Powerful Places in the Ancient Andes

EDITED BY JUSTIN JENNINGS AND
EDWARD R. SWENSON

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CHAPTER ONE

Introduction

Place, Landscape, and Power in the Ancient Andes and Andean Archaeology

EDWARD R. SWENSON AND JUSTIN JENNINGS

Lefebvre (1991) famously argued that political power is exercised by controlling the construction, perception, and experience of space. He recognized that spatial power of this kind is realized not simply through the mobilization of the labor and resources required to undertake building projects but depends on the long-term success of landscapes to shape everyday dispositions and orient fields of action. In this spirit, scholars have recently examined how social engineering has been accomplished through the literal engineering of the places that constrain and enable social life (Allen 2004; Appadaurai 2015; Bauer and Johansen 2010; Dovey 1999; Harvey 2000; Johnson 2007; Larkin 2013; McFarlane and Rutherford 2008; Rodgers 2012; Rodgers and O'Neil 2012; Smith 2003; Soja 1996; Swenson 2012). Indeed, landscapes and infrastructures are no longer approached as static backdrops but as integral to the inculcation of habitual rhythms and to the ideological construction of everything from personhood and community to social memory and cosmological order. In this vein, scholars increasingly examine infrastructures not only as foundational to the political economy but as crucial "technologies of government" in both present and premodern societies (McFarlane and Rutherford 2008:366).

While Lefebvre critiqued the inattention to space in Western political theory, he would have been heartened by Andean philosophies of place that rarely took their environments for granted and appreciated the social agency of the landscape. This volume discusses Andean conceptualizations of power as concretized in living and meaningful places. *Power* in this sense refers to vital, creative, and agentive life forces as well as to political domination in the traditional sense of the term. How places became empowered varied among cultures and changed over time, yet we also recognize some underlying commonalities in basic Andean conceptions of how the physical world worked. This chapter begins with a description of *wak'a*, *paqarina*, *camay*, *llaqta*, *tinkuy*, *chawpin*, and other traditional Andean concepts associated with landscapes and power. Each term is defined and contextualized, and their applicability to past Andean cultures will be assessed in turn.

In the chapter's second section, we examine previous archaeological approaches to landscape in the Andes. Although most archaeologists recognize the existence of deeply rooted Andean philosophies of place, an appraisal of the history of political landscape studies in the ancient Andes, ranging from traditional settlement hierarchies to symbolic interpretations and phenomenological approaches, demonstrates that many of these perspectives failed to capture how diverse Andean places constituted important social actors that played a critical role in the creation of political relations. As a consequence, many established landscape approaches have simplified and misconstrued the complexities of historical process in the ancient Andes. The chapter's final section offers a way forward. Our brief consideration of how Andean built environments participated directly in the construction of power relations intends to address these shortcomings by demonstrating how new theories on infrastructures, materiality, and place-making can shed light on the joint construction of landscapes and political subjects in the specific context of the pre-Columbian Andes. We place special emphasis on infrastructures as core elements of the built environment that were actively produced by institutions of authority. As originally employed by Marx, our use of the concept recognizes that the analysis of social-material collectives must foreground *praxis* and the institutional control of the relations and means of *production* by which distinct ecologies of peoples, places, and things were commonly (re)assembled in centralized polities. Our use of this term also aligns with Lefebvre's argument that architecture should be understood as specific social *products* and not simply as objectified "works" of art encountered from a distance (say akin to a landscape painting). In addition, expanding the notion of infrastructure to encompass everything from roads and urban plazas to religious edifices permits an appreciation of the historically particular modalities in which political apparatuses attempted to materially integrate, separate, and reform subjects, communities, and ecologies. Although landscape and infrastructure can be treated as interchangeable (especially if the former construct is preceded by the adjective *political*), the latter term emphasizes features of the built environment that were the product of explicit political and religious campaigns.

Mannheim and Salas noted (2015:63): "In Quechua terms there are neither sacred places nor profane ones. There are powerful places, vastly more powerful than humans, and as such they receive privileged attention." With this in mind, we argue that a careful consideration of Andean conceptions of powerful places is not only critical to understanding Andean political and religious history but is of significant value for rethinking sociological theories on landscapes and infrastructures more generally. The chapters of this edited volume thus make an important contribution in acknowledging that authority and the exercise of power can be appreciated only through an investigation of indigenous theories (and literal constructions) of place and ecology. Although this may seem a daunting proposition in the absence of textual records for the pre-Inka period, archaeologists have long secured a privileged place in interpreting social structures and belief systems through an analysis of built environments and anthropogenic landscapes. More recently, archaeologists have begun to explore how the production of space actively structured very different political realities. As the chapters in this volume demonstrate, the creative playing off of ethnographic and ethnohistoric analogies with the hard constraints of the material record can illuminate how landscapes were variably experienced, (re)signified, and politicized in the past. At the same time, such an approach permits in turn an approximation of how powerful places could induce intense experiences, evoke memories, and motivate certain modes of political action.

POWERFUL PLACES IN ANDEAN PHILOSOPHIES AND IDEOLOGIES

As both a geographic and cultural construct, the Andes evoke not only the remarkable environment of western South America but also an exceptional socio-spatial world. The latter is immediately apparent in the occupation of distinct ecological zones by autarkic social units (Murra's famed "vertical archipelago") or in the general absence of marketplaces in cosmographically designed cities. The dual and quadripartite divisions of settlements and polities, veritable "sociograms," and the extraordinary Inka *z'eke* system, which materialized time and history in the landscape, further attest to the uniquely constructed places defining our understanding of Andean antiquity. In fact, the term *Andes* likely derives from the Spanish word for "terrace" (*andenes*), a toponym that referred to the vast field systems that sculpted the valleys and mountainsides of the region (Quilter 2014:4). This designation is apropos in stressing that the ecology of the Andes is as much an artifact as a finished pot (Denevan 1992). However, Andean people did not envision the environment as a malleable object or as a geometric extension of vertical and horizontal space. In general, places formed part of larger social collectives and were variably perceived as living subjects in their own right (Dillehay 2007). Thus archaeologists increasingly base their analysis of past Andean practices and institutions as embedded in a distinct relational ontology (Alberti and Bray 2010; Bray 2015). This refers to a world in which places, peoples, and things formed part of interdependent and animated collectivities. In such conceptual and practical regimes, history is the product of multiple, interconnected agents, both human and nonhuman, and nature and culture are not perceived as opposed or absolute categories.

Despite the many important insights of scholarship inspired by the ontological turn, Andean philosophies of place are irreducible to a generic relational ontology. (For a recent critique of this perspective in the Andes, see Swenson 2015.) Indeed, a cursory comparison of Moche architecture with Inka built environments reveals *constructed* worlds that were remarkably different. Stone-Miller and McEwan (1990) similarly argued that the modular and atopographic compounds of the Wari contrasted with Inka architectural traditions (also see van de Guchte 1999). Comparable to Wari textiles that obscured the shape of the human body, the former were rigidly imposed on the landscape regardless of topographic anomalies. In contrast, certain styles of Inka architecture have been celebrated for harmoniously accommodating and accentuating the contours of the natural landscape (Dean 2010; Hyslop 1990; Niles 1999). Evidently, different religious and political ideologies can often account for the remarkable variation in Andean place-making, and it would be wrong to assume that nature was socialized in any predictable way. Indeed, the privileging of a relational ontology in the singular to explain Andean landscapes could be charged with perpetuating *lo andino* essentialism. Nevertheless, we recognize that archaeologists who foreground ontological difference have made a significant contribution, and few would argue that ontology is all-determining or monolithic (see Alberti 2016).

In this light, it proves challenging to write a comprehensive survey of Andean philosophies of place as a unitary phenomenon, and the limitations of such an analysis would pertain to other regional traditions. However, the goal of this discussion is to make sense of some of the overarching commonalities in the way in which place served as critical media of power in Andean societies. Despite contrasting construction technologies and political geometries, scholars have noted that societies as different as Chavín, Tiwanaku, and the Inka designed monuments as "fluid communicators" (Moseley 1985:46–48). Chavín's Old Temple and Tiwanaku's Akapana were built with overengineered drainage systems that channeled water within the structures in a way that paralleled the coursing of springs in the mountainous landscape or the circulation of fluids through the human body (Burger 1992; Kolata 1996). The Inka *usnu* also served to foster exchanges between different ontological realms through the circulation of liquids, a notion related to *sami* (Allen 2014, 2015; Meddens 2014; Zuidema 1980). As Swenson discusses in this volume, constructions of this kind might point to a specific "circulatory ontology" (see also Swenson and Roddick 2017). Nevertheless, the possible perdurance of such a cultural schema cannot overshadow variations in the meaning and politicization of a circulatory understanding of place, time, and ecology. Indeed, the chapters of this volume highlight important differences in Andean philosophies and constructions of place.

The following survey will examine Andean conceptions of landscape, ecology, and geography as documented ethnographically and ethnohistorically. Emphasis will be placed on the subjectivity and agency of landforms and their role in political institutions and power relations at different scales of social engagement. The subsequent section presents a critical assessment of how archaeologists have traditionally analyzed landscapes to reconstruct past political organizations. Finally, we return to indigenous philosophies and compare them with theories on place-making to examine how Andean polities explicitly constructed and modified space as a means to engineer social worlds.

Andean Places as Social Actors and Powerful Beings

Andean landscapes are commonly described as animate; rivers, trees, outcrops, and especially mountain peaks were often named and treated as living social actors that played a decisive role in human affairs (Allen 1998; Lund Skar 1994; Salomon and Urioste 1991; van de Guchte 1990, 1999). Indeed, sociality in the Andean context was not an abstraction but something intrinsically topographical. In her exploration of the meaning and history of wak'as, Bray (2015) notes that they were regarded as persons who spoke, ate, and wore woven garments. A myriad of different phenomena were denoted wak'as, and they often constituted places that held the potential to exercise extraordinary power, whether bestowing fertility, divining the future, or punishing wrongdoers.[1] Mannheim notes that the term *wak'a* can refer linguistically to fissures, caverns, crevices, and even butt cracks, thus evoking striking topographic imagery (Mannheim and Salas 2015:55). In a similar manner, the names of landforms were often synonyms for body parts (van de Guchte 1999:149–50), and scholars have long recognized a homologous relationship, or a "structure of correspondence," binding corporeal, social, ecological, and cosmic realms in the Andes (Classen 1993; Duviols 1973:158; Salomon and Urioste 1991:19–20; Sherbondy 1992).[2] In truth, these were not necessarily separate realms at all but were variably conjoined in meaningful and dynamic places understood as persons (or instantiations and convergences of persons). Thus, in the Andean setting, a "place" not only subsumed a locale but also presupposed an identity and a series of relationships, events, and potentialities (Ødegaard 2011).

This convergence is apparent in the Quecha word *llaqta*, a designation that has been variably defined as a region, a set of relationships, a community of integrated *ayllus* (Andean lineages), and a "deity-locale" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:23–24). As Mills notes (1997:47): "A *llacta* in its old sense might be defined as a triple entity: the union of a localized huaca (often an ancestor-deity) with its territory and with the group of people whom the huaca engendered." According to Salamon and Urioste, revered wak'as came to be identified with specific places perceived as both geographic areas and social persons. Llaqtas are also thought to have "constructed interdependence and inclusion," as opposed to ayllus, which ranked and divided" (Isbell 1997:97). As mentioned, wak'as and ritually charged landforms were draped in textiles, which often exhibited designs that were similar to those of their associated human dependents (van de Guchte 1999:157). Thus the donning of shared clothing signaled not only social agency but also the amplification of a personhood distributed to places, peoples, and sacred objects.

The polysemic Quechua word *pacha* further expresses the dynamic and protean qualities of Andean geography. It at once signifies "earth, time, world, and place," and Salomon and Urioste (1991:14) define the term as "a moment or interval in time and a locus or extension in space." For Allen (2015: 27) *pacha* connotes not only the world but a "configuration of matter, activity, and moral relationships," and it thus constitutes "a prototypical body, a material order of concrete nature, the stuff we grow potatoes in and build houses out of." Thus *kay pacha* referred not simply to the present world created by Tiqsi Viracocha in Inka myth but to a state of being, a "living moment," and a moral order set in motion through the construction and experience of real places that were indivisible from the social relationships they engendered (Allen 2015:27; Cobo 1990 [1653]).

Indeed, the coextension (and partible distribution) of peoples, places, and things as interdependent social actors appears foundational to the Andean spatial *imaginaire*. To provide a few examples, Paria Caca, the paramount god of the Huarichirí manuscript, took on multiple forms and could simultaneously be an icon, animal, sky god, and place. The "multiflex" Paria Caca was manifested as five eggs, five falcons, five brothers, and a great mountain that still bears his name (Allen 2015:27; Salomon and Urioste 1991). As Goes notes (2008:169): "Paria Caca the ancestor lent his name and presence to the idol, shrine, and mountain in descending order of intensity but remained conceptually and practically distinct from all of them." The telescoping of a shared but mutable personhood linking peoples, other-than-human powers, objects, and geographic locales is apparent not only in the relationship between wak'as and their human dependents but also in the nesting of homologous ayllu groups into larger social formations.[3] The latter were literally inscribed and memorialized in the landscape and were ordered though the idiom of kinship. It is for this reason that mountains and other sacred landforms are commonly addressed as kin (*tatyakuna*, *mamakuna*, and so forth) (Allen 1988:49; Mannheim and Salas 2015:62). The dual and quadripartite divisions of settlements and political landscapes physically mapped in space the hierarchical but complementary interplay of segmentation and unification that defined the essence of Andean sociality (Netherley 1990; Zuidema 1990 and see below).

In the case of Paria Caca, the five brothers (and their sons) represented the mythic heads of different lineages of the Checa Yauyos of Huarochirí, and their dramatic consubstantiation with the landscape was achieved through processes of lithification. For instance, one of the five brothers turned to stone after the defeat and expulsion of the telluric god Huallallo Caruincho, and another lithified following the banishment of Huallallo's wife (Mana Ñamca) to the ocean. Lithification not only memorialized the heroic deed and prevented the return of the offending deities, but it marked territorial boundaries and legitimated conquest by outside groups (Duviols 1973:163). Of course, the stone wak'as become important nodes of veneration and imbued the essence of the wak'as (and their people) with particular territories. The account of the multiplex Paria Caca finds parallel with the lithification of the Inka Ayar at important places along their journey from Pacaracitambo to Cuzco (Urton 1990). Turning to stone both commemorated and maintained the continued vitality of mythic events in the present.

The distributed nature of social personae across the landscape appears to have been fundamental to Andean geopolitics and is further demonstrated by the oracular networks encountered at the time of the conquest. Most notably, Paria Caca and Pachacamac formed the heads of extensive oracular confederacies that were integrated through kin ties, landmarks, routes of peregrination, reciprocal obligations, and ritual exchanges (Astuhuamán Gonzáles 2008; Curatola 2008). Paqarinas, or *paqarisqas*, provide one more example of the intimate interconnection between a community and an animate geography. Defined as dawning places, paqarinas were cosmogonic points of origin for different kin and ethnic groups and a monumental testament to the exploits of ancestors and culture heroes. They consisted of caves, springs, lakes, mountain peaks, or the sea; founding wak'as of ayllus emerged from such places in their prescribed ethnic garb after their creation by Viracocha and subterranean journeys from Lake Titicaca (Duviols 1973:161–62).

Andean Synecdochal Geographies

In light of the above discussion, Andean theories of place were predicated on ecological interconnections linking wholes and parts, originals and copies, progenitors and progeny, as well as hierarchically nested and replicated landforms—an ecology that can be understood as a vast geographical "synecdoche." As Allen (1997) argues, the synecodochal exchangeability of the whole and part underwrote important dimensions of Andean geographical and religious thought (see also Spence-Morrow 2018; Swenson 2015:701–2; Swenson and Warner 2016:26). She writes:

> Synecdochal thinking comprehends the world in terms of mutually enveloping homologous structures that act upon each other: ayllus [Andean lineages] are contained in ayllus; places are contained within places; every potato field contains its own vertical ecology; thus every microcosm energizes its macrocosm and vice-versa. (Allen 1997:81)

Mannheim (2015:63) similarly shows that "all named places are persons" and "have a fractal quality." In this regard, the microcosmic function of Andean architecture, whether a Moche pyramid replicating the form of a mountain or the cityscape of Cuzco designed in the shape of a puma, could be fruitfully interpreted within the cultural logic of a "fractal" or "synecdochal ecology" (Swenson and Warner 2016). The efficacy of such monuments lies not simply in communicating authority but in their capacity to incarnate and channel cosmic power—as extensions or living surrogates of personified powerful places. In explaining the puma shape of Cuzco, Quilter (2014:264) writes: "The fortress of Sacsayhuaman was its head, and the neighborhood where the two rivers join . . . is still called *Pumakchupan*, 'the puma's tail.' The Coricancha [Temple of the Sun—Qorikancha] is located where the testicles of the puma would be, with appropriately shaped, rounded walls and symbolic power in terms of the link between the generative power of gonads and the sun (see also Diez de Betanzos 1996 [1557]:74; Sarmiento 2007:167)." The mimetic faculty of the Qorikancha and the felinized cityscape speaks to the synecdochal conduction of vital powers, which became inseparable from the solar authority of the Inka. The puma is a symbol of both the courageous warrior and the totemic "ruler" of kay pacha, the middle world of the present sun among present-day shamans in Cuzco (Webb 2012:41–42). Pumas were also associated with the control of water and fertility (Christie 2007:187). In this light, the city may have been designed as a mimetic sustainer of the known, earthly universe. The distribution of personhood across powerful places and human bodies might also explain the confusion over the meaning of the name Cuzco (Qosqo) at the time of the conquest. Spaniards recorded that the term referred to both the city (or cities) and the Sapa Inka himself (see Ramirez 2005).

Andean camay theory aligns with such understandings of a synecdochal or fractal geography (Salomon and Urioste 1991:16; Taylor 1974–1976). Camay is a vitalizing energy that creates, animates, and connects interdependent life forces. All sentient beings (*camascas*—tangible manifestations of camay) are energized and given substance through *camac*, a supernatural "vitalizing prototype" (Salomon and Urioste 1991:16). Thus all human groups are sustained by and the product of a specific camac, "usually their huaca of origin." In the Andean context, "religious practice supplicates the *camac* to ever vitalize its *camasca*, that is, its tangible instance or manifestation." The great god Pachacamac translates as the force that animates and sustains pacha, or earth/space-time.

Therefore, it is unsurprising that "in Andean ritual, synecdochal thought works on a world premised on consubstantiality: all beings are intrinsically interconnected through their sharing a matrix of animated substance" (Allen 1988:81; Swenson 2015:701–2). Powerful places, then, were named persons that belonged to and actively reproduced social worlds through bonds of eating, reciprocity, energy transfer, and reproduction (see Swenson this volume). Elsewhere, Allen (2015:23) has referred to the envelopment of wak'as in terms of a "hierarchically organized set," while Mannheim (2015:63) notes that "each particular place has a sphere of influence that is subsumed within a bigger and more encompassing place." This "topological chain of command" reveals that power was exercised through the media of place and their interconnections through transfers of food and energy (Allen 2015:35). Allen argues that in the community of Sonqo in the Department of Cuzco, houses were sentient beings that monitored inhabitants and could communicate with more powerful landforms. Ritual intercession with these emplaced persons had to respect the vertical spatial hierarchy, and rites were expected to proceed from lower-ranked to more authoritative, visible, and inclusive places. At the top of this hierarchy, Mount Ausangate served as the most powerful wak'a for the Sonqueños.

Of course, the importance of mountains in Andean identity politics, religiosity, and sense of place has long fascinated scholars. (For a recent summary of the literature, see Swenson and Warner 2016:24–28). The peaks of the Andean range are commonly revered as sentient divinities dependent on specific communities of human offspring. The Huarochirí manuscript documents how the exploits of mountains as social persons predetermined the political and economic fortunes of their affiliated social groups (Salomon and Urioste 1991). Mountains fought, had sex, and paid each other visits, and subject communities were defined in terms of the reciprocal bonds they maintained with their founding *apu* or *wamani* (Allen 1988, 1997; Earls 1969; Favre 1967; Gose 1994). Mountains as powerful persons could serve as emblems of ethnic difference or places for the unification of dispersed communities of devotees. The great mountain Paria Caca, of the Huarochirí region, was worshipped either as an intensely partisan, ethnic god of the Yauyos or as a unifier of a panregional religious community (llaqta) that united communities across the south-central Andes (Swenson and Warner 2016:25).

Therefore the notion of a synecdochal ecology can prove useful in explaining the cyclical movement between social convergence and separation, a particular ideology of place that may very well have shaped Andean imperial expansion as a religious and geopolitical project (see Kolata 2013; Swenson 2013). For instance, the political union of contrasting and often antagonistic ecological zones, most especially high mountains and low valleys, was celebrated in the nuptial relations between different wak'as and their associated human societies (Platt 1986; Salomon and Urioste 1991). The conflictive but complementary relationship between the Huari and the Llacuaz, documented in the Cajatambo area and elsewhere, further attests to the overdetermined role of geographic difference in explaining social, historic, and cosmic processes (Duviols 1973:179). The Llacuaz were highland pastoralists associated with the male principle and conquering ayllus and ethnic groups. They were descendants of lightning and the thunder god, while the conquered Huari were identified with agriculture and the female life principle. In other words, conquering, foreign warriors associated with the high puna, mountain peaks, and camelid pastoralism were at once pitted against and then paired through marriage with autochthonous agriculturalists identified with the lower intermontane valleys, farming, water, and female fertility.

In light of the above discussion, it should come as no surprise that the actual physical space of separation and convergence constituted especially powerful places in the ancient Andes. The juxtaposition and unification of paired parts is captured by the Quechua word *tinkuy*, or *tinku*, a term that refers to the act (and place) of conjoining. More specifically, the word describes the harmonious union of binary forces symbolized by the confluence of two rivers; it also signifies a sense of balance and prosperity (Burger 1992:130; Dean 2007; Duviols 1973; Salomon and Urioste 1991; Staller 2008:283). It is telling that the famous Early Horizon site of Chavín de Huantar (1100–200 BCE) in the central highlands is situated at such a confluence (similar to many Formative ceremonial sites). As Topic and Topic (2009:29) note: "In cosmological terms, *yanatin* [the principle of the conjugal pair] would refer to the masculine and feminine elements that are necessary for the renewal of the world, while *tinku* would describe the union of those gendered elements that enacts the renewal."[4] *Tinku* does not simply refer to a peaceful unity but can potentially engender conflict and violence as well (Allen 1988:205–6). In fact, *tinku* also designates ritual battles fought between opposing moieties forming larger social wholes (Allen 1988). These skirmishes are staged in convergent, liminal, and "dialectical" spaces, including town plazas or marginal and barren pampas, potent places of conjunction and differentiation (Harris 1994:47; Sallnow 1987:136; Skar 1985). The outcome of battles would realign social relations and often resulted in the reapportionment of fields and land boundaries.

In her discussion of present-day religious observances among ritual specialists in the Cuzco region, Webb focuses on the closely related concepts of *yanantin* (*yanatin*) and *masintin* (Webb 2012:37; see also Platt 1986). She describes the latter, similar to the notion of tinkuy, as the physical experience or activation of yanantin, the creative reconciliation of complementary opposites exemplified by the male–female dyad.[5] Materialized and channeled in ritual events, masintin charges places with exceptional power. Indeed, these spaces formed the actual nodes of "synecdochal conduction" and circulation, where reciprocal transfers occurred and fertility was released, and where parts potentially merged and reformed into more encompassing and formidable wholes. Such places enabled encounters between different ontological and social entities (ancestors, humans, wak'as, ethnic others, and so on) and included a great variety of locales, such as paqarinas, centers of pilgrimage, usnus, and local *machays*. The latter are stone-lined platform (*cayan*) complexes associated with natural or modified caverns containing accessible mummified ancestors (*malquis*) of different lineage groups (thus they were similar to stone *chullpa* towers) (Cobo 1979 [1653]; Isbell 1997; Mills 1997). Cuzco's great double plaza of Kusipata and Awkaypata, with its centripetal usnu, along with the aforementioned Qorikancha, formed the ultimate place of dialectical synthesis and convergence in the Inka Empire, from whence the four quarters of the empire and the 341 z'eke lines radiated (Christie 2007:182).

The Quechua word *chawpin*, or *chawpi*, meaning center, middle region, or zone of mediation, could also describe Cuzco and resonates with the concepts of masintin and tinku discussed above. It similarly designates a condition and place where creative, fertilizing power was harnessed through the merger and reconciliation of opposing, often asymmetrical, but complementary forces (Platt 1986:232; Webb 2012:87). Even if indigenous categories have not been directly applied, the U-shaped pyramids of the Formative Central Coast (1500–800 BCE) and the Chavín Horizon (1000–300 BCE) have been interpreted in this manner. Summarizing Isbell's classic argument, Burger (1992:62–63) notes: "The central building at the apex of the U represents the synthesis of . . . opposing forms. In this view, the plaza becomes a neutral field mediating between opposing cosmic domains, while the center of the central mound is the critical point of synthesis and resolution" (Isbell 1976; see also Lathrap 1985).

Therefore emplaced beings of exceptional power defined boundaries or interfaces where reciprocal encounters could be transacted and where social and cosmic domains were brought into contact. The lithification of cultural heroes, including the Inka Ayar brothers, occurred in places that materialized boundaries of this kind (Duviols 1973:163; Urton 1990:120). For instance, Wanakauri provided a panoramic view of Cuzco and marked the boundary between Kuntisuyu and Qollasuyu, while Ayar Awka turned into a stone pillar in the new city of Cuzco to differentiate the center from the periphery and to spatialize the point of convergence between *hanan* and *hurin* Cuzco.[6] As Urton (1990:121) notes: "It is clear that the death or transformation of the three Ayares brothers represents the concretization and consecration of the boundaries of successive configurations of bilateral and concentric geopolitical divisions within the territory between Pacariqtambo and Cuzco."

In light of the above discussion, it was usually extraordinary places that exercised exceptional power and social agency. Beautiful mountain passes that afforded panoramic vistas of other locales were often ascribed with great authority, while dangerous passes in the high mountains (*apachetas*) were treated with deference and plied with offerings. The importance of intervisibility between locales and the degree to which a place afforded vision partly determined the perceived potency and hierarchical ranking of landscape features. As Allen (2015:27) notes: "The first and last spots from which one can see important places are marked by ritual greeting and leave-taking." Some of the prominent wak'as on the z'eke system surrounding Cuzco were chosen precisely because they could be seen from the Qorikancha, while others were favored due to their propitious alignment with celestial bodies (Bauer 1998; van de Guchte 1999).

Some landforms were deemed more awesome than others due to their arrestingly unusual form, materiality, or location. In fact, van de Guchte (1990, 1999) argues that the Inka were guided by an "aesthetic of alterity" in the way they constructed the larger landscape. As Cobo (1990 [1653]:44) recorded: "These Indians of Peru . . . customarily worshipped and offered sacrifices to any natural things that were found to differ somewhat from others of the same kind because of some oddity or extraordinary quality found in them." Places of extreme difference (often a precondition of wak'a-ness)—say an erratic boulder in the shape of an animal or a breathtaking mountain lake—were the subject of veneration, for their exceptional states were testaments to their transformative and fertilizing powers. In a sense, they exemplified the generative potential encapsulated in the profoundly spatial notions of masintin, tinkuy, and chaupin discussed above. These core concepts of Andean philosophy pertain to moments (space-times) in which opposing forces (the constituencies of difference) were concentrated and thus liberated, neutralized, or reformed into something new and more powerful. In other words, these unusual places were flash points of alterity, forming nexuses of agentive possibilities and nodes of power within the interlocking and synecdochal landscapes of the Andes (Lau 2012:19).

The commonly discussed "stone ideologies" of the Inka can be understood in part within this particular cultural logic (Christie 2016). Among the Inka, stone was valued not simply in terms of solidity or strength but as an embodiment of the vitality and fertility of lithified ancestors and culture heroes (Dean 2010). "Lithomorphosis" made the power of culture heroes "everlasting," and landscapes served as "living proof" of past heroic deeds and momentous historical events (Mills 1997:46; see also Millones 1987:183–84). Thus, instead of signaling a state of immobility and stasis, the obduracy of stone testified to the pooling or congealing of the life force that made history possible (Cummins and Mannheim 2011).[7]

In fact, political power was effectively exercised by co-opting and rechanneling the power of prominent stone boulders, mountain peaks, and rock outcrops. For instance, Dean (2007) has argued that the Inka domesticated the wild and potentially dangerous potency of stone waka's by incorporating them into the ordered, built environment of Inka architecture. In turn, this socialization of stone signaled the political subordination of communities that identified with the wak'a in question. Framing a rock in a rectangular platform of fitted stones or integrating an amorphous crag into an orthogonal structure functioned to literally "marry" the stone and its power with the

Inka political order. Wilkinson and D'Altroy (2018) similarly argue that the Inka enclosure of sacred stones in the Amaybamba Valley east of Cuzco converted local wak'as into subordinate kin of the Inka state. They contend that the wak'as of Amaybamba were literally housed and fed by the Inka and that this commensal relationship of dependency materialized their incorporation into the ritual and political economy of the imperium.

To conclude this section, the imperial domestication of stone provides a clear example that the remaking of place was fundamental to Andean power relations. Indeed, "the Inka constructed their environment differently in different social contexts" (Christe 2016:5), and diverse political interventions in space reveal "the reduction of sovereignty to simple territoriality—and the corollary equivalency of territory with statehood—obscures the complex spatiality of authority" (Smith 2015:87). In their discussion of wak'as, tinku, camay, and other Andean philosophies of place, scholars have thus long recognized that Andean cultures cannot be separated from engagement with the complex, animate, and power-filled landscape within which they lived. Yet archaeologists working in the region have traditionally analyzed political landscapes as mere signifiers of political conditions or types. As explored in the following section, how the production of space actively created and enabled power relations has received far less attention.

READING POWER FROM THE LANDSCAPE—PREVIOUS ARCHAEOLOGICAL APPROACHES TO ANDEAN POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

In the Andes and elsewhere, archaeological analysis of complex political systems has largely relied on the investigation of settlement patterns and the organization and symbolism of built landscapes (Alcock 1993; Ashmore and Knapp 1999; Bender 1993; Johnson 2007; Moore 1996a, 2005; Smith 2003; Tilley 1994; Wright and Johnson 1975). Internal site configurations, monumental designs, and the patterned layout of residential units have been read as physically inscribing past social hierarchies, economic systems, and religious worldviews. Gordon Willey (1953) and colleagues' settlement pattern analysis of the Virú Valley was pathbreaking in this regard, and Andean archaeologists were at the forefront of developing new methods to interpret political structures from the distribution and organization of sites types and associated architectural features. Willey's (1953) pioneering survey methodology (inspired by Julian Steward) thus represents a watershed in the history of American archaeology. The investigation of the interrelationship of different settlements to reconstruct social structure, cultural ecology, political centralization, and economic integration remains a keystone of contemporary archaeology and permitted a more "holistic" view of past historical process (Vogt and Leventhal 1983:xiv). This work inspired an established tradition of landscape archaeology curiously detached from actual places, equating settlement hierarchies with political and information-exchange hierarchies.

Beginning in the 1980s, archaeologists inspired by neo-Marxian and post-structuralist interpretive frameworks called for a more explicit reorientation of the discipline to the investigation of "power" and political inequality (Brumfiel 1992; McGuire 1992; Miller and Tilley 1989; Paynter and McGuire 1991; Wylie 1992). As Wylie argued, studies of power relations defining and transforming social orders provide a genuine "processual" foundation for archaeological research (Wylie 1992). In such approaches, disparities in diet, funerary furnishings, and differential access to the means of production were often privileged to make inferences on power asymmetries, ideological mystification, or identity politics. However, an investigation of scalar and qualitative differences in settlement patterns proved especially important in categorizing a society as conforming to an established political-institutional type, most notably the chiefdom or state. In fact, this perspective predated the adoption of Marxian perspectives and has its origins in the functionalist models of the processualists, who were inspired by the anthropology of Service, Sahlins, Fried, and others. Thus the copresence of a palace, elite tombs, and monumental architecture in a nucleated center was read as an index of state-level political organization. Adam Smith has referred to this interpretive framework as "mechanical absolutism," a perspective that he compelling discredits (2003:42–44). Places and infrastructures are reduced to mere signifiers of a transhistorical political condition; landscapes remain largely inert and epiphenomenal, molded by and thus reflective of social, political, and economic institutions. In fact, most archaeologists continue to adhere to this spatial theory of power. (For recent applications in the Andes, see Conlee and Ogburn 2005; Haas and Creamer 2006; Millaire 2010; Stanish 2001.) For instance, Flannery's "ground plan of archaic states" (1998) is commonly mobilized to determine whether an archaeological culture had attained state-level status. In highlighting Flannery's model as a classical example of a mechanical absolutist perspective, Smith writes: "Neither palace nor royal tomb nor priestly residence plays a role in forwarding social transformations. They are, instead, geometrical forms that accompany movement through social evolutionary stages, superficial proxies reflective of social transformations but insulated from them by the determining temporality of evolutionary history." In such approaches, the agency of buildings and infrastructures tends to be reduced to communicative or legitimizing functions, and most often buildings are thought to express the authority and privilege of those who held power.

However, a particular urban form or settlement pattern cannot be simplistically equated with a political type. For instance, the "nonhierarchical" orthogonal grid has been documented for polities characterized by both diffuse and centralized forms of authority, and its symbolism and effects varied historically (Grant 2001). In some instances, the grid may have symbolized control over nature and landscape (as Pasztory has argued for Teotihuacan). Conversely, it may have acted as a compliant microcosm of the natural order (as seems to be the case for Tenochtitlan and other Mesoamerican cities). In ancient Rome, the grid inscribed military discipline and security, while in Hippodamus's Miletus (fifth century BCE) it partly intended to communicate an egalitarian ethos that contradicted political reality (Castagnoli 1971).[8] In the context of eighteenth-century American urban planning, the grid was promoted as a means to propagate democratic ideals. For instance, the equitable parceling of land in early American town planning expressed the rights and opportunities of property owners. As Grant (2001:226) remarks: "By using equal-sized section for surveying the nation, the continental grid reinforced the links between property and liberty that fueled the revolution."[9] Of course, in the early American republic, suffrage was restricted to landholders, revealing that the effects of such spatial projects transcended the merely symbolic or communicative. In contrast, nineteenth-century utopian communes embraced the grid as a means to promote communal as opposed to individual access to land and property (see Grant 2001:226–27).

Reducing space to proxies or reflections of past political orders also characterizes studies of the energetic requirements to build monuments or irrigation systems (Abrams 1989; Trigger 1990). In this approach, the labor invested in the construction of public works is thought to directly correlate with the degree to which a society was politically centralized or stratified. (For applications of energetic models to the North Coast of Peru, see Billman 1999:137;

Shimada 1994.) In a similar manner, the construction of monuments with restricted, summit-top rooms has been interpreted as signaling the institutionalization of hierarchy as based on the monopolization of ritual knowledge by a privileged few. Architecture of this sort is interpreted as validating classic theocracy arguments for the emergence of the earliest Andean states (Feldman 1987; Pozorski 1982). However, whether "these monuments housed oracles, staged initiation rites, or were the scenes of sacrificial rites would seem critical to deciphering their layout and restricted access patterns . . . but such possibilities are disregarded, and the ceremonial edifices read simplistically as gauges of inequality and political centralization" (Swenson 2013:477).

Even when confronted with historically distinct landscapes that defy settlement hierarchies, archaeological research is commonly limited to the search for generic architectural signifiers of stratification or urbanism. For instance, the extraordinary proliferation of vast monumental works in multiple ceremonial centers during the Preceramic period (2800–1500 BCE) of the North-Central Coast of Peru reveal the deficiencies of social evolutionary models. Nevertheless, most archaeologists continue to rely on an analysis of the differential size and energy investments of ceremonial architecture to determine degrees of centralization or to rank the presumed dominance of sites/subregions over others (see Haas and Creamer 2006; Shady 2006).[10] The Preceramic era is remarkable not only for the apparent lack of synchronicity between certain technologies and political complexity but also for the lack of clear-cut correlates of pronounced social inequalities (Burger 1992). Indeed, the prodigious construction campaigns and advanced engineering evident in the multiple centers of the Supe, Fortaleza, Pativilca, and Casma Valleys speak to a religious fervor that completely transformed the social landscape. The use of standardized *shicra* bags in the construction of monumental architecture, the centrality of fire rites, the superimposition of monuments, and the diffuse "competition between stages" point to political regimes that were vastly different from standard models of bureaucratic states or theocratic chiefdoms (Burger 1992). The proliferation of monuments even suggests that the renewal of time and the cosmic order depended on a large segment of the population to continually remake and revitalize the environment. In a certain sense, human populations became captivated and subservient to the needs of the living landscape.

Of course, there has also been a long and productive tradition of reading specific cosmologies from the design of monumental complexes or interpreting the astronomical alignments of edifices. The famed U-shaped temples of the Initial period have been variably interpreted as expressing cosmic or social dualism, simulating the power of mountains, reorienting worship from the sea to the sun, or representing the jaws of a cayman (Burger 1992; Isbell 1976; Lathrap 1985; Moseley 1992). These works are to be commended for recognizing that different built environments communicated historically distinct ideologies and worldviews. However, these approaches tend to downplay the efficacy of architecture, and landscapes are usually examined as simply *reflecting* religious values, social structure, and political authority.

Smith (2003:45–60) broadly designates this approach "historical subjectivism," while he labels perspectives that foreground environmental difference as determining sociopolitical configurations "organic absolutism." Certainly, institutions based on vertical complementarity (vertical archipelago) speak to the importance of the natural environment in shaping political relations (Murra 1980). However, the prevalence of this politico-economic apparatus has been questioned (Van Buren 1996). Nor can it be supported that highland civilizations assumed predictable socio-spatial forms that contrasted from civilizations that developed on the arid coast. Isbell and Vranich (2008) demonstrate how Tiwanaku's and Wari's cityscapes afforded completely different political experiences and inculcated divergent senses of identity and place. The monumental architecture and irrigation networks of the Moche also differed in significant ways from later Chimú built environments (Moore 1996a; Dillehay and Kolata 2004). Archaeologists adopting historical ecological theories have successfully dispelled the myth that the environment constitutes an objective reality transcending the social context of its production and experience. At the same time, this perspective is equally critical of theories that reduce landscapes to a symbolic construction and ignore how they constrained or enabled economic practice, worldview, and social engagement. (For a review of the historical ecology literature, see Balée 2006; see also Sillar this volume.)

More recently, social scientists have demonstrated that built environments do much more than passively mirror society; they actively shape sociopolitical realities (Bowser and Zedeño 2009; Casey 1997; Dovey 1999; Harvey 2000; Lefebvre 1991; Low 2000; Pauketat and Alt 2005; Soja 1996; Staller 2008; Swenson 2012; Thrift 2008). Landscapes constitute crucial tools of socialization that inculcate unconscious dispositions and routines of movement, orientation, and interaction. As Smith (2003:70) notes: "What makes the power to produce landscapes socially significant is that landscapes reflexively place limits on practices. Thus an ability to produce landscapes confers significant ability to influence, regulate, delimit, and control daily life." For instance, Uzma Rizvi's analysis (2012) of how the standardization of Indus material culture, from bricks to latrines, may have shaped the embodied dispositions of urban residents (and naturalized certain notions of personhood and hygiene) reveals a very specific kind of political project—and one much more informative than checking off a list of ahistorical attributes (class, hierarchy, monuments as legitimizing ideologies, and so on). Whether inspired by Foucaultian theories of spatially disciplined bodies or phenomenological analyses of the spatio-material predetermination of consciousness, the production of place is thought to play a decisive role in the creation of both assertive subjectivities and docile political subjects (Swenson 2012). Indeed, the last two decades have witnessed important contributions by archaeologists adopting phenomenological methods, an approach popular with British archaeologists. (For a recent critical review of phenomenology, see Johnson 2012.) Inspired by Merleau-Ponty, Heidegger, and others, they have challenged the constructivist emphasis on the ideational or symbolic, foregrounding instead the experiential, sensual, affective, and immanently material (Barrett 1994; Ingold 2000; Tilley 1994; Thomas 2001; see also Moore 1996a, 2005).

Jerry Moore's (1996a, 1996b) proxemics analysis of Andean religious monuments represents an important contribution within this larger phenomenological tradition. Comparable to Willey's study of settlement patterns, Moore's research has proved inspirational to a generation of archaeologists, and his insights have been widely applied outside the Andes, a rare accomplishment for a South Americanist archaeologist. Although influenced by phenomenology, proxemics is more concerned with the sociopolitical ramifications of spatial interactions than with subjective awareness, "dwelling," and embodied consciousness (Hall 1966). It relies primarily on reconstructing the spatial and cultural prescriptions of perception and communication that condition human subjects' physical encounters with the natural and social world. Proxemics thus examines the cultural signification of space as determined by one's placement within a spatial field of action, including one's changing proximity to other peoples, things, and landmarks (Hall 1966). Similar to general phenomenological approaches, Moore's proxemics methodology is designed to decipher how built forms preconfigured interpersonal communication and orchestrated certain kinds of religious experiences (Tilley 1994:56).

Moore focused particular attention on the communicative elements of ritual, arguing that architectural settings of ceremony reflect the modes of ritual performance that occurred in such spaces. For instance, he notes that the greater the distance between audiences and religious specialists within a ceremonial construction, the more conventional and stereotypical are both the modes of communication and their intended meanings (Moore 1996b). Moore demonstrates that measuring the perceptual thresholds and communicative properties of structures (say Chimú plazas) permits interpretation not only on the nature of public rites but also of their ideological and political objectives. He further states that even though the precise meaning of a ceremony or public spectacle is difficult to recover archaeologically, the ways in which such meaning was *conveyed* are readily accessible though analyses of the morphology of built spaces (Moore 1996a:98–102).

Certainly, variations in the communicative affordances of ceremonial architecture often signal differences in the ideological expression of power (Moore 1996a:139). Adopting the approach of Hillier and Hanson (1984), Moore also applied syntax and route map analyses. He investigated how the varied depth, access patterns, and restricted movement of religious monuments materialized ideologies of social control in the ancient coastal polities of the Andes. Perspectives inspired by performance theory have similarly explored how built environments were designed to display authority, inculcate values, and broadcast or subvert political ideologies (see Inomata and Coben 2006; Swenson 2011). Recently, archaeologists working in the Andes have considered how certain powerful places, defined by heightened ritual theater, stimulated or overwhelmed the senses beyond the visual field. For instance, sophisticated studies have analyzed the power of "soundscapes" and the manner by which music and noise would have been communicated and experienced within particular religious structures (Helmer and Chicoine 2013; Scullin 2015).

Moore's analyses and related studies effectively move beyond space as mere proxy, but his approach is open to critique for reducing the political work of built landscapes to either promoting social integration or exclusion (see also Swenson 2013). In a sense, the ways in which built forms prescribed communication and bodily movement are still read as generic (transhistorical) measures of political hierarchy. Determining how meaning was *physically* conveyed can offer a productive starting point for archaeological analysis. However, the content of this meaning and the way certain spaces were perceived, imagined, personified, or even desired must be brought into consideration if one wishes to approximate how architecture actively but variably mediated power relations. Critics of phenomenology similarly warn that interpreting bodily experiences as determined by particular built environments runs the threat of imposing the subjective views of the archaeologist or that of the elite within a past society (Johnson 2012). In other words, reconstructing the sensual experience of particular spaces privileges the ideological *intent* of those who designed and built the monuments. Thus a singular phenomenology (in which engagement with built forms elicits shared affective responses and forges homogenous subjects) is problematic and ignores potentially contradictory experiences (Alcock 1993; Brück 2001; Johnson 2006; Swenson 2008). Indeed, phenomenology has been routinely criticized for being overly individualized and even romanticized (Johnson 2006; Swenson 2008, 2013).

Smith subsumes phenomenological traditions into the broader category of “neo-subjectivism,” and he critiques both the notion that the body can serve as “the irreducible measure of landscape” (since bodies are assembled differently in distinct cultures and political projects—sensu Foucault 1978) and the premise that the “meaning of landscape always seems to emerge prior to the symbol-making activities of actual people” (Smith 2003:62–66). Phenomenologists tend to place undue emphasis on the experience of static religious monuments and disregard the actual production, maintenance, or expansion of diverse kinds of infrastructure. (See the introductory section for a definition of the term.) At the same time, how places come to be differently infused with meaning or have the power to evoke new sensibilities and social memories has been inadequately explored in traditional phenomenological approaches. Smith’s “relational ontology of space” addresses some of these shortcomings and recognizes that “meaningful discussions of space center on relationships between subjects and objects rather than essential properties of either” (Smith 2003:69). He continues (2003:72): “Space, defined as the relationship between bodies, forms, and elements, is a product of negotiations between an array of competing actors with varying practical capacities to transform these relationships.” Although Latour’s actor-network theory can be criticized for implying ontological equivalence between actants of all sorts (whether human, machine, or animal), his theories have inspired the so-called infrastructural turn, wherein infrastructures constitute "complex assemblages that bring all manner of human, non-human, and natural agents into a multitude of continuous liaisons across geographic space" (Rodgers 2012:18).

In sum, archaeological approaches to power in the ancient Andes since the mid-twentieth century have largely ignored Andean conceptualizations of space, place, and power. Fortunately, the recent theoretical turn toward materiality and the relationships between human, nonhuman, and natural agents fits well with the Andean ontologies and philosophes of space discussed in the chapter's first section. While the volume's authors engage with theories in different manners, this chapter's final section returns to Lefebvre and suggests that his trilectic of space as conceived, perceived, and lived provides a particularly useful analytic for understanding how places and infrastructures formed "complex assemblages" and variably mediated power relations. This approach does not assume an isomorphism between the experience, perception, or imagination of landscapes, the weakness of "space as proxy or symbol approaches," but makes room for possible contradictions between distinct spatial regimes of practice. It also recognizes that institutions and places wield power differently and at varied degrees of intensity. In foregrounding space as both product and enabler of changing relational fields of practice, archaeologists will be in a better position to interpret how political relations were differently and literally *constructed* in the past. Instead of presenting a comprehensive exegesis of Lefebvre's theories, subjects adequately covered elsewhere (see Shields 1999; Soja 1996; Swenson 2012), the following brings into dialogue the insights of the latter with specific examples of place-making as explicit political projects in the ancient Andes.

PLACE AND INFRASTRUCTURE AS CRITICAL MEDIA OF POWER IN ANDEAN POLITICS

The starting point for much of the literature on place-making is the simple acknowledgment that place is "discursively identified, categorized, and personified through naming or categories" and that such a process of identification and personification constitutes place-making at its fundament (Ødegaard 2011:340). Although the latter concept finds no direct equivalent in Andean social theory, it accords well with indigenous philosophies. As the above discussion makes clear, Andean "places are named social individuals" (Allen 1988:41; see also Gose 1994; Mannheim and Salas 2015:60) that demanded the same care and attention as other kinds of persons. Indeed, "Lefebvre viewed space in terms of potentiality, while seeing place as that which is realized, actualized, and interpreted" (Ødegaard 2011:340). Andean peoples never made a sharp distinction between space and place as theorized by Western geographers, but they grasped the stakes involved in the changing potency and potentialities of the living geography. If certain places were persons, and usually more powerful materializations of personhood, then such places were front and center in Andean political projects. The capacity to control and refashion subjects (collective persons) thus rested in large part on the creation and remaking of place, a reality that did not have to be brought to light by theorists but was actively recognized and "put in place" by authority figures. As discussed above, the heuristic of infrastructure serves to focus attention on the physical worlds that were (re)made by institutions of authority.

Lefebvre, Foucault, and others have critiqued that philosophers have unduly ignored the fundamental importance of space in power relations (see also Dawdy 2010; Smith 2003; Swenson 2012). A cursory examination of Andean history (or history in general) would confirm that politics is difficult to conceptualize without the prefix *geo*. From the Toledan *reducciones* of 1571 to the Inka institution of *mitmae* (the displacement of communities to new territories) and wak'a capture, power was intensely mediated and realized through the construction, destruction, and resignification of place. Of course, much more could be added to this list, ranging from the Inka road system and agricultural reclamation projects to the founding of Inti temples and "new Cuzcos" in far-flung regions of the expanding empire (see below).

Building on the Marxist tradition, Lefebvre was a good materialist, and one could argue that place ("infrastructure" in the classic Marxian understanding) can be conveniently theorized in terms of the means and relations of production. However, in such perspectives, "the production of space" (to invoke Lefebvre's most famous work) is most often viewed as epiphenomenal to more abstract historical and economic contradictions, and place is rarely if ever prescribed agency in its own right—nor was space theorized to be the possible source of contradictions. Distinct modes of production (ancient, Asiatic, feudal, or capitalist) may have correlated to the configuration of different urban and rural landscapes, but the latter were simply sublimated to the march of time, the inevitable by-products of changing technologies and class relations (Merrifield 2002). In this regard, Andean theories of ecology prove especially inspiring, and they reinforce the critique developed by proponents of the so-called spatial turn. For classic Marxists, dialectics and socioeconomic change was a strictly temporal problem. However, in Andean philosophy, space was at once the engine and precondition for history, as exemplified by the aforementioned concepts of tinkuy, chawpin, masintin, and so forth.

In our hypercapitalist and postindustrial world, the second circuit of capital (real estate speculation and public works) has come to play a role equal to or more important than traditional market forces in ordering social and political realities. Where to build subways in the city of Toronto has become fiercely contested and has decided the fate of mayors and municipal politicians. The construction of mass transit in some areas as opposed to others can differently alienate large swaths of the community, and infrastructural deficits disproportionately disenfranchise the poor. To provide another example, the construction of new roads and urban facilities in Managua was intended to improve the mobility and security of the elite and effectively cut off poor neighborhoods from transit and related economic opportunities while thwarting means of resistance. Rodgers (2012) describes the disparity in development in Nicaragua as a form of "infrastructural violence" that has fostered a condition of "abject urbanism."

Managua's investment in infrastructures served to protect a small number of rich inhabitants from criminal violence, a program that differed from Baron Haussmann's famed urban renewal of Paris in the mid-nineteenth century (see Rodgers 2012). Haussmannization led to the displacement of nearly one-third of the city's population, and the construction of massive boulevards, the razing of some quarters, and the renovation of others profoundly altered Parisian life and society. The standardization of building dimensions and aesthetics, the restrictive use of cream-colored stones, and vast public works—ranging from municipal parks to Garnier's famed opera house—completely revolutionized Parisian identity and social structure well beyond the Second Empire (Harvey 2003). As mandated by state and private elite interests, another objective of Haussmann's urban renewal was to prevent revolutionary (as opposed to criminal) violence (see Rodgers 2012). The widening of arterial boulevards facilitated the rapid movement of the army and prevented the construction of effective barricades. Even paving roads with asphalt made it difficult to pry out cobblestones that could be used as projectiles by protestors.

The Inka road network was also designed as an instrument to promote certain kinds of violence over others, but its meaning and uses obviously depart in important ways from modern-day Managua, Haussmann's Paris, or Eisenhower's interstate highway system. The engineering marvel of the imperial highway (Qhapaq Ñan) and its supporting network of rest stops (*tambos*) and warehouses allowed for the rapid dissemination of people, armies, tribute, and information (Nair 2015). In just days, messengers (*chaskis*) could transmit government directives over thousands of kilometers. On first inspection, the network could be compared to Managua, for the roads were usually restricted to government officials. However, they appear to have been accessible during times of pilgrimage, and the Qhapaq Ñan may also have been perceived as critical for promoting the healthy circulation of life-giving energies that connected important religious nodes and oracular centers in the empire (Curatola 2008; Gose 1996). In other words, the roads cannot be reduced to mere tools of political economy but must also be understood in terms of Inka religious and ontological orders.

With this comparison of public works in mind, Lefebvre's sociology of space, in which place is broken down into its conceived, perceived, and lived aspects, has proved useful in permitting cross-cultural comparison while acknowledging significant historical differences in the political ramifications of building projects and related material assemblages (Lefebvre 1991; Soja 1996; Smith 2015:155–56; Swenson 2012). Conceived space, equated with Lefevbre's concept of the "representation of space," refers to the built environment as planned, engineered, and imposed, the purview of architects, city planners, priests, politicians, and developers. Archaeologists have been traditionally concerned with Lefebvre's "representations of space," paying less attention to the two other dimensions of his spatial trilectics. (See the critique in Swenson 2012.) Perceived space designates the world as observed, embodied, modified, and experienced in everyday practice, while lived space refers to a critical reimaging of place as engendered through politically mediated encounters with landscapes (Casey 1997; Cresswell 2004:38–39; Lefebvre 1991; Massey 1991:28; Shields 1999; Soja 1996; Swenson 2012). Although better understood as ideal types, perceived space corresponds more closely to habitual or nondiscursive social interventions in space (comparable to Ingold's "taskscapes"), while lived space describes the conversion of a place into the discursive realm of scrutiny, ideology, and self-reflection (what Lefebvre called the "spaces of representations") (see Lefebvre 1991:39; Soja 1996; Swenson 2012). As detailed in the previous section, archaeologists inspired by phenomenological and proxemic approaches have fruitfully examined how space was physically encountered and experienced in the Andes (Isbell and Vranich 2008; Moore 1996a), while work on the revelatory and politically transformative potential of built environments has been recently considered by Swenson (2012) and Weismantel (2013). Indeed, examining how conceived space reinforced or contradicted places as they were perceived and lived (imagined) should permit historically sensitive interpretations of the political efficacy of past landscapes (see Swenson 2012).[11]

Therefore, the interrelated heuristics of conceived, perceived, and lived space can prove useful if properly historicized. Dieza de Betanzos (1996 [1557]:69) and Garcilaso de la Vega (1965 [1609]:2:77) mention that Inka officials (and the king himself) made use of detailed maps that took the form of clay models and *pinturas*. Accurate clay models were apparently employed for the redesign of Cuzco by Pachakuti (Dieza de Betanzos 1996 [1557]:69), and other such "representations of space" could record in great detail the topographic characteristics of villages and environments. Similar models in stone and ceramics have been documented for Wari, Tiwanaku, and the Moche (see also Cook 2015; Wiersema 2015). As a unique semasiographic system, *khipus* also stored memory in a distinctly spatial manner, and the vertical and horizontal arrangement of strings and knots could effectively record certain kinds of geographic information as related perhaps to tribute or censuses. Van de Guchte (1999:161) even argued that certain khipus may have functioned as maps. If these models are understood in terms of a synecdochal ecology, then these instruments of "conceived space" functioned as more than symbolic representations but as power objects that could directly influence their macrocosmic originals (Lau 2012:17–18; see Spence-Morrow 2018). In a similar vein, khipus have been compared to the z'eke system both in terms of layout and as mnemonic devices (van de Guchte 1999:161). The famed Nasca lines and related geoglyphs may also have been constructed to harness the power of macrocosmic, celestial prototypes, and many converge or originate from "star-like ray centers," (Aveni 2000; Quilter 2014:190). At the same time, a good number of the Nasca lines converge on the great ceremonial center of Cahuachi, and they appear to have functioned as ceremonial pathways. Forming one continuous line to guide pilgrims on their journeys, the geoglyphs would have powerfully bent the spatial "perceptions" (embodied experiences) of devotees in line with the "conceived" space of Nasca cosmology and ideology (Silverman 1990).

Andean mythohistory further reveals that cosmic and social authority was invested in beings that created and "represented" place. Therefore power was manifested in the "remarkable abilities to transform the living landscape" (Mills 1997:51). Such transformations ranged from building houses to bringing forth springs through acts of divine urination (Duviols 1973:159–60). Paria Caca's expansion and widening of an irrigation canal not only fertilized the landscape and symbolized the sexual union with a female wak'a [Chuqui Suso], but it also ushered in a new ecological and social order. In fact, in ancient times, irrigation networks and agricultural infrastructures were often believed to have been built by deified cultural heroes. The ethnohistoric documentation recounts how the establishment of society by ancestor wak'as coincided with the introduction of agriculture and the creation and distribution of field systems. Thus the oft-mentioned god Huari and his ancestral avatars in seventeenth-century Cajatambo were described as "the authors and fathers of irrigation," and the extirpation literature makes clear that socio-cosmic order was created through the building of *puqios*, irrigation networks, terraces, and fields (Duviols 1973:159). Such building projects often transpired as a contest between competing wak'as or cultural heroes (Duviols 1973; Salomon and Urioste 1991). In other words, Andean ideologies of space ("space as conceived") directly identified authority with the capacity to create and alter meaningful places.

Inka statecraft imitated the exploits of these heroic "world makers," and imperial expansion was underwritten by an obsessive desire to rebuild the landscape (D'Altroy 2015; Kosiba 2010; Mills 1997:100; Morris 1998; Niles 1999; Swenson 2013:481). The Inka straightened out river systems as a means to define and hierarchize social space (D'Altroy 2015:223–24), and their vast reclamation projects reveal that infrastructures constituted a fundamental "technology of government" (McFarlane and Rutherford 2008:366). The imperial imperative to constantly reconstruct the world was propelled in part by religious convictions and a civilizing mission (Swenson 2013:482; see MacCormack 1991). Thus imperial expansion may have been motivated by the need for new emperors to not only acquire territory beyond the landholdings of former mummified Inka kings and their *panaqas* (Conrad and Demarest 1984) but also to demonstrate their divine power to renew and improve the world (Kolata 2013).

To revisit Lefevbre's model, Inka "representations of space" no doubt significantly impacted the "perceived" everyday spatialities of diverse subject communities. Many examples could be mobilized to prove this point. These include the redistribution of farming land (fields were often systematically set aside to support the state cult in local communities; Cobo 1979), the dedication of new religious structures, the construction of a network of warehouses (*qollqas*), and the wholesale resettlement of peoples throughout the Andes (mitmae). It has been suggested that up to one-third of the population was displaced from their ancestral territories (D'Altroy 2015). In fact, the Inka exploited the profound attachment to personified places by uprooting peoples and resettling them in potentially hostile lands. In light of the inseparability of geography, sociology, and cosmology in Andean worldviews, radical alterations in place could have proved especially devastating or at least necessitated major adjustments to origin myths and ritual observances (Salomon and Urioste 1991). In a similar manner, the Spanish resettled Andean populations in the new towns of the reducciones "as far away as possible from pagan settlements and their shrines" to facilitate religious conversion (Gose 2008:121).[12]

Of course, Inka infrastructure projects were designed not simply to alienate and divide, but they were also geared to reform the desires, imaginations, and convictions of subject peoples (comparable to Haussmann's urban renewal of Paris described above). The famed beauty of Inka stonework exemplifies that great monumental constructions did much more than legitimize authority but may have been effective in the "aesthetic captivation" of diverse communities (Smith 2015:157). At least in some instances, an appreciation of Inka landscape translated to the desire to participate in state projects and a willingness to conform. For instance, throughout the Andes, the Inka built new Cuzcos (Huánuco Pampa, Inkawasi, Chuquito, Tomebamba, Incallajta, Hatuncolla) that projected the power of the cosmic capital city (Morris 1998), perhaps reminiscent of the interconnections of parts and whole defining a larger synecdochal ecology, as discussed above (Christie 2007). The construction of usnus at these settlements may have even been intended to foster physical, subterranean connections with Cuzco. People journeyed to these evanescently urban centers, with their massive feasting plazas, during set times of the year to partake in lively commensal rites and reclamation projects (Morris 1998). Pilgrimages to these evocative centers, controlled access to particular sectors of the settlements (including entryways reserved for specific ethnic groups), the possible staging of intercommunity ritual warfare, and the use of prized Inka vessels for the prodigious consumption of corn beer powerfully inculcated identities, emotions, and social divisions—all within the aesthetic force field of Inka imperial architecture (see Morris 1998). In fact, the centers may have been experienced as decidedly "heterotopic" spaces (Foucault 1986; Swenson 2012, 2013). Heterotopias denote markedly *other* places of alternative experience and heightened emotion (see Jennings et al. this volume; Swenson this volume). Commonly defined as places removed from the normative spatial and temporal rhythms of daily life, heterotopias have also been interpreted as condensing, reflecting, or refracting many of the other places constituting a larger community (Foucault 1986; Swenson 2012, 2013). Centers such as Huánuco Pampa may have been experienced as places of intense alterity and exceptional aesthetic and religious epiphanies far removed from the more familiar world of ancestral wak'as, agricultural fields, and residential hamlets. Indeed, as a liminal space of encounter possibly predicated on the staging of ritual warfare between diverse ethnic others, these settlements constituted nexuses of fundamental social reordering. Certainly, liminal space/times (related to tinkuy and chawpin, discussed above) powerfully engender transformation through the juxtaposition and reconciliation of contradictory entities, including different people and their associated places. The great feasts, ritual battles, and immersion in the cosmopolitan aesthetic of Inka architecture may have effectively "transformed guests into imperial subjects" (Morris 1998:307).

The Qhapaq Hucha ritual also demonstrates how the Inka attempted to spatially captivate and resignify subjects and their associated landscapes. Selected children from the hinterland would journey from their communities of origin to Cuzco to be blessed and ritually married in the capital's great double plaza. Reverse processions would then radiate out from Cuzco to far-flung mountain summits or other sacred locales, where the youth would be sacrificed (Ceruti 2004; Reinhard and Ceruti 2010; Zuidema 1977). These processions followed strict routes of peregrination (off the highways), and surrounding communities were expected to support the parade and honor the elected sacrificial candidates. The conflation of peoples and places is particularly evident in this royal rite, for communities associated with a particular region would process with chosen sacrificial victims only to the mountain-inscribed boundaries of their territories (Besom 2009). At these frontiers, porters and celebrants accompanying the procession would be replaced by a new cadre of personnel who identified with the territory through which the parade was about to cross (Besom 2009:39). The Qhapaq Hucha victims thus became both Inka-fied and sacralized in Cuzco's central plazas, and their movement at once affirmed the ethnic boundaries of the realm and the transcendent, unifying authority of the Inka state. Moreover, their entombment in faraway powerful places, merging bodies with specific spaces (Rostworowski 2008), directly infused the empire into the landscape while resocializing place and community. This ritual can be compared to the domestication of wild stones discussed previously (Dean 2007), and diverse sacred landscapes were at once honored and sublimated into the Inka "political machine" (Smith 2015). The ethnohistoric record indicates that local elites eagerly offered their children for sacrifice as a means to secure greater prestige and to strengthen their personal identification with powerful landforms (Swenson 2003; Zuidema 1977).

Nevertheless, whether the new Cuzcos or the Qhapaq Hucha shrines always succeeded in colonizing bodies and minds is debatable, and the critical encounters with place (Lefevbre's lived or imagined spaced) engendered by these institutions might have had unforeseen consequences. Indeed, major shifts in public works and monumental architecture need to be compared to the everyday places defining social life, including fields, households, disposal areas, village layouts, and cemeteries. To provide an example, Van Gijseghem and Vaughn's research (2008) demonstrates that major transformations in settlement patterns defining the Early Nasca period (CE 50–400)—mainly the movement of sites to more open and less defensible locations—corresponded with the emergence of the great pilgrimage center of Cahuachi and the crystallization of Nasca religious ideology. Moreover, these developments correlated to significant modifications in the configuration of dwellings and the disappearance of public spaces within villages. Evidently, major transformations in the conception and organization of space at the macropolitical level significantly shaped microscale social practices and perceptions of place (or taskscapes, sensu Ingold 2000). In contrast, the abrupt cessation of monumental construction in the southern Jequetepeque Valley at the end of the Moche period had little impact on the emplacement and timing of the quotidian activities that continued largely unchanged between the Late Moche and Transitional periods (CE 850–950).

In the end, attention to the vagaries of place, and the application of "place-sensitive" heuristics, including heterotopia or taskscape, should permit improved understanding of the political efficacy of infrastructures within different historical traditions (see Swenson 2012). Indeed, the chapters of this volume make an important contribution in examining Andean political landscapes as more than generic (ahistorical) instruments of political control, surplus extraction, and ideological indoctrination.

ORGANIZATION OF THE VOLUME AND CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The following ten chapters of the volume demonstrate the central role played by powerful places in the constitution of Andean social orders while affirming that political landscapes were far from uniform or historically static (Figure 1.1 and Table 1.1). In chapter 2, Peter Gose admonishes that there was no singular mountain cult in the Andes and that the identification of mountains with ancestors and the source of ultimate power was a recent development of the colonial period. The replacement of mummified ancestors with mountain lords in the eighteenth century reveals certain continuities in circulatory constructions of political life in the Andes while demonstrating the deficiencies of strictly nonrepresentational approaches. Indeed, Gose argues that politics and religion cannot simply be sublimated to monolithic ontologies, and he critiques the application of Amazonian perspectivism to Andean history and constructions of place. He shows how mountains, as "more-than-human animators," mediated the cosmos vertically and horizontally. Nevertheless, the role of both human agents and mountains in world-making projects or *pachakutis* (world destructions and reversals) reveals the indivisibility of the political and ontological in Andean philosophy. Gose compellingly argues that Andean ontologies, grounded in the circulation of life between social and ontological others (including "antagonistic forms of livelihood and wealth"), promoted a politics of hegemonic universalism as opposed to ethnic separation in the colonial era. Mountains today are supremely powerful, as Gose shows, and a number of the archaeologists contributing to this volume argue that they were also dominant authorities in earlier eras (see Lau this volume; Sillar this volume;

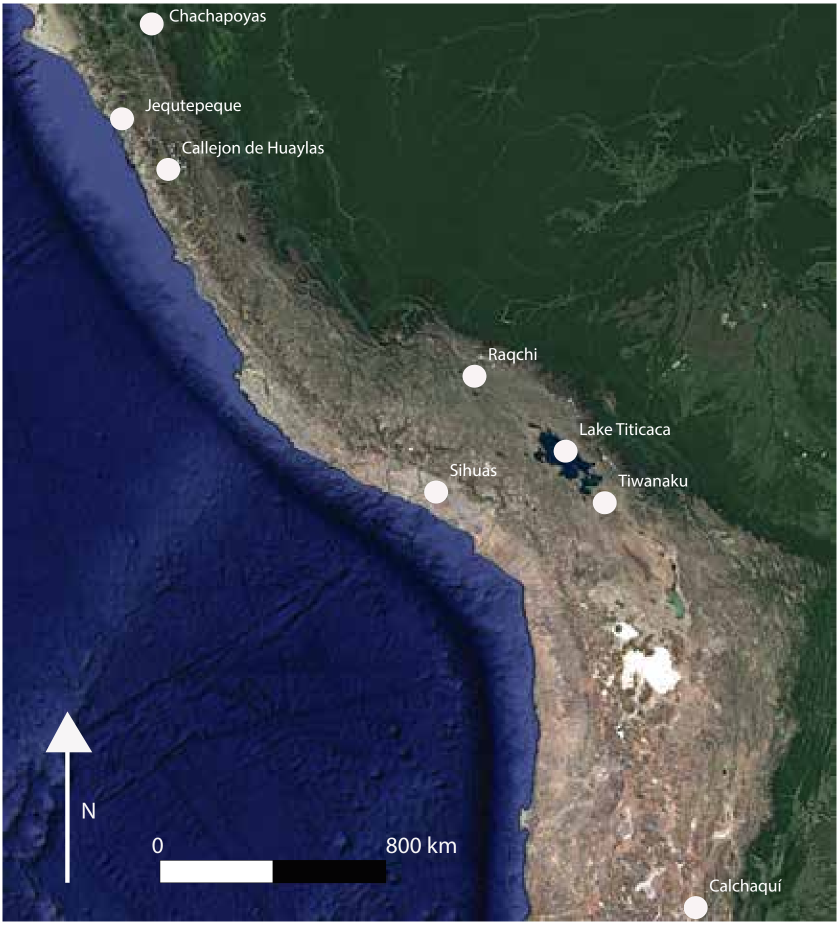
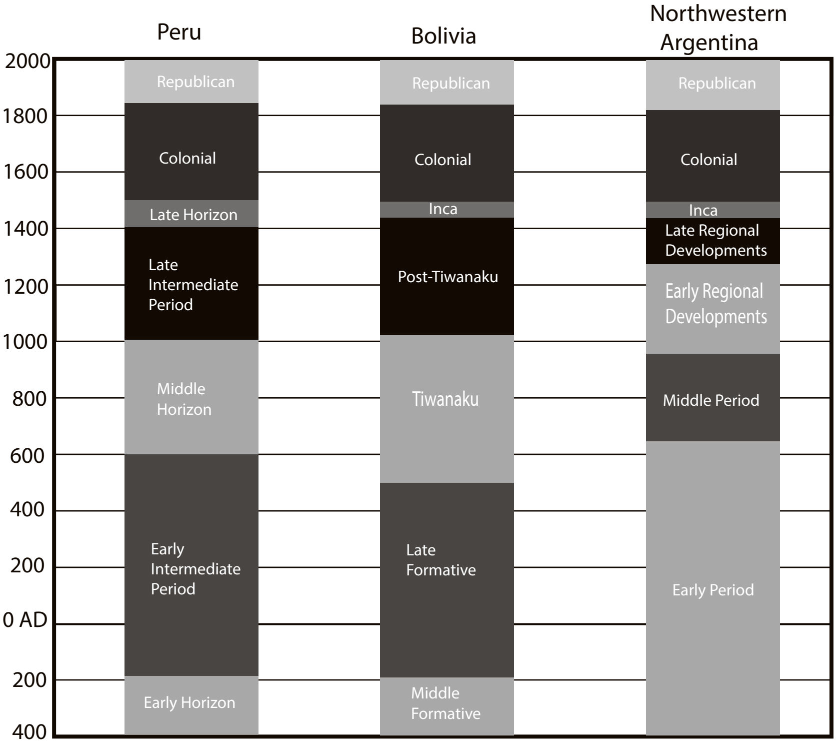

Chachapoyas
Jequtepeque
Callejon de Huaylas
Raqchi
Lake Titicaca
Sihuas
Tiwanaku
N
0
800 km
Calchaquí

Figure 1.1. Location of places in the Andes discussed in the text. Landsat 8 imagery courtesy of NASA Goddard Space Flight Center and US Geological Survey.

Swenson this volume). However, Goes makes clear that the mountains were not powerful in the same way they are today, and his chapter challenges archaeologists to proceed cautiously in their use of Andean ethnographic analogies in interpreting past political landscapes.

In the next chapter, George F. Lau similarly argues that mountains in the Ancash region became recognized as powerful lords and mediators of elite legitimacy during the Late Intermediate period. In contradistinction to Gose's thesis, however, this development cannot be simply explained as the

Table 1.1. Regional Andean Chronologies Used in the Volume (Note That the Earliest Periods Shown Extend Beyond 400 BCE)



outcome of colonial social and political realignments. Lau mobilizes a number of data sets, including shifts in settlement location to higher elevations, the construction of mountainside shrines, the emergence of mountain-centric viewsheds, the elaboration of funerary rites, and conventionalized representations of elites as fluid communicators to support the thesis that high peaks became media of and for political authority in Late Intermediate–period Ancash. Mountains were venerated as powerful individuals, whose favor was needed to sustain life and cosmos and to ensure the moral circulation of fertilizing energies. In this light, Recuay lords aspired to become embodiments of mountains and ancestors by serving as active conduits of life-giving fluids. Lau also shows that the intimate link established between elites and mountains was realized by fundamental changes in place-making and the experiences of sacred landscapes.

In chapter 4, Bill Sillar provides a fascinating biography of one of the most powerful places of the Inka Empire, the volcano of Kinsich'ata and the closely associated ceremonial and pilgrimage center of Inka Cacha (Raqchi). Sillar applies Gell's notion of "technologies of enchantment" and Burke's concept of the "sublime" to show how the Inka effectively co-opted and enhanced powerful places associated with the creator deity Viracocha. He also explains why the Canas ethnic group was complicit in the Inka promotion of this powerful place. Sillar develops a compelling argument that the Qhapaq Ñan (royal highway) and the paqarina cults, central to the cosmogonic migrations of Viracocha's creations, at once celebrated local wak'as while subjugating them to Inka state projects and ideologies. The chapter thus provides a clear example of how power relations were played out through the making and resignification of place. At the same time, Sillar contends that ecological and geological forces must be taken into consideration in charting the *longue durée* of the potency of particular locales, and he shows that the meaning and political affordances of Kinsicha'ata changed significantly from the Middle Horizon to the colonial period.

Comparable to Sillar's interest in volcanic lava, Weismantel focuses on the dynamic and all-powerful qualities of moving water. Her examination of the kinetic, protean, and fluid force of water as a kind of wak'a on the North Coast of Peru exposes serious problems with key heuristics in contemporary archaeology, including landscape, site, and nature. Weismantel's chapter provides a welcome study of how ENSO events would have been understood and experienced by Andean peoples. She examines "ontologies of water" in terms of water's agentive, transformative capacities and its ambivalent status in coastal thought and practice. Water is essential to life and fertility, but it can also become a devastating force of destruction in the form of massive floods. Focusing in particular on mega-ENSO events, Weismantel seeks to understand how water was perceived as a powerful and animate being comparable to wak'as. She mobilizes multiple data sets, ranging from the role of water in Andean mythologies of marriage, conquest, and highland–coast interactions to archaeological evidence of opportunistic farming, to show how different political projects were founded on forging social relationships with awesome manifestations of moving water. Weismantel's study then considers the place of water and ENSO-related animals and symbolism in Moche art and iconography. She argues that the movement of fluids through bottles and stirrup spout vessels best exemplifies how water was approached as a powerful and kinetic force, the defining characteristic of Andean wak'as.