From *Tawantinsuyu* to the *Pumallactan*: Cusco, Peru, and the Many Lives of Pachacuti's Imperial City

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ABSTRACT

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The overarching theme of this dissertation is to understand, through Cusco's historic landscape, the city's centrality in aspects and intersections of local, national, and international cultural projects. This begins with the story of Inca Cusco, as the imperial capital of *Tawantinsuyu*, and the way the Andean region entered the historical record as a product of Spanish colonization in the 16th and 17th centuries. Rejecting Spain's rule in the 19th century, Peru distinguished itself from other Latin American nations by claiming Cusco as a symbol of national culture and the Incas as ancient Peruvians. This linked the Andean past with the ideology of modern sovereignty. Yet, in the 20th century, the production of Peru's national past continued to be swayed by the colonial accounts. In an attempt to deconstruct these historical layers, the dissertation considers the appropriation of the Andean past, its conditions, and its functions.

As an Andean icon of the Peruvian past, Cusco has been drawn into various cultural projects. In the first half of the 20th century, this revolved around archaeological expeditions and subsequent touristic development in the Cusco region. However, in the second half of the 20th century the city became a cultural laboratory. This began with a cataclysmic earthquake, in 1950, which hurled the city into the global spotlight at the precise moment when the notion of shared cultural heritage and, more specifically, the preservation of historic built environments were becoming international issues. In the following decades, the relationships between Peru and United Nations agencies intensified through policies to both safeguard and modernize the city.

In the late 1960s, the establishment of Peru's National Institute of Culture (INC) exemplified both a state-level collaboration with UNESCO and a pro-Peruvian response designed to reclaim the national past. Through this process, a national monumental zone was established in Cusco, which formed the legal basis of the city's nomination as a World Heritage Site in 1983. After two decades of interinstitutional struggle to develop a Master Plan for Cusco – a UNESCO requirement for World Heritage sites, the INC and Cusco's municipality reinterpreted the city's urban form through the Inca legend of the Puma City, or *pumallactan*. The use of this icon effectively reconnected Cusco, as an urban planning project, to the mytho-historical Inca ruler, Pachacuti, and justified the heritage timeline using the colonial accounts of the city.

Fundamental to this dissertation is the fragmented nature of information on Cusco and the Andes and the ways that Peruvian records and disciplinary boundaries have compartmentalized this knowledge. Through an interdisciplinary and historiographical approach, this study

contributes missing history and contextualizes preservation and urbanism in Cusco during the second half of the 20th century. It also demonstrates the critical role of Cusco in the development of national cultural policy and the city's exceptional relationship with the World Heritage program.

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INTRODUCTION TO THE DISSERTATION

According to historical legends, space in the Andean world was divided by the Creator Contiti Viracocha, who modeled and painted the stone shapes of the first humans: these beings were to populate the lands in all four directions (MacCormack 2001). The mythical founding of Cusco was at the center of this epic creation. Located at the upper end of an elongated river valley in the southern Andean highlands, the city was established at the confluence of two rivers. These symbolic waterways demarcated and distinguished Cusco's urban form as it evolved from a small regional town into a regal Inca capital. By around 1400 CE, much of the southern Andes had been consolidated under the rule of Cusco. With a peak population of at least 20,000 people, the city presided over several large villages, with additional thousands of inhabitants scattered throughout the valley (Bauer 2004).

In the second half of the 15th century, it is generally believed that the first Inca emperor, Pachacuti, transformed Cusco, recasting it in stone as the imperial capital. With emblematic urban axes and monumental construction, Pachacuti's city epitomized the microcosm and center of *Tawantinsuyu*, which, in the Quechua language, signifies the Land of the Four Quarters (from *tawa*, the number four; and *suyu*, a division of space). In other words, Andean worldview and imperial authority were expressed through complex relationships between Cusco's built environment and the larger networks of *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial infrastructure [Figure 0-2].

Figure 0-2 *Tawantinsuyu*, Land of Four Quarters: Showing the imperial divisions (*suyus*) and the city of Cusco at the center.

A sacred geography and a massive network of royal roads engaged the city with the empire. The four *suyus* converged on central Cusco's main plazas and principle temples, representing *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial divisions at an urban scale. Radiating outward from this same space, a network of hundreds of shrines, or *huacas*, extended to the provinces along a series of hypothetical lay lines, or *ceques* (Bauer 1996: 327-334). A massive network of royal roads connected way stations (*tambos*) and storage facilities (*qolqa*) to outlying urban and administrative centers (D'Altroy 1992, 2002; Bauer; Protzen; Morris) [Figure 0-3]. Governed from Cusco, *Tawantinsuyu's* domain stretched out, intertwining the corporeal and the cosmic, the seen and unseen.

As the empire expanded from its "well-integrated and well-appointed heartland," iconic architecture, ritual geography, and imposing infrastructure played a principal role in transforming *Tawantinsuyu* into one of the greatest polities to develop in the Americas (Bauer 2004). Within a few generations, the imperial landscape and its networks extended over western South America. The Incas commanded immense agricultural holdings and over 40,000 kilometers of royal roads (Bauer 1998; Protzen 1993). According to Protzen, "the extent of the road network was equaled, if not surpassed, by the thousands of miles of agricultural terraces that still lace the Andean landscape from Bolivia to Ecuador" (Protzen 1984: 161). Consequently, this landscape was a visual expression of imperial organization and management at a grand scale.

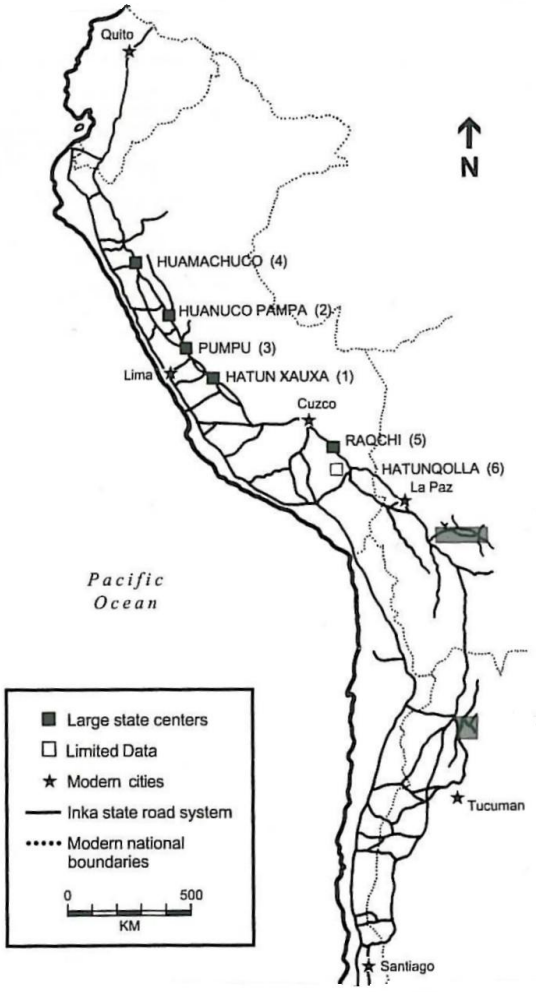

Figure 0-3 Map of *Tawantinsuyu*, illustrating the large state Centers, storage components, and road network. Based on Hyslop 1984 (see LeVine 1992).

Tawantinsuyu was administered *without a system of writing*, which is an exception to the organization of all other empires (Childe 1951[1936]: 180-81). Considering its complexity and the geographical expanse of the empire, the absence of a penned record is almost unimaginable. This scenario produced at least two profound conditions with lasting legacies: First, the built environment was the physical location where the Incas practiced ideology and performed history. This underscores the importance of the city of Cusco. Its cosmic centrality and its urban infrastructure were models of imperial order, social stability, and the authority of the ruling class (D'Altroy 2002; Bauer 1996: 327-334, 1998; MacCormack 1991: 336-337). Second, the Incas did not write their own history. This meant that the imperial past was reimagined by others, and, in most cases, reinterpreted from outside of the Andean context after the Incas were no longer in power. This dissertation takes on the interconnected complexity of both points: the enduring significance of the Incaic built environment and the many appropriations of the Andean past.

The first written descriptions of the city, the Incas, and their built environment coincided with the arrival of the Spanish. For Andean people and their Inca rulers, the collision of empires represented a shift from a cyclical vision to a linear one – from "eternal present to eschatology" (Flores Galindo 2010: 24). The Andean universe was overturned. Cusco was dismantled and intentionally desacralized through the violence of colonization and the Christian re-ordering of the highland city. This resulted in the fragmenting of Andean historical awareness (MacCormack 1988). As Cusco's story was incorporated into various historical records, the Incas were interpreted through a 16th century European lens. This approach to Andean history drew inspiration from the Greco-Roman world and Mediterranean constructions of empire. Thus, Cusco became known as the Rome of the Andes.

The highland city retained its indigenous toponym and aspects of its place-based identity. Some of the remaining physical traces of the Inca capital continued to define the way Cusco was experienced and the ways it was reproduced and remembered in the historical record. This was expressed architecturally: monumental stone foundations of Pachacuti's city, which formed the urban axes, articulated the central blocks and main plazas of Cusco's iconic grid. The surviving Inca infrastructure literally supported the colonial city and its ecclesiastical monuments while being visually subjugated by it. In many ways, this unique architectural metaphor expresses the dynamics between the Andean past and colonial present. Inca Cusco did not disappear but it was Hispanicized.

The colonial treatment of Cusco was quite different from the imperial Aztec capital, Tenochtitlan, which was renamed and hastily transformed into the seat of Spain's North American Viceroyalty. In 1604, this city was described in Bernardo de Balbuena's epistolary poem, *The Grandeur of Mexico*, as "*la famosa Ciudad de México*," or the famous city of Mexico (see Lafaye 1974). While Tenochtitlan seemed to have disappeared beneath the literary and architectural layers of a new colonial city, Cusco's grid, its streets, and its urban spaces were reinvented and re-used.

The comparison of the former indigenous capitals, however, is complicated by the rise of colonial Lima and the establishment of a second American Viceroyalty. In South America, this act launched an ongoing power struggle between the Andes and the colonial power on the coast. This is a major strand of the dissertation, in terms of urban development in Cusco, regional identity construction, and the ways the Andean past has been subverted and appropriated over time.

Under the jurisdiction of Lima, Cusco took on the trappings of a Spanish-American town. While Imperial Cusco had been a royal city filled with *Tawantinsuyu's* most elite citizens, being Cusqueño and Andean shifted radically in the colonial era. Under these conditions, the possibility of an Incaic return inspired highland resistance. "Inca" began to evolve as an organizing mechanism through a process which signaled a transition from myth to utopia or, perhaps, a blurring of the two. While the Incas continued to define cultural memory and distinguish highland identity, *Tawantinsuyu* inspired utopian notions of a kingdom without hunger, without exploitation, and where Andean people ruled once again. As the imperial capital, Cusco was central to this metaphor and the strategy to end disorder and darkness (Flores Galindo 2010: 27; 1987: 21).

The paradigm of an equitable Andean society survived beyond the subsequent centuries of colonial rule. While the reconstruction of the Andean past and its transformation into an alternative to the present should be seen as a legacy of the Andean people, this idea has been (and continues to be) employed outside of the Cusco region by non-Andeans. This was visible during the transition between colonial rule and Peruvian independence as the notion of an Incaic return fueled proto-national opposition in the highlands. When Peru declared its sovereignty in 1821, however, Cusco, the Incas, and *Tawantinsuyu* were re-claimed as the pre-Hispanic roots of the new nation, which was ruled from the former colonial capital, Lima.

As Andean myth and the legacy of the imperial past were being transformed into symbols of modern authority, there was a moment of national head-turning. Looking to the Andean past to reimagine the future – something that had defined the Andean worldview for Andean people – was presented as a condition of modernity for a new South American nation. In 1929, a national patrimony law determined Cusco and its monuments to be the right of the nation. This claim represented an ahistorical ownership of the Peruvian past, extended backward prior to the time of the Viceroyalty. The continuing significance of the pre-Hispanic past is part of grappling with the nation's post-colonial conditions in the 20th century.

The state-level appropriation of *Tawantinsuyu* is a defining feature of Peru's national culture. This reveals several complex relationships: (a) between the national past and colonial treatments of Cusco and Lima; (b) between colonial accounts of the Andean past, archaeology (foreign and domestic), and the Lima-based development of state culture; (c) between Cusco's monuments as regionalized-national culture and centralized decision-making in Lima; and (d) between Andean modernity, the urban development of Cusco, and the archaeological/tourist ventures in the Andes in the early decades of the 20th century. It is through these conditions, and

the ways Andean themes have been leveraged or repositioned to explain the present and/or future, that the dissertation considers the city of Cusco in first half of the 20th century.

While these complicated conditions contributed to the reinterpretation of Cusco as an historical artifact, circumstances shifted dramatically in 1950, when a catastrophic earthquake struck the city. Major portions of the colonial and modern infrastructure collapsed, yet much of the remaining Inca grid and foundations survived, which contributed to a re-mystification of the ancient Andean past. The calamity catapulted the city into the global spotlight at the precise moment when the notion of shared cultural heritage and, more specifically, the preservation of historic built environments were becoming international issues. The timing of the earthquake and its post-war contexts had major implications for re-building the city. Later this influenced the ways Peruvians re-claimed national culture and the ways international institutions incorporated the Andean past into heritage narratives.

Initially, this was important for Cusco as the city became an early site for the United Nations' regional development ventures and UNESCO's first field mission in its Division of Museums and Monuments. Through a collaboration between the Peruvian national government and the United Nations, the city was conceived as a site of rescue and cultural management. Later, Cusco was reimagined as a modern urban planning project and the surrounding Andean region was re-valued as an economic development opportunity through cultural tourism. As a site of international interest, Cusco was caught up in the shifting perspectives on preservation, which impacted Peru's sovereign claim on national culture. From a national perspective, Cusco, its myths, monuments, and other sites of state patrimony continued to represent the nation's rightful inheritance. Yet, UNESCO concurrently defined these treasures as globally-shared property.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the notion of re-claiming the national past fueled pro-Peruvian ideologies and supported a state-sponsored cultural revolution. This populist movement gave birth to the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC). The INC supported some of UNESCO's organizational structures and methods, while rejecting other aspects of its charter and its developing bureaucracy. The interplay between the development of heritage policy, INC-managed national culture, and Peruvian identity politics set the stage for the designation of Cusco's Monumental Zone in 1972. On an international level, this act was supported by UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, established the same year. Employing the legal mechanisms of national culture and international heritage, Peru nominated its first two sites of World Heritage in 1982: the city of Cusco and the Sanctuary of Machu Picchu.

Cusco and Machu Picchu's concurrent inscriptions on the World Heritage List, in 1983, supported and legitimized international notions of a globally-shared present. However, because there were still many missing pieces in archaeological and historical records, this generated an artificial sense of continuity between an "authentic" past and its contemporary representation. While this process highlighted the importance of the Andes as a national cultural zone, it repackaged the pre-Hispanic era, uncritically, through colonial narratives. This, in turn, officially validated the imperial infrastructure attributed to the Inca ruler, Pachacuti.

In Cusco, the confusing and loose linkages between the Andean past and the 20th century heritage timeline, directly impacted the development of urban planning policies. This is visible in the numerous local, national, and international interventions that contributed to formulating a master plan for Cusco's historic center – a UNESCO requirement for managing the city as a site of World Heritage. An analysis of the process of creating this plan and the use of a mytho-

historical puma-shaped icon as justification for Cusco's heritage boundary provide further evidence of discontinuity between the past and contemporary constructions of it.

Swayed by colonial accounts of the Andes, Peru's claim on Cusco, the Incas, and *Tawantinsuyu*, as national culture, linked the Andean past with the notion of modern sovereignty. In an attempt to untangle this complexity and deconstruct Cusco's historical layers, the dissertation considers the appropriation of the Andean past, its conditions, and its functions. In political projects to reimagine the Incas, understanding the past in order to "know," control, or capitalize on the present or future is a reoccurring theme, especially in the second half of the 20th century. Peruvian cultural agencies and international institutions envisioned the city of Cusco through a lens of modernity, as an historical artifact. Rationalized through scholarly studies and bureaucratic expertise, modernizing the city was enacted through urban planning projects to preserve the past. While considering the legacy of the Spanish construction of the Andean region and assumptions in Peruvian periodization, this dissertation also draws from an investigatory encounter of Cusco as an historical product. Ultimately, it seeks to understand and historicize the meta-institutional and World Heritage narratives of the city, which have been incorporated into the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center, in the early 21st century.

INTERDISCIPLINARY RESEARCH AND PHILISOPHICAL CONTEXTS

> The dweller on the banks of a river needs knowledge of the greater system both above and below his particular meridian, but his knowledge of the greater system is vitiated if he be ignorant of the currents nourishing and eroding his own fields.
>
> George Kubler, 1944, *from*, Remarks Upon the History of Latin American Art

In 1944, Yale art historian George Kubler remarked on the "peculiar circumstances" and complexity inhabiting the many epochs and regions of Latin American art and the ways this had been "intercepted" by different disciplines. Writing at the end of the Second World War, Kubler wondered about the future of Latin American Studies: Would it survive, despite the enduring concern Americans had for Latin American culture and the significance of its role in the historical awareness of the United States? Part of his concern revolved around the challenge of graduate training, which he argued was impossible at the departmental level, precisely because of disciplinary and knowledge gaps. Students were required to wander far and between the social sciences, studying prehistory, "exotic" languages, and non-European area studies. After this, Kubler supposed that researchers could command a sufficient toolkit to use modern European history to engage with colonial problems. After having gathered these foundational resources, Kubler noted, one must be prepared to operate independently and alone.

Interest in Latin American Studies persisted and seven years later, Kubler was in Cusco leading UNESCO's first mission in the Division of Museums and Monuments. In some ways, the river analogy, above, underscored his interdisciplinary methodology and the historical approach to Cusco's post-earthquake landscape as three cities: Inca, colonial, and modern. Kubler's report entitled, *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments* (1952), represented a foundational study at a time when discussions of historic monuments, archaeological sites, and urbanism were starting to become international issues. This important text, rarely cited, reveals a significant gap in Cusco's modern history, which is highlighted by the omission of the post-earthquake reconstruction from UNESCO's "pure" narrative of the city as a World Heritage site.

The Legacy of Andean Studies

One aspect of understanding Cusco as an historical artifact comes from the intellectual foundations of contemporary Andean Studies – a subdivision of Latin American Studies. As part of the institutional production of Cusco, this field is inextricably tied to the production of Peru's archaeological timeline as national history. This influenced the development of national culture and international heritage in the second half of the 20th century, which are both discussed in more depth later in the dissertation.

Andean Studies were defined early on as the territory of large U.S. academic institutions, especially Yale University and the University of California (Berkeley). At the beginning of the 20th century, researchers from these institutions amassed enormous collections of Peru's ancient material culture. This created legacies at both universities, with groundbreaking work at Yale from Hiram Bingham, who rediscovered Machu Picchu. Berkeley's contributions included the work of Max Uhle, who was awarded the title, "Father of Peruvian Archaeology," anthropologist Alfred Kroeber, and Andean archaeologist, John Rowe. Together, these institutions helped build the chronology of pre-Hispanic Peru and their "finds" sensationalized archaeology in the Andes.

In 1900, Phoebe Hearst, an American philanthropist and major benefactor of the University of California, officially transferred Uhle's sponsorship to Berkeley. The University's Museum of Anthropology, now known as the Phoebe A. Hearst Museum of Anthropology, opened in 1901. The museum currently holds 9,500 ancient objects from Uhle's Peruvian field work (1899 and 1905). The University of California's relationship with Peru continued through the work of anthropologist Alfred Kroeber in the 1920s and 1940s, and archeologist John Rowe, who founded the Institute for Andean Studies in 1960. Rowe saw his own work as perpetuating Uhle's legacy in the second half of the 20th century (Rowe 1954).

Yale's influence began with Hiram Bingham and the nearly 5,000 items his team excavated from Machu Picchu, in 1912. Until recently, these were housed in the University's Peabody Museum. After a legal battle with the Peruvian Government, in the early 2000s, a substantial number of artifacts were repatriated, starting in March 2011. This marked the "100 Years of Machu Picchu" celebrations in Cusco. Through an agreement with Cusco's university (UNSAAC) the collection is now housed at the Museo Machu Picchu, a UNSAAC-Yale Center in the Casa Concha, an Inca-colonial palace in the heart of Cusco's Historic Center, which was restored by the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC).

While there have been many excellent scholarly contributions in Andean Studies, the early endeavors of these powerhouses continue to influence the field. These are foundational in the ways this dissertation approaches Cusco and the Incas. As suggested in the previous paragraph, this story overlaps with regional and national patrimony projects in Peru. Studying the development of Cusco's built environment after the 1950 earthquake presents some of the types of challenges Kubler recognized, but there are many additional layers. In the second half of the 20th century, Cusco, as an historical artifact, was defined through national culture and international notions of preservation, urbanism, and world heritage.

Approaching Contemporary Cusco through Appropriations of the Andean Past and Urban Modernity Projects

As Kubler recognized, Latin America, Peru, and Cusco are spaces of many exceptions. Cusco, in particular, exemplifies a unique case, both as a model and an outlier. Approaching this context requires significant exploration and substantial literature reviews, similar to what Kubler

described as a solitary journey through Latin American studies. Aspects of this will be addressed through each chapter theme.

Any close investigation of Cusco's historic built environment requires the researcher to be a generalist in Cusco's urban history, Peruvian patrimony, and the historical context of the nation's cultural policy. These three areas have not been fully explored by any discipline, which presented major challenges for organizing the dissertation. Understanding these conditions also necessitates a basic knowledge of larger historical and geopolitical processes: the relationship between indigenous empires and the Spanish Conquest, the settlement of Spanish-American towns, the 19th and 20th century progression of nation formation in Latin America, the significance of national revolutions in the late 1960s, and the 20th century notion of internationally-shared heritage. Because all of these elements are embedded within Cusco's historical landscape and its relationship with Lima, positioning the city at the center of these contexts represents a useful contribution that is missing in disciplinary work.

While there are very few case studies that can be effectively compared with Cusco's unique contexts, the historical and urban contexts of Mexico City share some key similarities. In, *The Death of Aztec Tenochtitlan, The Life of Mexico City* (2015), Barbara Mundy takes a critical look at the erasure of Tenochtitlan and its rebirth as Mexico City. She proposes that, while rulers die, spaces cannot. Cusco represents a different kind of temporal continuity. Cusco never dies for Andeans; it is reimagined and appropriated by others. While Mundy's work does not mention Cusco, it is takes on the relationships between pre-Hispanic urbanism and colonial transformations of the city. On several levels, this is related to what happened in the Andes and in Lima – which is a recurring theme in the dissertation.

Since the Conquest, the struggles between the cities of Cusco and Lima have underwritten the regional construction of difference: temporal, political, economic, geographical, and racial. These issues are at the heart of Peruvian identity politics and cultural policy – another major strand of the dissertation. The juxtaposition of these cities and what they represent re-emerged through the 20th century development of Peruvian history and later through a larger post-war institutional history in the second half of the 20th century.

Cusco	***Lima***
highland	coastal
imperial capital of *Tawantinsuyu*	South American Viceroyalty of New Spain
indigenous/Andean	mestizo/Spanish
seat of municipal and regional governments	seat of national government
Peru's cultural and "archaeological" capital	Peru's federal capital
the past (imperial, colonial, national, global)	modernity
backward (UN documents and reports)	"progressive" (Belaunde 1959, Hobsbawm 1971, Kuczynski 1977)
The local site of the heritage property	The location of UN member-State authority

Table 0-1 Ideological Juxtapositions of Cusco and Lima

Unlike the expansion of Mexico City, geographically-constrained Cusco has been continuously inhabited, administrated, and governed from the same ancient streets and plazas that were once the heart of the Inca capital. While the Inca city is an archaeological artifact and a cultural landscape for social scientists, the story of Cusco's urban environment is an artifice. The very fabric of the city's built environment and its urban grid embody collective worldviews and the fragments of past political regimes. This is particularly significant because these historical

conditions impact contemporary urbanism and, in part, the construction of Andean identity. This dissertation does not attempt to construct a complete or formal story of the city. However, it does seek to wrestle with the contemporary city and historicize some of the utopic constructions and appropriations of the Andean past which continue to influence urbanism in the 21st century.

Theoretical scholarship that leans too far to either side of the structure versus agency debate, or does not attempt to address the messiness of the historical record, is not useful for analyzing contemporary Cusco or its dubious timeline. Some of the existing literature on heritage and tourism studies, while practical on large scales or in specific case studies, fits into this category.

While it is easy to make assumptions about the overarching power of national governments and international agencies, and find evidence of the persisting disenfranchisement of indigenous peoples, the dissertation attempts to look for contributions from multiple levels. The cultural work of the UN and UNESCO is one example: it was not a uniform or unchecked process across world regions. Analyzing the relationships between local, state, and Latin American contexts, while neither equal nor unbiased, demonstrates spaces of negotiation, interaction, and agency between each of those spheres. This is especially important for evaluating issues of indigenous identity, national culture, and the institutionalization of international heritage.

Several scholars have produced insightful studies in Cusco, yet very few have specifically addressed contemporary issues of urbanism outside of tourism and heritage studies. Helaine Silverman's work on Cusco's museums and the city's urban development, from the early 1980s to the late 1990s, is an insightful exception. Specifically, the dissertation employs Silverman's chapter, *Mayor Daniel Estrada and the Plaza de Armas* (2008), and her work on Cusco's municipality in the larger contexts of the development of the Master Plan for Cusco's historic center.

In contemporary Cusco, a colonial-constructed Andean past often overshadows the history and geopolitical contexts of the colonial era. This relationship is incredibly difficult to untangle. The deeper the one goes, the more the city's complexity seems like a Gordian Knot without an Alexandrian solution. Cusco's case requires slicing through strands of myth, assumptions, uneven historical layers, and various institutional contexts – *is this even possible?*

Besides offering original syntheses of several key primary sources on Cusco, there are at least four major contributions. These include the following:

1. Positioning the historical landscapes of Inca and Spanish Cusco at the epicenter of Peru's regionalized-national culture and various modernity/identity projects in the early 20th century.
2. Writing the previously untold story of the 1950 earthquake and using this as a case study to understand the relationship between preservation and urbanism in mid-20th century Cusco.
3. Identifying the relationship between Peruvian national culture and the rise of international heritage in the second half of the 20th century: Though this, it is possible to understand the rise of the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC) as a dual product of cultural revolution and national anxiety in a globalizing world.
4. Unpacking the *pumallactan*, which is the central metaphor in the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center. This relies on material from each of the previous contributions.

The way Cusco has been constructed as an historical artifact is submerged beneath the seductive distractions of the tourist experience. Mapping out the city and dismantling the display of contemporary heritage can only be achieved by engaging with Andean people, encountering the larger city beyond the historic center, and navigating regional networks. Besides its usefulness for gathering archival and other materials, my investigatory encounter of the city, from "the field," provided an alternative approach to the meta/institutional production of Cusco.

The Landscape of Fieldwork: Encountering the Contemporary City as an Historical Product

The arrival of regular air service, in the 1950s, established flying from Lima over the Andes and into Cusco as the preferred way for many visitors to enter the city. The contemporary journey is both memorable and sensory, particularly the spectacular descent through the snowy peaks of the southern Andes into the arid Valley of Cusco. Flying over the District of Cusco, the god-like perspective of the aerial approach reveals a vast and dramatic landscape. Horizontal traces of ancient agricultural terrace systems are scattered along contours of the steep mountainous topography. This opens to reveal foothills, flats, and road networks that connect the expanding urban districts with centuries-old wind swept Spanish colonial towns and Inca barrios. Closer to the ground, and just before touching down, the air field and landing strip of the Alejandro Velasco Astete International Airport stretches out, dominating a major section of the precious flat land along the valley.

Around the airport, the scale shifts down to contemporary adobe residences, some of which are accessed by ladder-like stairways; these overlook a sea of construction along the valley. This part of the city is mostly modern, characterized by its spikey rebar "skyline," which projects optimistically beyond unfinished upper floors. After landing and moving through the terminal, visitors experience their first encounters with Andean promotions of the city. The omnipresence of Machu Picchu and the ever-intensifying industry of tourism is particularly visible on the trip between the airport into Cusco's ancient core.

Since the late 1990s, tourism and research opportunities have pulled me to the city multiple times. In August of 2011, I journeyed to Cusco for a FLAS-sponsored Quechua program at Centro Tinku and made some preliminary investigations in the city. The following year I returned to Peru for field studies in Cusco, 2012-2013. Entering the city both times, I remembered earlier experiences and the heavily trodden tourist route which connects the airport to the Historic Center. Since the late 1990s, this has been augmented with public works projects, most notably an enormous statute commemorating the Inca ruler, Pachacuti, which dominates the city's largest traffic island. However, in 2011, traversing this part of the city presented a very different experience. In some ways, the city seemed more organized, more built up, but mostly, the landscape was incredibly perplexing.

As before, the route from the airport was cluttered with Andean-themed billboards promoting anything from Cusqueña Beer and Inca Cola. But the consumerism and marketing had intensified and this material boldly exhibited more images of people who looked like tourists. This was exemplified by a high-profile Huggies-brand diaper campaign, about one block from the edge of the Historic Center, visible from three directions of traffic. With Machu Picchu looming large in the background, behind the product, the advertisement featured an image of light skinned men, wearing Andean-style hats and holding babies [Figure 0-4]. This seemed strange on many levels but it was clear that all things Inca, Cusqueño, Andean, and Peruvian were for sale.

Figure 0-4 Advertisement Billboard in Central Cusco. Photo by author.

Entering Cusco again, in 2012, presented similar circumstances, however, this time the city was in a state of construction, especially the main streets and some of the buildings around the Plaza de Armas, which forms the heart of the Historic Center [Figures 0-5, 0-6, 0-7, 0-8]. Because of these conditions, my arrival was marked by dragging two large pieces of wheeled field luggage, a backpack, books, and laptops over broken streets, loose pavers, and make-shift construction barriers for the final two blocks of the journey. Approaching the corner of the street where my apartment was located, there was an active archaeological investigation with signage announcing a new find of Inca remains, discovered through the recent public works projects. After getting settled and mapping out the city on foot in the following weeks and months, it started to dawn on me that this was an entirely different city from what I had anticipated or what other scholars had previously described.

Besides my first-hand knowledge of Cusco, I arrived "in the field" armed with an undated copy of Cusco's Master Plan for its Historic Center – this was to be my key text. While this was confusing, there were clues that this document was from the early 2000s. Unfortunately, I had no sense of the significance of the missing dates until much later – it was profound. Through the further investigation of this text, I planned to decipher some of the relationships between the people living in this World Heritage City, touristic development, and the city's evolving conditions of preservation and urbanism. Part of this research was to have included the changing relationship between the city and regional development, which I hoped could be evaluated through the Chinchero International Airport Special Project (*Ley N° 27528*). This was

Figures 0-5 Construction in the Historic Center (2012). Photo by author.

Figure 0-6 New Traffic Signals in Cusco's Historic Center (2012). Photo by author

a major issue which was gaining momentum at that time. However, my plan was altered, at least twice, by several factors, which I now know could not have been fully anticipated.

Evidenced by the city-wide construction, one of the main issues was a multi-district management program (*Plan de Acondicionamiento Territorial Cusco,* 2006-2016) being implemented by the Municipality's Office of Urban and Rural Development (*Gerencia de Desarrollo Urbano y Rural*). While this project covered many urban themes, it linked the Historic Center visually with outlying municipal districts for the first time through upgraded infrastructure and what appeared to be generic Euro-Victorian design elements. This included new ornamental wrought iron benches, bus stations, and street signs, which were discreetly marked with the Municipality's icon, the Inca sun medallion, and dated 2011-2016.

While the selection of these aesthetics might have been more convincing in Lima's colonial neighborhoods of Barranco or Miraflores, this theme coordinated with the green, cast-iron fountain in the Plaza de Armas. Surrounded by the remains of imperial Inca palaces, stone churches, and a collection of other colonial architecture, the fountain, pictured in the frontispiece, represents a symbol of 19th century modernity. However, between 2011-2012, it was in the process of receiving a new and controversial statue of the Inca ruler Pachacuti (shown). This was an effort to replace an earlier icon which had been removed in 1969 [Figure 09] (see Silverman 2008: 199).

Figure 0-7 Replacing Old Infrastructure in Cusco's Historic Center (2012). Photo by author.

Figure 0-8 Calle Plateros, construction near the Plaza de Armas (2012). Photo by author.

Figure 0-9 Image of new Pachacuti statue on Fountain in Plaza de Armas (2012). Photo by author.

Figure 0-10 Image of earlier statue, "*el Azteco*" or "*piel roja*" (2012). Photo by author.

Figure 0-11 Fountain in the Plaza de Armas. Showing the old and new schemes for the statue mounted above the fountain (above). Photo by author.

But this was only the beginning of the changes. Even as the municipality was updating Cusco's urban infrastructure, the city was in the midst of "100 Years of Machu Picchu." This campaign celebrated Hiram Bingham's rediscovery of Machu Picchu in 1911 and, ironically, the return of his field collections in 2011, which had been housed at Yale University's Peabody Museum. Throughout the city and region, this event was promoted by festivities; it was even commemorated on the labels of regional agricultural products in the markets and grocery stores. The celebrations included the opening of the new Machu Picchu Museum in Cusco. This, however, coincided with a threat from the World Heritage Committee (see conservation reports 2010-2011): The Sanctuary of Machu Picchu would be placed on the List of World Heritage in Danger if steps were not taken to tackle the "backlog of unaddressed management issues."

There were also major transformations underway at the state level. In 2010, the National Institute of Culture (INC) was replaced by the Ministry of Culture (MOC), which reconfigured Peruvian cultural policy. It was the MOC that was conducting the archaeological work near my apartment, alongside the municipal projects on the streets. In addition to changes in the cultural policy and its management, Peru had recently unveiled a new national brand which was gaining visibility in the city and around the world.

On March 11, 2011, Peru's Ministry of Tourism and its promotional agency, PromPerú, launched a massive international branding campaign – strategically, on Wall Street – as part of the first celebration of "Peru Day" in New York City [Figure 0-12]. *MarcaPerú* promoted all things Peruvian: agricultural products, touristic adventures, culinary experiences, and foreign investment opportunities. By 2012, the national brand had become part of the city's landscape and its service sector. It was even listed on the website of ProInversión, the principle agency involved with developing the Chinchero Airport at that time. *MarcaPerú*'s presence was everywhere: on the packaging of souvenirs and food products, and proudly displayed on t-shirts, worn by Peruvians and international visitors. Illustrative of its economic power was the 2012 special edition of the *nuevo sol* coin, stamped with the *MarcaPerú* logo, minted as official currency by the Central Reserve Bank of Peru [Figure 0-13].

Figure 0-12 Wall Street launch of *MarcaPerú*, March 11, 2011.

Figure 0-13 Special Edition Coin, 2012

All of these changes were incredibly exciting and inspired me to engage in many levels of research. This began with mapping out and photographing the architecture and urban spaces within the Historic Center, and it involved lots of walking, connecting the ancient core with the surrounding urban areas. Understanding the city at the pedestrian level took many months. During this time, I engaged with Cusqueños and

visitors to the city through everyday encounters on the streets and in the local markets. Part of the experience included participating in local events, interviewing tour guides; I even attended a field trip with a primary school class of 10-year-old boys.

Over the course of several months, I also visited the job site of the new commercial center, *Real Plaza*, a shopping mall that was under construction in 2012-2013. A major portion of my time was spent visiting the city's cultural institutions, speaking with project managers and archivists, and searching for documents that were in any way relevant to preservation and planning within the Historic Center. This was an immersive experience of Cusco's historical landscape during a critical moment of change: I was trying to understand the *here and now* while also trying to imagine and study the *there and then*.

By the time I returned to Berkeley in June of 2013, my understanding of the city had expanded, but it was burdened by what seemed, at that time, to be massive and sudden changes. Trying to figure out what all of this meant led me further and further into Cusco's past, mostly into the uncharted terrain of Peruvian patrimony and the formation of the nation's cultural institutions. Through this journey, it became clear that there were some chasms to fill before being equipped to consider the contemporary city.

Cusco cannot be fathomed without an adequate understanding of the institutional and legal frameworks of Peruvian patrimony and cultural policy. Understanding the interplay between urban planning and cultural policies preceding the creation of the Master Plan for the Historic Center, in the early 2000s, is especially critical. Because of this, addressing the city historically through these gaps became the main dissertation project, rather than working out specific issues in the contemporary city. Writing about these connections and the deeper institutional contexts represents a key contribution to urban studies in the Andes.

CHAPTER ORGANIZATION

Since the time of the Incas, Cusco's ancient core has been the center of administrative and religious function. Housing the city's major monuments, "Old" Cusco represents an accretion of political shifts and architectural changes in a stratigraphy of power. This city is a place where time both matters and is constantly being rewritten.

The dissertation is informed by an exploratory and broad-based social-scientific investigation, rather than represented through disciplinary or specific theoretical models. It approaches Cusco's centrality in Andean and Peruvian identity projects and employs aspects of place and various considerations of time: *the past, present, and future.* Various disciplines have contributed to segments of the city's story but there are many ruptures. Navigating this requires additional analyses of primary sources and institutional documents in order to contextualize Cusco's evolving urban form and treatments of its past.

In order to address some of these gaps, Chapter One presents an overview of the relevant literature and some of the missing historical material which supports the discussions in the following chapters. This chapter considers the relationship between appropriations of the Andean past and Cusco's built environment as a perpetual project space – major themes throughout this dissertation. In an attempt to understand these processes and introduce other key intellectual strands, Chapter One is organized historically by the political and spatial development of the city. Part One unpacks Inca Cusco through the dual frameworks of Andean myth and ancient urbanism. Part Two looks at Cusco as a Spanish-colonial town and center of Andean Catholicism in order to understand the destructive and widespread changes to the imperial city and Spanish Cusco's position in Spanish America. In order to comprehend Cusco's rise as the archaeological

and cultural capital of the modern Peruvian nation, Part Three analyzes the city as regionalized-national culture, where the legacy of the imperial past becomes rearticulated as a symbol of modern authority.

Where Chapter One considers Cusco on a macro level, Chapter Two focuses on the city as a case study, after a cataclysmic earthquake in 1950. While major portions of the city's colonial structures and its modern infrastructure were destroyed, much of the remaining Inca construction was unscathed. This event opened opportunities to showcase the Inca past. While many studies cite this event as a turning point for the city, the story has not been written. This chapter describes the catastrophe and how it unfolded: the conditions within the city and the various relief efforts that followed – domestic and international. Peruvian solutions for rebuilding the city coincided with the post-war recovery programs of the United Nations, namely the Technical Assistance Administration and UNESCO. Because of the timing of the disaster with developing UN projects, Cusco became a testing ground for evolving methods of preservation, urbanism, technical assistance and regional development. These programs were foundational for modern urban planning in Cusco and Peruvian cultural policy in the second half of the 20th century.

Building on of the foundations of the first two chapters, Chapter Three takes on emergent issues of preservation and urbanism in Cusco, Peru's role as a UNESCO member-state, and the development of national cultural policy. These are examined within the larger discussions surrounding internationally-shared heritage. Starting in 1949, Peruvian projects tracked with and, in some cases, informed the larger historical process of establishing heritage as an international issue. While international bureaucracy influenced national policy, Peru also presented unique case studies: post-earthquake Cusco and cutting-edge preservation techniques at Machu Picchu. Since there is very little scholarship connecting these relationships, a descriptive and analytical approach to primary sources establishes the evidence. Much of this is drawn from institutional documents, which are considered both informative sources and historical objects with embedded meanings.

The relationship between the Cusco and UNESCO unfolded in state policy-making between the late 1950s and the early 1970s. The chapter employs the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF) launched in 1957, to discuss the concurrent development of urban policy with Peruvian participation in international fora. Tasked with rebuilding the city's future on the monuments of its past, the CRIF expanded the city's influence to a regional zone, which defined an Andean spine of tourism stretching along the larger Department of Cusco. This represented the influence of both UN missions, discussed in Chapter Two.

While Peru's affiliation with UNESCO influenced how state culture could be identified and modernized, a reactive and pro-Peruvian sentiment was developing. The presidential projects of Fernando Belaúnde Terry and General Juan Velasco Alvarado attempted to reclaim the national past for Peruvians. This reflected a broader cultural insecurity surrounding modern life in a globalizing world. Velasco's "revolutionary" government gave birth to the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC) in the late 1960s, legally reclaiming all Peruvian culture as a sovereign right. Ironically, the INC concurrently linked cultural reform and Peru's responsibility as a member-state to the larger infrastructure of UNESCO.

In 1972, the INC expanded its responsibilities in Cusco, taking on the urban and regional responsibilities of the CRIF and officially designating Cusco's Inca-colonial grid and surrounding area as a monumental zone. Coinciding with UNESCO's *Convention Concerning*

the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, this state act demonstrated how changes in Peruvian cultural policy were so closely tied to the development of these groundbreaking international issues at this time. State and international projects were incorporated through preservation and planning at the level of the city. This policy justified Cusco and Machu Picchu's nominations for the World Heritage List.

As Peru's first two sites of World Heritage List, inscribed in 1983, Cusco and Machu Picchu represented Peru's endeavor to safeguard a region which had been the heartland of a pre-Hispanic Andean empire. Both sites were inscribed without master regulatory plans, a requirement which was still under development at that time. Because of this, there were political struggles and multiple visions for preserving and developing Cusco. The first was defined by the continuing projects of the National Institute of Culture and its relationship with UNESCO. The second developed at the municipal level through pro-Andean public works projects which often overlapped with those of the INC.

Relying on the context from previous chapters and using institutional documents from national and international agencies, Chapter Four examines the legal, ideological, and cultural development of the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center. This process was unique for several reasons and it took two decades of interinstitutional struggle to create a product that UNESCO agreed to work with. Using the Master Plan as a cultural artifact, this chapter also considers the deployment of a mytho-historical spatial metaphor, the *pumallactan* or Puma City. Curiously, UNESCO, the INC, and the municipality nurtured this idea in various projects before it was appropriated in planning documents. In the Master Plan, the *pumallactan* represents an interinstitutional effort to explain Cusco's urban form and theme its heritage zone. As a final example of the imperial Inca past as a symbol of modern authority, this icon reconnected the city with the timeline and the imperial urbanism of the legendary Inca ruler, Pachacuti.

CHAPTER ONE

MYTHS, MONUMENTS, AND MODERNITY

In the 1820s, when Peru looked to *Tawantinsuyu* as an inspiration for post-colonial sovereignty, the legacy of the imperial Andean past was rearticulated as a symbol of modern authority. Because of its fame as the former Inca capital, Cusco's rise as the cultural capital of the nation had implications for how the Incas were reinvented as ancient Peruvians. One century later, in 1929, the foundation of the National Board of Archeology recognized these relationships formally. Uniting regional archaeology with the development of national history, this agency was legally responsible for the protection and conservation of historical monuments, antiquities, and works of art from the pre-Hispanic period. On behalf of the Republic of Peru, Article One of the *Patronato Nacional de Arqueología*, Peru's national patrimony policy, declared that,

> The existing historical monuments are owned by the State in the national territory prior to the time of the Viceroyalty. The right of the nation over these monuments is inalienable and imprescriptible.

Through this Law, Cusco received special recognition, administrative powers, and its own Department of Archaeological Patronage, which was unique to all of the regions and cities in Peru. Cusco's agency was charged with guarding the conservation, protection, investigation, and study of all the archaeological monuments in the surrounding region. Out of the eleven sites that were declared as national monuments at that time, three Inca sites, all linked to the ruler, Pachacuti, were designated near Cusco, in Sacsayhuaman, Ollantaytambo, and Machu Picchu. The early focus on the Andean region legitimized the ways the city would be managed both as regionalized-national culture and as a commodity in the following decades. In Cusco, this also set a precedent for urban planning decisions during the second half of the 20th century, which is a major theme in the dissertation.

Cusco's built environment can be considered through multiple appropriations of the Andean past and the ways this influenced contemporary Peruvian identity projects. Considering the city's modern significance, however, requires a working knowledge of both Inca Cusco and its colonial redevelopment as a Spanish-American town. The former explains how Cusco's built environment has been interpreted through Andean legends and ancient urbanism. The latter provides frameworks for considering the destructive and widespread changes to the imperial capital and Spanish Cusco's unique relationship with Lima and other colonial cities of Spanish America.

Serving as an introduction to some of the recurring themes and intellectual strands of the dissertation, Chapter One presents an historical overview and analysis of the city from its mythical origins through the 1940s. The chapter is divided historically by three sections which consider Cusco's urban history through the large political projects which produced Imperial Cusco; destroyed the Inca city and remade Cusco as a Spanish-American town; and reinvented the city as the archaeological and cultural capital of a South American nation. Understanding this context is critical, precisely because of the central role Cusco played in Peruvian identity politics and the ways this impacted later issues of preservation, urbanism, and regional development.

The material in this chapter is constructed through foundational disciplinary literature, which is drawn primarily from a selection of archaeological, art historical, historical, and anthropological scholarship. It also employs numerous primary sources, relying on historical

accounts from the colonial era, Peruvian philosophy, national cultural policies, and international law. These fill in missing background which is necessary for analyzing some of the material in the following chapters. However, none of this fits into neat packages and approaching this from an historiographical perspective is complicated by the way Andean history has been chronicled since the 16th century Conquest.

Tawantinsuyu was organized without a formal system of writing: Incaic history was preformed and enacted publicly. Cusco's historical record, however, was produced under a wide variety of conditions, motivations, and biases. In the 1530s, the collapse of the Inca empire coincided with the complicated birth of the city's written historical record. At that time, many of the earliest descriptions of the imperial city and interpretations of "empire" were grounded in contemporary European experiences, aesthetics, and standards. In order to contextualize this, Parts One and Two, which describes Inca Cusco as an imperial city and looks at its transformation into Spanish Cusco, reference selections of early Peruvian "histories."

While there are many colonial accounts of the Conquest and the fall of Inca Cusco, passages from Garcilaso de la Vega, Pedro Sarmiento Gamboa, and Pedro Sancho, offer particularly useful perspectives. Besides providing insights on Cusco's mythical origins, these texts describe early visions of Andean urbanism and information on the founding of Spanish Cusco. Spanish-educated, Garcilaso de la Vega, known as "el Inca," was born in Cusco to a Spanish conquistador and an Inca princess. His coming of age memories in Cusco, between 1539 and 1560, are captured in his greatest contribution, *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas and General History of Peru*. This text describes Incaic history, culture, and society.

In 1572, forty years after the arrival of conquistador Francisco Pizarro, Spanish historian, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, wrote *The History of the Incas*, in Cusco. This text contains detailed descriptions of Inca history and mythology and it has been recognized by many scholars as one of the most important manuscripts surviving from the Spanish Conquest period of Peru. In addition to the texts from Garcilaso and Sarmiento, the account of Pedro Sancho, Pizarro's secretary, described the juridical act which created Spanish Cusco, in 1534. He also documented some of the earliest encounters of the Spanish and their perceptions of the Inca city.

Besides the 16th century accounts, the first and second sections of this chapter rely heavily on contemporary archaeological scholarship and 20th century interpretations of Conquest-era history from multiple sources. Brian Bauer's text (2004), *Ancient Cusco: Heartland of the Inca*, is a rich and extensive study of the city, which incorporates regional archaeological findings and analyses of *Tawantinsuyu's* sacred landscape. Complimented by Jean-Pierre Protzen's architectural research on ancient Andean built environments, Bauer's ethno-historical approach is critical for describing ritual aspects of the city, the construction of its Inca structures, and the cosmogonic nature of early urban planning. This scholarship is in direct conversation with the historical analyses of classicist and Andean historian, Sabine MacCormack.

MacCormack's work on religion and culture in ancient Rome and the transmission of this legacy to Spanish America is critical for unpacking the large-scale historical conditions under which the Inca empire was first transcribed and re-interpreted. MacCormack proposed that indigenous narratives of the remote past contained collective memories. These outlined the principles according to which foundational events unfolded and the manner in which such events "impinged on the present." A chapter title from Garcilaso de la Vega's *Royal Commentaries of the Incas* illustrates this, *Chapter XVIII – De Fabulas Historiales del Origen de Los Incas*. MacCormack argued that when Garcilaso described accounts surrounding the distant past as

fabulas historiales, historical fables or legends, he was channeling the Roman historian Livy. According to MacCormack, these stories were imbued with historical and cultural values that exceeded mere invention (2001: 335). The architectural and political legacies of the Inca ruler Pachacuti represent the most prolific examples of these stories in the Cusco region.

Part Two considers the rise of Spanish Cusco in the 16th and 17th centuries through two themes: the intentional ruining of the Incaic built environment as a political statement with practical applications; and the city's new position as a Spanish-American town. The Conquest established new centers of governance. When Francisco Pizarro founded the Viceroyalty of Peru in Lima in 1542, colonial rule was consolidated along the South American coast. While this transfer of power from the Andes might be seen as provincializing Cusco, it instigated an enduring political struggle and "racial-geographical" debate with the Andes and the new coastal capital (de la Cadena 2000, 45-47; MacCormack 1988). These regional-national identity politics are a recurring theme in the dissertation and an important framework for considering the city of Cusco in juxtaposition with Lima in different eras.

Besides the material drawn from Bauer, MacCormack, and the colonial-era accounts, this section is supported by historical and cultural materials from primary sources and through the work of several art historians. In multiple texts, Carolyn Dean and Valerie Fraser have described some of the ways Andean people negotiated their colonial present, while the highland city was being reconfigured through mandates from the Roman Catholic Church and through the rule of Spanish monarchs. Their work is also useful for understanding the physical and ideological re-inventions of architecture and urban space.

As Cusco was incorporated into an alternate reality of European time and space, colonial infrastructure was imposed over the surviving Inca grid. The co-authored work of Axel Mundigo and Dora Crouch offers a revised translation and unmatched overview of the colonial-era Laws of the Indies, which were written primarily by Phillip II of Spain in the 16th century. Their work focuses on the philosophies and implications of city planning ordinances, which were designed to bring unity and urban order to colonial settlements. As a town of New Spain, Cusco was both part of this program and an exception to it, evidenced by its grid and monumental stone foundations. Some of the earliest construction of Colonial Cusco, however, was destroyed by the "great earthquake" of 1650.

The subsequent rebuilding and new construction of colonial churches defined the city architecturally for the next 300 years. Latin American art historians Harold Wethey and George Kubler contributed some of the most complete and formal descriptions of the post-earthquake reconstructions and the new architecture in the 17th and 18th centuries. Overlapping with this era, the work of historians Charles Walker and Alberto Flores Galindo provides evidence from the late colonial era and accounts of indigenous and mestizo uprisings against the Spanish Viceroyalty during the Bourbon Reforms of the late 18th century. The last period marked the transition between Spanish and Peruvian rule.

Building on the previous sections and employing historical, archaeological, and other social-scientific sources, Part Three contextualizes Peru's rise as a modern nation-state and the way the Andean city supported this ideologically. Unlike national capitals that trace post-colonial or national identity through a pre-conquest empire or ruling state capital (Mexico, Egypt, Rome, Greece, China, Korea, etc.), Peruvian national identity is represented through two cities: imperial Cusco and colonial Lima. At a large scale, this is contextualized by the geopolitical shifts which facilitated Latin American independence and the way this coincided with and influenced the development of European modernity. As such, the social scientific

approach to modern nation formation and nationalism from scholars such as Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm supports some of this context. A primary source for these relationships, as well as the substantial influence of the United States, is provided by the text of Chilean professor of international law, Manuel Alejandro Álvarez Jofré (1909).

Latin American nation-formation was not universal, which is exemplified by unique and different post-colonial conditions in Peru and Mexico and the re-identification and transformation of Lima and Mexico City, from the North and South American Viceroyalties, into national capitals. While the colonial legacies of these cities contributed differently to the philosophical constructions of the Peruvian and Mexican national pasts, Andean legends and the 16th century treatment of Inca Cusco inspired archaeological investigations. This represented the birth of national history and the rise of Peruvian cultural institutions. Archaeologist Thomas Patterson's discussion of the embedded European ideology in the state archaeology of both Latin American nations is extremely useful for understanding how culture would later be identified and managed.

In Peru, this was defined by a Cusco-centric and regional compartmentalization of "culture," as opposed to the pan-Mexican "civilization." Patterson's work also gives context to the political arguments of the Peruvian philosopher, José Carlos Mariátegui La Chira, who made numerous connections between national "traditions," the importance of the Andean region, and the social construction of modern Peruvians in the early 20th century. Cusco was central to this ideology as well, which is evidenced by the 1929 establishment of the *Patronato*, the state cultural policy mentioned earlier in this chapter.

The early descriptions and travel writing from explorers, such as E. George Squier, influenced the development of national culture. His work in the late 19th century promoted the Andean region and the city of Cusco. This was an important precursor to the first wave of "scientific" and archaeological studies, defined by the early 20th century work of international scholars such as Max Uhle, representing the University of California, and Hiram Bingham, from Yale. Their projects tied North American institutions to the academic construction of the Peruvian past. This is evidenced by present-day museum collections at both universities and the intellectual legacies these produced. While this history is widely available, it has not been specifically tied into the larger story of the city of Cusco.

In Cusco, Albert Giesecki, a U.S. citizen and scholar, contributed to Cusco's development in the early 20th century, as Cusco's mayor and as rector of the city's National University (UNSAAC). Overlapping with and influencing Bingham, he worked on several civic improvement campaigns and refocused intellectual debates on the past, present, and future of the region. Besides their usefulness for describing the ideological differences in Andean versus state-sponsored constructions of the Incaic past, Giesecke's projects have been cited by several cultural anthropologists as a foundation of touristic development in the city and region in the first half of the 20th century.

The disciplinary work of cultural anthropologists contributes to an understanding of 20th century Peruvian identity movements. Marisol de la Cadena's text, *Indigenous Mestizos: The Politics of Race and Culture in Cuzco, Peru 1919-1991* (2000), illuminated the role of race in Andean-produced discourse. Her analysis of cultural projects of the 1930s and 1940s, particularly the *Inti Raymi*, intersects with Zoila Mendoza's work on indigenous performances and identity politics in, *Creating Our Own: Folklore, Performance, and Identity in Cuzco, Peru* (2008). Both texts unveil the relationships between the state-sponsored projects, the Cusqueño citizen, local productions of regional-national culture, and the ways these were legitimized

through a reformulated Inca past. These conditions represented a sense of Andean and Peruvian modernity through the 1940s, immediately before the next phase of change, brought about, in part, by a major earthquake.

PART ONE: The Ritual Landscape of *Tawantinsuyu* and Pachicuti's Imperial Capital (circa 1400 – 1533 CE)

The mythical founding of Cusco was at the center of an epic creation, but it was in the second half of the 15th century that the first Inca emperor, Pachacuti, transformed Cusco into an imperial capital. With emblematic urban-imperial axes and monumental construction, Pachacuti's city epitomized the microcosm and center of *Tawantinsuyu*, which, in the Quechua language, signifies the Land of the Four Quarters (from *tawa*, the number four; and *suyu*, a division of space). Governed from Cusco, *Tawantinsuyu's* domain stretched out, intertwining the corporeal and the cosmic, the seen and unseen. Several colonial accounts described the complex relationships between Cusco's built environment and *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial infrastructure.

In, *The Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, Garcilaso de la Vega dedicated an entire chapter to describing Cusco as a microcosm of *Tawantinsuyu*: "the City that contained the description of all the Empire" (Book VII, Chapter IX, p. 264). Four great streets distinguished its urban plan, signifying a relationship between the imperial *suyus* and the political heart of the Inca polity in Cusco. As the royal seat of the ruling dynasty, the physical manifestation of *Tawantinsuyu* was identified by two royal urban sectors, the *Hurin* and *Hanan*, which represented the mythical origins of the first Inca kings and queens. As opposite and necessary parts, these formed a combined footprint of centralized imperial rule (Bauer 2004; and citing Garcilaso de la Vega (1966 [1548]; Flores 2010: 23).

Garcilaso linked the legendary founding of Cusco with the ways Andean time and spatial meaning were infused into the very fabric and experience of the city. This was achieved through myth, monumental infrastructure, and urban planning: a three-pronged strategy that continued to characterize Cusco's urbanism over time.

Garcilaso recorded a narrative describing the founding of Inca Cusco,

> Thus our imperial city began to be settled: it was divided into two halves called Hanan Cusco, which as you know means upper Cusco, and Hurin Cusco, or lower Cusco. The King wished those he had brought to people Hanan Cuzco, which was therefore called upper, and those the queen had brought to people Hurin Cusco, which was therefore called lower…The Inca only wished that there should be this division of the people and distinction of name, so that the fact that some had been gathered by the king and other by the queen might have a perpetual memorial…In imitation of this, there was later the same division in all the towns, great or small, of our empire, which were divided by wards or by lineages, known as *hanan aillu* and *hurin aillu*, the upper and lower lineages, or *hanan suyu* and *hurin suyu*, the upper and lower district.

Within the center of the city, each of the two royal zones was subdivided by two roads. This symbolically connected the quadrants to the corresponding division or quarter of the empire: Chinchasuyu (NW), Antisuyu (NE), Qontisuyu (SW) and Collasuyu (SE). Urban organization was extended legally to provincial leaders who were obligated to construct a residence in the imperial city, specifically within the urban sector that corresponded to their indigenous homes in the larger *suyu* system. Although they were only required to reside part of the year in Cusco, this practice, according to Bauer, explained the numerous palatial complexes found in the city. The city was conceptualized as a memorial to the past, *Hanin* and *Hurin*

districts thus reanimated the origin myth, described in the passage above. The urban organization constructed a hierarchical social life and assembled space as a duality and a whole [Figure 1-0].

The second half of the passage highlights the unique cosmogonic nature of Cusco's layout and its intended use as a model for urban planning throughout the empire. These spatial divisions, which are still visible in the grid of Cusco's contemporary plan, were replicated in provincial towns. Archaeological and contemporary ethnographic studies support this lasting mark left on Andean communities and the ways they continue to associate urban space with the Inca past (Covey 2006: 215; MacCormack 2001: 336, 344; Jean-Pierre Protzen, personal

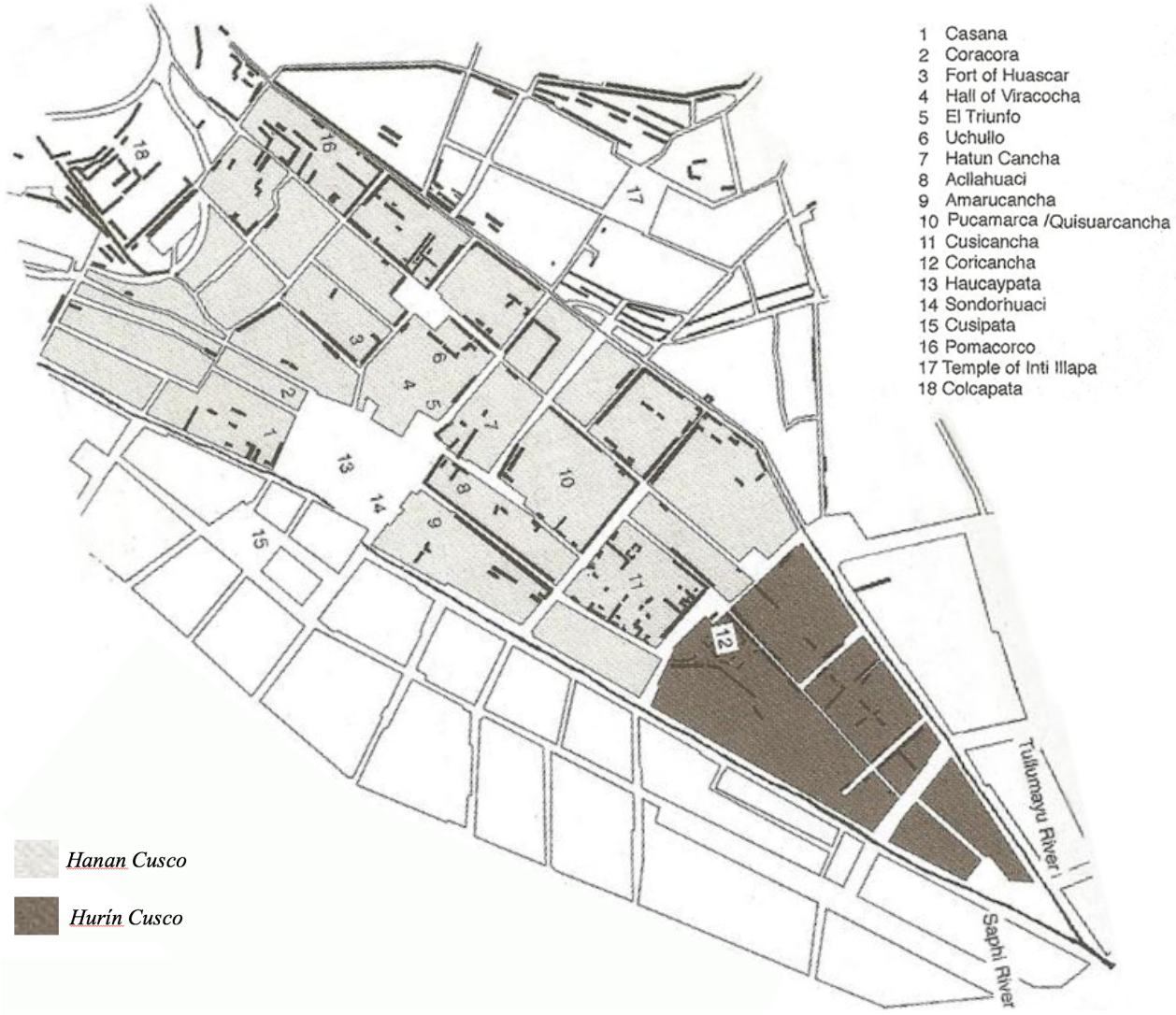

Figure 1-1 Inca Cusco. Showing the *Hanan* and *Hurín* divisions of the city. Source: Bauer 2004

conversation on the layout of Tambo Colorado, 2010; Anna Wilson, personal communication on the town layout and use of "upper" and "lower" to spatially define social divisions in contemporary Huamachuco, 2016).

From Garcilaso's perspective, Cusco's built environment was intentionally designed to support the participatory reading of "Inca space." Walled and canalized waterways demarcated the *Hanin* and *Hurin* districts, while bridges joined the royal sectors to the outlying parts of the city. Within the city, the siting of paved streets, plazas, palaces, and temples normalized how

power (Bauer 2004: 107-137; Farrington 2013; Moore 1996), social hierarchy (Zuidema 1983), and gender-linked spheres (Gose 2000; Silverblatt 1987:107) became known, embedded, and practiced. Through its urban infrastructure, the imperial capital functioned as a meaning-laden and experiential text: historical narrations and ceremonies were acted out spectacularly in public spaces which had been specifically designed for elaborate performances, grand processions, and feasts (Bauer 2004; MacCormack 1991). The Inca ruler, Pachacuti, has been attributed with the construction of many of these epic architectural projects.

The History of the Incas, written in Cusco by Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa, offered another account of *Tawantinsuyu's* origins and a myth-based history of Inca rulers. In the telling of Sarmiento's story, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui appears as a central character in several sections and chapters that describe him as a patron of imperial history, a brilliant military strategist, and the builder and "overturner of earth." In this and other early histories, Pachacuti has also been described as the "architect of Inca governance" (MacCormack 2007: 93). Besides the monumental building of Cusco as an imperial city, many scholars have credited Pachacuti with constructing the heartland estates of Machu Picchu, Ollantaytambo, and Pisac. His ties to Cusco and these Sacred Valley sites are memorialized through 20th century cultural projects and through the simultaneous nomination of Cusco and Machu Picchu as Peru's first two sites of World Heritage, discussed in Chapter Four.

In a passage entitled, "Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui rebuilds the city of Cuzco," Sarmiento suggested that the city evolved through multiple urban layouts, specialized craft labor, and technical construction:

> As soon as the festivities were over, the Inca laid out the city of Cuzco on a better plan; and formed the principle streets as they were when the Spaniards came. He divided the land for communal, public, and private edifices, causing them to be built with excellent masonry. It is such that we who have seen it, and know that they did not possess instruments of iron or steel to work with, are struck with admiration on beholding the equality and precision with which the stones are laid, as well as the closeness of the points of junction. With the rough stones it is even more interesting to examine the work and its composition. As the sight alone satisfies the curious, I will not waste time in a more detailed description (Sarmiento 132).

Within this passage and in the following pages, Sarmiento attributed the impressive stone construction of streets, shrines, important structures, and an improved urban grid to "the Inca," Pachacuti. Employing the 16th century chronicler Juan de Betanzos' *Narrative of the Incas*, MacCormack illuminated additional nuances and historical references within the story: "Pachacuti modeled and painted the buildings that were to be erected, just as the Creator had modeled and painted the human beings who were to populate the land. After this inaugurating creative act by the Inca, the buildings he had outlined were constructed in fine masonry of individually carved stone blocks" (MacCormack 2001:338; Betanzos, Suma I, chapter 16. Regarding the Creator, above at nn. 20-23). The first of these structures was supposed to have been the *Qoricancha*, which housed Cusco's Temple of the Sun. Sarmiento's passage also revealed the ongoing fascination with Inca masonry and its craftsmanship, first described in Spanish chronicles and continuously mythologized in the following centuries. Protzen argued that the Inca stonemasons' masonry techniques fueled "wild speculation" in terms of the technology that was employed to shape it. He proposed that Inca masonry, "if not without parallels is unique throughout the world" (Protzen 1985: 161) [Figure 1-2].

Clad in this distinctive stonework, an impressive collection of imperial architecture played host to the ceremonial activities in the city. This is exemplified by a brief description of the Festival of the Sun, or the *Inti Raymi*, also mentioned in Sarmiento's text. Celebrated June 22-July 22, the spectacular event was marked by a ritualistic procession that was performed between the *Qoricancha* sanctuary and the central plaza or, as Sarmiento labeled it, the "Great Square" (Sarmiento 1907: 89, 114 [1572]). These two iconic sites and a third, the "fortress of *Saqsayhuaman*, not only epitomized the ideological nature and architectural grandeur of *Tawantinsuyu*, they became part of the political transformations within the city through the following centuries as new powers arose. According to the Spanish accounts, these projects began with Pachacuti's imperial projects. In the 20th century, Peru and, later, international agencies, appropriated Pachacuti's legacy as a foundational contribution of national culture and World Heritage.

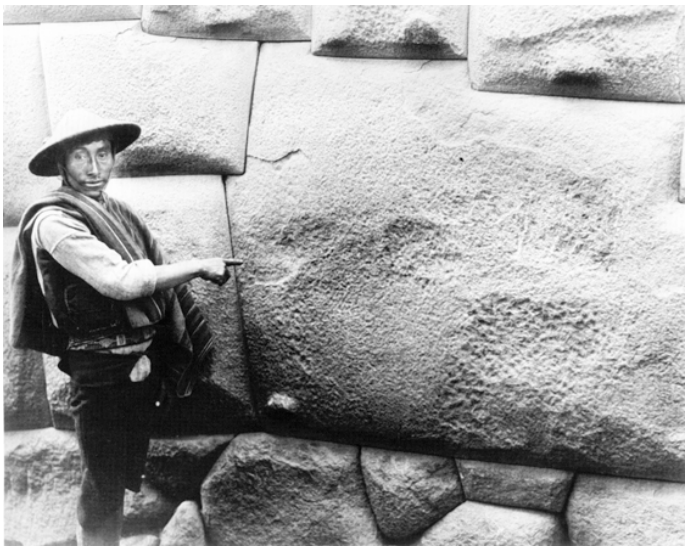

Figure 1-2 Photograph of the 12-sided stone, *Hatunrumioc.* Located on an Inca palace wall in central Cusco. Source: Martín Chambi

The Qoricancha Complex

The location of the *Qoricancha* simultaneously represented the intersection of the four imperial *suyus*, which was the point of convergence of the *ceque* or lay lines, and the urban boundary between the *Hanan* and *Hurin* districts. It was the most famous and opulent sanctuary in the empire. Translated from Quechua, its name signified Golden House or Golden Enclosure, inspired by gold sheets attached to its fine masonry. Sarmiento described this as a "cornice of gold," the width of two palms, nailed to the length of the courtyard (Sarmiento 1907: 96 [1572). Surrounded by a large exterior wall, this imperial shrine complex was dominated by the Sun Temple. This was the focal point for major religious rites and urban festivals, such as the *Inti Raymi*. It was a site of spectacle. According to Sarmiento, Pachacuti rebuilt and refurbished the *Qoricancha*, enriching it with more oracles and edifices, "to appall ignorant people and produce astonishment that they might help in the conquest of the whole land which he intended to subdue…" (Sarmiento 1907:87 [1572]).

Part of this exhibition of power included an alleged disinterring of seven royal Inca mummies, which were outfitted in ceremonial attire in order to preside over months of festivals that were dedicated to each of their lives (Sarmiento 1907: 87-88 [1572]). Regardless of the level of historical accuracy, these and other symbolic acts placed the *Qoricancha* at the center of Andean mythology, venerating the ancestors and transmitting ideology on an imperial scale. The Jesuit missionary, Bernabé Cobo, reiterated the "incomparable wealth" and sumptuousness of the complex and its function as a destination of pilgrimage, visited by "all of the people in the Inca Empire, who came out of devotion…" (Cobo 1990:48-49 [1653: Bk. 13, Ch. 12]). Because of this predominant role in the Inca universe, Bauer has argued that the significance of the *Qoricancha* cannot be underestimated (Bauer 2004: 157).

Cusco's Grid and Main Plazas

At the pinnacle of its architectural splendor, Cusco's grid was defined by the symbolic sectors of the *Hanan* and *Hurín* districts and by a lattice of narrow streets, which partitioned several blocks of large stone compounds. According to Bauer, these structures were endowed with exquisite craftsmanship and shielded by walls reaching up to 4 or 5 meters (Bauer 1998: 118-119, 2004). Traveling from the *Qoricancha* into the center of the *Hanan* district is a journey which can be done in less than ten minutes on foot. Here, the grid opened to reveal another prominent feature of Inca Cusco, an enormous plaza and ceremonial space surrounded by the principal palaces of the city (Hyslop 1990: 37; Bauer 2004).

Sancho captured one of the first descriptions of its grandeur:

> The plaza is rectangular, and the greatest part of it is flat and paved with small stones. Around the plaza are four houses of noblemen, who are the chief men of the city; [the houses] are of stone, painted and carved, and the best of them is the house of Huayna Capac, the former chief, and the door of it is of marble [colored] white and red and of other colors; and there are other very sightly buildings with flat roofs. (Sancho 1917: 154 [1534] cited in Bauer 2004: 121)

Straddling both sides of the Saphy River, the plaza was divided into two sacred parts by the *Cusipata* to the west, and the *Haucaypata* to the east. Bauer argued that each half represented distinctly different roles within the life of the city. While the *Cusipata* was reported to have been allocated to markets (economy), the larger *Haucaypata* was designated for festivals and interactions with Inca royalty (rule and ideology). Like the *Qoricancha*, the *Haucaypata* was a sacred space that represented and replicated the life-force of *Tawantinsuyu*. According to Cusco's chief magistrate, Juan Polo de Ondegardo and the chronicler Betanzos, the plaza was blanketed with sand to a depth of "two palms and a half," and this was strewn with silver and gold ornamental pieces. The sand was supposed to have been carried over the Andes from the coastal fringes of the empire and the original dirt from the plaza was said to have been ritualistically removed and transferred to "other places" because of its symbolic value (Bauer 2004). Like many other ritual practices, these actions represented the presence and power of *Tawantinsuyu*, within the city of Cusco and the provinces beyond.

The "Fortress" of Cusco or Sacsayhuaman

Overlooking the main plaza of Inca Cusco, the massive "fortress" of *Sacsayhuaman* was one of the most impressive of Inca monuments outside of the city and an exemplar of imperial masonry and megalithic stones (Protzen 1985). In, *The Conquest of the Incas*, historian John Hemming noted that at the time of the Conquest, the entire population of Cusco could have retreated within this site (1970: 196). *Sacsayhuaman* featured a series of store houses, towers, and three zones: a large circular reservoir, a sector with a carved stone known as the "throne of the Incas," and the great plaza framed by massive terrace walls (Bauer 2004: 98-100). Like the *Qoricancha* and main plaza, *Sacsayhuaman* was imbued with myth and symbolism. Sarmiento attributed the building of "the fortress" to the son of Pachacuti, Tupac Inca Yupanqui. Sarmiento proposed that this site was the obligatory and final piece of construction that would render the entire city of Cusco in the form of a puma.

In Sarmiento's narrative, Pachacuti had already created the "body" of the puma, indicated by the "great square" and delineated by Cusco's two rivers, which converged to form the tail or *pumac chupan*. Represented by *Sacsayhuaman,* the head and mouth of the puma were to be were to be built by an heir. This mytho-historical act created a relationship between inheritance and

ancient urbanism. This puma-shaped form, known in Quechua as *pumallactan*, reemerged in the 21st century as part of an interinstitutional plan for the Historic Center.

Saqsaywamán, the *Qoricancha*, and the central plazas, represented distinctive spatial aspects of Inca rule. They embodied the essence of *Tawantinsuyu*. The magnificent imperial space and ideological order represented at the urban scale in Cusco, however, was disrupted with the arrival of Francisco Pizarro and his army in 1533. Each of these imperial sites was targeted in the ideological conquest of the city; this will be outlined in the following section. The Spanish invasion marked the end of an epoch "more radically than any preceding upheaval had done," resulting in the fragmentation of Andean historical awareness (MacCormack 1988, 969, 1006). This gave birth to Cusco's historical record and the reconceptualization of the city as a Spanish American town.

PART TWO: Spanish Cusco: *The "Very Noble and Great City"*

> In the month of March 1534, the Governor ordered that the greater part of the Spaniards he had with him should be assembled in this city, and he made an act of foundation and settlement of the town saying that he placed it and founded it in his own authority, and he took possession of it in the middle of the plaza. And as a sign of the foundation of the commencement of building and founding of the colony, he held certain ceremonies in accordance with the act which was drawn up, which I, the scrivener, read in a loud voice in the presence of all.
>
> And the name of the city was agreed upon, **"the very noble and great city of Cuzco."** And continuing the settlement, he appointed the site for the church which was to be built, its boundaries, limits and jurisdiction, and immediately afterwards he proclaimed that all who might come to settle here would be received as citizens, and many came in the next three years.
>
> Sancho 1917 (Means' translation): 130-131 [1534] (my emphasis)

Pedro Sancho's first-hand account transports the reader into Cusco's main plaza, the spectacular setting selected by Francisco Pizarro to claim the city. This event marked the official transference of the imperial city to Pizarro's authority and, as indicated in the passage, the designation of urban land for new architectural works and urban zoning projects. It is noteworthy that Cusco's new title, "the very noble and great city," was resurrected in the 1980s through institutional promotions of the city as World Heritage, discussed in Chapter Four. Although Pizarro assumed formal control of the Inca city in 1534, this juridical event did not represent the end of Inca Cusco.

The slow death of Pachacuti's city ensued between 1533-1536, culminating with the Inca attack of the main plaza and a siege of Spanish-occupied Cusco in early 1537. Setting fire to their city in desperation, the Incas, under the direction of Manco Inca, instigated a cataclysmic moment that ended the Inca capital (Hemming 1970: 193). This act effectively overturned the meaning of time and space for Andean people and allowed the Spaniards to build on Cusco's imperial ashes, architecturally and socially (see Bauer 2004: 107-137). As the highland city was being Europeanized under Spanish rule in the late 1530s, the partitioning of conquered land de-Incanized and racialialized urban space. The Spanish claimed Cusco in the name of a Christian god and the King of Spain – the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V.

As the Inca Pachacuti had imagined, modeled, and measured the *Qoricancha* and the other buildings of Cusco before they were actually constructed, so now the Spaniards measured and drew the urban land that was to be assigned to each new citizen of Spanish Cusco. MacCormack argued that in both cases, "the modeling, and the measuring or drawing, gave

theoretical expression to what the city was to become." In either case, she contended that this abstract expression was "endowed with physical reality when buildings were erected, or, in the case of the Spanish, modified, and occupied by their new owners" (verify citation MacCormack 2001: 343).

Figure 1-3 Cusco as it was imagined in the mid-16th century. Source: Pedro Cieza de León, Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú (Seville 1553), between pp. 232 and 233.

As Pachacuti's establishment of imperial Cusco likely relocated the city's earlier inhabitants, Pizarro's Spanish city displaced the Incas (MacCormack 2001: 343). Once claimed by generations of Andean elites, the property and infrastructure in Cusco's center was ceded to conquistadors and allocated to royal proxies and the Roman Catholic Church. They expanded urban grid of *Tawantinsuyu* along the existing Inca roads to form suburbs (*arrabales*), which were occupied by ethnic subalterns (Bauer 2004; Dean 1999; Gibbs 1979; Municipalidad del Cusco 2005).

The social, political, and cultural legacies of colonial domination directly impacted the process of Hispanicizing Cusco. The influence of the classical Mediterranean world on Spain, and the Roman past was "part and parcel of the cultural baggage of the Spanish and creole elite" (MacCormack 2007:21). In other words, the chroniclers wrote about the Inca empire through a filter of received knowledge surrounding Spain, Rome, and an imperial *imaginaraire*. This was important because, prior to the Conquest, Quechua, the indigenous language of the Andes, was an oral, but not written. This meant that the Spanish constructed the first orthographic system for its use as a literary tool. The political significance of this is profound in terms of who interpreted, recorded, read, and safeguarded the imperial Andean past – and how this became a foundation for future interpretations of Cusco's urban plan. For example, the colonial telling of the Andean past deeply impacted many 20th century projects that attempted to preserve Andean culture.

Illustrations and descriptions of *Tawantinsuyu*, the city of Cusco, and Andean people represent part of this production of history. One illustration, found in Pedro Cieza de León's text, *Primera parte de la Crónica del Perú* (Seville 1553), reveals a toga-wearing Inca in the foreground of a walled medieval city. This is how Cusco was imagined in the middle of the 16th century [Figure 1-3]. Another early example that linked the Andean and Spanish worlds with the more ancient classical mythology comes from Pedro Sancho's praise of *Saqsaywamán*'s architecture in 1534: "neither the bridge of Segovia nor any buildings that Hercules or the Romans built are so worthy of being seen as this" (cited by Protzen 1985: 161).

The construction of the historical record and the reconstruction of the built environment were shaped by the arrival of the Roman Catholic Church, which at its core was (and is) an urban institution. Church leadership and the colonial *literati*, which were primarily represented by priests, resided in cities. This was one of the legacies of the Roman empire, which was transported to Peru.

The cultural diffusion, however, was not one-sided. Syncretism and the political juxtapositions of Andean worldviews with the Western world contextualized the post-Conquest significance of the imperial past and Inca presence in the colonial present (Dean 1999; MacCormack 1991, 2007:101-113). To illustrate this point, Cusco, as the capital of the Incas and Peru's first bishopric, was identified as the Rome of its world. Yet, according to MacCormack, the Roman past was not identified as the cultural property of the Spaniards, nor was the Inca past identified as the property of Andean people. This 19th century project of state identity and ethnic difference with Peruvian independence (MacCormack 2007: xvi), will be discussed in the next section.

Although the imperial Inca landscape was not valued as cultural property, altering it was highly symbolic. This act defined Cusco's conversion into a Spanish-American town, especially the treatment of the three Inca spaces described in the previous section. The Spanish dismantled the "fortress" of *Sacsayhuaman* and imposed Christianity architecturally on the *Qoricancha sanctuary*. In the main plaza, a space which embodied *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial order, ritual meaning was literally extracted. It is worth elaborating on what happened at these sites to emphasize how overwriting the imperial past was a calculated architectural project.

In the mid-1530s, *Sacsayhuaman* was the site of the Inca's last stand against the Spanish in Cusco (Hemming 1970: 192-196). While Sarmiento noted that *Sacsayhuaman* was intact until the "time of differences" between Pizarro and his second in command, Diego de Almagro, it was slowly disassembled over time as its stones were used to build the Spanish city. He described the "great regret" felt by those who saw the ruins (Sarmiento 1907: 131-132 [1572]). Alternatively, Dean has proposed that *Sacsayhuaman's* demise occurred at multiple levels and through dual purposes:

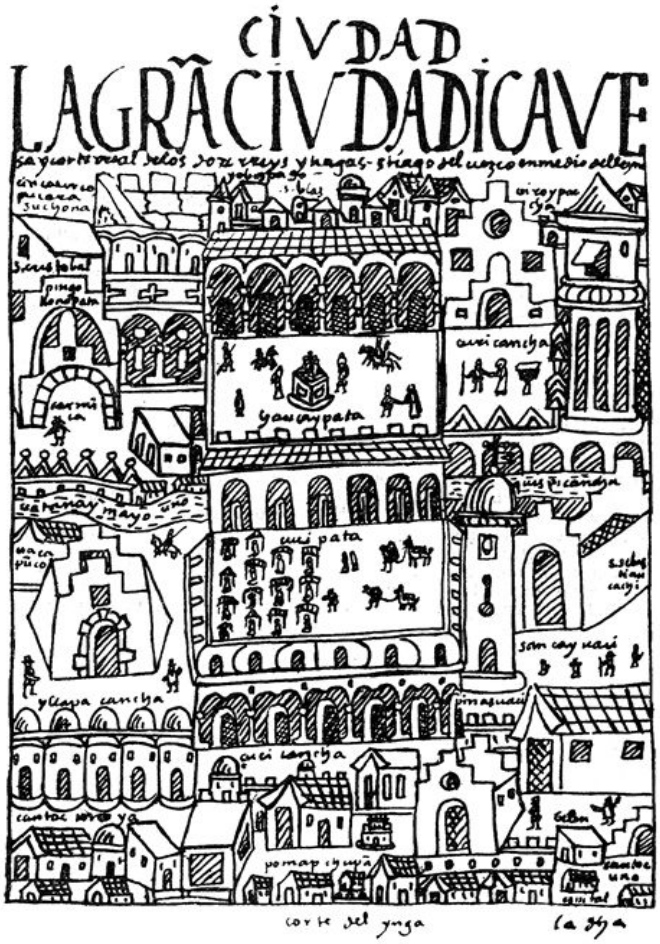

Figure 1-4 Drawing of Colonial Cusco's Central Plazas, by Guaman Poma de Ayala (c.1615): Housed in Denmark's Royal Library since the 1660s, the so-called Inca Chronicle, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno,* is a collection of hand-written text and nearly 400 illustrations. The work, addressed to the Spanish kind, Felipe III, represents an account of Andean history and proposals for the reform of colonial rule. Many of the drawings have been used, at times "uncritically," as a primary source by generations of scholars (Covey) and these continue to appear in historic and touristic literature, reproduced as a branding mechanism for hotels and on restaurant menus. In 2007, UNESCO added this archive to the Memory of the World Program.

physically and metaphorically. The "fortress" was intentionally ruined and reformatted two-dimensionally as a fictive European-themed castle, reminiscent of the image from Pedro Cieza de León's text. According to Dean, this was displayed on Cusco's coat of arms. Simultaneously, the site showcased the colonial present, while being promoted as the "signature ruins," of the Inca past (Dean 2011). As official ruins *Sacsayhuaman* represented Spanish dominion over the conquered *Tawantinsuyu*.

The treatment of the *Qoricancha* took a different turn. According to several accounts, when Spanish arrived to Cusco, the *Qoricancha* was filled with imperial treasure – much of the "finest gold and silver objects of the empire," including rooms of precious metals, a golden fountain, and a "great altar of gold." Because of its magnificence, it was "partially sacked" in 1533 in payment of a ransom that Francisco Pizarro orchestrated for the captive Inca ruler, Atahualpa (Bauer 2004:143). According to Bauer, numerous eyewitness accounts documented the stripping of massive quantities of this gold from the walls of the temple.

After the Conquest, the *Qoricancha* was "slowly transformed from the center of the Inca world to the focal point of a powerful Christian institution" as a Dominican church and monastery (Bauer 2004: 143). The construction of Santo Domingo eventually overtook and obscured the *Qoricancha*, visually colonizing and Hispanicizing the holiest of Inca sites. The process of sacking and desacralizing the opulent sanctuary illustrates how the Incaic built environment fueled and funded the military and religious coup of the city. This opened the urban landscape for ecclesial governance.

The religious orders of Dominicans, Franciscans, and Mercedarians arrived in Cusco in 1534, and the Augustinians disembarked in Lima the following year. The Jesuits, arriving decades later in 1571, were not part of the first wave of building and this would become important in the politics of rebuilding during the following century (Wethey 1949: 6, 57; Fraser 1992). In 1536, Cusco was established as a suffragan of the Archdiocese of Seville, the first diocese in South America outside the Caribbean region (arzobispadodelCusco.org; Schwaller 2011: 77). Cusco's transformation and its ecclesiastical centrality necessitated mining the enduring Inca landscape for the construction of new Spanish and Catholic monuments: The Cathedral, monasteries, and other infrastructural projects (Bauer 2004).

While some of the foundations and megaliths remained intact, many Inca sites, were pillaged or converted into quarries, evidenced by the disassembly of *Saqsaywamán*. The Spanish plundered iconic spaces for construction materials; finished Inca masonry was reused to build churches and private homes. One of the most striking examples was the removal of the sacred coastal sand that had carpeted the central Inca plaza (*Haucaypata*) [Figure 1-4]. This was emblematically crushed and reprocessed to mortar the expanding colonial city.

According to a manuscript written in 1571 by Polo de Ondegardo (cited in Bauer 2004), local sand was "poor and difficult to get," therefore the massive amounts of time and labor saved from the availability of this resource was significant. According to Bauer, the local response was far less favorable as the removal of the sand had a twin effect: emasculation of the populace while eradicating the "great reverence" that they had for their plaza (Bauer 2004: 112-113). In the 20th century, weakening the connection between Andean people and the Inca landscape, while undertaken with different motivations, was an aspect of some state-level projects aimed at promoting a national culture above a regional identity.

Besides the removal of the sacred sand, the main plaza was altered extensively in its ceremonial use and through the construction of new colonial buildings, which Polo de Ondegardo, the Corregidor (mayor) of Cusco, reduced by approximately 30 percent in 1559 in

order to start construction on the Cathedral. This church was one of the most significant urban changes on the east side of the plaza. The Cathedral was constructed over a space Garcilaso defined as the former location of the palace of the 8th Inca ruler, Viracocha. Although the Inca structure had burned in the siege of Cusco, it was demolished in the construction of the Cathedral (Bauer 2004: 112, 124). The construction of colonial buildings between the two halves of the main plaza represented another major intervention. Divorcing the *Huacaypata* from the *Cusipata*, this act created the Plaza de Armas from the former and converted the latter into the *Plaza de Regosijo* or the Plaza of Joy.

Figure 1-5 Cusco's Cathedral: La procesión entrando a la Catedral del Cusco. Anonymous. c. 1674-1685. Source: Museo Arzobispal del Cusco

Cusco's first Christian mass was held at the *Iglesia del Triunfo*, a church near the Cathedral on the southeast corner of the Plaza de Armas. Erected a few years after the Spanish arrived, this structure was dedicated to the victory over the forces of Manco Inca in 1536 (Kubler 1952:22; Bauer 2004: 214). The act of building and dedicating this church to a colonial "triumph" illustrated how the political subjugation and ideological conversion became embedded within the built environment. This church has retained its colonial name in the 21st century, which reiterates the powerful connection between architecture and the historical landscape.

As Spanish Cusco arose, the city and its populace were submersed in the service and culture of Catholicism. Yet, there was some agency for highland people. While indigenous participation in public performances was required – and intended to signify inclusion in the Christian world – the Inca-colonial landscape provided new spaces of syncretic meaning for an Andean-articulated colonial identity (Dean 1999, 2011; MacCormack 1991). Arriving in the Andes in the 1550s, the celebration of Corpus Christi coincided with the indigenous festival of *Inti Raymi*. Both festivals were held at approximately at the same time of year, around the June solstice, and exhibited similarities in dances, performances, and songs (see Polo de Ondegardo [1571] 1916: 21-22; see also Crider 1991 for the iconography and style of the Andean Baroque). The famous Cusco School of painting (*la esquela cuzqueña*) captured this blending of indigenous people and the Christian world through colonial-era festivals, such as the Corpus Christi [FIGURE 1-5]. These conditions can be further contextualized by Cusco's position in larger networks of Spanish America.

Towns of "New Spain:" Spanish Cusco and Colonial Lima

As Cusco was transformed into a landscape of Spanish rule and Roman Catholicism, the Andean region was drawn into the larger ideological projects of creating New Spain in the Americas. In South America, the transfer of Pizarro's seat of power from Jauja (*Xauxa*), in the Mantaro Valley highlands, to the newly established city of Lima, consolidated colonial rule on the central coast. This represented a geographical shift from imperial highland power to a coastal Viceroyalty, which instigated a series of unique conditions between Cusco and Lima that played out in the architectural development of both cities. The historical relationship between these two cities is a central feature of contemporary Peruvian identity politics.

Cusco and Lima were constructed by the very existence of each other. While they shared some characteristics, such as a sense of colonial urbanism and ecclesiastical architecture, they were also pulled apart by political struggle and racial-geographical differences. This was distinct from the process of establishing the North American Viceroyalty. In Mexico, this involved the destruction of the Aztec imperial capital in *Tenochtitlán* and the transformation of *Tepētzallāntli Mēxihco* into the *Valle de México*. As the sites of the North and South American Viceroyalties, Lima and Mexico City offer some comparable trajectories that were completely different from what happened in the Andes – this would be an interesting future study. The shared, yet different colonial treatments of Cusco, Lima, and Mexico City took on another layer of significance as part of Peruvian and Mexican independence movements and nation building in the 19th century.

Contextualizing Cusco's unique position as a Spanish-American town is important for understanding the city's changing built environment through its relationship with other colonial centers. This material is also foundational for discussing the conceptual development of historic cities and historical centers in Latin America as part of the World Heritage program. To accomplish this, comparative background with Lima and other colonial towns will be addressed briefly, starting with the foundation of colonial Lima, which was the basis of demarcating its contemporary Historic Center in the 1990s.

According to guidelines given to Francisco Pizarro by Charles V, Lima and its nearby harbor of Callao were established as the South American Viceroyalty and main port for Spanish commerce in the Pacific. The Book of the First City Council (*Libro Primero Cabildos de la Ciudad de Lima*) lists the names of Lima's first twelve settlers (including Pizarro) and gives a detailed account of the founding activities:

> "…as an act of founding the city, at the church to which the name of Our Lady of the Ascension is given by the governor and captain general of his Majesties [Pizarro], after indicating the city plan, made and ordered to be built above named church, to which effect he placed, with his own hands, the first stone and the first piece of wood in order to take possession for his Majesties of these kingdoms, of the sea and the land, and of future discoveries, after which he proceeded to give solares [sites] to the people with him…" (*Actas de la Fundacion de la Ciudad de Lima, Revista de las Espanos*, Madrid, cited in Crouch (1977: 260-261).

Mere months after installing Spanish Cusco, Pizarro presided over the founding of Lima, physically engaging with it as an imagined future space as he had in the Andes. While Cusco maintained its Inca grid, Lima was established in compliance with the Roman-influenced Laws of the Indies (*leyes de indias*), which date back to 1513. Lima's urban plan and "checkerboard" grid, created by Don Rodrigo de Aguero, was divided into 117 square blocks. The streets were divvied with a string that Pizarro was said to have held himself (Crouch 1977: 261).

As two early sites of colonial settlement, Lima's urban organization was foundational, while Cusco's was exceptional, in shaping Spanish directives. In other words, this was influential for the 148 Ordinances issued July 13, 1573 by Philip II, which dealt with "every" aspect of site selection, city planning, and political organization and bestowed a sense of architectural cohesion and urban regulation to the towns of New Spain. According to some historians, these are the most complete set of instructions ever issued to serve as a guideline for the founding and building of towns in the Americas, and perhaps, the most effective planning documents in human history.

By the time the Ordinances were issued in 1573, there were at least 200 colonial towns in the expanding Spanish-American empire; Cusco and Lima had joined two other colonial centers with papal-sanctioned ecclesiastical rule – Mexico City and Quito. Many of these early colonial towns had incorporated the previous sets of royal instructions in the application of the basic grid with a central plaza and Spanish-American architecture (Crouch 1977: 259; Wethey 1949:22). Although the town ordinances established a colonial sense of place, Cusco, as mentioned previously, maintained much of its Incaic grid plan and it "never relinquished the memories of the past." In other words, Inca-ness continued to be an integral component of the city's self-fashioned identity (Wethey 1949:22; Bauer 2004). Because of this, the highland city held prestige by virtue of antiquity: it was the "first city" of Peru (Dean 1999: 24). This self-constructed importance would continue in the following centuries, often in resistance to the rule of Lima.

Despite their differences, Cusco and Lima can be compared through similar developments in their colonial architecture, which are part of larger Ibero-American influences. The cathedrals in both cities, nearly identical in plan and comparable through several other features, were designed by the same Spanish architect, Francisco Becerra, who traveled to Peru after a career in Mexico (Wethey 1949:7, 43, and described in the chapters on Lima and Cusco). While their rectangular plans followed the Cathedral of Seville – which was based on a mosque, the architectural influence flowed both directions. The Jaén Cathedral (1540) has been identified as the "direct prototype" of Cusco and Lima's plans and proportions (Wethey 1949: 43). These architectural icons demonstrate the cultural networks between Cusco, Lima, and Mexico, as well as the development of architectural styles in Spain.

The influence between Cusco and Lima extended beyond the cathedrals with a rebuilding of Lima after an earthquake in 1619. This event influenced building technologies in Cusco, evidenced by the city's use of red brick vaulted ceilings like Lima's rather than indigenous ashlar (Wethey 12-14). While both cities were organized spatially by colonial law, their residential

architecture inherited Spain's "exotic Orientalism" visible in courtyard-style houses. This feature has been defined by many art and architectural historians as characterizing gendered space. In this way, socio-cultural customs surrounding the seclusion of women defined domestic life. In Lima, "Cairo" balconies illustrated the "Islamic" or Moorish style, known as *Mudéjar*, that was prevalent in Andalusia cities, particularly Seville. The traditional Mediterranean-style courtyard house distinguished Spanish American towns despite the cold in highlands cities such as Cusco (Wethey 1949: 11-12, 22-23). These balconies and this aesthetic has been identified as one of the central aesthetic features of Lima's historic center in the 20th century, described in Chapter Four.

As a town of New Spain, Cusco was incorporated into an Ibero-American hierarchy, manifested through elements of the built environment and through the development of institutions: the Church, state, and legal infrastructures. In Spanish America, the intellectual life flowered in the North and South American viceroyalties, and extended from there to the other colonial centers. With the rise of Lima, Andean influence was substantially diminished, provincialized, and marginalized. While Imperial Cusco had been a pre-Conquest mecca of ideological production and religious pilgrimage, colonial Lima attracted and trained the educated elite with the first university in the Americas.

The National University of San Marcos (*Universidad Nacional Mayor de San Marcos* – UNSAAC) was founded May 12, 1551 by royal decree from Charles V, and located about five miles west of the Plaza Mayor, between the colonial center and the Port of Callao. Likewise, the Royal and Pontifical University of Mexico (*Real y Pontificia Universidad de México)* was also chartered in 1551 by royal decree, on September 21, becoming the first university in North America and second oldest in the Americas. Cusco, however, did not receive its university until over a century later with the 1692 founding of the National University of Saint Anthony of the Abbot (*Universidad Nacional de San Antonio Abad del Cusco - UNSAAC*). This was authorized by King Charles II of Spain. In the 20th century, Cusco's university would play a major role in promoting regional archaeology and Andean culture.

1650 Earthquake and the "Golden Age"

By the mid 17th century, Spanish Cusco had been developing for over a century. As a colonial town, it had been destroyed by fire, and converted ideologically and architecturally. The next dramatic transformation of Cusco's built environment arrived in the form of a natural disaster. This can be contextualized through an idea that undergirds the Andean worldview. In the Andes, the significance of apocalyptic change is encapsulated by a Quechua term: *pachacuti*. This concept attempts to explain how and why various forms of time, meaning, and power come to be upset and overturned.

First recorded in the Spanish chronicles, the term *pachacuti* is derived from the Quechua *pacha* (world, time and space, or state of being) and *cuti* (change, turn, or order reversal) (Urton 1999: 40-44, 73). The *pachacuti* concept signified and predicted new epochs forged through chaos, whether actual or mythical, positive or negative. The *pachacuti* event was understood to instigate a new social and political order, whether past, present, or future (Flores Galindo 2010, 22; MacCormack 1988, 961-968). Sarmiento used this term to describe a great flood, *uñu pachacuti*, water that overturns the land (1907: 29 [1572]). This concept offers additional significance for the Inca ruler, Pachacuti, who was a monumental builder, cultural hero, and "over-turner of earth" (Bauer and Smit 2015). Important for this section is the relationship of the *pachacuti* construct to earthquakes, which are frequent in the Andes (MacCormack 1988). With some irony, *Pachacuti* constructed Imperial Cusco and the Spanish destroyed it; Colonial Cusco was disrupted by natural disaster, an Andean *pachacuti*.

Figure 1-6 ***The Monroy Panorama*****.** Overlooking Cusco's cathedral and central plazas (facing southwest), this representation of the city was painted soon after the "great earthquake" of 1650, and was commissioned by Don Alonso Cortés.

On March 3l, 1650, an earthquake, followed by several days of aftershocks destroyed nearly all of colonial Cusco (Ericksen 1954, 98, citing Polo 1904; see also Bauer 2004).

> Thursday March 31, 1650, after the fourth Sunday of Lent, the moon being in conjunction…with the sign of Aries, between two and three in the afternoon, the day clear with some white and porous clouds, there occurred in this great city of Cuzco and her provinces an earthquake, the most formidable which has yet to be experienced in these parts. (*Anales del Cuzco* 1600 á 1750:98).

According to local legend, the tremors were placated only after the terrified Cusqueños emerged in a procession from the Cathedral bearing the statue, Our Christ of the Earthquakes (*El Señior de los Temblores* or in Quechua, *Taytacha Temblores*), which later became Cusco's patron saint (Crider 1991; see also Espinoza 1991). The damage was immense, ruining most of the 16th century construction. The major colonial buildings in the city were severely damaged. Only a few churches, including the new cathedral on the Plaza de Armas, escaped destruction (Wethey 1949). The *Anales del Cuzco* noted this event and the commissioning of a painting by Don Alonso Cortés Monroy, which was hung in the cathedral to commemorate the unfortunate event (*Anales del Cuzco*1600 á 1750 p. 98; see also Fuentes 1905: 170; Bauer 2004; Wethey 1949; Kubler 1952) [Figure 1-6].

The Monroy Panorama depicts a post-apocalyptic vision of Cusco, peering across the city to the southwest from a god-like view above the exterior side of Cusco's cathedral. The city's central plazas are depicted in the center of the painting; the Plaza de Armas, Regocijo, and San Francisco, framed by the heavily damaged terracotta rooftops of the surrounding structures. Outside of the plazas and on the left side of the image, there are fires and smoke. Despite this devastation, colonial Peru was still at its apex. As the city was rebuilt, a "phoenix-like" and "more magnificent" Cusco arose over the surviving Inca stone foundations (Wethey 1949,16-17; Fraser 1990, 1992; UNESCO 1981, 89-96). It is significant to note here that an image of the Monroy Panorama was selected by art historian George Kubler as the frontispiece for UNESCO's post-earthquake mission to Cusco in 1951.

A number of projects, which were supported locally by various sects of the Catholic Church, defined the reconstruction of the city. This has been described in great detail by art historians Wethey and Fraser, with a focus on the architectural details and the materiality of the majestic Cathedral. The development of the city during this time was directly influenced by Church politics, the availability of urban land, and the power of the monasteries of the leading religious orders, mentioned previously. Redeveloping the ruined urban landscape was a prospect that was not overlooked by Cusco's Bishop, Manuel de Mollinedo. According to Wethey, he was "the greatest single patron ever known in colonial Peru," credited with the rebuilding of the city after the earthquake (1949:5).

Although the Jesuits had not acquired the prime urban land that was distributed in the 1530s, they made use of the disaster as a strategic opening to build on the central Plaza de Armas. They chose the symbolic site of the former Inca palace of *Huayna Capac*, mentioned by Sancho in 1534, to erect their new church, La Compañia (Fraser 1992). Besides the cathedral and the Jesuit church, a number of reconstructed and new buildings located around or within a few blocks of the Plaza de Armas redefined the city aesthetically (Wethey (1949:39). Several other churches were constructed or heavily renovated at this time: Santo Domingo, Bélen, and San Blas. This era of construction characterized everyday life in the city, and this "golden age" continued to define Cusco architecturally through the succeeding three centuries until the next major earthquake in 1950.

Figure 1-7 The Church of La Compañia, Cusco, c. 1760. Set in the Plaza de Armas, this painting depicts the marriages of Beatriz Ñusta with Martín de Loyola and Lorenza Loyola with Juan Borja. According to Fraser (1990), this painting depicts two rather different unions that demonstrate Jesuit claims to temporal as well as spiritual ascendancy in Cusco – Jesuit and Inca dynasties, and that of the houses of the two great Jesuit founder-saints, Francisco de Borja and Ignatius Loyola. By this date these claims were also supported visually by their magnificent, newly completed church, constructed on Inca foundations, its facade made up of a succession of emphatic, triumphant arches. Source: Phipps 2004: 31.

With the passage of time, Peruvian cities and towns became the foci of patriotism and belonging (MacCormack 2007: 106). In the latter part of the 17th century, post-earthquake Cusco emerged as a civil and religious administrative center, the largest regional city in the viceroyalty, and home to the elite in a "comparatively wealthy" province. Because it was located about halfway on the overland route between Lima and Potosí, the city also functioned as an important commercial hub with a healthy arts industry (Gibbs 1979, 8-12; Crider 1991). Despite these changes, its highland citizens nostalgically described Cusco as "the old capital" of the Inca state of *Tawantinsuyu* and frequently glorified the city as "the capital of Peru" (Fraser 1992: 22) [Figure 1-7]. This is another example of the self-constructed importance of the city its place-based identity. It also reiterates Dean's point surrounding the way Cusco's prestige by virtue of antiquity, as Peru's "first city" (Dean 1999: 24).

While the dwindling material culture of the Incas had been repurposed or neglected, talk of Cusco's past was commonplace and conceptually linked Inca royalty to the power of the Spanish nobility (Bauer 2004; Fraser 1992; Wethey 1949). MacCormack saw this as an Ibero-Andean sense of "*patria.*" Bringing back the notion of Mediterranean roots in Spanish worldviews, she described this as a syncretic construct where, *Tawantinsuyu* signified a nostalgic sense of home for its Andean people in Spanish times: "just as it had been in the 'time of the Inca'" (MacCormack 2007: 25-26). This, according to MacCormack, "conditioned what the past could mean to the present, and what one might understand the history of one's *patria* to be: whether it was remembered, narrated in prose, recited in verse and song, or written down in books." It would be interesting to consider with more depth the possible roles of *Tawantinsuyu*

and MacCormack's understanding of Andean *patria* through the late 18th century indigenous revolts which signified the beginning of an "Andean postcolonial" (Poole 1997; Mallon 1995).

Although there has been very little written about the construction of new architecture or major urban changes in the 18th century, this era was also defined by the Inca past. Imperial Cusco was not a lived reality, yet utopian constructions of *Tawantinsuyu* as an era of harmony, justice, and prosperity influenced political movements in the Andean highlands. As a site of Andean mobilization, Cusco was seen as an alternative to colonial rule and the domination of Lima as a grand yet ambiguous space of "proto-nationalism." This idea contained various degrees of "Incanness" which included both an Andean-based nationalism and Creole nationalism (Flores Galindo 2010; Walker 1999). During this time, ideological and place-based connections to the Inca past became increasingly significant and more violent, especially later in the 18th century when South American regions struggled for independence from Spanish rule. The Bourbon Reforms in the mid 18th century led to revolts such as the Rebellion of Túpac Amaru II, a precursor to the coming wars of independence (see Méndez 1996: 220, for how this produced Creole fear of indigenous people).

At this time, utopian visions were articulated as an adjustment to Spanish colonization that swayed popular consciousness. This version of the Andean past required an Inca presence (Flores 2010). Later this would reinforce the competing roles in both state and regionally produced visions of Cusco. Alberto Flores Galindo proposed that the Túpac Amaru rebellion in 1780 was the most ambitious attempt to convert *Tawantinsuyu* into a political platform. He argued, somewhat romantically, that, had it succeeded, Cusco would be the capital of Peru, the Andes would dominate over the coast, "rulers would descend from the colonial indigenous aristocracy, and neither the Indians nor their culture would have faced discrimination" (Walker 2010: 80). Historian Charles Walker has argued that during this period, notions of the Inca Empire were employed for myriad economic and political purposes: even the state used the Incas to justify its own project (1999: 20). Positioning Cusco at the center of independence from Spain, the Andean past can be seen as an emergent icon of national identity that looked back in time to *Tawantinsuyu* (see Méndez 1996: 219).

PART THREE: From Rome of the Andes to Archaeological Capital of South America

With movements for national independence and the subsequent emergence of modern states, the conditions of the colonized "Americas" and their relationship with the rest of the world were forever altered. Impacted by a series of geopolitical shifts which reconfigured European power and geopolitical affiliations, these processes coincided with and influenced the formation of European modernity and nationalism (Anderson 2006; Hobsbawm 1983; Mallon 1995; Pratt 1992; Poole 1997). In North America, the United States' declaration of sovereignty in the late 18th century was a defining precedent for Latin American independence during the following century.

The context for this is rooted in the Napoleonic Wars (1803-1815), which underwrote the destabilization and breakup of the Spanish Empire. These large-scale events contributed to the growing sentiment of American solidarity as most of Spain's American colonies waged wars for independence. Significantly, these began in the Andes, in 1809, with rebellions in Sucre, Bolivia and Quito, Ecuador. By the end of the 1820s, many of the Latin American colonies had claimed sovereignty and were shielded under early non-intervention policies. The U.S. Monroe Doctrine

(1823), in particular, maintained that the Americas were no longer subject to colonization by European countries.

Writing exactly one century after the earliest South American revolts, Chilean professor of International Law, Manuel Alejandro Álvarez Jofré, proposed that the entry of Latin America into the "community of nations" was "one of the most important facts in the history of civilization." He argued that this event should be seen as critical, not only in the development of International Law, but also for the emergence of two distinct sentiments that shaped "New World" American unity.

On the one hand, the solidarity that the United States expressed with Latin American independence, paired with the common cause of preventing European oppression, began to develop as a policy of Anglo-Saxon hegemony on the North American continent. This was legitimized by Latin American nations, which saw the political institutions of the U.S. as the "most suited to nations recently freed from the yoke of the mother country." On the other hand, there was a desire for political unity between Latin American states that could protect them from European intervention or re-conquest. The conditions that Álvarez described directly influenced the relationships between Latin American nations and the international policies and cultural projects of the 20th century. In the Americas, this played out through "inter-American friendship" and on a larger international scale, through the post-war programs of the League of Nations and the United Nations.

These post-colonial political changes, however, brought the inevitable consequences of civil wars, dictatorships, and "constant modifications of the fundamental ordinances of those countries in the first period of their independence" (Álvarez 1909: 271-273). This made articulating an official history and building unity a critical project at this time. However, this occurred under the varying conditions that had shaped the colonial experiences in Latin America: by the subjugation of societies and territories and by colonial authorities' perception of these conditions. Concurrently, the production of "the past" created, in juxtaposition, a "present" and "future," which contributed to the unique characteristics of Latin American nation formation in 19th century (see Mignolo 2000; Bortoluci 2013).

In Peru and Mexico, the relationship of pre-Hispanic American empires to a national present characterized the historical development of intellectual discourse and political hegemony. In other words, the legacies of the Conquest, especially the treatment of the former imperial capitals, had profound impacts on the modern ideological constructions of Peruvian and Mexican timelines. Some of this was explained in the previous section, through the colonial relationships between the cities of Cusco, Lima, and Mexico City. However, there is another part of the story, which arrived with the development of archaeology. This provided material evidence of a deeper past.

A number of authors have identified the political connections between archaeology, nationalism, and the construction of national identities in post-colonial states (e.g. Kohl et al 2008; Kohl and Fawcett 1996; and Diaz-Andreu and Champion 1996). Writing on these conditions in Latin America, Thomas Patterson argued that Mexican and Peruvian archaeologists relied on different analytical categories to inform their rehabilitations of the ancient societies. In North and South America, these models provided dissimilar understandings of how the national present came to be and why it is structured the way it is (Patterson 1996: 501).

This is exemplified by the construction of a grand Mexican "civilization," which was influenced by enlightenment discourse and grounded by centuries of rule in the Valley of Mexico. This included Teotihuacan, Tenochtitlan, and the colonial Viceroyalty, as antecedents to

the establishment of the federal capital. Peruvian "culture," however, was rooted in romanticism and articulated through regional difference (Patterson 1996: 501). The latter was a direct result of the colonial rule of Lima and its dominant role in Peruvian governance, as well as the persistence of a utopian *Tawantinsuyu*, the Incas, and the city of Cusco, as regionally-based icons of the imperial past.

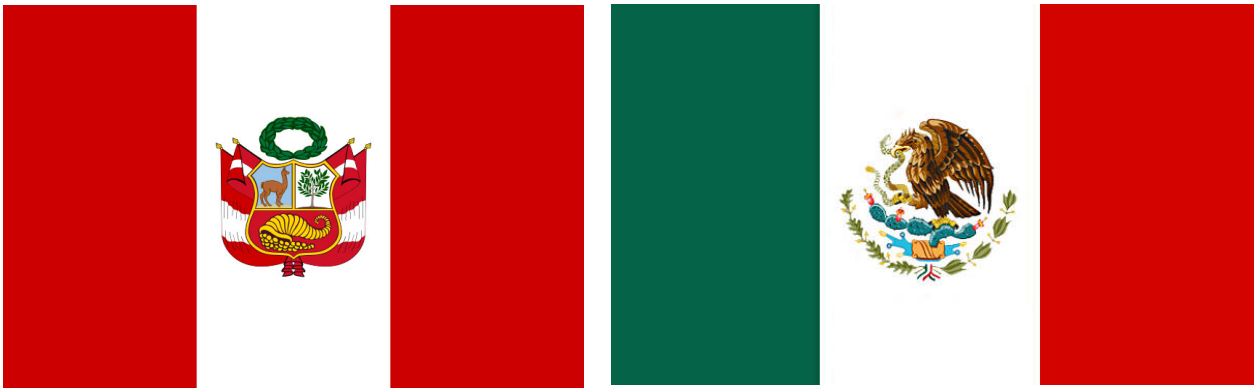

Figure 1-8 National Flags of Mexico (left) and Peru (right)

After claiming independence in 1821, both nations launched large-scale projects to legitimize their sovereignty and build national identity. In the earliest days of the Peruvian and Mexican republics, their ideological distinctions were visible in the iconic designs of the national coats of arms and on each nation's flag. The Mexican coat of arms and flag were based on the legendary founding of the Aztec city, *Tenochtitlan*: an eagle holding a serpent, perched on top of a prickly pear cactus [Figure 1-8]. This signified the ongoing centrality of rule in the Mexican capital city while invoking trappings of a pre-Hispanic past.

In contrast, Peru's coat of arms and flag indicated three separate geographical zones, with icons that characterized and divided cultural and racial differences: The Andean vicuña, the Amazonian cinchona tree, and a golden cornucopia of coins, suggesting the role of commerce on the Peruvian coast [Figure 1-8]. While the flag presented three Peruvian regions, selecting *Tawantinsuyu* and the Incas to represent national history granted enormous privilege to the Andes. In the following century, this prestige became even more pronounced through regional archaeological discoveries. These provided cultural material for national museums in Lima.

In the mid-late 19th century, travel writing of early explorers, early histories of the Incas, and numerous archaeological ventures fueled Peruvian national culture. International interest surrounding the Incas swelled after the publication of William Prescott's *History of the Conquest of Peru* (1847). As a result, Cusco was transformed into a "mecca" for nineteenth-century explorers and archaeologists, who generated descriptions, maps, photographs, and illustrations of architecture, imperial artifacts, and people (Bauer 2004). Ephraim George Squier, one of the most celebrated explorers of the Andes, visited Cusco in 1865 and later published a series of site maps and photographs in a *magnus opus* on monumental architecture entitled, *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (Bauer 2004, 7-9). His illustrated articles, published in Harper's New Monthly Magazine between April and August 1868 (Barnhart 2005, 244), likely sparked further interest in the Andes for other archaeologists and Peruvian researchers [Figures 1-9, 1-10, 1-11].

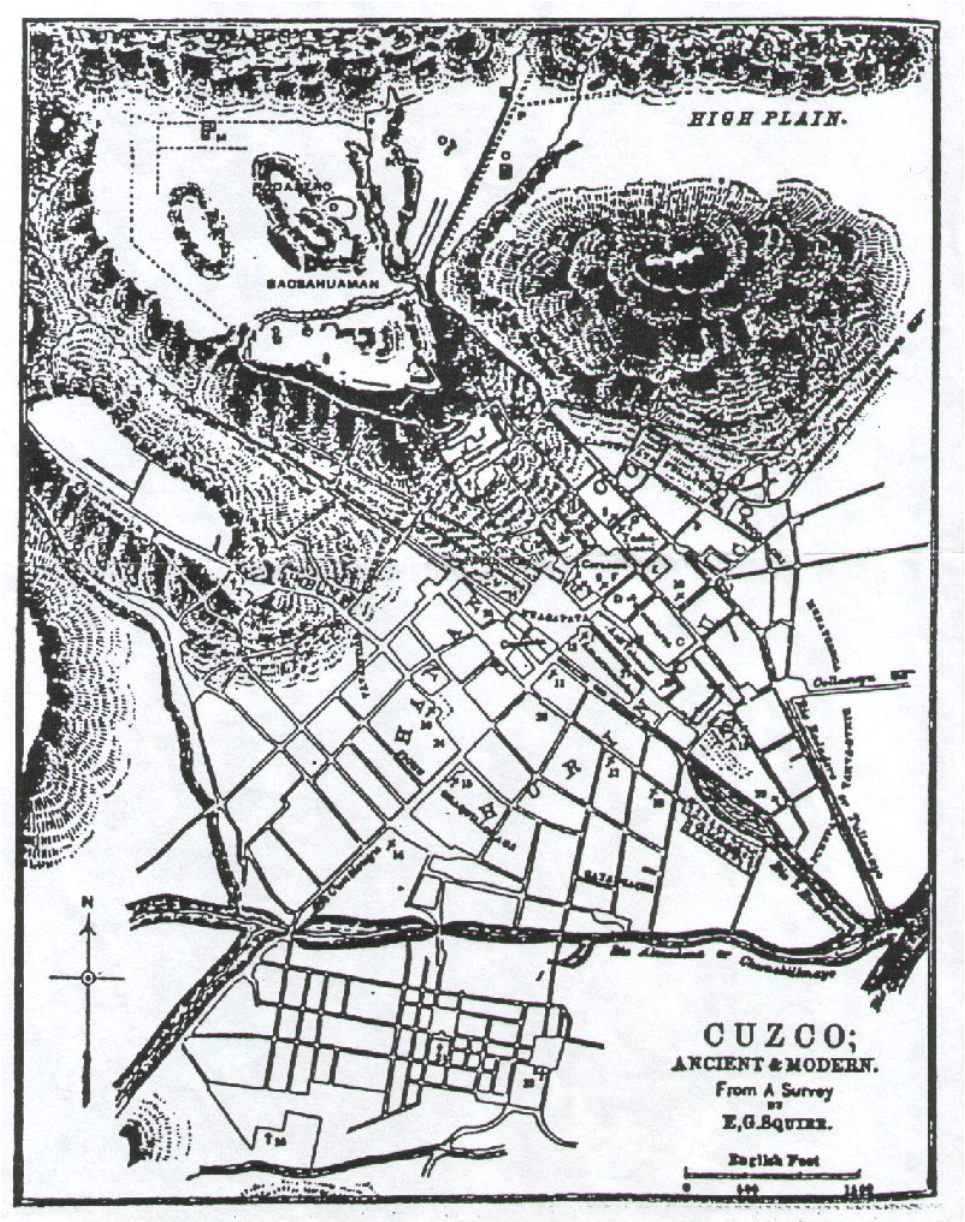

Figure 1-9 Cuzco: Ancient and Modern, survey map by E. George Squire.

Following Squier's lead, Swiss-born American archaeologist, Adolph Bandelier, and German archaeologist, Max Uhle engaged in the earliest research to clarify the overall regional chronology. Uhle has been credited with building and curating the Peruvian museum collections in Lima (Rowe 1954). However, the work of foreign scholars and national archaeologists reflected clashes in methodologies, competition to define the field, and a vast web of international affiliations. Many were connected with academic institutions in the United States. These relationships played significant and conflicting roles in the intellectual construction of the national past, which is highlighted by influences and struggles of two archaeologists, Uhle and Julio César Tello, a highland-born and Harvard-educated Peruvian.

Both men were involved in the formation of several museums in Lima and, at various times, they headed Peru's National Archaeological Museum. Both Uhle and Tello have been awarded the illustrious title, "Father of Peruvian Archaeology" (for Uhle, see Rowe 1954; for Tello, see Burger 2009). Uhle was sponsored by institutions such as the American Exploration Society in Philadelphia and the University of California in Berkeley, through the patronage of American philanthropist, Phoebe Hearst. Employing principles of stratigraphy and seriation, his collections were arranged and catalogued by site and association to facilitate teaching students. Tello rearranged Uhle's material on multiple occasions. Revealing the long-term perspectives that carried over into the next generation of Peruvian archeology, John Rowe, who took up Uhle's collection at Berkeley, noted that this reflected Tello's "somewhat mystical ideas of style," for the purpose of legitimizing his theories on Peruvian prehistory (Rowe 1954: 1, 24).

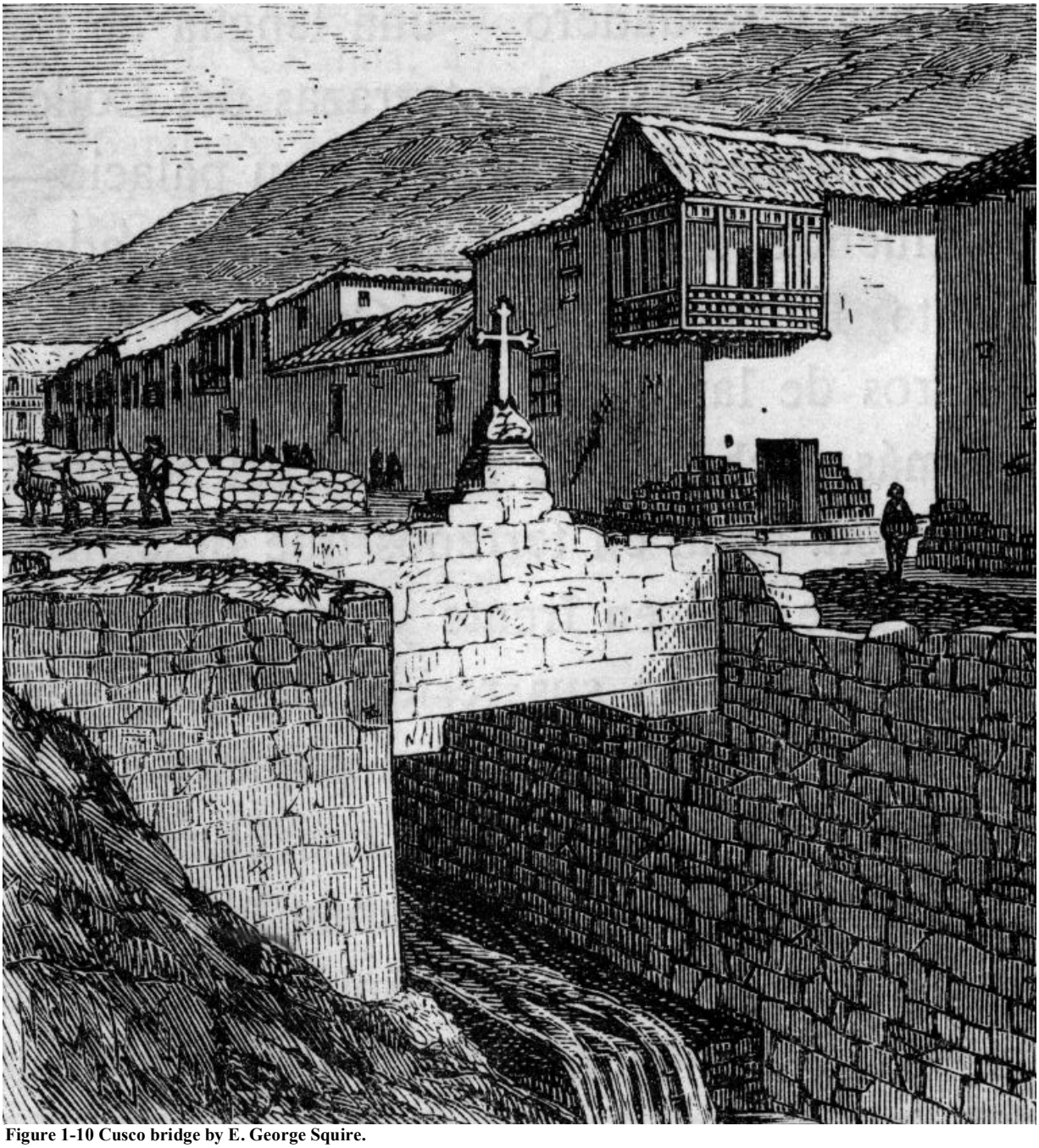

Figure 1-10 Cusco bridge by E. George Squire.

International travelers and the work of many archaeologists contributed to identifying Peru's monuments and establishing public cultural administration in Peru. The enactment of the *Patronato*, Law 6634 (*la ley No6634*) and the creation of the National Board of Archaeology in 1929, by Tello, formalized this (see Burger 2009).

Located in Lima, The National Board of Archeology was created for the protection and conservation of the historical monuments, antiques and works of art. This agency focused on the pre-Hispanic period (Article 13), which explains the awarding of special privileges to only one city outside the national capital: Cusco. In addition to the establishment of Cusco's Department

of Archaeological Patronage, the Law granted decision-making power to Cusco's most elite citizens: The President of the Superior Court of Judicial District, who presided over this group, the Rector of the University, the Illustrious Bishop of the Diocese, the President of the Historical Institute, and the Mayor of the Provincial Council (Article 14). These individuals represented the legal, intellectual, and religious leadership of the city.

The establishment of the *Patronato* exemplifies how Peru's path to national sovereignty depended on two cities to share the historical trajectory from the imperial past to the national present. As Peru's capital, Lima, continued to operate as the center of governance, where the concentration of wealth created a perception of economic mobility and cosmopolitanism. Cusco and *Tawantinsuyu* represented the Andean "cradle" of Peruvian culture (de la Cadena 2000: 154-153). This relationship set off a new round of identity politics and competition between the coast and the Andes.

The early promotion of Cusco's unique ancient built environment positioned the city at the intersections of the national past, notions of regional culture and racial difference, and the ways these constructs could be translated into Peruvian culture. The relationship between the national and cultural capitals of Peru supports Patterson's further argument: the use of culture, rather than the notion of civilization, unlinks the nation from the state. This helps to explain the complicated relationship with regional culture and identity, Peruvian citizenship, and national institutions, which will be discussed in the following chapters.

In the early 20th century, the issue of the colonial origins of Peru's regional identity politics and the urban-geographic histories of Cusco, Lima, and Mexico City were reflected writings of the Peruvian political philosopher, José Carlos Mariátegui La Chira (1928: 180-181). His *Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality* (*Siete Ensayos de Interpretación de la Realidad Peruana*) exemplified these conditions through topics such as, Economic Evolution; "The Problem of the Indian;" The Problem of Land; and Regionalism and Centralism. In Essay Six, entitled, *Regionalism and Centralism*, he argued that "it is difficult to define the limits of regions historically existing in Peru as such. The departments originated in the artificial intendencias [departments] of the viceroyalty. They therefore have no tradition or reality derived from the Peruvian people and their history."

Likewise, in his book, *Por la Emancipation de American Latina* (pp. 90-91), Mariátegui recognized the differences within state-narrated cultural uniformity in Mexico and the struggle between the "real" and more profound Peru, represented by Cusco in its contrast with coastal Lima. This is reiterated here in Mariátegui's quotation of Peruvian politician Víctor Raúl Haya de la Torre:

> In Mexico, the races have mixed together and the new capital was built in the same place as the old. Mexico City and all of the country's large cities are located in the heart of the country, in the mountains, on the high plateaus that are crowned with volcanoes. The tropical coast serves for communication with the sea. The conquistador in Mexico fused with the Indian, became one with him in the very heart of his sierras, and forged a race which, though not absolutely a race in the strict sense of the word, is one nevertheless because of the homogeneity of its customs, the tendency toward a complete mingling of blood, and the continuity, without violent solutions, of the national ambience. That never happened in Peru. Indigenous, mountain Peru, the real Peru, lay beyond the western Andes. The old national cities—Cuzco, Cajamarca, et cetera—were disregarded. New and Spanish cities were built on the tropical coast where it never rains, where there are no changes of temperature, where that sensual, Andalusian atmosphere of our gay and submissive capital could develop.

The archaeological frameworks of Mexican civilization and Peruvian culture were translated through state-level political dominion, hegemony, and public culture. While the "more

stable" Mexican state incorporated parts of various popular agendas, and mobilized a national mestizo culture under state patronage, the Peruvian state marginalized and repressed regionally based peoples and their agendas. These conditions are at the heart of regional and national politics, and the late 1960s, this formed the basis of the "cultural revolution," which employed Mariátegui's claims to launch the National Institute of Culture in the second half of the 20th century.

Even as the importance of the Incas returned, indigenous people and "Indian cultures" were labeled as the "Indian stain," which was seen as an impediment to national unification and progress (Mariátegui 1971 [1928]: 22-37; Sáenz 1939 – for an example of regional cultural differences in Mexico; Patterson 1996: 499-500; Mallon 1995: 311-317). Reinforcing the regional differences and the rule of Lima, this produced a paradoxical state philosophy of "*Inca sí, Indios no*," which required the presence of *Tawantinsuyu* without the burden of its highland descendants (Méndez 1996: 199-218). While state narratives and archaeological scholarship partnered to build an "imagined community" of mestizaje citizenship, the Andean people continued to push back and reformulate their past discursively so as to contend with their Peruvian present (MacCormack 1988, 1006). The city of Cusco was the place where much of this converged. As a tangible, ideological, and temporal link between the young nation and the ancient region, Cusco's historic landscape embodied pre-Hispanic legends, Peruvian power, and Andean identity politics.

The City of Cusco in the Early 20th Century

At the beginning of the 20th century, Cusco continued to operate as the civic, cultural, and economic center of the region. Its urban aesthetic was maintained through a mixture of imperial structures, which had weathered the Conquest, and the colonial architecture that had towered over Cusco's ancient streets since the 17th century. The city continued to be defined physically by its Inca-colonial core. This stretched out along an axis between the Plaza de Armas and the *pumac chupan* or "tail" of the puma, where the city's waterways converged. In the early 20th century, traces of the Inca city were perceptible in sections of the Inca grid, and in the foundations and palace walls around the Plaza de Armas. The curved wall of the *Qoricancha*'s Sun Temple continued to exemplify these conditions. Squier documented this building in 1877, which, at that time, was visible beneath the Church of Santo Domingo [Figure 1-11].

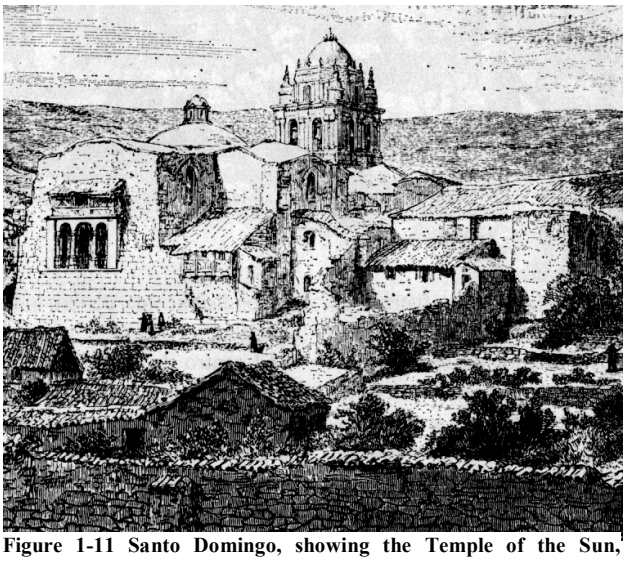

Figure 1-11 Santo Domingo, showing the Temple of the Sun, formerly part of the Qoricancha complex, by E. George Squire.

Architecturally, the Cathedral and other colonial churches dominated Cusco with their imposing Baroque towers [Figure 1-12]. *Casonas*, or courtyard homes with terra cotta tile roofs were sprinkled throughout the city along with newer adobe and sun-dried clay brick construction (Kubler 1952). Writing in the 1940s, art historian Harold Wethey suggested that Cusco could be compared with Florence's Renaissance palaces. This was based on the city's exquisite stonework and architectural uniformity, which Wethey described as unique from the adobe and wood

construction found in colonial Lima and other coastal cities during this time. Despite its enduring landscape, the intensification of archaeological ventures, foreign scholarship, and a sense of modernity were creeping in and permeating the old Andean city, rewriting its spaces. The atmosphere was shifting, shaped by efforts to modernize institutions and the built environment, the rediscovery of Machu Picchu, Cusco-centric and state-sponsored performances of the Incaic past, and the collective contributions these made to a rising economy of cultural tourism.

Albert Giesecke, a U.S. citizen and Cornell-trained scholar, greatly influenced Cusco's infrastructure, cultural development, and its intellectual life. In 1910, Peruvian president, Augusto Leguía invited Giesecke to serve as Rector of the National University of Cusco

Figure 1-12 Plaza de Armas, showing the cathedral on the left and La Compañia de Jesus on the right, by Martin Chambi

(UNSAAC) and revitalize the colonial-era university as a modern institution. Focusing on promoting the local aspects of the region's past, present, and future, he initiated a geographical society, an academy for the indigenous Quechua language, and opened admission to female students. Actively engaged with Cusco's municipal council from 1912-1923, Giesecke went on to become Cusco's mayor and he contributed gratuitously through this civic service to updating and enhancing urban infrastructure, especially the city's public hygiene – which he personally supervised.

Some of these improvements included the establishment of a modern and permanent urban marketplace, Mercado Frisancho, presently known as Mercado San Pedro (see Alvarez thesis), and paving the dirt streets with cobblestones. He was also involved with planning a landing field that was the forerunner of the Cusco airport and the construction of a service road to Sacsayhuaman. The latter was an effort to prevent the further illegal removal of Inca stone for private construction – an ongoing practice since the mid 16th century. Giesecke's level of

engagement extended beyond the city, where he supported Andean archaeology and organization of archaeological museums in both Cusco and Lima (Gade 2006).

During Giesecke's tenure in the city, the southern Andean region was a fertile ground for exploration and international scholarship, particularly for Hiram Bingham, from Yale University. First drawn to Cusco by the ruins and the history, and later for broader "scientific" research, Bingham's three archaeological expeditions (1911-1916) culminated in the rediscovery of Machu Picchu. This was the "great turning point" for Cusco archaeology (Bauer 2004: 9), touted by the New York Times in 1913 as "the greatest archaeological discovery of the age" (June 15, 1913). In the article, the New York Times quoted Bingham's declaration that Machu Picchu was "*rivaled only by the celebrated ruins of Cuzco*" [Figure 1-13]. These endeavors brought increased visibility to Cusco as Bingham employed the city as his staging ground for the initial phase of his expedition, and organized supplies and local contacts, such as Giesecke.

Stimulated by international visitors and the governmental officials who were interested in archaeology and exploiting Cusco's touristic potential, tourism in the 1920s became an economic

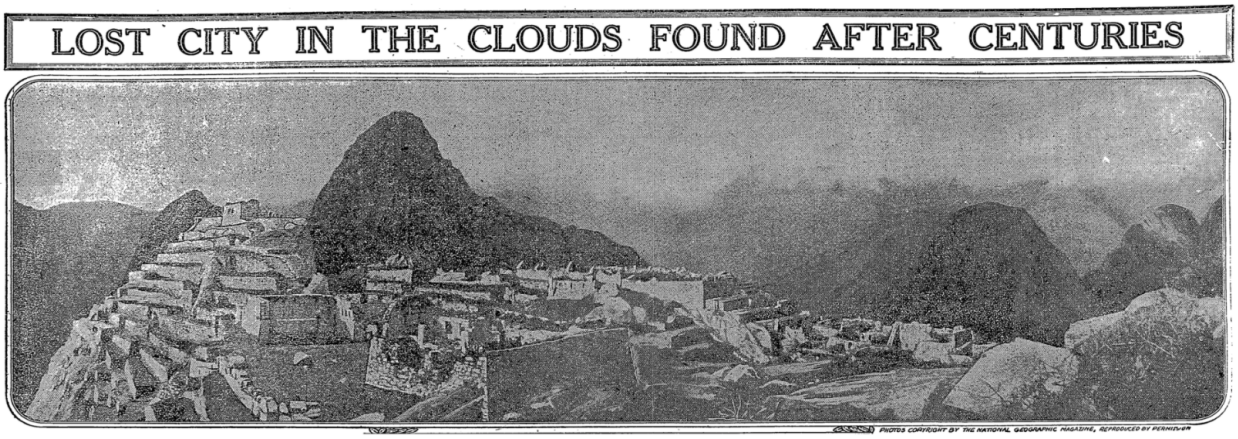
LOST CITY IN THE CLOUDS FOUND AFTER CENTURIES

Figure 2-13 Panorama of Machu Picchu, Peru. Published by the New York Times, June 15, 1913, with photos from the National Geographic Society and Yale University.

and cultural activity (de la Cadena 2000: 139). In 1924, Giesecke, a pioneer in promoting pre-Hispanic tourism in the Andes, published the first tourist guide to the Department of Cusco. Legitimized by archaeological scholarship and national projects, this growing industry promoted Machu Picchu, Cusco, and the Andean "past" through globally disseminated guidebooks, postcards, and travel images (Bauer 2004, 9; de la Cadena 2000, 72).

As a spectacular "find," Machu Picchu and other ancient Peruvian monuments showcased Cusco as the "gateway" to the "lost city of the Incas." This symbiotic partnership between the imperial capital and its "lost city," would be of critical importance in establishing a future economy of cultural tourism in the southern Andes. At the end of the 20th century, this relationship would be cemented through the simultaneous state nominations of the city of Cusco and Machu Picchu as Peru's first two sites of World Heritage: this is where that story began.

Even as archaeology and tourism were shaping the city, Cusco functioned as an integral backdrop for Andean-produced history, highland culture, and Cusqueño intellectualism. This was where modern Andean identity was invented, experienced, and performed (Poole 1997) [Figure 1-14]. With *Tawantinsuyu* as the national past, Cusqueños struggled to negotiate twentieth-century Andean-ness. This local response exemplified the centuries of struggle between the highlands and coast: this was reinforced through Peru's regionalized-national

culture. As an alternative to centralized state-sponsored *mestizaje*, the Cusqueño elite championed the notion of Andean difference, known as *indigenismo*.

With roots in the late 19th century, *indigenismo* positioned the Cusco at the center of

Figure 1-14 "What the tourist dreamed," c. 1920, photograph by Figueroa Anzar

national culture and in juxtaposition to Lima. This was accomplished through projects that celebrated Andean archaeology, architecture, and cultural performances (de la Cadena 2000, 45-47, 72-78; Mendoza 2008). Elite renditions of Cusqueño culture and the Incaic past were presented through "Inca" theater, *Teatro Incaico*, which was seen as portraying an "accurate" history that affirmed the heredity and position of the "racially pure" in Cusco (de la Cadena 2000, 72-77). Enacted dramatically by upper class gentlemen (*gente decente*) and written in Quechua, these costumed plays represented class-based claims to the imperial past through cultural performances.

The renewed state-level importance of *Tawantinsuyu* likely influenced local image-making and Andean-produced photography, which captured and reformulated Andean ruins, urban scenes, "Inca" themes, and local people. The work of indigenous photographer Martín Chambi, in particular, highlighted and circulated Andean-themed portraits, vignettes of rural life, and numerous scenes that documented Cusco's urban conditions from 1923-1950. Not only was Chambi's photography a critical resource for documenting the city during this time, his images were incorporated into the worldwide tourist economy and circulated as postcards [Figure 1-15].

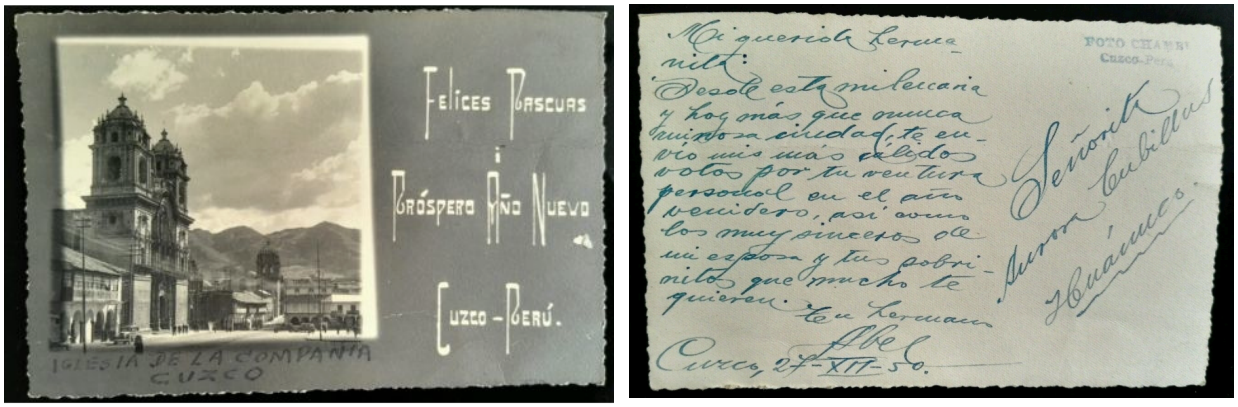

Figure 1-15 Martín Chambi: Postcard (front and back). Showing the "monument" Iglesia de la Compañia, the Jesuit church on the Plaza de Armas, early 1950. Source: ebay vintage postcards (accessed September 6, 2016).

In the 1930s and 1940s, archaeological research, efforts to capitalize on the tourism in Cusco, and Andean-produced visions of *Tawantinsuyu* overlapped with the city's rising esteem in international for a [Figure 1-16]. Peru's long-term participation in the International Congress of the Americanists illustrated this. Established in 1875, this academic conference highlighted multidisciplinary research in the Americas. In 1910, Max Uhle, as Peru's official delegate, delivered a paper on the origins of the Incas to the Congress, which predated Bingham's rediscovery of Machu Picchu by only one year. In 1932, at the twenty-fifth Congress of Americanists in La Plata, Argentina awarded Cusco with the title "Archaeological Capital of South America" (XXV Congress of Americanists 1932: I, pp. XLIV and XLV).

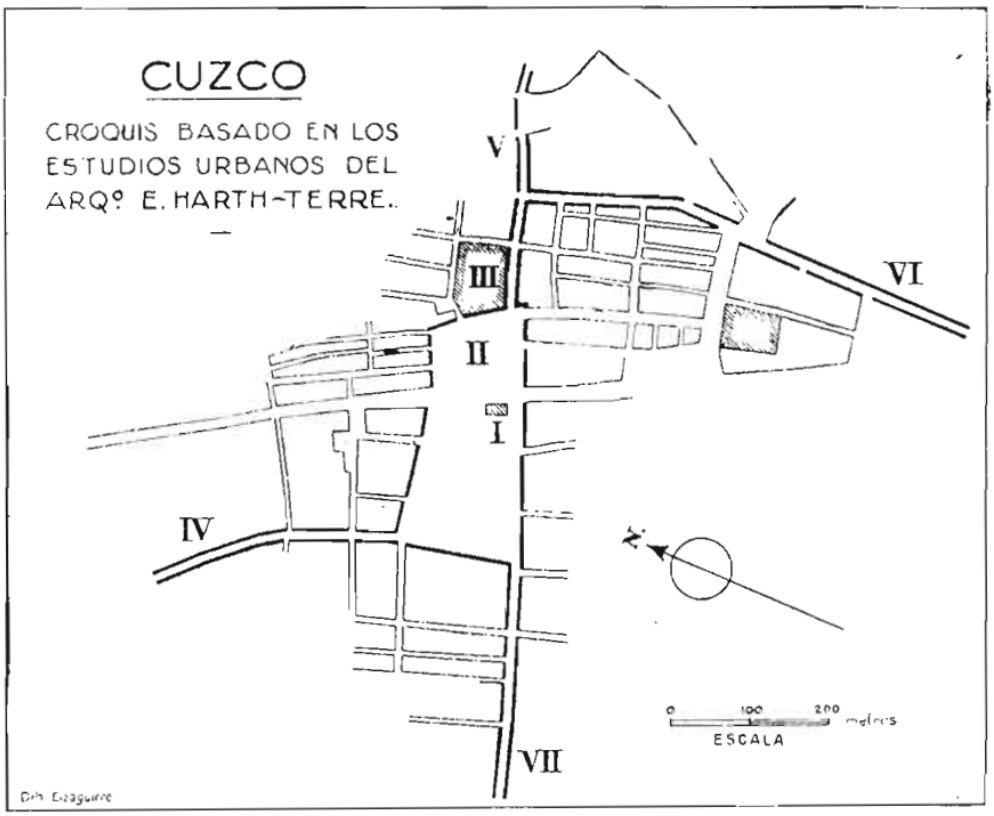

Figure 1-16 Sketch based on Urban Studies. Functional sketch of the Cusco in the fourth roads of the empire, which marked in the city the fourth regions in which it was subdivided. By Peruvian architect Harth-Terre. Source: Congreso Americanistas Sevilla 1935: 348.

While this prestigious title has been cited throughout scholarly literature and in almost every urban planning document for Cusco after the 1990s, the deeper significance of this event needs to be identified for the city of Cusco and development of the surrounding region. According to the conference records, this nomination was extended by the Argentine historian and architect Martín S. Noel, as an effort in the "conservation, restoration and publication" of the "archaeological city of Cuzco." The declaration of the city as "Archaeological Capital of South America" was unanimously approved and sanctioned by the Constituent Congress of Peru. This demonstrated a state effort to promote Andean archaeology and Peruvian culture at an international level. This also coincided with other international discussions of preservation at that time, particularly the foundational work of the Athens Charter. One year earlier, in 1931, the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments drafted the *Carta del Restauro*. This interdisciplinary effort included the importance of monuments and the notion of a common world heritage.

In Cusco, the promotional value and cultural capital of this title was unmistakable in the development of tourist infrastructure, large urban restoration projects, and grand public events designed to celebrate the city's past. 1933 marked the launch of Cusco's first air field (NY Times, May 14, 1933). The coming of this new service coincided with a narrow-gauge railroad connection between Cusco and Machu Picchu, which, by 1934, extended to a spot on the Urubamba River, directly below Machu Picchu. Giesecke was involved with this project and was the chief promotor of plans to construct a tourist hotel near the ruins (Gade 2006). As the city's touristic infrastructure expanded, its historical landscape played host to state-sponsored public performances and festivals, featuring elaborate indigenous performances.

In 1934 between the months of March and July, the celebration of the Quadricentennial memorialized Pizarro's Spanish-colonial foundation of Cusco, March 23, 1534 (Flores Galindo 2000: 128). To honor this, the Peruvian government, undertook several months of large-scale restoration projects which were focused on the ruins of *Saqsaywamán*, which Bingham had classified two decades earlier as "the most wonderful achievement of ancient man in the Western Hemisphere" (Dean 2011; Bauer 2004: 9; NYT March 18, 1934). Luis Valcárcel directed this "rediscovery" of pre-Hispanic Cusco and, as Director-General of the National Museum of Peru, was involved with the promotion of Incaic art (Rénique 2013: 84; de la Cadena 2000; Silverman 2001: 884; Mendoza 2008). Valcárcel guided the concurrent excavation of Incaic walls at the Temple of the Sun and the disinterment, cleaning, and repair of other archaeological monuments in the city. It is worth noting that Valcárcel, Uhle and Tello, were listed as members of the XXV Congress of the Americanists, in 1932. Valcárcel presented two conference papers on Andean archaeology and ethnography which, with the attention on Cusco's archaeology, must have inspired his work in Cusco for the Quadricentennial.

While the celebration of Spanish Cusco showcased the cultural wealth of the region, it also brought out the tensions between Peru's cultural and national capitals. The New York Times captured this struggle through three pieces on the Quadricentennial between March 18 and April 1, 1934. These recounted Andean history, commented on the immense efforts in the archaeological excavations, and drew attention to the opportunities for future tourism. The articles described governmental appropriations that were to fund a Quechua school, a new tourist office with printing facilities, and the establishment of an Institute of Archaeology for Peruvian research and field work. According to the New York Times, it was anticipated that each South American nation would be invited to exchange ideas and exhibit reciprocal archaeological finds. This project seems to have been focused on converting the city into a site of Andean exhibition.

The New York Times also captured the local rejection of both the colonial past and national programs to celebrate it. This was covered in a report on a local radio broadcast during the Quadricentennial festivities:

> The Spanish town of Cuzco is a historical fact; nevertheless, due to its purpose and consequences, it cannot be recorded in the annals of the Indian peoples of this region. We are not going to celebrate the Spanish founding of Cuzco, but only to commemorate it, and to notify the entire world that Cuzco continues to be the capital of the Tahuantinsuyo.

Despite the inclusiveness that state-level projects may have promoted to Peruvian citizens, the Andean people continued to reformulate their past discursively in order to contend with their Peruvian present (MacCormack 1988, 1006). De la Cadena has suggested that state-sponsored public events created an official narrative of "the past" while subordinating the local Andean expressions of it, such as local folklore (2000: 157-159). The above narrative demonstrates the persistence of colonial-era identity politics and the ongoing struggle of Cusqueños with state projects that co-opted their heritage, reconfigured meaning within their built environment, and rebranded it. At the local level, a common solution for managing this was the invocation of the imperial past and the reasserting of Cusco's role as its capital. Ironically, Sacsayhuaman was the site where the Incas decisively lost their city, yet in 1934 it was transformed into a venue to mark 400 years of Spanish Cusco. These complex identity politics continued into the 1940s with the establishment of a re-invented *Inti Raymi* celebration.

A decade after the Quadricentennial festivities, Cusco Day was established on June 24, 1944, creating a "modern" state-sanctioned relationship with the winter solstice celebration of *Inti Raymi*, officially re-introduced after four centuries. De la Cadena has written extensively about this era and described these festivities as part of the "populist reinvention of Cusco" and a celebration of regional identity through folklore and art. While Garcilaso's 16th century account of the *Inti Raymi* described a ritual relationship between the *Qoricancha* and the main plaza, the modern re-invented version took its cues from the Quadricentennial and staged the Inca-themed celebrations at *Sacsayhuaman*. This effectively bi-passed the historical, urban, and mythical significance of the original event. At the same time, the modern version used Garcilaso's account of the Inca festival to organize the modern event (de la Cadena 2000: 159), which created the spectacle of cultural pilgrimage.

Some of the older religious festivals and colonial traditions, like the Corpus Christi, continued to be present in the city and these were also impacted by modern cultural projects. The Corpus Christi and Roman Catholicism had overwritten the *Inti Raymi* celebrations in the 16th century. However, in 1944, the month of June, formerly understood as the appropriate month of Andean festival (Dean 1999), was rebranded at the state level as the "appropriate month" for Peruvian tourism. The reinvention of the modern solstice festival repositioned the highland festivals and reorganized these events as national culture through Andean infrastructure, populism, and touristic ventures.

It is noteworthy that the modern *Inti Raymi* provided an opportunity to ceremoniously launch Cusco's first modern tourist hotel (de la Cadena 2000, 152-157) [Figure 1-17]. President Manual Prado inaugurated the Hotel Cusco at the end of his visit to Cusco in June of 1944. Designed by Lima architects Emilio Harth-Terré and José Alvarez Calderón (see Alvarez thesis), this new hotel was the winner of a public competition, which was organized by the National Tourism Corporation. Centrally located, one street from the Plaza de Armas, near the Portal Espinar, the Hotel Cusco covered an entire block between the colonial church, La Merced, the

Plazoleta Espinar and the Plaza Regcijo (the Inca *Cusipata*). Aesthetically, the building featured four symmetrical facades with arcades at the street level, picturesque neo-colonial balconies, and grand stone portals with pre-Hispanic themes. This could be seen as a modernist homage to the city's existing architectural syncretism. The contemporaneous timing of this project with the *Inti Raymi* and the prime location of the hotel in this part of the city must have been highly political, and it highlighted the commercial value of central Cusco as a touristic zone.

Figure 1-17 Photograph of the Hotel Cusco, showing the corner of Calle Marquez, c. 1952. Source: Alvarez thesis.

By the end of the 1940s, 20th century perspectives, practices, and Cusco-centric discourse were in conversation with the constant flow of ideas, images, capital, and people between the highland city and the non-Andean world. As regional tourism infused the local with the global, exchange rather than dependence formed the basis of interconnected post-war economies and "cultures" of modernity (Poole 1997; Pratt 1992). The relationships between archaeology, popular culture, and early tourist development characterized spaces of state power and Andean indigeneity. Cusco, however, was on the edge of more changes, which arrived with a devastating earthquake in Cusco in 1950. The timing of the disaster and the post-earthquake reconstruction coincided with some of the first post-war congresses on cultural recovery and preservation. Cusco became an international model for curating the past.

CHAPTER TWO

Modern *Pachacuti*: Re-Ordering Chaos

Figure 2-1 Earthquake devastation and repair work near the Plaza de Armas. Source: LIFE Magazine.

> …they could see, in the distance, the stupendous stone structures of the ancient empire of the Incas glistening in the bright midday sun. Suddenly, at 1:39 PM, the ground began to shake and tremble. A few minutes later, over 100 persons inside Cusco were dead and more than 200 were injured. The city itself was in shambles. Three thousand dwellings were destroyed, and only 1,200 remained habitable.
>
> *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the Town and Restoration of its Monuments* (1952)

On Sunday, May 21, 1950, fifteen thousand Cusqueños were gathered in a stadium outside of their city in support of the local *Club Cienciano*, in a mid-day soccer match against Lima's team, *Cienciano frente al Sport Boys del Callao*. Without warning or foreshocks, an earthquake struck. Measured as category VII on the Modified Mercalli scale, this highly localized event devastated major sections of the ancient city. Covering about 12 square kilometers within the Cusco Basin, the epicentral zone was located immediately beneath Cusco's Inca-colonial grid (Eriksen 1954).

Within the center of the city, large church bells in the Baroque towers were eerily silent and there were no "earth noises" as the city collapsed into rising clouds of dust. Eyewitnesses reported that, during the several seconds of rapid earth movement, trees and hanging light fixtures swayed violently, doors swung out on their hinges, and windows rattled. A few blocks

from the Plaza de Armas, the Santa Clara Market (*el Mercado de Santa Clara*) rattled "like a bird cage" (Eriksen 1954; see La Republica, *Cusco imperial en escombros,* Monday, 25 June, 2007). It was complete chaos.

Figure 2-2 Photograph overlooking the Plaza de Armas. Showing earthquake damage. Photo by Eugenio Nishiyama. Source: La Republica 2007

In the midst of the general panic that ensued, local photojournalist and filmmaker Eugenio Nishiyama managed to capture the earliest images of the devastation [Figures 2-1, 2-2]. Nishiyama's co-worker Miguel H. Milla, a radio journalist and correspondent for the Chronicle of Lima (*La Crónica de Lima*), was in Cusco covering the sporting match. Recovering from a "bohemian night," he was still in the city as the quake struck (La Republica 2007). Within the first hour after the earthquake, Milla and Carlos Lizárraga Fisher, founder of Radio Cusco, made their way through the broken city to the radio station near the central Plaza de Armas. They attempted to broadcast the disaster but there was no power, "no light." According to Milla, they dragged a generator over the rubble from Sol Avenue to Saphy Street, switched on the radio, and the message went out:

> "Help, help! Radio Cusco here…earthquake in Cusco!"
> (*¡Auxilio, auxilio! Aquí, Radio Cusco [a quien nos conteste], terremoto en Cusco!*).

After about thirty minutes, *Radio Continental* in Arequipa answered. Messages flooded in and suddenly, the National Radio of Peru (*Radio Nacional del Perú*) began to broadcast to the world *(Cusco imperial en escombros,* La Republica 2007). Major news agencies in North America, such as the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times picked up the story and transmitted reports of the mounting details in the following days. During the next month, LIFE Magazine circulated large-format photography of the conditions in the city. These images showed the centuries of colonial infrastructure and modern adobe construction, crumbled, filling

the streets and plazas with a confusing jumble of historical rubble. The most critically damaged structures were colonial churches, old adobe homes, and newer mixed material construction (Ericksen 1954, Kubler 1952). Despite all of this damage, the remaining foundations and monumental stones of Pachacuti's imperial city survived: mostly intact and unscathed.

As the "Archaeological Capital of South America" fell to its knees, the city of Cusco was set on a trajectory that would define the Andean past for the rest of the 20th century. Future Cusco would be constructed on the legendary and architectural foundations of its past which, once again, reiterated the importance of regionalized-national culture and further complicated relationships between highland culture and the rule of Lima. However, as one of the United Nations' earliest sites for regional development and UNESCO's first field mission in its Division of Museum and Monuments, the city and surrounding Andean region would also be re-interpreted through post-war policies and the idea of globally-shared heritage.

This earthquake represented a modern *pachacuti*, a moment of world-shattering, yet serendipitous change. Chapter Two considers the post-disaster landscape of Cusco and the different visions which arose to safeguard and rebuild Peru's cultural capital. In order to construct an architectural sense of the city prior to the earthquake, the first section relies on the descriptions from art historian Harold E. Wethey and Martín Chambi's photographic images of Cusco's urban environment, 1920-1950. Published in 1949, Wethey's seminal text, *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru*, is especially significant because it was used by the UNESCO team to evaluate the damage in the city in 1951. The city is further contextualized by the work of Peruvian author and anthropologist, José María Arguedas. Written in Quechua and Spanish, his fictional novel, *Los Ríos Profundos* (*Deep Rivers*) (1956) offers an Andean memory of the city before 1950. The material in this section is a reminder of the long term and ongoing urban development of the city, which contributes to the argument that *preservation issues and urban development were already Peruvian projects before the arrival of the United Nations.*

The second section focuses on the political landscape of the disaster, the various reconstruction projects that started to coalesce, and the call for international assistance in the first year after the event. Starting with some previously unwritten history, this section uses primary sources to fill in the details surrounding the earthquake, aid, and early recovery programs that were carried out in the city. It draws on reports from the international press and media, as well as the first, and largely uncited seismological survey of the city, provided by the Bulletin of the Seismological Society of America. This text gives key information on the architectural damage and the earliest collaborative work between Peruvian and international agencies.

The New York Times, in particular, reported for several months on various aspects of the relief efforts. Another early source was LIFE Magazine, important for its large-format images and for its influence on North American readers. Collectively these media sources give a sense of what was happening inside and outside of Peru in the first few months after the earthquake. This section concludes with an open letter, published in the New York Times, from exiled former Peruvian president, José Luis Bustamante y Rivero. Bustamante employed this North American newspaper as a political platform to call for what was likely the first international "initiative of action" in rebuilding the city.

The third section considers institutional assessments and recommendations for Cusco's post-disaster "problems" identified by two United Nations agencies, who responded to Peru's requests for technical assistance. This section offers an original analysis of reports written in 1951 by Robert Hudgens, from the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) and George Kubler, on behalf of UNESCO. These represent critical groundwork for institutionalizing

cultural preservation and urban planning in Cusco. These texts exemplify how Cusco was positioned at the center of preservation narratives and regional development in the southern Andes, precisely as these issues were becoming international issues. This material is critical for discussing the relationship of safeguarding the Andean past as an urban project in the second half of the 20th century, which will be addressed further in Chapters Three and Four.

PART ONE: Prologue to Chaos

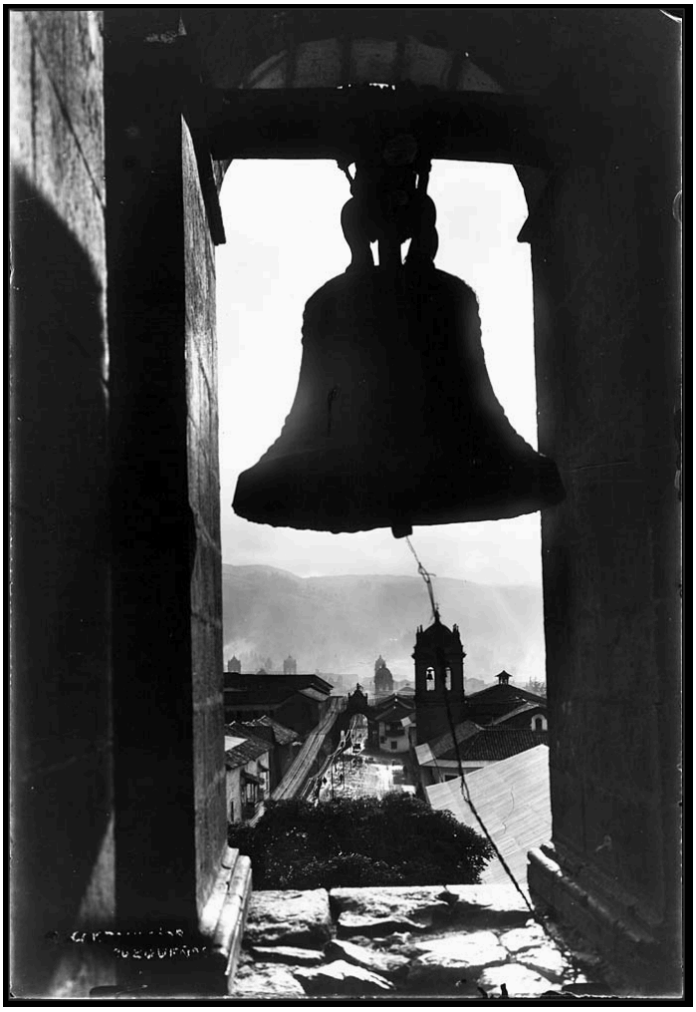

Figure 2-3 Bell in Baroque Tower, central Cusco, 1920s. Photo by Martín Chambi

Published in the final months of 1949, Harold E. Wethey's *Colonial Architecture and Sculpture in Peru* presented a mid-20th century approach to South America's "greatest" ecclesiastical monuments. As discussed in the previous chapter, this architecture represented the cultural diffusion and deep aesthetic bonds that sutured Spain and its American colonies. Wethey devoted an entire chapter to 17th century Cusco. It opened with the highest praise:

> Cuzco, capital of the Incas, is unrivaled in all of the Americas, a city of two civilizations superimposed, the Incaic and the Hispanic (p. 39).

Wethey attributed the city's heroic ascent to a golden age of art and architecture to the reconstruction after the "great earthquake" of 1650. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the mid-17th century reconstruction of Cusco defined the city for three centuries, until the moment the 20th century earthquake struck in 1950. The colonial landscape, especially the city's churches, had become increasingly significant in the experience and function of urban life. Constructed before and after the earlier earthquake, the Cathedral dominated the colonial aesthetic of the city, along with the churches such as La Compañia de Jesús, La Merced, and the older church and convent of Santo Domingo.

Located in the vicinity of the Plaza de Armas, most of these structures coexisted with Inca foundations, which formed the base of many urban blocks and supported upper levels of colonial infrastructure. Crowned by "…a splendid series of towers," this Baroque-colonial aesthetic continued to characterize the Andean city for the first half of the 20th century city [Figure 2-3]. According to Wethey, "Cuzco alone, among the larger [Peruvian] cities…has preserved its colonial domestic architecture almost unscathed" (22).

In the mid-1940s, Wethey, in conversation with George Kubler (see Wethey 1945-1946 Newsletter), was in the midst of research that would eventually define the role of colonial Peru in the production of Latin American art history. Wethey's time in Peru coincided with state-sponsored events, like the reinvented *Inti Raymi*, regional archaeological work, and infrastructural projects. He must have experienced some of this because, in the Preface to Wethey's text (p. vii), he acknowledged the support of Luis Valcárcel and Albert Giesecke, who were both involved in archaeological and modernization projects in Cusco.

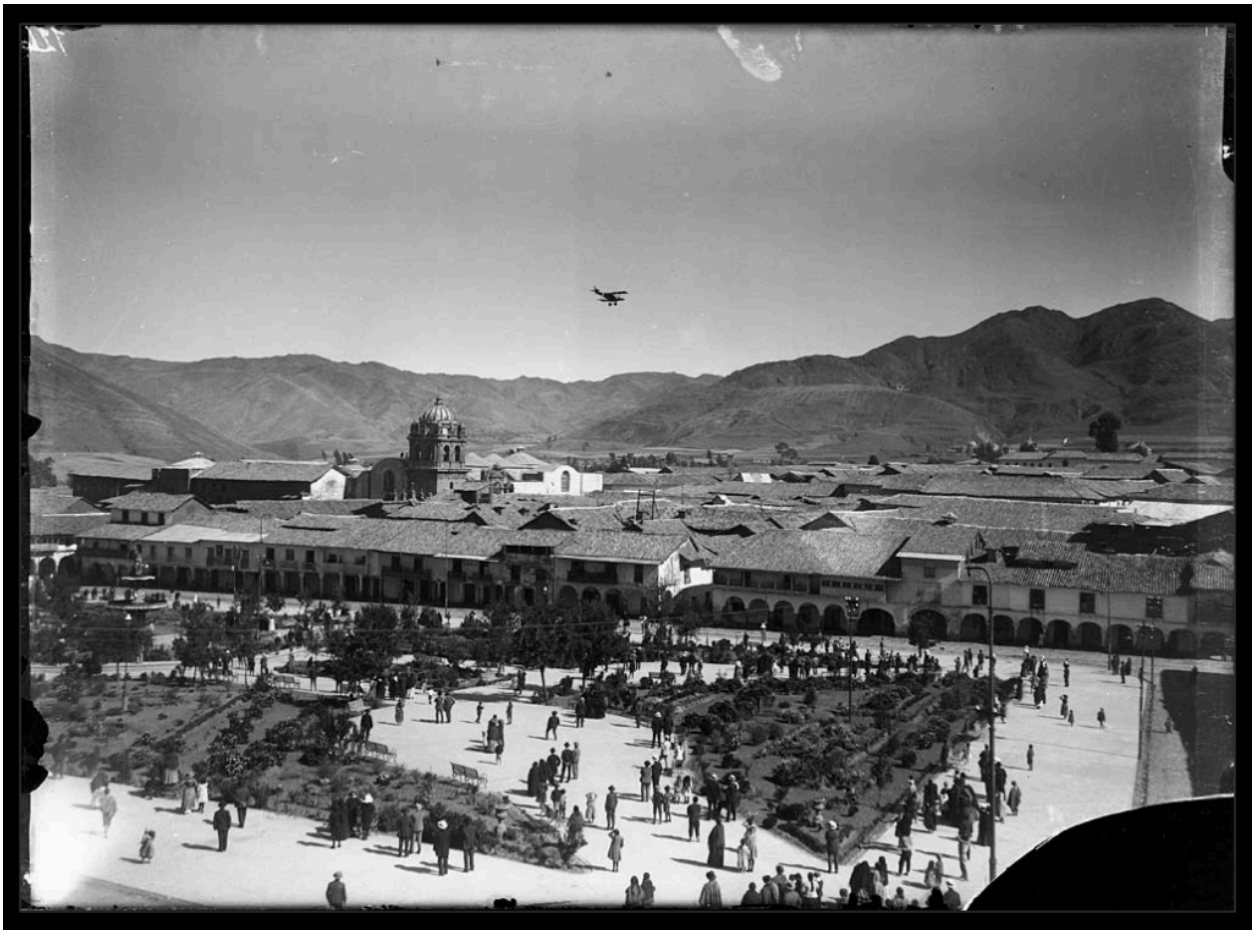

Figure 2-4 First flight over the Andes, Lima to Cusco, overlooking Cusco's Plaza de Armas. Original title: *Plaza de Armas de Cusco y avión de Alejandro Velasco A*., c. 1925. Photo by Martín Chambi.

At that time, Cusqueños and visitors to the city would have encountered various conditions of the Andean and colonial pasts, mixing with modernity in urban scenes that were made famous by photographer Martín Chambi. An excellent example of this is an image of Peruvian pilot Alejandro Velasco in the first flight across the Andes. Taken in 1925, the photo shows the airplane foregrounded by Cusco's Plaza de Armas [Figure 2-4]. Air travel and other modern technical achievements paved the way for the arrival of more tourists in the following decades.

Chambi's imagery and Wethey's historical accounts contribute an architectural understanding of the city immediately before the earthquake: The Baroque skyline rising up over the Inca foundations and the ancient avenues; stone churches overlooking manicured plazas; palatial courtyard houses (*casonas*) with terra cotta-tiled rooftops. But in the shadows of the

monuments, ribbons of cables stretched out across the city – delivering electricity. Streetcars rattled and shook the iron rails that sliced through cobbled stones [Figures 2-5, 2-6, 2-7]. There was also urban life and the ubiquitous presence of highland culture, which Arguedas described throughout the first chapter of his novel, *Los Ríos Profundos* (*Deep Rivers*) (1956).

Figure 2-5 Magnified section of Figure 2-3, showing modern infrastructure and ecclesiastical skyline.

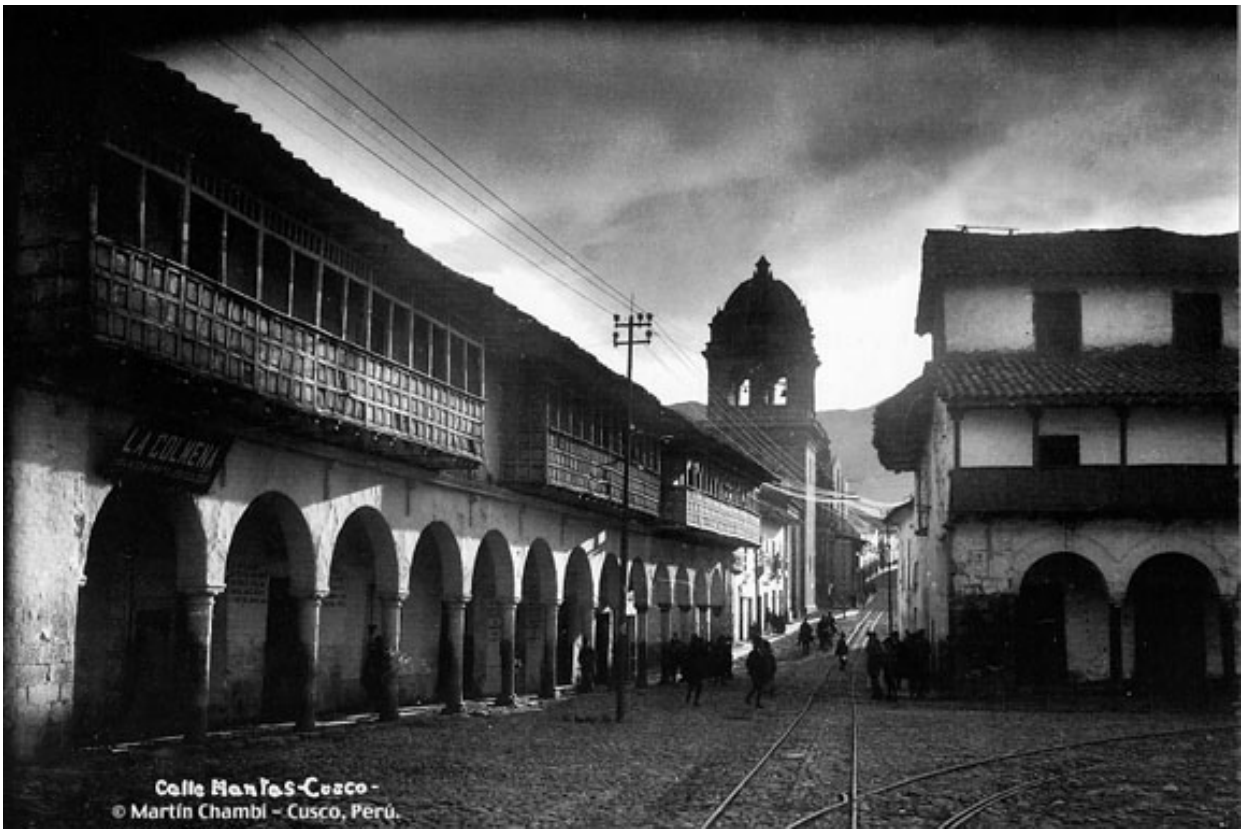

Figure 2-6 Calle Mantas, central Cusco, c. 1920s. Photograph by Martín Chambi.

Figure 2-7 Plaza de San Francisco, central Cusco. Funeral procession, likely on the way to Almudena, late 1920s. Photo by Martín Chambi.

Although it was written a few years after the earthquake, Arguedas's story represented a tour of the city that Chambi had captured photographically. The fictional account began with the arrival of the young narrator and his father to Cusco's train station at night. As they moved through the city, their journey was graced by carved overhanging balconies, harmonious facades, sculpted entry ways, and "great arched courtyards." But it was the palace of the Inca Roca and its massive polygonal stone construction, which was most inspiring [see Chapter One, Figure 1-2]. In a sensory description of the ancient stonework, "…bubbling up from beneath the whitewashed second story," the narrator rediscovered his indigenous heritage through the "speaking stones" of Inca architecture. This historical landscape defined the city through the first few months of 1950, until Cusco was thrown into utter chaos.

PART TWO: The Political Landscape of Disaster

Figure 2-8 Collapsed residential "casonas," interior of colonial-era courtyard homes. Photographed by Eliot Elisofon, Life Magazine.

The earthquake transformed Cusco from a landscape of legend, archaeological prestige, and Peruvian "progress," into a site of suffering and loss. In time, this was followed by some unique opportunities for rebuilding, which included international aid and reestablishing the Incas in a way that was previously impossible. It was the former scenario, however, which defined the city during the first days and weeks after the disaster. Within a few hours the national government flew in medical personnel, emergency supplies, and relief from Lima; calls went out to other provincial departments to send aid to Cusco. As medical and military troops moved into the city to aid in salvage and relief work, the Peruvian Red Cross, with some irony, was headquartered in the six-year-old Hotel Cusco. As an exception to the destruction of much of Cusco's newer infrastructure, this building survived the disaster and was quickly converted from

a symbol of Peruvian modernity into a site of humanitarian triage (New York Times, 1940, July 4, "Peru gets swift help").

Many thousands of lives had been saved by the popularity of the soccer match. Consequently, it was the destruction to the built environment that continued to define the disaster and attract the attention of the international media. Housing was an immediate issue for Cusco's citizens and a major factor in the coming months and years: an estimated 63% of the dwellings in the city needing to be rebuilt (see reports from the Peruvian Ministry of Development in Ericksen 1954) [Figure 2-8]. As the sun set on the first day of catastrophe, debris-filled streets glowed in flickering candlelight beneath a ruined and unfamiliar skyline. That night, thousands of homeless survivors slept without blankets or adequate clothing in Cusco's public spaces. They experienced early winter conditions as the highland temperatures dropped to 32 degrees Celsius (see NYT May 22 and 24, 1950; La Republica 20007). The following day, as the sun rose over the shattered city, rumors of the earthquake were circulating the globe.

Outside of Peru, North American news agencies disseminated conflicting news of the destruction, announcing that between 20-90% of the "Incan" city had fallen (see New York Times, Los Angeles Times, and LIFE Magazine). It took over a year to sort out these details and produce a more accurate account of the extent of damage, which showed estimates totaling over $33,000,000 (Kubler 1952:3; Hudgens 1952). At first, the media construed Cusco as defenseless and in dire need of rescue and management. These were familiar topics in an era of post-war reconstruction and risk management, which was echoed, to some extent, by the nature of the foreign aid to the city. Some of this arrived wrapped in propaganda. According to the New York Times, this included pro-Perónista buttons and images of Señora Eva Perón from Argentina and an anti-communist poster campaign accompanying the relief supplies from the United States (NYT 1950, July 4). This treatment of Cusco, as a site of disaster, was a precursor to Robert Hudgens' approach to the economic and social development of the region during the first UN mission the following year.

LIFE Magazine contributed material that added context and humanized this story. On June 12, 1950, LIFE published an article capturing a variety of dire conditions. These are summarized by the accompanying four photographs. Two potent images illustrated the ongoing search for bodies in the Plaza de Armas and an interior scene from a collapsed space in the colonial church La Merced. Another photograph of an elderly "Indian" woman, wincing through a cloud of DDT, illustrated some of the sanitation conditions imposed on the entire population: vaccinations against typhoid and smallpox. At that time, thousands of Cusco's people and the remaining homes, tents, and shelters were DDT treated, sprayed against lice and other "pests" under the direction of the United States Public Health Service to Peru and by the Inter-American Affairs Health and Sanitation Organization (OCISP) (Hudgens 1952: 3; NYT 1950 July 4).

The fourth and largest photograph, a full-page large-format image, showed a man's crushed body, face down in the foreground. A path of tire tracks retreated backwards, into the middle of the page, connecting to a bulldozer in the wake of its path of destruction [Figure 2-9]. It was later reported that debris-clearing operations by highway crews, immediately after the earthquake, were responsible for substantial damage and as much as 20% of the demolitions (Kubler 1952:3).

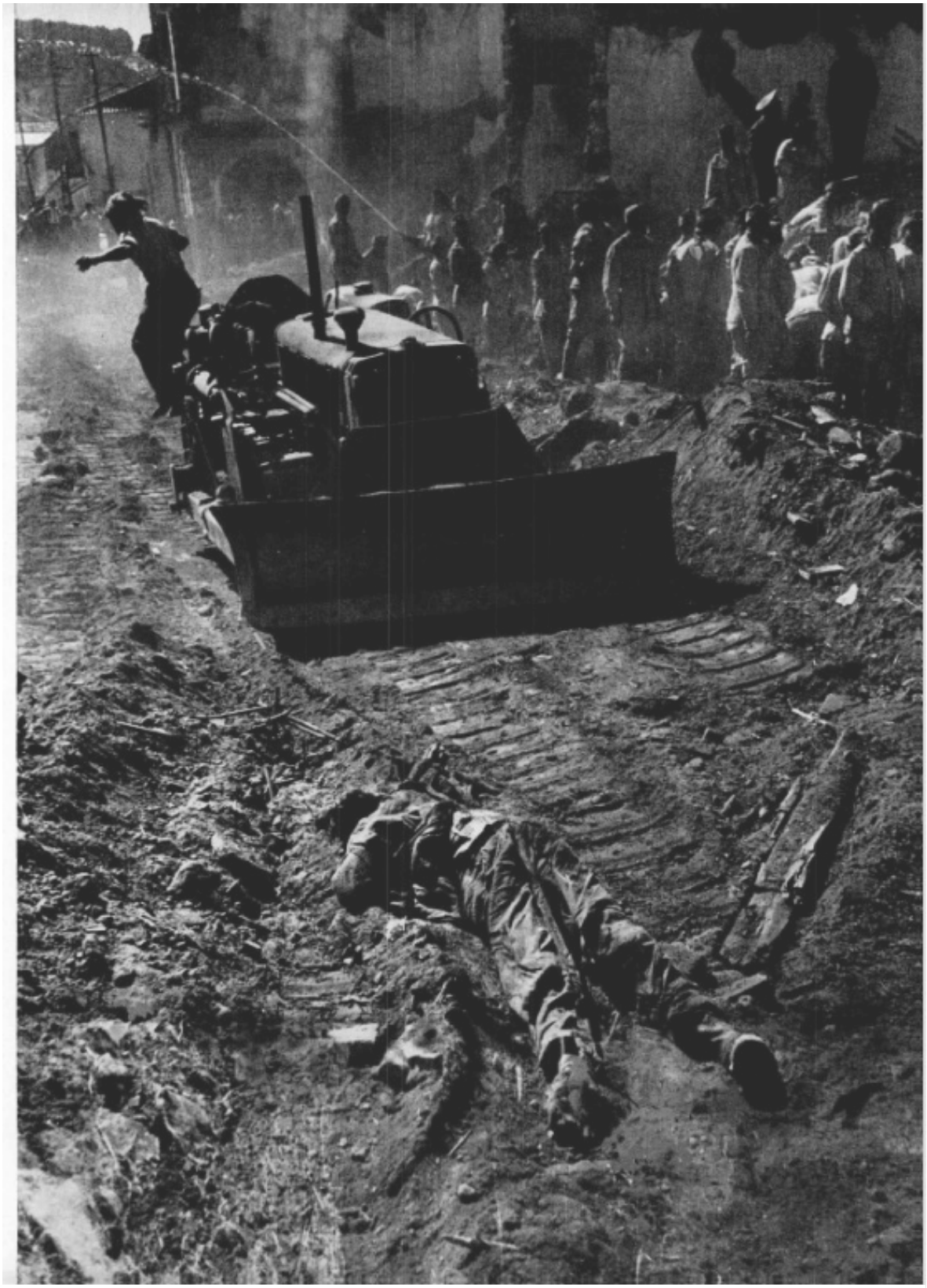

Figure 2-9 Bulldozer Turns up body buried in debris." LIFE Magazine, June 12, 1950, p. 41.

Early Assessments of the City's Infrastructure

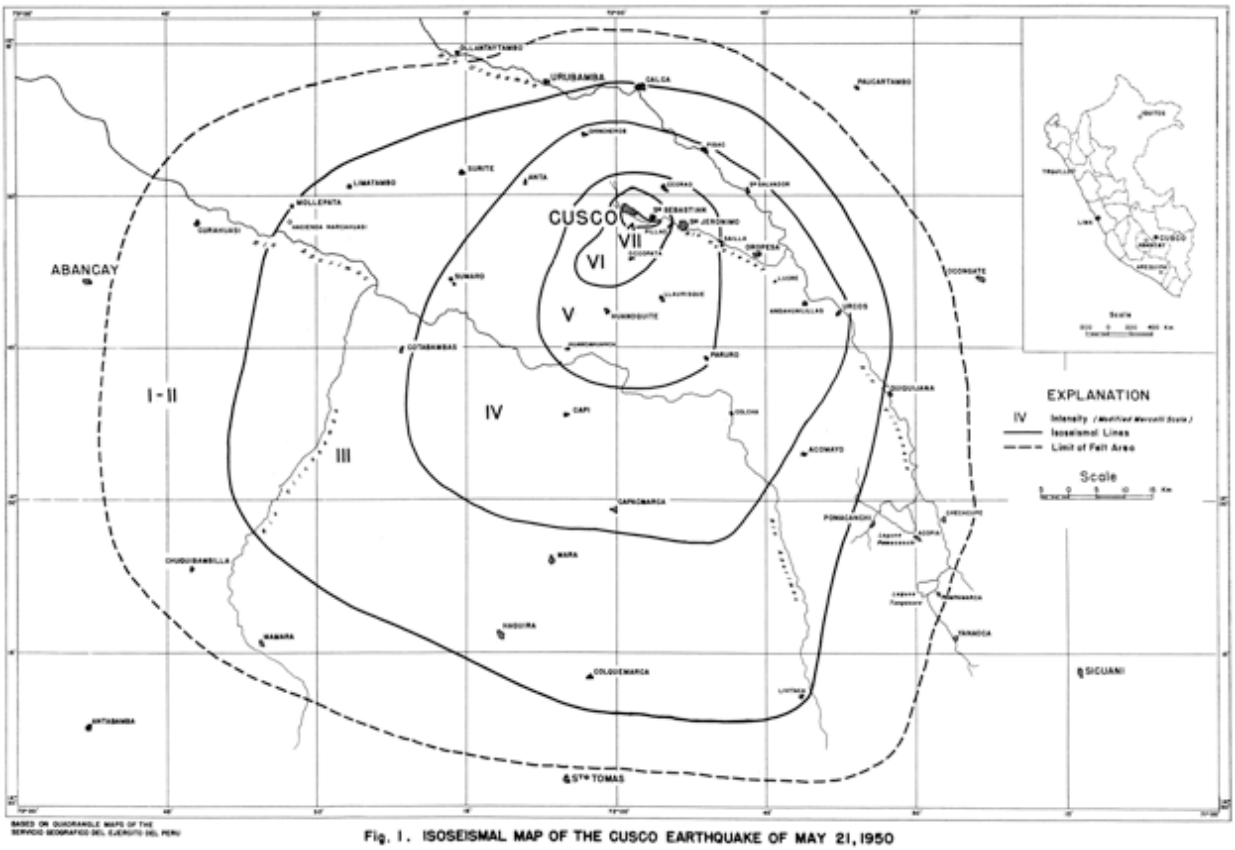

Figure 2-10 Map of Cusco showing the distribution of damage caused by the earthquake. Source: Ericksen 1954.

As early relief efforts were carried out in the city, an official commission to survey the loss was dispatched by Peru's National Institute of Mining Research and Development (*Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Fomento Mineros del Perú*) and the U. S. Geological Survey. Arriving in Cusco just eight days after the earthquake, a team of two geologists and one seismologist completed one of the earliest large-scale assessments of the disaster (May 28-June 4, 1950). In cooperation with local academics, investigators, and volunteers as well as engineers, architects, and high-ranking officials from national institutions, such as the Directorate of Roads and the Ministry of Public Works, examined different aspects of the damage. As part of this collaboration, the National Office of Planning and Urbanism released a base map of the city and contributed much of the information contained in the earthquake survey diagram. According to the report, Albert Giesecke, who was working for the American Embassy in Lima at that time (Gade 2006), was a key consultant for assessing the extent of destruction in Cusco.

This rarely (if ever) cited survey included a synopsis of Cusco's regional seismic history dating back to the "great earthquake" of 1650, an isoseismal map of the city, and information from interviews with over 100 eyewitnesses. In addition to this, a geological explanation outlined the seismic damage to the city, its churches, houses, modern construction, and the effects of the earthquake outside of Cusco [Figure 2-10]. This report attributed the most extensive damage in central Cusco to the following three conditions: poor construction and age; damage from a previous earthquake in 1941; and the nature of geologic foundation. The third condition occurred primarily along the alluvial fans of the Saphy and Tullumayu river: the

geographical features of Cusco's urban plan since the mythical founding of the city, described in Chapter One.

These conditions directly impacted an archaeologically and historically rich district that had been built up over time: the Inca-colonial core of the city, from the blocks surrounding the Plaza de Armas to the convergence of the two of the rivers. It was also a sector that had been recently developed. Spanish colonial accounts of ancient Cusco described these convergent waterways as walled and canalized with bridges that traversed the rivers. These features were visible until the 1930's, when the rivers were covered to create modern streets as part of an effort to modernize Cusco (Bauer 2004; 1998: 118-119).

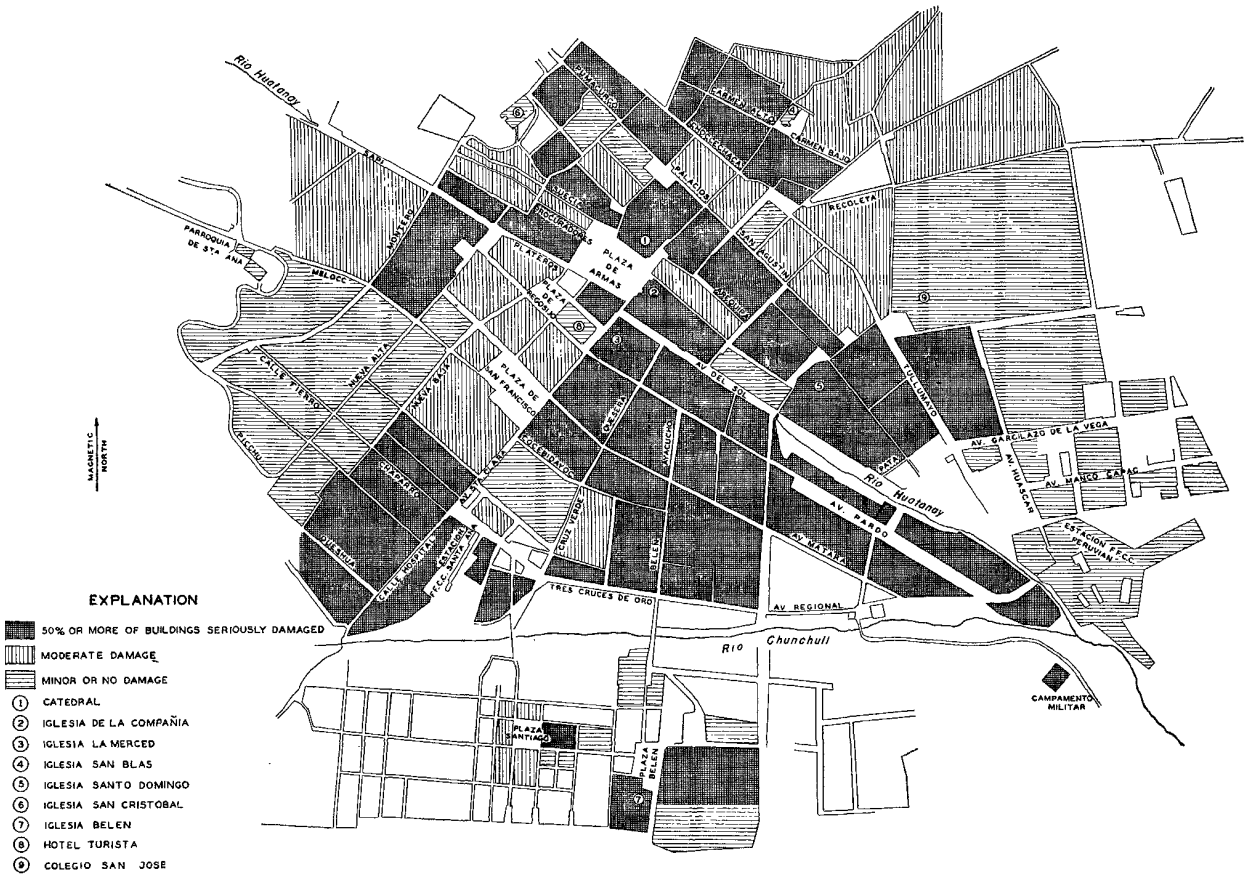

Figure 2-11 Map of Cusco showing distribution of earthquake damage documented by the Instituto Nacional de Investigación y Fomento Mineros del Perú and the U. S. Geological Survey, 1950. The extent of damage is shown for each city block. The areas shown as blank blocks on the map were not investigated; most contain only a few buildings. Data for damage in most of the blocks north of Avenida Santa Clara, Avenida del Sol, and Avenida Garcilaso de la Vega were adapted from detailed maps of the Oficina Nacional de Planeamiento y Urbanismo. Damage in most of the blocks to the south of these streets was established from reconnaissance mapping by the writers, during which only the exteriors of buildings facing the streets were examined. Source: Seismology Society of America 1954.

The zone of destruction also contained the majority of important churches. In a map that documented the block-by-block distribution of damage to the city, nine important structures were selected to represent architectural conditions in Cusco [Figure 2-11]. Seven were churches; the others were the Colegio San Jose and the Hotel Cusco. The seismological report categorized these structures as follows:

50% or more Seriously Damaged	Moderate Damage	Minor or No Damage
Cathedral (16-17th centuries)	Church in San Blas (17th century)	Church of San Cristobal (16th century, recently updated in 1948)
Church of La Compañia (17th century)		Hotel Turista (1944)
Church of La Merced (17th century)		Colegio San Jose (unknown)
Church of Santo Domingo (17th century)		
Church of Bélen (17th century)		

Table 2-1 Damage to Key Buildings in Cusco (see Wethey 1949; Kubler 1952; and Ericksen 1954)

National Identity and the Post-Apocalyptic Return of the Incas

Figure 2-12 Church of Santo Domingo and the Qoricancha (lower right) before the 1950 earthquake. Inca structure is directly below the colonial arches. Photo by Marín Chambi.

The 1950 earthquake liberated Inca Cusco. Unlike the injury to the colonial architecture, the majority of the city's housing stock, and other modern structures, the majority of Inca walls and doorways were mostly intact and exhibited only minor effects of the earthquake. The different conditions of damage were seen in juxtaposition in the colonial church of Santo Domingo and the Inca Sun Temple at the *Qoricancha* [Figures 2-12, 2-13, 2-14]. Here, a few large Inca stones cracked, corners of others were chipped, and others rotated as much as a centimeter from their original position (see Bauer 2004:139-157 for an in-depth historical and architectural analysis).

Figure 2-13 Church of Santo Domingo and the Qoricancha days after the earthquake in 1950. Taken from Calle Santo Domingo. Photographed by Eliot Elisofon, Life Magazine. Notice the rounded Inca Temple of the Sun (lower right corner of the structure) still intact after the quake while the colonial structure above it has collapsed.

In June, 1950, the New York Times published an article entitled, *Peru Quake Spurs Inca Nationalism*, which substantiated a notion of Peruvian nationalism through the revelation and durability of imperial architecture. The report opened with a description of an Inca wall containing "perfect mortarless blocks," recently rediscovered near the Cathedral between two houses on Calle Santa Catalina Angosta. This claim paralleled a centuries-old myth which can be placed in conversation with a similar report, published three years after the "great earthquake" of 1650.

In *Historia del Nuevo Mundo*, Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit missionary, described the materiality and construction of an Inca wall in the very same part of the city during the construction of the convent of Santa Catalina in the early 1600s:

> …an entire section of a wall that still remains in the city of Cuzco, in the Convent of Santa Catalina. These walls were not made vertical, but slightly inclined inward. The stones are perfectly squared, but in such a way that they come to have the same shape and workmanship for a ring of the sort that jewelers call "faceted." The stones have two sets of faces and corners, so that a groove is formed between the lesser faces of the fitted stones, separating the stones in relief.
>
> Another skillfully made feature of this work is that all of the stones are not of the same size, but the stones of each course are uniform in size, and the stones are progressively smaller as they get higher…We said that the Indians did not use mortar in these buildings, that all of them were made of dry stone…But this does not mean that the stones were not joined together on the inside with some type of mortar; in fact it was used to fill up space and made the stones fit…I was able to see this for myself while watching as part of that wall of the Convent of Santa Catalina was being torn

> down for the construction of the church that is there now. (Cobo 1990:228-229 [1653: Bk. 14, Ch. 12] (cited in Bauer 2004: 129-130)

Besides providing an excellent description of Inca construction, this passage houses two significant ideas that are related to contemporary representations of the city. First, Cobo referenced the notion that Inca walls were "said" to have been constructed of mortar-free dry stones; then he admitted that the Inca masons actually did use mortar. Cobo revealed the nature of the construction of the wall and its hidden technology, while the New York Times re-mythologized the survival ancient "mortar-free" Inca walls: *"the natives saw the stonework that long preceded the Spaniard's stand impervious while colonial arches and court yards came tumbling down."*

Figure 2-14 Interior of Santo Domingo. Notice the painting (lower right) from the "Cusco School" (*Escuela Cuzqueña),* now exposed to intense high-altitude sunlight and the elements. This was photographed a few days after the earthquake in 1950, by Eliot Elisofon, Life Magazine.

Considering Arguedas' fascination with Inca stonework in the novel, *Los Ríos Profundos*, and Wethey's descriptions of the "perfectly cut" and mortar-less Inca stonework (Wethey 1949: 39), the New York Times was not the only contemporary source to perpetuate this imaginary. A caption from the June 12th issue of LIFE also described surviving Inca "monuments, built of stones carefully fitted without mortar." The propagation of these stories reanimated the Incas and their legendary architectural contributions. This, in turn, supported the transformation of Cusco's past into a sense of nostalgic nationalism that reinforced the significance of the Inca past in the Peruvian present. In this way, both U.S. publications suggested an Incaic return with some level of optimism. LIFE's final verdict was that despite the damage, Cusqueños "*knew their historic city would rise again*."

Early Efforts in Preserving and Rebuilding the City

While Wethey's rendering of colonial Cusco celebrated three centuries of Baroque magnificence, descriptions of the city after 1950 were burdened with sorting out the historical debris. This meant excavating the city's archaeological past, rearticulating the significance of surviving monuments, and considering reconstruction and urban development. Because of Cusco's role in regionalized-national culture, this was a monumental venture with multiple stakeholders: *Who would define the past? How should the city be rebuilt?*

Figure 2-15 Cusco streets, 1950. Photographed by Eliot Elisofon, LIFE Magazine.

All around the city, surviving structures had been temporarily propped up – a reality and ongoing metaphor that has continued to define the city into the 21st century [Figure 2015]. In the months following the earthquake, several governmental agencies sent representatives to survey the damages. They organized emergency relief which included temporary housing, plans for upgrading the city's infrastructure, hospitals, schools, and a new airport (Hudgens 1952). At the same time, The Peruvian History Association was in the process of developing a dual strategy for restoration that represented a particular perspective of managing the past. First, there was to be a "most faithful effort" to restore things *exactly* as they were and, in cases where individual monuments were damaged beyond repair, the fragments were to be preserved on the spot behind appropriate safeguards. Second, actual restoration was to be based on original materials with substitution and replacement being resorted to only where absolutely essential for technical reasons (New York Times, Peru Quake Spurs Inca Nationalism, July 3, 1950).

If The Peruvian History Association's program had succeeded, the city might have become a museum. However, in Cusco, there were clashing attitudes towards the historic landscape, how to safeguard the past, and ideas surrounding modernization. Although the Inca

stonework rose defiantly and some of the reconstruction work had started, Cusco's historic landscape required champions to articulate a recovery plan, gain consensus, and facilitate urban resuscitation. The first to step forward was a former president of Peru, José Luis Bustamante y Rivero (in office 1945-1948).

The Peruvian Response

Bustamante had been a student in Cusco during a time that was characterized by Giesecke's urban and cultural projects and Bingham's "rediscovery" of Machu Picchu. In 1918, he received a Doctorate in Letters from Cusco's university (UNSAAC) and went on to become a legal scholar. Bustamante's dedication to Cusco and Peruvian patrimony shaped his political life, even after being ousted by General Odría in 1948. Eventually, Bustamante became a judge and president of the United Nations International Court of Justice in The Hague in the 1960s.

Only three days after the earthquake, the exiled former president deployed the New York Times as a political platform for an "initiative of action." In a letter to the editor entitled, "*Restoration of Cuzco Monuments*," Bustamante presented the Andean city as a mobilizing social responsibility and American symbol. This was strategic given the larger framework of post-war conditions at that time. Its placement was telling, located between a letter critiquing the editorial positions of the New York Times on the recently formed U.S. Council of Economic Advisers (1946) and a piece on Soviet Collective Farms. The letter also shared the page with two other brief articles which were characterized by their messages of Cold War anxiety and "hysteria."

The former president applauded the New York Times "worthy" and extensive coverage of the earthquake and its support of "that famous American archaeological center." Channeling United Nations directives in defense of the city, Bustamante maintained that the restoration of the "Archaeological Capital of America" and its "invaluable monuments and relics" of the ancient pre-Inca, Inca, and Spanish civilizations was a "moral imperative." This part of the message was specifically aimed at cultural institutions and what Bustamante referred to as the intellectual and altruistic elements of the great inter-American community.

Appealing to the Americas, he called for collaborative aid on two fronts: a "united action" of the leading North American cultural and artistic centers; and a technical and economic collaboration in the restoration of the "great Cusco monuments." In addition, Bustamante sent out a letter to "important entities and distinguished professors and intellectuals of Washington and New York," placing this initiative under their sponsorship and suggesting that they create an organizing committee for the work. It is significant that this plea and the justification for collective action was made almost one year *before* the United Nations arrived in Cusco.

Besides requesting technical and economic collaboration, this letter precisely articulated the resolutions in UNESCO's 1946 Constitution, "…that the wide diffusion of culture, and the education of humanity for justice and liberty and peace are indispensable to the dignity of man and constitute a sacred duty which all the nations must fulfill in a spirit of mutual assistance and concern." As Bustamante was appealing to "*all persons who share in the love for the historic past,"* Peru's provisional president, General Manuel A. Odría, was in the midst of pursuing a legal presidential candidacy in an election where he would be the sole candidate.

PART THREE: The Built Environment as Palimpsest of History OR Cusco's "Problem"

During the following years, Bustamante's call for action and technical assistance was answered by two United Nations agencies: The Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) and UNESCO [Figure 2-16]. Because both organizations were in the earliest stages of organization, post-disaster Cusco was an ideal setting and proving-ground for conducting technical missions. This meant that the TAA and UNESCO approached the city and surrounding region as a site of experimentation and as a potential model for future programs elsewhere. At least three conditions in Peru characterized these missions: the damage in Cusco that the teams encountered as they arrived; the different visions for managing the city that were being considered in Cusco and Lima; and the fragile state of national politics. As early UN projects, these missions were also impacted by larger international issues taken on by the United Nations at that time: post-war recovery – cultural and economic, and the possibility of world peace.

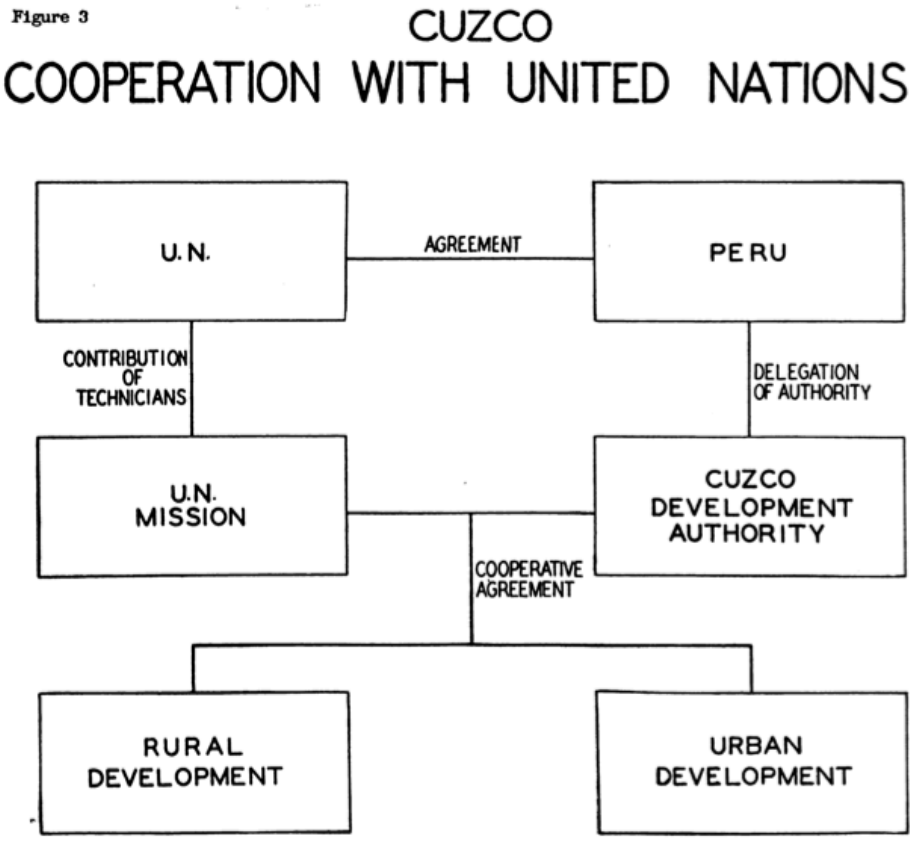

Figure 2-16 Diagram of Cooperation with United Nations. Source Hudgens 1952: 14.

The methodology of each mission was also greatly influenced by the expertise of their mission directors, both of whom were U.S. citizens. During the TAA mission, Robert Hudgens was the executive director of Nelson Rockefeller's American International Association for Economic and Social Development (1948-1953). George Kubler, an art historian from Yale University, was one of the foremost scholars in Pre-Colombian, Post-Colombian, and Ibero-American Art at the time of UNESCO's mission. Consequently, these missions represented two different tactics for addressing the city and region. Hudgens and the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA) approached issues in Cusco through technical support, which was tailored

to "under-developed" countries, public administration, and regional development. Kubler and UNESCO identified the city as the inaugural mission for its division of Museums and Monuments and as a site with unique historical features and preservation challenges. These methodologies were complicated by the existing conditions.

The UN missions encountered a ruined and partially abandoned city, due to the lack of housing, which was entirely different from Wethey's descriptions of Cusco, which were blessed by centuries of historical hindsight and an "unscathed" built environment. When the first UN mission arrived in Peru, Cusco, according to the TAA report, was still shrouded in despair. The loss of housing had affected between 30,000 and 40,000 people – up to half of the estimated 70,000-80,000 living in the city at the time. In the months after the earthquake 20,000 people, as much as 25% of Cusco's estimated populace deserted the devastated city (Kubler 1952). Of the inhabitants left without homes, some 15,000 Cusqueños were eventually accommodated in provisional shelters erected throughout the city.

The severity of the destruction to the housing supply, the mass exodus of the city and collapse of the local economy, as well as the future growth of informal urban housing were concerns expressed in the UN reports the following year. Both mission reports described elements of emergency construction, temporary building materials and "slum" conditions. Barracks-type public housing units, supplied with some sewage and water facilities, had been erected throughout the city. These one-room structures were typically constructed with rough lumber and sheet metal, which must have added to the sense of desolation. Reconstructing the housing stock and addressing the damage to the historic buildings were key issues which required major fund raising.

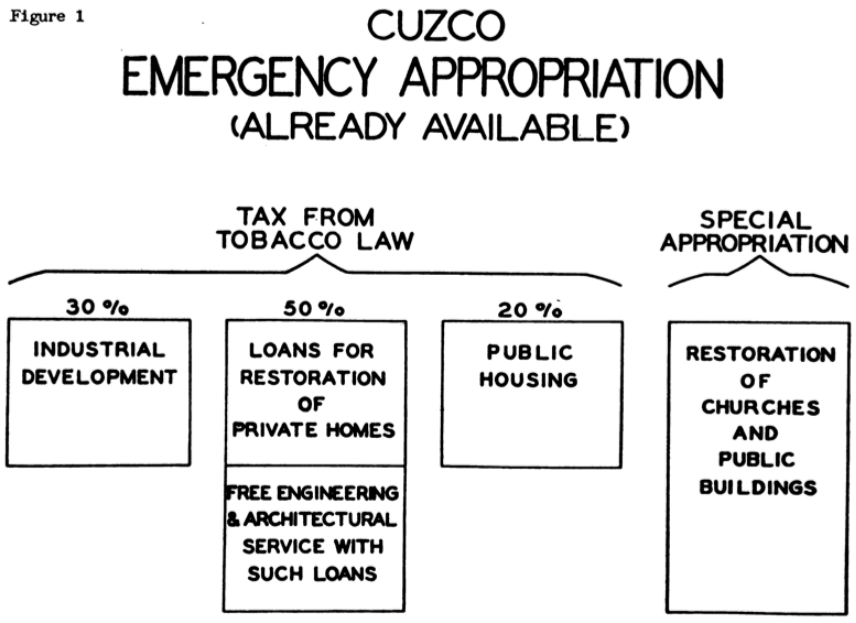

Figure 2-17 Allocation of Peruvian funds to rebuild Cusco. Source: Hudgens 1952: 6.

Prior to the arrival of the UN teams, the Peruvian Congress organized two sources to fund public and private housing, future construction, and to facilitate the reconstruction of churches, public buildings and historical monuments (*Ley No. 11551*) [Figure 2-17]. A Peruvian Tobacco Tax was passed December 31, 1950, months before the first UN mission arrived, authorizing

surtax on cigarettes, cigars and pipe tobacco (national and imported). Estimated at that time at $1.5 to $2 million annually, the receipts were to create a special fund for the reconstruction of worker housing, industrial development, and for financing private home loans in Cusco. In addition to the Tobacco Tax, Congress passed a special separate appropriation of 60 million soles or $4 million USD, beginning in 1951 and continuing for six years, for the reconstruction of churches and historical monuments (Hudgens 1952:2).

The questions surrounding restoring Cusco's historic landscape and repairing its broken infrastructure were divided conceptually and by urban conditions. These differences were highlighted in the clashing perspectives of academics and bureaucrats, as well as in the professional opinions of archaeologists, architects, historians, and engineers. There were also dissimilarities in regional and national approaches to modernization versus the past, which timeline was to be privileged, and how to address the physical rebuilding of Cusco. While the TAA and UNESCO addressed many of these questions, the struggle for consensus can also be explained by the state of national politics at that time and by the different presidential platforms of former president Bustamante and Peru's provisional president, General Manuel A. Odría.

As Bustamante ascended to presidency in 1945, many of his perspectives were aligned with those of the newly formed United Nations and its foundational UNESCO mandates: widespread cultural diffusion and the defense of peace constructed through the "intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind." The Bustamante administration presided over Peru's admission into the United Nations in 1945, its endorsement of UNESCO's constitution in 1946, and the founding of the National Commission for UNESCO (*Comisión Nacional Peruana de cooperación con la UNESCO, Decreto Supremo No. 2032*) in 1947. However, this alliance was disrupted as Bustamante was ousted in a military coup in 1948 by General Odría. This power shift placed the nation under military rule and in the hands of Peru's oligarchic "forty families" (Chaplin 1967:12).

Before seizing power, Odría had been War Minister in Bustamante's Cabinet. Once in office, he used his power base to focus on the restoration of the Peruvian economy through technical assistance and private investment from the United States (see Clayton 1999: 209; and Chaplin 1967). The earthquake was an unfortunate disturbance to the General's plans. Although he assumed direction of the earthquake relief operations from Lima, just over one week after the quake, Odría temporarily stepped down from his presidential office – in the midst of Cusco's disorder – and designated Zenón Noriega Agüero to act as interim, June 1 until July 28. This decision was significant because it revealed the priorities of the Odría's government – economic development, and the nature of decision-making in the capital while Cusco was most at risk.

In October 1950, Odría's newly elected constitutional government appealed to the United Nations for long-term technical assistance for the city and regional department of Cusco. The President appointed the first "Cusco Reconstruction Junta" under the leadership of the Department of Education to discuss problems and policies to guide reconstruction. However, at the end of 1950, the Junta dissolved and reconstruction problems were transferred to the Minister of Development and Public Works (Hudgens 1952). There were overlaps and divergences: early proposals for Cusco leaned toward privileging the past, while in Lima there were multidisciplinary and professional disagreements on how rebuilding might happen. Most solutions circled back to the challenging and nascent issues of preservation and urban planning.

Bustamante's call for the restoration of Cusco's monuments and President Odría's request for UN technical assistance stretched far beyond Peru's borders and created openings for the re-articulation of the city, not only as an icon of the Americas but also as an international site

of patronage and economic development. In February 1951, the United Nations sent an exploratory mission from the TAA to Peru in response to Odría's request. UNESCO's mission arrived the following June to assist with the restoration and reconstruction and to mediate the asymmetrical goals and approaches: *would Cusco be preserved or rebuilt as a modern city?* Both missions addressed the physical reconstruction of the city of Cusco and its monuments, preservation, but what was most important for the UNESCO team was how Cusco *should* be rebuilt.

The First UN Missions to Cusco and the "Problems" of Preservation, Urbanism, and Regional Development

> "The 1950 earthquake killed scores of people, left many thousands homeless and property damage ran into the millions, but it only slightly increased the problems of Cuzco. On the other hand, the world now knows about Cuzco and something will be done about its problems because Cuzco has been dramatically rediscovered not as a unique city or a remote Andean province, but as a typical regional problem where urban and rural areas are pathetically interdependent and where human and natural resources are silently begging to be developed. One new factor has been added – the insistence that something must be done immediately."
>
> From the United Nation's Technical Assistance Administration, "*Peru, Report on the economic and social development of the Department of Cusco*" (Hudgens 1952:2)

Unlike Bustamante's moral imperatives to promote Peruvian culture or foster an internationally-shared American past, the Technical Assistance Administration focused on classic development narratives. These were based on bureaucratic logic and the larger scale economic theories and development practices in Europe and the United States. Technical assistance was based on Article 55 of the United Nations' Charter, which pledged to "promote higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic and social progress and development." This agency later became part of the United Nations' Development Program (UNDP), which, with UNESCO, continued to play a major role in promoting Andean patrimony through the 1970s and early 1980s. This will be further addressed in Chapters Three and Four.

Although Cusco was not its first technical mission, it was one of the earliest and, as a result, the language and models of this early UN development were prominently featured in the TAA report. Entitled, *Report of an Exploratory Mission of the United Nations on the Economic and Social Development of the Department of Cusco (Peru)*, the TAA report justified its work through the identification of Cusco as a "prostrate" Andean city that had been "projected violently into the world spotlight" (Hudgens 1952:1). With its increased rural to urban migration at that time, Latin America was defined by its "development of underdevelopment" and conditions of "dependency" (see the Prebisch-Singer thesis, 1949). In an era of international reconfigurations, this mission shared many of the goals of contemporary economic recovery programs such as the Marshall Plan and it was in conversation with "third-world" terminology coined the following year by Alfred Sauvy in, "*Trois mondes, une planète*" (1952).

Suggested by the title, the project took on the larger Department of Cusco as a site of rescue and long-range investigation and research, rather than focusing solely on the post-earthquake zone and conditions in the city. After employing only two sentences to acknowledge the Inca past and the regularity of earthquake occurrences, the disaster was recast as a "blessing in disguise." The report stated that these unique historical factors were likely the only reason that the United Nations received an appeal on behalf of Cusco. This statement, however, could have

been seen as disenfranchising Peru's icon of national identity and effectively, the nation's sovereignty, which foreshadowed a pro-Peruvian re-claiming of the national culture. This is discussed in more depth in Chapter Three.

Outside of these exceptional conditions, the mission report described "typical" regional issues that plagued Andean under-development; a general backwardness and lagging behind in modern industry and agricultural production elsewhere. Yet, the Cusco region was also seen as a landscape of latent economic opportunity and potential resources, based on indigenous culture, land, and labor. These recurring themes underwrote the tone of the report that followed: criticism for the existing conditions and assurances for what the UN could provide institutionally. The 18-page document was composed of survey data that included a summary of recommendations and a proposal for a master regulatory organization to collect funds and overseer numerous development projects.

In addition, there were six pages of flow charts that organized items such as emergency appropriations, the hierarchical relationship with the UN the general delegation of authority and responsibility, urban and rural development, and a council and personnel distribution for rural development. Closing the report, one sketch map of the Cusco region indicated travel distances and zones of commodity production. The greatest contribution was a new regulatory agency, the Cusco Development Authority (CDA).

Under the auspices of emergent international programs and global networks that later anchored the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), three Technical Assistance specialists began work in the Andes. Heading the mission was a development specialist, Robert W. Hudgens, the Director of the American International Association for Economic and Social Development (AIA) (see also Duke University, Rubenstein Library: Robert Watts Hudgens papers, 1925-1973). The two other team members were Enrique Lozada and Lilian Petersen. A highly positioned Bolivian diplomat and professor of international law, Lozada taught at the University of La Paz and Harvard University and was also affiliated with the Andean Program of the United States Office of Inter-American Affairs (see Guthrie 2015). Based on the use of language and the background of the team members, it is likely that Hudgens wrote the report, although this is not specified in the document.

Hudgen's Approach to Cusco's "Problem"

For Hudgens and his team, the first task was to address persisting emergency conditions: the restoration of the historic landscape, housing, and public health. Beyond this, Cusco's larger "problem" was constructed through broad concerns, such as education, health, and agricultural production. This work was similar to initiatives taken on by the Latin American-focused AIA, which aimed to promote "self-development and better standards of living, together with understanding and cooperation" (source - accessed July 1, 2017: http://rockarch.org/collections/rockorgs/narorgs.php?printer=1).

Hudgens presented Cusco's issues and the UN's solution through a top-down relationship between the local challenges and international services. This is highlighted in the following goals and tasks of the TAA mission, which were to be managed in Cusco and organized on a regional level:

1. To broaden public urban administration through the addition of specialists;
2. To provide technical assistance and credit for industrial and agricultural production;
3. To establish self-help programs;
4. To acquire farm land; and
5. To increase standards of living.

Relying on a cadre of institutionally-trained experts, the solutions to issues in the Andean region were to be enacted through bureaucratic organization – people and policies – formulated to bolster "basic" economies. The report clearly identified Cusco as an experimental space for various academics, professionals, and UN experts:

> …the cultural anthropologist, the social worker, the agricultural technician, the migration expert, the engineer, the teacher, the administrator, the doctor, and the banker can all find unlimited opportunities for applying their specialties. It abounds in archaeological treasures whose accessibility will itself strengthen the economy of the region. The department of Cuzco, therefore presents a challenging combination of soluble problems
>
> Report of an Exploratory Mission of the United Nations on the Economic and Social Development of the Department of Cusco (Peru) (Hudegns 1952: 1)

According to the report, the benefit of using Cusco's city and region as a socio-cultural laboratory was to be able to "test the validity of its [UN] ideas and to demonstrate that, together with its specialized agencies, it can actually deal with a total problem." TAA's goals outlined increased bureaucratic organization with multiple types of development, statistics and cost analyses, demographics, and economic forecasts. Of the four recommendations in the report, the first two were significant for managing Cusco's urban issues: urban restoration and industrial development. These were to be enacted through state-sponsored organization of the Cuzco Development Authority (CDA) in combination with the introduction of UN-qualified specialists. The third and fourth recommendations proposed additional administrative and technical staff to set up the southern Andes as a Peruvian and Latin American model in longer-term regional development and tourism.

The bureaucracy and staffing of urban restoration projects and the larger scale development issues are directly connected to urban and regional planning from the late 1950s to the late 1960s and through the development of national cultural policies in the 1960s. The former was implemented through the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF) (*Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento),* the latter emerged with the rise of the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC) and the COPESCO Plan for regional development and tourism (*Comision Especial para Coordinar y Supervigilar el Plan Turistico y Cultural Peru – UNESCO COPESCO*). These domestic agencies drew their influence from Hudgens proposal for a master regulatory agency in Cusco.

The Cusco Development Authority (CDA) [Figures 2-18 and 2-19]

While Hudgens' report acknowledged that many emergency problems had been solved and that there were Peruvian plans and funding for further development, these efforts were seen as inefficient and uncoordinated. Created in the image of the Technical Assistance Administration, the CDA was presented as the obvious "starting point" for the Peruvian Government in Cusco. The CDA was to champion the integrated provincial development of a regional plan, which was to maximize the contribution of all agencies of the different ministries. The administrative functions of the CDA included the following responsibilities: administration of restoration funds, rural development, liaison between Peruvian Government and UN and its specialized agencies; contact with public agencies for services, management, investment; coordination of activities of other agencies working for the development of Cusco (Hudgens 1952: 5).

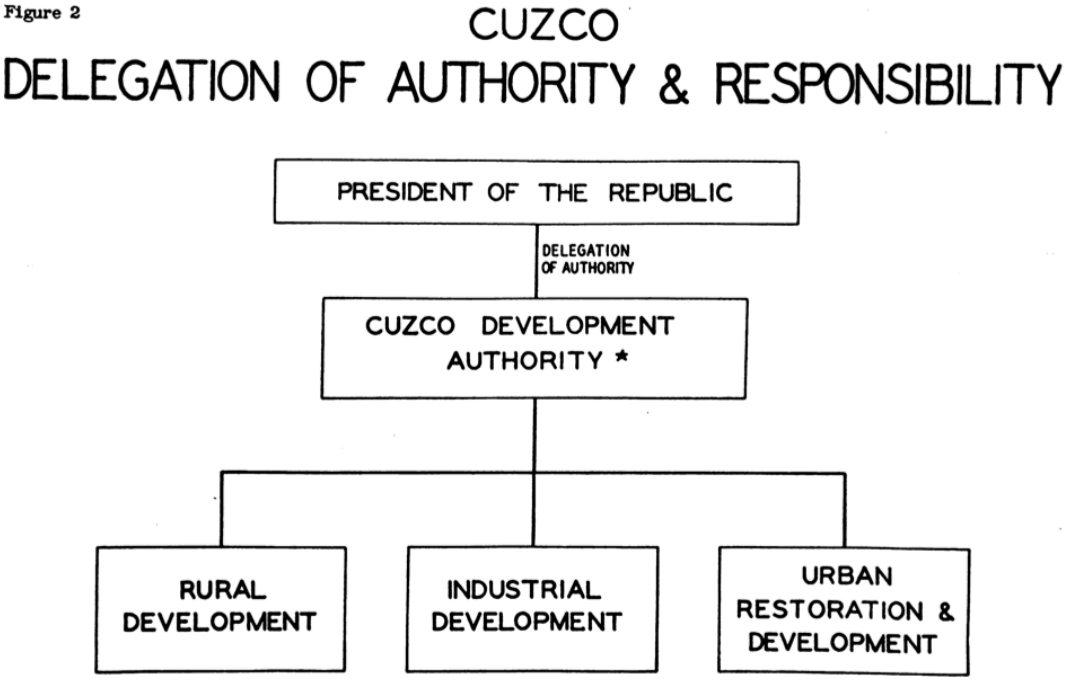

Figure 2-18 Diagram of Authority and Responsibility. Source: Hudgens 1952: 13.

According to the report, the greatest issue for urban development was to create a fixed authority for carrying out plans, which several government agencies had already made. This However, those plans were to be reviewed first by appropriate experts. Hudgens recommended that responsibility and expenditure of funds designated for restoration and development be delegated to the CDA, with the exception of part of the tobacco tax that was allocated legally to the Banco Hipotecario, a national bank.

AS a UN model, the CDA was meant to be a demonstration of the effectiveness of decentralization, a UN issue at that time and the following decades. In 1951, however, municipal governments did not enjoy much autonomous power or local representation; the President of Peru selected Cusco's mayors rather than opening this position to popular vote. The CDA was directly connected to presidential authority. Hudgens proposed specific consideration for

opening five positions to members of "special confidence" who were invested the city. The majority of the institutional cohort was to be local. These "Cuscanos" (Hudgen's spelling) were to report directly to the President of the Republic, which demonstrated the level of national control at both the municipal and regional levels.

The Hudgens report illustrated the ongoing struggle between the Andean past and "progressive" coastal identity, through a lens of UN objectives and its criteria for awarding international aid. According to this report, modern Peruvian development had by-passed the provincial Andean highlands and rural people lacked purchasing power. Because industry, including agriculture was seen to have lagged far behind Lima and "the more prosperous coastal region" (Hudgens 1952:1), the Andes were constructed as backward and poor, opposed to the capital's perceived success and modernity (see also Kuczynski 1977, on Peru's economic and social setting at this time and in the following decades). Importantly, the region was also seen as an opportunity for establishing a racial-ethnic site on which to "revive Indian civilization" in which "any appreciable number of people can be resettled." While Hudgens was likely envisioning a contemporary UN-regulated Indian efflorescence, through its economic base rather than an Incaic revival, the Incas returned elsewhere.

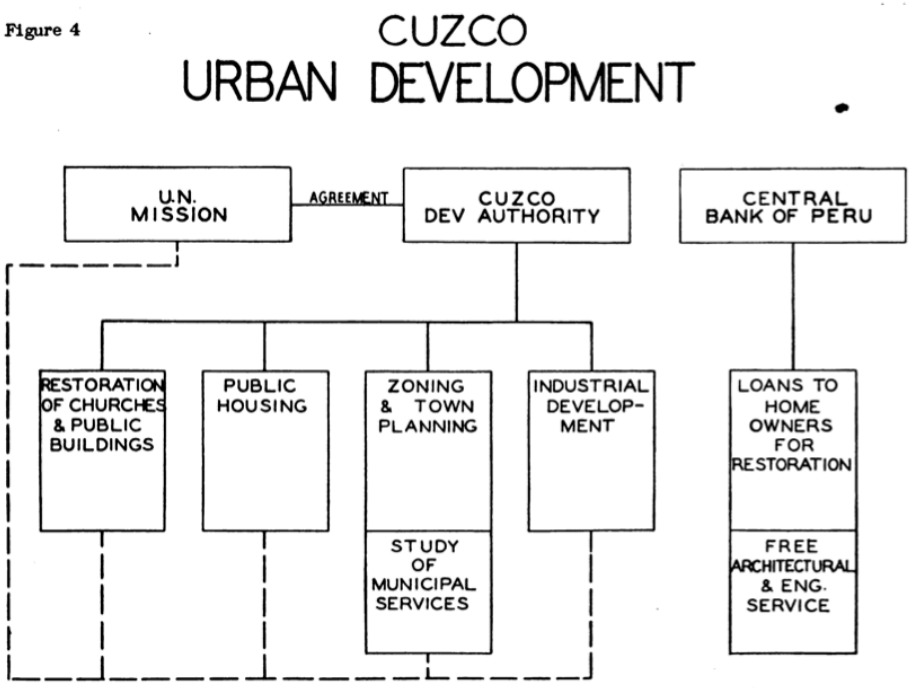

Figure 2-19 Diagram of Cusco Development Authority in cooperation with United Nations. Source Hudgens 1952: 15.

UNESCO's First Technical Mission in Museums and Monuments

In June 1951, one year after the earthquake, UNESCO's team arrived in Peru. Within the first week of their arrival, the National Office of Planning and Urbanism (*Oficina Nacional de Planamiento y Urbanismo*) appointed a planning commission to prepare a "pilot plan" for the future growth of Cusco. Some scholarly work on Cusco has attributed this proposal entirely to UNESCO. However, this was not the case: it was a Peruvian strategy that was in conversation with UNESCO's findings and recommendations.

After spending the first two weeks of the nearly three-month mission in Lima, addressing the perspectives of Peruvian archaeologists, historians, and architects, the team traveled to the

Andes. In Cusco, the field work began with documenting urban conditions. Entitled, *Cuzco: Reconstruction of the town and restoration of its monuments*, the UNESCO report was in direct conversation with Bustamante's New York Times petition from the previous year. Published as a foundational study for the division of Museums and Monuments (UNESCO Resolution 4.42 of the Program for 1951), this inaugural report premiered in a new UNESCO series devoted to the challenges of the preservation and restoration of monuments and works of art, as well the organization of museums and exhibitions. In other words, this was a foundational study.

George Kubler's social-scientific and humanities approach, mentioned in the Introduction to the dissertation, provided a critical background to the issues that the UNESCO team would undertake. The mission team included two other built environments specialists: Luis MacGregor Ceballos, architect-restorer of Mexico City, and Oscar Ladron de Guevara, architect-archaeologist of Cusco, who represented Cusco's Ministry of Public Works. According to the report, the team worked in close collaboration with governmental agencies and other institutions from which it obtained various help and facilities.

Kubler's report opened with the visually stunning Monroy Panorama [see Chapter One, Figure 1-6]. As described in Chapter One, this is a primary source for the city immediately after the 1650 earthquake. As the frontispiece for Kubler's report, it captured the apocalyptic view of Spanish Cusco, temporally and spatially connecting the earlier timeline to Cusco's 1950 quake. As an art historian, Kubler must have been familiar with the significance of the iconic painting and he probably encountered it early on in his investigations. At the time of the UNESCO mission, the historic canvas was hanging in the sacristy of the *Iglesia del Triunfo*, the oldest Christian church in Cusco. This edifice was one of the ecclesiastical wonders described by Wethey and it was located amongst other significant monuments, such as Cusco's Cathedral and the Jesuit church, *La Compañía de Jesús*. In contrast to Hudgens' brief narrative on the city, Kubler's inclusion of the *Monroy Panorama* demonstrated his profound knowledge of the historical relationships between regional earthquakes and the city's impressive cultural heritage.

Kubler's art historical context and local knowledge set the tone for the remainder of the document, starting with an historical overview of the city and a brief outline of Peruvian actions and aid to date. The beginning of the report also included some commentary on existing conditions and challenges within building statutes, local conservation and restoration, as well as the materials and techniques being applied to these activities. This was followed by architectural illustrations, descriptions of individual structures, streets, and urban blocks, as well as demographics and statistics, which may have been obtained from Peruvian agencies. According to the report, the survey team entered "literally" every building in the city in order to evaluate historical, artistic, or archaeological interest.

The UNESCO team surveyed all of the buildings described in the early seismological survey and came to some of the same conclusions about the extent and causes of damage. However, the 1950 seismology study was published after the UN mission reports and, therefore not available until 1954. Kubler leaned heavily on Wethey's recent descriptions of Cusco's monuments for "all historical discussions," and consulted his primary sources and bibliographic references for specific portions of the surveyed structures.

Complementing this historical endeavor was the photographic documentation of existing conditions. It is worth mentioning that in UNESCO's Meeting of Experts, in 1949, photography played a major role in exhibiting cultural monuments. This methodology may have influenced Kubler's decision to appoint a dedicated photographer for the documentation in Cusco. Abraham Guillén, had worked with Kubler in the late 1940s and Kubler requested that he be included in

the UNESCO mission. During the eight-week work period, Guillén produced around 1,000 architectural images, which were used in evaluating the damage caused by the quake. These helped to address and establish zoning for historical monuments, the redistribution of housing, and contemporary traffic problems. Fifty-three architectural photographs out of this collection were selected to support the survey in the mission report.

The photographs produced for this survey were deposited at Yale University. With documents, photographs, and drawings at its disposal, the mission formed a large working archive on all buildings in Cusco and a detailed account of expenses. All of this visual evidence further distinguished Kubler's study from Hudgens. The TAA report only had one map, showing road networks and travel distances and agricultural zones and products in the Cusco Region, and no photographs of any past or existing conditions.

Kubler's Approach to Cusco's "Problem"

Returning to Wethey's 1949 study of Cusco supplied the UNESCO team with rich descriptions of artistic and architectural aesthetics, materiality, stylistic modifications over time, and histories of the architects to whom design had been attributed. While this work highlighted the florescence of the Baroque city, there was very little discussion of pre-Hispanic history, the politics of where the building materials came from, or social implications. Wethey mentioned indigenous artists and the notion of local labor, but neither were elaborated upon.

Beyond Wethey's art-historic descriptions of the city, Kubler and the UNESCO team had the complicated burden of bringing the colonial monuments into an interdisciplinary conversation with the archaeology of the imperial past and the socio-cultural realities that constituted the modern city. In other words, rebuilding Cusco necessitated an interdisciplinary urban planning project: this had been part of the challenge for Peruvians and it was a key point of the UNESCO discussions in the meetings in Lima.

Cusco's "problem," according to Kubler, was historical, and it grappled with issues of conservation and restoration. There was not one, but three cities, each requiring different treatments for unique historical conditions: Inca, colonial, and modern. It is worth mentioning that Kubler's proposal for managing the city pre-dated a codified notion of an historic center, which meant that part of his solution was to create a temporal zone in Cusco's Inca-colonial core.

> Inca Cuzco lies at ground level and beneath the colonial city. It consists of beautifully fashioned walls – massive, inert, and irreplaceable. This cannot be restored. It can only be *conserved*. Colonial Cusco overlies it with religious buildings and courtyards dwellings. Some cannot be rebuilt. Many require restoration to their original form. Colonial Cuzco demands more than conservation; it requires restoration.
>
> Cuzco: Reconstruction of the town and restoration of its monuments (Kubler 1952: 2)

The modern city was a completely different venture: Cusco's future role was yet to be created and, according to Kubler, non-historic or outmoded infrastructure could be erased. Contemporary design was to respect the atmosphere of the ancient city *without imitating its ornamental forms*. Based on demographic patterns, Kubler imagined that Cusco would function eventually as a large regional capital facilitated by new urban infrastructure. However, this was not to take form through the conservation or restoration of the "obsolete remains of older stages of the city's growth." As part of recognizing this Kubler, citing Hudgens, noted the recent creation of the Cusco Development Authority (CDA) with the United Nations' participation.

Kubler's report specifically articulated the damage and recommended methods for preservation, rebuilding, and future city planning, which he noted was to be overseen by the Cusco Development Authority, proposed by Hudgens. In addition to addressing the immediate needs in the city, the UNESCO team organized a round-table meeting with 35 Cusqueños representing a variety of opinions and institutional interests, to better understand local ideals for conservation and restoration. The group reached consensus on two critical points: to preserve "old" Cusco – specifically its archaeological and colonial monuments; and to not separate or arbitrarily zone "old" and "new" Cusco – *they were to blend together*. As part of this, the Plaza de Armas was to retain its administrative and commercial centrality as a lived space rather than a museum. This was a critical decision that differed from earlier proposals and it would impact the designation of Cusco's Historic Center and future master plans, discussed in Chapters Three and Four.

Although UNESCO's team and their Peruvian colleagues documented the majority of the city, they were primarily interested in intervening in the area designated as "Zone A" [Figures 2-20 and 2-21]. This was demarcated as an archaeological and historical zone composed primarily of the "chief religious buildings and the important colonial dwellings," clustered around the Plaza de Armas. Within this protected sector, Kubler proposed that all Inca walls be legally shielded by legislation on archaeological monuments. Outside of the zone, Kubler noted that any construction affecting Inca walls would require a building permit from Cusco's Department of Archaeological Patronage (*Patronato Departamental de Arqueología*). The mention of this detail reiterates the notion of preservation and urban development which were in place before the arrival of the United Nations.

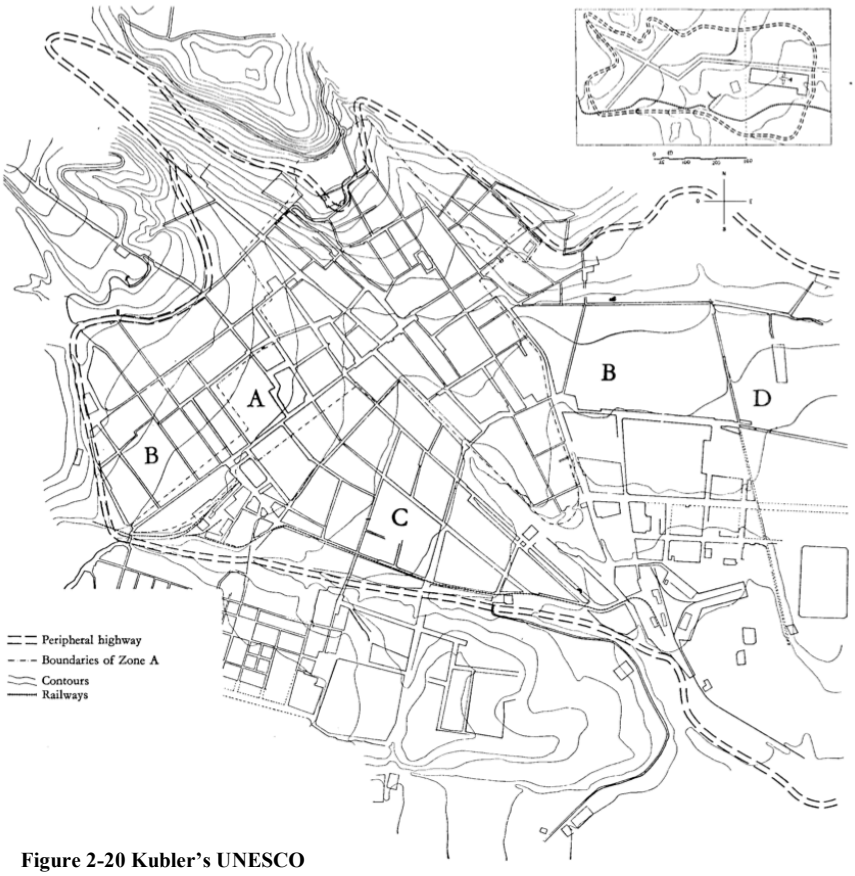

Figure 2-20 Kubler's UNESCO Zoning Map of Central Cusco.
Source: Kubler 1952: 5.

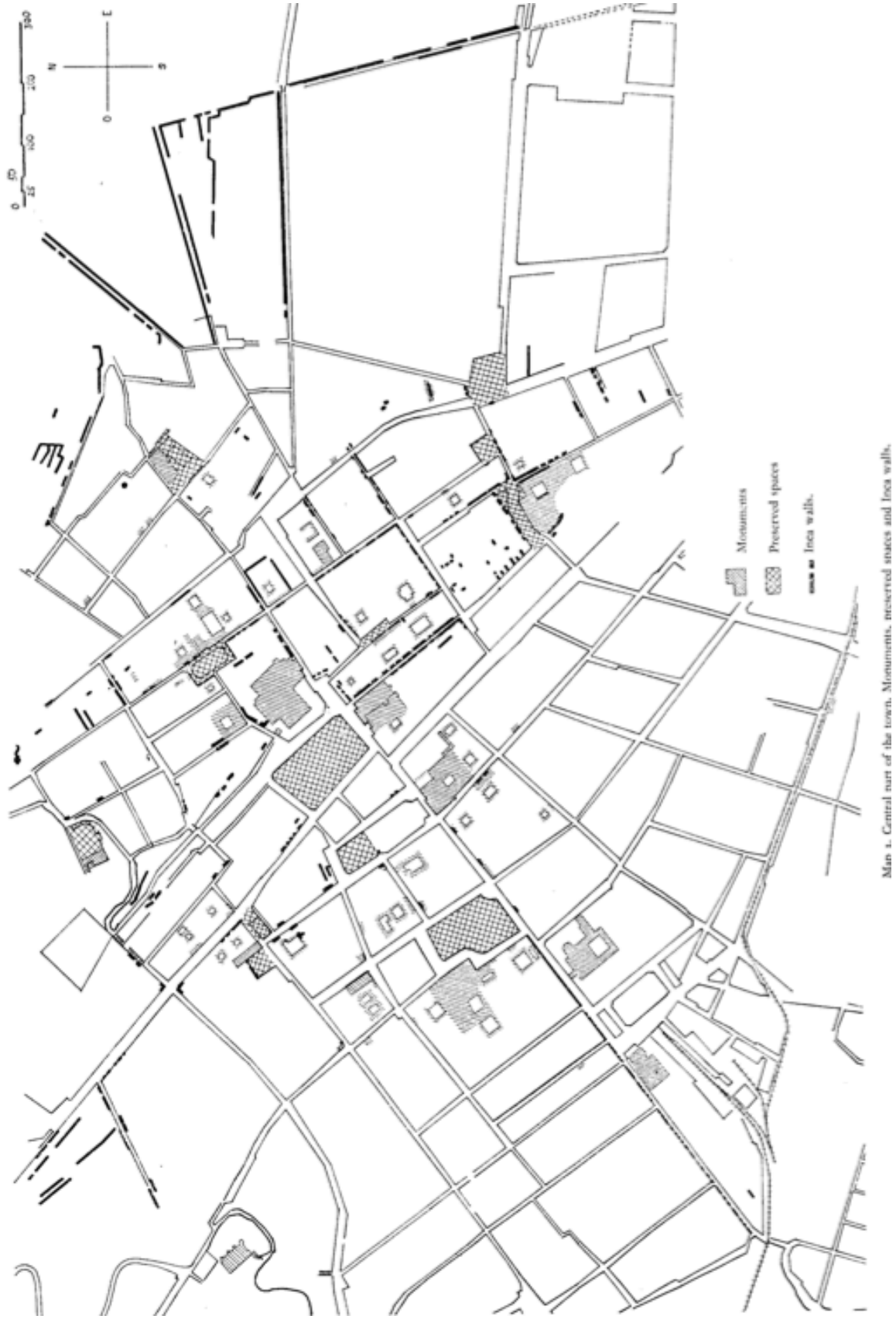

Figure 2-21 Kubler's Map of Monuments, preserved spaces and Inca walls in Central Cusco. Source: Kubler 1952: 9.

Analyses of the Different Visions for Preservation and the Restoration of Monuments

Linking the 1950 earthquake to the "great earthquake" of 1650, each mission offered separate solutions to the city's historic landscape, different versions of Cusco's supposed "problems," and distinctive visions for what should come next. Because the TAA's mission focused on the financial and technical aspects for the reconstruction of Cusco, addressing the specific conditions was not part of this analysis. Hudgens acknowledged the numerous efforts to move forward with rebuilding, developing, and funding. However, rather than taking on the task of defining how this should happen, his concern was that these activities were not being efficiently coordinated: this explained and legitimized the installation of the CDA. In his report, the brief description of how restoration and reconstruction was being funded was followed by a veiled complaint, wrapped in an explanation: restoration projects were largely unsupervised by government agencies. It is important to note that for the TAA, the acts of restoring and rebuilding were summarily filed with the larger tasks of housing issues and industrial development. However, this was not the way that Kubler described resolving a "total problem."

In the TAA report, urban restoration was classified by a sub-title, *Restoration of historic (Inca) monuments and reconstruction or relocation of old Spanish churches.* This suggests that the historical cohesion of Cusco's monumental Inca-colonial core was not necessarily a priority. If any of Cusco's colonial or archaeological monuments were to have been repositioned, this would have fundamentally changed the function and aesthetic experience of the city and disrupted its deep historic significance. Considering the three layers of the city that Kubler defined, relocating ancient edifices would have occurred at an enormous expense. In addition, this politically charged task would have created a completely different context for urban planning. However, this did not happen, thanks to the UNESCO team, which concluded, "the proper aim of conservation policy is to safeguard all monuments, regardless of the reign or the creed under which they were built" (Kubler 1952: 38).

Aspects of Kubler's report might be seen as addressing or filling gaps that were either identified or ignored by Hudgens. According to Kubler, restoration was being taken on through the representation of churches rather than operating under zoning and restoration plans. The UNESCO report elaborated on this process noting that, at the time of Kubler's mission, the Ministry of Development (*Fomento* is what Kubler called it) controlled the reconstruction expenditures on churches and historical monuments. Requests by religious orders or from the Archbishop in Cusco were being vetted through the Ministry of Development's Permanent Technical Office of Reconstruction (*Oficina Técnica Permanente del la Reconstrucción del Cusco*), which likely was a new agency and it was headquartered in Cusco. However, large-scale requests were handled and approved in Lima by the Ministry of Development. Doubtless, Hudgens planned for the CDA to take on all of this responsibility in the future.

Because the TAA was not concerned with the specific documentation or treatment of Cusco's historic built environment, the UNESCO team played a critical role in doing this work. Through Kubler's more informed and thorough assessment of the city, UNESCO promoted Cusco's cultural landscape as an historical process to be curated and planned in concert with modern construction. This prognosis of Cusco's built environment and the city's role as a model for managing the Andean past on an urban scale are significant for at least two reasons. First, Kubler understood Cuzco as a lived space, a "total problem," rather than a static or resurrected moment in time.

Second was the historical treatment of the architectural past: the remaining Inca foundations were reinterpreted as a *preservation* project, something that could never be restored

even though the earthquake had revealed this "past" at the expense of other historical layers. The project of *restoring* the Spanish architecture could either highlight the Inca past or re-colonize it. While parts of Kubler's proposal were similar to aspects of the earlier Peruvian solutions, his recommendations for addressing the specific conditions for preservation and conservation provided guidance for prioritizing this from an interdisciplinary planning perspective.

Kubler's perceptions of Cusco differed vastly from Hudgens,' in its specificity, not only to cultural artifacts, but also in the trajectory of urban planning and methodological establishment of guidelines for architectural patrimony in central Cusco. One of the most interesting and surprising aspects of Kubler's approach was the participatory nature of his work with Cusco's citizens. Rather than being a top-down UN mandate, there appeared to be local agency and collaboration – something that UN directives supported in institutional language but this, perhaps, was not a completely transferable practice. Preserving all of Cusco's monuments, creating an historic zone, and blending the past and present established unique challenges and ambitious ideals for negotiating treatments of the old with the new. This participatory model may have seemed novel in terms of what was happening in other cities: physically divorcing the architectural past in favor of modernity. However, the solution can also be read as a centuries-old pattern: Cusco had been ruled traditionally from the same streets, urban blocks, and central plazas since Inca times – *why should this change?*

Protecting the past in the present, thus, became an element of modern planning in Cusco that would extend beyond the monuments and main plazas, while addressing future urban infrastructure. Examples of how this would impact everyday life can be seen in proposals for wider streets. In some areas – particularly along the narrow Inca streets, this change would be nearly impossible and Kubler argued that it would threaten the preservation of decorative facades, doorways, and overhanging balconies that bestowed aesthetic character to the urban experience. Resolving these kinds of issues would take careful and informed planning. In this case, Kubler's solution was tied to the traffic reform outlined by the Pilot Plan, which had been developed by the Planning Commission. Its inclusion in UNESCO's report represented the Planning Commission's proposals, under the direction of Luis Miró Quesada G. for future growth, traffic reform, and zoning. The initial proposal had been adjusted in response to boundaries set by the UNESCO commission, the revised version was fully endorsed in Kubler's report.

Beyond the intellectual planning of the city, facilitating the construction for an expanding populace was a concern echoed in both reports. Kubler noted that the population growth rate had doubled every decade during 1930-1950; there was a general assumption that this would continue until the city was among the largest in Peru – with a population of "at least 150,000" (Kubler 1952: 2). Likewise, Hudgens identified new urban development through categories of housing, city planning, highway construction, and the municipal services and facilities were a critical part of Cusco's future – all of this was to be advised through technical expertise, yet to arrive in the city.

On a practical level, Kubler was very critical of existing building statutes, the lack of craft training in terms of construction techniques and building materials – especially in the manufacture and use of adobe, and availability of wood for construction purposes. Developing the industries that were needed to support the construction program was to be the first part of the industrial expansion, according to Hudgens. This was to include skilled labor and building materials: cement, tiles and bricks, stone, lumber, and the increased availability of electric

power. Kubler supported Hudgens proposals for industrial development and its administration by the CDA in the closing sentences of summary in his report.

Conclusions

Coinciding with the post-WWII rise of the United Nations and the earliest stages of international heritage-making, the earthquake opened unique opportunities for Cusco. Because of its serendipitous timing, the city became UNESCO's first mission in its Division of Monuments and Sites and a testing ground for evolving methods of preservation and urbanism. Consequently, Peru was drawn into the earliest discussions and policy-making that redefined national culture as internationally-shared heritage, and the nation-state as its custodian.

Preservation and development opportunities posed numerous quandaries for the construction of the city and for representations of Andean and Peruvian identity. In Cusco, the historic landscape that Wethey had so generously described was seen as decimated, propped up either literally or institutionally through UN preservation and reconstruction efforts. In place of Chambi's photographic representations of colonial and modern fusion, an unruly landscape of temporary housing had sprung up, crowding and disrupting meaning in the spaces of everyday life. The earthquake's damage, however, had unsettled more than the city. Regional and national identities were also reconstructed through these various projects. As plans for rebuilding The Archaeological Capital of the Americas progressed, Cusqueños decided, under the advisement of the UN, to embrace the Inca past as part of the strategy for building their city and an Andean future. In some ways, this decision reiterated Cusco position as the national past, compared with the perception of Limeño modernity.

Kubler's analysis and proposals for future work, along with the larger-scale recommendations by Hudgens and his TAA team, established new spatial, architectural, and land values that laid groundwork for subsequent master plans in the city. The UNESCO team took on the mantel of safeguarding the city's historic landscape as an urban planning project while the TAA advocated for enhanced bureaucratic organization through the establishment of the Cusco Development Authority.

It is unclear how much the two missions or their teams collaborated with each other; they were not in the field at the same time. Kubler gave a minor citation to Hudgens' earlier mission and acknowledged the proposed Cusco Development Agency and its proposed future roles, but he did not seem to rely on his survey material, which was unpublished at the time. However, there are a few clues in the documents that place the two reports into conversation with each other.

Both UN missions were caught up in institutional discussions surrounding the role of experts and the conflicting relationships between the protection of historic monuments and the functions of a modern city. While these ideas had been introduced by the League of Nations, they were evolving through the reach, context, and policies of newly formed United Nations agencies. Both mission reports stressed the importance of specialists and craft training in resolving urban and regional conundrums in the present and future. However, issues of preservation and restoration, urban development and their relationships to regional industry were addressed through very different scales and methodologies.

Beyond Peru, Cusco was reimagined as a space for operationalizing post-war economic and cultural recovery. This meant that, in the second half of the 20th century, the city would concurrently receive, model, and produce ideologies of modernity. In some ways, this started with the ways Hudgens' proposal for the CDA, which became a model for the Department of

Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF) (*Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento – Ley No. 12800*), established a few years later in 1957. Peru's affiliation with the TAA, later the UNDP, and UNESCO swayed the trajectory of national culture in the following decades, and this was instrumental in defining how culture could and *should* be identified and modernized.

CHAPTER THREE

Cusco Before World Heritage: Reclaiming the Peruvian Past in a Globalizing World

> People of Cusco: Today as yesterday, your Imperial City relives in my memory with all the majesty of its past, with the gallantry and optimism that exact the anxieties of your present and with the faith and confidence placed in your fortunate future. With that assurance, I hope that you join your efforts to mine so that we see the resplendent majesty of the metropolis, legendary and eternal, always illuminated by the radiant light of the Sun of the Incas.
>
> Manuel Prado Ugarteche, President of the Peruvian Republic, February 9, 1957
> Conclusion of a speech inaugurating the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development – CRIF (*Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento* – Ley No. 12800)

Presented formally in the Plaza de Armas in Cusco on February 9, 1957, President Manuel Prado Ugarteche's honorific speech inaugurated the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF) (*Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento – Ley No. 12800*). Charged with the modern stewardship of "old" Cusco, the city's urban issues, and expanded regional development strategies, this agency was a national response to the UN's Technical Assistance Administration and UNESCO's post-earthquake recommendations. The CRIF replaced the Board of Reconstruction and Development (*Junta de Reconstrucción y Fomento Industrial del Cusco [JRIF] – Ley No. 11551*), founded by president Odría in 1952 as the initial response to Robert Hudgens' development recommendations for a Cusco Development Authority (CDA). While the earlier agency was headquartered in Lima and administered from Cusco (Tamayo 1978: 191-195; see also Alvaro Thesis), the decentralized CRIF granted more power at the local level.

As one of the first fruits of the UN programs, the organization of the CRIF contextualized many of the ways that the city of Cusco and Peruvian cultural policy were tied to large-scale international issues. The city was concurrently caught up the shifting perspectives on national culture and Peru's role in a globalizing world. As the notion of an internationally-shared heritage developed, Peruvians continued to assert that national culture was a sovereign birthright. As discussed in the previous chapters, *Tawantinsuyu*, the Incas, and Cusco were central to these claims. The overlapping development of national culture and international heritage contributed to a growing pro-Peruvian sentiment, which was visible at the presidential level by the end of the 1950s.

In his speech for the CRIF, Prado invoked *Tawantinsuyu* and the "Imperial City," effectively linking the Andean present to Pachacuti's imperial city. This message was patriotic and meaning-laden for all Peruvians. However, the political work of reviving the Incas was especially powerful in the larger Department of Cusco at that time. When the CRIF was launched, Prado was six months into his second non-consecutive presidential term. Only a few months earlier, on July 7, 1956, Prado's opponent in the elections cycle, Fernando Belaúnde Terry, founded the pro-Andean Popular Action Party (*Acción Popular*). Although he lost, Belaúnde based his campaign platform – recapturing indigenous Inca traditions of community cooperation and the *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial order – as a model for modern social democracy.

Andean icons continued to inspire Belaúnde when he was finally elected as president in early 1960s. These themes also played a role with the succeeding president, Juan Velasco Alvarado. In the late 1960s, Velasco's nationalist reforms reflected tensions surrounding the proprietorship of Peru's national past, which was evidenced by the establishment of the National

Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC). While Velasco's revolutionary cultural policies reflected pro-Peruvian struggles, the INC also represented the nation's member-state participation in UN cultural programs. By the early 1970s, the INC and a regional agency, COPESCO, inherited the management responsibilities of the Department of Cusco from the CRIF. Through the efforts of agencies and the revised state cultural policy, Cusco's historical landscape was designated as a Monumental Zone in 1972.

Coinciding with UNESCO's Convention concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972), the designation of Cusco's Monumental Zone re-identified and protected the specific spaces around central Cusco as national patrimony: The Plaza de Armas and the streets that formed the Inca grid; the iconic colonial compound of Santo Domingo, with its foundations and traces of the *Qoricancha* sanctuary; the fortress of *Sacsayhuaman*; and many ecclesiastical buildings and urban monuments. It was this national legislation which formed the grounds for Cusco's nomination as a World Heritage site in 1982. The contributions of the CRIF, the National Institute of Culture, and UNESCO represented the basis of establishing the city as site of World Heritage in 1983.

Chapter Three considers Peruvian participation in international heritage-making and some of the ways this shaped national culture from the 1950s to the early 1970s. Each of the four sections takes on aspects and intersections of the following: heritage policy and geopolitical events; national perspectives, Peruvian culture, and shifting identity politics; and different visions for the protection of Cusco's historic landscape. Since there is little scholarship on some of these issues and insufficient material connecting these relationships, a descriptive and analytical approach to primary sources establishes the evidence. These texts are considered both as informative sources and historical objects with embedded meanings. Material developed in previous chapters will also be used in support of some of the larger claims surrounding Peruvian politics and national culture.

The first section briefly considers Peru's cultural development in the first half of the 20th century and places this in conversation with the origins and institutional efforts of the United Nations. The purpose of this section is to show that the cultural work of the UN and UNESCO was not a uniform or unchecked process across world regions and there were many factors that shaped Peruvian cultural policy over the course of the 20th century. Peru's case is presented through primary source documents drawn from Peruvian policy and international charters. To build the larger context, this section relies on some additional primary sources and the works of social scientist, Emanuel Wallerstein; international law specialist, Juan Pablo Scarfi; and Latin American historian Greg Grandin.

The second section demonstrates the proximity of Peruvian cultural development to international policies and heritage practices. This is represented by the interplay between UNESCO's first Meeting of Experts on Historical Sites and Ancient Monuments in 1949, Peruvian contributions to these issues, and the evolution of preservation and urban issues in Cusco. Besides the UNESCO reports from 1949, which provide a general background for key issues at that time, the findings of The Meeting of Experts were published in the 4th issue of UNESCO's academic journal, MUESUM. This text broadcast the material to a wider audience of cultural practitioners and is also useful as an object of analysis.

Preservation techniques, modern planning and technical missions were the primary topics under discussion in the Meeting of Experts; these can be contextualized by Peru's contributions to the Meeting of Experts and the ways these issues impacted Cusco. Peru's representative and cultural expert, Luis Valcárcel, brought decades of knowledge on Cusco and Peruvian patrimony

into these discussions. Besides material from earlier chapters, the work of Peruvian historian, José Luis Rénique supports some of this context.

The meeting material can be contextualized through George Kubler's analysis and recommendations for Cusco's post-earthquake recovery, UNESCO's first technical mission in 1951. At the end of the section, this material will be tied to the CRIF, which, in some ways can be seen as a link between the issues discussed at the Meeting of Experts, the post-earthquake work in Cusco, and the cultural management taken on by the INC in the late 1960s. Some of the changing perceptions surrounding Cusco and its historic landscape are provided by Peruvian architect, Emilio Harth-Terre in 1963. His position was captured by CRIF-sponsored lecture entitled, "Cusco of Yesterday and For Tomorrow" (*El Cuzco de Ayer y Para Mañana*).

Paralleling the timeline of internationally-shared heritage, the third section considers state-level visions of the national past and pro-Peruvian modernity narratives. These were reflected in the words, policies, and projects of Peruvian presidents Fernando Belaúnde Terry (in office 1963-1968) and General Juan Velasco Alvarado, "President of the Revolutionary Government" (in office 1968-1975). Employing *Tawantinsuyu* to reclaim Peruvian culture represented a response to a globalizing world. President Belaúnde advocated for a uniquely Peruvian solution to the geopolitical conditions of collectivism and consumerism. This perspective is drawn from the material in his book, *Peru's Own Conquest* (1959). Written by Belaúnde as a campaign manifesto, this text revived the Incas and Andean past as a utopian model for social order and national infrastructure.

Inspiring a cultural revolution, President Velasco's leftist government appropriated the Andean solstice festival of *Inti Raymi* as a launching point for the re-identification of the nation and "new Peruvians." This section also considers the associations between the Andes and Valasco's liberal pro-Indian and "non-repressive," yet military government, through the Marxist lens of Eric Hobsbawn. He observed, first-hand, Velasco's coup of Belaúnde's government and the rise of this revolutionary administration. This era was further complicated by agrarian reforms and escalating rural to urban migration, which Linda Seligmann has described in her text, *Between Reform and Revolution: Political Struggles in the Peruvian Andes, 1969-1991* (1995). The chapter entitled, "The Agrarian Reform Project" is especially useful for considering some of the transformations of the nation's economic, social, and institutional structures which formed the background of the cultural reforms.

These projects and the subsequent social upheaval contributed significantly to revolutionary changes in Peru in the late 1960s. Out of this, the National Institute of Culture (INC) was born. Focusing on the INC's claims surround the unique nature of Peruvian cultural policy, the fourth and final section returns to a discussion of the relationship between UNESCO, the INC, and the city of Cusco. The INC concurrently linked cultural reform and Peru's responsibility as a member-state to the larger infrastructure of UNESCO. These changes impacted Cusco's historical landscape and bolstered its status, once again, as national culture. The material from this section relies on documents from these agencies. *Cultural Policy in Peru*, written in 1975 by the INC and published by UNESCO in 1977, outlined the bases of the cultural policy of Velasco's revolution.

The cultural transformations impacted major Peruvian cities. This was evidenced by a 1971 report from the Society of Architectural Historians newsletter, written by Peruvian architect José García-Bryce. In 1972, state-level designation of monumental zones and hundreds of individual monuments expanded cultural policy. Published by the National Center of Cultural Information in 1999 the INC presented the List of Historic Monuments in Peru (*Relación de*

Monumentos Históricos del Perú) as the first, most complete, and truthful record of buildings from the 16-20th centuries. This important 96-page document includes the historical designation of monumental zones in 15 departments and an inventory of declared monuments in 21 departments (INC 1999: 5).

In addition to the INC's publications, a 1981 technical handbook from UNESCO's division of Museum and Monuments, written by Peruvian architect, Roberto Samánes Argumedo, reveals how the influences of international policy and state culture impacted Peruvian monuments in the first few years after the INC was founded. With images, architectural drawings, and charts, this report focused on the special projects that were carried out by the INC and the COPESCO Plan in the Cusco and the surrounding region during this time.

The interplay between development policy, national culture, and identity politics, described in the first three sections of this chapter, set the stage for the designation of Cusco's Monumental Zone in 1972. This was concurrently supported by UNESCO's Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, established one month earlier. Cusco's monumental zone and the World Heritage Convention established legal platforms for nominating Cusco and Machu Picchu as World Heritage Sites.

PART ONE: The Rise of Peruvian Culture and International Heritage

Long before the notion of internationally-shared heritage, people in the southern Andes celebrated *Tawantinsuyu* as an eternally powerful institution. In 1929, when Peru claimed Cusco as the "right of the nation," the Inca empire was reincarnated through Peruvian law as a symbol of the nation's modern authority. Even before Bingham's rediscovery of Machu Picchu in 1911, the ancient Andean past was presented as Peru's inheritance in some of the earliest scientific, historical, geographic, and humanitarian forums. The meeting of the Americanists in Buenos Aires in 1910, is an early example. In this conference, Max Uhle, Peru's official delegate and vice-president of the congress, delivered a paper on the origins of the Incas (Rowe 1954: 13).

Only a few years after the rediscovery of Machu Picchu, and perhaps at the peak of early 20th century archaeological and intellectual ventures in Cusco, the world changed radically as many nations marched to join a devastating "War to End All Wars" (1914-1918). In addition to the enormous loss of life, cities were ripped apart violently and many ancient monuments and cultural materials were damaged and destroyed. As the First World War ended and post-war recovery began, a series of changes ensued that reconfigured the meaning of sovereignty for all nations.

During the short and fragile interwar period that followed (1919-1939), international institutions, especially the League of Nations, opened discussions on *how national culture could be rescued* and *who should oversee this process*. Formed by charter in 1920, the League of Nations advocated for an end to armed conflict through diplomacy, cooperation, and arbitration. Out of this framework a notion of an internationally-shared heritage was born, but it took many decades to realize this goal.

Umpired by the Great Powers, the League of Nations' Covenant advocated for peace on the basis of earlier protectionist policies. Of critical importance was the League's entrusting of "peoples not yet able to stand by themselves under the strenuous conditions of the modern world" to the tutelage of "advanced" nations, addressed in Article 22. In this context, being "able" meant being modern. These themes would continue to resurface in the coming decades through field-testing. Eventually, these ideas coalesced into international policy. For Latin

American nations, this relationship was highlighted by Article 21 of the Covenant, which specifically cited and upheld the Monroe Doctrine (1823). This legislation was significant for the Americas because the Monroe Doctrine coincided with Latin American independence, it defined a sense of American solidarity, and it continued to shape the region's relationship with the United States of America.

While Latin American nations joined the League, and relied on it as a counterweight against the growing hemispheric authority of the U.S., many of these countries began to look inward and almost exclusively to the Latin American context (Scarfi 2017: 92). Inter-American friendship programs and transnational infrastructure promoted the idea of hemispheric stability and future investments. In North America, this was evidenced by the "relief, recovery, and reform" and the New Deal progressivism of U.S. president, Franklin D. Roosevelt. Shepherded by the United States (see Grandin 2006), inter-American projects included intercontinental railroads, highways, and communication networks. The Pan-American Highway, in particular, was held up as an ambitious example of 20th century neighborly competition. These developments facilitated new opportunities for commerce, travel, and tourism. Many of the projects in Peru and Cusco reflected these objectives (see Kelchner 1938) (citations – NY Times, May 5, 1945: "Joins Chile in Naming Highway for Good Neighbor Sponsor.").

Peru offered rich yet disorderly political landscapes for the cultural work of this era. By 1929, the nation had already founded its first national agency to register, preserve, and research archaeological remains, the *Patronato Nacional de Arquelogía*. Through this, Peruvians claimed that the right of the nation over existing State-owned monuments was "inalienable and imprescriptible" (Ley No. 6634). At the same time, this nation was particularly vulnerable, especially during the 1930s, with six different presidents in 1931 alone; two by way of military coup.

Despite these political struggles, Peru worked toward hemispheric cooperation and, like other American nations, undertook large-scale infrastructure projects. In 1938, Lima hosted the Eighth Inter-American Conference, from which the Declaration of the Principles of the Solidarity of America was created. Known more briefly as the Declaration of Lima, this "*Magna Carta of American freedom*" contextualized the Monroe Doctrine and, at that time, was seen as the "most significant statement of principles and pledge of concerted action in the history of Latin American conferences" (Fenwick 1939: 257, 268). That same year, the Peruvian Government was in the middle of a three-year road building program which included the construction of a great coastal highway, part of the Pan-American Highway system between Ecuador and Chile (Kelchner 1938:727).

The political work in the national capital coincided with some large cultural and infrastructural projects in Cusco, described in Chapter One. This began with the opening of the city's air field in 1933 and the completion of the narrow-gauge railroad connection between Cusco and Machu Picchu the next year. These projects corresponded with Luis Valcárcel's large-scale archaeological projects in Cusco and Sacsayhuaman, and overlapped with the Quadricentennial celebrations. It is noteworthy that in La Paz, Bolivia, there was an earlier and less spectacular commemoration of the 400-year anniversary of the capture of the Inca ruler Atahualpa in Cajamarca, November 16, 1532. The Bolivian event celebrated the "Fall of the Incas" at archaeological sites in and around Lake Titicaca, Tiahuanaco, and the Islands of the Sun and Moon (New York Times, November 20, 1932, La Paz Celebrates Fall of the Incas). It would be interesting to know more about the deeper significance and timing of these events, which clearly were designed to memorialize Spanish America in the Andes.

Meanwhile, in Europe, the League of Nations' projects continued through discussions and debates on how to categorize and manage historical built environments. In 1931, under the patronage of the International Museums Office, the First International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments drafted a restoration charter in Athens. The *Carta del Restauro* was an interdisciplinary effort that introduced significant conservation concepts and principles. This sowed the seeds for rethinking the relationship of the past to modernity, especially in European cities recovering from World War One. The charter included the notion of a common world heritage; the importance of the setting of monuments; and the principle of integration of new materials. Adding modernism to the debate, in 1933, the *Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne* (CIAM), considered issues surrounding architecture and "functional" cities. Together, these charters presented the foundations for imagining the "old" in the same context as new architecture and engaging these issues through urban planning. Conservation and urbanism became critical features of institutional debates following the Second World War.

Starting in the late 1940s, the issues of post-WWII recovery, the containment of communism, Cold War politics, and decolonization programs contextualized many international debates and projects. Backed by the United States and influenced by its foreign assistance programs, the United Nations emerged as an important international institution (Wallerstein 1989). As the UN took up the mantle and research of the collapsed League of Nations, its agencies pursued the larger ideological undertakings of world peace and economic recovery through the notion of internationally-shared heritage. This played out on many different scales and under various conditions.

In 1949, UNESCO's first Meeting of Experts identified issues of preservation and urbanism by specific monuments and sites, their relationships to national conditions, and various notions of modernity. These conditions varied greatly throughout the world, evidenced by the differences in Europe, the United States, and Latin American nations, among many other regions. In international fora, there was an emphasis was on European cities, where preservation was characterized by enormous losses and post-war recovery. These discussions focused on safeguarding monuments, urban reconstruction, and new growth.

In the United States, the National Park Service worked toward protecting sites from industrialization, expansion, and the increasing numbers of visitors who arrived in cars. At the Meeting of Experts, UNESCO lauded colonial Williamsburg as a model educational museum. In Latin America, however, there were different conditions and timelines to manage. Preservation was specifically linked with archaeological sites and restoration work in colonial churches. Juxtaposed with post-war conditions and preservation projects in Europe, massive rural to urban migrations defined the modern conditions in many major Latin American cities. The 1950 urbanization index for Latin America *as a whole* was estimated at 25%; in other words, one of every four inhabitants lived in a town with a population of over 20,000 (UNESCO: Urbanization in Latin America 1961 [1959], 27). It was from these diverse and shifting urban conditions, that historic centers were separated and protected.

In Peru, Cusco's post-earthquake recovery, which began in 1950, coincided with some of the issues in European and Latin American cities. As discussed in previous chapters, this work was complicated by the unique layers of empire and colonial architecture, evidenced specifically by different UN approaches to Cusco's historic landscape in 1951. While new methods of preservation and urban planning may seem like the obvious products of the early UNESCO

meetings and the UN missions, it is important to remember that there were several Peruvian precedents.

Urban planning, although not in a modern sense, dates back to Inca times through mythical layout of the Hanan and Hurin sectors and the remains of the Inca-colonial grid. Preservation was a major part of the *Patronato* in 1929, which, in the Andes, specifically focused on urban monuments in Cusco and the regional sites in the Sacred Valley. In 1932, this issue was also under debate at the International Congress of Americanists when Cusco was given the title, "Archaeological Capital of South America" – a theme that is included in many of Cusco's planning documents. The development of Cusco's built environment and the rise of state cultural policy in the late 1960 and early 1970s represents the intersections between this earlier history and the larger international debates on these issues, which began in the late 1940s through the efforts of UNESCO.

PART TWO: Protecting the Past, Building the Future: Intersections between Cusco's Iconic Landscape and International Issues of Preservation and Urbanism

> "The stones and monuments of Cuzco are physical testimonies. It is up to you, sirs, to continue the task for tomorrow."
>
> From a CRIF-sponsored lecture by architect, Emilio Harth-Terre (CRIF 1963: 16 - *Las piedras y monuments del Cuzco son testimonios físicos. A vosótros, señores, toca proseguir la tarea para mañana.)*

During the autumn of 1949, UNESCO hosted its 4th Ordinary Session of the General Conference, a spectacular international event which included seventy-four meetings, fifteen plenary sessions, and the participation of forty-seven out of fifty member-states. News agencies from forty countries covered these high-profile meetings; much of the affair was captured on film (Torres 1949). Reflecting the geopolitics of that era, the primary issue at the conference was post-war reconstruction. The recovery measures called for both emergency action from UNESCO's specialized agencies and cultural rescue. In the conference report, this was categorized as Cultural Activities (UNESCO 1949: 25-27), with emphasis on the protection of antiquities and built environments. Sections on "Museums" and "Archaeological Sites and Historic Monuments" endorsed the International Council of Museums (ICOM). With authority over state culture that seemed to exceed that of national initiations, ICOM was charged with coordinating access to national archaeological sites through the following directive:

> *6.42 Archaeological Sites and Historic Monuments*: To report to the General Conference on measures suitable for ensuring the co-operation of interested States in the protection, preservation and restoration of antiquities, monuments and historic sites, and on the possibility of establishing an international fund to subsidize such preservation and restoration. Particular attention will be given to arrangements for the protection of such monuments, as well as to the protection of all objects of cultural value, particularly those kept in museums, libraries and archives, against the probable consequences of armed conflict.

In hindsight, UNESCO's General Conference of 1949 was particularly prescient for Cusco and for the development of Peruvian culture, which was about to be altered dramatically. Only six months later, Cusco's earthquake and the city's post-disaster conditions offered the first proving ground for many of these ideas. In the next few years, the UN's influence filtered through Peruvian policy and domestic agencies, such as the CRIF. This dynamic shaped the

nation's cultural policy in the following decades. A closer look at this historical framework and the issues at hand demonstrates how changes in Peruvian cultural policies were so closely tied to the development of these groundbreaking international issues at this time.

In the Progress Report for the conference, which covered activities during September-November 1949, Director-General Jaime Mario Torres Bodet lauded UNESCO's efforts as one of the most "outstandingly important events in the life of the Organization." It was through this context that he recognized a highly-specialized and elite forum on international cooperation in the protection of culture (Torres 1949: intro and 25). This was the First Meeting of Experts on Historical Sites and Ancient Monuments. Convening at the UNESCO House in Paris, October 17-21, 1949, the forum addressed some of the issues from the General Conference but approached these themes more specifically through historic built environments.

The Meeting of Experts was represented by a small group of participants, drawn from the highest echelons of academic achievement and international policy-makers. This included sixteen contributors, four observers, and the Director-General of UNESCO, Jaime Torres Bodet. With interdisciplinary backgrounds ranging from museum directors, antiquities specialists, and historians, the experts took on national issues of preservation and restoration. Several participants brought site-specific concerns and practical insights from their home countries. Some of this material was organized collectively as an exhibition at the UNESCO House. With photographs, diagrams, and plans from recent restoration projects taken on by various nations, UNESCO considered this presentation as the "first result" of international cooperation in this field (see MUSEUM 1950: 7, 49).

The largest concerns were encapsulated in a message from Director-General Torres, who called for "new" methods of preservation through a re-examination of current practices and responsibilities, and greater public accessibility to cultural materials and sites.

> Today all civilized opinion is agreed that **countries in possession of art treasures are no more than their trustees and that they are thereby responsible for them to the community of nations**; it is the moral force of that principle which makes us hope to secure the support of all states towards ensuing the preservation and protection of mankind's artistic heritage.
>
> A message from the UNESCO Director-General, Jaime Torres Bodet, to the first Meeting of Experts, October 1949, Paris (also published as an opening message in MUSEUM Vol. III, No. 1; and cited in the 1950 report on The Museum and Monuments Division of UNESCO, p. 5.)

In the above passage, Torres made direct connections between international law, national patrimony, and the stewardship of internationally-shared culture. Echoing the work of the League of Nations International Committee of Intellectual Cooperation and UNESCO's mandate to "maintain, increase, and diffuse knowledge," this was a call for nation-states to fulfill a custodial role in protecting the world's cultural materials. Supported by the "necessary international conventions," Torres suggested that nations could go beyond safe-guarding culture to address the "susceptibilities of the peoples, and their attachment to the glorious relics of their past."

Besides being an acknowledgement of the post-disaster relationship between antiquities and identity politics, these conditions provided the general grounds for educating people about the value of culture. The Director also suggested the importance of heritage-based industries and the opportunity to educate the public on culture through tourism. In other words, internationally-shared culture was not only for the elite and it could bolster the economy.

In general, the individual reports from the experts and the accompanying images represented the following interrelated themes:

1. Reconstruction in service of preserving "authentic remains" and repurposing the use of monuments – both were related to post-disaster town planning;
2. Relationships between state, provincial, and municipal responsibilities;
3. The value of folklore and the designation of country "sites;"
4. Funding for historic and cultural sites; and
5. A proposal for future investigatory missions.

Most of these concerns characterized elements of Cusco's reconstruction in 1950 and some were adopted by Peruvian cultural policy-makers in the following decades. By the late 1960s, Peruvian cultural policy responded to many of these large-scale issues, while maintaining Peru's culture as fundamentally Peruvian and a sovereign right of the nation.

In describing the significance of the Meeting of Experts and its influence, it is worth pausing on the manner in which the meeting content traveled beyond the realm of the UNESCO House. As part of the 1949 UNESCO general conference record, the Director-General's progress report for the autumn of 1949 acknowledged the high-profile work of this group; some of these details were also included in UNESCO's report for the Museum and Monuments Division in 1950. However, the most important medium may have been UNESCO's publication, MUESUM, which transmitted the material to a more general readership. Created in 1948, and still in existence as *MUSEUM International*, this journal promoted peer-reviewed research and exchange in the field of museology (for full description, see UNESCO 1950 [WS/090.64]).

Because its subject material was considered to be of such significance and great international worth, the Board of Editors of UNESCO's publication, MUESUM, devoted one full issue of the periodical to *Monuments and Sites of Art and History and Archaeological Excavations*. This special edition was only the 4th issue of the journal, which again, illustrated the level of influence this material wielded. MUSEUM reformatted the content of the Paris meeting, its appendix, and the expert's conclusions and disseminated this to larger audiences. Dedicated entirely to the Paris forum, the 108-page issue was entitled, *Monuments and sites of history and art and archaeological excavations: problems of today* (Vol III, no 1, 1950). This is likely where George Kubler, and other art historians who were not part of the Meeting of Experts, would have encountered cutting-edge preservation issues at that time.

MUSEUM's frontispiece featured a full-page photograph of Machu Picchu, described as a "Pre-Colombian monument." It is curious that an image from South America was selected to appear first, especially considering the weight of post-war reconstruction in the Paris meetings and the numerous references to the Euro-focused work of the League of Nations. However, considering the subject of the 1949 meeting, *Historical Sites and Ancient Monuments*, and similarly titled MUSEUM edition, this may have been done in keeping with the publication's theme. The placement of the Andean image also suggested an inclusive historical approach to UNESCO's vision of international heritage. Whatever the reasons, the opening image positioned a famous Peruvian site in a key publication and at a significant moment for the reconsideration of national culture on international levels.

While the material from the Meeting of Experts furthered the work of the League of Nations – a model for UNESCO, the contributions of the individual experts shaped the discussions. Some, like Peru's representative, Luis E. Valcárcel, had contributed greatly to past international congresses. Others, like Roberto Pane, Italy's representative, would usher these discussions into the future. Pane penned the main article for MUSEUM and later he helped draft

the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments*, known as the Venice Charter, in 1964. Pane's summary piece in MUSEUM focused on expert-selected case studies representing the specific conditions of national patrimony at that time. In identifying unique national conditions, the experts toiled collectively toward the larger project of internationally-shared heritage. For this and many other reasons, it was highly significant that Peru was represented by Luis Valcárcel at the Meeting of Experts.

At that time, Valcárcel was the director of Lima's National Museum of History (*Museo Nacional de Historia*) and a founding member of the *Patronato de Arqueología*, mentioned above and in Chapter One. As a renowned anthropologist and historian, Valcárcel contributed a wealth of archaeological experience and a deep institutional knowledge of Peruvian museums and cultural collections. As an expert on Peruvian culture, Valcárcel was interested in highland identity struggles. He authored several books on these topics, such as Storm in the Andes (*Tempesdad en los Andes;* 1927), and History of Ancient Cultures in Peru (*Historia de la cultura antigua del Perú*; 1943).

Valcárcel had a personal and life-long devotion to Andean culture and history, and deep intellectual connections to Cusco: this began as a child when his family moved to Cusco from Moquegua, Peru, around 1891. As a scholar at Cusco's University (UNSAAC), he was involved with some of the student movements during Albert Giesecke's tenure as rector, which were discussed in Chapter One. He founded the university's first archaeological and historical archives in 1924 (see Rénique 2013: 83-84 for a timeline of Valcárcel's many achievements).

In addition to his patronage of the Andes, Valcárcel was actively involved in the promotion of national culture in international fora. As mentioned in Chapter One, he presented two conference papers on Andean archaeology and ethnography at the XXV Congress of the Americanists in La Plata, where Cusco was awarded the title, "Archaeological Capital of South America." The following year, Valcárcel directed the large-scale excavations of *Sacsayhuamán*, and was involved with the Quadricentennial festivities and the excavation and repair of some of Cusco's important archaeological monuments. These, and many other examples, illustrate the depth of Valcárcel's knowledge, and this speaks to the caliber and achievements of many of his peers and colleagues at the 1949 Meeting of Experts. It is difficult to imagine a more qualified individual to report on and bolster Peruvian culture and promote the Andes.

Besides the United States, Peru was the only other American nation to attend the Meeting of Experts (although UNESCO Director-General Torres was a Mexican citizen). Thus, Valcárcel's participation bestowed a unique Latin American voice to conversations that were otherwise grounded in European conditions and the previous work of the League of Nations. Valcárcel shouldered the responsibility to report on administrative and technical agencies in Peru, and, in the absence of Argentine and Mexican experts, he also reported on conditions in Central and South America. As a result, Cusco, Machu Picchu, and the Inca estate of Ollantaytambo, all attributed to the Inca ruler Pachacuti, were given preferential treatment. These sites were lauded as excellent examples of *anastylosis*, defined in MUESUM as "first-class preservation by means of re-erection" (MUESUM 1950: 60). With material from Peru and ancient Egypt, this technology was promoted as one of the groundbreaking achievements in restoration at that time.

It is noteworthy that the *anastylosis* technique was formalized in Article 15 of the Venice Charter (1964). In other words, the weight of pioneering this technique and introducing it in 1949 demonstrated one of the important Peruvian contributions to this nascent field. However, it

was the timing of Cusco's disastrous earthquake, only a few months later, that placed the nation and the city in direct conversation with many points from the first Meeting of Experts.

The "Problem" of Cusco Revisited

As discussed in Chapter Two, the 1950 earthquake transformed Cusco from a national icon into a site of cultural emergency. Although the city was not facing the war-torn damage of European nations, its post-disaster context produced similarly miserable conditions for its highland inhabitants and placed the city and nation's cultural treasures at risk. Addressing these circumstances positioned Cusco in conversation with the major concerns that were brought to the Meeting of Experts. Two of the most important were the contemporary role of monuments and their relationship with town planning and the proposal for future investigatory missions.

Cusco's urban and historic conditions, however, were greater than any of the single categories under discussion at that time. In other words, the city was not only a "site" with individual monuments, it was a functioning urban center, mapped out by the streets of its ancient Inca grid and Spanish-colonial remains. Besides the unique features of its built environment, Cusco's long-term status as Peruvian culture and underscored the importance of the city as a case study and Kubler's trailblazing in his "three-city" historical approach.

Despite this, the issues in Cusco should be placed in conversation with the work of the Meeting of Experts. In addition to the preservation techniques and the conservation of monuments, mentioned previously, the experts proposed the establishment of a permanent international committee for monuments and archaeological excavations. This was to function in concert with UNESCO and the recently established International Council of Museums (ICOM – created in 1947), mentioned previously. Several months after the earthquake, in late 1950, UNESCO's Division of Museums and Monuments (UNESCO 1950 [WS/090.64]) suggested that an advisory body for the protection of monuments, sites of art and history, and archaeology would be created in 1951.

This project was not fully realized until the Venice Charter of 1964, and its creation of the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). Consequently, when Kubler arrived in Cusco (June of 1951), the proposed committee did not exist and an explicit understanding of what cultural stewardship meant for nation-states was still being formalized. While Kubler's report noted that new construction impacting Inca walls required building permits from the Department of Archaeological Patronage (*Patronato Departamental de Arqueología*), Peru's framework for demarcating, legally designating, and protecting a space with all of these conditions would not be confirmed until 1972. Even then, Cusco's complexity would continue to present a conundrum between its unique issues of conservation and urbanism.

In addition to the catastrophe in Cusco, the nation's precarious political position enhanced the perception and reality of instability. As mentioned in Chapter Two, this was brought on by Odría's rise to presidential power by military coup and his campaign for re-election during the months following Cusco's disaster. UNESCO was actively working to counter these exact kinds of conditions, evidenced by the goals of its Reconstruction campaign in 1949. Therefore, this calamitous event not only qualified Peru as one of the first member-states to benefit from multiple efforts from the 1949 meetings, it also pushed Cusco to the front of the line for on-site investigation and the experimentation with field techniques.

UNESCO's first Director-General, Julian Huxley, proposed the idea for technical missions after visiting Syria and Jordan. He emphasized the need for taking urgent steps to safe-guard the world's heritage. In the Meeting of Experts, the issue surfaced again in a presentation

by The Emir Chehab on Lebanese preservation. While in unanimous support of the missions, the experts emphasized that they "should not operate fitfully but should proceed along well-determined lines which the Permanent Committee should lay down" (MUSEUM 1950: 58). Because of the timing of the earthquake and the lack of international guidelines, this is precisely what happened in Peru.

Rebuilding Cusco also presented modern planning problems, which created a competitive struggle between the past and future for overlapping urban space. Like many of the issues discussed in the Meeting of Experts, these ideas were rooted in the post-war reconstruction of European cities and inspired by the 1930s forums that produced the conservation ethics of the *Carta del Restauro* (1931) and CIAM's controversial manifesto for "functional" cities (1933). In the Meeting of Experts, Poland's representative, Stanislaw Lorentz, the Director-General of Museums and of the Protection of Historic Monuments (a Polish agency founded in 1945), suggested that repurposing the use of ancient sites would allow them to be part of post-war reconstruction measures and new town planning.

In Warsaw, particularly in what became its Historic Center (a designation which described its World Heritage boundary and timeline two decades later), Lorentz's proposal included urban zoning and arteries that would border on, but not traverse, historic areas. According to Lorentz, the best way of adjusting conflicting claims of preservation and town planning was to try to meet the real needs of civic economy, and then to adapt aesthetic considerations to them. In other words, the monument was to be part of urban life, while the city was to be a symbol of elective authority and tolerance, the site where the first democratic constitution was adopted (May 3, 1791).

The eventual reconstruction of the historic city's late 18th century appearance would include the "holistic" and "authentic" recreation of the original layout of the medieval city and its network of street and squares, the Old Town Market, townhouses, the circuit of the city walls, the Royal Castle and other important religious buildings. Combining existing features with sections of the Old Town, reconstructed as a result of the conservation program, led to the creation of urban space "unique in terms of its material dimension (the form of the oldest part of the city), its functional dimension (as a residential quarter and venue for important historical, social, and spiritual events), and its symbolic dimension (an invincible city)" (UNESCO http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/30).

Lorentz's approach to historic monuments and new town-planning in Poland exemplified an early stage of the debate between conservation and urbanism in UNESCO forums. This must have influenced the UNESCO projects in Cusco. In his report, Kubler described how UNESCO's appointed team of experts and Cusqueño decision-makers were determined to showcase and protect the past while paying attention to the function and flow of everyday life. Even though all historical epochs would require individual attention, the city was not to become a museum. As described in Chapter Two, Cusco was to retain a sense of historical cohesion and architectural distinctiveness through traditional and contemporary urban and administrative functions. In addition, space was allocated for "modern" Andean architecture and infrastructure to develop over time. In some ways, Kubler, like Lorentz, imagined Cusco through material, functional, and symbolic dimensions.

While taking cues from the Polish case, Kubler's recommendations for new architecture and urban infrastructure also provided opportunities for modern planning. One was the practice of not reusing styles from the past as aesthetic pretexts for new structures erected in historic areas. Both Kubler and CIAM modernists saw the architectural replications of "the past" as

having harmful consequences (Kubler 1952; CIAM point 70). As in Warsaw, modern zoning and traffic management were important in Kubler's recommendations for Cusco. In his report, Kubler described the urban design of colonial Cusco as "constricted passages between spacious squares," where the streets ran "like a seismic crack between vast flanking masses of Inca masonry" (Kubler 1952: 32).

Figure 3-1 Calle Loreto, Cusco, 1930. Photo by Martín Chambi.

This characterized many of the secondary streets and passages that extended from the Plaza de Armas and radiated out into the surrounding blocks [Figure 3-1]. In order to prevent the oppressive feeling of such tight spaces and "frowning" Inca walls, he proposed that in future planning, the squares and plazas should be maintained and expanded whenever possible. Part of the problem, according to the report, was increased motor traffic, a condition of modernity which he saw as a congestion-producing invasion that robbed the historical city of its unique character. While focusing on the ancient core, decades before it was identified as an historic center, Kubler suggested several traffic reforms and proposed radial thoroughfares and a peripheral highway as

the solution. This was to relieve congestion in the "picturesque" setting and urban experience of "Zone A," the designated archaeological and historical sector.

Like aspects of the Polish case from the Meeting of Experts, Cusco's complex conditions presented a problem of managing real urban conditions in Kubler's dedicated zone of antiquity. While preserving ancient monuments was of paramount importance, "authentic" representation and the flow of urban environments were supposed to function in concert. Through new zoning regulations and traffic reform, the city's Inca and colonial monuments and main plazas were to be imbued with a sense of modern planning. Ideally, regulating the old and rearticulating the past would render monuments and urban space recognizable as more modern and manicured, instead of defunct or disorderly. These were the conditions of urban heritage before the inception of historic centers and before World Heritage Sites were clearly defined or regulated.

The first Meeting of Experts was one of the initial connections between League of Nations' policy, the post-WWII conditions of national culture, and the rise of post-war international heritage. While the conundrum of 'past-versus-future' continued to characterize urbanism in Cusco, Peruvians were learning from the experiment that rebuilding Cusco presented. As a result, cultural and urban policies in Cusco in the mid-1950s, included and exceeded the local and regional context and embraced some of the earliest UN-directed domestic policy.

By 1957, these large-scale influences were being filtered and also localized through the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF). The political spectacle of launching the CRIF and the content of its regulations deserve a critical review that goes far beyond what can be covered in this chapter. However, there are a few issues worth mentioning because many key responsibilities that were assumed by the CRIF in 1957 were later inherited by the National Institute of Culture and COPESCO. Much of this has to do with the projects of demarcating, promoting, and managing the city of Cusco and the surrounding Andean region.

Building Cusco's Future

> The traditional prestige of the Archaeological Capital of America, the legitimate pride of our hemisphere, and of the world, made it imperative that the Executive [the Prado administration] take under its direction and put at its service the elements that will ensure the triumph of the high ideals that inspire the thought and action of the men of that millenary earth, myths and adoration, in whose testimonies are embodied the ancestral virtues of our race.
>
> The economic potential of this important sector of our territory comparable only to the secular culture and the powerful creative capacity of its children, demands the systematic and organized collaboration of the public powers to intensify its development, taking advantage of the enormous resources which are abundant in that wonderful land of Garcilaso, the Angulo [brothers], and Pumacahua. And that is why one of my first concerns when assuming again Supreme Command, was to propose to Congress the giving of this Law ...
>
> *El prestigio tradicional de la Capital arqueológica de América, legítimo orgullo de nuestro hemisferico, y del mundo, hacía inaplazable que el Ejecutivo tomará bajo su dirección y pusiera a su servicio los elementos que aseguren, difinitivamente, el triunfo de los altos ideales que inspiran el pensamiento y la acción de los hombres de esa tierra milenaria, de mitos y adoraratorios, en cuyos testimonios se hallan encarnadas las virtudes ancestrales de nuestra raza.*
>
> *El potencial económico de ese importante sector de nuestro territorio comparable solamente con la secular cultura y la poderosa capacidad creadora de sus hijos, demanda la colaboración*

> *sistemática y organizada de los poderes públicos para intensificar su desarrollo aprovechando los ingentes recursos en que es pródiga esa maravillosa heredad de Garcilaso, los Angulo y Pumacahua. Y es por eso que una de mis primeras preocupaciones al asumir nuevamente Mando Supremo, fue proponer al Congreso la dación de esta Ley…*
>
> Manuel Prado Ugarteche, President of the Peruvian Republic, February 9, 1957
> Part of the opening speech for the inauguration of the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development – CRIF (*Corporación de Reconstrucción y Fomento* – Ley No. 12800)

Delivered in the Plaza de Armas, President Prado's narrative and performance brings to mind Pizarro's juridical foundation of Spanish Cusco in the 16th century, also enacted in Cusco's main plaza. In launching the CRIF, Prado recognized the deep context of the Cusco region and he made several important connections between the Andean past and the city's exceptional conditions. Dripping with historical references and imagery, his speech lauded and legitimized the city's glorious designation, Archaeological Capital of America, which, through Prado's estimations, was upgraded from its original title, Archaeological Capital of *South* America.

It is also significant that the president invoked several famous indigenous leaders from the Cusco region, who represented tangible links between the past and the contemporary cultural work of the CRIF. For example, the home of Garcilaso de la Vega, who authored the 16th century Royal Commentaries of the Incas, was designated as a monument a few months after Prado's speech (*R.S.N*° 485-57-ED); Mateo Pumacahua's homes in the town of Chinchero and in Cusco became national monuments in 1972 and 1974 respectively (R.S.N° 2900-72-ED; R.S.N° 505-74-ED). Besides Garcilaso and Pumacahua, Prado also referenced the Angulo brothers, who were at the center of Cusqueño uprisings and highland revolutions in the late 18th and early 19th centuries.

While celebrating the city's past, Prado linked Cusco's future to public powers and the economic potential of regional development. It is noteworthy that the CRIF's projects were to include restoration in Machu Picchu and its hydroelectric plant, as well as the ambitious duty of developing tourism in the Department of Cusco (Article 1, sections A, E, H., p. 19-21). This act officially created an Andean authority over the most famous touristic locations in the nation, only a few years after UNESCO charged the International Council of Museums (ICOM) with coordinating access to national archaeological sites.

The CRIF's main purpose was to promote the reconstruction of the city of Cusco and the social and economic recovery of the regional department of Cusco. As mentioned earlier, these issues came from the influences of the post-earthquake UN missions in 1951 and the earlier Meeting of Experts, in 1949. This included massive task of rebuilding and the restoration of all historical and artistic monuments of the department, both religious and civil. Besides this, the CRIF was tasked with solving the problems of urbanism in Cusco. According to its foundation documents, the CRIF assumed this complicated responsibility from the National Council of Urbanism in Lima. Part of the new duties included the implementation of the Pilot Plan, mentioned as a critique and resolution in Kubler's report (1952). Of critical importance was that the CRIF was empowered to periodically modify the regulatory plan for the city and to determine the urban areas or zones within which it was either necessary or obligatory to regulate construction and reconstruction (Article 17 of Law No. 12800). As an amalgamation of local, state, and international efforts, the CRIF should be considered as a foundation of modern urban planning in Cusco.

By 1963, the year President Belaúnde took office, Cusco's historical complexity and its urban issues were being defined through the slogan, "Cusco of Yesterday and For Tomorrow" (*El Cuzco de Ayer y Para Mañana*). Lima-born architect Emilio Harth-Terre developed this in great depth in a CRIF-sponsored lecture, given by at the College of Sciences (*Colegio de Ciencas*) in Cusco. It is significant that, like Valcárcel, Harth-Terre was deeply invested in Cusco and had represented Peru in early international forums. He had a particular interest in the development of Cusco's urban grid and had delivered a conference paper entitled, *Origin of the Inca City and the Spanish*, at the XXVI International Congress of Americanists in 1935, held in Seville [see Chapter One, Figure 1-16]. In addition to these academic contributions, Harth-Terre was involved with architectural practice in the city and had been one of the architects who designed in the Hotel Cusco in the mid 1940s.

Harth-Terre's lecture for the CRIF outlined the city's Inca and colonial pasts, but it focused on the historical development of urbanism in the second half of the 20th century. While the Meeting of Experts and Kubler's recommendations provided more specific and updated guidelines for preservation, restoration, and urban zoning, the legal protection of culture was not a reality yet. Harth-Terre recognized this in the lecture, lamenting that there was no specific national law at that time to distinguish the city as an urban archaeological site or to protected it as a monument. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Harth-Terre was especially critical about the usefulness of glorious titles, such as, Archeological Capital of South America, which, without protective policies, he saw as a romantic fantasy.

Despite these challenges Harth-Terre defined Cusco enthusiastically as a living and active museum, "*museo vivo y active*," a repository of artistic inspiration and civic education (Harth-Terre 1963:13). He saw the "new city," which was yet to come, as a potential "instrument of prosperity:" this was to sustain the historic city. In other words, the relationship between state culture and modern infrastructure would defined the commercial aspects of heritage – which echoed some of UNESCO Director-General Torres' proposals in 1949.

At the end of his presentation, Harth-

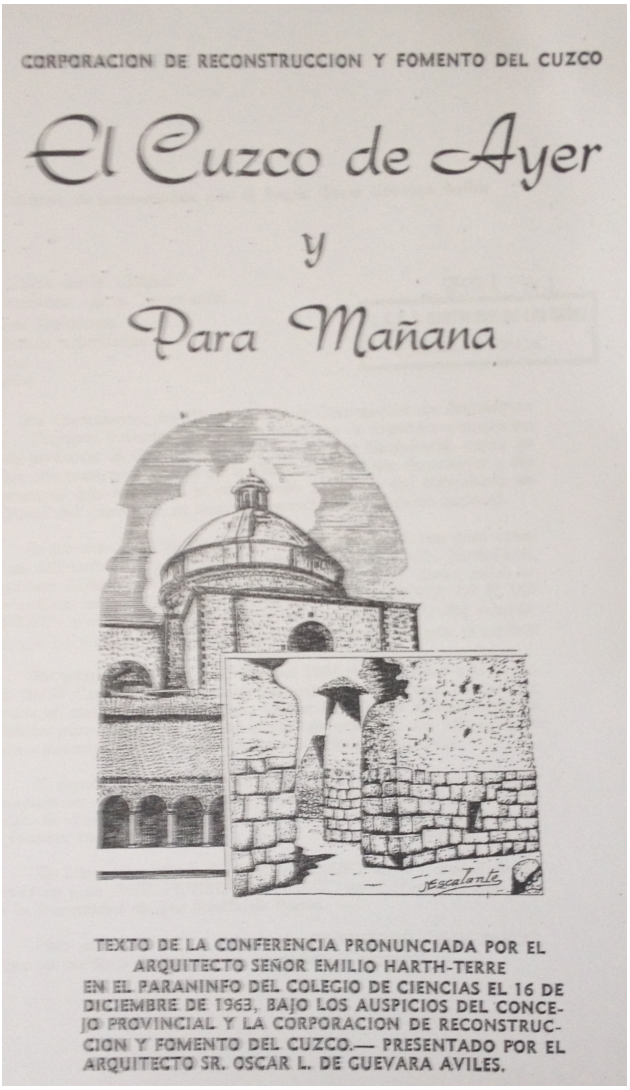

Figure 3-2 Lecture Cover Page, "El Cuzco de Ayer y Para Mañana" (Cuzco of Yesterday and for Tomorrow). From CRIF lecture text by architect Emilio Harthe-Terre, under the auspices of the provincial council and the Corporation of Reconstruction and Promotion of Cusco. Presented by the renowned architect, Oscar Guevara Avilés (1963). Biblioteca de Bartolome de las Casas, Cusco.

The regional nature of the cultural message was reflected in the cover image, an amalgam that superimposed the regional site of the Temple of Wiracocha at Raqchi on an image of historic urban architecture in Cusco's Plaza de Armas.

Terre delivered this final challenge to the lecture attendees, again, calling upon the resources of the past in service of the future: "The stones and monuments of Cuzco are physical testimonies. It is up to you, sirs, to continue the task for tomorrow" (Harth-Terre 1963: 16 - *Las piedras y monuments del Cuzco son testimonios físicos. A vosótros, señores, toca proseguir la tarea para mañana.)* As inferred by Harth-Terre, Cusco was the signature site where the past could service the future. At the local level, this was addressed through urban planning. However, outside of the Andes, if Cusco (as state culture) and *Tawantinsuyu* (as a fundamentally Peruvian ideal) anchored the essence of national identity, *what did it mean to be Peruvian and "modern" or "able" in a time of third-world labels and post-colonial reformulations?*

One year later in 1964, the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings met in Venice, Italy. In these sessions, constituents from 14 member-states, including a Peruvian representative, architect Víctor Pimentel, produced the Venice Charter. In this congress, monuments and sites were defined as common heritage and a common responsibility and an advisory committee to facilitate this was finally launched as, The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS). While UNESCO's programs and international conventions, such as the Venice Charter, were inextricably tied to and dependent upon the cooperation and consensus of member-states, this relationship had direct consequences for Peruvian culture and identity politics.

From a national perspective, Cusco and its monuments represented the nation's rightful inheritance, yet UNESCO defined these treasures as globally-shared property. The transformation of Cusco's post-disaster landscape and Harth-Terre's call to legally protect Cusco's historic zone heralded the cultural policy to come. This would arrive in the late 1960s and early 1970s, fueled by pro-Peruvian ideology and a state-sponsored cultural revolution that gave rise to the National Institute of Culture.

PART THREE: The National Response – *Let us Peruvianize Peru!*

> "A new national solution is demanded. And what is that? The word Peru, which embraces an entire doctrine in two syllables, a symbol of this hybrid process initiated by the Conquest. One can say that mestizaje was first heard simultaneously with the cry of the new born child, progeny of the fusion of the blood of the conquerors and conquered. The word Tawantinsuyu, so full of legend, became an historical memory as soon as the Spaniards substituted the name Peru. Mestizaje, the moral and material substance of the new nation, has produced fertile results in many fields [architecture, painting, religion, and folklore]. …Whenever the hybrid reality of Peru is accepted and assimilated, originality and creativity result. Whenever it is rejected, one finds strange, inappropriate results and, more serious yet, the inability to face and to resolve the great problems concerning the nation. …The great error, although it is easy to remedy, is having pretended that economics and finance could have escaped this historical process."
>
> From, "Peru's Own Conquest," Fernando Belaúnde Terry
> Architect and President of the Peruvian Republic, 1963–1968 and 1980–1985
> (1965: 107-108 [1959])

Latin America's 19th century entry into a community of nations shaped the notion of New World solidarity: it fostered a sense of Latin American unity and steered official state histories. The development of Peru's regionalized-national culture was an exceptional outcome of these larger processes, legitimized by Inca legends, numerous cultural and archaeological artifacts, and the impressive remains of pre-Hispanic infrastructure. In the 20th century, Cusco's historical landscape continued to cradle Peru's national past while *Tawantinsuyu* inspired a utopian sense

of social stability, hierarchy, and modern authority. In an era defined by mounting international influence and global uncertainty, these conditions continued to explain Peruvian perspectives and state-defined modernity projects.

The late 1950s through the early 1970s were characterized by a period of transition from post-war issues to Cold War conditions, during which heritage was legitimized as an international issue through several UNESCO charters. In the midst of this, the late 1960s also represented an historical turning point, marked by protest movements and revolutions which have been broadly defined as reactive to the "old lefts" throughout the world (Wallerstein 1989: 435-436). In Peru, this was visible through a pro-Peruvian pushback against globalization, followed by major cultural reforms. The administrations of two Peruvian presidents exemplified these processes and the transition of power, by way of a coup, from social democracy to a revolutionary regime in 1968.

As seen in Prado's speech for the launching of the CRIF in 1957, invoking the imperial Inca past was a powerful and malleable tool in presidential hands. In the 1960s and early 1970s, Fernando Belaúnde Terry and President General Juan Velasco Alvarado deployed similar Andean icons in various attempts to reclaim Peru for Peruvians. Their collective influences redefined the nation's history, established a more specific state-directed cultural policy, and categorized "new" and modern Peruvian citizens. Belaúnde's first term was sandwiched between two military regimes (1963-1968). During his presidency, Inca traditions of community and cooperation were presented as an authentic Peruvian model for modern social democracy. General Velasco's administration (1968-1975), however, was a militant reaction to the Belaúnde administration. As part of a leftist cultural movement, he appropriated the Andean celebration of the *Inti Raymi* for the national launch of agrarian reforms and social reconstruction.

Belaúnde and Velasco's different paths to the presidency shaped the ways in which they negotiated the nation's identity and narrated Peruvian culture. While Velasco entered state politics by way of the Peruvian army, Belaúnde followed the lead of his elite and politically connected family. Belaúnde was a cabinet member during the Bustamante administration in the late 1940s when Peru joined the United Nations as a member-state. Being part of this process likely influenced his perceptions of post-war institutions and the juxtapositions presented by Peruvian traditions and international modes of modernity. When Belaúnde was elected as a Constitutional President after the military governments of the early 1960s, he was seen as a symbol of post-war pro-Peruvian democracy.

As a US-trained architect and public intellectual, Belaúnde was a key figure in transmitting European ideals and American values. This was visible in the ways he engaged with architectural education and practice in Lima. By the beginning of his first presidential term, this included intellectual and political discussions of modern architecture, urban design, and public housing problems. Belaúnde founded the magazine, *El Arquitecto Peruano*, in 1937, and supervised it until becoming Peru's president in 1963. Many of the intellectual discussions on architecture in Peru were taken on by *El Colegio de Arquitectos del Perú*, a group of professional and academic architects, founded by Belaúnde (see Zapata 1995). During his presidency, the importance of iconic architecture and Andean cultural landscapes were consistent themes: *Tawantinsuyu* was central to this.

Even before being elected, Belaúnde wrote a campaign manifesto which proposed Peruvian solutions for a "dilemma of extremes in the modern world" (Belaúnde 1965: 86). Published in 1959, "Peru's own Conquest" (*La conquista del Perú por los peruanos*), was a grand and personal tour of the nation's histories, people, and legends. This text showcased

Belaúnde's perspectives on the state of the nation and its problems immediately before his first presidential term.

> "…at the steps of the Cathedral, where the people of Cuzco were gathered in from of me, the responsibility of finding a solution became even more imperative. The grandeur of the landscape and the memories it evoked contributed to my feeling. Perhaps my prayers at the foot of the church, astride the focal point of the four roads that long ago gave strength and unity to the many other regions of the Empire, were benevolently received by the Providence from whom I sought guidance.
>
> From, "Peru's Own Conquest," Fernando Belaúnde Terry (1965: 100)

Illustrated in the passage above, Belaúnde had a great affection for Cusco and its inspirational. His book offered an emic account of the regional conditions he encountered during the 1956 election campaign. This coincided with Belaúnde's establishment of the pro-Andean Popular Action Party (*Acción Popular*) and the launch of the CRIF in Cusco.

Based on its language and claims, *Peru's Own Conquest* should be read, not only as a campaign platform, but as a confessional of state-level anxiety which was likely triggered by some of the same post-war and Cold War conditions that motivated the projects of international institutions. In very clear terms, this text represented a reclaiming of the nation's right to rule on behalf of all Peruvians, while consciously, and perhaps, unconsciously responding to many of the specific cultural themes and modes of modernity under debate in international circles. Summoning the Incas to appear as "ancient Peruvians," Belaúnde extrapolated national sovereignty and social responsibility back into a time of ambiguous pre-Hispanic legend (Belaúnde 1965: 35-37). He used this mytho-historical imaginary to validate Peru's inherent autonomy, arguing that it was "absurd" to demand that this extraordinary South American nation should have to choose between the ideologies of Moscow and Washington.

As an alternative to Cold War conformity, Belaúnde proclaimed that, "*past is future*" and offered a distinctive solution that blurred temporal and political boundaries. Peruvian "hybridity" was to represent idealized conditions for a transition into the modern world through a reconfigured form of *mestizaje*, which he defined as the "moral and material substance" of the nation. According to Belaúnde, these cultural ingredients were embedded in already mixed or syncretic cultural forms: architecture, painting, religion, and folklore. These exact cultural categories were addressed in the first Meeting of Experts in 1949, they were mentioned in Kubler's report on Cusco, and these issues were under discussion in contemporaneous UNESCO forums.

As discussed in Chapter One, the earliest Peruvian identity projects were born out of state-sponsored programs of cultural and racial mixing. These were designed to incorporate indigenous people and regional difference into an "imagined community," through *mestizaje* citizenship. More than a century after Peruvians were united through this invented cohesion, Belaúnde's version of *mestizje* was to be forged from the temporal and the monetary, through a blending of *tradition* and *economy*. This ideology was represented by two forces: one, "surging from within," representing the pre-Hispanic and Peruvian; and the other, "coming from without," through the assimilation of modern "Western" practices. While the former was inspired by *Tawantinsuyu* – an Andean icon that was inherently tied to the regionalized-national culture, the latter represented something that was neither Peruvian nor Latin American.

Peru's own Conquest was an appeal to all Peruvians to develop their nation in a way that acknowledged a full set of exceptional historical and economic conditions. Desiring to have the

proverbial cake and eat it too, Belaúnde struggled with what he defined as a Peruvian "reality" which had yet to receive the "full impact of the Industrial Revolution" (Belaúnde 1965: 124). The second part of this statement was part of a mandate to develop the nation's infrastructure. In this, Belaúnde's language reflected some of Hudgens' recommendations for the Cusco region, described in the UN's Technical Assistance Administration mission report from 1951.

Unlike the collaborative member-state approach cultivated by the United Nations, Belaúnde saw Peru as possessing an original source of inspiration for a "doctrine" in its indigenous soil. This, he argued, had been denounced by "those who believe we should seek and embrace foreign philosophies" (Belaúnde 1965: 85). In a striking contrast from Valcárcel's earlier work in the Meeting of Experts, this presidential perspective reflected the broader cultural insecurity surrounding modern life in a globalizing world (see Merrill 2006). Belaúnde's ideas surrounding Peruvian hybridity and *mestizaje* constructed a nationally-defined Andean past as part of the model for a Peruvian future through the partnership of international institutions. While taking cues from the Inca past to mobilize people and organize collective labor, Belaúnde's pro-Peruvian modernity projects were to be realized through updated infrastructure, technology and international finance.

Besides the Cold War conditions, shifting perceptions of inter-American unity was another feature in Belaúnde's development projects. In 1956, while Belaúnde was touring Peru and gathering campaign support against Prado, a major section of the Peruvian portion of the Pan American Highway was completed between Arequipa and Lima (New York Times, June 14, 1956, *Peruvian Road Completed*). It is not surprising that an entire chapter in *Peru's own Conquest* was devoted to the topic of Road-Colonization. Here, he claimed that this modern infrastructure would encourage "homogeneity of the country *not existent since the days of the Inca*" (Belaúnde 1965: 171). This brings to mind the massive imperial infrastructure that united *Tawantinsuyu*, mentioned in the Introduction to the dissertation. This phrasing exemplified and connected both components of Belaúnde's proposed *mestiziaje*. The *traditional*, was a utopian model of ancient Inca collaborative labor for the new regional infrastructure. This would be developed through the *economic* expertise and financial backing of international agencies (i.e. the World Bank).

Belaúnde's objectives, however, were not fully realized. Mounting economic problems, the country's foreign debt, and a scandal with the U.S.-owned International Petroleum Company eventually led to regime change (see CIA document, The Peruvian Coup: Reasons and Prospects, 1969). On October 3, 1968, General Juan Velasco Alvarado halted Belaúnde's ventures in a blood-less coup d'état. This act launched an ambitious leftist regime with many levels of reform and entirely different political roles for *Tawantinsuyu*, the Incas, and the Andes.

With Valasco's ascension to power as President of the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces of Peru, the deposed Belaúnde left Peru and proceeded to the architectural lecture circuit at U.S. universities: Harvard, Columbia, Johns Hopkins and George Washington (see Lewis 2002). Unlike Belaúnde's trepidation at being caught between collectivism and consumerism, Velasco's military government reflected a divergent response to geopolitical conditions. A de-classified report from the Central Intelligence Agency (USA) defined this as a "drift to the left" (see CIA Memorandum, 1969). Underscoring the heightened "radical and nationalistic" characteristics of Peruvian rule at this time, this file also mentioned influence of Argentina and the Peruvian government's decision to establish diplomatic and commercial relations with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. While Velasco's liberal turn was not popular with the more conservative and anti-communist supporters of the military takeover, the

CIA document anticipated that this pattern of nationalism was expected to persist (point 12): and it did.

Neither "pro-imperialist" nor "pro-capitalist," Velasco's version of modern Peruvian society favored indigenous capitalist development. According to historian Eric Hobsbawm, this project was undoubtedly under the control of a commanding state sector, which benefited from its affiliation with a magnificent slogan, "*let us peruvianize Peru*," from Jose Carlos Mariátegui La Chira, the founder of the Peruvian Communist party.

While Belaúnde had attempted to idealize Peru as a "doctrine" and a site of self-conquest, the Velasco administration deployed Mariátegui's Marxist theories on Peruvian "reality." National power relationships were therefore, to be addressed through a reformed relationship between the economy, land ownership, and the reconfiguration of indigenous identity. While this affiliation with the intellectual "left" linked Velasco's reforms with 1920s-nationalism, discussed as *indigenismo* in Chapter One, Peru's social, economic, and cultural conditions were embedded in nationalist and Cold War contexts. It is interesting to note here that Mariátegui, was in conversation with some of Luis Valcárcel's early ideas about the possibility of indigenous socialism and Peruvian identity politics: Mariátegui authored the Prologue to Valcárcel's book, Storm in the Andes (*Tempestad en los Andes*; 1927).

Writing on Latin American revolutions and peasant land occupations at a time when Peru's neighbors were Marxist, Hobsbawn (1971) labeled elements of Velasco's revolution as "peculiar." Until 1968, Peru had been capitalist and, Hobsbawm argued, it was dependent, underdeveloped, poor, and "backward," because capitalism generates these things. Velasco's regime was anti-capitalist and revolutionary, because it would make no sense to simply to modernize, thus prolonging the system that produced all these "evils" (Hobsbawm 1971). He observed, first hand, that the process of revolutionary change, through its surprisingly liberal pro-Indian (without indigenous representation) and "non-repressive" yet military government, was *to fundamentally transform every aspect of the nation: its economic, social, and institutional structure* (Hobsbawm 1971; INC 1977).

Two of Velasco's reforms were critical to the interrelated discussions of Peruvian culture and identity politics: the 1969 agrarian reform, which created "new Peruvians;" and the re-establishment of national culture through the launching of the National Institute of Culture in 1971. Both points linked the revolution to regional-national power struggles.

On June 24, 1969, less than a year after commandeering the presidency, Valasco passed a radical agrarian reform law, which was intended to bolster the economy, end peasant movements, and weaken the power of the landed elite. The Andean region was a key component of this and the Department of Cusco had already been declared as an initial zone of agrarian reform in 1963 (Decreto-Ley No. 14444). This act not only redistributed land and resources, it officially converted the indigenous "Indians" into a new category: peasants. Sociologist Emanuel Wallerstein has described this type of transformation as converting "minority" into a "majority," which effectively created new "minorities" (Wallerstein 1989: 439). This process is captured by Velasco's treatment of the Andean past.

> From this day on, the peasants of Peru will no longer be pariahs or the disinherited, living in poverty from birth to death and viewing themselves as powerless in the face of a future that appears equally dismissal for their children. From the time of this fortuitous day, June 24th, the peasants of Peru will truly be free citizens, whose right to the fruits of the earth they cultivate, and to a just place in a society that will never again treat them as diminished citizens, men to be exploited by other men, the nation will finally recognize.

> General Juan Velasco's speech to the nation announcing the 1969 Agrarian Reform (cited in Seligmann 1995: 57)

This "fortuitous" day of reform co-opted and intentionally usurped the solstice holiday of *Inti Raymi*, which was described in Chapter One. Celebrated in Cusco as "The Day of the Indian" since 1944, this folklorized highland festival of Inca heritage was converted into "The Day of the Peasant" for all Peruvians. This signaled "the dissolution of Indian identity and the inception of national identity among Peru's indigenous population" (Seligmann 1995: 59). Once again, this emphasized the paradoxical state philosophy of "*Inca sí, Indios no*," which required the presence of *Tawantinsuyu* without the burden of its highland descendants (Méndez 1996: 199-218). Writing on the 1969 agrarian reform and how it unfolded, anthropologist Linda Seligmann argued that,

> "the identities of Quechua peasants are forged out of a recognition of their subordinate position within a national society, their incorporation into dominant models of interethnic relations, the class differences among them, and their struggles to maintain local autonomy."

These "new Peruvians" continued to represent the economic minority. While the Velasco regime succeeded in dismantling the formal power of the landed elite, the political and economic conditions that emerged after 1969 did not eliminate inequalities or relations of subordination (Seligmann 1995: 75; and 1993).

The launching of the agrarian reform, thus, reignited the struggle between the highlands and the coast, this time under conditions which defined citizens through economic terms instead of place-based cultural heritage. Yet, Cusco and the Andean monuments would maintain their privileged position as national patrimony, as defined by the *Patronato*, and, in the future, Cusqueños, particularly Cusco's municipality, appealed to this to make claims on the revenues from Andean tourism. This will be discussed further in Chapter Four.

The convergence of national agencies and international policies reconfigured the relationships between nation-states and their cultural heritage, and this changed the relationship between Peruvian culture, regional monuments, and Peruvian people. By the late 1960s, the mounting international influence was pervasive in Cusco through issues of conservation and urbanism, and in Peru's patrimonial policies, as Belaúnde and Velasco pushed back. The reconfigured relationships between citizens and regional identity; national reforms and international agencies, contributed significantly to Velasco's cultural revolution in Peru. These issues and collective struggles gave birth to the National Institute of Culture, which had direct implications for the future of Cusco, as a national monument, and its historic landscape as an urban planning project.

PART FOUR: The First Fruits of Cultural Revolution and Cusco's Monumental Zone

Figure 3-3 Diagrams of Cusco, showing contemporary underlay, 1951-present. LEFT: Zone 'A', defined by George Kubler in 1951 – the dashed line shows the extent of his survey; RIGHT, extent of Cusco's World Heritage boundaries, under development from 1972, with the establishment of Cusco's Monumental Zone, through 2005, when the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center was approved by UNESCO. Image created by author.

Out of the opposing ideologies stewing in Belaúnde and Valasco's Cold War cauldron, came a state-sponsored revolution and cultural policy that was intended to inspire social justice, education, and bestow economic liberation on a cohort of emancipated "new Peruvians" (National Institute of Culture 1977). Like Velasco's other reforms, this uprising was not necessarily a movement of the masses: it involved "no mass mobilization of popular forces by the government, no struggle against mass resistance or entrenched adversaries" (Hobsbawm 1971). Under this somewhat radical umbrella, culture was redefined as both material and symbolic, and representative of the very fabric of daily life. In other words, Peruvian culture was popularized.

Written in 1975, *Cultural Policy in Peru*, a report by the recently formed National Institute of Culture (INC), outlined the goals of the Peruvian Revolution in this field. While the directive incorporated material from earlier models, what made this policy uniquely Peruvian, according to its architects, was its inclusion of all levels of society – a concept that had come out of Marxist reform projects and revolutionary discourse. This project was distinctive from UNESCO's approach, which the INC characterized as having "restricted" meanings and an "elite" consensus of international bureaucracy. This domestic cultural policy was to be enacted by a newly identified "community" of Peruvian citizens, who were to be the "collective subjects of cultural development, as its source and its end" (National Institute of Culture 1977:11-12).

Prepared by Peru's General Cultural Board and the INC, this 70-page text was published in 1977 as part of a UNESCO series on the planning and implementation of different cultural policies from dozens of member-states. In other words, Peruvian manifesto concurrently performed the duties of a UNESCO member-state within the larger "elite" international community. The document featured a Peruvian self-analysis of the cultural policy during this time. The second half was dedicated to an overview of the structure and goals of the INC, and a description of the COPESCO Plan for regional touristic development in the Andes. While proclaiming pro-Peruvian and revolutionary perspectives, both sections demonstrated very clear

ties to and rejections of aspects of UNESCO's charter and its developing bureaucracy. This is encapsulated in the following passage and throughout this section:

> The cultural policy of the Peruvian Revolution must find expression in a series of practical achievements based on principles corresponding to the plans for the new society which the Revolution seeks to build [Velasco's project]. The aim is to bring into being a cultural community [for Peru] which, in the intellectual, scientific, artistic, technical and other fields [Peruvian culture organized through UNESCO's model], is a faithful reflection of that society and expresses the thought and action of the new Peruvians [Velasco's project].
>
> National Institute of Culture 1977: 12

While the structure of this policy was inspired by international institutions, the definition of "community" was reshaped as contemporary Peruvian identity politics, notably, the re-identification of indigenous peoples as peasants. In a way, this is reminiscent of the partnerships Belaúnde advocated for in his hybrid approach for Peruvian modernity, yet with Velasco's "new" citizens.

Public awareness of Peruvian identity and the national past were touted as key components of perpetuating ideas of "new Peruvian culture." This was part of the reform being carried out by the Ministry of Education (Decree Law No, 19326). Its strategy relied on *"remembering the past."* This effort connected public education back to some of the early UNESCO objectives, described by Director-General Torres during the Meeting of Experts. It also made the assumption that something, perhaps Peruvian culture itself, had been lost.

Reviving the Inca empire and Spanish occupation as evidence, the text outlined the historical conditions of "structural domination" and "cultural diversity" of the nation. The basic principles of the revolutionary cultural policy were undergirded by this context and organized through the following themes:

1. Decolonization of culture, which was a response to the UN mandates and US hegemony;
2. Greater appreciation of popular (folk) culture, which had been proposed at the Meeting of Experts and was an ongoing Andean project since the 1940s;
3. The development of critical awareness, which was a UN and national goal; and
4. Two other Peruvian-centered goals – cultural democracy through participation and national affirmation in culture.

These themes were carried through the next section, which delineated the distribution of roles in cultural action. One of the final sections, on projection of the cultural image, was particularly interesting and meaning-laden for Andeans who had been recently re-identified as the source and subject of this cultural development.

> "Stress must be laid on the fundamental importance of projecting the cultural image of Peru in all its richness, and specifically as a country moving towards a humanistic and cohesive society. This image must be projected within the country itself, as well as outwards, towards other countries, particularly the **Latin American community and the Third World.**
>
> In projecting the cultural image within the country itself, the goal should be mutual understanding and communication between even the most distant and most widely differing sectors of the country. **Regional characteristics form the starting-point and basis of the unity that must be achieved,** so long as they are consistent with the plan to ensure **integration and participation.** We must break up the **centralist pattern of a capital city** acting like a mother country towards the provinces, as if they were colonies, and also the pattern of a capital which is itself a colony of

> European and North American mother countries, with their **monopoly over what passes for universal culture"**
>
> National Institute of Culture 1977: 24

Kernels of the largest themes in this dissertation are contained in the above passage: Peru as an exceptional model of history and heritage in Latin American and beyond; the relationship of the past to progressive development or modernity; the post-Conquest struggle of between region and nation which often gave Lima the largest measure of decision-making power; a critique of international institutions (addressed differently by Belaúnde and Velasco); and the perpetual reiteration of Peru's distinction and sovereignty. Mandating this strategy for cultural image promotion would, in theory, represent a modern Peruvian recasting of the nation, its culture, and its citizens.

Through this policy, the projection of cultural image became the responsibility of Peruvian people. This was based on constant cultural interaction, the national *mestizaje* that was thought to make all Peruvians "creators, preservers, propagators and beneficiaries of culture at one and the same time" (National Institute of Culture 1977:22). According to the INC, this is how an authentic national culture, one that was both integrated and pluralistic, could come into being. This idea would eventually blossom in an early 21st century vision of citizen-emissaries of Peru's national brand, *MarcaPerú*, mentioned in the Introduction to the Dissertation and in the Conclusion.

One of the most influential and important products of the Revolutionary government was the creation of the National Institute of Culture. On the state level, this replaced the Peruvian House of Culture, formed one decade earlier in 1962, and other efforts by the Prado and Belaúnde administrations to institutionalize patrimony (National Institute of Culture 1977:26). On March 9, 1971, the National Institute of Culture (INC) was created as a Decentralized Public Organism of the Education Sector (*el artículo 49° del Decreto Ley 18799 - Ley Orgánica del Sector Educación*), tasked with upholding the General Law of Cultural Patrimony Law of the Nation and its regulations (*Ley General del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación Nº 28296*). Subsequently, on January 11, 1972, Law No. 19268 established the organic structure and defined the aims and objectives of the institute. Envisioned as a decentralized public body, the INC was responsible for proposing and implementing the cultural policy of the State: cultural promotion, cultural dissemination, the preservation of the monumental and cultural heritage, and training in the arts.

Thus, the National Institute of Culture was granted "sufficient" administrative autonomy and the economic capacity to be "fully effective" in carrying out the tasks of restoring culture to its proper position and promoting, disseminating and democratizing it. With ten branch offices, including one in Cusco, the National Institute of Culture took over the responsibilities, resources, and property of the Peruvian House of Culture and of the cultural centers in all the provinces. Like the cultural policy that gave the National Institute of Culture its life, the agency claimed ownership over state culture and Peruvian-ness while participating in UNESCO's bureaucratic order and paying homage to its expertise.

On April 25, 1969, the COPESCO Plan was created (D.S. No. 001-69-IC/DS) as the Special Committee on Cultural Tourism in the Cusco region. This was contemporaneous with the INC's transformation from the Peruvian House of Culture and it was the direct result of another series of UNESCO missions between 1965 and 1968. These missions evaluated the role that historical monuments and sites could play in the development of the tourist trade of the region.

Following the reports and recommendations from UNESCO, the Peruvian Government established the Special COPESCO Commission to carry out studies on various topics, including the restoration of historical monuments (National Institute of Culture 1977:63). This was composed of delegates and experts from the Ministries of Housing, Education, Foreign Affairs and Transport and Communications, and from the National Planning Institute, the General Directorate of Tourism and the General Management of the National Tourist Company. These domestic agencies were advised by the experts and consultants of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) (National Institute of Culture 1977; Samánez 1981), which was a direct descendant of Robert Hudgens' work in Cusco in 1951.

Guided by UNESCO's recommendations in the 1970s, the National Institute of Culture and the COPESCO Plan for regional Andean development not only redefined state cultural patrimony and the industry of tourism, these agencies also reconfigured the role historical monuments and sites could play in both sectors. A primary goal in developing this infrastructure was to "make the area as attractive to tourists as possible" (National Institute of Culture 1977: 64).

While the INC specialized in cultural promotion, cultural dissemination, the preservation of the monumental and cultural heritage and training in the arts, the COPESCO Plan converted cultural capital into an economic commodity through Andean cultural development. The COPESCO projects seem to have continued some of the regional development initiated by Hudgens' proposal for a Cusco Development Authority after Cusco's earthquake in the early 1950s. Although it is not clear exactly how this happened, the INC and COPESCO also took over many, if not all of the responsibilities of the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF), mentioned at the beginning of this chapter. In order to appreciate the cultural work of these agencies in the Cusco regions and the shifting relationships between cultural monuments and the State, it is necessary to return to the CRIF and its responsibilities.

On the Edge of World Heritage: Peruvian Culture through Urban Monumental Zones

For centuries, Cusco's iconic landscape supported overlapping ideological projects and spectacular performances: urban streets and plazas that were originally designed to organize the capital of the Inca empire later demarcated the center of colonial governance. As national patrimony, the city's built environment continued to be shaped by these historical foundations. By the 1960s and early 1970s, agencies such as the CRIF, the National Institute of Culture, and COPESCO, re-identified and validated the spaces around the Plaza de Armas that formed the Inca grid; the iconic colonial compound of the Santo Domingo, with its traces of the Qoricancha sanctuary; the legendary fortress of Sacsayhuaman; and many ecclesiastical buildings. As a cultural space and state project, the city's urban core represented the legal basis of Cusco's Monumental Zone, which was established by state cultural policy in 1972.

About four months after the INC was established, the Society of Architectural Historians published a newsletter (August 1971) which described some of the new legislation for national preservation in Peru. An article written by Peruvian professor of architecture, José García-Bryce, covered the restoration, preservation, and recuperation projects in four of Peru's largest cities – Arequipa, Lima, Trujillo, and Cusco. Highlighting the new and coming legislation for the preservation and restoration of the nation's artistic and architectural heritage, García-Bryce's report mentioned the work of the *Patronato Nacional de Arqueología*, which was still in charge of the Pre-Columbian monuments, and the work of the Consejo Nacional de Conservacion y

Restauración de Monumentos Historicos y Artisticos, which had been created in 1939. The latter administered colonial art and architecture. Importantly, García-Bryce noted that these agencies were being reorganized and placed under a general cultural government directorate – this was the National Institute of Culture.

Besides restoration of some individual structures in Arequipa, there were major restoration and reconstruction projects in Lima and Trujillo, which were administered at the municipal level. In Lima, the work centered around the widening of the Cuzco-Riva Agüero Street, which caused destruction to 18th and 19th century homes, and the Plan de Recuperación de Lima – a project taken on by the municipality to upgrade the city for the 150th anniversary of the Independence, July 28, 1971. In Trujillo, architects and art historians were in the midst of restoring historic buildings damaged by an earthquake, May 31, 1970. These efforts were rewarded one year later when Trujillo's municipality declared the city's historic center as a "*Cuidad Monumental*," or monumental city, in April 1971.

In Cusco's "historic sector," the Casa del los Cuatro Bustos on San Agustín Street was under construction. However, García-Bryce focused on the new COPESCO Plan and its Technical Unit, noting that the restoration of sites and monuments in the Cusco and Puno regions were under its jurisdiction. At that time, this effort was headed by architect Víctor Pimentel, who had already completed a special building code and the "Plano Monumental" for "historic" Cusco (García-Bryce 1971:8). On the edge of the revolutionary cultural policy at the national level, this article and its case studies reflected the further development of local preservation and urbanism in concert with changes in Peruvian cultural policy.

It is noteworthy that Pimentel was a contributing member of the Venice Charter Committee. Specifically, he helped draft the International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments – which represented another significant correlation between projects in Cusco and Peru's participation in the development of international heritage policy. In 1964, the Venice Charter established an international framework for the conservation and restoration of historic buildings. In 1972, UNESCO launched the World Heritage program through the adoption of a treaty known as the World Heritage Convention. Its continuing goal is to recruit the world community in identifying cultural and natural properties of "outstanding universal value." Considering Peru's early participation in and contributions to UNESCO, Pimentel's involvement with international heritage policy, and the projects in the Cusco region, it is clear that Peru was actively engaging in evolving heritage projects, grooming Cusco, and other sites, as both state culture and international heritage. Pimentel's work in the Cusco region should be seen as an important precursor to the establishments of national monumental zones the following year.

By the end of 1972, the early endeavors of the National Institute of Culture and COPESCO already represented an unprecedented effort in identifying and protecting state culture. On December 28, 1972, hundreds of individual monuments were designated throughout the country and monumental zones were established by the Ministry of Education (*Resolución Suprema Nº 2900-72-ED*). Some of the larger urban centers with new monumental zones included Arequipa, Huamanga, Moquegua, Chiclayo, and Trujillo. Each of these cities offered different conditions for preservation and urban development.

In metropolitan Lima, major urban districts were designated in Callao, Barranco, and Rimac. The most important zone of preservation was bounded by the Rímac river, and clustered around the Plaza Mayor, less than a quarter mile south of the river. This designation included Pizarro's original 16th century grid, part of the seawall constructed by the Franciscans in 1610,

and remnants of the late 17th century city walls (see *Relación de Monumentos Históricos de Perú* 1999). Defining the remaining fragments of the colonial settlement, this urban land and the new cultural policy formed the legal grounds for the formation of Lima's Historic Center and state nominations for World Heritage in the late 1980s.

The protection of the new cultural law extended to colonial-era streets, entire urban blocks, important plazas and historic structures, such as Lima's Cathedral, which housed Pizarro's bones (rediscovered in 1977), the Convent of San Francisco, and several viceregal palaces. While most of these monuments celebrated and privileged the city's colonial past, what was not protected is noteworthy. Scattered throughout metropolitan Lima, a network of *huacas*, massive mud-brick pyramids, that are known today as part of the central coast "Lima Culture" (100-650 C.E.), were excluded from national patrimony at this time. Predating the Incas, some of these enormous structures, like the Huaca Pucllana, which takes up several urban blocks of the Miraflores district, were already being studied (since 1967 – see website of Huaca Pucllana). Because they were not officially protected in 1972 or in the following decades, the ever-expanding city grew up around and encroached upon these ancient ceremonial centers.

In the Cusco region, the new cultural laws preserved the majority of urban land in central Cusco as a monumental core and recognized additional zones and scores of monuments throughout the surrounding towns.

> Description of Cusco's Monumental Zone**:** *Zona Monumental del Cusco*
> The area within the perimeter formed by the following boundary: From the intersection of Pantipata Street with Avenue of the Sun: Avenue of the Sun, Ayacucho Streets, Tecle, Nueva Calle, Ccascaparo, Santa Ana Railway Line, Umanclutta Street, the northern boundary of the city that includes blocks 50-11, 51-A, 53 and 54 to the Inca remains of Sapantiana, including: Quiscapata, Tres Cruces, Urcupata, Lucrepati, Ccolla Calle, Limacpampa Grande Square (including the Mz. 68 opposite the Plaza), Tullumayo Avenue and Panlipata Street.
>
> See, *Relación de Monumentos Históricos de Perú* 1999: 33-37, for a listing and description of national monuments in the city of Cusco and the surrounding region.

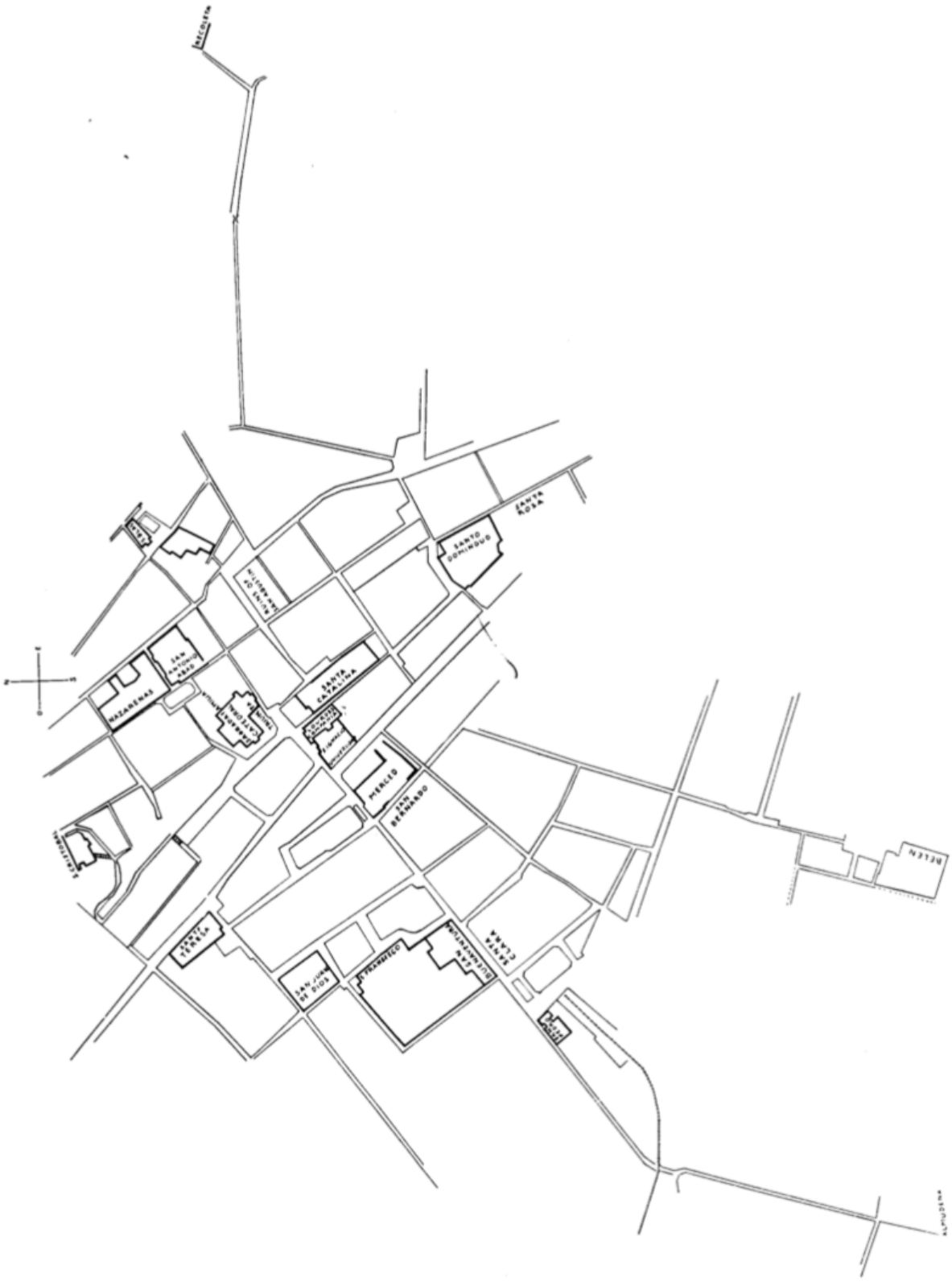

Figure 3-4 George Kubler's Map of Buildings to be Reconstructed (1952: 13).

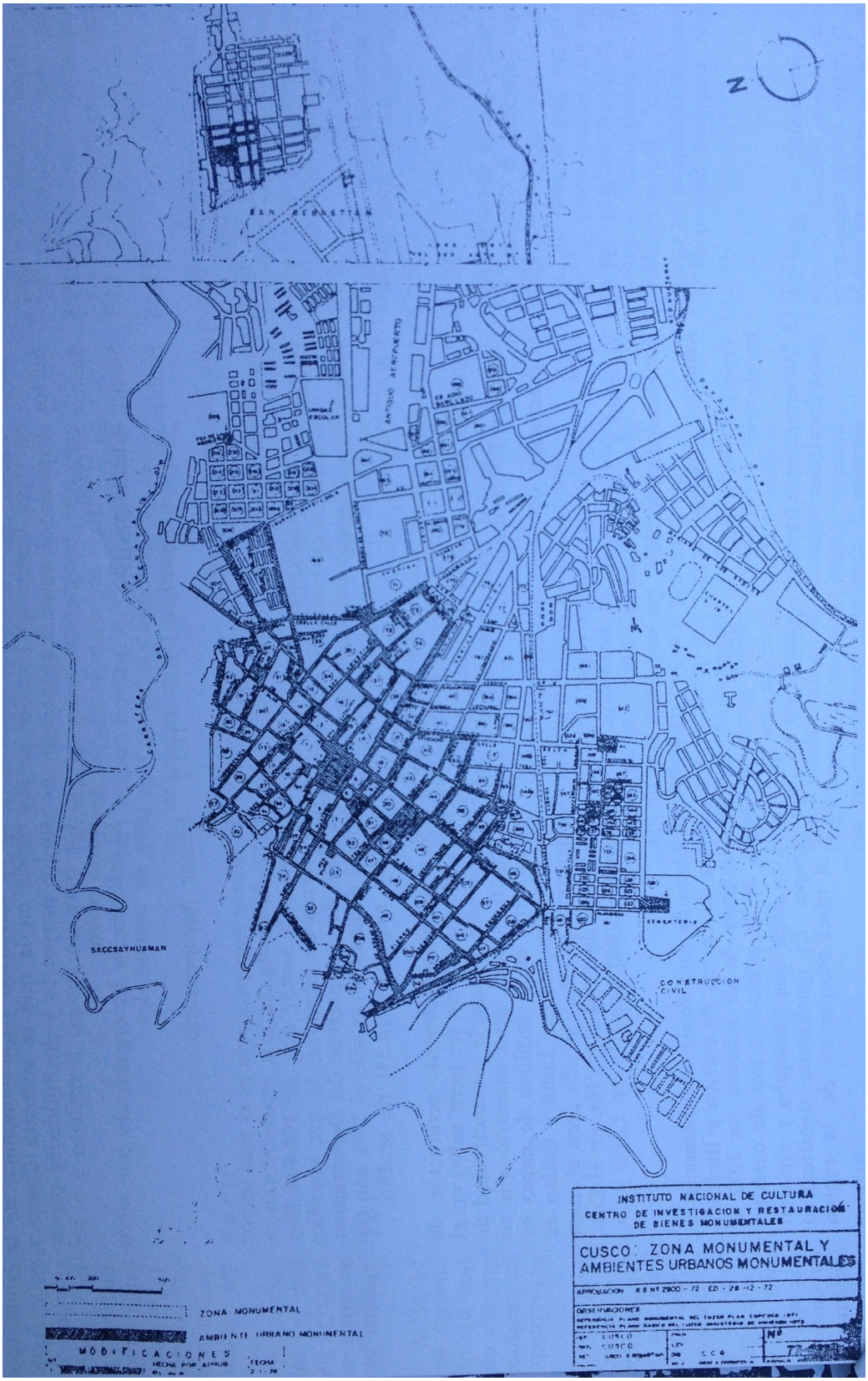

Figure 3-5 Cusco's Monumental Zone INC, 1972

Outside of Cusco, monumental zones were declared in San Sebastian, Chinchero, Pisac, and Yucay. Collectively, this established a vast area of cultural patrimony that extended from the Cusco to the Sacred Valley and Machu Picchu. Within the next few years, this region would be filled in with additional state monuments in Ollantaytambo (1974), and the towns of Urubamba (1980) and Maras (1991) (see *Relación de Monumentos Históricos de Perú* 1999).

According to Article 5 of the CRIF regulations, this agency was to have an indefinite duration, "which shall not be less than thirty years." However, it is likely that the CRIF did not long survive the cultural revolution and the rise of the National Institute of Culture and COPESCO. These agencies took on many if not all of the CRIF's responsibilities. By the early 1970s, which was the transition period between the CRIF, COPESCO's earliest work, and the arrival of the National Institute of Culture, there was a renewed international awareness of Peru's national preservation policies, which demonstrated the level of changes these brought to Peruvian cities. García-Bryce's report to the Society of Architectural Historians exemplified this.

In Cusco, the evolving cultural laws reinforced relationships between conservation and changing conditions of 20th century urbanism. Where Lima's monumental zones and individual monuments represented only a fraction of an extensive urban area, cultural patrimony in Cusco constituted the majority of urban land in the existing city and most of the city's important structures. In other words, Cusco, as a city, was legally formalized as a national monument.

This designation included all of the land suggested by Kubler's Zone 'A' in 1951, which was assembled around the Plaza de Armas and extended through the remains of the Inca grid [Figure 3-4 and 3-5]. It also safeguarded the 17th century Cathedral and other major ecclesiastical buildings, entire streets and blocks, plazas, schools, and civic buildings, such as the Cabildo del Cusco (the Municipality's headquarters). In other words, while earlier cultural policies, such as the *Patronato*, protected the Inca remains, the national cultural policy of 1972 extended to include the colonial era as part of Cusco's monumental zone. This massive preservation effort would represent the legal grounds for the city's nomination as a World Heritage Site one decade later (1982), and its eventual designation as the Historic Center. However, Cusco's official nomination documents would continue to focus on the ancient Andean past and privilege the story of Pachacuti's imperial capital. Because of this, urban planning in the 21st century would take an alternative approach to the way the city was preserved and the way Peru's regionalized-national culture linked with a world heritage timeline.

Conclusions

Even before the INC and COPESCO Plan, the CRIF's relationship between conservation, urbanism, and tourism extended the scale of the historic city's influence to a regional zone. In a way, this was a new material designation for *Tawantinsuyu*: The representation of the Andean past was geographically redefined by the creation of an Andean spine of tourism stretching along the larger Department of Cusco. As a later part of these ventures, Cusco's contemporary airport, Alejandro Velasco Astete International, began operations in December 1964. This roughly coincided with Lima's Jorge Chavez International Airport, which Belaúnde opened officially in 1965. Cusco's airport serviced the largest volume of flights in the southern part of the country, as the main gateway to the South American tourist circuit and a mandatory mode of travel in order to reach the ruins of Machu Picchu.

With the designation of Cusco's Monumental Zone, the city was recast as the hub of regional tourism, which promoted the Southern Andes as longer-term destination with more touristic options that extended beyond Machu Picchu tourism. This infrastructure not only

facilitated the growth of international tourism, it monopolized a huge section of precious flat land along the narrow Valley of Cusco. This prime urban property, occupied by the airport, has impacted the city's ability to expand over time.

Although there were many different paths to modernity, these conditions represented the domestic framework for what Hobsbawn termed, a "peculiar" cultural revolution, which gave birth to the National Institute of Culture. Preservation, urban planning, regional infrastructure, and cultural policy likely cultivated a sense of modernity in the Andean region. However, Peruvians continued to claim this regional geography as the national past: Andean icons continued to inspire Peruvian-ness.

When Peru appointed state-wide monumental zones in 1972, this act reiterated the importance of Cusco's ancient and living urban core as state patrimony. The inauguration of the World Heritage Program in the same year, also demonstrated the partnership and concurrent development of national culture with international heritage. Cusco's monumental zone, which included Inca and colonial timelines, was eventually incorporated into UNESCO's World Heritage List in 1983, making the city both nationally-claimed and a "global property."

Based on its Inca and colonial architectural remains, Cusco represented one of the earliest urban sites of World Heritage to be established in Latin America. As the community of World Heritage Sites grew, Cusco's position, both as a city and international monument, took on increased levels of depth and meaning in the Andes and beyond. Despite Kubler's thoughtful consideration of the Cusco's historical and urban conditions and the special attention Cusco received from the international community in the 1950s, the lack of formal guidelines complicated the way the city would be managed as a World Heritage Site in the late 20th century. It is through this intricate landscape of interinstitutional policy-making and decision-making that urban planning in Cusco must be considered at the end of the 20th century and into the 21st.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE (re)AWAKENING OF THE PUMA CITY
Or, Myths, Monuments, and Modernity Revisited

Figure 4-1 Puma detail on lamp post in the Plaza de Armas, 2012. Photo by author.

In the late 1970s, a few years before Cusco's nomination as a site of World Heritage, two Peruvian historians, Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo, attempted to explain the ideological persistence of *Tawantinsuyu* and the Incas through the concept of *utopía Andina*. Flores Galindo defined this as a collective treatment of the Andean past, a temporal bridge that spanned over 500 years of "fractured" history. This process was underscored by the numerous ways different groups imagined the pre-Hispanic world as a model for a new society from time of the Spanish Conquest to the late 20th century (Flores Galindo 2010). The recurrence of the Andean utopia, as both the idealization of the past as an era of harmony, justice, and prosperity and as a foundation for political and social agendas for the future was unlike the fictitious European urban models of past centuries. The Andean utopia, actually existed: it was an "historic fact that had a name (*Tawantinsuyu*), a ruling class (the Incas), and a capital (Cusco)" (Flores Galindo 2010: 27).

Deciphering Inca Cusco as a city, both as Pachacuti's imperial capital and as a microcosm of *Tawantinsuyu*, has been under debate since the 16th century. The literary, architectural, and archaeological material produced on these themes represents a significant contribution to constructing the city's "fractured history." This, in many ways, substantiates the notion of *utopía Andina* and Cusco's role as an ideal Andean city. In the late 20th and early 21st centuries, these ideas were rearticulated through the interconnected processes of re-conceptualizing Cusco as an historic center and managing this space as a site of World Heritage. With Cusco and Machu Picchu's concurrent inscriptions on the World Heritage List in 1983, a contemporary appropriation of the imperial city and the Andean past authenticated international notions of a globally-shared present. Yet, this was based on mytho-historical ideas about the Andean past, which were swayed by the colonial version of history.

The inclusion of Cusco and Machu Picchu on the List coincided with the nomination processes of the earliest Latin American cities and historic centers. As such, considering these Peruvian sites within the larger development of World Heritage is particularly useful for at least two reasons. First, while the justification of the Peruvian sites reiterated the importance of the Andean region and its pre-Hispanic era, the rationalization for many of the other Latin America sites tied UNESCO's heritage timeline to the settlement of Spanish American towns. Second, the early inclusion of both Peruvian sites predated important custodial requirements for World Heritage sites. This meant that their nominations lacked a management plan and did not specify the responsible parties for enacting this. Both issues shaped the ways Cusco's master plan would be developed in the following decades. Each point requires a return to themes covered in the earlier chapters of the dissertation: the significance of Pachacuti's city; the messiness of Andean history; Cusco's unusual relationship with other colonial centers; and the complexity of regionalized-national Peruvian culture.

Divided into three sections, Chapter Four examines some of the circumstances that shaped the lengthy process of formalizing a Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center and the conditions through which it finally received UNESCO's approval. The chapter begins by analyzing Cusco's nomination and inscription processes and proposes that this can be tied to intellectual debates on historical centers in Latin American in the 1970s and early 1980s. The second section looks at competing visions for conceptualizing the city through various projects launched by the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC) and those of Cusco's Municipality. Through these struggles, the idea of Cusco, as an historic center, and the concept for its Master Plan developed contemporaneously. Out of this, a curious solution emerged, based on the reinterpretation of Cusco's ancient urban form in the form of a puma.

The *pumallatctan*, or Puma City, is the mytho-historical construct, an artifice that links contemporary urban planning and the city's World Heritage boundaries with Inca legends, the Inca ruler Pachacuti, and the legacies of the Conquest. This scheme resurrected a colonial explanation of Pachacuti's city and opened a space for the inclusion of the archaeological and tourist site of Sacsayhuaman under the protection of the World Heritage boundaries. While the *pumallactan* had not been part of Cusco's nomination process or prevalent in 20th century urban planning schemes, its use demonstrated the interinstitutional cooperation between the INC and the Municipality, which was mandated by the World Heritage Committee.

Between 2003-2005, the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center was in a final draft state. This living and changing document represented the challenge of managing a functioning regional urban center, which was concurrently a national monument and a World Heritage site. Analyzing the Master Plan as a cultural artifact, the third section looks at the historical messages and the cultural work of the *pumallactan*, which was proposed as an explanatory urban model for the historic zone.

Besides the Master Plan for the Historic Center, the material in this chapter is drawn from primary sources, especially institutional texts. At the international level, these include nomination documents from the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) and reports from the World Heritage Committee (1983-2005). These will be used to support the discussion of Cusco's nomination in the context of other Latin American historic centers. In addition, several publications, which were co-sponsored by UNESCO and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), provide important background on the institutional development of regional patrimony in the Andes.

Architectural and archaeological studies by the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC) demonstrate the overlapping ideas of Cusco as a monumental zone as an historic center. More specifically, archeological reports (*informés*) from INC and COPESCO, the regional agency that managed cultural projects and touristic development, offer information on state-supported ventures that were underway in the city as it was becoming a World Heritage site. Representing cultural work at the municipal level, archaeologist Helaine Silverman has written extensively on the ideologically-driven endeavors in Cusco at this time, which she defined as the "Incanization" of the city (2002). Silverman's chapter entitled, *Mayor Daniel Estrada and the Plaza de Armas of Cuzco, Peru* (2008), is particularly useful for contextualizing the mayor's motivations and visions for the city.

The municipality's projects overlapped and, at times, clashed with the investigatory work and cultural promotion of the INC. Aspects of this interinstitutional struggle were captured in Silverman's work. When placed into conversation, these texts illuminate why and how the process of developing a Master Plan, which began in the early 1980s, extended into the early 21st century. A surprising twist if this cultural work is that the INC, the Municipality, and UNESCO each contributed separately to the promotion of the *pumallactan*, long before the Master Plan was finalized.

PART ONE: Becoming a Heritage Property
Cusco's Nomination Process, Historic Cities, and Latin American Historic Centers

1972 Peru's Ministry of Education establishes national Monumental Zones (*Resolución Suprema N° 2900-72-ED).* These are administered by the National Institute of Culture (INC).

UNESCO launches the World Heritage Program at the Convention Concerning the Protection of World Culture and National Heritage

1982 The International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) nominates the City of Cusco and the Sanctuary of Machu Picchu for World Heritage

1983 Peru's first two World Heritage Sites are inscribed on the World Heritage List (nos. 273 and 274)

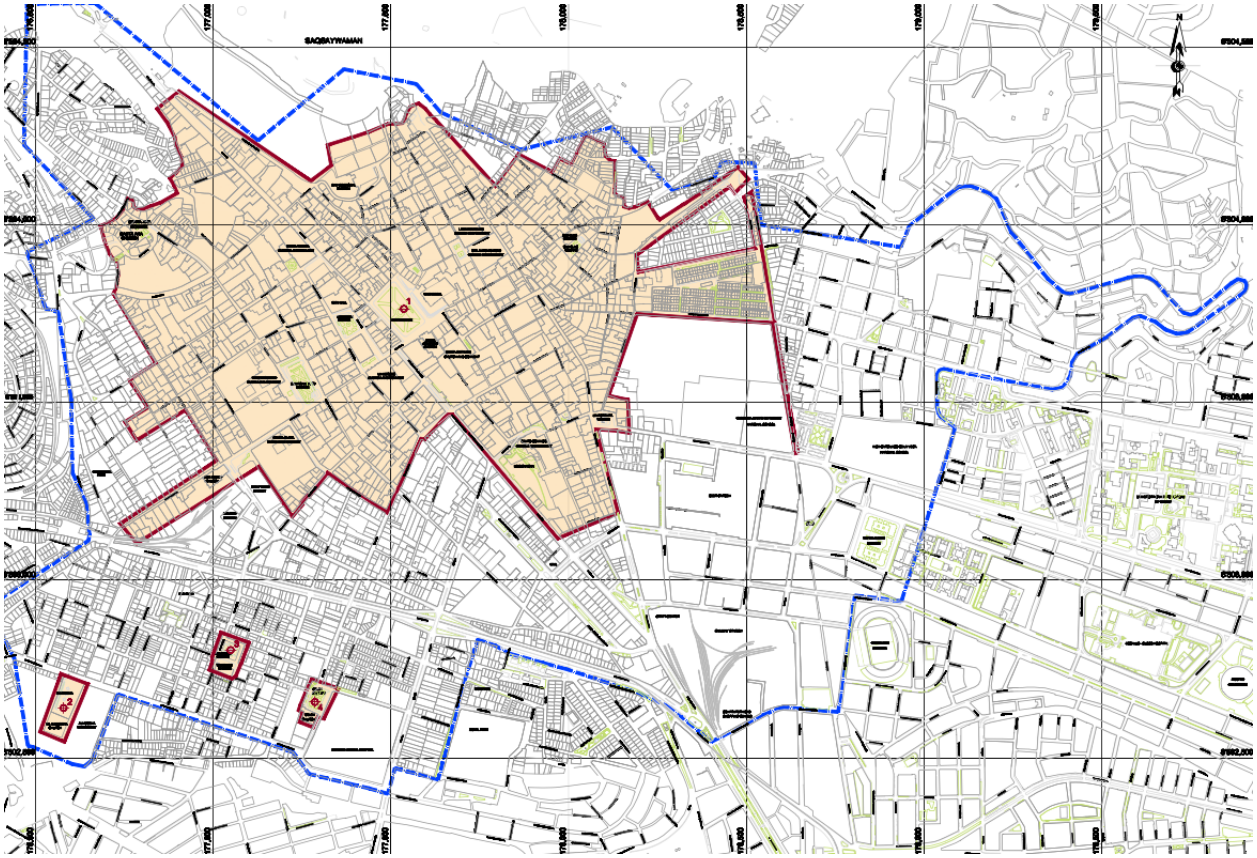

Figure 4-2 City of Cusco, map of the inscribed property. Shaded central area, and Buffer Zone (blue dash); source Ministry of Culture (Peru)

On June 21, 1982, the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) granted official support of Peru's first two nominations for World Heritage: The City of Cusco and the Machu Picchu Sanctuary. The following year, during the World Heritage Committee meetings in Florence, UNESCO confirmed these sites as part of the World Heritage List. Besides receiving "outstanding universal value," this international status accentuated Cusco's historical role as the imperial Inca capital and strengthened the city's economic importance as the "gateway" to Machu Picchu tourism. Early inclusion on the List placed Cusco and Machu Picchu under international guidelines for cultural stewardship, but this became increasingly more complicated as UNESCO's management requirements for heritage site evolved. The relationships between local, state, and Latin American contexts demonstrated the various levels

of negotiation, interaction, and agency that played out between each of those spheres and the World Heritage Committee.

While the simultaneous nominations of these sites signaled the continued state-level dedication to safeguarding *Tawantinsuyu's* imperial heartland – a region that had undergone decades of archaeological research and cultural development, there were still many missing pieces in the historical records for the Andes. This was highlighted by the way the International Committee on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) rationalized Cusco's authenticity as a World Heritage Site. ICOMOS' nomination documents glossed over recent history, particularly the post-earthquake redevelopment, even as it re-mythologized the survival of Inca Cusco over the centuries of Spanish dominion. This is indicated in the passage below and visible in ICOMOS' approaches to the nomination material.

> From its complex past, woven with significant events and beautiful legends, the city [Cusco] has retained a *remarkable monumental ensemble and a coherence that recent changes have not compromised.*
>
> *In,* Justification for the Nomination of the City of Cusco as a Site of World Heritage, World Heritage List No. 273, The International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS), June 1983.

This can be further contextualized by UNESCO's operational guidelines. Out of six criteria listed in the 1980 Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of World Heritage Convention, Cusco qualified for two which defined cultural properties: Criterion *iii* highlighted Cusco's historical value; criterion *iv* validated its unique and culturally syncretic built environment. To justify this, ICOMOS began by describing the city's mythical origins. Focuing on the rise of imperial Cusco, during the reign of the Inca Pachacuti and his son Tupac Yupanqui, in the second half of the 15th century, the narrative fits the description of *utopía Andina*. Assumed to have lasted for 20 years, this era was painted as a golden age of Andean urbanism, which supposedly employed the efforts of 50,000 men to create "an ideal city which would respond to the multiple functions of a capital." The document elaborated on Pachacuti's public works, Inca construction technology, and a regional infrastructural campaign:

> …after having canalized the two principal rivers (the rios Saphy and Tullumayo) whose flooding periodically menaced the inhabitants of the old Cuzco, he laid down the foundations of an extremely hierarchical organization in which the urban center united administrative and religious functions, while the outlying areas and especially the satellite-towns situated in a cultivated zone (Cayaucachi, Claquillchaca, Picchu, Quillipata, Carmenca, Huacapunco, etc.) were units of agricultural, artisan and industrial production.

Given the city's role as an imperial capital and national icon, and ICOMOS' description of the city (above), it is curious that Cusco did not qualify under additional heritage criteria, particularly *ii*. This category outlined the cultural property's great influence, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world. This included developments in architecture, monumental arts, or town-planning and landscaping. Likely, this omission was because these had not yet been sufficiently defined in 1980. ICOMOS' reliance on a particular set of historical sources also revealed a simplistic approach to the regional timeline and the way the Andean past continued to be constructed through Peru's "fractured" history.

In the historical presentation of Cusco's orthogonal layout and its streets, ICOMOS employed the term, *Ciudad Nobiliaria*, which tied Pachacuti's city to the ideological projects of the medieval Spanish aristocracy; the *nobiliaria* indicated elite zones within Spanish urban

centers (see Alegre Carvajal, 2014 – Las Villas Ducales Como Tipología Urbana). But this also suggests the name Pizarro used when he inaugurated Cusco as a Spanish-colonial town in 1534, "*The Very Noble and Great City*." The Pachacuti-centric narrative, the use of *nobiliaria*, and the presentation of the Spanish experience of Cusco revealed the persisting power of colonial accounts embedded in ICOMOS' 20th century interpretations. Simultaneously, this romanticized the pre-Hispanic era while, to some degree, it minimized the violence acted out by the Conquest on Inca space, the highland city, and its indigenous citizens.

> This … must have stirred the imagination of the "conquistadores," as did the orthogonal layout of the streets of the Ciudad Nobiliaria; barely inflected to accommodate land erosion. The European invaders respected the plan of this rational city, so curiously close to the ideal cities of the Renaissance. They limited themselves to the destruction of the principal edifices which were charged with political and religious symbolism, and constructed new monuments, aggressively Catholic and Spanish on the admirable cyclopean masonry of the demolished walls of these buildings.

While describing Cusco's urban conditions as an "amazing amalgam of the Inca capital and the colonial city," ICOMOS' justification clearly focused on the former. This bolstered an Incaic past, despite the extensive work of 20th century art historians, such as Harold Wethey and George Kubler, who defined the city through its illustrious collection of colonial architecture. It also avoided the post-earthquake reconstruction of colonial structures in the 1950s and the ongoing preservation projects of the National Institute of Culture: the inclusion of the colonial past in Cusco's Monumental Zone (1972) and recent work at the site of Sacsayhuaman. While mentioning a few structures, such as the Cathedral and Convent of Santa Catalina, centuries of Spanish rule and aesthetic influence were encapsulated in one underwhelming sentence:

> Of the colonial city, there remains the freshly whitewashed squat houses, the palace and the marvelous baroque churches which achieved the impossible fusion of the plateresco, mudéjar or churriqueresco styles with that of the Inca tradition.

The conditions of Machu Picchu's nomination also privileged the imperial Inca past. While this site's function and purposes were still under debate, the nomination documents made direct connections to Cusco's imperial era, attributing Machu Picchu's "rigorous" plan and "spectacular" design to Pachacuti. Offering minimal documentation of the monument, ICOMOS claimed that the inscription of Machu Picchu was "evident and renders a justification superfluous and irrelevant." As such, this site was lauded as a masterpiece of architecture and determined to be a "testimony to the Inca civilization."

With some irony, Cusco had become a misconstrued historical artifact in an era when authenticity was presented as a justification of World Heritage. While it may not be possible to gauge the depth of cultural influence that the nomination documents had on the general public, archaeologist Brian Bauer recognized the presence of the deep Andean past in his descriptions of the city. Writing in the early 2000s, around the time Cusco's Master Plan was in its final draft stages, he noted that visitors to Cusco frequently marveled at the city's longevity and left with the impression that the city had remained "largely unchanged since Inca times" (2004: 107).

Historic Cities and Historic Centers

Taking on Cusco as the imperial capital and a microcosm of *Tawantinsuyu* in 1967, archaeologist John Rowe argued that the Inca capital looked "enough like European cities so that

the Spanish invaders had no hesitation in calling it a city." Yet, he argued that, "Pachakuti's puma-shaped capital also functioned as a ceremonial center," which he defined as "a place where public facilities are located but which has a small resident population" (1967: 59, 63). While addressing the city as the seat of government and religion, Rowe explained Cusco's planned settlement and its urban form through the work of colonial-era authors, such as Sarmiento, Sancho, and Betanzos. This is quite significant because this scholarship was used later to legitimize Cusco's urban form. Applying the colonial narrative, Rowe illustrated his 20th century conception of Inca Cusco by tracing the puma icon on George Squier's map of the city from 1877 [Figure 4-3].

> The area between the rivers was laid out in the shape of a puma, the fortress representing the puma's head and the point where the rivers come together representing the tail. This point is still called "The Puma's Tail" in Inca [Quechua]. The space between the puma's front and back legs constituted a great public square used for ceremonies; it was paved with pebbles. The streets were straight but somewhat irregularly arranged to fit the topography of the site and the puma figure; in consequence, none of the blocks was square, and the blocks varied greatly in size. The streets were narrow, paved with stones, and with a stone-lined water channel running down the middle.
>
> John Rowe, 1967: 60, from *What Kind of a Settlement was Inca Cuzco?*

While Rowe's approach to Inca Cusco likely perpetuated some of Burga and Flores Galindo's concerns about Peruvian history, Cusco's contemporary urban conditions presented additional challenges. Besides being a state monument and a site of international heritage, Cusco was a 20th century Peruvian city. In other words, the central commercial zone, governmental offices, principle churches, and private homes were literally sitting on top of the Inca-colonial grid. In the same streets and plazas that had been spaces of imperial rule and colonial conquest, Cusqueños negotiated Andean modernity.

Cusco's nomination included "old" Cusco as the heart of a mononuclear urban layout rather than a sub-center within a larger metropolis. While these urban conditions were more typical in cities prior to the 1950s, this pattern continued in provincial towns. The Cuban city, Trinidad and the Valley de Los Ingenios, inscribed in 1988, is one example where the commercial center is the historic district (see Tanaka dissertation, 2011). Although it was geographically constrained, Cusco was not a provincial town. It was a fully operative regional capital, retaining many of its key civic functions since Inca times. These conditions complicated the management of the city, both as a contemporary urban center and as a World Heritage site.

CHURCHES.—1. San Cristobal; 2. Santa Ana; 3. Los Nazarenos; 4. San Antonio; 5. San Blas; 6. Beaterio de Arcopata; 7. Jesus Maria; 8. La Catedral; 9. Capilla del Santiago; 10. San Francisco; 11. La Merced; 12. La Compania; 13. San Agustin; 14. Hospital de Hombras; 15. Santa Clara; 16. Santa Catalina; 17. Beaterio de San Andrés; 18. Beaterio de Santa Rosa; 19. Santo Domingo; 20. Beaterio de Ahuacpinta; 21. Santiago; 22. Belen; 23. Iglesia del Panteon; 24. University; 25. Prefectura; 26. House of Municipality; 27. Prison. INCA RUINS.—A. Temple of the Sun; B. Palace of Virgins of the Sun; C. Palace of Inca Tupac Yupanqui; D. Palace of Inca Yupanqui; E. Palace of Inca Rocca; F. Palace of Inca Viracocha; G. Palace of Yachahuasi, or the Schools; H. Palace of Inca Pachacutic; I. Palace of Huayna Capac; J. Palace of Manco Capac; K. House of Garcilasso de la Vega; L. Intahuatana, or Gnomon of the Sun; M. Ruins of Inca building; N. Chingana chambered rock; O. Carved and chambered rocks; P. Inca graded road, leading to quarries; Q. Pila, or Bath, of the Incas. Black lines showing ancient Inca walls.

Figure 4-3 Squier's Map of Cusco with Rowe's outline of the Puma (Rowe 1967, Plate XXXIV)

Officially inscribed as "The City of Cusco," UNESCO's heritage boundary was categorized generally as "city," and not imagined as a "zone," as it had been both by Kubler and as a state monumental sector. This also implied a specific city for the heritage timeline: Pachacuti's imperial capital. By the end of the 1970s, these overlapping ideological geographies were also being discussed by Peruvian architects through another model: the historic center. These vastly different designations of the same urban land have some significant and confusing implications. This can be partially addressed by considering the different interests these various categories served and by placing Cusco in conversation with early examples of heritage cities and Latin American historic centers.

In Cusco, the ideas and spaces of "city" and "historic center" overlapped and blurred, but in many Latin American cities these designations developed separately along trajectories which were based on different urban, historical, and national conditions. An analysis of the World Heritage List reveals that the protection of an entire "city" as a heritage zone is unusual. In 1978, Quito and Kracow were the first cities to be added to the World Heritage List. Their inscriptions led to a joint venture by Ecuadorian and Polish authorities to draft a charter on the rights and obligations relating to "towns" on the World Heritage List. This was presented to the UNESCO Committee, but the issue was tabled for further discussion (Parent 1978:19).

While the Kracow-Quito venture did not seem to have gained support nor was it incorporated into later discussions, the 1976 UNESCO General Conference in Nairobi provided some preliminary recommendations for Historic Areas – which implied a protected zone. Besides safeguarding the property, the conference report advocated for revitalization policies which would make historic areas "centers of cultural activities and give them a central role to play in the cultural development of the communities around them" (see UNESCO 1976, Annex I, point 33). Among the many characteristics which were provided to define Historic Areas, several were related to urban conditions: historic towns, old urban quarters, and villages.

As a World Heritage site, Quito was originally categorized as "city." However, by 1980, UNESCO's documents began to refer to the site as "The Historic Center of Quito." In contrast, Krakow was nominated as the "Historic Urban and Architectural Center of Cracow," but was later inscribed as "Historic Center" in the UNESCO records. These shifting designations reveal the loose and evolving categories of World Heritage in its earliest stages.

In ICOMOS's documents described Quito and Krakow's nomination materials as "adequate," but they were lacking when compared to nominations a few years later. For example, ICOMOS suggested that Poland should identify the scale of its map, provide orientation for photographs. There were other comments requesting additional sources, the need to specify the established UNESCO categories or criteria used for justifying the site. Most critically, the details for the protection of the site were not offered. Ecuador received similar comments from ICOMOS, including a suggestion for the inclusion of legal documentation and details surrounding the supporting administrative agencies.

Despite this, both cities were accepted by the World Heritage Committee. The lack of information from these cities and the presence of a draft charter from Poland and Ecuador revealed some of the concerns and mounting issues surrounding the identification and safeguarding of historic centers and the administration of these conditions. The cases of Krakow and Quito illustrate vastly different approaches from Havana's inscription on the List in 1982, one year prior to Cusco. Although these requirements were still being formalized in the early 1980s, the inclusion of a management plan was a key part of the nomination process for Old Havana (*la Habana Vieja*) and its fortification system.

According to ICOMOS' report, Cuba provided an extensive nomination package which represented the Cuban government's long-term efforts to restore the colonial characteristics and revitalize the crumbling historic center in the national capital. As part of the nomination process, Cuba provided a package which included national legislation; description of the monuments, specific protection and control for the property; and projects, studies and programs surrounding these issues. Most significantly, this report included a master plan for the city, which not only addressed the zone of preservation, but also included areas outside the historic property where planning would have a "positive influence" (ICOMOS 1981).

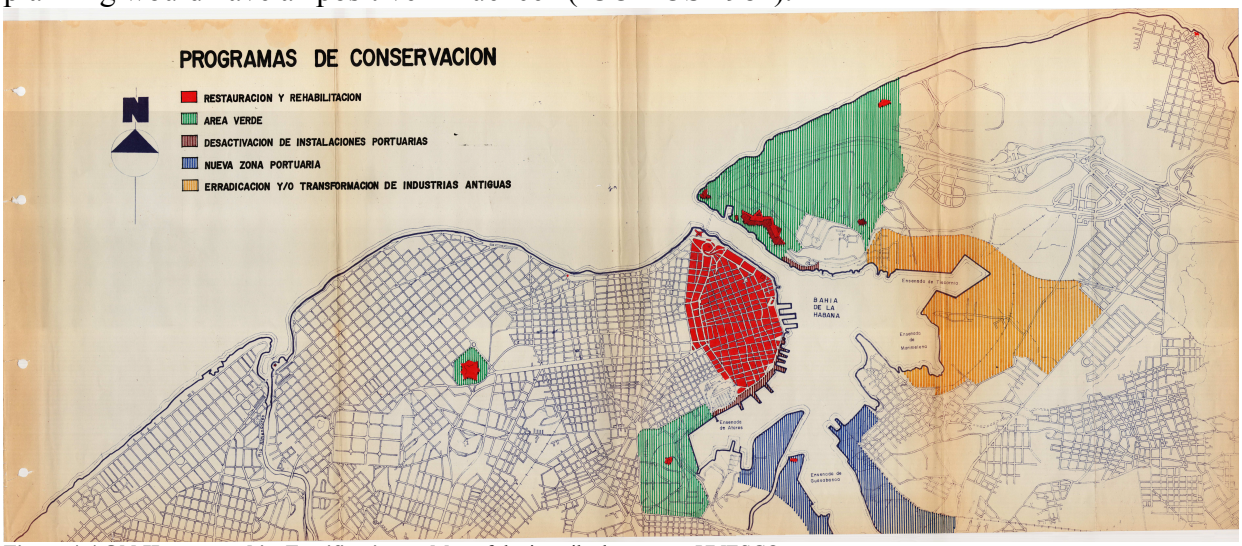

Figure 4-4 Old Havana and its Fortifications – Map of the inscribed property. UNESCO.

While, according to ICOMOS, some of the justification for the site's inscription had been requested previously, Cuba's documentation was an "admirable" effort. In particular, the committee commented on the document's "great competence" in addressing the complicated relationships between the different colonial conditions within the Old City, the fortifications, and other urban conditions, such as rapid urbanization. In 1982, Old Havana and its fortification system were inscribed as a specific historic sector within a larger urban area [Figure 4-4]. Based on conditions of original Spanish settlement, dating back to 1519, UNESCO's zone of preservation in Cuba's capital city was unlike the complex mixture of indigenous and colonial conditions in the City of Cusco. Havana represented a more typical heritage strategy that was beginning to take shape around the same time – the Latin American historic center.

By the late 1980s, historic centers rather than the historic cities were the most common UNESCO designation for urban heritage in Latin American cities. Like Old Havana, this term highlighted the history, aesthetics, and urban planning of colonial towns and provided a specific space for it. The original site of most historic centers in Latin America were established according to the Laws of the Indies, described in Chapter One, and consequently, the colonial past became the timeline for World Heritage. These properties were generally presented in the nomination documents as "grid-plan towns" with central plazas and a collection of architectural forms; representing the power of the military, the omnipresence of the Roman Catholic Church, and rule of the local government. Some historical centers, like Havana and Lima, also preserved traces of colonial fortifications and walls, which were used to distinguish the heritage zone from more recent urban sectors [Figures 4-5. 4-6. 4-7]. Because Pachacuti's imperial capital represented the world heritage timeline for Cusco, this city did not fit the typical Latin American model for historic centers.

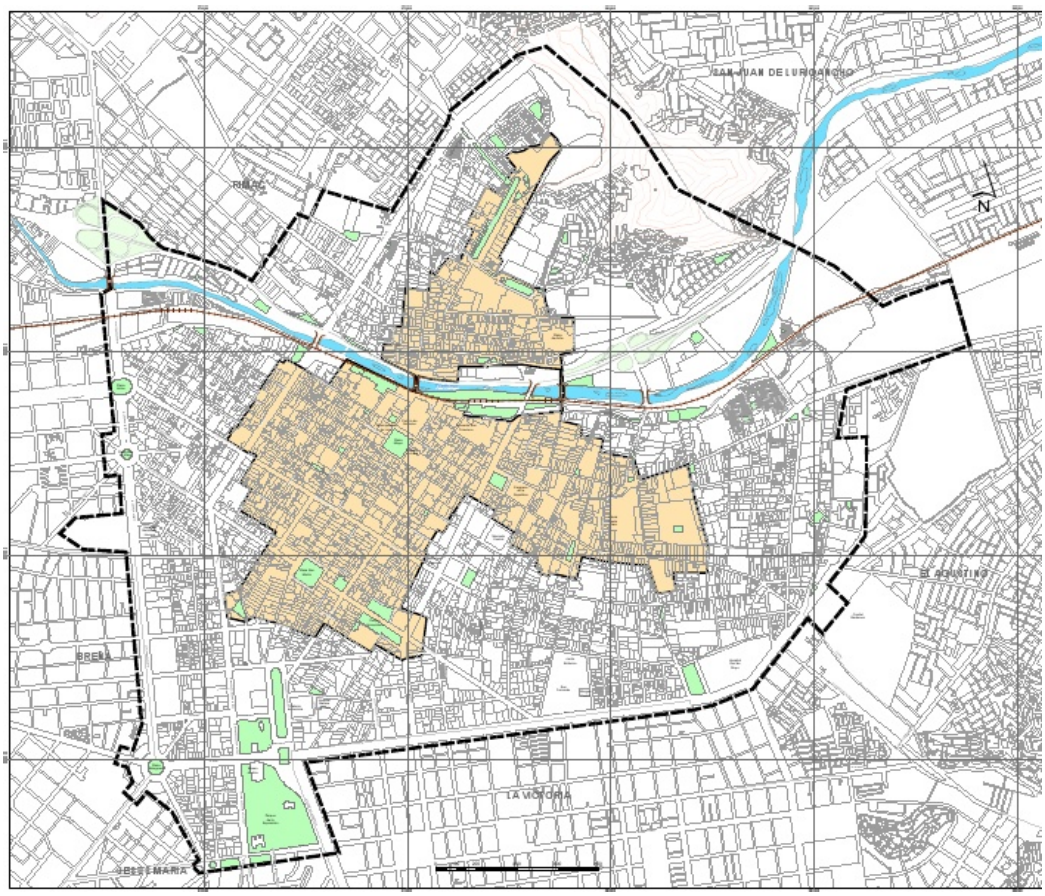

Figure 4-5 Historic Center of Lima and Buffer Zone (black dash); source Ministry of Culture

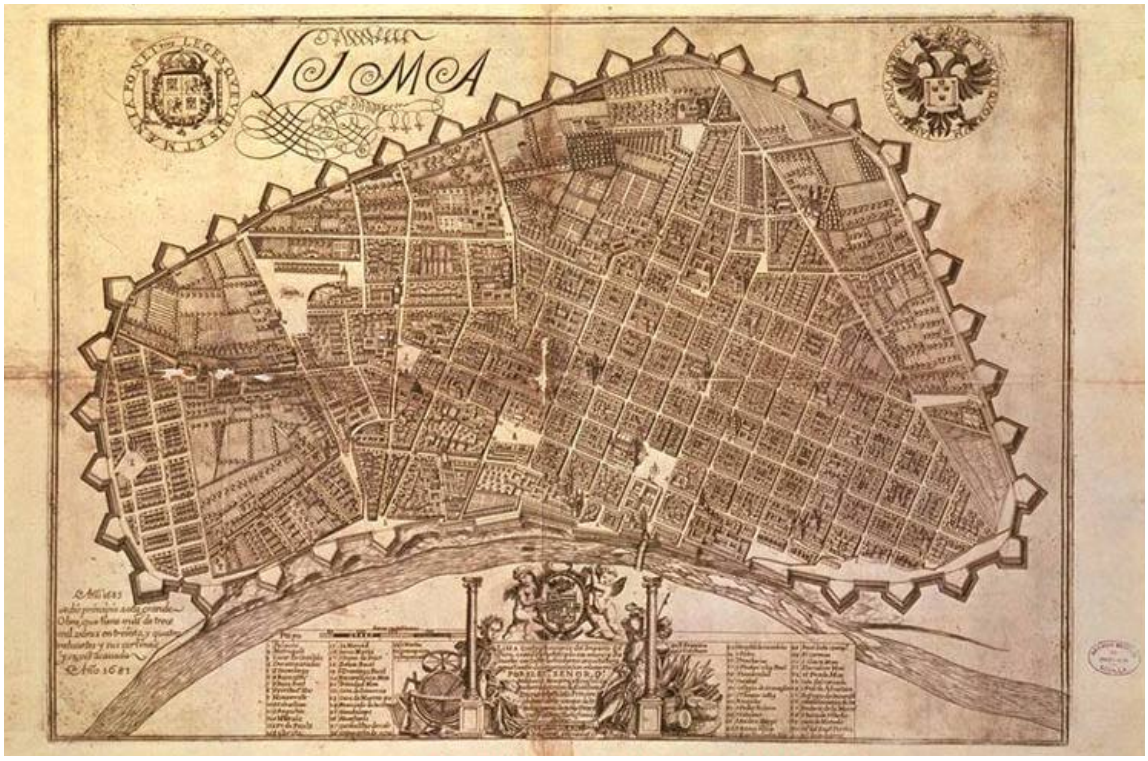

Figure 4-6 Colonial City of Lima (c. 1681) Showing city wall, defining the colonial settlement

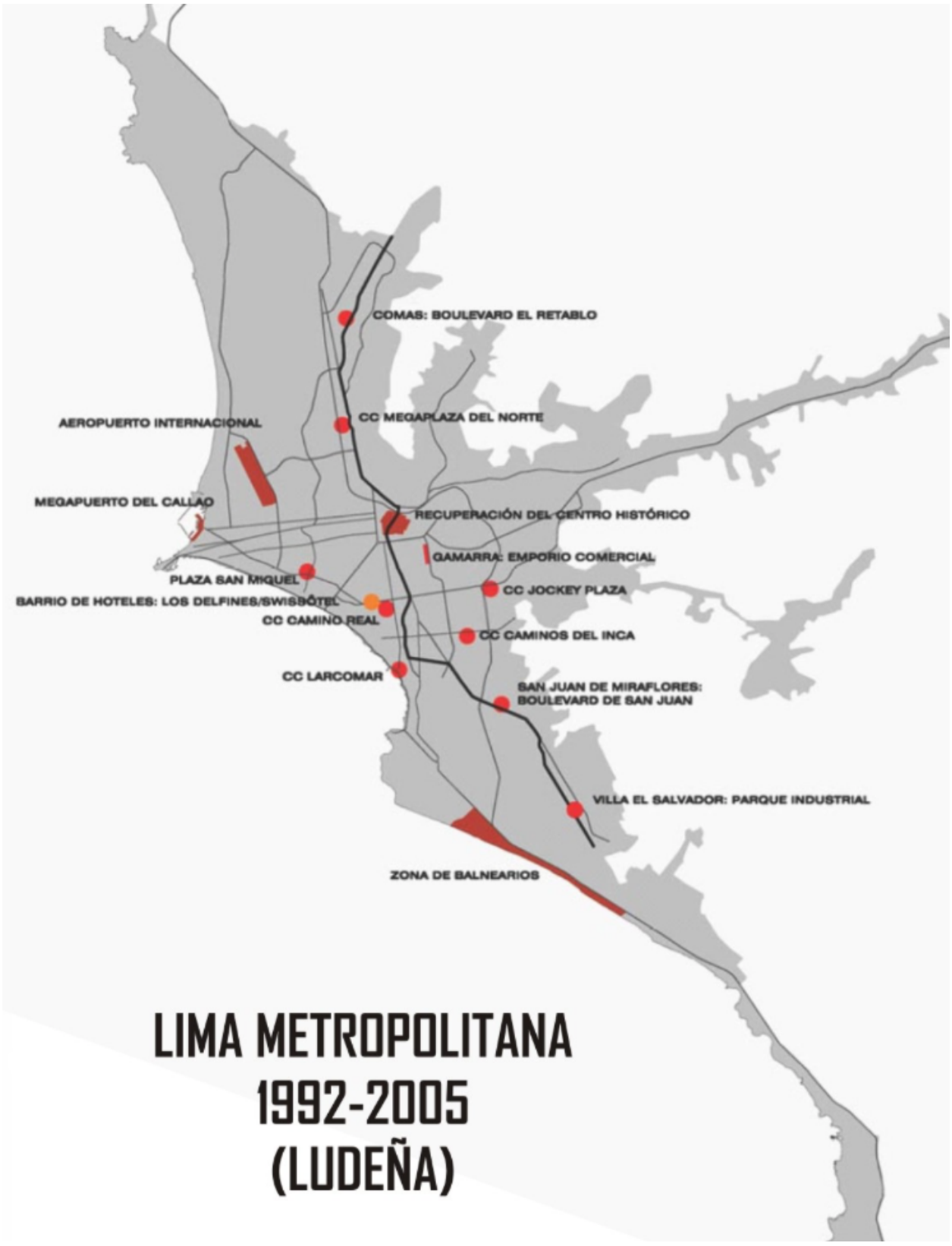

Figure 4-7 Metropolitan Lima Source Architect Willey Ludeña. Note the difference in Lima's colonial-era Historic Center, which is a sub-center in a larger metropolis versus central Cusco's mononuclear layout.

While Peru's nominations revived a sense of *Tawantinsuyu*, the designation of Latin American historic centers, as World Heritage, resurrected the network of Spanish American towns. In 1987, the designation of historic colonial centers in Oaxaca, Puebla, and Mexico City, as sites of World Heritage, exemplified the proliferation of this preservation strategy in Mexico's nomination process. It is worth mentioning that Mexico City, like Cusco, represented a unique case in its mixture of indigenous, imperial and colonial remains, but it was nominated with additional criteria: *ii, iii, iv, v*. However, unlike colonization in the Andes, the Aztec capital was almost completely destroyed by Cortes and this influenced the conditions of establishing its heritage timeline and urban zones.

World Heritage in Mexico's federal capital was represented by two sectors of preservation within the single nomination: The Historic Center and the Aztec site of Xochimilco (no. 412 on the World Heritage List). The Historic Center of Mexico City, included one zone corresponding to the city before 1810, and a buffer area representing the growth of the capital in the 19th century. Although it contained the recently rediscovered remains of the Aztec Templo Mayor (found in 1978), the Historic Center emphasized the colonial settlement and the North American Viceroyalty of New Spain. Xochimilco venerated the Aztec past on the ancient lakebed of Texcoco, 28 kilometers to the south of the city.

The World Heritage List brought increased visibility to member-states and new forms of accountability to heritage sites. One of the most significant requirements was the master regulatory plan. This provided transparency between the member-state and the World Heritage Committee, and it represented an agreement to preserve and manage the heritage property. At the time of Cusco and Machu Picchu's nominations, this requirement had not been specifically outlined: this was evidenced in UNESCO's 1980 Operational Guidelines and by ICOMOS' vague statement regarding Machu Picchu's inherent and unquestionable value. However, it became a critical part of the required documentation for the Operational Guidelines a few years later, in 1987, when Peru started the nomination process for Lima's historic center (see Op Guidelines, p. 14). These conditions impacted the future management of Cusco as an urban heritage property and may have contributed to the perception of the Andean city as being perpetually in the past and behind Lima.

Because Cusco's inscription occurred early in the development of the World Heritage program, this city was included on the List without providing a UNESCO-approved management plan. Even though the city and region had been groomed for heritage and regulated through national cultural policies, this presented a conundrum which became more complicated in the two the decades following the city's inscription. During this time, UNESCO made a series of requests for interinstitutional cooperation in the creation of a planning document. However, the extended time for creating a master plan, coupled with changing decentralization policies in Peru and local dynamics, opened spaces for developing the city through multiple and often clashing visions.

PART TWO: Two Visions for One City

The idea of Cusco as a space of World Heritage and the reality of managing a functioning urban center as a central historic district are separate and overlapping concepts. In Peru, these ideas developed through at least two different sources. On the one hand, the National Institute of Culture and national cultural policy provided the legal framework, cultural experts, and an existing management structure. Also, the INC's relationship with UNESCO and the United

Nations Development Program (UNDP) was important for promoting intellectual discussions surrounding historic centers in Latin America.

On the other hand, Cusco's municipality developed its own vision which included pro-Andean public works projects. While some of this was supported by a national law, which granted special powers to mayors and cities, these projects overlapped with those of the INC.

According to guidelines from UNESCO Conference in 1976, safeguarding historic areas required identification, protection, conservation, restoration, renovation, maintenance, and revitalization. In Cusco, much of this work started in the 1950s, as a result of the post-earthquake recommendations from UNESCO and the Technical Assistance Administration (TAA), which later became part of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). The management of preservation, urbanism, and regional tourism development continued under the direction of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development (CRIF) in the late 1950s. By 1972, most, if not all of these projects were overseen by the National Institute of Culture and, in the Andes, this responsibility was shared by COPESCO, which administered regional tourism development. As discussed in Chapter Three, much of the work on preservation and urbanism in Cusco demonstrated the concurrent development of Peruvian cultural policy with international heritage conventions.

Even though master regulatory plans were not required at the time of Cusco's nomination to the World Heritage List, it seems strange that it took Peru over two decades to produce this kind of administrative package. One factor in this delay were differences in national visions for the city, represented by the National Institute of Culture, and the rising influence of Cusco's Municipality. This was further complicated by the dual roles of the city as a regional center of governance and as a UNESCO Historic Center. Also, Cusco's designation as a city, rather than an historic center, may have added to the challenges of achieving consensus between different Peruvian agencies.

From the early 1980s to the beginning of the 21st century, the INC and the Municipality both claimed legal entitlement to intervene in the historic center; each used a combination of carefully selected Peruvian cultural policy and international charters to justify their legitimacy. The different visions for addressing Cusco's historical landscape grounded and prolonged the creation of a management plan for the city. Because of this, both perspectives are important to consider in order to understand the interinstitutional effort of transforming the city of Cusco, as a heritage property, into a historically-themed urban center. The visions for the management of the city, its patrimony, and urban development can be characterized by the priorities of these two agencies.

The Regional-National Perspective: The National Institute of Culture (INC)

Considering Cusco's prestige as the long-standing "Archaeological Capital of South America" and the many decades of Peruvian participation in international congresses, it is no surprise that architects from Cusco and Lima were part of intellectual discussions on Latin American historic centers. Some of these debates began a few years before Cusco's nomination as a World Heritage site, in the late 1970s, through the support of international efforts from UNESCO and the United Nations Development Program (UNDP). This work influenced INC investigations and COPESCO's projects in Cusco and it was foundational for conceptualizing the city, from the national perspective, as a heritage site.

In 1978, the city of Quito and the Ecuadorian National Directorate of Artistic Heritage hosted a colloquium on the Preservation of Historic Centers. This coincided with the nomination

of the first cities in Latin America as World Heritage Sites, Quito and Antigua. The conference was sponsored by a partnership between UNESCO and the UNDP, which circulated the conference material through a program entitled, Regional Project of Andean Cultural Heritage (*Proyecto regional del patrimonio cultural andino*). This was part of a series on regional and national patrimony which focused on the changing relationships between cultural heritage, existing conditions in Latin American cities at that time, and issues surrounding tourism.

At the Quito colloquium, architects José Correa and Roberto Samanez, both affiliated with the INC, and the Brazilian architect Paulo O.D. de Azevedo, presented Cusco as a case study. Their material included an historical overview of the city and a report on its existing conditions entitled, *Coloquio sobre la preservación del los Centros Históricos ante el crecmiento de las ciudades contemporáneas*. Referenced later in INC and UNESCO/UNPD publications, this conference text specifically tied the intellectual work on historic centers in Latin America to the urban development of Cusco as it was becoming a World Heritage site. This legacy is visible in an INC/UNESCO document entitled, "Proposal on the Conservation and Development of the Historical Center of Cuzco" (*Propuesta relativa a la conservación y desarrollo del centro historico del Cuzco*). This important and undated document was likely published in or after 1978, a few years before Cusco's nomination to the List.

The Proposal was also supported by UNESCO/UNDP's Regional Project of Andean Cultural Heritage and was a co-authored by highly connected INC-affiliated architects from working groups in Lima and Cusco. The principle author, the Limeño architect, Sanitago Agurto Calvo, was Belaúnde's successor of as Dean of Architecture, Urbanism, and Arts (FAUA) at the National University of Engineering (*Universidad Nacional de Ingeniería*). Other influential contributors included architects José Correa Orbegoso, Frederick Cooper Llosa, José García Bryce (who authored the JAH article in 1971, mentioned in Chapter Three), Luis Miró Quesada Garland, and Carlos Williams León.

This 47-page document included the legal status and justification of the city's monuments – which was administered through the INC, and it discussed several aspects of urban and regional development. Most importantly, it addressed several issues within the Historic Center, which was listed in a separate section from other urban development. The section on the Historic Center included its definition, location, and description; the geographical limits; monuments and restoration projects. The Proposal also looked at practical issues of managing this space as a city: population density and character, land use, and transit. Besides connecting with Latin American historic centers, this publication presented an early solution for Cusco's state-defined Monumental Zone, which the report specifically equated with and defined as "Historic Center" (p. 18). While the ideas taken up in this document represented some of the urban issues and existing institutional projects, its contents and contributions were an important precedent to the future Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center.

As INC/UNESCO/UNDP publications and proposals filtered through intellectual and institutional circles, these ideas were integrated into the cultural spaces and architecture of the city. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the INC and COPESCO engaged in many investigatory, archaeological, and restoration projects throughout Cusco's Monumental Zone. This was evidenced by another INC/UNESCO publication and project by architect Sanitago Agurto Calvo. Entitled, "Cusco: The Urban Traces of the Inca City" (*Cusco: la traza urbana de la ciudad inca*), the search for the "image of Cusco" provided a reconstruction of the urban layout of the imperial city, interpreted through the archaeological remains and colonial accounts.

Among its other contributions, Agurto proposed that this work furthered understandings of the physical planning of the Cusco region and the urban planning of the Inca city. The report described Cusco's urban form through the theme of the puma "totem," citing John Rowe's work from 1967, mentioned above, as well as the 16th century account of Juan Diez de Betanzos and the 20th century work of Luise Margolies Graziano Gasparini on Inca architecture (1977). The INC document included two representations of the puma, lying down and crouching; and it also posed an interesting set of questions for this urban form [Figure 4-8].

> Could the imagination and the creative capacity of Pachacutec have been so extraordinary as to design the city in such a way that, in its development, it kept the figure of its totem and made it grow along with it?
>
> Or will the figure of the puma, both the lying and the crouching, simply be the result of chance (*causualidad*) and our intimate desire to make the history of the Holy City more beautiful and suggestive? (Agurto 1979: 138-141)

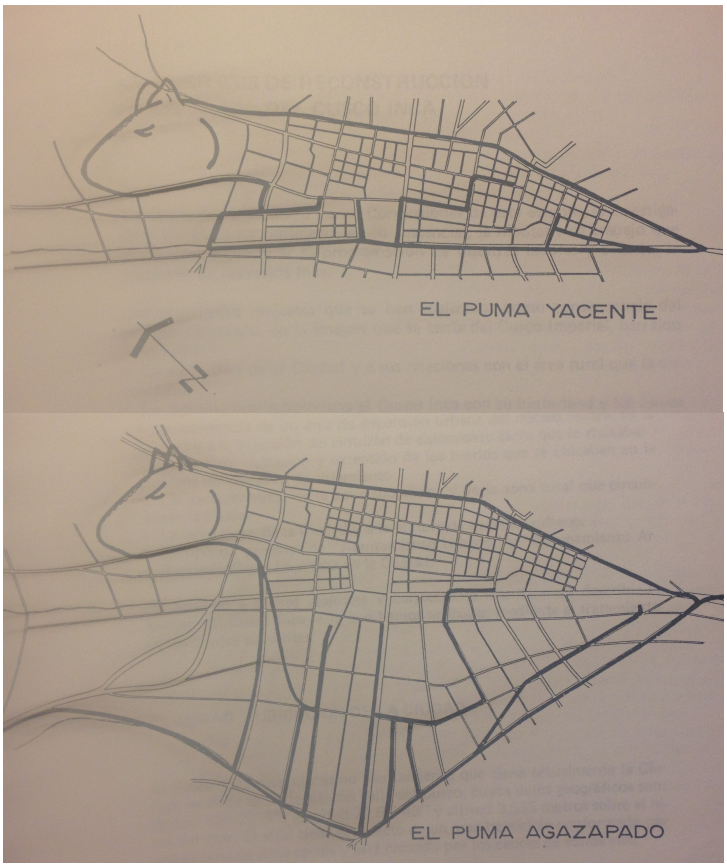

Figure 4-8 Argurto's diagrams of the puma, lying down and crouching

In addressing these questions, it is important to mention that the heritage boundaries of many Latin American historic centers were defined through the settlement patterns of gridded colonial towns: this was part of the historical and legal record of the Spanish Conquest. Cusco's monumental zone-cum-historic center was based on the physical *remains* of the Inca city, which represented only a fragment of the imperial capital. Rowe noted that it was not just "the area of the puma" which was laid out according to a plan: "Inca planning extended to the whole Cuzco valley for about seven miles below Cuzco proper and some of the higher country on the sides of

the valley as well" (1967:60). In other words, unlike colonial towns, Cusco's heritage boundary was based in myth, colonial narratives, and incomplete historical and archaeological records. This influence extended to INC and COPESCO projects.

In addition to the work of the INC, COPESCO's documents also referred to the central monumental zone was as *centro histórico de la ciudad*. COPESCO's Office of Works (*gerencia de obras*) had a specific division for managing monuments (*puesta en valor de monumentos*). The practice of *puesta de valor*, or the valorization of ancient sites, was intended to avoid forgotten ruins and create monuments that could be interpreted and visited (Silverman 2008). As noted in Chapter Three, COPESCO was affiliated with UNESCO and the UNDP, and was it was charged with carrying out studies on various topics, including the restoration of historical monuments (INC/UNESCO 1977:63).

One of the restoration projects (*restauración y adecuación*) taken on by the *División de Puesta en Valor de Monumentos*, was the Beaterio de las Nazarenas, a Catholic monastery compound which housed a Carmelite community. This complex has been tied historically to the rule of the Inca Roca and described as former Inca palace of Yachay Wasi (Huasi), or House of Knowledge (Casa del Saber) (Garcilaso – Royal Commentaries, Book VII, Chapter X, p. 266). Located two blocks from the Plaza de Armas, and near the colonial-era home of Hernando Pizarro, the site occupied part of the neighborhood of *Puma Curco* in an area known as *Amaru-Ccata* for the many serpents that were carved in relief on the stone foundation walls. Located on the colonial-era plazoleta de Nazarenas, the main entrance was (and is) distinguished by a massive stone corner of the passage of the Seven Serpents (*el pasaje Siete Culebras*).

In a 63-page informé, or final report from 1977-1978, COPESCO presented a brief historical context of the Nazarenas compound and detailed information on each sector of the convent: justification of historical value, analysis of architecture, existing conditions, interior aesthetics, scale of spaces (church, chapel, sacristy) and structures, construction materials, records of ownership, different uses over time, and financial information.

This project represented the many challenges between the preservation of multiple historical eras, the modernization of infrastructure in this part of the city, and the evolving urbanism of the late 1970s. COPESCO's intervention process included a point-by-point list of managing demolition, elimination, restoration, and the installation of new amenities, such as running water and electricity. In the section that covered the conservation and restoration work, the agency noted the damage from the 1950 earthquake, citing the previous work of the CRIF. The document specifically connected with international heritage policy at that time by stating the intention to adopt the criteria of the Venice Charter (COPESCO, 6.00 Proyecto de Restauración [my page 38 – doc doesn't have page numbers]).

Formed by the same cultural policy which established the Monumental Zone in Cusco in 1972, the National Institute of Culture and COPESCO represented established agencies with their own institutional experts. Though national policy, they were charged with the stewardship of Cusco's Monumental Zone, which included the management of monuments, archaeological sites, and tourism throughout the region. Through UNESCO/UNDP's support, the INC's vision for Cusco was established and developed through the expertise of architects and archaeologists, several of whom had prestigious international connections.

Municipal Visions

Figure 4-9 Symbol of the Municipality and the Inca Zodiac

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the policy which governed the nation's municipal districts was being revised to promote decentralization and wrest power from the "hypercentralist" rule of Lima. By 1984, an update to the Organic Law of the Municipalities authorized mayors to generate and manage their own income through taxation (*Ley Nº 23853*). This law established the legitimacy and characteristics of the municipal administration: the mayor, individual councilors, and the municipal council. It also allowed mayors to intervene in urban development. Although this was a national policy, the reality of its reach varied within each of the municipalities (see Adrianzén 2003: 221-241; Pease and Gibaja 1989). In Cusco, which had received special administrative powers at various times through the nation's patrimony law and earlier agencies like the CRIF, the increased authority at the local level contributed to competition between local authorities and the cultural projects of the INC.

The changes to the municipal laws overlapped with Fernando Belaúnde Terry's second presidential term (1980-1985) and coincided with Cusco's inscription as a site of World Heritage. After declaring 1984 as a year of jubilation (*año jubilar del Cusco*), Belaúnde officially proclaimed Cusco as the "Tourist Capital of Peru (*Capital Turística del Perú – Ley No. 23765*). With World Heritage status, presidential patronage, and the upgraded authority granted to mayors and their staff, Cusco's Municipality began to expand. Unlike the INC and COPESCO, which had risen out of a revolutionary cultural policy and enjoyed a partnership with United Nations' agencies, the Municipality was built from the ground up.

The Municipality's Library archivist, Peter Elias Bejar, has explained that there were only a handful of people on the municipal staff during the early 1980s, but that this number grew rapidly in the following years and decades, with an estimated 1,500 municipal employees by 2013 (personal conversation). Likewise, Archaeologist Helaine Silverman noted that in the early 1980s, the city "did not have an office of urban planning but only a 'Secretary of Public Works,' supplied with a few wheel-barrows, shovels, picks, buckets, two typewriters and one vehicle, whose function was to fix streets" (Silverman 2008: 212, citing Municipalidad del Qosqo 1995:19).

It was during this auspicious time, in January of 1984, that Daniel Estrada Pérez began his first of three mayoral terms with an ambitious agenda to revive "*la cultura cuzqueña*."

Silverman, an expert on this era, has argued that, "Estrada's urban actions were carried out in a context of radical democratic empowerment of the populace, assisted by a corps of dedicated collaborators who shared the mayor's passion for social justice" (2008: 182). His early projects were actively focused on rescuing the cultural identity of Cusco's citizens. Silverman argued that the Law of the Municipalities facilitated this program. It empowered Estrada to re-register and tax tourism services in the city. An example of this was a subsurface water tax on the Cervecería Cusqueña, a local beer company located just outside of the Monumental Zone. Taxation funded the production of Cusco-themed books, the purchase of materials for the municipal library, and support of local arts – musical, artistic, and theatrical works. Silverman noted Estrada's desire to "maintain and revalorize" culture in the face of the "transculturalization and cultural deformation" brought on by the influence of tourism (2008: 184).

Estrada focused on rescuing, awakening, and defending the city's cultural identity or pre-Hispanic "Cusco-ness" (*Cuzqueñidad*). This included promoting Quechua, the indigenous language of the southern Andes. He legally changed the name of Cusco to *Qosqo* in official documents (*Acuerdo Municipal No. 078-A/MC-SG-*90); some of the names of main streets and historical spaces were also rewritten in Quechua. In another tribute to the Incaic past at that time, the Municipality adopted the Inca sun disk as its official symbol – and it is still in use in 2017. The historical record of this icon dates back to the early Peruvian Republic and the work of British antiquarian, ethnologist, and traveler, William Bollaert. Writing on "monuments of Peruvian nations" in the late 1850s, Bollaert mentioned a similar gold disk that had been discovered in Cusco. Accompanied by a drawing plate, this object was described as an "incarial lunar calendar or a zodiac" (1860: 146-149) [Figure 4-9].

In the 1980s and 1990s, central Cusco was the backdrop for many of Estrada's projects. Here, much of the cultural work was supported by improvements to urban infrastructure, such as the modification of main avenues to accommodate motifs referencing Inca history (Silverman 2008:187). Besides the redesign of the Plaza de Armas, this included improved urban infrastructure, paved and illuminated streets, new parks and plazas. While the mayor gave some attention to the city's Spanish history and the colonial barrios of San Blas, Santa Ana, and San Cristóbal, a series of Inca-themed memorials were strategically placed throughout the city. These were inaugurated with festive public participation (Silverman 2008).

Under the slogan, "discover old Qosqo to build a new Qosqo" (*Descubrir del Viejo QOSQO para construer Nuevo Qosqo),* several monuments were erected (Silverman 2008). These included a monument to the supposed founders of the Inca empire, Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo; an enormous monument to Pachacuti that continues to serve as a grand traffic roundabout between Cusco's airport and the historic center; the *Pumaqchupan* mosaic wall and the fountain which memorialized the convergence of the city's two rivers as the "tail of the Puma" [Figure 4-11]. Juan Bravo's immense mural depicting an epic collage of Inca history was placed along the Avenida El Sol, near the Qoricancha [Figure 4-10]. Outside of central Cusco, Estrada commissioned Fausto Espinoza to sculpt and enormous condor, known as *el Cóndor Apuchin*, a sacred symbol of the Incas. This was mounted atop an obelisk in the town of San Sebastian.

Figure 4-10 Juan Bravo's immense mural depicting an epic collage of Inca history was placed along the Avenida El Sol, near the Qoricancha, above.

Figure 4-11 Fountain in central Cusco, which memorialized the convergence of the city's two rivers as the "tail of the Puma," below

According to Silverman, Estrada enthusiastically supported archaeological investigation and *puesta en valor*, which, like the Beaterio de Nazarenas project, was represented by the ongoing work of the INC and/or COPESCO. Despite Estrada's popular support, many of the mayor's projects were criticized by Cusqueños in the professional sphere, such as architects and academics. Anthropologist Jorge Flores Ochoa, for example, was extremely concerned with the historical authenticity of the changes Estrada proposed for the Plaza de Armas in 1985 (Silverman 2008: 185-186). Not surprisingly, it was the INC which posed the greatest opposition to Estrada's vision for Cusco. Silverman described the institutional friction between Estrada's municipality, its city architects, workers, and lawyers and the INC's architects, art historians, conservators, archaeologists, and other technicians as a "turf war" over physical modifications to the city (2008: 193-195).

Silverman noted that, "having engaged with UNESCO, ICOMOS, and the organization of World Heritage Cities through participation in many international heritage forums and ceremonial signings of city sisterhoods, Estrada was aware of various heritage charters and could choose certain principles to support his point of view." By the early 1990s, he substantiated this legally through the municipal code for the protection of the Historic Center (*Código Municipal Para La Protección de la Ciudad Histórica del Qosqo*, 1992). Through the public works projects and in the creation of the municipal code, "Estrada tailored intergovernmental ideals to the historical specificities of Cuzco, adding his own unique input and enthusiasm" (2008: 194).

While the mayor and city council had the option to appeal to and coordinate with the national office of the INC, or even UNESCO, in requesting special status for high visibility projects like the redesign of the Plaza de Armas, they did not. Silverman argued that the Municipality could not do so "without jeopardizing some of the decentralized authority Cuzco had fought so hard to attain, particularly under Estrada" (Silverman 2008:209). The discord and division between "*la cultura cuzqueña*" and national culture, represented by Estrada's public works projects and the INC's ongoing management of national patrimony, was precisely what retarded the creation of the required management plan for Cusco.

Region versus nation: The Struggle for Interinstitutional Cooperation

Although it is difficult to trace some of the additions and updates to Peru's General Law of Patrimony (many of these documents are undated), the passage below was likely in force by the early 1980s, while the Organic Law of Municipalities was being restructured (1979-1984). According to Peru's General Law of Patrimony (*Ley Nº 28296 Ley General Del Patrimonio,* article 29*),* the right to manage cultural heritage was clear: "competent" national bodies, such as the INC, presided over local jurisdictions.

The visions for the management of the city, its patrimony, and urban development can be characterized by the priorities of these two agencies. Estrada saw Cusco's historic landscape as an opportunity to revive Andean culture. His improvement projects were justified legally through the *Código* and the Municipality's Urban Development Plan, which defined the Historic Center as predominantly institutional, not unlike Rowe's definition of a ceremonial center. However, the contemporary Historic Center was seen to be lacking in services and actions that would enhance civic, cultural, and residential activities (*Plan de Desarrollo Urbano* 1993: 39). Representing the regional-national perspective, the INC was supported through Peru's General Law of Patrimony. This agency was responsible for proposing and implementing the cultural policy of the State: cultural promotion, cultural dissemination, the preservation of the monumental and cultural heritage, and training in the arts.

By 1993, there were multiple models from the INC and the Municipality which could have contributed to the creation of a Master Plan. These addressed different urban issues in the city and specific aspects of the Historic Center. All of this material deserves a deeper review and comparative analysis as part of future research:

1. Proposal on the Conservation and Development of the Historical Center of Cuzco (*Propuesta relativa a la conservación y desarrollo del centro historico del Cuzco*), produced by the INC/UNESCO at the end of the 1970s.
2. Cusco: The Urban Traces of the Inca City (*Cusco: la traza urbana de la ciudad inca*), investigatory project by architect Sanitago Agurto Calvo, published by the INC/UNESCO in 1979.
3. Cusco's Historical Center: Urban Rehabilitation and Housing (*Centro Historico Del Cusco Rehabilitacion Urbana y Vivenda*), a study produced by UNESCO/UNDP in 1990.
4. Municiple Code for the Protection of the Historic City of Qosqo (*Código Municipal Para La Protección de la Ciudad Histórica del Qosqo*), produced by Estrada's municipal team in 1992.
5. Urban Development Plan for the City of Qosqo (*Plan de Desarrollo Urbano de la Ciudad del Qosqo*), produced by Estrada's municipal team in 1993.

Despite the decades Peru had invested in promoting Cusco as its signature site of national culture, creating a management plan for the city, as a heritage property, required international intervention from the World Heritage Committee. This process unfolded at the international level from 1993-2005, evidenced by a series of UNESCO State of Conservation Reports for the City of Cusco. These are summarized below for the benefit of future research:

> 1993: UNESCO noted that "institutional cooperation between the municipality and the Institute for Culture would have to be improved, particularly in relation to the Qoricancha project. Between 1993 and 1998, the Bureau of the World Heritage Committee made several official requests for a Master Plan for "the City." Besides requesting the plan, the common theme was the emphasis and reiteration of coordination and collaboration between the INC and the Municipality. The documents reveal a growing concern that these issues were not being addressed; eventually UNESCO intervened.
>
> 1996-1997: The Peruvian authorities submitted requests for technical cooperation (funding) from UNESCO, which was to provide advice on the creation of a Commission for the Historical City of Cusco. This would oversee the urban development planning and construction and restoration projects, as well as advice on the preparation of a master plan. In November, 1997, the World Heritage Committee approved an amount of US$ 20,000 under Technical Co-operation for the preparation of Cusco's Master Plan. While a contract was established with the INC, the UNESCO documents noted that this assistance "could not be implemented due to the lack of appropriate co-ordination between the Institute and the Municipality."
>
> 1997-1998: The Bureau specifically urged the Peru's national and local authorities to consider interventions in public spaces as well as new construction and rehabilitation works in full respect of the urban, architectural and historic values that were represented in the city as well as international standards of intervention in historic urban areas.
>
> 1999: Peru received funding to support the preparation of a Master Plan and it had finally formed a joint committee with a signed contract between UNESCO and both the INC and Municipality. However, the negotiation process continued.

It is interesting to note that, in the late 1990s, the State of Conservation documents noted that UNESCO's Secretariat received "expressions of concern about the lack of planning, the lack of application of the urban ordinances for preservation, and new constructions that are considered inappropriate." This may have referred to some of Estrada's final projects, or those of

his successor, Raúl Salizar Saico. In 1996, Salizar was considering the construction of an underground passage of galleries in the Plaza de Armas, through which people could walk to see Inca walls, rediscovered in the repair of the 19th century fountain. Illustrating the political complexity and overlap at the local level, the municipality was restoring the fountain in the center of the plaza, while the INC was undertaking the requisite archaeological excavation nearby (Silverman 2008: 206).

Finally, in 2003, Peru submitted a draft Master Plan for the City of Cusco, which the Heritage Committee deemed to be acceptable. This was produced through the collaborative efforts of the INC and Cusco's Municipality. Although central Cusco had been part of the intellectual discussions of historic centers since the late 1970s, it was not until the early 2000s that the UNESCO documents consistently categorized this space as "Historic Center." This reflected the collaboration that produced the management plan, rather than something that UNESCO suggested or imposed. On an urban scale, this also reflected in a curious addition to the 21st century vision for the city: Sacsayhuaman, the so-called Inca "fortress," and the legendary head of Pachachuti's Puma City, known as the *pumallactan*.

Figure 4-12 Front Cover of the Master Plan for Cusco's Historic Center, c. 2003

Part Three: AWAKENING THE *PUMMALLACTAN*

> After Tupac Inca Yupanqui had visited all the empire and had come to Cuzco where he was served and adored, being for the time idle, he remembered that his father Pachacuti had called the city of Cuzco the lion [puma] city. He said that the tail was where the two rivers unite which flow through it [Sarmiento notes here that the district of Cuzco has always been called *Pumap chupan* or tail of the puma], that the body was the great square and the houses round it, and that the head was wanting. It would be for some son of his to put it on. The Inca discussed this question with the *orejones* [the Inca nobility], who said that the best head would be to make a fortress on a high plateau to the north of the city.
>
> This being settled, the Inca sent to all the provinces, to order the *tucuricos* [provincial governors] to supply a large number of people for the work of the fortress. Having come, the workmen were divided into parties, each one having its duties and officers. Thus some brought stones, others worked them, others placed them. The diligence was such that in a few years, the great fortress of Cuzco [Sacsayhuaman] was built, sumptuous, exceedingly strong, of rough stone, a thing most admirable to look upon. The buildings within it were of small worked stone, so beautiful that, if it had not been seen, it would not be believed how strong it was.
>
> From, *History of the Incas*, Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa 2007: 197 [1572])

From 2003-2005, Peru presented multiple management plans to the World Heritage Committee as the Master Plan for the Historic Center of Cusco (*Plan Maestro del Centro Histórico del Cusco*). Like many of Cusco's earlier institutional documents, these began by selectively narrating the city's illustrious past as a continuum – from the mythical origins to the 20th century, listing its many glorious titles, and noting the key juridical claims and relevant international treaties and charters. Considering the unique urban and historical conditions of Cusco and the level of interinstitutional negotiations, this was a major accomplishment. One of the most provocative aspects of the Master Plan was the use of the *pumallactan* as the primary organizing mechanism. Tied to Pachacuti's imperial capital, this mytho-historical construct presented an "historical" urban form that could concurrently function as an "historic" space. In this way, three agencies employed Inca legends and the Andean past to fulfill the requirements of World Heritage. This artifice added another layer to Peru's "fractured" history.

The significance of the puma metaphor is visible by its placement on front cover of the Master Plan. This featured an image of a reclining puma, set in the foreground over an aerial photograph of the oldest sector of the city [Figures 4-12 and 4-13 – a later version of the icon]. The *pumallactan* icon is framed between the gold sun disk of the Municipality, mentioned in the previous section, and the emblem of the INC. Beneath the puma are two important phrases: One commemorated the interinstitutional agreement of these agencies, which had taken decades. The other, written in Quechua, announced the awakening of the Puma City, *Pumallactan Rich' ariunin.* Unpacking and decoding the claims and the uses of this metaphor is critical for contextualizing how the INC and the municipality re-conceptualized the time and spaces of Andean culture and Cusco's built environment.

Figure 4-13 Image of the *pumallactan* icon, from a later version of the Master Plan, c. 2005.

According to Sarmiento's narrative (above), elements of Cusco's urban landscape were imagined as an Andean mountain lion or puma and termed *pumallactan*, which literally translates as "puma town (*llacta*)" in Quechua. Although the *pumallactan* story was "known," the form had not been a central part of Cusco's urban development. In the review of documents for this dissertation, this theme did not appear in the post-earthquake or mid-late 20th century planning presentations or as part of the CRIF's programs for managing the city. For those who are not familiar with the multi-layered urban development of the city and region, it might have seemed as if the *pumallactan* was plucked directly from the dusty Andean past for the specific purpose of rebranding the Master Plan. However, nothing is that simple with Cusco.

Exemplified by Rowe's work, mentioned earlier, the *pumallactan* narrative belongs to the genre of *fabulas historiales* and, through archaeology, to the legacy of Andean Studies. As described in Chapter One, these legends or fables offered historical and cultural value beyond mere invention. Prior to the Conquest, the puma was a sacred symbol, which was implemented on multiple scales and revered by the highland people. Colonial-era historians, such as Sarmiento and Garcilaso de la Vega described various ways the puma was venerated, even before the arrival of the Incas (Garcilaso, Book One, Chapter IX). At a bodily level, puma pelts were worn by highland religious leaders; this cultural practice was represented graphically in Incan textiles (The Colonial Andes p. 28-29). The symbolism of this ceremonial attire echoed through the Andean folklore of *Huarochirí*, in which, the hero son of the deity *Pariya Qaqa* was cloaked in a red puma skin (MacCormack 1988: 998).

As illustrated by the story of the *pumallactan*, the designation of puma was especially meaningful when used in Andean place names and ritual geography. Garcilaso described a personal memory of visiting sectors of Cusco, "*Puma curcu*" – the puma's post, and "*Puma chupan*" – the puma's tail, which he supposed signified locations where the Incas "kept their creatures" in dens. In a chapter describing the Imperial Cusco, he defined the "Street of *Pumachupan*," or the "lion's tail," as the as the most remote part of the town (Garcilaso Royal Commentaries Book V, Chapter X, p. 146; Book VII, p. 263). This was defined by the convergence of Cusco's two waterways. In contemporary Cusco, this represents a boundary of the Historic Center, marked by the Estrada-era fountain, described in the previous section.

It is noteworthy that Garcilaso also mentioned a site, named *Pumallacta*, which signified the "Countrey of Lions." He described this as beinf attached politically to the Kingdom of Quito, and located within 50 leagues (278 km) of the city of Quito (Book VIII, Chapter VI, p. 311). About 213 km south of Quito, in the present-day town of Riobamba, capital of the Chimborazo Province, there is a small street named *Pumallacta*, not far from one of the four main roads, *Avenida Atahualpa*. The street's name and the region's historical affiliation with Inca rule may suggest the extent and persisting influence of the imperial capital and its ideology. Bauer's ethnohistorical work in *Maukallaqta* and *Puma Orco* (1987-1989) and his research on the *ceque* system (1998) have also demonstrated the use of the "puma" and the prefix "-poma" outside of the imperial capital in sacred place names which comprised Inca origin myths and the emblematic map of *Tawantinsuyu's* ley lines.

Besides being tied to historical landscapes, the story of the *pumallactan* suggests imperial heritage. In his account of the Puma City, Sarmiento claimed to represent a *memory* of Pachacuti's imperial city, from the perspective of Tupac Inca Yupanqui, who had *inherited* the city from his father. However, this legacy was incomplete without the political and symbolic act of selecting a site and orchestrating an aesthetic solution for the puma's head. Through this undertaking, Sacsayhuaman fulfilled a royal obligation and memorialized Pachacuti's city.

Regardless of its historical accuracy, when the *pumallactan* was deployed again in the early 21st century, it tied the Inca historical landscape to preservation and planning issues in the contemporary city. Sacsayhuaman's origin story offered a useful and meaningful explanation of the city's urban history, starting with the cosmology of Manco Capac's city (the *hanan* and *hurin* districts), and attaching its layout to the golden era of Pachacuti's rule. The inclusion of this legendary space as part of Cusco's Master Plan also made some interesting parallels between the organization of World Heritage and Pachacuti's epic vision for the imperial city: both involved the addition of Sacsayhuaman, inter-agency cooperation, inheritance or heritage, and the prestigious stewardship of the imperial city.

Decoding the Pumallactan

Beyond the pictorial messages, the strategic use of Quechua on the front cover of the Master Plan implied an engagement with Andean and Peruvian identity politics, a reflection of state and municipal investments in Andean culture. In part, this can be defined as a contribution of Velasco's Revolutionary Government, which gave birth to the INC at the end of the 1960s. In 1975, when Quechua became a national language, Peru became the first Latin American country to officialize an indigenous language (García 2005:73-77 – in Making Indigenous Citizens). A few years later, one of Estrada's projects was to return Quechua to Cusco's people and its public spaces, as mentioned in the previous section. Applying Quechua could have been perceived either as highly meaningful or practical after Estrada's orthography campaign, which had already re-established the city as "Qosqo."

In addition to the use of Quechua, there are two other modes of analysis which illustrate the historical filters of the contributors and their visions for awakening the Puma. The first is the institutionally-constructed precedents of the Sacsayhuaman and the *pumallactan*, which were rooted in the various projects of the Municipality, the INC, and UNESCO. Second, is the way these ideas migrated beyond the idea space of the Master Plan to re-identify tangible spaces of urban heritage in the city around 2005. This cultural work can be seen as supporting Flores Galindo's notion of the *utopía Andina*, contextualized within local and state levels and as part of UNESCO's ventures in Latin American patrimonial development.

As discussed in the previous section, Estrada's public works and the municipality-sponsored projects of the 1980s and 1990s produced representations of "Inca" works, including the *pumallactan*, throughout the city. At the state level, the inclusion of Sacsayhuaman is part of the long history of Peru's patrimonial development and the promotion of Andean culture; a legitimization of regionalized-national culture. This included early 20th century state archaeology, such as Luis Valcárcel's excavations at Sacsayhuaman in the early 1930s. As described in Chapter One, these projects had already established the site as an Inca-themed venue for the Quadricentennial celebrations and for the re-enactment of the first *Inti Raymi* during the following decade. Work at this site continued through the projects of the INC and COPESCO, and Sacsayhuaman was declared as Cultural Heritage of the Nation on July 11, 1982 (*Ley No. 23765*). This coincided with the nomination of Cusco and Machu Picchu as sites of World Heritage. This timing may have contributed to the annexation of the site and its proposed protection under the Master Plan.

While it might seem realistic to suppose that the *pumallactan* was solely a Peruvian identify project, which promoted different aspects of the regionalized-national past, this would be completely inaccurate. This is evidenced by the collaborative INC/UNESCO publication which supported the work of architect Santiago Agurto Calvo in 1979, and his search for the "image of Cusco." As noted in the passage citation from the previous section, Agurto considered the *pumallactan* as he questioned the staying power and centrality of Pachacuti's city in juxtaposition with its authenticity and representation in the present. Through Agurto's reliance on Rowe's work, the legacies of state archeology and the institutional influence of U.S. academic institutions on Andean Studies reappeared in the construction of Cusco's themed urban form and its heritage boundary.

Figure 4-14 Front cover of Jaramillo's graphic novel. This was published in UNESCO's Archaeology History Series during the late 1970s to the mid-1980s.

In addition to the influential publications on patrimony and historical centers that UNESCO/UNDP sponsored in late 1970s and 1980s, these agencies co-published a contemporaneous Archaeology History Series. *La Muy Noble y Gran Ciudad del Cusco* was produced as a graphic novel in 1985, through a partnership with UNESCO-PNUD (UN Development Program – *Proyecto Regional de Patrimonio Cultural y Desarrollo*) and the Fund for Tourist Promotion (FOPTUR *Fondo de*

Promocion Turistica). The author, Margarita Jaramillo Salazar, produced several books on regional patrimony in Peru, Ecuador, and Cuba for this series. Starting with its title, which signified Pizarro's founding of Spanish Cusco, *La Muy Noble y Gran Ciudad del Cusco* was filled with regional icons, like the *pumallactan*, in an image-rich format, which was likely prepared for audiences with lower literacy rates [Figure 4-14].

The 77-page book offered six illustrated chapters which presented Cusco's history from the city's mythical origins to the present – identified by World Heritage and the city's touristic context. Considering its format, the text included an impressive bibliography with 45 scholarly entries from a broad variety of contributors: many of the colonial histories introduced in Chapter One; academic work by various archaeologists, historians, and Peruvian architects who were affiliated with the INC and UNESCO. There was even a quote on the relationship between people and cities in the World Heritage section, which tied Cusco's historical landscape to the classical world through the words of Athenian historian Thucydides (5th century B.C.E.).

While the cultural work of this text deserves an in-depth analysis in the future, it demonstrates the appropriation of the *pumallactan* as part of a national patrimony and its reproduction through the World Heritage campaign in the 1980s. This was two decades before Cusco's Master Plan was accepted by the World Heritage Committee. In Chapter Two, entitled *La Capital del Universo*, or The Capital of the Universe, the context of Pachacuti's *pumallactan* was narrated in Spanish and supplemented with Quechua [Figure 4-15]. This story was followed by a chapter which was entitled, *El Puma Descuartizado*, or The Quartered Puma. This title suggests a double entendre, inferring the four imperial *suyus* and the spectacular violence of *drawing and quartering* of José Gabriel Condorcanqui, known as Tupac Amaru II, in the Plaza de Armas in 1781 (Walker 1999:1). This section described Cusco at the time of the Conquest as the "victim of precious metal fever" where the Inca puma, representing the city, "*El Cusco*," was "dismantled, dismembered, and hopeless" (1985:39).

Figure 4-15 La Muy Noble y Gran Ciudad del Cusco. This was published in 1985, two years after Cusco was nominated as a site of World Heritage, in partnership with UNESCO-PNUD and the Fund for the Promotion of Tourist Promotion (FOPTUR *Fondo de Promocion Turistica*).

Figure 4-16 Divisions of *Tawantinsuyu* and the *pumallactan*, embedded into Cusco sidewalk in the Historic Center

The historical and cultural work of awakening the Puma City suggested a contemporary inheritance of Pachacuti's imperial city, and by extension, *Tawantinsuyu*. Beyond the historical context and iconography embedded within the planning document, the *pumallactan* theme began to appear physically throughout the city. These additions to the heritage landscape resurrected a spatial sense of the Inca empire, which was indicated by the inlaying of the puma icon on sidewalks throughout the city, along the four major routes connecting with the Plaza de Armas [Figure 4-16]. These changes were noticeable by 2005 and pervasive by 2011.

In 2005, The World Heritage Committee congratulated Peru on the efforts towards its draft Master Plan for the City of Cusco. In other words, regulations still had not been completely formalized at this time but the theme for the city was fixed. This draft included the proposed management plan for Saqsayhuaman, which, by 2006, was executed through the Master Plan. Around this time, the World Heritage Committee's conservation reports called on the Peruvian State Party to finalize its procedure and start implementation of the Master Plan.

As UNESCO continued to encourage the implementation and update of Cusco's regulations, the Andean city and its municipal districts were developing and expanding outward and upward. In the next few years, the planning process became further complicated by the evolving urban and institutional conditions which were articulated in the Introduction to the Dissertation. The transformation of the National Institute of Culture into the Ministry of Culture, in 2010, exemplified this, as did UNESCO's continuing concerns for the ways the Municipality develops its own projects.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter underscores the significance of Pachacuti's city, the messiness of Andean history, Cusco's unusual relationship with other colonial centers, and the complexity of regionalized-national Peruvian culture. Despite the post-earthquake preservation and planning projects in the 1950s and the INC's ongoing archaeological investigations that characterized Cusco during the 1960s and 1970s, it took two decades to submit a regulatory plan that UNESCO was willing to work with. During this time, Peruvian architects reimagined Cusco's monumental zone as the historic center, yet it was unlike all other historic centers in Latin America.

By electing to preserve Cusco as an historic city, Peru and UNESCO created a confusing relationship between the heritage boundary and the heritage timeline: both ideas were artificial and were created through institutional efforts. The inclusion of Sacsayhuaman exemplifies this. While the physical site of Sacsayhuaman, the head of the Puma, was an ongoing archaeological project, other agencies provided ideological material, which reconnected Cusco with the idea of *Tawantinsuyu* and Pachacuti's imperial city.

As a heritage site and historic center, Cusco retained its civic and cultural functions, yet it also came to represent a zone of presumed authenticity, where historical importance and economic privilege were consolidated. This was facilitated through complicated layers of policy and bolstered through an industry of tourism. These conditions fueled the struggle between local authorities and the National Institute of Cusco – both of which laid overlapping and conflicting claims on preserving and/or developing the city's historic built environment. Many of the historical and spatial conditions, including the regional-national power struggles described in the earlier chapters, were revived through the World Heritage program.

What began with an extended interinstitutional process of preparing a regulatory document in the 20th century, became part of encountering the city as an historical product, a heritage property, as a touristic experience in the 21st century. Through these foundations, future research on contemporary urban planning in Cusco's Historic Center and its relationship with the surrounding municipal districts can start to be interpreted with more depth. It is also through this unique context that Cusco's Historic Center can be compared with other historic centers in Peru and World Heritage properties elsewhere.

past concurrently was subverted and revived before it was appropriated as Peruvian culture. The different colonial treatments of Cusco and Lima are directly tied to the ways Peruvian national identity was manifested as regionalized-national culture and national identity. Imperial Cusco returned as Peru's cultural capital and colonial Lima was transformed into the federal capital – this was a major theme of the dissertation but there were other unexpected discoveries.

As Cusco became a Spanish town, the presence of the Andean past was visible in the self-fashioned identity of Cusco – both as "old" Peru (before Peru) and as *Tawantinsuyu* (after the Incas). This kind of local and historically dislocated self-promotion seems to have continued into the 20th century; it was very visible in Mayor Estrada's public works projects, cultural promotions, and "Inca" monuments. As a town of New Spain, Cusco was both part of colonial urbanism and an exception to it. This is evidenced by its unyielding grid and monumental stone foundations, where the colonial center occupied the same space as the indigenous grid. Without understanding this condition, it is impossible to connect the unique conditions of Cusco's historic center and its development as a World Heritage site: Peru's nominations for World Heritage revived a sense of *Tawantinsuyu*, while the designation of Latin American historic centers recreated Spanish America.

There is another relationship between the colonial era and World Heritage in Cusco and Lima. Cusco's nomination was based almost exclusively on colonial accounts of Pachacuti's city – which had mostly vanished. This emphasized the imperial capital and downplayed centuries of colonial infrastructure, particularly the numerous 17th century churches that Wethey and Kubler lauded. Lima's was established through its existing colonial architecture – which could still be experienced. In Cusco's case, artifice was one of the products of the messiness of the Andean past. In other words, there was an artificial sense of continuity between an "authentic" past and its contemporary representation.

A final piece that is worth mentioning is the notion of "lost" Andean and Peruvian culture – and who steps up to claim it. As part of the literature review, this issue emerged through the review of many institutional documents from the second half of the 20th century, starting with UNESCO Courier reports in the 1950s, just prior to the earthquake.

> "…All around the town the ruins of temples bear witness to the lost civilization. But the wealth and glory is a memory. The descendants of the Incas live in the direst poverty. Mostly illiterate, they lack even the most elementary knowledge. They have forgotten the arts of their ancestors and have not acquired the modern techniques that might help them live decently. Their helplessness and resignation present many problems in addition to that of restoring dignity and self-respect" (UNESCO Courier, reporting on Peru and Bolivia's "Joint Attack on Ignorance" 1950:12)

This account of Andean backwardness shifted after the earthquake as Andean were reconstructed as brave survivors. Pro-Peruvian sentiments in the 1960s, mentioned above, were likely inspired by the relationship between Peruvian culture and internationally-shared heritage. This perspective may have contributed to the way the National Institute of Culture (INC) described the state of Peruvian culture in the early 1970s.

> Recovery of the past is the first step towards achieving the ideals of arousing, developing, and strengthening an authentic, valid national awareness. Research into and knowledge of the past are a service rendered to all mankind, now and for the future.
>
> INC/UNESCO Cultural Policy in Peru, prepared by INC, 1977: 40

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS

In the 1920s, Peruvian historian and anthropologist, Luis Valcárcel described Cusco as the "only city of the Americas where all time periods and civilizations coexist" (Valcárcel 1925:115). Valcárcel's evaluation of Cusco's unique historical conditions intersects with the late 20th century concept of *utopía* Andina, through which Manuel Burga and Alberto Flores Galindo attempted to explain Peru's ruptured history and the ideological persistence of *Tawantinsuyu* and the Incas. While Valcárcel was describing an historical landscape, Burga and Flores Galindo were interested in the production of the past. Cusco is defined by both conditions: the enduring significance of its Incaic built environment and reconfigurations of the Andean past – the seen and the imagined.

Encountering the pre-Hispanic past is part of grappling with the nation's post-colonial conditions, as well as understanding Peru's cultural development in the second half of the 20th century. Pachacuti and the imperial capital have been central to political projects to reimagine the Incas, which is epitomized by Peru's claim on Cusco, the Incas, and *Tawantinsuyu*, as national culture. Linking the Andean past with the notion of modern sovereignty reinforced Cusco's unique position as regionalized-national culture.

The earthquake of 1950 liberated Inca Cusco from its colonial shackles; the majority of Inca walls and doorways were mostly intact and exhibited only minor effects of the earthquake. This presented unique UN-sponsored opportunities for rebuilding, which included international aid and reestablishing the Incas in a way that was previously impossible. Through this, Cusco was reimagined as a preservation and urban planning project; the Inca heartland represented latent value as a zone of touristic development.

Tawantinsuyu reappeared in the pro-Peruvian presidential agendas in the 1960s and 1970s. Proclaiming that "*past is future*," President Belaúnde looked to *Tawantinsuyu* for inspiration and a model for Peruvian self-conquest. President Velasco's rallying call to "peruvianize Peru" launched the cultural reforms that gave rise to the National Institute of Culture – a modern institution tasked with protecting the past. Since the early 1970s, Peruvian cultural agencies and international institutions have envisioned Andean history and the city of Cusco through a lens of modernity, both as an historical artifact and through urban planning narratives. These categories represent reconfigurations of Andean time and urban space.

In the early 21st century, collaborative efforts from multiple agencies reintroduced aspects of Pachacuti's imperial city as an organizing mechanism for Cusco's Historic Center. Incorporated into the Master Plan, this created a relationship between a heritage boundary and a heritage timeline – both were artificial and ahistorical. Contemporary Cusco cannot be fathomed without an adequate understanding of the institutional and legal frameworks of Peruvian patrimony, particularly the interplay between urban planning and cultural policies preceding the creation of the Master Plan for the Historic Center.

The dissertation addressed the city historically through these gaps, rather than working out specific issues in the contemporary city – the original plan. Through a scholarly encounter with the city, which required constructing several pieces of missing history, a few provocative themes emerged. Besides the continuous resurrection of the Incas, the colonial relationships between the city of Cusco and Lima left a lasting mark. Based racial-geographic differences, the two cities and their citizens have constructed each other, and continue to do so. This impacted urban development in Cusco, regional identity construction, and it revealed ways the Andean

While the National Institute of Culture worked toward the recovery of the past, at the national level, Mayor Estrada employed the slogan, "discover old Qosqo to build a new Qosqo." Estrada focused on rescuing, awakening, and defending the city's cultural identity or pre-Hispanic "Cusco-ness" (*Cuzqueñidad*). In some ways, this also explains the metaphor of the pumallactan and its Quechua promotion on the front cover of Cusco's Master Plan: *Pumallactan Rich' ariunin*, or the awakening of the Puma City. Each of these examples represent a disconnect between some kind of assumption surrounding an authentic past and a modern approach to realizing it.

Importance of the Research

Some of the largest gaps that the dissertation addressed were aspects of Cusco's urban history, the development of Peruvian patrimony, and the historical context of the nation's cultural policy. Because all of these elements are embedded within Cusco's historical landscape and its relationship with Lima, positioning the historical landscapes of Inca and Colonial Cusco at the center of Peru's regionalized-national culture. This builds on archaeological studies of the city, such as Bauer's ethnohistorical analysis of the city, and connects this with conditions in the colonial era, which has been described by art historians. Bridging these two disciplines, it is possible to understand Cusco and its built environment before it became a Peruvian icon. Having access to this chronology is especially important for understanding how Pachacuti's city has been constructed uncritically through the colonial lens.

Understanding Cusco as a contemporary city requires knowledge of the 1950 earthquake. While some scholars mention this event, its story and deeper contexts are missing. This dissertation offers the previously untold story of the earthquake. Historicizing this event creates a case study for understanding how local, state, and international agencies approached preservation and urbanism in mid-20th century Cusco. This interfaces with the larger discussions of national culture and international heritage.

Identifying the relationship between Peruvian national culture and the rise of international heritage in the second half of the 20th century is critical for understanding Contemporary Cusco. This is also missing from scholarly work and it is tied to the story of post-earthquake urbanism in Cusco, the rebranding of indigenous Andeans as peasants, and the cultural revolution that gave rise to the National Institute of Culture (*Instituto Nacional de Cultura* – INC). Because the INC was one of two Peruvian agencies that contributed to Cusco's Master Plan, this is an invaluable contribution for the dissertation and for future scholarship.

One of the main objectives of the dissertation was to be able to decode Cusco's Master Plan. Approaching this was impossible without the other contributions. Besides giving a close reading of Cusco and Machu Picchu's nomination documents and historicizing Cusco's urban conditions, unpacking the Andean metaphor of the *pumallactan*, is a key contribution. This icon is the central theme on Cusco's Master Plan, which means that it has implication for the way the city develops outsides of the historic center.

Future Work

This dissertation covered several large themes that deserve a closer look. First, there is a disconnect in accessing historical documents on urbanism in Cusco. Many of these are only available in Cusco and most are written in Spanish. These need to be translated, reviewed, evaluated, and synthesized. This involves doing a close reading and comparison of documents, such as the plan for the Department of Cusco's Corporation of Reconstruction and Development

– CRIF (1957), the INC and municipal programs for urbanism (late 1970s-early 1990s), and the Master Plan for Cusco's historical center. This text is in a constant state of flux and there are additional opportunities for engaging with specific architectural conditions in the historic center. These are mentioned in the Epilogue.

In 2010 and 2011, there were major transformations underway at the state level. In 2010, the National Institute of Culture was replaced by the Ministry of Culture (MOC), which reconfigured Peruvian cultural policy. In addition to these changes, Peru launched a new national brand which has been gaining visibility in the city and around the world. *How has this impacted Cusco's built environment and its heritage timeline?*

* * *

EPILOGUE

> "In the high Andes of Peru… the descendants of the Inca have searched for centuries for the symbol of their past glories…a fabulous golden disc encrusted with jewels…there are others…who search…but only for gold."
>
> Opening lines from Paramount Picture's *Secret of the Incas* (1954)

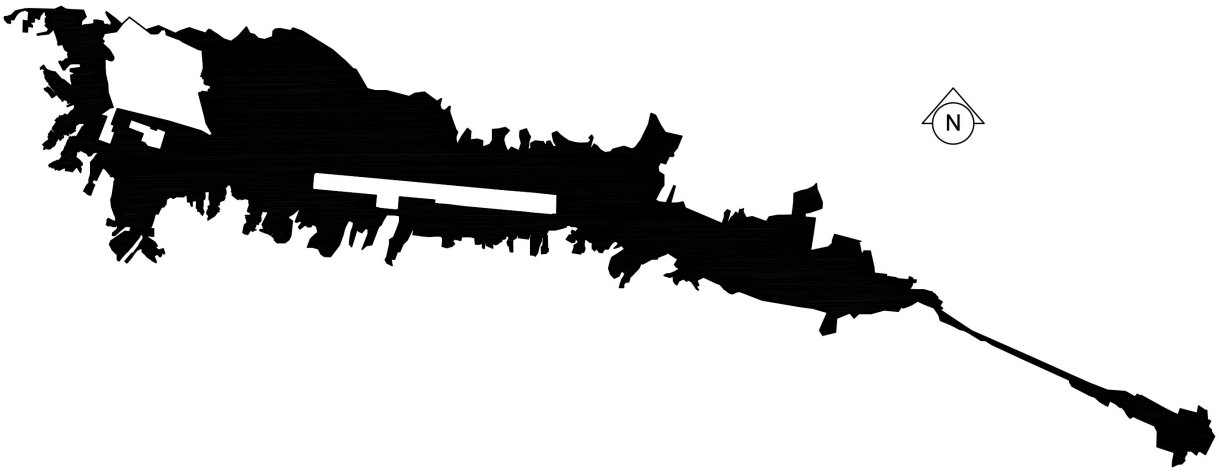

Figure 5.1 Contemporary City of Cusco: Showing the extents of the metropolitan area, with the Historic Center (top left) and the Alejandro Velasco Astete International Airport (center) shown as positive space. Source Covey, 2017.

Less than four years after Cusco's earthquake, Paramount Pictures laid claim to *Tawantinsuyu*, plotting out Hollywood "sunshine" over LIFE's noir imagery of post-earthquake disorder. Presented in Technicolor, *Secret of the Incas* (*El secreto de los inca*) narrated an Inca return to the "lost city" of Machu Picchu, which Charlton Heston, as gritty adventurer and local expert Harry Steele, as a flawed rogue "savior" on the trail of an ancient Incan artifact. In a work of ironic fiction, the Inca empire had been destroyed by the gods when a bejeweled golden starburst was stolen from the Temple of the Sun in centuries past. According to the story, the ancient civilization could only be reborn once the treasure had been returned. As Harry Steele struggled between personal greed and restoring the Inca treasure, a Cold War romance collided cinematically with local tourism.

Secret of the Incas was filmed from mid-October to late November 1953. The scenes were shot on the streets of Cusco – where scaffolding from earthquake repair is visible on the churches in the Plaza de Armas, in the Hotel Cusco, at the city's first airport, and on the heights of Machu Picchu. This early Indiana Jones inspiration is Hollywood's representation of Andean tourism and a re-mystification of Andean history, people, and culture. The film featured a landscape populated by hundreds of local Quechua-speaking bodies with an accompanying musical score showcasing the spectacular vocal talents of a corseted "exotica" chanteuse, Yma Sumac. The post-war and post-earthquake reproductions of Cusco's mythical past were likely inspirations for Hollywood's film, and the *Secret of the Incas* was reported to have greatly intensified Peruvian tourism.

In the early 1950s, Harry Steele's quest made interesting connections between safeguarding the symbols of Cusco's "*past glories,*" and the ways Andean people and their culture were seen as a potential economic resource – "*gold*." *Secret of the Incas* also reflected the

ongoing connections between the anxiety of loss and the recovery of the Peruvian past, defined through Cusco, the Incas, and *Tawantinsuyu*. In the second half of the 20th century, these values emerged through preservation, urbanism, and regional development practices as Cusco's historical landscape was linked to both national culture and UNESCO's programs for international heritage.

As the writing of this dissertation comes to a close, the relationship between national pasts, international heritage, and global politics continues to shift and, in many ways, the future is unclear. Part of this can be defined by the sense of uncertainty across the planet and the rise of 21st century nationalism in many of the nations that were instrumental in the 20th century founding of the United Nations. The recent global financial crisis of 2007-2008, the mass exodus of asylum-seekers from war-torn nations, the European Union's lack of unity and Brexit in 2016, and the earliest phase of Trump America in 2017 contextualize these conditions. During this time, World Heritage sites have become economic engines for local and national economies, but also political targets. The recent destruction of ancient architecture and violent attacks on people at Palmyra, in 2015, illustrates one of the consequences of claiming monuments as cultural identity.

While political instability and violence in the Andean highlands impacted Peru's image and tourism numbers in the 1980s and 1990s, more recently the nation has distinguished itself as an exotic and interesting tourist destination. During the last decade, international arrivals to the country have almost tripled, growing from a total of 993,706 in the period between January and September 2004 to 2.6 million during the same nine-month period in 2015, according to figures from MINCETUR. According to the World Travel & Tourism Council (WTTC), the sector accounted for 1.2 million jobs in 2014. The Peruvian Government expects the country to attract up to 5.1 visitors annually by 2021 and generate income near $7 billion USD, according to MINCETUR.

Machu Picchu has anchored regional and national tourism since the early 20th century, however, through the efforts of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and Tourism (*Ministerio de Comercio Exterior y Turismo* MINCETUR), the focus on tourism has shifted from the Andean past to embrace the Peruvian present. Besides the nation's long history and rich culture, nature, unique culinary experiences, diverse agricultural products, Peruvian people, and investment opportunities are now seen as critical resources. This is currently promoted by MINCETUR through Peru's national brand, *MarcaPerú*, launched in 2011.

In the early 21st century, institutional and corporate narratives describe the relationships between the national past, heritage, and national commodities. *MarcaPerú*, in particular, promotes all things Peruvian through international advertising campaigns and celebrity sponsors, such as top chef and international restauranteur Gastón Acurio. Since 2007, the annual *Mistura* culinary festival, which is supported by the national brand and Acurio's numerous ventures, has promoted Peruvian values through the themes of "tradition, creativity, identity, and diversity." These are exhibited for Peruvians and international audiences in the form of "pan-Peruvian" consumer goods. While many Peruvian citizens do not leave their nation, Peruvian marketing and products are traveling beyond national borders.

In April of 2011, one month after *MarcaPerú's* launch on Wall Street, a Peruvian team filmed a 15-minute documentary-style commercial entitled, "Peru-Nebraska," which has been lauded as the most awarded Peruvian campaign in history (*ElComercio* September 9, 2014). The small town of Peru, Nebraska, U.S.A. was selected by the Republic of Peru as a site to promote "being ambassadors of our country" and declaring the "rights" of all Peruvians – which, in jest,

included the Nebraskans. This cultural work can be directly connected with the work of Velasco's Cultural Revolution in the late 1960s, described in Chapter Three, which described Peruvians as creators, preservers, propagators and beneficiaries of culture at one and the same time.

In what the Peruvian new agency, *El Comercio*, described as a "culinary invasion" of provincial America, a film crew and a number of Peruvian celebrities converged on a town of less than 600 inhabitants (*ElComercio* May 5, 2011). In great contrast to rural town's humble "Peruvian" citizens, the illustrious Peruvian team included world surfing champion Sofía Mulanovich, tenor Juan Diego Flóres, actress and recording artist Magaly Solier, the *huayno* singer Dina Páucar, and chefs Javier Wong and Gastón Acurio. An addition video was created the following year, featuring two Nebraskans from the original commercial who were invited to visit Peru. Filmed in in Peru, this piece appeared on network television stations in Peru in 2012, showing the amazement of the Nebraskan visitors in touristic landscapes such as Cusco's Plaza de Armas and the heights of Machu Picchu.

Urban and Regional Implications

While the Cusco-centric focus on Inca heritage has shifted to national rebranding, UNESCO's 2014 inscription of *Qhapaq Ñan*, designated the pre-Hispanic Andean roads and the routes of *Tawantisuyu,* as world heritage. Under this designation, the Incas have returned to heritage tourism through a six-state promotion of *Tawantinsuyu* as a multicultural and international empire. This transnational approach is supported by the United Nations and the Andean Community (*Comunidad Andina*), which includes the member-states of Ecuador, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru, and the governments of Argentina and Chile. As the imperial capital, Cusco remains central to this scheme, but there are large changes on the horizon in the Department of Cusco.

One of the greatest potential changes in the Cusco region is a new international airport, which has been an ongoing project with feasibility studies dating as far back as the late 1970s and early 1980s. The city's current airport, *Aeropuerto Internacional Alejandro Velasco Astete*, built in 1964, is located in Wanchaq, an urban district bordering the Historic Center. Despite its international status, the airport only offers domestic flights and operates in a limited capacity due to its potentially hazardous location, 3.7 km from the Historic Center, and other site-related conditions. While Cusco's airport has been consistently ranked as Peru's second most important air terminal (CORPAC), it has been determined to be no longer sufficient for the demand.

The proposed airport, *Aeropuerto Internacional de Chinchero – Cusco,* has been approved with land near the town of Chinchero. Located in the province of Urubamba, about 30 km from Cusco's Historic Center, this rural site is in between Cusco and Machu Picchu. Facilitated by the Ministry of Transport and Communication and private investment, the project represents a corporate model and some of the commercial objectives of Peru's nation-brand project, *MarcaPerú.*

According to a report in 2016, the $658 million (USD) facility was expected to be operational by 2019 and be able to receive international arrivals (Oxford Business Group https://www.oxfordbusinessgroup.com/overview/new-routes-leveraging-country's-variety-leading-new-tourism-products accessed July 1, 2017). However, despite years of negotiation the future of the work on the airport is currently uncertain. On February 3, 2017, Peruvian President Pedro Pablo Kuczynski attended a ground-breaking ceremony in Chinchero, and even laid the first stone. Since then, there have been major hurdles in the process, and on May 21, 2017, the

project was halted due to lack of political support and other issues (RPP Noticias source: http://rpp.pe/economia/economia/que-es-el-aeropuerto-de-chinchero-y-por-que-se-suspendio-firma-de-la-adenda-noticia-1027640 accessed on July 1, 2017).

This project has inspired much optimism but it also represents tensions between urban heritage development and the Andean countryside where existing human culture may not be seen as the solution but as the problem. Between Cusco, Chinchero, and Machu Picchu, this will impact two separate provinces within the Department of Cusco. From a policy perspective, this is unbelievably complex. Also, while new infrastructure might improve living conditions for some people, Chinchero is a provincial town in the middle of agricultural communities. Bringing all of Cusco's regional tourism into this rural landscape will dramatically impact the lives and customs of the residents and indigenous farmer in the region. These developments need to be addressed in future studies.

There are several reasons why the airport is critical for the city of Cusco. First, future development could bypass the city in efforts to promote Machu Picchu's membership in a much shorter list of monuments—humanity's "greatest hits," exemplified by the New Seven Wonders competition of 2007. In other words, this disrupts the pilgrimage of cultural tourism between these two sites and the historical connection that was validated by their dual inscriptions as Peru's first two sites of World Heritage. When and if the airport is built, visiting the city and Machu Picchu would become far less convenient than the quick trip from the airport to the Sacred Valley and Machu Picchu. Promoting Cusco under these conditions could significantly rescript the experience of the city and its value as a tourist experience. Considering Cusco's long-term status within national culture, this has major implications.

Another potential issue is the massive amount of flat urban land that is occupied by the current airport. Assuming that decades of industrial damage to the site could be managed, this space would offer major urban development opportunities. There were rumors in 2013 about plans to develop a green space for the city. In 2012, these intentions were suggested by the new metal railings and elaborate traffic signals; new sidewalks and bike paths started to appear. These ongoing beautification projects and new public and potential "green" spaces were overseen by the Municipality. This kind of development was happening all over Peru in 2011-2013, from smaller Andean towns such as Maras and Urubamba, in Lima, and in the coastal cities along the Pan American Highway between Chiclayo, Trujillo, and Mancora.

But this leads back to the first issue: If development bypasses Cusco, *will there be a market for urban land*? In a related question, *how much development is actually sustainable*, considering that many properties in Cusco already run out of water on a daily basis. *Can the city and region actually support the national projections for tourism, what is the carrying capacity*? These questions take on additional significance with any new architectural or development projects in the Historic Center, an issue which now involves the potential risk of being added to UNESCO's List of World Heritage in Danger.

As mentioned in the Introduction to the Dissertation, Machu Picchu already has a paper trail with the World Heritage Committee as a result of Peru's management of the site. UNESCO has also expressed concerns regarding specific properties in the city of Cusco. During 2009, the World Heritage Center received several press reports and information from organizations in the city and from neighborhood associations regarding projects and constructions undertaken within the Historic Center. These included the construction of a Marriot Hotel, the enlargement of the Monastery Hotel (Hotel Monasterio), and the construction of the Commercial Center (Ima Sumaq).

According to the State of Conservation of World Heritage report in 2010, these conditions raised concerns about possible damage to the Outstanding Universal Value of the city. *Would these conditions impact the authenticity and integrity of the property*? Based on paragraph 172 of the *Operational* Guidelines, the Committee requested information from Peru on 16 April 2009, 8 July 2009, 20 September 2009, 21 December 2009 and 13 January 2010. In 2013, the issues surrounding the hotels seemed to have disappeared but the Commercial Center with in a legal dispute with the Ministry of Culture, which had taken over the case from the INC.

The recent urban development and the diversifying tourist economy within Cusco and in the surrounding areas adds to the complexity in Cusco, both as a regional capital and as a heritage property. While Cusco's Historic Center is at the center of the mononuclear development of metropolitan area, this part of the city is also part of an urban continuum that is dominated by the consolidated districts of Cusco, Wanchaq, and Santiago. In 2006, these accounted for 89% of commercial and service establishments, and 77% of industries that generate 90% of GDP (see Territorial Conditioning Plan 2006). Many of the recent changes in the city are taking place immediately outside of the Historic Center where there are opportunities to experience a contemporary Cusco beyond heritage tourism. Part of this can be contextualized by Cusco's "culture" in the Historic Center and nearby.

Inside the Historic Center, there are various culinary options and hospitality experiences to choose from: municipal-licensed *anticucho*-vending food carts, artisanal *chicha* and *pisco* tastings. Also, there are now many exquisite dining experiences that offer chef-inspired Andean fusion, "*Cocina Novoandina*" in historic settings, such as the MAP café in the Museum of Pre-Columbian Art in Cusco. Even Starbucks and McDonald's participate in reproducing a sense of the local from their prestigious locations in former Inca palaces on the Plaza de Armas. Offering a Cuzqueño resident discount, Starbucks uses nonspecific "indigenous" imagery for ornamentation but this is displayed in carved wooden frames, similar to tourist products crafted and sold in nearby San Blas. McDonald's has incorporated regional flavors, like *huacatay*, into the condiment selections. Hotels, however, are some of the most exclusive and controversial spaces for luxurious cultural encounters.

In 2012, the opulent JW Marriott and Palacio Nazarenas (originally operated by the Orient Express and now by the Belmond Brand) opened in the Historic Center. Both hotels were listed in UNESCO's report as concerns in 2010. They feature upscale modern amenities with full-service spas and swimming pools in complicated architectural configurations of Inca palaces and colonial-era religious facilities. While the INC and the municipality approved construction, UNESCO's 2013 State of Conservation reported both properties as potentially impacting the Outstanding Universal Value of Cusco.

The 153-room JW Marriott Hotel Cusco, is built around a colonial church and ancient Inca artifacts found on the site. The property includes a museum of "prominent artifacts," many of which are preserved in-situ. A few blocks away, the Palacio Nazarenas, a 55-suite luxury hotel in a former colonial-era palace and convent opened after a three-year restoration project carried out under the guidance of eight full time archaeologists and the supervision of Peru's National Institute of Culture. This was a COPESCO project in late 1970s, described in Chapter Four as an example of *puesta en valor*, which defined the practice of valorizing of ancient sites to create monuments that could be interpreted and visited. Today, within the boundaries of internationally-shared heritage, only the people who work at these hotels or pay for services are able to use these spaces.

An alternative to the cultural and consumer opportunities in the Historic Center is Cusco's first and only suburban-style shopping experience. Real Plaza Cusco with its Plaza Vea (Wong Group) grocery store, opened in 2013 along a major traffic corridor, Avenida de la Cultura, which connects the Historic Center with the rest of the valley. While, according to people in Cusco and various articles and blogs, some Cusqueños seem to find great pleasure in the modern shops and clean interiors, other resist and refuse to go. It will be interesting to see how this commercial space shapes the city over time. Although this Peruvian franchise features international vendors and local vendors, it is not in the Historic Center and it is not a tourist space.

Besides the possibilities and changes that the Chinchero may or may not bring, the mall and the ongoing urban development programs continue to drive the experience of Cusco as a heritage property and as a contemporary city. There have not been sufficient ethnographic studies or urban studies on how these changes, the ongoing institutional involvement, or the Municipality's latest programs impact, integrate, or segregate the city and its citizens. This needs to be addressed in future work.

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