each Indian received one *tupu*, which corresponds roughly to one *fanega* and a half, of corn acreage, for himself and his wife. For each son he had the right for an additional *tupu*, and

one half a tupu for each daughter. When the son married he kept for himself the tupu that his father had been given to provide him with food. The daughters, on the contrary, were not allowed to keep their share when they married: it either remained property of the father, if he needed it, or reverted to the community to be allocated to someone else. Under no conditions, however, could a plot of land be bought or sold.”<sup>2</sup>

In return, everyone owed labor to the state, on roads, building, and mines as well as in weaving textiles. The Indians fulfilled these *Lévies* made upon them without leaving home, which was in line with the first principle of Inka government: namely, that each man should live in one spot, and never move from it, since vagrancy makes ne'er-do-wells and disturbs the peace.<sup>3</sup> The ruler stored the surplus in his storehouses both to support the elite and for the people in times of hardship.

Garcilaso quotes the chronicler Acosta almost verbatim to support his assertion that no one was poor and no one was rich under the rule of the Inka, comparing Andean life to that of Christian monks: “And in this the Indians almost copy the institutions of monks of old of which the lives of the church fathers tell us. Truly, they are folk who are neither greedy nor spoiled, and so they are content with a modest living. We would say that it is a life of great perfection . . .”<sup>4</sup>

During the absolutist monarchies of the seventeenth century in Europe a more benevolent mode of government could scarcely have been imagined. Garcilaso had sketched a utopia, and while not as extreme, the other chroniclers agreed with the order and organization that was the hallmark of the Inka Empire.

After the Enlightenment Europeans changed their minds about the ideal government and were more concerned with individual freedom than being taken care of. William Prescott, the influential American historian of the Conquest of Mexico and Peru, found the Inka system

inhuman because it offered no possibility for people to better themselves. He thought it was better for some people to fail in an endeavor than not to be able to change their lives. He had more sympathy for the upwardly mobile chaos of Aztec society – where the rulers were actually elected – than for the Andean law and order he found stultifying:

“Where there is no free agency, there can be no morality. Where there is no temptation, there can be little claim to virtue. Where the routine is rigorously prescribed by law, the law and not the man, must have the credit for the conduct. If that government is the best which is felt the least, which encroaches on the natural liberty of the subject only so far as is essential to civil subordination, then of all governments devised by man the Peruvian has the least claim to our admiration.”<sup>5</sup>

As late as the 1930s, following Prescott, George Bataille, the surrealist writer, much preferred the Aztecs with the “macabre humor” he saw in their sacrifices to the dull “statist” Andeans caught in their systemic web. To him the Inka had no “air” to breathe.<sup>6</sup>

The late nineteenth century speculation about the evolution of economy and government moved away from the individualism of Adam Smith to a Hegelian concept of the necessary development of human societies through various stages from a primitive communism to modern day capitalism. Marx synthesized this analysis with the idea of a new communism that would someday replace capitalism. This new utopian communism was inspired by primitive communism with its egalitarian and community oriented values but would exist in a modern industrialized context. To Marx, the Inka model was an ancient forerunner of this new concept and it is evident from his writings that he was familiar with the details of the Inka state, perhaps through Prescott. Marx wrote, for example, that buying and selling and private property has “no

existence in a primitive society based on property in common, whether such a society takes the form of a patriarchal family, an ancient Indian community, or a Peruvian Inka State.”<sup>7</sup>

Marxism revalued the Inka positively and there were a spate of studies written on Inka “socialism,” both “pro” and “con,” in the beginning of the twentieth century: Jose Antonio Arze’s “Fue socialista o comunista el imperio Inkaico?” (Bolivia), 1941; Louis Baudin’s *L’Empire socialiste des Inka* (Paris), 1928; Rafael A. Kanten’s *Totalitarian State of the Past* (Helsinki), 1949; and Herman Trimbom’s “Der kollektivism der Inka,” 1923.

The relationship of the Inka and communism was of special significance in Latin America since the desire for land reform during the first part of the twentieth century, often for a population of indigenous origin, was associated with Marxist utopian communism that was itself derived from the Inka way of life. The eloquent Peruvian journalist Mariátegui wrote long tracts on the superiority of Inka rule not simply vis-à-vis Spanish rule but with regards to modern conditions as well, lauding the reciprocal ways of the native community. He argued that socialism and communism were the only modern systems that fit with the Andean past:

“Socialism appears in our history not by chance, imitation, or fashion, as superficial minds suppose, but by necessity. Maintaining that the economic and political regime we are combating has gradually become a force for the colonization of the country by foreign capitalist imperialists, we proclaim that, at this moment in our history it is impossible to be truly nationalistic or revolutionary without being socialist.”<sup>8</sup>

Mariátegui defended the Inka from attacks that said it was a despotic state – arguing that all ancient states were such, but that it was appropriate to its times and people:

“If the historical evidence of Inka communism is not sufficiently convincing, the ‘community’ – the specific organ of that communism – should dispel any doubt. The ‘despotism’

of the Inkas, however, has offended the scruples of our present-day liberals . . . The man of Tawantinsuyo felt absolutely no need of individual liberty any more than he felt the need for a free press. . . . The Indian's life and spirit were not tormented by intellectual anxieties . . . Therefore what use would this liberty be . . . to the Indian?"<sup>9</sup>

Mariátegui praised the work habits of Indian communities as the ideals for a new socialist state, quoting Castro Pozo: “. . . Work proceeds to the music of harps and violins and the consumption of several quarts of sugar-cane *aguardiente*, packages of cigarettes and wads of coca. These customs have led the Indians to the practice – incipient and rudimentary to be sure – of the collective contract. Instead of individuals separately offering their services, to landowners and contractors, all able-bodied men of the cooperative jointly contract to do the work.” He continues quoting Castro Pozo, saying “. . . the Indian community preserves two great economic and social principles that up to now neither the science of sociology nor the empiricism of the great industrialists has been able to solve satisfactorily: to contract workers collectively and to have the work performed in a relaxed and pleasant atmosphere of friendly competition.”<sup>10</sup>

The first half of the twentieth century had an intensive debate as to the good or bad aspects of the Inka social and economic system, its survivals and how and whether to incorporate them in a modern social system. In Peru discussions of the Inka were not abstract but had to do with the nature of the state in the present. These discussions are not yet over in that native groups and political parties are significant in Peru and Bolivia after the year 2000. Most likely Garcilaso is still read in school or is easily available.

The obviously repressive nature of Soviet communism evident by the mid-twentieth century killed this line of parallel seeking. While in the 1920s modern communism had seemed like an interesting line of speculation about the Inka, later writers quarantined the Inka away

from totalitarian interpretations altogether. No one wanted to associate the Inka with the Soviets, even tangentially

The first really important reinterpretation by John Murra argued that the “utopia” Garcilaso invented was just plain incorrect. Like all rulers and empires, Inka economy siphoned off as much wealth as it could from its population, leaving them with the only the bare minimum and thus was not exactly benevolent. Moreover, Murra argued all the social safety nets were not created by the Inka but by the peasant populations themselves. He removed the “utopian” aspects from the elite and placed them on the local village level. Destroying the Garcilaso line even further, Murra argued that such mutual aid systems existed in many other pre-industrial kingdoms – he referred to research in Africa – and were not even unique to the Inka.<sup>11</sup>

In recent studies the Inka rulers have lost their luster as the originators of the welfare state, and scholars are likely to bring out their tyrannical side. They emphasize the forced movement of peoples in colonies to secure the empire which must have been a terrible hardship. Or, like anthropologist Terence D’Altroy asserts, they focus on the heterogeneity of the Inka realm, which could never have been as simply ruled according to the principles laid down by Garcilaso.<sup>12</sup> Murra underlines the harshness of the labor service in contrast to Mariátegui’s romantic quote from Pozo: “Corvee (labor service) is an onerous task even when cultivating the crown lands and weaving the state’s cloth. If one adds the occasional impositions of service in the army, on roads and *tambos* (road stops), *chasqui* (messenger service), and bridges, the chores, no matter how equitably distributed, must have seemed formidable. If to all this we add the giant, pyramid-type, public buildings, with their endless lifting and lowering of immense blocks, the average corvee-owning peasant . . . may easily have felt that most of these chores were thought up to keep him away from his home and his personal responsibilities.”<sup>13</sup>



On the other hand, positive value is generally found in the work of recent authors in the reciprocal arrangements of modest villages and local areas that sometimes persist to the present day: “Many highland villagers today still rely on making an agricultural or pastoral living in the demanding environment . . . Similarly, civic tasks, including rebuilding walls, cleaning canals, and maintaining public spaces are still divided up among *ayllu*.”<sup>14</sup> Utopia has slid down the social scale.

The linking or denying of the Inka state with the communism of the twentieth century has interested me very much since I grew up under communism in Hungary and, though a child, understood the nature of the system I lived in. Communists prated that their rule was for the benefit of the working class, but in fact it was to benefit the communist ruling elite who lived like the aristocracy of old. This aristocracy tried to force a pseudo-egalitarian system by resettlements and executions on the former upper class. The general hate for the communist system and its lying ideology was above all for its hypocrisy. In addition, under communism, most Hungarians continued to maintain a strong capitalist ideology inherited from and built in by the previous centuries. There was no communal sharing system on which to graft a communist state. After 1989, when the Berlin wall came down, all across Eastern Europe conservative capitalist governments were sworn in in great jubilation. But in a short time there was an unexpected backlash and nostalgia for the previously hated communist regime for the various safety nets the state actually had provided – no beggars or homeless on the streets, public safety without crime, state sponsored vacations and (surprisingly) even for the ideology of egalitarianism, despite having been poor together. Sudden capitalist greed made people feel morally sick. Watching the lifestyles of the new millionaires upset everyone who wasn't a millionaire. As a result, former communist now called “socialist” parties were sworn in the

following elections all across Eastern Europe. The point is that even in a hated totalitarian regime, people appreciated the order and benefits provided by the state.

The issue isn't just whether the Inka were good or bad, but what the Andeans might have expected an empire to be and what they thought of as good government. One needs to read Garcilaso not for what he says about what the Inka were like – after all, he was born during the Conquest and left for Spain at age twenty, and thus all his information is secondhand. Rather, he should be read for what he says concerning the Andean ideals of government. The Andean ideal of social relations appears to have been harmony and order. The welfare state was probably an ideal much like the American ideal of “equality of opportunity”: the state actually “delegated” many tasks to non-Inka local lords (*kurakas*), villages, and individuals. But the aim of order and organization appears to have been valued throughout. Garcilaso also tells us that in Conquest the Inka armies always went “in peace,” and only if they could not convince a people to surrender by words did they attack them with weapons. Conquering in peace was of course cheaper alternative than in war, but what is most interesting is that for the Inka the pretense of peace and orderliness was extremely important. Contrast this to the Aztecs whose view of the world was based on conflict and who staged battles (Flowery Wars) when no real battle was available.

Therefore the Andean ideal of society was of reciprocal relations and an organized web ultimately in the hands of a ruler. A net or textile comes to mind as a metaphor for it. This is not a metaphor that appeals to a Westerner since the West follows more of a conflict model like the Aztec, which has resulted in the worldwide success of capitalism. The Inka and Andean experiment was probably possible because of isolation from other high cultures and a harsh climate that encouraged social systems of shelter and mutual aid. Given that the values of the Andes had to do with harmony, even if the reality fell short, it need not have been seen as

hypocrisy or an inappropriate system. The complaints against the Spanish Colonial system was not just that it was brutal but that it created no recognizable orderly framework for life.

To what can be attributed the unusual social and economic system of the Andes? Most other pristine ancient civilizations evolved around trade, currency, and competition. The Andes were unique in developing a bartering system with an emphasis on reciprocal exchange. No one has a real explanation for this, but all suggest that it may have something to do with the geography of the area. This is not to say that other areas did not have varied and difficult terrain. Mexico and Guatemala have still exploding volcanoes and tropical forests, yet developed markets and cacao bean currency as a way of exchanging needed products. There is no question, however that the case of the Andes is more geographically extreme.

The Andean coastline is bordered by desert drier than the Sahara and in the South, the Atacama desert is the driest place on earth. The ocean flanking it is however one of the richest in marine fauna. The cold Humboldt Current encourages such rich sea life that settled civilization began on the coast based on a fishing way of life. Monumental architecture began there before the introduction of maize and pottery but not before the growing of cotton and the manufacture of textiles. Nearly fifty short rivers bisect the desert with their water flowing from the snow melting on mountain peaks. Each of these short river valleys was a natural political unit in early times and no great empires emerged from the coast. States such as the Moche or Chimu unified a dozen or so river valleys, but never the entire coast. Nature and perhaps human ideology were dividing up the area in small sections. Once irrigation was introduced, the maize production of these “oases” was remarkable and the culture of the coast was very rich and probably coveted by the highlands.

The highlands, by contrast needed to terrace the steep hillsides in order grow staples. Maize was the most prestigious, but potatoes of various sorts which could be grown at very high altitudes were necessary. Highlanders specialized in the herding of camelids such as llamas and alpacas. Llamas were primarily pack animals and their wools, especially those of the alpaca, were important for weaving high status textiles. As wool takes dye better it was the yarn for the outer face of textiles whose warp was usually cotton. Highland and coastal products needed to be exchanged even in something as basic as textile production. Otherwise, the highlands were poor. Stone was plentifully available and used for building material. On the coast, adobe made from clay, was often the primary building material. Empires, such as Tiwanaku, Wari and Inka all came from the highlands and went conquering towards the coast.

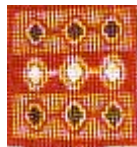
East of the highlands is the eastern slope of the Andes, known as the *montaña*, which is so well watered that it becomes thick tropical forest, with its rivers flowing into the Amazon. This area is not very well understood archaeologically and is very difficult to work on. Large areas are related to the Andean cultural tradition but some are more Amazonian. The staple food is manioc and other related tubers. The area is rich in wildlife, jaguars and caymans of great symbolic significance, tropical fathers for various items of dress, hallucinogenic drugs as well as other plants with medicinal properties.

It is quite clear that a range of rich natural materials were available in the Andean area but it is also clear that some system of exchange was needed to connect these various zones. Markets might have been an obvious choice, but not the Andean solution. Murra described that the existing system was based on kin relations who had kin with whom they exchanged goods on the coast, highlands, and montaña exclusively. This could have resulted from simple early kinship based patterns, but they could have been abandoned at a later date. Tradition means not

the blind adherence to old norms, but a conscious selection of those in new circumstances over possible new ones. Certainly some market systems were functioning on the north coast..

Recently Murra's model of economic relations has been questioned and a greater emphasis has been placed on trade. The Andes may have had a mixed system of trade as well as kin-based barter.

While we do not know why exactly Andeans chose "reciprocity" as their real and ideological model, it is possible to relate it to the environment. The desert coastal area and the incredibly tall mountains and high altitude plateaus made survival in the Andes more precarious than in other parts of the world. The Andean solution to survival was both through competition but also through cooperation with the most trusted people – real *or* fictitious kin. Moreover, Andeans consciously seemed to seek out and create situations of shelter and safety nets in human relations, even in large scale empires. That in reality these shelters must have been inadequate goes without saying, but the idea behind them seems not to have wavered. An Andean was only "free" when properly sheltered by family and government.



### **Chapter 3. CHAVÍN: THE ANDEAN ROSETTA STONE**

*Settled civilization began in the Andes prior to BC3000 in what is known as the Preceramic period. Most of the remains of that time are architectural or fragmentary in various media. The first art system that we can analyze is that of Chavín, dated considerably later. Chavín refers both to an art style that has been found on many objects throughout the Andes and specifically to the site of Chavín de Huantar in the north central highlands. As an early cultural manifestation, Chavín was first defined by Julio C. Tello in the 1940s. It was then seen as the “mother” culture of all later cultures in the Andes.<sup>1</sup>*

*Chavín objects are problematic, especially in their chronology. Chavín de Huantar itself has been dated to about 1000BC in the 1960s and redated only to 400-200 BC by Richard Burger in the 1990s.<sup>2</sup> Most recently John Rick redated it to a beginning in 1000 BC, a height in 750 BC and a decline at 500 BC.<sup>3</sup> With the problematic dating of Chavín de Huantar, the associated works have also been at issue. Some works clearly suggest that they are inspired by Chavín de Huantar and therefore later (such as the Karwa textiles), while other works seem to be earlier examples that Chavín drew upon (such as Huaca de los Reyes). In any case, Chavín-type imagery existed in the Andes for many hundreds of years and widely spread out geographically. On this basis archaeologists refer to this period as a ‘horizon’, meaning that some kind of pan-Peruvian process had been going on. On this basis the Inka Empire is classified as a ‘horizon’, too. However, it is not suggested that Chavín was a political empire like the Inka since at that time political units seem to have been relatively small. Chavín de Huantar has been seen either as the place of origin or, alternatively, a later place that summed up a lot of these ideas of the early periods. Chavín de Huantar is unique in being a major site*

*with some sculptures still in situ and where it is possible to get an idea about a wide range of subjects and styles in a coherent context. Since Chavín de Huantar seems to exhibit many aspects of an Andean world view at such an early date, we can turn to it as to a Rosetta stone to help explain the art of later cultures.*<sup>4</sup>

We think of archaic cultures as being closer to nature than our world, but those cultures strove for “civilization” in the sense of the manmade and artificial and often were interested in superceding nature. Tattooed or painted faces were emblems of civilization in many cultures and represented the rules of society and prestige in contrast to raw nature. Things carved in wood, stone or shell that we call “art,” or “artifacts,” are all works of “artifice” of this human social world and not the natural world. They represent a desired ideal or a message, not any kind of simple reality. In the Andes, the first such ideal is represented most clearly by the Chavín style.

Compared to the art of other early civilizations not much has been made of Chavín art, and Chavín de Huantar, still needing extensive restoration, is not a major tourist site. The first coherent interpretation presented by John Rowe in the 1960s indicates how far he had to go for ideas to explain Chavín.<sup>5</sup> Rowe compared the visual metaphors and substitutions in Chavín imagery to a literary device in Norse mythology called “kennings”, thereby confusing as much as clarifying scholarship. Nevertheless, Rowe was important in noting the structural aspect of Chavín art, how the body parts of certain animals are substituted for others, such as snakes that substitute for hair, fur and whiskers in feline creatures. He noted that these substitutions are logical and that there is nothing haphazard in the images. The term “kenning” was unfortunate in that visual metaphors are known in other arts and it was unnecessary to resort to the obscure Norse literary tradition for a parallel. The exotic term “kenning” was supposed to explain the

exotic art of Chavín by making it doubly exotic and out of the realm of the normal range of ancient art. Resorting to the kennings indicates a kind of desperation on the part of the author to come to terms with the curious nature of Chavín imagery. What Rowe began, however, was a kind of structuralist approach. He analyzed how the figures were put together and the apparent rules and laws that lay behind them. That approach is still the only way to decode these images.

The main portion of the site of Chavín de Huantar consists of a large rectangular structure known as the “Castillo” faced with stone. Originally it seems to have had structures on top but they are mostly gone. The older portion of the structure is in the form of a U with a circular sunken court found in the 1970s in the center of the court. Unlike most Mesoamerican mounds, which we refer to as “pyramids” and are largely solid on the inside or have burials, Chavín’s Castillo was honeycombed on the interior and beneath the plazas with corridors or galleries. The galleries were stone-lined and roofed and contained ritual objects such as smashed pottery. The newer segment of the Castillo has a dramatic portal made of half-black limestone and half-white granite. From it, stairways led to the top of the mound. In front of the Black and White Portal were a series of sunken courtyards and stairways. Everything suggests that this was a ceremonial complex and not a palatial dwelling. Almost all parts of the architecture were covered with carvings some of which are still there, some of which were taken to Lima as early as the nineteenth century. The rest of the architecture was covered with finely worked coursed masonry or large panels of stone.

It is easier to say what Chavín art isn’t than what it is. Chavín does not have two- or three-dimensional images of humans, with the exception of some tenoned heads. Everything is a very low-relief incision in stone perhaps once meant to be painted. There are no warriors or rulers, no scenes of Conquest, investiture or obeisance to gods. Almost all the sculptures were



reliefs – incisions in flat stone – that were built into the architecture. If we could imagine ourselves back in Chavín times, we would see a site that avoided the colossal and dramatic in representation. Many of the sculptures were visible only to a few, and the location of others made them almost invisible to anyone. Evidently the people who created Chavín de Huantar did not try to awe or impress an audience or even to create a dialogue using sculpture.

I don't have the answer as to what Chavín de Huantar's builders intentions were: all I can do is to continue the investigation of how the images are structured. The over four-meter tall, wedge-shaped "Lanzón" found deep in one of the interior galleries of the Old Temple has led to Richard Burger's theory that Chavín had been an oracle.<sup>6</sup> This is based on the fact that at the time of the Conquest the oracle of Pachacamac (the ruins of which are now near Lima) was under Inka control and the site whose auguries were most valued in Peru. According to sixteenth-century sources, a priest got inside a wooden statue of the god at Pachacamac and spoke as the god. The only wooden statue that now survives from Pachacamac is a carved pole with a male figure on one side and a female figure on the other. It isn't big enough for a person to get inside. The oracle of Pachacamac had oracle "franchises," in other geographic areas which were seen in kinship terms as the "daughters" or "wives" of Pachacamac, their lesser status indicated by their feminine appellations. Richard Burger has suggested further that Chavín de Huantar also had franchise oracles, some of which also had feminine deities. This would explain feminine figures on some of the Chavín style textiles of Karwa. According to this interpretation, Chavín de Huantar was a temple city, like Delphi, with clients, contacts, and influences throughout Peru. This would account for the pan-Peruvian spread of Chavín style objects and the appearance of what archaeologists call a "horizon."

Deep in a gallery, in the light of flickering torches, the Lanzón must have been awesome but nearly incomprehensible. The stone itself was kept uneven and was perhaps once a sacred stone in its natural form. Such were commonly venerated in the Andes, particularly by the Inka. The low relief design on it is that of a man with fangs and a hand raised. All one could have seen of it without thorough exploration with lights was an eye here and a fang there. We assume it was a deity of the oracle with the priests in some nearby gallery. Recently, John Rick suggested that the Lanzón was originally uncovered and part of a more egalitarian social context. He argued that it was later covered in order to increase its mystery and access.<sup>7</sup>

The location of reliefs at Chavín de Huantar seems to have signified meaning in itself and definitely suggests a supreme position for the centrally placed Lanzón. Excavations in the 1970s revealed a circular courtyard in front of the Lanzón entrance, faced with relief plaques.<sup>8</sup> This could be considered an “anteroom” or courtyard where the images would have been more visible and available to a larger group of people. The lower register of the Circular Courtyard images represent felines in profile. Similar felines were on the cornices of the Castillo itself, associated with raptorial birds, such as condors. It is evident that condors and felines were secondary in importance or accessory to the main cult figures and thus appropriate to more visible places. The Circular Courtyard has a series of panels with humans with fangs above the felines who are similar to the deity on the Lanzón but their very number does not suggest that they were major deity or cult figures.

There are three possibilities for “cult” images at Chavín de Huantar, the Lanzón and two large reliefs whose original location is unknown but whose nature suggests importance. The Raimondi Stela was taken to Lima about 1860 by Antonio Raimondi, an Italian born naturalist explorer similar to D’Orbigny. The Tello Obelisk was discovered in 1919 by Peru’s first native

archaeologist, Julio Tello. The original location at the site for both sculptures is unclear and they were not in situ. Both are now in the National Museum of Peru in Lima. Both are carved with very fine and precise lines in very low relief. The Raimondi Stela shows a fanged human holding two staffs and a very tall headdress. It seems to be a version of the Lanzón figure. The Tello Obelisk is more unexpected in that it represents a cayman and Donald Lathrap has shown that one half of the image is male and the other half female.<sup>9</sup> The cayman holds plants, mostly tropical such as manioc, in its claws. A small feline, condor, and fish are near the head of the cayman, suggesting by their small size their secondary importance.

Thus the human/feline and the cayman seem to have been the most important images at Chavín. Donald Lathrap emphasized the surprising geographic origin of the various animals in Chavín depiction. The cayman and jaguar are inhabitants of the Amazon tropical forest as are various plants such as manioc. To Lathrap this meant that the origin of the Chavín mythology and cult and much in Andean culture was to be found in the Amazon. The recent find of a monkey relief reinforces the idea of tropical forest references. Besides animals of the Amazon there are also references to the Peruvian coast and the ocean. In one interesting carving the fanged human holds Pacific coast seashells in his hands. These seashells seem to be gendered in that the conch shell in the right hand is a male symbol and the spondylus bivalve shell in the left hand is a female symbol. Spondylus shells were important in many Andean rituals. The condor alone of the important Chavín animals is of the highlands. As Burger has stated, Chavín imagery brought together animals from all the ecosystems relevant to the ancient Andes in a totalizing synthesis.

The very highland location of the site of Chavín de Huantar is worth mentioning. In the previous 500-1000 years, monument building and image making flourished mainly on the coast

where, unfortunately, the material is often too fragmentary to make such artistic analysis possible. Earlier in the highlands there were modest semi-subterranean rooms for communal rituals with little or no decoration. Chavín de Huantar is therefore a unique place, an early highland site rivaling the coast – with carvings in stone rather than adobe – that have therefore survived for us to interpret. However, I don't think that Chavín de Huantar is merely an accident of preservation. Chavín seems to have been consciously a place of synthesis. In its emphasis on beings from different geographic regions, Chavín seems to have created a “universal” message appropriate for all regions, possibly including some high gods. Later gods, such as those of the Moche or Tiwanaku seem to continue or revive the fanged human deity of Chavín, indicating its longevity (except for the cayman). Indeed, if Chavín was an oracle, then some kind of a universal cosmology and deities would have worked well. It is therefore possible that the other early temples were more local in meaning and Chavín de Huantar was indeed unique in its grand systematic approach. As all the creatures rendered are powerful predatory ones, it suggests that power in nature was the metaphor used to describe the various seen and unseen powers of the cosmos. Chavín supernatural imagery as well as much later Andean religious imagery visualized power in animal or composite animal/human form. Ferocious fangs and claws may also have referred indirectly to the power of the ruling elite who was responsible for building and running the center.

The effect of this imagery is heightened by the modification of natural forms by the substitution of certain body parts that both intensify and make enigmatic their power. Rowe's term “kenning” described the metaphoric substitutions of things like snakes for hair and tails for tongues. Gary Urton's recent observation that such substitutions are primarily in the joints and orifices explains further how the system worked.<sup>10</sup> The essential point is that metaphoric body

parts transform humans and animals into supernatural powers. Adding more body parts seems to have been the equivalent of adding more gigabytes to one's computer nowadays. The emphasis on teeth, fangs, mouths and tongues suggest the potential violence of these forces by specifying biting, killing, and eating as is done in the natural world. (The human social world uses weapons.) What is amazing is the consistency of the system. There is usually no meaningless design, and every part is a logical aspect of the metaphoric system. There is an intellectual game in Chavín art that we can enter without knowing exactly what it meant. The Chavín reliefs are more like puzzles than images. By that I mean that they are not substitutes for beings, they are ideas. Even the composition of several creatures in one is an analytical idea and not an embodied concept like a griffon or Pegasus.

The Black and White portal, generally believed to be later than the Lanzón side of the building, reveals other facets of the Chavín system of ideas. Compared to the Old Temple, the Black and white portal is dramatic and theatrical and was meant to be visible. Yet this is only a matter of degree, since here too imagery is partly hidden. Two black limestone columns support a lintel that is more than half white granite and the rest black limestone. Such a division suggests the visualization of a system of dualism in thinking and in social structure.

A number of societies around the world are divided into moieties – that is, two halves that are in a reciprocal relationship to each other. This reciprocity may be manifested in people taking spouses from the other moiety, in performing funeral rites, or in any other undertakings. While such social duality implies equality between the two halves, the relationship is usually hierarchical, with one half having more importance than the other. Among the Inka the upper moiety was called “Hanan” and the lower “Hurin.” The rulers came from the upper moiety. Moiety divisions still exist in many parts of the indigenous Andean area. Moiety divisions are the

phenomena of general dualistic thinking and also reinforce dualistic thinking. In the Andes major dualisms include gold and silver, the sun and the moon, male and female in the most obvious instances, but all aspects of life can potentially be aligned in an oppositional axis. A study of dualistic organization in society led Maybury Lewis to suggest that these are a “quest” for harmony”:

“The attractiveness of dualistic thinking lies, then, in the solution it offers to the problem of ensuring an ordered relationship between antitheses that cannot be allowed to become antipathies. It is not so much that it offers order, for all systems of thought do that, but that it offers equilibrium. Dualistic theories create order by postulating a harmonious interaction of contradictory principles . . . Dualistic theories likewise offer a solution to the problem of social order by holding out the promise of balancing contending forces in perpetual equilibrium.”<sup>11</sup>

Claude Lévi-Strauss analyzed dual organizations in Indonesian and Amazonian villages, paying homage to the work of de Yonghe in Indonesia.<sup>12</sup> His interpretation is that one of the subtle aspects of the system of dual organization is that each moiety has a different concept of the center, more favorable to itself, and that the dualistic physical layout of actual villages suggest possibilities but are not excessively rigid – each moiety can at will regard itself and the other moiety as either central or peripheral. Dual organization is thus a structuring of the physical center and social body in a way that seems rigidly oppositional but can be adjusted to circumstances. Most of the Andes had dual organizations, but Chavín de Huantar is one of the few places where it’s expressed over and over again in the architecture and images. We do not need texts to understand that Chavín de Huantar had an ideology based on dualism.

The columns on which the black and white lintel rests are carved with designs almost unrecognizable on the columnar forms. You had to have known what was there to be able to

recreate them in the imagination. Rubbings and drawings reveal them to be anthropomorphic fanged personages in raptorial bird guise. Compared to other bird images they are similar but have more complex and repetitious detail. It took until 1978 for Patricia Lyon to recognize that one was male and the other female.<sup>13</sup> The genitals are a part of the ornate substitutional system and only indicated metaphorically by a suggestive arrangement of fanged faces – an overhanging fang for the male and two converging open mouths for the female in the genital areas. Nothing could indicate more the lack of interest in actual human bodies or an erotic component. Gender is rendered by signs as much as the other features. Patricia Lyon showed that we have been missing female figures in Andean imagery because we were looking for the “Venus de Milo.” In fact, women were very important in Andean thought because of the complementarity of male and femaleness, the yin and yang of totality, and together they are not infrequent in imagery. Guaman Poma, for example, felt it important to draw an image of the queen of each ruler in his book, because they existed conceptually as a couple, even if the woman had no role in his history. By contrast, we would not expect queens to be represented in early Aztec manuscripts and we are not surprised by their absence. Queens may be important for Maya and Mixtec royalty for genealogical reasons even as individuals. But in the Andes maleness and femaleness are a part of the structure of the cosmos, its yin and yang, and are there for ideological reasons. Andean art is more a philosophy than an image of the natural world.

Neither of these male or female columnar figures is likely to have been a major deity, since they are on two sides of a gateway like guardians. The structure(s) the gateway led to, no longer exist. John Rowe thought the Raimondi Stela was the major image of the Black and White portal complex. Clearly it must have been a major image like that or similar to the Tello obelisk. We shall never know for certain.

There are more structural aspects of dualistic thinking in Chavín style that can be mentioned, such as symmetry and asymmetry and curve and angle. Most Chavín images are symmetrical on the whole or at first sight, but asymmetries abound as seen in the Tello obelisk. Even the Lanzón is asymmetrical with only one arm raised. Birds and felines are not identical in detail. Similarly within images there is a curious juxtaposition of straight and curving elements both in the overall composition and the individual details. In the Black and White Portal, figures straight lines in the faces contrast with the curves of beaks. Chavín figures seem to be organized along modular lines yet softened by curves.

This is not to say that the artists of Chavín de Huantar consciously created images based on their social system of dualism. What we have instead is an unconscious structuring of images on the basis of the way life was structured for them. This idea is very similar to what Lévi-Strauss suggests for Caduveo facial painting which he says is not “ornamentation” but a diagram of Amazonian social reality in the village plan based on moiety division and male and female areas of separation: “The organization of the ground-plan of a Bororo village is comparable to that of the Caduveo drawing.”<sup>14</sup> The facial painting is not a literal plan but an artistic design based on the same ideas that generated the village plan. Lévi-Strauss could be speaking not just for Chavín but for the later Wari textiles when he assesses Caduveo painting:

“The Caduveo style presents us, therefore, with a whole series of complications. The dualism, to begin with, which recurs over and over again, on one level or another, like a hall of mirrors: men and women, painting and sculpture, abstraction and representation, angle and curve, geometry and arabesque, neck and belly, symmetry and asymmetry, border and centerpiece, figure and ground... The primary themes are later blended into secondary themes, initially disarticulated, are later blended into secondary themes which establish a sort of



provisional unity among fragments borrowed from their predecessors, and these in their turn are juxtaposed in such a way that the original unity reappears as if the result of a conjuring-trick. And then the complicated decorations which have been arrived at by this means are themselves once again cut out and brought fact to face with one another by means of an escutcheon-like quartering.”<sup>15</sup>

To my mind Chavín designs are not ornaments or stylizations but clearly social and cosmic charts. Mandalas come to mind as comparisons. One navigates through and with the chart primarily, the aesthetic quality making the navigation possible, comprehensible, and enjoyable. But evidently this navigation was as much in the mind as the experience of the Nazca lines in that few images were in visible locations.

One striking feature of Chavín images is not just their rich complexity but also their logic. Beings are based on a few substitutions many of which are even logical to us – such as snakes for hair or whiskers. The actual elements that make up complex designs are few – the complex cayman of the Jaguar Lintel is made up of ten simple designs which have been combined in a variety of ways. Unlike Caduveo facial painting, Chavín designs restrict themselves to what is necessary and do not indulge in ornament for its own sake. Motifs may be multiplied but their logical relation persists.

This emphasis on logic is specifically Andean. It may be derived from the antiquity of textile arts which go back to the third millennium on the coast. Some textiles from Huaca Prieta in fact bear close similarity to Chavín compositions. The most famous of these is a raptorial bird with outstretched wings and a snake on its belly. The overall form and the animal juxtaposition are similar to the Chavín bird images. Less obviously the rectangular human figures in Chavín are similar to a chunky human represented at Huaca Prieta. The argument is not that there is a

direct connection between Chavín and Huaca Prieta but that there is a connection between textiles and the reliefs within the early Andean tradition. The very flatness and rectangularity of the reliefs make them comparable to textiles. Also, the fact that the sculptures are not imagined as three-dimensional beings but as diagrams reinforces their connection with textiles. Designs on textiles are made through the memorized counting of threads in a structured and systematic fashion – just the way the design elements are laid out and multiplied on the Chavín reliefs. It is evident that the Chavín carvers gloried in the curvilinear forms not possible in textiles, but they did not abandon the overall vertical-horizontal order required in textiles. One could even say that they imagined the reliefs as super-textiles. If they were colored, the similarity may have been greater.

The logic that textiles require and demonstrate is clearly present in the Chavín reliefs. This same system is at the basis of the khipu. Looked down upon as merely a poor “mnemonic device,” in Gary Urton’s recent studies the khipu has become a complex “binary” system.<sup>16</sup> His major discovery is not the content of the khipu, still only dimly understood, but its structure. The information that could be coded into the yarns is astonishing. The threads could be S- or Z-spun (to the right or left), tied to the main cord front or back, the knots could be made a number of forms, also front and back, the strings and pendant strings and even the knots in different colors or even half and half this yielding thousands of possible variations. The individual elements, however, are based on 0 and 1. Given that the khipu was mostly mathematical arranged on a decimal system, it codified things in the world through an orderly and rational system of number and/or quality. This khipu now being analyzed is mostly of the Inka period. (around 600 are known). It is not well-documented from earlier times. The earliest khipu we know is from the Wari in the Middle Horizon, c. 600-1000 AD. There is no reason that earlier khipu might not

have existed since if they were not tomb offerings they would not have survived. Moreover, the point I am making here is that Chavín images have a clear logic similar to what is later on demonstrated in the khipu: Andean image making is more involved with the creation of logical systems than in the imitation of nature.

It is interesting to note that on two of the books devoted to Chavín (Julio Tello's and Richard Burger's)<sup>17</sup> the images on the cover are none of the ones discussed so far, but instead are the only three-dimensional forms extant at the site. These so-called "tenoned heads" were originally placed at intervals in the walls of the Castillo and at least one is in situ. Quite large, up to 80cm high, and ranging from human to composite feline features, they seem to convey the grandeur of Chavín to a western audience more than the reliefs. Although they represent the usual array of beings, their multiplicity and external location suggest that they were not cult figures.

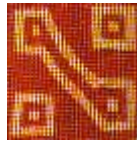
An early widespread interpretation was that they were trophy heads. Headhunting is known throughout Andean history and some Chavín relief panels show figures with trophy heads. More recently Burger suggested that they indicated the use of hallucinogenics in that some heads show something in the nose he interpreted as mucus that is the result of a hallucinogenic drug being ingested. Similarly the vertical motif in the hand of the human figure in the Circular Courtyard has been interpreted as a hallucinogenic cactus. Hallucinogenics are widely used in South America especially in tropical forest regions and could very well have been used for ritual purposes by Andeans. However, the drug that is best documented for the Andes is the coca leaf ubiquitous in the highlands and perhaps even necessary in the high altitudes. The only problem with the idea of hallucinogenic use is what meaning we assign to it. Because of the ideology associated with drug use in our culture it is very hard to be objective in assessing it in

ancient contexts. The enthusiasm for drugs led Michael Harner to proclaim that after using hallucinogenics he “saw” Chavín style jaguars and argued that the Chavín style was derived from drug use.<sup>18</sup> This idea has been explored, and it is not possible to demonstrate that all people who take drugs see the same things. (If they see anything universal, it is little dots and simple abstract designs.) Nor is it possible to carve or make images actually under the influence. Whatever visions the person has, it goes through a cultural filter. Moreover, as many have pointed out, there are many similarities in design structure with ancient Chinese art, which is not related to hallucinogenics. All this suggests that such drugs may indeed have been important in the trances of Chavín priests as well as other Andean priests, but that on the whole they do not determine the nature of Chavín imagery.

In conclusion, Chavín de Huantar was a place of speculation and codification about the universe – the images are closer to writing, i.e. record keeping – than to the forms familiar to us from the Greco-Roman tradition. Chavín may not have been the “mother art” of the Andes in a historical sense, but its structure and approach is essentially Andean through space and time. In so far as the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss in the Amazon helps to unravel Chavín, it is helpful to an understanding of all of Andean art. It is surprising that the study of Amazon villages should say so much about the complex civilizations of the Andes. It refers to an anthropological debate as to which area had a defining impact on Andean civilization – the Amazon or the Coast. I agree with Donald Lathrap and the other amazonistas that the highlands shared a great deal with the tropical forest. And though the highlands had the great late empires – Tiwanaku, Wari, and Inka – in many ways, settlements were generally smaller and more strictly based on reciprocity than were cultures on the coast. It may have been that cosmic cults were more a highland than a coastal tradition and were the aspect the coast found attractive in the oracle center. The highlands

were never as rich as the coast in goods, but they were rich in ideology and could disseminate it. The Inka tried, apparently with mixed results, to spread a cult of the Sun as a unifying force in their empire. But without an empire, Chavín seems to have done well dominating the ideological realm in the Early Horizon.

We know little about the political organization of Chavín de Huantar. John Rick assumes that priests rather than secular kings were in power. Nevertheless, he suggests that the creation of the site and ideology of Chavín were a strategy to concentrate power in a few hands and that as time went on Chavín was transformed from a relatively egalitarian society based on reciprocity to a sharp division between elites and lesser others. The monuments suggest, however, that the elites continued to present an imagery based on reciprocity and the old system.



## Chapter 4. ARCHITECTURE: SHELTER AS METAPHOR

*Andean architecture is the result of corporate labor systems, of which the best known was that of the Inka “mita.” Labor for the state was expected in the Inka Empire with men doing the heavy building and women doing lighter work such as weaving the textiles. The ideology was not so much in the finished work as in the process of work itself. Garcilaso made this clear in an anecdotal example about the very poor or unfit who had nothing to give the state but who were nevertheless expected to collect a certain quantity of lice as their work and tribute.<sup>1</sup> Whether this is true or not, it is a telling anecdote. The Inka example suggests elaborate organization for work and large groups of people available for work. The result of this is that in the area of the Andes there is an enormous amount of architecture, now mostly in ruins, which still survives despite the fact that stones have been looted for later Colonial and even recent local building for centuries. In many places, only enough stones survive to indicate ground plans. Moreover, in the past, most scholars were not particularly interested in architecture, except as an indication of social complexity. While there is some familiarity with the spectacular Inka and Tiwanaku buildings, generally, even specialists are not aware of the various regional traditions and the sheer quantity of structures that were erected in pre-Inka times.*

*It is assumed that most architecture was built with cooperative labor perhaps in more or less egalitarian societies or with labor service in hierarchical societies. The best evidence for this comes from the Moche, a civilization on the North Coast dating between 200 BC and 700 AD where a number of large adobe mounds were built. In the case of the Pyramid of the Sun erosion has opened up the structure and it is clearly visible that it was built of separate vertical segments, and the bricks in each segment had different marks indicating their makers and/or*

*place of origin.<sup>2</sup> Such a neat example of corporate building is not found in most places, but it is assumed that the process was similar and that the actual markings of the bricks at Moche indicate a special situation and that they were not usually necessary.*

*A complete review of Andean architecture is beyond the scope of this book but recent research has revealed especially two areas and periods of architecture that are worth discussing in greater detail: the early ceremonial architecture of the coast and the late architecture of the Montaña.*

*Andean history has been divided into three horizons, or periods of some pan-Andean unity, such as the Early Horizon (Chavín), 900-200 BC; Middle Horizon (Tiwanaku/ Wari), 600-1000 AD; and Late Horizon (Inka), 1450-1532. In between the horizons are “intermediate” periods, which consist of a variety of smaller regional cultures. The earliest time of Andean history is the Preceramic Period, 3000-1800 BC, followed by the wide spread of maize agriculture and the introduction of ceramics in the Initial Period, 1800-900 BC. The Early Intermediate Period, 200BC-700 AD, has the flourishing coastal cultures of Moche in the north and Nazca in the south. The Late Intermediate Period, 1000-1450 AD, is known especially for the North Coast state of Chimu and of Montaña architecture.*

*While “pyramids” – i.e., tall and massive, mostly rectangular, constructions with little buildings on the top – characterize the ceremonial architecture of Mesoamerica, Andean architecture has no such easily definable common element. Although large mounds like the Moche Pyramid of the Sun exist, usually structures have more complex profiles and levels negating the likelihood of being given simple geometric names. Moreover, these structures have a greater multiplicity of rooms and less clear divisions into sacred and secular functions.*

## **Preceramic and Initial Period Coastal Architecture, 3000-900 BC**

Until the middle of the twentieth century, most Preceramic architecture was considered Late Intermediate period in date, about 1000-1400 AD, a time period generally considered less interesting than greater antiquity and, therefore, it was neglected. In some instances, it was even thought of as natural hills. A series of excavations in the mid twentieth century revealed that many of these “hills” were man made and had C-14 dates as early as 2000-3000 BC and that there was therefore a hitherto unknown architectural tradition in the Andes.<sup>3</sup> Most significantly, some of this architecture was without evidence of associated agriculture and/or pottery, that is, purely in the context of a fishing culture.<sup>4</sup> This was against the received wisdom of anthropology based on Old World development, where permanent settlements and architecture began together with pottery and the growing of domesticated plants in something called the Agricultural Revolution. The other received wisdom had been that civilization in the New World began thousands of years later than in Egypt and Mesopotamia.<sup>5</sup> The extent of the new architecture in the Andes – now pushed back to 3000 BC – rivals that of the ancient civilizations of the Old World.

In *The Maritime Foundations of Andean Civilization* (1975), Michael Moseley argued that civilization emerged in the Andes in the context of a fishing culture and that people lived in permanent settlements and built grandiose architecture without knowing pottery or the farming of maize.<sup>6</sup> They did grow cotton, however, which was necessary for fishing nets and lines. What were these fisherfolk and cotton growers doing so early on the Peruvian coast building monumental architecture? Unfortunately, most of these ruins are in a poor and unreconstructed condition and drawings and descriptions are mostly available. Even so, the information is staggering. About at least fifty major ceremonial building complexes were erected on the coast,



especially north and south of Lima, were surrounded by residential areas. While most habitation areas were small, a few might have been almost “urban” city states. Sometimes dozens were in the same valley or general area, suggesting rivalry or sudden shifts of activity in a short time.

Some centers, perhaps the earliest ones, were very close to the coast, clearly based on fishing and entirely preceramic, such as Aspero. Others were further inland and had irrigated agriculture primarily for cotton and gourds such as Caral both in the Supe River valley. Scholars debate whether fishing came first and agriculture came later, or whether the two coexisted from the beginning, since sometimes the inland sites made the nets for fishing. Moseley’s theory has had to be modified. In any case, after 1800 or the Initial period when maize was introduced, much of the population did move inland and agriculture became more important.

Aspero is one of the earliest architectural complexes consisting of six large and many smaller mounds of which the six are in roughly stepped elongated “pyramidal” form.<sup>7</sup> One of the platforms is five stories high and 98 x 131 ft at its base. A reconstruction shows courts and rooms on top. At some sites, monument building was begun by filling in a residential room complex, perhaps the home of an important person. Much of the fill had been brought in nets or baskets, thus suggesting corporate labor. The rush nets were buried with the stones, a load weighing over twenty pounds. Preceramic architecture was built of stone set in mud mortar with clay adobes in the upper walls. The walls were subsequently plastered with mud plaster and painted in bright colors. One of the interesting features of these sites is that there is relatively little sculpture or representation at the Preceramic sites. Moreover, it has been noted that no great riches were buried with the dead, raising the question of how much their society was egalitarian or hierarchical. Were the building ordered and managed by an elite or cooperative villagers? The answer may well be a little of both perhaps revealing the very process of stratification in the

building projects. It is believed that these Preceramic communities were individual chiefdoms without a capital city that would be characteristic of a state. In chiefdoms, kinship relationships may be unequal but society is not divided into classes.<sup>8</sup>

Aspero dates to about 2000 BC, and a little further inland in the Supe valley El Paraíso dates contemporary with it or a little later. El Paraíso has eleven buildings, two of which frame a huge plaza and are four hundred meters long.<sup>9</sup> El Paraíso shows signs of orientation and planning and even of standardized measurements with a unit about a meter wide. Most of its construction is also of stones in fiber bags. The only excavated and reconstructed structure is a small stepped platform at the apex of the plaza known as Building 1. This structure is a room complex with two stairways. The larger stairway leads into a room with a sunken court and with a round pit at each of the corners. This complex is clearly ceremonial in nature and the ash found in the pits indicates a burning ritual. The other stairway leads to some of the other twenty-five rooms of the complex. Clearly the rooms had multiple functions, varying in importance and/or sacredness in which perhaps different groups of people participated – a common characteristic of Andean architecture. At Aspero's largest mound is a structure called "Mound of the Idols" because of little clay figurines found in them; here, there are at least five rooms and several courts.

Further inland in the Supe valley lies the site of Caral<sup>10</sup> (contemporary with Aspero and El Paraíso) and beyond it lie at least seventeen other sites. There are six large mounds at Caral, the largest being 160 x 150 meters at the base and eighteen meters high. Most striking are two circular sunken courts. There are circular sunken courts at nearly fifty sites in the Preceramic and Initial periods. In the Supe valley alone there are fifteen sites with circular plazas. Circular courts have generally stone walls, plastered floors and are on the average twenty meters in diameter with up to fifty and eighty meters in some cases. We do not know what their function was.

Sometimes they are in front of a mound structure as its plaza. They suggest the congregation, public ceremonial, dance, etc., of a large group of people at the site. Unlike the private room complexes with restricted access, the sunken courts appear to be public. Population estimates for these sites are approximately two to three thousand individuals.

Caral, located further inland, was based less on fishing and more on an irrigated system of agriculture that included a great many cultigens such as beans, squash peanuts, and a variety of fruits. Nevertheless, Caral is lacking in maize. These three sites indicate the exploitation of resources in their respective areas near the coast: Aspero primarily marine goods, Caral mainly agricultural harvests, and El Paraíso, in between, a little of both.

Around 1800 BC, but not at the same time at every site, maize agriculture and pottery appear in the archaeological record along with marine resources. Named the Initial Period, c.1800-900 BC, its numerous sites are situated further inland the rivers to accommodate irrigation canals for agriculture. Their ceremonial constructions, which are mostly U-shaped, face away from the coast and towards the mountains. The lifegiving flow of water is runoff from the mountains, not from rain, and as in some later cultures the mountains may have been seen as powerful supernaturals. U-shaped mounds refer to a major central mound usually with rooms on top, to which are attached two lower mounds or “wings” enclosing a plaza in the center.

The most fascinating recent excavations were at Pampa de los Llamas Moxeke in the Casma Valley where the major U-shaped structure was ten stories high and ornamented with anthropomorphic figures in mud relief.<sup>11</sup> Set high in a wall, these figures could have been seen from a distance. Unique at this site is another large structure Mound A that seems to have been a storehouse with about sixty rooms and a central court. A reed carpet once covered the floor. Judging by the quantity of rodent bones, the excavators felt that mainly foodstuffs were stored in

the rooms. Some rooms may have been reserved for prestige goods. A storehouse suggests a central authority in charge of collecting food and redistributing it. The find of seals in the complex suggested ways of identifying things or people. The significance of the storehouse is that it suggests the presence of civil authority and power separated from or not in the guise of religious power.

There are many other Initial period sites with a variety of features. In the same Casma valley is the site of Sechin Alto which has the largest early stepped pyramid on the Andean coast, dated at 1450 BC (300 x 250m; 44m tall). The mound with several rooms faces a series of large rectangular plazas in which there are three circular sunken courts. The largest court is 80 meters in diameter.

Cardal, a site south of Lima, has a very large mound with a huge stairway leading to the top. Ten circular sunken courts surround it in the various plazas and structures. A row of fangs, reminiscent of Chavín motifs, flanks the entrance at the top of the stairway. Cardal is near another impressive site, Mina Perdida, where Burger excavated a papier mache and gourd puppet discarded near the top of a structure.<sup>12</sup> This fanged puppet suggested that religious ritualism may have relied more on perishable objects than we realize.

The La Florida (Rimac Valley) U-shaped structure was one of the first to be reclassified as Initial period but is now one of great many U-shaped structures known. It is dated 1800 BC.

Las Haldas has by far the most dramatic early plan. It is an Initial period site dating to around 1700 BC but with habitation going back to 3000 BC. Located on a hilltop south of the Casma valley, the major mound is close to the Pacific Ocean but faces inland. This mound with rooms faces a series of four courtyards with a large oval sunken court in the second one. While it is reminiscent of the nearby Sechin Alto plan, the single large oval court makes it more unified

and impressive. The entire layout of Las Haldas is over 1200 meters. It seems to have been abandoned before the last stairways were finished.

Probably many Initial period structures had symbolic ornamentation but few have survived. At Moxeke felines and figures were modeled in mud, while at Punkuri there was a large three dimensional feline. One remarkable find is at Garagay, 1400 BC, a site near Lima (between the Chillón and Rimac rivers) where not only several reliefs were found, but they still retained their original color on the big U-shaped temple. Bright blue, yellow, red, black, and white pigments cover the figures at Garagay. All show relationships with Chavín imagery in the fangs on the human face, like the deity and on a monstrous spider creature. This suggests that thousands of years ago this architecture was brightly colored and perhaps painted with murals and reliefs now gone.

The best preserved structure with surviving sculpture is the Initial Period Huaca de los Reyes at Caballo Muerto, built in the Moche River Valley; it is one of eight mounds at the site.<sup>13</sup> The plan is a very complex double or even triple U-shape design. A very large court separates the outer wings from the highest platform in the center. This, in turn, has a court inside with rooms all around and, farther back, a still higher smaller area with rooms. All these rooms and courts on different levels suggest restrictive access. Large human heads with feline fangs were modeled on the principal platform, reminiscent of the Chavín Castillo tenoned heads, but repeating identical in forms. The sculptures on other portions of the structure are quite fragmentary, showing just the legs of figures and bits of motifs that look like feathers and faces in Chavín style. There is not enough at any site or at all of them together to suggest a coherent interpretation except that the forms and imagery are very close to that of Chavín. In some form therefore, Chavín type imagery goes back at least to the Initial Period, if not earlier.

Chavín type style is found as early as 3000 BC on the Huaca Prieta textiles and gourds. While the cotton textiles are angular because of the weaving grid, rather than showing abstract geometric designs that would have been easier, they depict birds, sea creatures, and occasionally humans in a creatively rectilinear style based on modular width forms and Chavín-like proportions. They are a part of the Preceramic image and design system. This is most clearly the case in the engraved gourds, where the human form's angularity and proportions are not necessitated by the medium. If Chavín began c. 900 BC, as is currently thought, much of its architecture and imagery was inspired by the art of the coast. We are not in a position to assess the precise nature of the debt and imaginative contribution of Chavín as of yet, but for us it is the one place where the meaning of it all comes together. One interesting site where this issue can be examined is at Cerro Blanco, a coastal site coeval with Chavín that has well preserved Chavín-style faces modeled on the side of the structure. The entryway is literally on the tongue of the figure so that, metaphorically, one enters the maw of the Chavín supernatural. Not knowing which site is earlier, it is hard to pin this creative design to a highland or coastal origin.

Certainly, Chavín de Huantar did not imitate the modest highland preceramic tradition in architecture. The highlands had smaller and poorer communities and their ritual spaces consisted of small interior rooms with a fire pit in the center. The earliest excavated so far is Kotosh, where the room was only a little more than 9 x 9 meters.<sup>14</sup> Niches bordered the walls and in one such room the only decoration was a pair of crossed hands under a niche. Similar rooms have been found at Shillacoto and Huaricoto and other highland sites. La Galgada is distinctive for having rounded walls and multiple rooms. The structure of these rooms suggests community rituals for relatively small numbers of persons. The lack of levels at different heights suggests a more egalitarian social situation than the complex buildings of the coast. There is nothing quite like

these highland ceremonial rooms at Chavín. Chavín may have turned to tropical forest imagery in caymans and jaguars, but the emphasis on platforms, plazas, the circular court, the doorway was probably inspired by the coast. The interior galleries, based on stonework, may have been a Chavín concept.

### **Architecture of the Montaña**

Where in the world can one still find undiscovered ruins? In eastern Peru, apparently.

In the 1980s, I frequently read reports in the *New York Times* of the discovery of new ruined cities in the tropical forest region of Peru! Upon closer reading, and if there was a photograph, the new ruins always turned out to be Pajaten in the Chachapoyas area. Pajaten seems to have been discovered a dozen times. So little was known about this area that fact-checking by the newspapers evidently thought it was new, time after time – and this, despite the fact that the most popular work on Chachapoyas architecture, an easy to miss volume, was published in 1970 by Gene Savoy.<sup>15</sup> Savoy was an explorer and not an archaeologist, which is significant in itself. The eastern slope of the Andes has been barely touched archaeologically because of the difficult mountainous and forested terrain, wet tropical weather, lush vegetation, and small settlements far from the coastal cities with their resources. Even today many ruins can only be seen from an arduous trip on muleback.<sup>16</sup> Savoy photographed his expedition at the walls of Kuelap, one of the largest sites, everyone on muleback. Actually, at least forty significant travelers visited the area before Savoy recording interesting information including Antonio Raimondi (1870), Adolf Bandelier (1893), Henri and Paule Reichlen (1948).<sup>17</sup> Savoy and the modern explorer-tourists who follow him recently still flock to this region in the hope of finding new ruins – and new ruins are being found. Keith Muscett, Peter Lerche, and Robert Bradley are

some of the foremost modern explorers. The whole area has not been definitively mapped and new sites are not uncommon.

Archaeologists have avoided the area not just because of its difficulties but because they feel that excavation there would not yield the same significant results for the history of the Andes as a whole, just as excavation on the coast or highlands do. In other words, they see the area as purely of regional significance. We know from the historical sources that the Inka conquered the Chachapoya area and found its warriors determined foes. The general date assumed for this region is pre-Inka (Late Intermediate, c. 1000-1430), although some have suggested possibly earlier dates of around AD 600. The Chachapoya area is in the mountains far east of the Moche Valley, and the Moche and Chimú culture region.

The Montaña region may not be fascinating archaeologically, but it is fascinating architecturally. There are hundreds, possibly a thousand, stone ruins still standing in this eastern area of Peru. First of all, they testify to the importance of architecture as the major activity of social and political groups in the Andes. Second, they indicate regional styles of building, including a variety of techniques of construction and decoration that help to put the more famous Inka architecture in context. Most eastern slope architecture is on hilltops, is sometimes walled, and therefore is usually considered to be fortress-like. It is unclear who the fortresses were against: marauding Amazonian tribes or each other? But these cultures are seen usually as small polities, such as chiefdoms rather than large states. We are not aware of a capital city controlling a large area. Nevertheless, the fortress theory has been questioned by Bradley on the ground that endemic warfare in the region has not been adequately demonstrated and that there might be other reasons for building on a hill that are ceremonial and symbolic rather than bellicose.<sup>18</sup> The actual structures within the walls whether round or rectangular, seem to be residential and not



religious. This distinction, however, is based on the coastal idea of mounds built for ceremonial functions, which was not the case in the highlands. The Inka built no pyramids and their sacred and secular structures, which were like houses, were similar to each other. Moreover, the famous Inka fortress of Sacsahuaman, with its three rings of zigzag masonry walls around a hill is now seen as more ceremonial than protective in function. It is noteworthy that the early architecture of the highlands, such as Kotosh and La Galgada, consisted of walled interior rooms and not mounds and plazas. The architecture of the Montaña may have been similarly both residential and ceremonial and only secondarily, or incidentally, military.

Pajatén is the best studied and published Chachapoya site.<sup>19</sup> Sixteen round structures and one that is rectangular are built on top of a partially walled hill. Structure 1 (45 meters in diameter) is the largest, with a little plaza and a stairway leading to the entrance. While some stone mosaic decorates most Chachapoya buildings, it is the richest at Pajatén. On Structure 1, the lower level of the exterior has figures seated with their knees drawn up to the side and their arms bent at the elbow. The mosaic is made from the same small long pieces of stone that face the structure and the figure emerges naturally from the stonework. The face is one oval stone with a semicircular headdress made of mosaic. The upper level of Structure 1 has ornamental fret and triangle designs on the same scale as the figures. Emerging from the roots of trees that have grown through the building, large mosaic birds ornament another circular structure.

The Pajatén plan and Savoy's publication illustrate how close these circular structures were to each other. At Monte Paula, only a small path separates them from one another. Diamond and triangular designs are most common in one or more friezes as at Muyok Viejo, La Congua, or Monte Bravo. At Yalape there is a long wall ornamented in several friezes. Some of these structures were two story but they usually had a conical thatched roof.

One of the most unusual Chachapoya structures is Kuelap, situated at an altitude of 10,000 feet and difficult of access. While it has the expected round structures inside, seven to nine meters in diameter each, it has an unusually large number of them – over 400. Kuelap's most distinctive feature is the great wall that surrounds the structures. The wall varies in height from ten to nineteen meters and its undulating form, which seemingly follows the shape of the cliff, actually creates an artificial cliff around the natural hill – almost like a pyramid. Three passages form entrances to the interior thus making Kuelap a remarkably closed place. These entrances begin as dramatic, tall triangular openings, which are almost like corbelled vaults.

Kuelap is usually thought to be a fortress but a closed place need not have been a military construction; it could also have been a sacred place of restricted access. The circular structures could have been clan or ayllu related and the lack of a public plaza for ceremonies might suggest a lack of large scale ritualism in favor of small scale activity. It is difficult to believe that this was a fortress; by contrast, Bradley's argument that it was a ceremonial building is very reasonable.

No explorer-tourists are rushing to the Tantomayo area to see the ruins, which are only rarely published in Andean books but quite fascinating. In 1957, Flornoy devoted an article to this subject that is rich for architectural interests.<sup>20</sup> The Tantomayo area is east of the city of Huanuco, south of Chachapoyas, in the east-central area of the Andes. Flornoy published photographs of two sites, Sussupillo and Piruru that were within large walled complexes. Sussupillo had three concentric oval walls surrounding one particularly large structure. Unlike the Chachapoya buildings, the Tantomayo ones are not ornamented with stone mosaic. Their great interest, however, lies in the fact that they are multistory buildings with possibly stone roofs. The Sussupillo building has an impressive four storeys with large doors and/or windows.

Piruru has three three story structures next to each other. Flornoy demonstrated the interior arrangements in drawings on the basis of two other sites, Tchiwan and Ipango. Evidently the higher floors were only partial and stepping stones built into the walls served as stairways to reach the upper levels. This does not seem like a practical living arrangement for us and while these structures too have been considered “residential” and “fortresses,” they may well have been ritual spaces not used every day for related but separate social units.

### **Stone Roofing and Burial Structures**

Because so much of writing on Andean architecture is based on the Inka, one is not fully aware of the variety and construction of building practices in the Andes. The Inka usually avoided multistory structures and mosaic decoration, and they limited themselves to thatched roofs. By contrast, various types of stone roofing existed in the highlands since the time Chavín built its stone-covered galleries. Although there is great interest in and admiration for the Maya corbel vault, the rougher Andean vault seems to have escaped serious attention. Goerge Kubler emphasized the burial towers of Cantamarca province (highlands near Lima), which were usually round towers built either with a pillar in the center or with an open center and a heavy corbel vault.<sup>21</sup> Bodies and offerings were placed in small sections at a lower level or in the sides. The diameters of these towers can be as wide as 6.5 meters. In this same area there are houses at Wilkawain and Chiprak that utilize stone for roofing. At Chiprak, buttresses help support the roof which is sort of vaulted and/or domed. While stone roofing never became the architectural hallmark for a major Andean culture, it was known and used for hundreds of years.

On the coast the important dead were buried in shaft graves, singly or in groups, but in the highlands and Montaña above-ground burial was customary and made sense. In the

Chachapoyas area burials were frequently in the cliffs, literally within the mountains. In the Cantamarca region, and in many other places in the highlands as far as Lake Titicaca in the south, the remains of the dead were placed in towers – rectangular or more usually round in form. *Chullpas*, as these round burial towers are known, in some places dot the landscape like large mushrooms. Examples of such groupings include Colocolo where the structures are only thatched.

### **Storehouses and Storerooms**

The Aztecs of Mexico were said to distribute grain from storehouses in the times of famine, but no masonry structures that can be considered storehouses exist in Mesoamerica. Storage is however common in the Andes under Inka rule, especially in provincial capitals such as Huanuco Viejo. Very striking is the presence of storage rooms at the Wari imperial sites of Pikillacta and Viracochapampa. Hundreds of these rooms could contain foodstuffs as well as goods such as pottery, textiles and even metalwork. We assume that these stores functioned in the exchange systems of the empires that collected tribute from their carefully counted subjects and redistributed them as necessities, for further work, to support the administration of the empires or as gifts. The recent discovery of such storage rooms at the Preceramic site of Moxeke Mound A suggests the antiquity of this pattern. The fact remains, however, that sites with masonry storage are the exception rather than the rule in pre-Inka times and storage may often have been in perishable constructions rather than masonry. This raises the question of whether these storage sites were purely practical or perhaps also had a symbolic and ceremonial function like the “fortresses.”

## Shelter and Storage

It is evident from even such a partial discussion of architecture that, from the earliest times, there was a great deal of building effort in the ancient Andes, that there was much variety of form and construction, and that a great deal of the time of the elite went into planning it and that much of the time of the ordinary Andean went into building it. But what exactly were they building?

Jerry Moore, whose *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes* is the first holistic study of the subject, makes the essential point that, “unlike the Old World temple, Andean ritual architecture does not fall in the tradition of ‘the home of god’.”<sup>22</sup> Nor were gods worshipped as in Mesoamerica and the classical world. There are references to various gods such as Pachamama, the earth, but no clear cult. There are many confusing sixteenth-century accounts of the Creator God Viracocha but he may have been largely a concept. The cult of Inti, the Sun god, was pushed by the Inka, not very successfully. Instead, Andean religion seems to have been localized in the veneration of nearby mountains and springs, consisting of a bewildering array of names and stories as told in the Huarochiri Manuscript.<sup>23</sup> This was not polytheism but more like polyspiritism. Andeans lived in an animate universe not controlled by a few “captains.”

Moore quotes Wheatley to explain what Andean architecture does, saying it was a “ritual paradigm of the ordering of social interactions”<sup>24</sup> – that is, general enough to fit any culture. Like the Chavín reliefs, Andean buildings were also maps of the cosmos and society as well as places where those rules were enacted. Borrowing a term to be explained later, architecture was built for “networking,” or working on the social net, and not for the worship of a god or ruler. This “net” was what Guaman Poma and Garcilaso saw as good government and good order. Andean art and architecture is not about the gods but about the community.

Andeans used the architecture to walk, talk, drink, sacrifice, exchange goods and reaffirm the social order. As the endless accounts of the *kipus* indicate, they recognized a life full of change – that families wax and wane, that ritual and deities change, and all must be fairly adjudicated and kept in balance. In Mesoamerica, where the social model is based on conflict, some of this was worked out in different structures of overt dominance and submission, such as sacrificial pyramids and ball courts. In the Andes, dominance and submission were hidden in the system of reciprocity. We can surmise the following from the architectural structure:

*Platforms.* These symbolize the power of the community with its elites to build artificial mountains for ritual purposes. They create a sacred public space.

*Multiple rooms on platforms.* This is characteristic not just of Preceramic but of most Andean architecture. Mesoamerica had one small room for a deity, ruler and/or ritual paraphernalia on top of the pyramids; the Andes had many rooms. This suggests either a wide variety of functions or a variety of social groups who have their own space. In either case, the Andean “pyramid” is a communal structure used together and separately by a much larger group of people.

*U-shaped structures.* This suggests two features – one is some division into larger groups than the individual room, possibly two moieties in the symmetrical wings, and possibly a division into three or any other numerical social combination. Secondly, the presence of the two “wings” flanking the center area creates a sheltered plaza in between them. I will argue that a major purpose of Andean architecture was the creation of shelter meant both literally and figuratively.

*Hilltop architecture.* Sheltered by walls, there is room for multiple social groups and activities. Often it is labor intensive either in ornament or multiple stories. It could be residential

or ceremonial but no spaces for large popular gatherings are present. In Andean architecture, there is generally little sense of a “people” or “populace” and more of separate groups of people. The best surviving native mythological text, the Huarochiri Manuscript, indicates that Andeans venerated actual hills and mountains whose names and doings were local and regionally known. We know for certain that the Inka and Chavín venerated individual stones and others may have as well. Hilltop sites and walls on them may be examples of demarcation for sacred areas.

*Walls.* It has often been noted that Inka architecture was an architecture of walls. For instance, walls surround each of the Chimú, Wari, Moche, Tiwanaku, Chachapoya, and Tiantayaco complexes. These walls do not merely surround something in a functional way; they are articulated to express messages on their own. The primary message they suggest is protection, yet the protection is not necessarily against intruders but more symbolic of a value important to Andeans. As the pyramid is an important value-laden concept in Mesoamerica, the wall is its equivalent in the Andes. One of the significations of walls is their function in separating one area from another. Given the importance of walls in the Andes, separation not just from the sacred and the profane but also among and between individual social units seems to have been a self-evident way to organize the world. As such, the information on the khipu is knot by individual knot; the mita laborers worked section by section; the architecture platform tops are divided into rooms; and storage is clearly demarcated by sections. Through this, one can see that the Andean concept of order – the way of avoiding chaos and conflict – is by separation. Walls are crucial in making separation visible. This is also evident in the way people were counted on the census not in families or groups but one by one.

*Doors and gates.* The enclosing function of walls is broken by doors and gateways which in two instances – at Chavín and Tiwanaku – were symbolically communicative of their function

as transitional spaces. In both of these instances guardian figures were associated with the gate, indicating control over who may or may not enter and representing supernatural sanctions. It would seem that the entrances were more elaborate than the actual sacred spaces. Kuelap, with its tall triangular entrance, is as dramatic even without sculpture. Many carved lintels were once on chullpas or other buildings that have since disappeared. Because the primary conceptual Andean architectural form is the wall, the entrance/exit through is of extraordinary importance.

*Circular form.* The circular form in architecture seems to have been of special importance as the Preceramic and Initial period circular courtyards indicate; consider further the Chachapoya circular towers, the circular chullpas, and the importance of circular walls for the Inka in Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and at Kenko. In the chullpas, and for the Inka, the relationship of the circular form is clearly with burials, mausoleums, and the ancestors. The meaning of the early circular forms is mysterious, but the circle, as a form, emphasizes inclusiveness rather than exclusiveness; at Chavín, it is on axis to the entrance of the Lanzón but outside in the public area. The circular form is not one particular building type but a concept of circularity that manifests itself in a variety of ways. Seen from the point of view of metaphor, a circular form is the ultimate shelter in that it circumscribed space on all sides, equally. Its meaning may lie in this equality.

*Storage.* The concept of storage is second only to the concept of shelter in Andean architecture. This does not merely refer to the well-known Inka and Wari storehouses mentioned above, but also to burial structures, which are forms of human “storage” in themselves. Coastal cultures buried the dead in shaft graves of varying depth, creating man-made caves. Highland and Montaña cultures often buried the dead in actual caves in cliffs or in burial towers. It is important to point out that these were the burials of the elite dead and simpler solutions were



used for ordinary people. The elite were buried with valuable goods and offerings and were in themselves mini-storehouses as they went into the afterworld. The grave and the storehouse are therefore conceptually the same.

The most dramatic indication of the relationship of burial to storage is in the palatial compounds of Chan Chan. A large portion of each walled ciudadela was devoted to the tomb of the ruler, surrounded by many small cells that contained vast quantities of precious goods as well as sacrificial victims of women and servants. Dating after the Wari Empire, which used storehouses, it has been a conundrum as to why the Chimú of Chan Chan did not build storehouses as well. The answer might be that the storehouse was in the ruler's tomb controlled by his family and that, in the Andes, the storehouse is not conceptually separate from the burial.

*Shelter.* Storehouses and burials are also forms of shelter – they are the protective devices for objects of value, such as living or dead bodies of important people and treasures. The concept of shelter, in a metaphoric sense, best explains the purpose of Andean architecture. Andeans did not necessarily build grand domestic architecture except for the rulers and the elite. But their ceremonial structures expressed shelter. I would suggest that the shelter the architecture expresses is what the Andean expected from his family, clan, ayllu, and ruler – an ordered space for peaceful interactions. In their various architectural projects, Andeans were building shelter models and shelter ideals. It is not surprising that in early times there should have been such a rash of architectural complexes on the coast, as those cultures were trying to define their social relations in visual and functional form. In the absence of writing and even much image making, they were literally building the nature of the community in stone and adobe. At the other end of Andean history, the Inka were using architecture to demarcate, define, and explain their rulership in great detail – primarily through walls.

Fantastic and impressive as much of Andean architecture looks to us, we are baffled by the fact that mostly it is not very theatrical in the sense that we are used to from our public spaces, or even from Mesoamerica. Mesoamerican architecture is supremely theatrical, with its “stages,” plazas, and viewing areas and it assumes the division of people into “actors” and “audience” on a large scale. While theater is not lacking in the Andes, emphasis is mostly on participation and a greater intermingling of actors and audiences. Andean architecture was built as a corporate project and it appears symbolically to have been used communally, even if in reality it was not. There is so much of it because it was the primary way in which the community expressed its existence and values to itself.



## Chapter 5. TEXTILES AND OTHER MEDIA: INTIMATE SCALE

*Because of the preservation of the desert sands on the coast, the earliest artifacts to survive from the Andes are from the coast. While small bone and stone things exist, the majority of finds have been textiles. While many come from the village site of Huaca Prieta in the Chicama Valley in the North Coast, c.2500 BC, pieces have been found in many other places on the coast. These textiles were made by hand twining, without looms – looms were introduced after 1800 BC in the Initial Period. The cultivation of cotton and the making of textiles were therefore well advanced in the preceding Preceramic period and comprise perhaps the earliest visual art of the Andes. The primacy of textiles is believed to have oriented Andeans towards a conceptual art in general.<sup>25</sup>*

*While textiles were sometimes painted, like the Chavín style wall hangings of Karwa, mostly the designs were woven or embroidered. Embroideries were usually on plain cloth, involving a simple interweaving of the warp and weft yarns, or the designs were created by the variation of the weft yarns covering the overlying warp. Andean looms were backstrap, which is to say that the warp ends of the yarns were at one end attached to a tree or housepost and the other end were attached to a belt around the weaver's waist. The weaver controlled the tension of the yarns by his or her body. There were various ways of constructing a loom. The weft yarns were usually not cut off at the end of each row but were looped back in the other direction in a continuing line throughout the entire textile or color area. This resulted in four finished edges or selvages. Designs were sometimes created by counting the yarns from a predetermined pattern. Many textiles have a cotton warp and a camelid wool weft. The cotton came from the coast, the wool from the highlands. Wool was often used for the designs because it takes dyes better than*

*cotton and vivid colors can be created. Andeans were master dyers using indigo for blue and Cochineal for reds. One widespread technique was tapestry in which the weft threads cover the warp completely in dense color areas. (The technical term of tapestry does not refer to a big hanging, but to a method of weaving.)*

*The best known Andean textiles are from the Paracas, Nazca, and Wari cultures. Few Inka textiles remain. In the 1920s, over 400 mummy bundles were found in graves in the Paracas peninsula of the South Coast. The cave-like shaft graves were called Cavernas and are the earliest with relatively poor preservation. Little buildings distinguish the Necropolis graves. These had the richest trove of embroidered textiles that fascinate us because of the representation of fantastic composite beings. Associated with them were plain and simple pottery vessels named Topara after a valley to the North. Dating between 200 BC and 200 AD, these textiles are in a transitional phase between the Early Horizon (e.g., Chavín) and the Early Intermediate Period. For reasons we don't understand, the Nazca textiles following the Paracas Necropolis ones were more geometric and less figurative.*

*This entire South Coast Area consisted of populations living in smaller centers than the North Coast which had major cities and/or ceremonial centers. The largest center was the Nazca complex of Cahuachi with some impressive architecture that, nevertheless, was nowhere near in scale to the contemporary site of Moche in the North. In fact, at Cahuachi stepped platforms were built into natural hills rather than completely constructed.*

*Pottery was introduced in the Andes, probably from the north in modern Ecuador, in the Initial Period. Until then people probably used gourds for containers. Until about 200 BC most Andean pottery was dark in color because it was fired in a poorly ventilated situation.<sup>26</sup> After firing had begun earth was thrown on the fire to make thick smoke the carbon of which*

*recombined with the vessel. This kind of easily breakable ware has been called “smudge” or “reduction” ware. It lent itself most to sculpting or incising. Incising was probably a continuation of gourd decoration used before pottery. Color was sometimes applied after firing by mixing the mineral colors with resin. Such colors are very fugitive in burials and only from a few sites have they survived in the North. In the South, as preservation is better, we have many Paracas style dark vessels with bright resin colors.*

*Around 200 BC there was a major advance in pottery making which may also have come from Ecuador. Pottery was fired at higher temperatures with good ventilation which meant that the carbon no longer combined with the clay and the new thin-walled, harder vessels were orange and cream in color. Because of their light color their surfaces were ideally suitable for painting, not just modeling. Paint was now applied before firing in clay slips – slips are thin solutions of clay in water. Some cultures like the Moche used only a few clay colors, such as buff and maroon, while others such as the Nazca used up to sixteen slip colors. Another common technique of decoration on pottery was resist, or “negative,” painting, in which areas meant to be light were covered with a resin prior to firing that made the rest dark. Andeans never used glazes which are a form of glass, but by burnishing, many vessels shone nevertheless. Even though oxygen firing replaced reduction firing in general, Andeans liked the look of dark grey vessels and, moreover, they were cheaper and faster to make so they continued to be made. As Andeans buried their dead in cemeteries near their ancestors, they were likely to come on earlier pottery which they valued as a part of their history and frequently imitated. A study of Andean pottery indicates the value they placed on tradition.*

*Metalwork is very ancient in the Andes, going back before 2000 BC. The earliest metals used were gold and copper, but later silver and bronze were developed as well. While both*

*casting and hammering were known and used, Peruvians preferred hammering as a technique. Hammering requires the joining of pieces together by annealing, which is done by careful heating of the parts that go together. Metalworking in Peru required precise understanding of heating and metal melting temperatures.<sup>27</sup> Instead of using pure metals, alloys were frequent as in the combination of gold and copper known as tumbaga. While at first gold was used primarily as high status insignia, in late Chimu and Inka times, it was plentiful enough to make vessels, figures, and even architectural panels. As the richest metal sources are in the North, and major metalworking cultures existed in neighboring Ecuador and Colombia, the major metalworking cultures of the Andes were located in the North. Such examples include the finds of Loma Negra and among the Moche, the Chimu, and the Inka. (The Inka also used Chimu craftsmen.) The most complex metalwork was that of the Moche.*

*When Pizarro took Atahualpa prisoner in Cajamarca in 1532, Atahualpa noticed the cupidity of the Spanish towards gold and silver and suggested his own ransom by offering to fill a room with gold and two with silver. In the end, of course, Atahualpa was killed and all the metal was melted down into ingots. The destruction of Inka metalwork was so thorough that hardly any Inka gold or silver survives except for some small figurines. The most prestigious media of the Andes were textiles and metalwork and both were made mostly to be worn.*

### **Intimacy and Functionalism**

The first time I was surprised by the smallness of Andean things was when I saw Alan Sawyer's exhibition, *Mastercraftsmen of Ancient Peru*, at the Guggenheim Museum in 1968.<sup>28</sup> In that large Frank Lloyd Wright white space, the objects in the cases looked lost. The portrait head vessels were less than half life size. Designs wound around a delicate pot that you could hold in

the palm of your hand and then was mostly handle and spout. As I was used to these from slides or book illustrations I imagined them to be bigger and was disappointed. Our museum spaces require dramatic and monumental objects and much of Andean art is on an intimate scale. That is also true of textiles and metalwork. Most richly detailed textiles were meant to be worn and are scaled to the human body. (There are large mantles and ceremonial cloths, but generally the designs on them are small.) Except for Inka architectural revetment, most gold and silver was meant to be worn as regalia or was in the form of vessels like cups or pots.

All these objects were utilitarian in the most literal sense of the term. The most exquisite and artistic clay sculpture had functional pottery spouts. Andean things were worn, held in the hand, and buried with the dead so they could fulfill their function in the afterlife. Textiles, pottery, and gold necessitate up-close examination. This suggests that the ancient Andeans created their objects not to impress a crowd from a distance but for intimate settings and face-to-face contact. Such face-to-face contact is what we imagine took place in the multiple rooms of the architectural structures that remain.

While the sixteenth-century chroniclers detailed the minutiae of sacrifice in Mesoamerica, in Peru they usually complained of the drunken parties.<sup>29</sup> All situations of negotiation and work ended in a feast, probably in everyone's finery, with golden cups and liberal quantities of maize beer, or *chicha*. Before the *chicha* got to be too much, there was plenty of chance to parade in one's finery, admire that of others, and analyze who does or does not have a right to certain designs. We do that sort of thing at fancy parties in designer clothes, best china and gleaming silver, diamonds and pearls if we have them. We think of these arts as "minor arts," but in ancient Peru these were developed into the major arts.

One of the striking things to a Westerner is that even the most dramatic and complicated images in clay are always pots with a handle and spout. In our books we photograph them to look like free-standing sculptures and paintings hiding the spout. But Andeans never separated the image from the functional form. Traditions similar to North Coast Andean clay figures exist in Ecuador (Chorrera) and Western Mexico (Nayarit, Colima, Jalisco) and may perhaps be related in ways we do not fully understand at present. Those Mesoamerican clay figures are not usually parts of vessels, but miniature beings comparable to humans in their completeness. The Andean images are not usually independent beings, or an alternative reality. They do not seek the illusion of separate beings. The Andean approach reminds me of the Japanese Bunraku puppets in which the humans in black dress who manipulate the puppets are always visible and there is no complete illusion that the puppets move on their own. In Western puppetry there is a strong desire to hide the strings. In Andean art there seems to be no attempt to create the illusion that the figures are “real” since they are always parts of a pot or a shirt. Judging by the small and functional objects made for intimate settings, Andean artists were more inclined to create delightful and/or profound puzzles about their reality rather than discreet images of an alternative reality.

A partial exception to this is Tiwanaku where highly conventionalized colossal sculptures were carved in stone c. 600-1000 AD. We don't know where these figures were set up but they suggest large outdoor spaces and theatrical settings. In the Andean context, Tiwanaku is unusual. It is the one major culture with large, permanent “beings” and of course they appealed first to the Western imagination in the discovery of Andean art. Significantly, the Inka who imitated Tiwanaku architecture did not imitate these colossal sculptures. This suggests that such figures



were not necessary to Inka rule and ceremony. By contrast, Tiwanaku architecture was of great interest for their purposes.

### **Textiles as Garments**

Peruvians usually did not weave cloth; they wove garments. They had no scissors and did not cut to fit; they wove to fit. Even the spectacular patchwork tie dye textiles were woven little piece by little piece. The mindset of the garment makers was on pieces of a puzzle to be assembled and not a whole to be subdivided.

One of the necessary tasks of weaving was counting – having an accurate count of yarns for size and designs in decimal arrangements. As Gary Urton showed, modern-day young girls in traditional villages know how to do this by the age of ten.<sup>30</sup> He had a twelve-year-old teacher whose precepts were highly abstract – designs were known by type, not individually. One of the problems of the Western evaluation of Andean culture is that, in the absence of writing, Andeans are considered less gifted than the Greeks and Romans or even the Aztec and Maya. Andean intellectual development grew in the direction of numbers and spatial structures rather than in written or painted narratives. Since no one asked in the sixteenth century, we do not understand fully the role of the individual entity within the various network systems. The place to begin to understand this is probably in textiles because textiles appear to have been the first image system in the Andes.

The essential point about textiles as garments as opposed to textiles as wall hangings is that the subject of garments is the person wearing them. The garments enhance and explain the person and/or the event.<sup>31</sup> The garment is not an image, even if there are images on it. Because most textiles have been excavated in tombs, we see them as mortuary offerings. All research

indicates that the same or similar textiles were important accessories to the living. Since most tomb occupants were men, most garments we know were items of male dress: tunic shirts, loincloths, mantles and headgear were the basic ones. Often they were woven in matching sets.

*Huaca Prieta.* In the textile fragments of Huaca Prieta, c.2500 BC, the human figure is the rarest subject while animals are the most frequent. In pre-industrial societies animals are usually represented as parts of systems of classification of the natural world, as suggested by Lévi-Strauss in his book *Totemism*.<sup>32</sup> Animal images are used as a way to express ideas about the cosmos and the social fabric. The Preceramic weavers of Peru were mostly interested in marine birds and crustaceans which they represented exploiting their decorative possibilities.<sup>33</sup> The creatures are shown back to back, rightside up and upside down, and exploiting most of the possibilities of symmetrical alignments. Thus at their very earliest, textiles demonstrate a conceptual tendency.

At Huaca Prieta there is one much illustrated fragment of a raptorial bird with a snake on its middle that is reminiscent of Chavín in its composition. In the classificatory scheme, animals may stand for many things, such as the earth, the sea, the sky, specific geographic areas, and specific ranks and/or families. Carnivorous creatures with claws and fangs also very clearly symbolize power. As has been discussed, Chavín imagery is all about power displayed in jaguar, cayman, snake and condor imagery. By contrast, with some exceptions, most Preceramic designs represent non-threatening creatures. These are two different strategies that Andean cultures have taken in their images: a focus on benign or frightening beings. I will suggest reasons for these choices when possible but often we do not know why one or the other was chosen. At any rate, the Huaca Prieta textiles begin the Andean representation of a mostly non-threatening natural

world as a metaphor for cosmic order. Although Huaca Prieta was just a village, we can imagine persons dressed in similar garments with marine designs performing rituals in the many rooms of the great Preceramic architectural complexes of Aspero or El Paraíso. Garments and buildings appear to have been symbols of social complexity emphasizing integration rather than conflict. This, however, does not mean that there was no conflict, but rather that the ideal was integration.

### **The Relationship of Pottery and Textile Designs**

Important imagery is sometimes both on pottery and textiles, but sometimes only on one or the other medium, raising interesting questions about the significance of media and communication. In the Ica valley area of the South Coast of Peru, pottery is known as early as the first millennium BC and includes Chavín types of vessels and designs indicating contacts with the north. These Paracas style vessels are dark smudge ware painted in bright colors mixed with resin. The local pottery design tradition is later focused on bug-eyed and long-tongued beings whose aggressive nature is evident from the trophy heads they often hold. These strange anthropomorphic creatures have been named “Oculate Beings” by scholars. Without any realistic body structure they stand and float on the vessel surfaces. The contemporary Paracas Cavernas style textiles show a similar oculate being or a carnivorous cat made up of lines within lines with a similar disregard for naturalistic representation. At this time and place c. 500 BC there are good parallels between pottery and textile design.

Around 200 BC, however, there were major disjunctions between pottery and textiles on the South Coast as seen in the Necropolis burials in the Paracas peninsula. Pottery became oxidized ware in bright high fired orange hues and lacked elaborate painted ornamentation. Vessels were in the form of squashes or rounded animals like frogs without symbolic details.

These Topara style vessels are remarkable for their sensuous simplicity of form. Strangely enough this simple Topara pottery is found in association with the most elaborate Necropolis textiles. For several hundred years imagery on the South coast was almost exclusively on textiles and these are the most splendid in all of Andean history. Some important men were buried with as many as a hundred richly embroidered garments wrapped in a bundle.

Then, for reasons we can't explain, around 200 AD, at the beginning of the Nazca period, the various images of the Necropolis textiles turn up on Nazca pottery in a rich array of slip colors, and Nazca textiles become simpler and more geometric. Why should imagery move from one medium to another?

There is obviously a significant difference between the function of pottery and of garments and it makes a difference as to which medium is the bearer of important imagery. The medium of dress suggests a great emphasis on personal contacts. The simplicity of Topara pottery may signify less of a need to communicate ideas on some ritual objects or on certain rituals. But then what does it mean that in Nazca times the relationship of garments and pottery were reversed? Surely it means that the relationship of media to one another reflects social practices we understand only dimly. The tendency of some is to use these images indiscriminately, as if they were documentary photographs when in fact they tell a more subtle story. If we can only decode it, the different use of designs on media has particular meanings. The Necropolis textiles were especially detailed (even in the Andean context) and special circumstances had to have accounted for their very existence.

### **Necropolis and Cavernas Styles**

It is easy to see why the Necropolis textiles appeal to us Westerners – the bodies range from naturalistic to surrealistic and the details are quite bizarre in a combination that is our idea of the exotic. On these textiles and on these alone, arms, legs, and bodies are rendered more or less realistically despite unrealistic contortions in backs and necks. In fact, we see these as “contortions” because we are inclined to read the images naturalistically. Done in plain-stitch embroidery on simple fabric, we feel that we are face to face with the people and/or spirits of Paracas Necropolis. It doesn’t matter that the figures are often composites and have monkey feet or animalistic faces. We revel in the exoticism of face and hair ornaments, tongues, gold ornaments and other appendages. These create a mystery and something to decode. The currently popular interpretation that they are shamans successfully combines the idea that they are spirits and humans at once. The fact is we don’t have any idea who they are.<sup>34</sup>

It is clear, however, that they are associated with headhunting, which means intercommunity rivalry and violence.<sup>35</sup> The presence of animals and plants suggests that this activity is involved with nature and perhaps fertility. The appendages, composites and interpenetrations suggest that the cosmos is imagined as a web of infinite relationships. The fact that hierarchy is rare and that there are multiple beings or variants of beings suggests that these figures are not gods or high status humans but could be specific ancestors or local spirits. As at Chavín de Huantar, there are references to other ecological zones. Monkey features and plants like manioc refer to the eastern slope of the Andes in particular.

Unlike Chavín de Huantar, however, the Necropolis beings have a less organized and systematic character. Variations run riot and the embroiderers seem to have had a greater freedom in design. Because of the rich colors and what is to us whimsy we think of these not just as cerebral puzzles but also as sensuous fantasies. They appeal to a modern sensibility that grew

up on Surrealism. While many of the Chavín carvings were in invisible locations, presumably some of the textiles were once quite visible and had a competitive role in social life and were meant to be seen and compared. Except for Necropolis, most Andean textiles did not have such complicated and colorful beings and tend to fall in the more ornamental category. Necropolis textiles were made only for about 200 years. Headhunting did not disappear but the status and spirit world associated with it were no longer explicitly represented on textiles. I suspect that the special features of Necropolis textiles lie in the nature of that particular intergroup rivalry in which aggressive imagery and detailed beings were a strategy of power. Imagine people dressed in a matching set of garments with a spectacular mantle on the shoulder at the revenge funeral rites of a fallen member of the lineage. Imagine being seen by their enemies. For the designs to have developed in the Necropolis direction, there had to have been competition not just in headhunting but also in image making. As in the case of Moche (to be discussed later), image making had to have entered the realm of ideological conflict and was not simply a bystander or backdrop. The dynamic aspects of Necropolis textiles suggest that they were active agents in their social contexts.

The famous Brooklyn Museum ceremonial cloth is an example of Necropolis thinking and virtuosity. While the interior of the cloth consists of simple geometric faces, about ninety little figures are created three-dimensionally in the borders in a technique called needle knitting. Each little figure is conceptualized in full costume with headdress and gold ornaments often in association with animals and plants. Tubers grow out of the body of llamas. There is no obvious central or flanking figures, all of them are relatively equal. This textile, sometimes dubbed a “codex in cloth,” was not a garment but a cloth spread out and/or consulted on ritual occasions.

A textile in Goteborg and fragments of other textiles indicate that such works with multiple figures were not necessarily rare.

Generally, writers, museums, and collectors prefer the textiles with naturalistic beings and discuss the earlier Paracas Cavernas linear style as the “primitive” form from which it evolved. Painted on mummy masks the Cavernas designs are sometimes wobbly lines creating faces and cat profiles in abstraction. Anne Paul has shown how the Necropolis style was gradually created from the linear Cavernas style by filling in the forms and thickening the lines in a gradual process.<sup>36</sup> Some bundles, such as Mummy 49, documented at the American Museum of Natural History, had textiles in all three styles – Cavernas, Necropolis, and Intermediate – thus suggesting that they were either contemporary or close in time.

While we might prefer the Necropolis style, the people of Paracas liked Cavernas style enough to translate that painted and woven tradition into embroidery. These Cavernas-style Necropolis textiles are in some ways even more fantastic than the figural ones. The embroiderers imitated weaving in limiting themselves to horizontal, vertical, and diagonal straight lines. These designs are completely linear and lack solid “bodies” and other linear beings are inside one another like Russian dolls. These lines are usually no wider than a single row of plain stitch. Here the embroiderers had to have counted each warp and weft and link them to their stitches, thus using embroidery to imitate a woven fabric. The cartoon-like creatures inside each other look humorous to us and were in any case ingenious. The excitement in these textiles is as much cerebral as visual. As to what exactly these figures are: they may be variants of the Necropolis ones simply rendered in a different way.

In our own Western, abstraction-to-naturalism scenarios of art, Cavernas style was always presented as “conservative” and traditional, while Necropolis style was seen as

“progressive.” The Andean area is, in fact, “conservatively” interested in the objects of the past and archaic objects are imitated at all times and places. These interests may be formal or iconographic but it is always selective. In the case of Cavernas-style textiles, the Necropolis weavers reformulated the original Cavernas style into one of technical virtuosity and a complex visual experience. Interestingly, though they seem to be contemporary, the two styles are not found on the same textiles but could be in the same bundles of some elite person. We do not know if they were worn interchangeably or in different contexts. While at first they look decorative, sort of like Persian rugs, their rigorous structure implies a deeper meaning.

### **Discontinuous Warp Textiles**

If sacrifice was the burden Mesoamericans had to take on, work was the burden of the Andean – and it is relevant to textile manufacture as well as architecture. Andeans appreciated the complexity of techniques and the time projects took. Besides inventing all known Preindustrial textile making techniques, Andeans invented some unique particularly labor-intensive ones as well. In discontinuous warp textiles both the warp and weft are partial and therefore no steady threads hold the textile in shape while it is being woven.<sup>37</sup> A second set of yarns, known as scaffolding, keeps everything together and is later removed when the cloth is finished. In effect almost two cloths are woven to make one very special cloth. The reason for this technique is unclear – it is surmised that it allows for exceptional richness in color because both warp and weft can be the same color. Because the weft does not have to be dense to cover the warp, the cloth can be light in weight. We know from sixteenth-century accounts and some museum pieces that the finest Andean garments were light as silk. Lightness is a tactile and not a



visual value. Discontinuous warp textiles embody the maximum amount of work and were probably valued for that reason also.

In emphasizing work and elaborate technique we are talking about craftsmanship, which has been devalued in Western art since the Renaissance. As a way of improving their social and economic status, Italian painters and sculptors claimed parity with humanists and became “artists.” By the eighteenth century, art became something transcendent and the work of genius, and “craft” became something derivative, imitative, and definitely secondary. Anything labored over is just a “craft” and the genius can even drip paint like Jackson Pollock. In the Andes, where almost everything was utilitarian because there was generally no concept of a monumental propaganda art, the utilitarian was expanded technically and visually to become the major source of communication. Or, to put it another way, the terms “art” and “craft” have no meaning in the Andean context. Andean thought with their traditional things such as khipus, garments, and pots was concerned with making them richer and more complicated rather than leaving them behind for other media.

## **Metalwork**

This approach is especially true of metalwork. Heather Lechtman has shown the many ways in which Andean metalworking techniques were idiosyncratic.<sup>38</sup> Most basic is the fact that Andeans did not worship gold the way we and the conquistadors do and did. They often painted a gold surface an opaque color such as red hiding its goldness. The only way that makes sense is if it was enough for Andeans to know that there was gold in the material without having to see it. Like Chavín sculptures, the precious metal could be invisible. In many instances, of course, gold was meant to be visible and spectacular.

As gold and copper are often found together, objects were made from their mixture, called *tumbaga*. Tumbaga objects corrode copper green in the ground; but an acid wash removes the copper and the gold shines forth as good as new. Depletion gilding, as this technique is called, was practiced by Andeans to conserve gold and yet have gold looking objects. A gold look could have been achieved by gold foil, a technique that was known, but not preferred. Lechtman suggested that for Andeans a gold look was not enough, that the object had to contain actual gold as its “essence.” The theory of the “essence” in gold seems to match the theory of color intensity (i.e., “essence”) that results in discontinuous warp textiles.

The metalwork aesthetic preferred shimmering surfaces – when metal is hammered it has slight unevennesses that catch the light which were augmented by incised designs. The addition of dangles that move with every breath of the wearer added to the liquid look of every metal object.<sup>39</sup>

Gold and silver were used as headdresses, pectorals, ear ornaments and bracelets, and were sometimes added to the exquisitely made textiles. Prestige textiles often had feather mosaics and feathers could be added to the gold ornaments. Entire garments, or “tabards,” were made out of featherwork.<sup>40</sup> Rulers and their mummies were thus attired sumptuously. Also made out of gold and silver were cups for feasting. A great many of these were found at Sican, where some burials had hundreds of cups. More infrequent were knives with the handle in the form of a figure inlaid with turquoise. Turquoise or shell inlay was once common on many objects including pottery, indicating that the Andeans liked a mixed media look. Some gold and silver figures, the Inka are the best known, were completely dressed in miniature garments, metal pins, and feather headdresses. Metalwork, inlay, feathers, and textiles therefore went together in use and concept.

Gold was associated with the sun; silver with the moon. They were also associated with maleness and femaleness and the general dualistic divisions of Andean thought. Many Andean objects are bimetallic and have both gold and silver elements. This Chimu pin, a modest object of gold and silver, seems to have little overt iconographic meaning but to an Andean could refer to the sun and the moon, to men and women, to the two moieties and to the philosophical existence of a totality made up of the interlocking of two parts. Figures were not necessary to express many Andean concepts. Andean meanings were expressed as much through material and technique as through an image. At a certain point this approach would lead to a minimalism known by our own culture only in twentieth-century art.

The emphasis on intimate scale, utilitarian function, virtuosity of technique, and the design of visual puzzles in representation indicates that, in general, Andeans did not think of their arts as propaganda but more as conversation. These things were not necessarily made to convince anyone of the greatness and power of a living or supernatural being, the way, for example, that the stuccos on a Maya roofcomb proclaimed royalty. Ingenuity and cleverness in art take the place of pomp and circumstance. The complex manipulation of warp-and-weft textiles in the Andes is an apt metaphor for the back and forth of discourse whose apparent aim was compromise and harmony. The fact that the garments and ornaments were worn by somebody suggests that this conversation was an important social act. This does not mean that there was no hierarchy and political power in the Andes. Rather, it merely suggests that the ideal and perhaps outer form of interaction was between parties that pretended to be on terms that allowed for or required the reciprocity of equal players.



## Chapter 6. MOCHE POTTERY: EXPLICIT HIERARCHY

*Moche was probably the first state-level kingdom in the Andes, incorporating perhaps as many as fourteen North Coast valleys between the Piura and Huarmey rivers. A great deal of archaeological work has been done on the Moche recently, raising as many questions as those that have been answered. The site of Moche (Cerro Blanco) is named after the Moche River that located more or less in the middle of the “kingdom.” Stratification and centralization are evident from great public works such as platform mounds and irrigation canals. Rich royal burials have been found at Sipan in the Lambayeque valley. Nevertheless, we do not know whether the great site of Cerro Blanco was a capital city of all or some of the area and it is possible that there were a number of rival centers. In the long history of Moche culture, c.200 BC to 600 AD, both centralization and fragmentation could have been possible at different times. Imposing monumental architecture is found in a number of valleys besides Moche, such as Chicama and Nepeña. While the material remains are generally similar in the area, they are not identical.*

*Cerro Blanco has two great structures, the Huaca of the Sun and Moon, possibly thus named by the Spanish or the Inka. The Huaca of the Sun is about 375 meters long and 160 wide – even now after Colonial period looters diverted the Moche River in the search for gold – and was more than double that size originally. It was built by corporate labor which is evident in the bricks marked by different localities making up various segments of the building (143 million adobe bricks are estimated.) It consists of two rectangular stepped platforms built in one. The Huaca of the Moon area has been recently excavated and consists of a series of platforms, plazas and rooms with colorfully painted and carved wall designs. (The Quechua word “huaca” refers to any sacred structure or thing.) Large plazas with colorful repeating designs of the*

*supernatural were probably the places of theatrical public ceremonial. Smaller rooms in the structure were for the more private participation of a smaller group. The areas between and around these large public structures consisted of residential buildings. The habitation refuse is almost two meters deep.*

*There is a lot of erosion on the adobe brick buildings of Moche because of periodic heavy El Niño rains disastrous for agriculture. It is postulated that El Niño flooding may have contributed to the Moche collapse around 600-700 AD. Recent finds of the bodies of sacrificial victims suggest that the Moche may have tried to control the weather by human sacrifices.*

*Because of periodic rains, textiles are generally poorly preserved on the North Coast and most information comes from pottery. Moreover, among the Moche iconographic information was carried primarily on pottery and not on textiles, in any case. Early pottery was hand made, but later it was made in molds so that many thousands of pieces exist, some in multiples. Generally they are buff or orange in color and designs are painted in contrasting buff or red slips. The most important ritual vessel form is the stirrup spout, consisting of a semicircular handle and a cylindrical spout attached to the vessel. Spout and lip forms varied over the years and Larco Hoyle divided them into five types. Type 1 is handmade, with a circular arch and a thick lip. Type 2 is close to 1 but has a thinner lip. Type 3 is mold made, the handle being thinner and possessing a slightly outflaring spout without a lip. Type 4 handles are gracefully arched and have a long straight spout without a lip. Type 5 handles are not only arched but have long inward tapering spouts. These spout forms have been correlated with the phases of Moche style and culture and ceramic style is often an important part of the chronology. Recent work has complicated matters in that, in some areas, Type 1 pottery continued to be made contemporary with Type 4 and the entire sequence may have lasted far longer than the 200 BC – 600 AD*

*timespan suggests. Moreover, the 1-5 sequence seems to work best in the southern Moche region and appears not to have existed in the North, as for example in Sipán. This suggests the possibility of two linked but separate political entities. The sequence is a good working hypothesis and not a demonstrated fact.*

*In the first half of the twentieth century, Moche pottery was appreciated for its genre-like representation of everyday life and the emphasis was on the immediately recognizable elements. In the 1970s, Elizabeth Benson and Christopher Donnan brought out the supernatural and ritual aspect of the representations.<sup>1</sup> Most recently, Donnan<sup>2</sup> and Bourget<sup>3</sup> have been finding parallels between rituals and costumes on the vessels and objects found in excavations thus proving the reliability of the images as documents. Since the emphasis has been on cultural decoding there has been less interest in analyzing the representational system as such.*

Pottery is an interesting medium in the Andes in that the material itself is inexpensive – quite unlike gold, silver, feathers, and even dyed woolen yarns, which are valuable to begin with. Because the material is so valuable and meaningful in itself, metalwork and featherwork sometimes have very simple and abbreviated designs. Clay, on the other hand, is cheap and it is the work that makes it valuable. The excavation of the major Moche burial at Sipán was intriguing in that the thirty-year-old royal man was buried mostly with gold, precious stones, feathers, shells but no fancy pottery.<sup>4</sup> Outside his casket were male and female sacrificial victims and many utilitarian jars in ceramic. Sipán, located in the Lambayeque valley to the north, did not have the characteristic Moche pottery from the 1-5 phase sequence. The Sipán burial also suggests that for the far north at that time pottery was not a luxury item to be buried with the dead. We do not have a similarly high-ranked burial documented from the southern Moche

region. The best we have is the so-called “Warrior-Priest” burial from the Viru valley, a reed-casket that contained the body as well as staffs with metal ornaments and nearly thirty type-4 vessels.<sup>5</sup> Clearly the staffs and metal ornaments were the most prestigious items in this casket. Meager burial evidence indicates that the pottery vessels were less important than the other items. Their secondary value is also indicated by their quantity. Mold making made vessels common and even after centuries of destruction over a hundred thousand survive in modern collections. For us the pottery vessels are all-important markers of chronology, location, and iconography. Most Andean and other ancient cultures are defined for us by their pottery. Nevertheless, in the Andes they were secondary or tertiary in significance to other media.

The hundred thousand Moche vessels estimated to exist in collections are presumably only a fraction of what was made for burial, for the table, and for ritual. Moche pottery must have been ubiquitous. That seems to have been understood by the Moche since vessels are depicted on many vessels in non-functional contexts. For example vessels are often in front of lords, deities, weavers, etc. What fascinates everyone about Moche vessels is their explicitness of detail presumably about Moche life. This was not characteristic about any other Andean ceramic tradition. Not only is the repertory vast – including war, prisoners, hunting, crafts, sexuality, messengers, curing, deities, mythology, rituals and illness – for a start, each of these themes is rendered in such detail that the modern viewer is tempted to reconstruct Moche life on the basis of it.<sup>6</sup>

The fact is that this explicit type of pottery lasted a relatively short time within Moche history. Moche 1 and 2 type pottery was more generalized representing mostly seated men and animals. These figures were not doing anything very special in the sense of a narrative or description. The forms were smooth and streamlined but not yet very specific and naturalistic.

They are similar to the earlier Gallinazo and Salinar figures known from the same area representing stylized personages. Moreover, they are even similar to the earlier Chavín style Cupisnique and Chongoyape effigy vessels in blackware which had similar anecdotal figures, such as house models, mother and child figures, and animals. The modeling of such “secular” seeming figures on stirrup spout ritual vessels goes back many hundreds of years prior to the Moche on the North Coast. The Moche thus had deep roots in a ceramic modeling tradition. Salinar and Gallinazo differed from the dark Chavín styles in being oxidized ware and having a more stylized form. How these pottery traditions relate to one another is complicated and not yet clear. Thousands of looted pottery figured vessels came from the northern site of Vicús in the Piura valley in the 1960s, which were a mystery because Salinar, Gallinazo and Moche-1 types were found more or less together.<sup>7</sup> Whether these were contemporary styles or short-lived periods, we do not know. What the Moche-1 style was doing so far north is also a question. Most interestingly, some subjects, such as a man carrying a vessel are found very similarly rendered in all three styles as though the potters could work in the different styles. The styles could have referred to contemporary ethnic groups and not to time as we suppose. Many subjects at Vicús, such as intercourse and men fighting, prefigure the Moche ones. Most of these are sculptural – sometimes with painted or negative fired details – but vessels are not usually painted with scenes. What it all indicates is that figurative pottery in styles ranging from the stylized to the simplified naturalistic existed for a long time on the North Coast and originally Moche 1 and 2 were just variants of these.

However, Moche-3 pottery emerges as something quite distinctive. It is still mostly three-dimensional, but it is mold made and mold making makes possible designs in relief that are picked out in a dark slip similar to the way painting is later done. The designs can be quite



simple, such as a geometric motif or a crustacean. There are also painted scenes without the elegant lines of later styles but looking for ways to tell a story. Evidently, Phase-3 potters and their patrons were interested in narrative and not just single figures. One of the ways in which this desire for narrative manifested itself was on figural scenes on platforms. The pot was reduced to a low platform or squared off at the top so that a number of figures could be modeled anywhere from fully three-dimensional to partly in relief or painted. Some vessels of this sort show curing or the making of chicha, but the most dramatic for us are the sexual scenes.

Although the erotic vessels form only a tiny percentage of Moche pottery they have been of great interest to collectors and have been extensively studied and illustrated.<sup>8</sup> The most common sexual scene shows a couple under a blanket that covers everything except for the genital area seen from the rear. The scene may be homey and there is often a child or two next to the woman. We do not know why in Phase 3 the Moche were so interested in this subject. There has been much speculation by literal minded writers that because both sex organs are shown next to each other that the intention was to show anal intercourse and therefore “pleasure” rather than fertility. This is a possibility. An alternative interpretation is that the potter placed the penis over the anus of the woman so that he could show both the female and male genitalia which would not show in actual intercourse. (Pornographic movies have this problem, too, and solve it in similar ways.) Regardless of what kind of intercourse was intended, the mere fact that the depiction is so explicit as to raise such issues is significant enough. The basic Moche question emerges with these vessels – why go into so much detail in the representation of sexuality when other cultures make do with easily comprehensible stylizations?

Another type of Moche-3 vessels combines relief and painting in the so-called Mountain Sacrifice scenes. In these vessels a bust of the fanged (mountain?) deity also known as Wrinkle

Face sits under five mountain peaks and several small figures are performing a ritual next to him. This ritual may involve a naked sacrificial victim. Hardest to explain is a small figure on the top peak with its rear in the air and its hair (?) flowing down the mountain like a river. He/she is also seen as a sacrificial victim with its blood equaling water. The theme of sacrificial ritual first appears on Moche-3 representations. The combination of three-dimensionality, relief and painting is characteristic of Phase 3 narrative depictions, although this type of vessel continued to be made in Phase 4. We know that the mountains were major deities for the coastal cultures because the water for irrigation flowed from their snowy peaks. The flowing waters were seen as male; the earth of the valleys on which they fell, female. Striking in these scenes is the lack of elite figures performing the ritual; likewise in the sexual scenes. Most Phase 3 representations are of an “everyman” variety and less concerned with status in costume and positioning.

The height of Moche pottery for all of us is Phase 4, which exists in many multiples of moldmade vessels. It is in this phase that the famous portrait heads were made.<sup>9</sup> Heads were made in Phase 3, too, but they were generic faces without individuality with large staring eyes. The so-called portrait heads are remarkable in showing fat, thin, older, younger, majestic, wrinkled, scarred and even smiling faces. They were famous already in the nineteenth century and Gauguin made self-portrait jugs in imitation of them. We have tended to think of them as the culmination of Moche artistic development. Recent research has shown, however, that they were made only in five river valleys of the fourteen in Moche culture – Chicama, Moche, Viru, Chao and Santa – and for a brief period of time. Portrait heads were not made in Phase 5. When the later Chimu continued and revived the Moche ceramic tradition they did not revive the heads. Portraits were not made in any other Andean culture. They were an aberration rather than a culmination.

Donnan states that about 750 individuals were depicted on the portrait heads and it is generally believed that they represented rulers or very important persons. One difficulty in interpretation is that the heads are not found in the burials of the rulers, but in that of others, and we do not know what they were doing there. The tomb of the “Warrior Priest” had a portrait head, a warrior, a mountain sacrifice vessel, a skull vessel, etc. Recently, Donnan suggested that some heads represent rulers who were captured and sacrificed, shown with a rope around their necks. Is it possible that in fact all the heads are effigies of captives, in effect trophy heads? Is the realism of the heads not praise but humiliation?<sup>10</sup>

None of these questions can be answered at present but they throw light on the Western idea of “realism.” For one thing, according to the old European myth of art history, realism is hard for an artist to achieve because it requires an objective, rational, or even scientific vision. The Greeks developed realism out of Egyptian stylization over several centuries and it had to do with their interest in “humanism” and “rationalism.” Once it was achieved, it was valued and continued more or less faithfully by later cultures until in the nineteenth century, when it was most strongly revived in the Neoclassic. The Moche potters demonstrated that realism could be achieved fairly quickly if it was so commissioned and did not have to take a long time. It also demonstrates that “rationalism” need not have been an exclusive mental quality of the Greeks. Realism among the Moche did not necessarily embody moral or aesthetic values handed down to later centuries. The Moche example indicates that given an anthropomorphic tradition realism can be developed without technical difficulty in any society. It also means that stylization is not simply a lack of skill or “vision” but a knowing preference. Stylization may have been seen as “beautiful” while realism could have been a dangerous “capture of the soul” or, in effect, another form of nakedness. If, on the other hand, the heads represented rulers, they could have wished to

show themselves for certain people with very great intimacy as their “true selves” in order to bond emotionally or to cement alliances. Interestingly one can either argue that the heads were meant to repulse or to attract – in either case an emotional reaction of some intensity rather than neutrality is suggested.<sup>11</sup>

(There are two other unusual contexts in world history in which realistic heads were made within more conventionalized traditions, thirteenth century AD in Africa at Ife and 1500 BC in Mexico among the Olmec. Both had been interpreted as ruler representations, but recently some scholars independently suggested that they were also captives.)

What we know of the Moche provides a warlike ideological context for the heads. Unlike most Andean art, Moche representation does not emphasize harmony but conflict. Whether they were constantly warring or not in fact, we do not know, but they glorified combat in their representations, especially in Phase 4. On many vessels warriors bash each other over the head with clubs. Naked prisoners are led by ropes, weapons are common design elements. Prisoners are shown being tortured and sacrificed in which aristocratically dressed figures officiate. Recent excavations at the site of Cao Viejo in the Chicama Valley have revealed a large procession of naked prisoners modeled on a wall fronting a large plaza. This ideology of conflict is indicated by the fact that supernaturals are shown fighting also. “Wrinkle Face” is in combat with a “Strombus Monster” and with a “Demon Fish” among others. (This is Donnan’s terminology.<sup>12</sup>) Unlike most of the Andes, where the reigning metaphor was harmony and reciprocity, among the Moche it was conflict, and conflict itself – not just the *results* of it are represented. The conflict and warrior theme is also treated as a demonstration of social hierarchy in the elaborate attire of warriors and sometimes even their victims.

On a 'Presentation Theme' vessel Donnan made famous, human and animal warriors are shown in a small scale in the lower register, two of whom are taking blood from naked and bound sacrificial victims. On the top register one of the elaborately dressed figures offers a cup (of blood?) to a tall figure emanating rays. Weapons bundles both on the top and bottom indicate that the context is warfare. It is hard to know whether the supreme figure is a deity, a person dressed as a deity, or a ruler. But the costumes of the other figures have a remarkable similarity to the burial dress of important personages in the northern tomb excavations. In particular, the figure behind the cupbearer is identified as a woman whose headdress remains parallel to those of the burial of San Jose de Moro. Differences in size and elaborateness of costume indicate importance of status. The two levels of the scene are separated by a mythical two-headed creature, thus indicating that the scenes take place in different times and/or places. Most scholars now believe that the sacrificial ritual as depicted took place in Moche times and that the painting is a kind of documentary evidence. Given the fact that the Moche mixed myth and reality in their paintings, the scene with the recipient of the blood could also refer to the afterworld or the supernatural. While in its entirety this Presentation Theme design occurs in one example, variants and portions exist on many others. Nevertheless, for us this particular rendering has become iconic and encapsulates how we now see the Moche.<sup>13</sup>

There is a precedent for the war and sacrifice theme in the Initial Period site of Cerro Sechin in the Casma Valley. There, a stone wall encloses a rectangular structure with rooms and is carved with many figures of fully dressed warriors, naked and dead victims as well as dead heads.<sup>14</sup> Located in the later Moche area this relief wall could have been familiar to the southern Moche. The glorification of conflict has some history on the North Coast and it suggests that these societies also idealized competition rather than exclusively cooperation.

Sixteenth century sources refer to a market economy in this area. All these elements are more reminiscent of Mesoamerica than the rest of the Andes. While long distance trading rafts plied the coast of Ecuador in the sixteenth century and could have connected Mesoamerica and northern Peru, we have no such evidence for Moche times, but they're not impossible to consider. The northern Andean coast was either in touch with Mesoamerica or structurally similar. (At a slightly earlier level some have seen contacts between the shaft grave cultures of Mexico, Ecuador and the northern Andean cultures of Salinar, Vicús, Gallinazo, and early Moche.)

Although it is not certain whether the portraits represent the ruling elite, much of Moche pottery shows elite men primarily as warriors with clubs and helmets rendered in detail. The preoccupation with conflict suggests that for much of its history the Moche may have consisted of feuding principalities with charismatic leaders, loyal followers, bitter enemies, and zero-sum battles. The fighting may have been for arable territory or tribute. Some vessel scenes show goods being given to a lord. Imagery must have been used in the conflict through the representation of more or less specific scenes. The generic pottery tradition inherited from phases 1 and 2 – and in Salinar and Gallinazo before them – was transformed into a kind of self-ethnography in Phases 3 and 4. As with the sexual scenes, Moche representation became exhibitionistic and to mirror life in amazing detail.

This was done primarily in painting, which developed most highly in Phase 4.<sup>15</sup> The elements of painting are very limited to three basic forms – expressive outlining, areas filled in to suggest color, solidity or contrast, and textured areas for detail. One can compare the paintings in various ways to cartoons but Greek vase painting also comes to mind. They create worlds of their own: groundlines suggesting place, plants, buildings, registers, figures in both a real and a

mythical realm. Painting took a long time to evolve from three-dimensional representation and it seems to have been a gradual process. Three-dimensional representation was a translation of real form into a smaller size and more minimal shape. Painted scenes were the creation of a world through line and very much an achievement in abstraction. In the same way that the Chimú did not revive the portrait heads, they also did not revive the painted scenes. They revived only three dimensional forms and relief. Moche drawing is an abstraction from the reality of experience despite the many realistic details. Unlike other representation in the Andes which are cryptic and assume a viewer in the know, Moche scenes almost have a journalistic clarity and detachment, once one understands their relatively few conventions. Moche representation assumes one culture but it seems to speak to different audiences. According to the representations battles are not between different ethnic groups but among social and ethnic equals, and perhaps not even ‘wars’ but single combat. Culture and audience do not collapse into one but the wars and rituals are “inside” games and their depictions are a part of the games. Moche painting style is a part of the game, too.

This is especially the case in the representation of prisoners – in most of the Andes heads and/or knives signify headhunting without any kind of personification or individualization. The presence of fully depicted prisoners among the Moche indicates their personal importance as actors in a political drama. The Moche prisoner scenes are interactive, while the headhunting heads are anonymous. Moche representation refers to the existence of others, within and outside the group, while most Andean art simply refers to the self.

The attitude of the other’s point of view is at the heart of Moche explicitness. Things are “explained” that in other cultures don’t need to be explained: voyeuristic sex scenes, seal and deer hunts, craft activities such as metallurgy and weaving, etc. Some of these subjects are

curiously mundane. The realism is deceptive – as it always is – since there are no captions about who, when, where and why. Most of Moche pottery deals with the preoccupations of the elite: war, hunting, ritual, the spirit world. In general, although the forms vary, these are close to the images of the Necropolis textiles. The scenes do not reproduce reality exactly, but rather they create memory images of elite concerns. Much as in Western Christian art the life of Christ is not rendered with archaeological or even biblical accuracy because, status, grandeur, emotional resonance, etc., are the primary aims of the artists and patrons responsible for them.

Despite the much admired realism of Moche depiction there is much that is mysterious. I am not referring to clearly supernatural and/or ritual scenes which are bound to be difficult to interpret, except on a superficial level. I am especially struck by the many animal-headed humans doing human things like fighting or running messages. Donnan lists fifteen creatures used this way: fox, hawk, bat, Muscovy duck, sea urchin, scorpion, octopus, lizard, strombus shell, and something he calls the “circular creature.”<sup>16</sup> In the reverse, there are also anthropomorphized animals (to say nothing of anthropomorphized, vegetables, weapons and dishes). We generally think that animal-human composites indicate people with an animate universe in which everything is alive, and there is little doubt that the Moche lived in such a mental world. Nevertheless, in Moche scenes the juxtaposition of human and animal seems so strange that we often think of it as humorous. Weapons and beans turning into people, or hummingbird-headed figures running on the sands, are remarkably incongruous and need further commentary. Many of the animal headed humans seem more like classifications than religious beliefs. Messengers often have the heads of swift creatures like foxes which suggest metaphors and allegories, which are abstract ideas rather than tenets of faith. Weapons attacking people as on the Huaca of the Moon painting are further droll even if the Moche believed weapons to have



indwelling spirit who would attack their owners in a time of crisis. These hybrid creatures seem more like clever ideas and a part of rational thinking than proofs of the irrational. If some of these images, such as the beans turning into people, were meant to be humorous that would suggest the kind of mental detachment, a detachment I have been arguing for here even in the very form of painting. We laugh at the naivetes of Phase 3 renderings but we feel that some Phase 4 scenes make us laugh through the intention of the makers which is an enormous difference.<sup>17</sup> In general, therefore, I think that much of Moche representation is cerebral, despite the naturalism, and in this it is very Andean. Naturalism speaks to our senses while the iconography is a cerebral challenge.

The cultural decision to limit the colors of Moche pottery to red and buff is interesting, especially in view of the fact that occasionally more color was used. Color has a tendency to give dimensionality to a figure that is thus a “being”, comparable to the personages on the Necropolis textiles. Outline Moche painting in one color is structurally similar to the linear designs of Paracas Cavernas textiles. The figures are only one line away from the background, or, to put it another way, body and background are the same. Filled in areas suggest solidity, but they are restricted to body and dress parts. The textures that indicate “fur” or “pattern” also allow the background to show through. Those Moche persons on the pots are more ideas than illusionary beings.

In Phase 5 portrait heads were no longer made and the predominant vessel design consisted of all-over lines and mostly a supernatural context. Many vessels do not have portions in filled-in dark areas accenting figures and the scenes flow in a unified decorative panel that is much harder to discern. As decorative patterns, they are immediately satisfying. Despite the fact that much information is compressed on some of these pots, there is no sense that they are *trying*

to communicate with someone very clearly. Phase-5 vessels suggest that the special social circumstances that accounted for Phase-4 pieces no longer existed, though much of Moche imagery continued to be important. The difference is more of style than of content, recognized by Moche scholars who are using all phases to reconstruct Moche life.

Human sacrifice is potentially built into a reciprocal view of the world. As the gods give life, sun and water, humans need to return the gift with the most precious thing they have, life. Human sacrifice of some sort may well have existed in early times in the Andes, even though we don't have evidence for it.<sup>18</sup> In some early states, elites seemed to have acquired sole rights to perform human sacrifice and intercede with the gods, which gave them great power. Human sacrifice may have played this role in Mesoamerica even more than in the Andes. We have archaeological and pictorial evidence for human sacrifice in later Moche times and it would seem that at that time it may have been turned into a public spectacle presented by the elite. The representations on pottery which deal with eroticism and fertility can be associated with scenes of combat and sacrifice, suggesting that the two were related. This may have been an elite strategy to generate power. Why were these scenes painted and modeled on pottery? Possibly the images on pottery reinforced the rituals and were further ways of acquiring control. Some polities acquire power through economic means, such as irrigation, trade, and tax, while others less fortunate in means create power by enacting it as in a theater. Such "theatre states" have been identified in Indonesia and among the Maya of Mesoamerica. Moche war, sacrificial ritual and pottery art may have been a part of the explicit theatrical displays of power that for some time actually created power. The fact that the later Chimú did not continue these arts indicates that they had more complete control in their kingdom and did not need to advertise their power visually. Despite the large quantity of Moche pottery made, nothing suggests that they were

intended for the ordinary working peasant. Nothing deals with agriculture and other subsistence activities. They were presumably intended for a large elite or upper class whose allegiance may have been only partially certain and needed strengthening. The explicitness of Moche art is the desire of a large group of the elite to send overt messages of their most valued ritual activities to one another to augment internal cohesion. This audience was not hectored but seduced by artful naturalism, explicit scenes of shared myth and ritual, and a sense of humor, surprise, and variety.



## **Chapter 7. STONE SCULPTURES: HIGHLAND AUSTERITY**

*Some wooden sculptures existed on the coast, but monumental stone sculpture was primarily characteristic of the highland Andes. This can be due only partly to the obvious availability of stone in the highlands, since some stone works, such as Cerro Sechin, were made on the coast. After Chavin de Huantar, which appears to have been very influential, there were three major areas of stone sculpture in the highlands. The Aija-Huaraz style, whose sculptures now mostly in the Huaraz museum, dates roughly contemporary with the Moche and was located in the highlands east of the Moche and the contemporary Recuay. The works were made in a number of small centers.*

*Further south there were several styles surrounding the important Early Intermediate center of Pucara, c. 500-200 BC, and other sites around Lake Titicaca. Tiwanaku grew out of these styles but developed a tradition of its own in the Middle Horizon, c. 600-1000 AD. The site of Wari imitated much of Tiwanaku cults and artifacts but, with a few exceptions, did not copy the impressive stone sculptures. The area of Tiwanaku was conquered by the Inka, who were very impressed by the ruins and imitated some aspects of it in their architecture. However, they did not copy the sculptures. After 1000 AD, this Andean highland tradition of sculpture died out on the whole.*

*The sculpture of Tiwanaku has been known to Europeans mainly since the travelers' accounts in the eighteenth century. Sixteenth century written accounts were also laudatory but the later illustrations and measurements were more immediately impressive to Westerners. The stones from the site have been looted since antiquity and only the very large pieces remained like a giant jigsaw puzzle. Excavations and theorizing by Arthur Posnansky in the 1940s suggested a*

*date prior to all world cultures (10,000 BC) and proposed that Tiwanaku was the cradle of all civilization as we know it.<sup>1</sup> Tiwanaku became associated with a romantic view of the past which recent excavations by Alan Kolata did not entirely put to rest.<sup>2</sup> Tiwanaku is now believed to have had a long history through the Early Intermediate and Middle Horizon. Like Chavín de Huantar, which it resembles to some extent, it was a sacred religious center and not a major residential city.*

*During the Middle Horizon, which is named after them, Tiwanaku and Wari both appear to have had Conquest empires. Tiwanaku's empire was to the south and included portions of Chile, while Wari's empire was to the north and included the Moche North Coast and adjacent highlands. These are the first demonstrable empires in the Andes. It is not supposed that either center had total control of such vast territory, and it is assumed that these empires controlled strategic places primarily and left other areas to continue to govern themselves more or less under their direction. Material effects of the Wari empire includes roads, storage centers, the first examples of the khipu accounting device, and for both Wari and Tiwanaku great similarities in style and iconography in pottery and textiles.*

*Many have noted that all Andean empires originated in the highlands and that the highlands were generally poorer than the cultures of the coast. Highlanders seemed to glance covetously at the riches of the coast and were primarily interested in conquering them. In that they fulfilled a role similar to the Central Asian nomads, such as the Mongols, who time and again conquered the rich civilizations of the Eurasian East and West. The Inka were to come in the footsteps of Tiwanaku and Wari several hundred years later as highland conquerors.*

There is no question that the most impressive stone sculpture in South America was created at Tiwanaku in modern Bolivia. Colossal stones weighing many tons were cut and smoothed into architecture and sculpture. Cylindrical representations of humans are usually interpreted as rulers and/or ruler-priests. These are as unique in the Andean context as the portrait heads among the Moche. Despite these spectacular monuments, Tiwanaku did not emerge out of nothing but was the elaborate development of a highland carving tradition going back to the end of Chavín times.

Compared to the coast, the images of the highlands are less varied and explicit and often quite roughly carved.<sup>3</sup> The museum in Huaraz has quite a collection of works in styles named Aija, Huaraz, Recuay and Cabana, forming a regional tradition in the highlands east of the Moche area. Most of these modest sculptures are short boulder or columnar figures usually of men, sometimes represented with weapons, shields and trophy heads. Often they are naked with the genitals prominently represented. Varying in quality, on the whole they lack subtlety of carving or complexity of iconography. The original location of these commemorative figures is obscure.

Associated with these warrior figures are a series of lintels that are still rough in finish but more dramatic in conception. The central figure on the lintels is a frontal, elite male with a shield and/or trophy head and flanked by two felines. The felines are usually in relief like the figure but their heads are often three-dimensional and project like the tenoned heads of Chavín de Huantar or the ones at Tiwanaku. They sometimes have nicely curving tails. These sculptures too have been removed from their original location, but the lintels are believed to have been above the doorways of charnel houses – i.e., mortuary structures, or chullpas – of the central highlands. These chullpas have affinities north to the Chachapoyas area and south to Bolivian

sites like Silustani. Many have been destroyed for their stones. These lintels with the elite warrior and felines might have referred to ancestors relevant both to the social and religious worlds and can be compared to Moche warrior figures in basic concept.

It is significant that in the Andes the door or gateway was considered particularly important and a place for sculpture. Examples are the Black and White Portal at Chavín and the Gate of the Sun at Tiwanaku. In all these examples, including Huaraz, an important central figure was flanked by animal or human animal composite attendants. With the exception of Cerro Blanco in the Chavín style of the coast, where one walked in on the tongue of a serpent, in the Andes the door itself is not in the form of an organic open mouth. (Organic open mouth doorways are common in Mesoamerica at Malinalco and in the Rio Bec, Chenes, and Puuc Maya styles.) Generally in the Andes, doorways are protected by guardians and neither inviting in nor overtly suggesting transformation. They seem to function as a stop sign. The Huaraz style sculptures may have been made for a long time, from the Early to Late Intermediate periods.

In the southern highlands, at the site of Pucara, columnar figures were found holding trophy heads which seem to be in the same general tradition as the Huaraz boulder warriors. These Pucara figures are larger, more naturalistically detailed, have more highly polished surfaces than the Huaraz ones, but basically seem to be the same type. Pucara was an early site near the northern end of Lake Titicaca. Although many of its stones have been removed, there are still traces of stone-lined sunken courts similar in the same basic form as the earlier sunken courts of Chavín and the later ones of Tiwanaku. In many ways Pucara is culturally antecedent to Tiwanaku.

At Pucara there were new types of stone reliefs reminiscent of Chavín in that the designs were incised into the flat surfaces of upright slabs of stone (what we call *stelae*). However, these

stelae tend to be less complex figuratively than Chavín and consist more of abstract elements such as zigzags, checkerboards, and elliptical spirals in a most dynamic configuration.

Occasionally, there are small animals like frogs and snakes represented. The volutes on the top of one Pucara stela make it seem like an abstract animal, such as the Chavín crocodile. In contrast to the rough Huaraz sculptures these Pucara stelae are amazing for their precise cutting and surface smoothness. They are more reminiscent of textiles than of “sculpture” in our sense of the term.

A carving style related to the Pucara stelae is found in many small centers near Lake Titicaca.<sup>4</sup> Some of these sites include Taraco, Hatun Colla, Arapa, and Yapura. One large monument was found broken at Arapa with half of it at Tiwanaku, where it was perhaps taken as a “captive” in war. These sculptures are usually rectangular pillars, sometimes erected in pairs which might have been doorway carvings. The design fields are often divided into four quadrants. Within the quadrants elliptical curvilinear motifs contrast with angular steps and zigzags. The subject is generally considered to be “lightning” or storms with references to water, but no more specific interpretation has been possible. They are exquisite carvings with precise cutting edges and smooth surfaces which make very fine rubbings. Because these designs have been considered merely “decorative” and “ornamental,” they have been of little interest to archaeologists and most introductory books on Andean art do not illustrate them at all. To me, these designs are in the category of Caduveo face painting – charts of cosmic and social relations and not mere decoration.

Prior to the well-made sculptures in the lake Titicaca area sites, there was a cruder carving style reminiscent of Huaraz named “Yaya-Mama” after a stela from Taraco, the latter exhibiting a male and a female figure on the front and back with snakes and other small animals



in relief. Although rough, the division into male and female and the animals are reminiscent of Chavín carvings. Interestingly, some rectangular reliefs from Copacabana near Tiwanaku show a face in the center of a panel divided in four by feet and scrolls, i.e., in Yaya-Mama style, and has parallels on the shield designs of Huaraz warriors. This indicates that ideas for sculptural images were shared between the northern and southern areas of the Andes.

Thus prior to Tiwanaku there were several interrelated sculptural styles in the highlands harking back to Chavín and consisting of both roughly and finely carved works. Tiwanaku, which every writer on the Andes illustrates, emerges solidly from the Andean highland sculptural tradition: the gateways are related to the many carved lintels, the columnar sculptures to the boulder figures, the precise cutting and ordered surface designs to the Titicaca geometric style. Many have seen parallels between Chavín and Tiwanaku but there are even more parallels with the Huaraz and Pucara traditions.

The Chavín-Tiwanaku parallels have to do with imagery rather than style. The staff holding figure believed to be a deity on the Gate of the Sun is felt to be similar to the Raimondi stela deity from Chavín. Both are frontal, highly structured, well-executed designs once placed in the utmost important position at their respective sites. While the face of the Gate of the Sun figure has no fangs, everywhere else it is represented does, and it is supposed to be the anthropomorphic feline supernatural known from Chavín. On the Gate of the Sun, winged figures with bird or human heads flank the central deity. This is similar to the bird-masked winged figures of the Black and White Portal at Chavín which once flanked a major figure.

Despite these similarities, the use and conception of sculpture are very different at Chavín and Tiwanaku. All the Tiwanaku sculptures are much larger than anything at Chavín. The Lanzón is 4.5 meters tall, while the Bennett stela is 7.3 meters tall, and the Gate of the Sun is 3

meters wide and over two meters tall, weighing many tons. While we do not know the exact location of the Tiwanaku sculptures, no one supposes that they were hidden inside like the Lanzón. Recent excavations have shown that the center of Tiwanaku was a large, stone-faced stepped platform with several adjacent courts. The Kalasasaya was an enormous enclosure almost 120 meters wide and 128 meters long, the center surrounded by a moat. The small coursed masonry stones have long been looted from the site but large architectonic pieces remain. These include doorways, windows, rows of niches, geometric ornamental friezes, and miniature “models” of architecture. These cut stones are as exquisitely carved as the Asiruni stelae and joined together what must have been fantastic buildings. Precision of fit was often helped by the use of copper clamps holding the stones together. As at Chavín, water canals in the interior of the mound were practically and symbolically significant. D’Orbigny saw the site with this scattered architectural sculpture in the eighteenth century and was awed. Some modern reconstruction with small stones has been attempted but too little is known of what the buildings looked like for it to be successful. The Inka who saw the ruins seem to have been most impressed by the smooth carving and fit of the stones in masonry and to have wanted to imitate it in their buildings.

We don’t know what the Tiwanaku religion was about precisely. The carvings repeat the staff-holding frontal figure with rays emanating from its head on several monuments, suggesting that it was a paramount deity, perhaps thunder or the sun. On the Gate of the Sun, this figure alone is three-dimensional and, with its placement in the center, suggests supreme importance. On the Bennett stela, the deity face is incised on the back of the figure, from where the complex iconography unfolds to the front. As in the case of the Chavín god or gods, the Tiwanaku deity

seems to be a universalizing personage of great influence. Unlike Chavín, where a number of supernaturals seem to have existed, at Tiwanaku one figure is repeated most frequently.

Altogether, the image system of Tiwanaku is much smaller than that of Chavín and the iconography is more standardized. The “deity” and its associates – winged men, bird-headed men, and felines – are most common. Human figures are rare in relief. On the Gate of the Sun, tiny human figures hold trophy heads among the mythical figures near the lower corners. Hierarchy seems even more important at Tiwanaku than among the Moche. The importance of hierarchy determines design, as it is manifested in size, frontality or profile, and the relationship between top and bottom. All in all, there is a rigidity of design not found at Chavín and certainly not in Moche.

It is not certain whether the columnar figures are human or divine. We tend to see them as rulers, as some are covered with the iconography of the divine. The columnar figures are divided into horizontal sections and the flat, rectangular faces with stylized features are far from being portraits. Evidently Tiwanaku wished to impress (but not to *create*) emotional bonds in its images. Moreover, there is no emphasis in the figures on the body – relief figures such as the attendants on the Gate of the Sun lack bodies almost entirely. A raised outline indicates their basic form, but the actual body is excised down to the level of the background. While this lower level may once have contained color, it still emphasizes the linearity rather than the corporeality of the form.

The rigid abstraction of the columnar figures is all the more noteworthy in that two relatively naturalistic kneeling figures carved in stone exist at Pokotia, not far from the Tiwanaku center. It is not clear whether these were made by the Tiwanaku or by Pucara, but they are larger and finer than anything at Pucara. Regardless of who made them, they indicate that a more

naturalistic style had been attempted by someone and that this could have been a model for Tiwanaku sculpture. The fact that these figures stand as isolated examples indicates the extent to which naturalism was not desired by Tiwanaku and most Andean polities and their abstractions are intentional.

While Chavín was remarkable for its cerebral visual games, the sculptures of Tiwanaku are surprising in the Andean context for their theatricality. The Western imagination likes theatricality, and the monuments of Tiwanaku have been much applauded. First, there is their colossal size; second, the general recognizability of human and animal subjects; and third, their precise carving. Imagining the carved gates at crucial points of entry, the columnar figures perhaps in the courts and plazas or temples, the finely articulated window frames and niches along the walls Tiwanaku must have been an awesome site in our view. Though we do not know where everything was, it all appears to have been intended to be visible for an audience. This is one place where the images are not on a relatively intimate scale; Tiwanaku shouts from the rooftops.

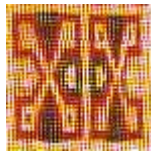
Colossal size always creates awe and power and implies submission. We don't know what that means exactly, but Tiwanaku was likely a pilgrimage center. The colossal architecture and sculpture suggest large groups of people visiting the city and the city built for large groups.<sup>5</sup> Its imagery was spread by warriors, bureaucrats as well as religious specialists. While the Moche emphasized conflict in their images, Tiwanaku emphasized control and may have been the first empire to try for military and bureaucratic control. Judging from the monuments, the rationale for control may have been a supernatural message which was pared down to a simple, repeated and standardized form.

The only complexity ever seen on Tiwanaku monuments is numerical – many scholars have counted figures, heads, appendages, and even circles to arrive at calendrical interpretations such as lunar months, or days or years.<sup>6</sup> Much of this endeavor seems highly suspect to me as a way make the Gate of the Sun as sophisticated as the Aztec Calendar Stone. We westerners admire calendrical inscriptions. Recently, Urton decoded a khipu with calendrical information which certainly indicates the existence of calendrical knowledge and recording.<sup>7</sup> However, we don't know why Andeans would have calendrical information on their monuments, nor, if so, why they would be so ingeniously hidden. Leaving this question unsolved, the search for numerical meaning in the art of Tiwanaku indicates the complex structuring of this visual tradition. One would not usually think of counting the features of Chavín, Moche, or Paracas figures and looking for calendars in them. So besides theatricality, Tiwanaku images are characterized by extremely highly structured compositions and uniform organization that suggests the mathematical. All these features evident in the sculpture must have been values promoted by the Tiwanaku elite and polity.<sup>8</sup>

After Tiwanaku, large scale stone sculptures ceased to be made in the Andes. The empire to the north, Wari, had a large capital center, but it seems not to have been an architectural and sculptural wonder. With a few small exceptions, there was little polished and fitted masonry and most walls were of fieldstone. There were no colossal sculptures, only a few smaller ones in Tiwanaku style. These squat figures lack the complex iconographic incised imagery of Tiwanaku. Wari was apparently not a great theatrical center built to impress.<sup>9</sup> At a later time even when they built to impress, the Inka generally avoided anthropomorphic sculpture in stone.

Tiwanaku departed from the usual Andean way of emphasizing face to face contact in small scale works. Its pottery and textiles are minor in that they represent abbreviated images of

the stonework. All energy seems to have gone into the creation of architecture and sculpture as in a “theme park.” Such a turn towards a large public audience was obviously a strategy on the part of the Tiwanaku elite and was perhaps in its way even more of a “theater state” than that of the Moche. The lack of emphasis on warfare, headhunting and sacrifice, and other forms of human agency are striking. Power is expressed in colossal size and impersonality rather than ferociousness. While the Moche figures bristle with weapons, the small sizes of the pots that display them tend to minimize their impact. Tiwanaku must have inspired great awe in the visitor and conveyed to him a relatively simple message of supernatural and political power.



## Chapter 8. LATER TRENDS: THE IMAGE IN DECLINE

*From 1000 AD to the Spanish Conquest, Andean representation focused less on human figures and more on important iconographic themes. Wari imagery is an important step in this process but it is clearest in the art of the Chimu, Chancay, and Ica of the Late Intermediate period.*

*While Wari (500-1000 AD) was a contemporary of Tiwanaku and the late Moche, its strategy in using images looks forward to later times in Andean history. Avoiding the theatricality of the Moche and Tiwanaku, Wari seems to have emphasized the practical features of empire building, such as roads, provincial centers, storage, and the recording device of khipu. The function of the arts was to cement political ties in textiles and pottery used mostly in personal contact.*

*In the Late Intermediate period (1000-1470), Chimu was the largest empire on the north coast. Roughly in the same area the Moche had built their capital city, the city of Chan Chan was located on the other side of the Moche River from the site of Cerro Blanco. While Moche turned outwards architecturally in plazas and platforms, the Chimu turned inwards in large walled enclosures about 600 meters long and with a huge area 140,000 meters square in the largest. The enclosures were surrounded by walls up to nine meters in height. Ten such enclosures are known, most of which are named for travelers and explorers: Chayhuac, Uhle, Tello, Labyrinth, Gran Chimu, Squier, Velarde, Bandelier, Tschudi, and Rivero. Excavation in the 1980s demonstrated that the enclosures were royal palaces and the tombs of ten individual rulers.<sup>1</sup> The rulers and the enclosures were built in a chronological sequence, but there is no agreement as yet as to the exact order. Besides lesser elite, a large group of artisans resided in*

*the city as well. The city is unusual in having no central point, no plaza for gathering outside of what is in the enclosures. We have some information on the Chimu from the sixteenth century because the Inka conquered them in 1470 and told the Spanish about them. To the Inka, the Chimu were a great, civilized power, and the Inka imitated some of their customs and particularly valued their metal crafts.*

*Compared to the Chimu, the cultures of the central coast consisted of smaller units often called “Chancay” in general after the Chancay valley. These cultures are known primarily from textiles that have a very pleasing decorative vocabulary as well as ceramic figures and yarn figures often thought of as primitively charming. One major site in the central coast is Pachacamac, which was an important oracle in later Inka times. Pachacamac dates at least to the Middle Horizon and is a place in which one can demonstrate the continuity between Wari and the later styles.<sup>2</sup> Somewhat independent under the Inka, the Inka themselves turned to the shrine for advice. It was said that a priest hidden inside the statue spoke in the name of the god Pachacamac. The Inka rebuilt the site with a major sun temple by the shore and a monumental building for the chosen women, which not only survives but has been extensively restored.*

*Smaller polities were also characteristic of the Ica valley, the location of the earlier Paracas culture. Ica burials are noteworthy for their textiles, not unlike those of Chancay, and for pottery with small-scale designs.*

Beginning in the nineteenth century, vaguely Tiwanaku style objects, mainly textiles and pottery, were found in graves on the coast of Peru and referred to as “Coastal Tiwanaku.” In the 1960s, Dorothy Menzel demonstrated that these objects were directly related to the highland site of Wari and only indirectly to Tiwanaku.<sup>3</sup> For reasons that elude us, the Wari Empire adopted the



Tiwanaku image system for its own but the differences between the two cultures were greater than their similarities. Instead of building a spectacular center, Wari built practical administrative, storage, and garrison cities at strategic parts of their empire. Viracochapampa in the north is close to the former Moche area, while Pikillacta in the south is near Inka Cuzco. Both were built on a grid plan with many small storage areas for foodstuffs as well as more precious objects. These storage places collected goods from all over the empire and redistributed them according to Wari's plans. These two sites need not have been the only Wari administrative structures, but they were the most highly developed. In them the Wari codified their ideas of empire in the permanent medium of architecture.<sup>4</sup> Wari's primary aim appears to have been the organization of its empire and not ideology which was Tiwanaku's strategy. Wari looks like a precursor of the Inka Empire. That the Inka were familiar with Wari organization is evident from the fact that they built an entrance wall to the site of Pikillacta near them. Wari put the monumental Tiwanaku imagery on the smaller media of textiles and pottery which operated in face to face encounters rather than in large group events. While there are many Wari style objects on the coast, the Wari garrisons we know are in the highlands, suggesting that control was most secure there.

Why did Wari accept the Tiwanaku symbol system? Why not have something of their own? It has recently been suggested that the Wari had a cosmopolitan culture and borrowed images (and/or cults) from the Nazca and other neighbors, and that the borrowing from Tiwanaku – while on a larger scale – was the same type of thing.<sup>5</sup> (Whether the prestige of Tiwanaku was a part of the borrowing is unclear.) At any rate, Wari had become a powerful center before it used Tiwanaku imagery. What is clear is that Wari accepted the Tiwanaku image

system, held on to it for a long time indicating its importance, but modified it almost totally out of existence.

Some works, such as the oversize urns from Pacheco with male and female Tiwanaku deity images hark back to the colossal size of Tiwanaku sculpture. They were new in that they were not made for a burial but probably for feasting and were ritually smashed in an offering. Ritual destruction has also been found on some Tiwanaku textiles that were torn in half and then sewed up.<sup>6</sup> Ritual destruction seems to be a highland idea in contrast to meticulous preservation characteristic of the coast. The coast, with its incredibly arid desert, is obsessed with preservation and life after death, with archaism and a familial relationship with the things of earlier cultures, and in that sense with history through things. The empires of the highlands created new eras and destruction was a part of their vocabulary.

In a short time, Wari objects were the standard types of things of earlier cultures: garments, pottery vessels, and gold. Wari textiles (mostly tapestries) represent human and animal headed beings often holding staffs. Whether they represent the Tiwanaku deity or its attendants is not always easy to determine. Their geometric stylization appealed to Western collectors familiar with cubism in the 1930s to 50s and some authors, such as Paternosto, see them retroactively as precursors of modern abstraction.<sup>7</sup> In 1963, Alan Sawyer deciphered the structure of Wari textiles in an elegant article. He noted that the variously colored squares and lines were the result of the compression and expansion of Tiwanaku-like figures.<sup>8</sup> This process was not uniform, since the figures alternated in position and color and the result was therefore a syncopated rhythm. Figures emerged out of the abstractions but he further detailed how other processes created even greater abstractions out of them. Cutting the figure diagonally and thus reducing it to a minimal eye, mouth and tail, and then compressing it asymmetrically created a

dynamic pattern whose resemblance to any outside figure was very remote. You had to be cerebrally inclined to create and enjoy such an unusual figure manipulations in textiles. Once we modern viewers have been shown how the system works, it adds to our enjoyment. We like all intellectual games in ancient cultures because we feel that they are then closer to us in spirit – they rise in our estimation. The Wari with their recently defined garrison cities and complex textiles have made a great jump on our cultural charts.

As to the question of why these textile manipulations were devised, we do not know the answer. It seems to me that there may have been politico-religious reasons that necessitated sticking to a limited subject matter and, in order to have variation, these were distorted in a variety of clever ways. We often think that the Wari style tunics and the famous four-cornered hats were the dress of the Wari officialdom. Wari textile manipulations were not iconographic, they were aesthetic – they were the most perfect formalists who ever lived. Through their architecture we see the Wari as militaristic and practical but the tunics of their officials display a livelier intelligence and playfulness than the more pompous Tiwanaku monuments. Wari arts suggest human proximity and approachability.

The Wari style overwhelmed much of the earlier coastal style such as Moche and Nazca. All of a sudden designs became angular but colorful and the vocabulary was limited to new personages. Wari style disrupted the local traditions and moved in as something quite alien. (Inka style did the same 300 years later.) Whether this is Conquest, influence or emulation, we are not always in a position to know. It may be all three. But while something of the local traditions reemerged after Wari subsided, some aspects did not: Wari leveled all previous complex iconographic systems, never to return again.

In its turn, the Wari visual language came to an end gradually. On the one hand the rich system of compression and expansion which generated such cubistic complexity began to lose its logic and to fall apart into geometric forms that were not always meaningful. On the other hand, some images of the suppressed local tradition reemerged without fanfare. On a well-known Bliss Collection textile, Wari derived profile angular figures look like they are in rigor mortis next to lively little birds and monkeys. The birds and monkeys are representational, uncomplicated and friendly. They seem to be a revival of age-old coastal ideas going back to the Preceramic period. This textile is attributed to the Central Coast but something like it in spirit would not be out of place in the north or south coasts. After Wari, all coastal styles became generically similar and next to simple geometric abstraction the little bird is one of the most common motifs.

After 1000 AD, the Andean region underwent a process in which the image lost power not just as a “being” but even as the focus of classification or play. Many of the designs of the Late Intermediate period and the Inka seem to function as decorative screens covering something rather than as communication devices. This is usually seen by western collectors as “bad art.” The Chimu who were familiar with Moche art revived some forms such as seated figures in ceramics, but these lack specificity in costume and body posture.

One must conclude that, for some reason in the Late Intermediate period, images were not being used for communication purposes except in a very limited fashion. Since many Andean images were more like maps, charts, and dictionaries, this is what disappears from the public discourse of objects. That information is no longer overt, and the elite are no longer ruling through images.

What new information imagery exists is apparently bland and benign. Birds, fish, cats, monkeys abound on pottery, textiles and walls without any obvious supernatural seriousness.

Power is often associated with frontal standing figures with open arms and semi-circular headdresses. In the scholarly literature these are often called “lords,” with no indication of clear human or deity status. In fact, except for high status dress, they have no specific characteristics. This generic “lord” is the new popular image in representation. It is found on textiles, pottery, and gold. Therefore, the “overt” information of the visual arts of the late centuries is vague, generalized, and decorative, and all this was developed intentionally.

The buildings of Chan Chan were ornamented with reliefs cut into the adobe walls. They represent repeating geometric designs like wallpaper or textiles.<sup>9</sup> At one point, they were probably colored. Some, like at Gran Chimú, imitate the angular forms of weaving in geometric patterns. Others, like at Huaca Esmeralda, have little fish and birds in the overall diamond patterns. The most complex design is from the Velarde enclosure and features stylized wave patterns, little fish, and crustaceans, as well as figures in semi-circular headdresses and sometimes a staff. It is not clearly if it is a fishing or religious ritual scene. The personages are repeated and seem neither royal nor supernatural.

It is often said that the greatest Chimú art must have been metalwork, looted a long time ago. But what metalwork survives is not that different from the simplistic pottery. In fact, some graves had the same vessel in pottery and silver, down to the little monkey figures holding the spout so frequent in Chimú ware. These works do not make statements about the cosmos and society – they are attractive evasions and diversions

The statements are being made in architecture. Without a central plaza and/or temple, Chan Chan was clearly not built for a congregating population. The enormous enclosures, long thought to be little cities, or “ciudadelas,” have turned out to be royal palaces occupied sequentially by only a few personages. Each ruler built his own palace and, upon his death,

members of his lineage occupied it. The power the walled enclosures suggest is so great that no further imagery is necessary to emphasize that greatness. The nine-foot walls and the one or two protected entrances indicate a highly controlled interior world.

Large plazas, audience rooms and ritual area are within the enclosures restricted to a privileged group. The presence of burial platforms within the enclosures combines the functions of burial mausoleum and palace in the ciudadela. The offering cells near the burial, which contained hundreds of sacrificial victims of women and servants beside gold and other riches, were long ago thoroughly looted. To me they are reminiscent of the storage rooms of Wari administrative centers but are here placed within the royal walls. Wells, gardens, and servants were brought within the walls as well. The enclosures were therefore little worlds turning their backs on the artisans and other city dwellers living in more perishable constructions.

In this context the benign images of fish and little birds acquires more meaning. There is no imagery of conflict, of aggression, of fangs, because conflict is not recognized as a possibility. The relief designs all suggest harmony and order while the architecture seems obsessed with security. The Andean value most emphasized is order and harmony through the images of coastal fauna. Stylistically, this is manifested not only in the lack of interaction between figures but even in their lack of proximity. Each figure or design element has its own adequate space and does not impinge on any other. Overlapping, common in Moche and Paracas Necropolis images – or even crowding, as in Wari textiles – does not exist. That sense of small but comfortable space gives the images a pleasant but intellectually and aesthetically unexciting character. I have no doubt that it was intentional – that this was the way people wanted things to look. Nothing happens in Chimú arts – and that is exactly what was supposed to happen.

These needs were not limited to the Chimú. Throughout the coastal area, both in pottery and textiles, the designs revolve around little benign creatures, especially birds, and simple geometric motifs arranged in registers, and these predominate from Pachacamac to the Ica valley. The Inka inherited this design system and diverted it to fit within their interests and aesthetic but did not radically change it. No culture after 1000 AD went back to the traditions of Chavín, Moche, Necropolis, or Tiwanaku. It is often supposed that complex imagery existed in gold and silver among the Inka that was melted down in the Conquest or during the centuries of looting. There is a famous account of the garden of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco, the Coricancha, which had gold sods, and life-size golden llamas and shepherds.<sup>10</sup> I don't doubt the veracity of the accounts. I merely posit that these figures may have lacked the rich iconography of the previous Andean past; otherwise, a little something of it would have survived.

Missionaries smashed Aztec statues with great zeal, too, yet a great many Aztec sculptures survive. Just one piece, a figure or a box, can tell us about the Aztec approach to form. The lack of complex imagery in surviving metalwork and stonework indicates that it probably wasn't there.

The fascinating aspect of Andean development in representation is that complex visual systems were created in the early centuries and were subsequently abandoned. Nothing suggests that Andeans turned away from images as something bad, as in the iconoclasm of the Old World. Some figures always remained. They simply lost their former significance and importance. One could argue that expressive image systems developed in relatively small-scale societies that were more or less in competition with one another – that is, in places where it was important to express identity in visual form. Furthermore, the content to be expressed varied and it was important to present it in some kind of visible or knowable forum. The large empires of the later

periods – the Wari, Chimu and Inka – were not using images to express or explain their powers. They were primarily using architecture to achieve such ideas. The figural imagery is benign because the empires emphasize their peaceful aspects precisely because they are Conquest empires. According to this interpretation, the conflict themes of the Moche or the headhunting of Paracas and Nazca are indications of the use of imagery to try to shore up power that is not necessarily very great. This interpretation works only up to a point. There were many areas in the Andes in the Late Intermediate period that did not consist of large and powerful empires, such as the area of Ica, which did not develop complex imagery.<sup>11</sup> In fact, Ica imagery is within the norm of the late styles. There is then a second process which has to do with interregional contacts – both in culture and in art – that maintained Ica as a part of its time in its artistic forms. While Moche and Paracas-Nazca had strikingly different traditions of artistic communication in the Early Intermediate period, a fact which suggests isolation from one another, the similarities in art and design in the Late Intermediate and Late Horizon eras suggest much more interaction due only partly to the empires.





## Chapter 9. IMPERIAL INKA: THE POWER OF THE MINIMAL

*The Inka was probably the first empire in the Andes to try to control and change significantly the lives of its subjects. Their imposition of Quechua as the official language of the empire was so successful that many local languages disappeared before Europeans could record them. This process was hastened by the fact that the Spanish used and encouraged Quechua in the Colonial Period for the sake of convenience. The Inka also tried to control the local religions by spreading their Cult of the Sun. Though they had hegemony over a diverse population, whose diversity they kept partly out of necessity and custom, they took every opportunity for homogenization and standardization. Loyal Inka communities were often moved hundreds of miles both to pacify and organize the empire. (They were called mitmacuna).<sup>1</sup> Things from the Inka Empire come from both the highlands and the coast and are immediately recognizable as “Inka.”*

*Inka architecture probably began with the rebuilding of Cuzco in the fifteenth century by the first historical emperor called Pachacuti. Although the Spanish burned the city, mainly the thatch and the upper walls in adobe were lost. The well-made Inka lower stone walls were often preserved and the Spanish rebuilt the upper walls in Colonial style. The plan and walls of Cuzco therefore still survive. Stones were taken to be reused from the shrine area of Sacsahuaman, north of the city, but a great deal of that site still exists. Sacsahuaman was admired by the conquistadors for its zig zag walls of stupendous masonry. Thought to be a fort for a long time, it is now seen more as a multipurpose temple. The area around it is full of shrines, with many of them located on ceque lines. The Suchuna rocky outcrop has seats carved parallel to natural striations. Kenko has a vertical outcrop, a semicircular plaza, and a cave with a throne. It is one*

*of the places that is said to be Pachacuti's mausoleum. Tambo Machay is a fountain shrine surrounded by walls. There are many carved stones in the area, the largest of which is Chingana Grande.*

*Inka rulers had large private estates and several of them are associated with Pachacuti in the Urubamba valley. The best known of these is Machu Picchu, remarkable for its preservation since it came to the knowledge of the West in 1911, when it was found by Hiram Bingham of Yale University. Machu Picchu is in exceptional condition as a ruin except to excessive trappings by modern tourists and the necessity of modern stabilizations. Nearby Pisac is smaller but similar to Machu Picchu and is especially noted for its terraces. Ollantaytambo is remarkable for its six huge granite monuments at the mountain shrine as well as the presence of the Inka residential sector still inhabited in the valley below.*

*The late ruler Huayna Capac is thought to be the builder of the Quispiguanca estate north of modern Urubamba.*

Inka works were representational only to a small extent. There was no rule against the image, but it had limited use in the communication of visual ideas. Sixteenth-century chroniclers referred to the existence of Inka figurative sculptures in stone and large scale gold images. None of these have survived because the large gold figures were melted down and the stone sculptures broken up by the Spanish. Therefore only small figurines in metal or on ceramics give us an idea of Inka figure style. These gold and silver human figures are simplified and cylindrical with limbs close to the body. They have been found in shrines, usually dressed in miniature textile garments woven to fit them. The larger stone figures might have been similar. They could not have been very numerous if not a single one survives. The Spanish were extirpating idolatry with

similar zeal in Mexico and a great deal of stone sculpture has survived nevertheless. Generally, the Inka Empire did not rely on images to consolidate or communicate its power. Although portraits of the Inka rulers were made in the Colonial Period, they were made after European models to prove legitimate connection to Inka royalty by the native aristocracy. The Inka did not have a personality cult of its rulers commemorated in statuary. Part of the reason for this is that the Inka venerated the actual mummies of their ancestors and were not interested in replicas.

Animal figurines, such as llamas were also made as offerings in metal in a simplified naturalistic style. Small creatures, especially butterflies are common on pottery vessels. None of these surviving images represent power figures, such as the Chavín composites of felines, caymans or condors, nor are any of them fitted out with claws and fangs. Like Late Intermediate period Chimu representations, they appear to be benign.

As Paternosto suggests in *The Stone and the Thread: Andean Roots of Abstract Art* (1996), Andeans were most interested in architecture and textiles.<sup>2</sup> Many sixteenth-century writers marveled at both. Textiles literally mapped the empire in that each district had its own dress and was immediately recognizable. Inka officials and the military also had their own designs. Certain ritually important rocks were covered with textiles and gold and on particularly important occasions the walls of the entire city of Cuzco were covered in textiles.<sup>3</sup>

All men, including the ruler, wore knee-length tunics called *unku*, the finest of them woven by specialists or by the “chosen women,” young girls who were selected by the state. Besides weaving, these women were also often given away in marriages by the ruler. The standards of weaving were very high – the yarns were thin and the weaving was densely compacted so that the finest pieces were light as silk.<sup>4</sup> The designs were geometric and extremely simple, often arranged as a checkerboard and/or with a contrasting V-shaped yoke. The most

exclusive designs were the *tokapu*: squares filled in with small scale motifs whose meanings are not exactly known. Some of the simplest Inka tunics that survive are all-white wool with a layer of tokapu at the waist. The fanciest tunics in existence consist of all-over tokapu designs.

Guaman Poma illustrates such a tunic on some of the Inka rulers in his history and thus we have surmised that this must have been a royal garment. Such a “royal” garment is in the Dumbarton Oaks collection in Washington.

Among the tocapus of the Dumbarton Oaks tunic, there are a number of enigmatic miniature tunics with a black and white checkerboard design and a red yoke. These tunic motifs are so “realistic” that a yellow zigzag line indicative of noble lineage on other tunics can be found in the bottom. As a number of scholars have pointed out, such black and white checkerboard tunics were military dress. Guaman Poma illustrates them and Spanish eyewitnesses described Atahualpa surrounded by men in checkerboard tunics at their encounter. A number of such tunics, in full size, survive in collections.

Among the few Inka tunics that exist, there is another design: a checkerboard with a “key” pattern also worn by some of Guaman Poma’s rulers in his manuscript. We thus have two possibly royal tunic types and a military tunic type for the Inka, which isn’t much considering the richness of weaving throughout the Andes. Taking the most elaborate royal tunic as a design, what is striking is the geometric austerity of its basic framework, the design richness of the individual tokapu, and the amazingly random and syncopated rhythm of their arrangement. While the checkerboard tunics are designed on a grid, they are not necessarily rigid. Many have sought to find a regular sequence in the tokapus, of the Dumbarton Oaks tunic, which seem regular on first viewing, only to be baffled by their irregularity and randomness in actual fact. As this textile indicates, the Inka were committed to organization but were not necessarily

unyielding. This approach is also evident in city planning, where Inka plans were always fitted into the environment and avoided precise geometric forms. Adaptation to local situations and flexibility were Inka values.

Many Inka elements of design survived in Colonial times, but the austerity and systematic aspect did not. Colonial Inka textiles had various different patterns all over and look helter-skelter. The simplicity of Inka garments was therefore a conscious choice. Nothing obvious suggests either overt religious or royal symbolism in the textiles, unless it is hidden in the tokapu. There are no obvious power symbols. In their understated and minimal way the aim seems to have been to classify peoples, functions, and statuses in something immediately recognizable but abstract.

If we are in awe of the Inka because of their restraint in textile design, we are in even greater awe of Inka stonework, which is both restrained and expressive. A number of stone ceremonial containers exist in simple abstract shapes with rounded edges that suggest – but rarely describe – animate form. One of the most elaborate has simplified snake forms over the circular dish. There is no clear suggestion of a supernatural being or symbolism on these vessels which look as though they have been literally taken from the rocks.

The Inka conquered the Andes from Ecuador to Chile, coast and highlands, and were fully aware of the diverse architectural styles of the different regions. They were familiar with the Wari garrison at Pikillacta close to Cuzco, even going so far as to build a wall at the entrance. The Inka also had administrative centers, such as Huanuco Pampa with living areas and storehouses. Nevertheless, the Inka did not build grid plans for their architecture. Their plans are always asymmetrical and were sometimes said to be in the shape of an animal: Cuzco was imagined in the shape of a puma and Huanuco Pampa as a bird. The grid of the textiles was not

transferred to architecture perhaps because stone was seen as something organic rather than manmade. This fact is illustrated by various legends in which men turn to stone or stones turn to men. The most famous Inka stories include Manco Capac, the founder of the Inka dynasty, who at his death turned to stone and, later, the stones of the battlefield who turned to soldiers to help Pachacuti defeat the Chanca in the 1430s. After the battle, Pachacuti collected the helpful stones and they were set up in the Coricancha (Temple of the Sun) in Cuzco. There appears to be an affinity between flesh and stone expressed in irregularity and a soft, pillowy surface in stonework.

The Inka were impressed by Tiwanaku, but did not imitate its sculptures. They seem to have been impressed by the precise fit of the stones in the architecture, which also became a hallmark of Inka architecture, but the shapes of moldings and niches were not imitated except in a notably reduced form. The rigid flatness of Tiwanaku stone block forms has no echo in the case of the Inka, but the Inka might have taken from Tiwanaku the idea of architectural grandeur.

Similarly, in the north, the Inka did not imitate the wall reliefs of Chan Chan or Chachapoyas. (Unless, perhaps, in now-vanished gold revetment.) Moreover, they did not borrow or elaborate upon the stone roofing practices of Chavín, Cantamarca, or Chipirack. Generally, they did not build two story structures as in the Tantomayo area. The Inka mainly built walls and put their energies in masonry.

Inka architecture was extremely simple: its basic element was a small rectangular house with a thatched roof.<sup>5</sup> (Different regions in the Andes had round or square houses as matters of historic and ethnic identity.) The famous Coricancha Temple of the Sun in Cuzco consisted of six such rectangular houses surrounding the four sides of a courtyard. It was this courtyard that had the life-size golden llamas and shepherds mentioned by the Spanish. The Spanish had no

difficulty turning this structure into the cloister of the church of Santo Domingo. Besides the separate houses, the Inka also built great banqueting and assembly halls (*kallankas*) which were also simple in conception, consisting of outer walls, inner piers, and thatched roofs.<sup>6</sup> Some of these, like Huaytara, were turned into Christian churches with little effort. Although the Inka are known for complex engineering in roads, canals, tunnels, and bridges, the forms of Inka architecture were one of the simplest in the history of the Andes. They can be considered as minimalist as the squares of the garments.

What the Inka elaborated on was actually sculpting the stones and evolving an eloquent abstract stonework vocabulary. Very fine, gently curving masonry was reserved for royal or sacred structures. Rough or colossal masonry was used for the lower part of structures as at Sacsahuaman and Ollantaytambo. Smaller, irregular blocks were in between. At one time, Western scholars thought that these were chronological differences and that the rough stones were “early” and the fine masonry “later” when skills had improved. This, of course, was based on the European idea that art develops technologically from rough to fine and is a matter of skill. As far as we now know, all the types of masonry were contemporary and the differences were functional and iconographic.

A good example is the fountain-shrine of Tambo Machay. Roughness, large size, and irregularity are often in proximity to the ground and approximate natural rock. Natural rock is skillfully blended in among masonry. Very fine masonry with trapezoidal niches lie towards the top of the structure and signify the realm of man. The water of the spring is channeled on two levels, falling in one stream on the top and divided into two below. The fact that natural rock was believed to be alive was evident not just from legends but from the Inka treatment of unusual natural formations and striking individual rocks. Unusual natural formations include erosion

striations and rocks cut in two by faults. At Machu Picchu and at Kenko, for example, individual natural rocks are framed in masonry the way we set up sculptures on a platform. In the Sacsahuaman area steps and seats were carved into eroded rock following the natural lines. Even more surprising is the carving of miniature architectural elements on the large outcrop at Kenko, on Chingana Grande and the Sayhuite stone. Often it is hard to tell what is manmade and what is the result of erosion. Miniature architectural elements may be the Inka equivalents of felines and staff gods from the earlier cultures and of scenes like the Mountain Sacrifice vessels of the Moche. The unusual aspect of the Sayhuite Stone is that it did have animals, especially cat-like felines carved among the miniature steps and plazas.<sup>7</sup> The general lack of animal or human representation was obviously a choice and not an injunction against representation.

Inka stonework seems to have been created to express both cosmic and political values – the world of nature and the sacred at one end, and the world of man (specifically the Inka Empire) at the other. The size, fit, pillowy surface and immediate recognizability of a wall as “Inka” also read as “power” and, throughout the empire, the walls signified “power” without the need for images or inscriptions. In line with the Andean emphasis on walls, the Inka primarily built walls in their own style. A major feature of many of these walls is the puzzle-like fit of irregular stones. Since the Inka generally did not use mortar but instead rubbed stones against each other for perfect fit, this was as laborious a process as some of the weaving techniques.<sup>8</sup> Why was the famous “twelve-cornered stone” set carefully in a mosaic at Hatunramiyoc Street in Cuzco? Why was the top edge of the rock at the Tower at Machu Picchu not leveled off before the masonry wall was built above it? These irregularities were clearly not a necessary feature of the materials or processes but examples of intentionality and virtuosity. The design of Inka walls was perhaps purposefully different from the hard edge regularity of Tiwanaku and Wari and



signified a closer relationship of the Inka Empire to the earth and nature as a whole.<sup>9</sup> They were perhaps meant to suggest that the Inka Empire was as much a natural outgrowth of Andean history and the cosmos as the buildings grew out of the rock.

While on the one hand the stupendous Inka walls give the impression of power, that power is “softened” by curving forms and irregularities. This may be a material expression of an Inka strategy to rule without the appearance of a heavy hand. Chroniclers like Garcilaso recount that in war the Inka always claimed to go in “peace” and conquered only when “unavoidable,” which was, to be sure a fiction, but a fiction that indicates certain values.<sup>10</sup> Strategies of imperial rule, as recounted by Ascher and Ascher and D’Altroy<sup>11</sup>, consisted of adopting their rule to local conditions and fitted their system to the realities on the ground. Inka landscape shrines such as Tambo Machay and Kenko are perfect examples of adapting to the terrain in the literal sense. While the stones form abstract patterns, their softness and irregularity seem organic – one can almost read them as the anthropomorphic musculature of the earth.

The Inka walls were supremely suited to an empire of a variety of peoples whose gods and religion were all different but who all worshipped mountains and sacred rocks and the powers of nature. In their stonework the Inka created a minimal language of nature and empire that was comprehensible throughout the land – and is indeed comprehensible to us as well.

As the Inka adapted their architecture to the terrain, it is also obvious that they chose their terrain with great care. The marvel of the sites of Machu Picchu, Pisac, or Ollantaytambo is partly in the selection of the places and the views. No economic necessity was behind them and, in fact, some, like Machu Picchu, lacked adequate sources of water. These were places of pleasure and communion with nature in whatever personified form. The greatness of Inka architecture lies in its approach to mountainous scenery and its ubiquitous stones.

The importance of views can be documented for the Inka in the accounts of the ceque system. The ceque system consisted of about thirty to forty imaginary lines radiating from the Coricancha in Cuzco along which the ayllu shrines were located. Each shrine was cared for on a certain day by a certain family, thus coordinating the calendar and social structure with ritual observances in a sacred geography. An official was charged with adjusting the system to given families and political situations so that, like many other Inka institutions, it was rather flexible. Based on Cobo's description, scholars are attempting to reconstruct the ceque shrines as he recorded them.<sup>12</sup> This is a difficult task in that some shrines could be just trees or springs and not always palaces and stone structures. Kenko and Tambo Machay may be two examples of fully developed shrines within the system. It is worth noting that a ceque arrangement of shrines, known not just from Cuzco but other centers, emphasizes a far-flung geographic zone rather than a centralized temple precinct. It also emphasizes groups of families and ayllus rather than centralized royalty and/or priesthood. Such an arrangement was characteristic of the Andes, particularly concerning its emphasis on kin relations and reciprocity. While most shrines were material, some were not. In several instances the last view of Cuzco from a certain spot was the actual shrine. That in itself indicates that "views" elsewhere were intentionally chosen and not mere accidents.

So far, I have discussed the "Inka" in general, much in the same way as I have referred to the "Moche" or the "Chimu." In the case of the Moche and Chimu, our information is mostly archaeological without a historic dimension. However, the Inka were extensively documented in the sixteenth century and we know something of the major rulers, starting with Pachacuti and ending with the executed Atahualpa. We know that Pachacuti consolidated Inka power in winning the Chanca war in the early fifteenth century. We know the story that he prayed for help

to Viracocha and the stones on the ground turned into warriors who helped him win the battle. Afterwards he went back to the battlefield to select the stones and they were taken to the Coricancha in Cuzco, known collectively as the Pururauca. Pachacuti began the conquests outside the Cuzco area and is said to have marveled at the ruins of Tiwanaku and to have said that he wanted Cuzco rebuilt in that style. Pachacuti was the architect of the Inka Empire and he was the architect of Inka building style.

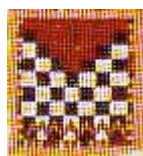
Recent scholarship has reexamined the sixteenth century texts and began to attribute certain structures to individual rulers. A large percentage of Inka architecture has been associated with Pachacuti: Cuzco, Sacsahuaman, Kenko, Tambo Machay, Machu Picchu, Pisac, and Ollantaytambo, to name just a few. It is not totally clear whether he built it all or whether they were attributed to him as the greatest ruler. Indeed, all of these sites are similar and could have come from one patron and his architects – but they could have been shared by more than one, too. Pachacuti's successor, Topa Inka, has no significant building associated with him, although Sacsahuaman has been suggested. He was a great conqueror who pushed the limits of the empire to its furthest points in Ecuador and Chile, and he is probably responsible for structures in Ecuador that exhibit a magnificent curving wall.

Susan Niles has added immensely to our knowledge of Inka architecture by focusing on the next ruler, Huayna Capac, who died young from smallpox and divided his empire between his sons, Huascar and Atahuallpa.<sup>13</sup> Huascar was the legitimate son and Atahuallpa was the son of a second wife. Huascar preferred living in Cuzco while Atahuallpa received the northern part of the empire. Huayna Capac's major private estate was Quispiguanca, north of Urubamba: a site still in ruinous condition and understood best from reconstruction. Only the low walls were of stone and the rest was adobe, whereas Pachacuti's buildings had some adobe but much more

stonework. Huayna Capac may have had fewer resources for building projects. Moreover, Huayna Capac's stonework is Inka style, but not remarkable. Quispiguanca was planned as a symmetrical walled compound reminiscent of the Chimu with several guard towers. Niles points out that the site selected was not picturesque and not arranged to give splendid views. Huayna Capac chose views that looked on his lands rather than focusing on religion or aesthetics.

His heirs, Atahuallpa and Huascar, became involved in a civil war and were in power too briefly to have built anything. We thus have two rulers associated with architecture whose approaches were quite different. What we think of as "Inka" is really Pachacuti's vision of the Inka, one that is incredibly rich in form and meaning despite a minimal approach. The case of these two Inka rulers indicates that individual rulers and/or artists may have had similar impacts on the arts of their times but we simply lack the information. An individual patron and/or artist, it would seem, was likely behind the Moche portrait heads and the Tiwanaku sculptures as well.

The Inka example underscores the observation that the primary medium of expression in the Andes was architecture – a state or community sponsored undertaking in labor organization. Besides expressing political power and a metaphysical relationship to nature, the buildings also expressed the hopeful unity of the social fabric in the very process of building. It has recently been noted that the architecture of certain sites, such as Chavín de Huantar and Tiwanaku (and possibly Sacsahuaman) were not necessarily finished but rather were parts of a long, continuous state of building. As such, we must imagine rotations of workmen – not simply "priests" or "elites" – occupying the sites for long periods of time.<sup>14</sup> Building itself was a social and ritual undertaking.



## Chapter 10. COLONIAL EPILOGUE: NOSTALGIC ECHO

*Pizarro conquered the Inka following the model Cortes used in conquering the Aztecs: he captured Atahualpa and made him prisoner before executing him. Atahualpa offered a room of gold and two rooms of silver for his ransom but he was too much a power even in captivity so that he had to die. Most Inka precious metals were thus collected in the northern highland town of Cajamarca and melted into ingots. Some were sent to the king in Spain and the rest were distributed among the conquistadors. The conquistadors then fell out among themselves quite viciously and most did not die a natural death. The period after 1532 was one of complete chaos in the Andes, one which was increased by the epidemics of European-derived diseases. The Inka Tupac Amaru I led a rebellion from 1536-1537 but was captured and beheaded in 1571 by the Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who had come to Peru to create order. Tupac Amaru II led a second revolt in 1780, protesting the brutal treatment of Indians. That, too, was initially unsuccessful, but many of his demands were eventually granted. Between the late 1500s and 1780, there was a vibrant native life among some Andean survivors, with many arts created to demonstrate Inka heritage.*

*This is the background of many of the authors who wrote the Colonial texts on the Andes. Garcilaso de la Vega, Blas Valera, and Guaman Poma de Ayala were half-native, half-Hispanic. Others, such as Fernando Cobo, Cieza de Leon, and Jorge Acosta, were Spaniards in religious orders.*

A great deal of light is thrown on Andean practices by a comparison with the post-Conquest, Colonial situation. Spanish writing quickly became the norm and the khipu was degraded. The Spanish recognized that it contained vital information which they took from their users into the chronicles. But the lore of the khipu itself dwindled with the death of its practitioners. A few, such as Martin de Murua and Guaman Poma, illustrated their manuscripts with drawings. But these were inspired by, based on, and imitations of Europeans images, especially prints. While their settings and figures were inspired by European illustrations, native elements are common in costume and building. Moreover, Rolena Adorno argued successfully that some pages in Guaman Poma's work were organized along Andean concepts such as duality, upper and lower divisions, and hierarchy.<sup>1</sup> It is generally felt by Colonial specialists that the European adoptions were superficial while the deeper patterns of structure remained Andean. Nevertheless, the paucity of illustrated Colonial manuscripts in the Andes indicates the lack of a figurative painting tradition at the time of the Conquest.

Like the Inka, the Spanish were builders of large architectural complexes. A kallanka like Huaytara was easily turned into a church, while the more complex compound of the Coricancha was ingeniously locked up inside Santo Domingo. On the whole, Inka architecture was not destroyed except for the usual use put to it as a quarry for other buildings. The upper, adobe story of Cuzco buildings were knocked down, but Spanish style rooms and facades were easily added to the Inka stone walls. Inka walls had no religious connotation to the Spanish and they could be incorporated in their structures.

The Spanish missionary zeal was after images. Sources tell us that images such as those of the Inka ruler's "doubles" existed.<sup>2</sup> These were assiduously sought out and destroyed. Since none of these have survived, either they were unusually successful in destroying them or their

numbers or existence was greatly exaggerated. It is also possible that, if they existed, they were not in clearly visible human or animal form. This emphasizes the point that for Europeans true and heretical worship resided in the image alone. Similarly, for us twenty-first century voyeurs of ancient cultures, art and aesthetics reside in the image as well.

Ferretting out “idols” must have been a daunting task in the Andes, as few really existed. It is amazing that Tiwanaku was so untouched, perhaps because it was understood not to be an active cult. The Spanish were more successful in finding and destroying the Inka royal mummies which they recognized as having political and sacred meaning. Mummies were the “real” images of the Inka. In characteristic fashion, the Inka venerated the actual remains of their ancestors rather than their “images” in another medium. Interested more in “essence” than in “likeness,” the mummies were thought to possess their original power in ways no representation could have.

Things that seem not to have been idolatrous to the Spanish continued to be made and used. In one form or another, Indian society continued for many years after the Conquest. Christian holidays like Corpus Christi were introduced, but they could include a native dressed in “Inka” fashion. Though many died from war and illness, those who survived had no choice but to fit into the new order. While for some that may have been a hardship, for others it was an opportunity. Many whose lives had limited possibilities under the Inka embraced the new culture wholeheartedly. It was important to maintain or receive privileges and proofs, and documents and sometimes paintings were presented to the Spanish. A native aristocracy maintained certain Inka arts such as weaving or woodcarving both as indications of their own identity to themselves and as a form of visibility to outsiders. The two major native uprisings were widely supported in the hope of ousting the Spanish but were not realistic possibilities. For a while there existed a rich hybrid culture. Many of the conquistadors had Inka princesses as wives and mistresses, and

writers such as Garcilaso and Blas Valera learned about Inka culture from their mothers and relatives.

The things that survive from this time are mainly clothes (e.g., male tunics) or wooden drinking vessels (*keros*), both of which were made for a social context. It has often been noted that the designs of the textiles changed from the prehispanic ones – they are freer, bolder, more idiosyncratic, and elements hitherto reserved for royalty are all over in great abundance.<sup>3</sup> While there are remarkable textiles in the Colonial group, the groups as a whole has less stylistic coherence. Compared to them, the prehispanic textiles are minimal, highly structured, and systematic. The happily helter-skelter Colonial textiles indicate the breakdown of social rules and merely mean “Inka ethnicity” in general. The textiles illustrate that Inka themes and motifs survived the Conquest but that the social structure which made sense of them no longer did. Anyone could display a *tocapu* design; characteristic are all-over designs or totally different designs on the front and back. The threads and weaving are not as fine as in pre-Conquest times, and the natures of these tunics are mirror images of the upheaval in native cultures after the Conquest – both in their losses and their gains.

The transformation of Inka to Colonial tunics is reminiscent of the earlier breakdown of the Wari textile system into the Late Intermediate ones such as the Chimú. At that time, little birds and monkeys invaded the abstractions derived from the Gate of the Sun figures. In the same way European elements such as heraldic birds, lions, and other figures invaded the Inka rows of geometric designs in the sixteenth century. Both processes illustrate the breakdown of one culture and artistic system and its transformation into something new.

The *keros* tell a similar story. These large cups were traditionally used in the Andes for toasting with the maize beer, or *chicha*.<sup>4</sup> *Keros* were made in pairs and toasting was a visible



expression of reciprocity and duality. Keros were usually made of wood but the Inka upper classes had them in gold. The tradition of toasting continued in the Colonial period and many wooden keros were made and still survive. As in the case of the textiles, the prehispanic keros were mostly severely geometric in design. By contrast the Colonial ones quickly became figurative in scenes evoking nostalgically the grandeur of Inka times and rituals. The Colonial era brought “freedom” from the Inka structures and constraints along with a memory of Inka “glory.”

Some Colonial Inka elite had portraits painted of them in Inka dress – with plenty of tocapu – as late as the eighteenth century.<sup>5</sup> These were conscious references to paintings of the Inka kings that had been done for the conquerors in the sixteenth century. Europeans wanted to have images of the Inka dynasty they supplanted and were not satisfied by tunics and cups in abstractions. The portraits of the kings were based on European illustrations and became authoritative, not just for Europeans but for the descendants of the Inka as well.<sup>6</sup> Europeans brought in a rich figurative representational tradition that transformed all the media that survived the Conquest into a new Colonial hybrid.



## CONCLUSION

After a survey of Andean imagery one has to conclude that Andeans did not find naturalistic and anthropomorphic representation particularly useful for their purposes. Elsewhere in the world, interest in images led to picture-writing, hieroglyphics, and ultimately the alphabet. Not only did the Andes not develop picture writing but, after a thousand years, they almost completely abandoned the figure as the bearer of complex and revelatory information. Why? What does that say about the image?

The image posits a “real” being outside of the self and society. Its “reality” is usually based on its likeness to human or other forms. Cultures that have images domesticate them as “members” of a large extended family of images and use them as reference points in their interactions. Images are thus intermediaries between people, society, and the cosmos. Their function is often ideological – or “ideotechnic,” as Binford would say<sup>1</sup> – and represent an attempt to control others through the biological likeness and emotion of the human body. In the Andes, such a “propagandistic” function of the image is limited to the Chavín, Moche, and Tiwanaku cultures and is tentative even there.

Most of the later Andean cultures seem to have avoided the mediating function of the image as a social strategy. As a result, in Chimú or Inka representations, nature and society appear unmediated and the human agent is literally embedded in nature and society. Whether in Inka stonework, Chimú clay arabesques, or Ica pots, the viewer is placed directly into the various matrices of the social and natural world. One could say the “fabric” of the world and be reminded of the fact that fabrics are one of the reigning metaphors of Andean thought, potentially extendable in every direction, like the ground or the sky.

The question of mimesis, or imitation, is related to the question of the figure. Paradoxically, the more naturalistic an image – and the more it draws one in emotionally – the more it is also an independent entity with a “life” of its own. Sacrifice as practiced in Mesoamerica was related to mimesis in the sense of glorifying the individual sacrificial victim in the drama of his death. The Mesoamerican sacrificial victim was a true mediator in the cosmic and social context. Beauty was expected of the victim and the aesthetic principles were the same as in figurative representation.<sup>2</sup> A great deal was written about sacrifice by sixteenth-century authors in Mesoamerica, as it was an important issue both for the natives and their Christian converters.

Surprisingly little is written about sacrifice in the Andes even though Andeans practiced it too. Most dramatic were the *kapakocha*, children collected from all over the empire by the Inka who were sacrificed at several festivals. Guaman Poma enumerated the rituals of the Andean months and refers dryly to sacrifice in this manner: “In this month is the festival of Inti Raymi with sacrifices to the sun. Sacrificed were 500 innocent children, much gold and silver and shells.”<sup>3</sup> Sacrifice is present in the Andes, as it has been in many cultures that imagine their lives as a part of the reciprocities of nature and not its masters. Offering the cosmos the most precious thing – human life – has been, and still is, very compelling in that context. The Andes were no exception but they seem not to have put their creative energy as much into sacrifice as Mesoamerica. A lot of Mesoamerican sacrifice is show and theater – mimesis – and Mesoamerican culture controlled itself and its world through theater. Interestingly, recent excavations revealed spectacular sacrifices at Moche – the area in the Andes also most invested in naturalistic art.<sup>4</sup>

Andean geography is harsher than that of Mesoamerica, with its arid deserts and high mountain ranges. Only through extreme organization could the desert oases and the highland terraces succeed with agricultural products. Showy blood sacrifices would not have been enough. The cultures of the Andes are a miracle of organization and hard work. Thus the sixteenth-century texts emphasize work and the organization of work instead of sacrifice. One can consider work in the Andes as a form of sacrifice. Both young and old women worked at weaving all day long, while men worked mostly on the roads and architecture besides agriculture. Even the ill and infirm had to do some kind of symbolic work to be a part of the system: this fact alone indicates that work was not merely practical but invested with symbolic meaning. Work was practical, symbolic, and social.

What the chroniclers also noticed was that work projects ended in drunken feasts. Diatribes against drunkenness in the Andes take the place of diatribes against sacrifices in Mesoamerica. As one commentator put it: “In the first place drunkenness and intemperance in drinking was like a characteristic passion of these people.”<sup>5</sup> It was clear to the Spanish that drinking was a form of reciprocity and the way in which vassals and laborers were recompensed for their efforts in a situation of stylized social equality. As Cummins quotes: “. . . it is a custom that these Indians never drink this beverage alone, and for that reason they all have cups in pairs, and in drinking, one [drinks] in one of these cups [while] he offers a drink to a companion in the other.”<sup>6</sup>

Andeans conceived of organization as conceptual and often invisible. No one person could really experience the Inka road or ceque systems. Yet these existed and functioned in the mind. Arriaga tells the story of an “idol” being smashed to pieces by the Spanish, but which the Indians still came to worship in pieces. This seemed strange to Europeans, for whom sacredness

was in the likeness of the image. For Andeans sacredness lay in the *whole* material, like or unlike. The Spanish, then, took the fragments and threw them in a river, thinking that would make them invisible. The Indians nevertheless went to the riverbank and worshipped their invisible spirits there.<sup>7</sup> No story better illustrates how the Andes were a place of essences rather than appearances. Similarly, gold was still gold even if it could not be seen under red paint.

A corollary to this is that Andeans did not need images (i.e., “idols,” in Christian nomenclature) as visible points of focus. There is very little in the Andes that corresponds to our idea of art objects, which would have made no sense to them because their aesthetics were always functional. Andeans lavished skill and interest on functional objects – garments, pots, jewelry – and never seem to have felt that spouts interfered with their clay sculptures or neck slits with their textiles. Most Andean things were functional but were also elevated to a very high level by technique, laborious design, and the role they played in society.

In this context, the *kipu* makes remarkable sense. Despite all the meaning that was built into its very structure, it required a *kipukamayok* to interpret it. Not everyone was to have access to the same information, information which came together only in the hands of the ruling elite. The *kipu* places a strong value on confidentiality as opposed to other scripts that fall all over themselves to be legible to many. The Andean preference was for being a part of the social matrix, intimate and direct yet always partial. If we read Garcilaso right, Andeans were expected to trust their kinsmen and rulers and evolve rich but sectional views of their world, not unlike the exchange system of “verticality,” which was not universal like a market system but more intimate, as human relations. The Andean metaphor was the tapestry rather than the pyramid.



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## ENDNOTES

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### Introduction

<sup>1</sup> I first explored these issues in Esther Pasztory, *Pre-Columbian Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

<sup>2</sup> See especially Rebecca Stone-Miller, *Art of the Andes: From Chavín to Inca* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1995).

### Chapter 1. Andean Art: From Obscurity to Binary Coding

<sup>1</sup> Mason, J. Alden, *The Ancient Civilizations of Peru* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1964 [1957]) Pp.235.

<sup>2</sup> Rowe, John H., "An Account of the Shrines of Ancient Cuzco," in *Ñawpa Pacha* 17 (1979): 1-80; Bauer, Brian S., *The Sacred Landscape of the Inca: The Cuzco Ceque System* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1998).

<sup>3</sup> Reference to Murua in Elena Phipps, "Textiles as Cultural Memory: Andean garments of the colonial period," in *Converging Cultures: Art and identity in Spanish America*, ed. Diana Fane (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1996) Pp.144-156, fig.60.

<sup>4</sup> Kristeller, Paul Oskar, "The Modern System of the Arts," in *Renaissance Thought and the Arts* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) Pp.1-26.

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<sup>6</sup> Botting, Douglas, *Humboldt and the Cosmos* (Munich: Prestel, 1994 [1974]).

<sup>7</sup> D'Orbigny, Alcide, *Voyages dans les deux Ameriques* (Paris: Furne, 1854) Pp. 293; translation mine. D'Orbigny's first publication was *Voyage pittoresque dans les deux Ameriques* (Paris: L. Tenreil, 1836).

<sup>8</sup> Robert Bradley, personal communication (2005).

<sup>9</sup> Reed, C.H., "Ancient Peruvian Pottery," in *Burlington Magazine*, 17/85 (1910): 22-26.

<sup>10</sup> Worringer, Wilhelm, *Form in Gothic* (New York: Schocken Books, 1927) Pp.16-17.

<sup>11</sup> *Op. cit.* Pp.16-17.

<sup>12</sup> Speltz, Alexander, *The History of Ornament: Design in the decorative arts* (New York: Portland House, 1989 [1915]), Plates 1-2.

<sup>13</sup> Reiss, Johann Wilhelm, and Anton Stubel, *The Necropolis of Ancon in Peru*, 3 vols. (Berlin: Ascher, 1880-6).

<sup>14</sup> Considering the importance of the Brooklyn Paracas textile, it is surprising that there is no basic source on it. It was illustrated by d'Harcourt in his *Textile of Ancient Peru and Their Techniques* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962) and in Julio C. Tello's *Paracas* (Lima, 1959), among others.

<sup>15</sup> Penrose, Roland. *Picasso: His Life and Work* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981) Pp.148: ". . . [the critic Louis Vauxcelles] in an unsympathetic review which would otherwise have been long ago forgotten, . . . facetiously labeled the style 'Peruvian Cubism'. From then on the sadly inadequate title 'Cubism' has been used as a label . . ."

<sup>16</sup> Braun, Barbara. "Paul Gauguin: Searching for Ancestors," in *Pre-Columbian Art in the Post-Columbian World* (New York: Abrams, 1993) Pp.51-92.

<sup>17</sup> Majluf, Natalie, and Eduardo Wuffarden, *Elena Izcue: El arte precolombino en la vida moderna* (Lima: Museo de Arte de Lima, 1999).



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- <sup>19</sup> Conrad, Deborah. "The Paracas Textile: A History," Seminar paper, Columbia University, unpublished manuscript (2003).
- <sup>20</sup> The Museum of Modern Art exhibit in 1954 was published as Wendell C. Bennett, *Ancient Art of the Andes* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1954); see p. 11.
- <sup>21</sup> Paternosto, Cesar. *The Stone and the Thread: Andean roots of abstraction* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996).
- <sup>22</sup> Some titles on "Earth Art" include: John Beardsley, *Earthworks and Beyond* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1984); David Bourdon, *Designing the Earth* (New York: H.N. Abrams, 1995).
- <sup>23</sup> Kimmelman, Michael. "Art's Last, Lonely Cowboy," in *The New York Times Magazine*, (February 6, 2005): 32-78.
- <sup>24</sup> Sawyer, Alan. *Tiahuanaco Tapestry Design* (New York: Museum of Primitive Art, 1963).
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- <sup>26</sup> Murua, Martin de. *Origen e historia de los Incas*, ed. Don Manuel Gonzalez de la Rosa (Lima: 1911).
- <sup>27</sup> Guaman Poma de Ayala, Felipe. *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, eds. John Murra and Rolena Adorno, 3 vols., (México: Siglo Veintiuno, 1980).
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- <sup>30</sup> Ford, James Alfred, and Gordon Willey. "Surface Survey of the Viru Valley, Peru," in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, New York, Vol.43 (1949): Part 1.
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- <sup>32</sup> Murra, John V. *The Economic Organization of the Inca State* (Greenwich: JAI Press, 1980).
- <sup>33</sup> Urton, Gary. "The Intellectual History of Dutch Structuralism in the Andes," in *Structure, Knowledge and Representation in the Andes, Journal of Steward Anthropological Society*, Vol. 24, no. 1-2 (1996): 1-36.
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- <sup>35</sup> Lévi-Strauss, Claude. *Tristes Tropiques*, trans. John Russell (New York: Atheneum, 1967).
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- <sup>37</sup> Urton, Gary. "A Calendrical and Demographic Tomb Text from Northern Peru," in *Latin American Antiquity*, 12, no.2 (2001): 127-147.
- <sup>38</sup> Ascher, Marcia, and Robert Ascher, *The Code of the Quipu: A study in media, mathematics and culture* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981).

## Chapter 2. The Inka State: Utopia or Dystopia

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- <sup>2</sup> Garcilaso, *op.cit.* Pp. 158-160.
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- <sup>4</sup> Acosta, Jose de. *Natural and Moral History of the Indies*, ed. Jane E. Mangan; introduction by Walter Mignolo (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002) Pp. 355-56.
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- <sup>7</sup> Marx, Karl. *Capital: A critique of political economy* (New York: International Publishing Co., 1967) Part 1, chapter 2, P1.11.7.
- <sup>8</sup> Pearlman, Michael, ed./ trans. *The Heroic and Creative Meaning of Socialism: Selected essays of Jose Carlos Mariátegui* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1996) P. 83.
- <sup>9</sup> Mariátegui, Jose Carlos, *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1971) Pp.75.
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### **Chapter 3. Chavín de Huantar: The Andean Rosetta Stone**

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- <sup>2</sup> Burger, Richard L. *Chavín and the Origins of Andean Civilization* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1992).
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- <sup>5</sup> Rowe, John H. *Chavín Art: An inquiry into its form and meaning* (New York: The Museum of Primitive Art, 1962).
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- <sup>9</sup> Lathrap, Donald. "Gifts of the Cayman: Some thoughts on the subsistence basis of Chavín," in *Variation in Anthropology, Essays in Honor of John C. McGregor*, eds. D. Lathrap and J. Douglas (Urbana: Illinois Archaeological Survey, 1973) Pp.91-103.
- <sup>10</sup> Urton, Gary. "The Body of Meaning in Chavín Archaeology," in *RES* 29/30 (1996): 237-255.
- <sup>11</sup> Maybury-Lewis, David. "The Quest for Harmony," in *The Attraction of Oppositss*, eds. D. Maybury-Lewis and Uri Almagor (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1989) Pp.1-18 (quote 13-14).
- <sup>12</sup> Lévi-Strauss, Claude. "Do Dual Organizations Exist?" in *Structural Anthropology* (New York: Doubleday, 1963) pp.128-160 (quote p.142)
- <sup>13</sup> Lyon, Patricia. "Female Supernaturals in Ancient Peru," in *Ñawpa Pacha*, v.166 (1978): 95-140.
- <sup>14</sup> Lévi-Strauss 1967, *op.cit.* P.179.

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<sup>15</sup> Lévi-Strauss 1967, *op.cit.* P. 174.

<sup>16</sup> Urton 2003, *op.cit.*

<sup>17</sup> Tello, Julio C. *Chavín: Cultura madre de la civilización Andina* (Lima: Universidad de San Marcos, 1960); and Richard Burger 1992, *op.cit.*

<sup>18</sup> Michael Harner, personal communication.

#### **Chapter 4. Architecture: Shelter as Metaphor**

<sup>1</sup> Garcilaso 1961, *op.cit.* Pp.161 and 307.

<sup>2</sup> Moseley, Michael E. "Prehistoric Principles of Labor Organization in the Moche Valley, Peru," in *American Antiquity*, Vol. 40, no. 2 (April, 1975): 191-196.

<sup>3</sup> Donnan, Christopher B., ed. *Early Ceremonial Architecture in the Andes: A conference at Dumbarton Oaks, 8th to 10th October 1982* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1985).

<sup>4</sup> Moore, Jerry D. *Architecture and Power in the Ancient Andes* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996) Pp 1-53.

<sup>5</sup> One of a series of popular articles on recent early architectural discoveries: Stevens, William K., "Andean Culture Found to be as Old as the Great Pyramids", *New York Times, Science Section* (October 3, 1989) C1.

<sup>6</sup> Moseley, Michael E. *The Maritime Foundations of Andean Civilization* (Menlo Park, California: Cummings Publication, 1975).

<sup>7</sup> Michael E. Moseley and Gordon R. Willey. "Aspero, Peru: A Reexamination of the Site and its Implications," in *American Antiquity*, Vol. 38, no. 4 (1973): 452-468.

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<sup>13</sup> Conklin, William J. "The Architecture of Huaca de los Reyes," in Donnan 1985, *op. cit.* Pp. 139-164.

<sup>14</sup> Izumi, Shimada. "The Development of the Formative Culture in the Ceja de Montaña: A Viewpoint based on the Kotosh Site," in *Dumbarton Oaks Conference on Chavín, October 26th and 27th, 1968*, ed. Elizabeth Benson (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1971) Pp.49-72.

<sup>15</sup> Savoy, Gene. *Antisuyo: The Search for the Lost Cities of the Amazon* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1976).

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- <sup>16</sup> There is now new tourist literature, such as Keith Muscutt, *Warriors of the Clouds* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico, 1998).
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- <sup>18</sup> Bradley, *op. cit.*
- <sup>19</sup> Bonavia, Duccio. *Las Ruinas del Abiseo* (Lima: Universidad Peruana de Ciencias y Tecnología, 1968).
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- <sup>23</sup> Salomon, Frank, and George L. Urioste, eds./ trans. *The Huarochiri Manuscript: A Testament of Ancient and Colonial Andean Religion* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991).
- <sup>24</sup> Moore 1996, *op. cit.* P. 17.

### **Chapter 5. Textiles and Other Media: Intimate Scale**

- <sup>25</sup> Stone-Miller, Rebecca. "To Weave for the Sun: An Introduction to the Fiber Arts of the Ancient Andes," in *To Weave for the Sun* (Boston: Museum of Fine Arts Boston, 1992) Pp.11-24.
- <sup>26</sup> Sawyer, Alan R. *Ancient Peruvian Ceramics: The Nathan Cummings Collection* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1966).
- <sup>27</sup> Letchman, Heather, Lee A. Parsons, and William J. Young. "Seven Matched Hollow Gold Jaguars from Peru's Early Horizon," in *Studies in Pre-Columbian Art and Archaeology No. 16* (Washington D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 1975).
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### **Conclusion**

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