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The After-life of Inka Rulers: Andean Death Before and After Spanish Colonization

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The first Spaniard to describe the city of Cuzco, the sacred capital of the Inka empire, makes brief mention of the reverence in which deceased rulers were held. He tells us that the body of one of them—perfectly preserved, except for the decaying tip of the nose—was housed in Cuzco. He also describes how the richly dressed corpses of the royal ancestors were taken out to the plaza where they were greeted with music and dances, and where attendants, who never left their sides, constantly waved away the flies.¹ The practice of preserving the dead or parts of their cadavers (keeping them bodily present in the community, and maintaining physical linkages with the deceased), has a long history in the Andes, upon which the Inka elaborated (Verano 1995).² Once the colonizing Spaniards arrived in the Andean area, however, such traditions came under critical scrutiny. Having subjugated the Inka, Spaniards seized ancestral mummies and sought to extirpate beliefs concerning the bodies of the dead. Given how integral the physical connection to the deceased was in the Andean area in Pre-Hispanic times, we might well wonder how complete or thorough was the extirpation of beliefs regarding the bodies of the dead; specifically, how did the Inka respond to the confiscation of royal cadavers? Were beliefs about the dead abandoned as corpses were hunted down by Spaniards and forcibly removed from their caretakers? Here we explore some of the ways the Inka kept the deceased physically present in viceregal Peru, while still adhering to Spanish cultural norms and obeying Roman Catholic dictates regarding proper burial. We will consider how painted portraits and festive embodiment—both practices introduced to the Andes from Spain—were adapted (if not appropriated) by the Inka as ways of keeping their ancestors physically present.

The Inka reached the height of their power in the early sixteenth century when they governed western South America from what is today Colombia in the north through much of Chile in the south. The Inka capital of Cuzco is

today located in the southern highlands of Peru. Before the Spanish invasion in the early sixteenth century, the Inka kept the bodies of their royal deceased physically accessible and present in the community.³ A pen and ink drawing by a native Andean artist, dating to the early seventeenth century, depicts the Inka ruler and his primary wife toasting the cadavers of his parents with an offering of fermented maize (Fig. 1).

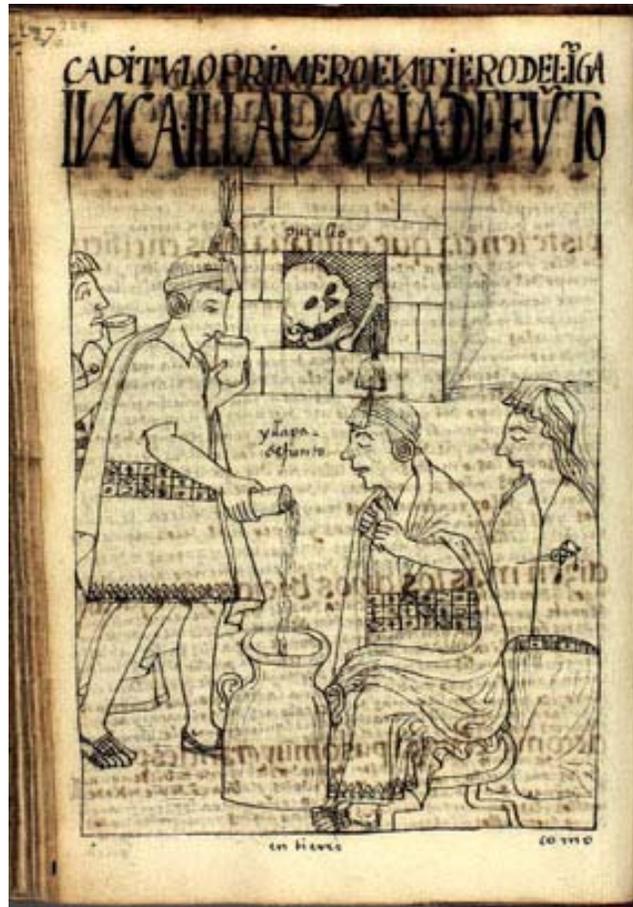


Fig. 1. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615. “**Inka Dead**,” *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, fol. 287 [289]. Work in the public domain; photograph courtesy of the Royal Library (Copenhagen, Denmark) www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/289/en/text/.

Spanish chroniclers tell us that the mummified remains of royal men and women were not only given drink, but that they were also fed and dressed, and had houses, property, and servants. In the first figure, we see both the living ruling couple and their recently deceased progenitors, as well as their more distant ancestors in the form of skeletal remains that have been deposited in a crypt visible in the background. The indigenous artist shows us the inevitable degenerative path of the mortal body: the animated living; the recently dead, now mute and motionless, but whose still-fleshed frames link them to life; and finally the bare, durable bones of the distantly deceased. The living will eventually die, and the bodies of those who have recently passed will join those of the long dead, gradually decaying until only the bony remnants of their former bodies remain. It is significant that we see this corporeal transition, for, as noted above, the Inka kept their royal dead accessible. Whether housed in temples, palaces, crypts, or caves, royal cadavers were not only regularly visited, but also were removed for public celebrations in which the dead played primary roles.

The arid climate of the Andean coast and highlands enabled the preservation of corpses so the deceased could be kept physically. As a result of this, the divide between the living and the dead was not clear-cut; the living interacted with their ancestors, feeding, dressing, and consulting them in a way that refused death its sundering power. The Western dichotomy of “living” and “dead” as binary opposites clearly did not apply in the Pre-Hispanic Andes where the dried husk of the dead body was just one extreme on a continuum through which all life forms passed, from soft, wet, and unformed, to hard, dry, and unalterable (Salomon 328). It might be said that, in the Andes, the living refused to let the dead pass from this world. Ancestors, perceived to be powerful and sacred, watched over the welfare of their descendants, affecting their health and well-being, their crops, human and animal fertility, the weather, and their fortunes in general.⁴ As the anthropologist Frank Salomon observes, “A dead person was not at the end of his career but at the beginning of candidacy for ancestral greatness” (343). Throughout the Andes, the ancestors were feted in advance of both planting and harvest, the two points marking the beginning and end of the agricultural year. They were given thanks, asked for blessings, and regarded as sacred; they were supplied with food and drink and furnished the traditional offerings of seashells and coca leaves. The divine deceased could also be called upon for aid in times of stress—drought, epidemics, and so on.

While for many communities in the Pre-Hispanic Andes, the ancestors were critical actors, there was a special category of deceased. These were the founding ancestors of the community who were considered especially powerful and sacred. They were called *mallki* in Quechua, the language of the Inka and many other Andean indigenes.⁵ *Mallki* is also defined in early-colonial period dictionaries as *planta para plantar* (seedling), *planta cualquiera* (any kind of plant), *planta en general* (plant in general), and

planta tierna de almácigo para trasplantar (sapling for transplanting) (Santo Tomás 314; Anonymous 57; González de Holguín 207). The dead progenitor, then, was akin to a new plant, a seedling or a sapling from which future generations sprouted. Death and new life were but two sides of the same coin. Indeed, *mallki* were deposited in the places—often caves—from which they were believed to have originally emerged to found the community in times long past. The cadavers of their descendants then joined them in these places or in close-by crypts when the original place of deposition filled. By taking the community's dead back to the place of origin—the telluric womb—which was called *paqarina* or *paqarisqa*, meaning “the place of birth or dawn,” each corpse gave birth to the future. The fetal position in which cadavers were traditionally placed, underscores the association of death and new life.⁶

In many ways, each of the Inka royal corpses functioned as founder-*mallki*. As was the case with founder-*mallki*, each Inka ruler in death was a divine productive agent who participated—both before and after death—in the ongoing process of creation (Doyle 74; Pease 2004, 74). Like founder-*mallki*, in life and in death, Inka royalty defined territory and influenced the fortunes of their descendants, as they had much to do with agricultural success. We are told, for example, that the Inka carried their deceased ruler, Inca Roca, in procession in order to alleviate drought; apparently, it was appropriate to call on Inca Roca because he was credited with ordering irrigation channels to be built to bring water to Cuzco from the Chacan drainage (Cobo 124–25). The building of irrigation channels was a feat commonly identified with founder-*mallki* in other parts of the Andes (Doyle 74). An indigenous author, writing in the colonial period, drew Inka ancestors as *mallki*, depicting them as trees with roots, like saplings ready for transplanting, as defined above. In his drawing he locates them, both male and female, on either side of the Inka place of origin, a cave which he draws abstractly, but labels Tampo Ttoco (Tampu Tuku, the middle of three caves which was the location of Inka origin) (Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua fol. 8v) (Fig. 2). Inka rulers who descended from these original ancestors became like them in death. They were sacred sources of life.



Fig. 2. Joan de Santa Cruz Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamaygua, c. 1613. "Inka Caves of Origin," *Relación de antigüedades deste Reyno del Pirú*, fol. 8v. Work in the public domain.

Some founder-*mallki* were said to have turned to stone. In these cases, instead of maintaining the corpse, their descendants kept the stones that were

understood to be the transubstantiated cadaver. For the Inka, the powerful essences of rulers and other important men could also assume petrous form. Stone (a hard, dry, unalterable, material that does not decay) not only symbolized the eternal nature of *anima* or spirit, but was capable of hosting it as well. Inka rulers were preserved bodily as mummies, and also had petrous versions of themselves. As I have argued elsewhere, the Inka ruler's mummy was the repository of the ruler's feminine side and was associated with both crop and human fertility; in complementary fashion the lithic embodiment manifested the deceased ruler's masculinity and was associated both with warfare (a masculine activity) and an adequate water supply (which equates metaphorically with semen) (Dean 2001). Together, the mummy and the petrous embodiment constituted complementary halves of the deceased ruler. These petrous embodiments were known as *wawqi*. They were regarded as the living ruler's double, and were treated like the ruler they embodied, both before and after the ruler's death. Thus, a ruler's absence could always be avoided by means of his multiple petrous doubles. In Quechua, *wawqi* means "a male's brother" and refers both to a ruler's biological flesh and blood brothers, as well as to his lithic brothers.⁷ The petrified *wawqi* were treated with the reverence owed their living "brothers" and were equated with them both before and after the rulers' deaths. *Wawqi* owned both land and goods, and had sets of retainers to see to their needs. They had personal servants, were carried on litters in the manner of rulers, and in all ways were treated as though they were the rulers (Betanzos 205). It is clear that *wawqi* did not represent rulers in the sense of substituting for them, but were, in fact, perceived to *be* them. Therefore, they are better thought of as embodiments rather than representations of specific rulers. Whereas the notion of representation suggests replacement, substitution, and surrogacy, embodiment implies an immediacy of presence without intermediates.

Adding an element of confusion to our understanding of the Inka's petrous *wawqi* is the fact that several Spanish chroniclers describe them as portraits or likenesses of Inka rulers. The Jesuit Joseph de Acosta, for example, describes them as "estatuas de piedra hechas a su semejanza" (234) (statues of stone made in the likeness [of the deceased ruler]). Acosta, however, never actually saw any *wawqi*. What's more, he authored a theory about the foundations of global idolatry based on the practice of portraiture, which he posited as a universal pursuit often leading to a mistaken equation of the picture with the person depicted (Acosta 226). Clearly employing a bias towards European image-making practices, he forced Inka visual culture into his preconceived mold. In his mind, *wawqi* became portraits because, only in that way, could they fit his understanding of idolatrous objects. Like Acosta, the Spanish chronicler Pedro Sarmiento de Gamboa reports that a *wawqi* he never actually saw, was "in the image" of one of the Inka rulers. He also describes a second *wawqi* as resembling a falcon, and a

third, as a stone shaped like a fish (Sarmiento de Gamboa 52, 61, 63, 217). As I have discussed at length elsewhere, what *wawqi* actually looked like is a matter of much confusion in colonial records (Dean 2006).

No *wawqi* that we know of survived the colonial era.⁸ In 1559, Juan Polo de Ondegardo, the magistrate of Spanish colonial Cuzco, in an effort to consolidate Spanish rule and put an end to the allegiance held by many indigenes to their Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers, tracked down royal Inka mummies which were kept and revered as described at the outset. Along with the royal mummies, he frequently found the *wawqi* that remained the companions of the rulers, even in death. Thus, he is the only eyewitness that we can be sure of and what he has to say about *wawqi* is, therefore, crucial. He tells us that, “The Indians named certain . . . rocks in [the ruler’s] name so that in life and in death they might venerate them” (Polo de Ondegardo 10).⁹ In this passage, Polo de Ondegardo is careful to say that the petrous brothers were “piedras en su nombre” (rocks in his [the ruler’s] name) and does not describe them as portraits, likenesses, or even figurative sculptures. His sparse, but careful and specific wording, calls into question the confused and contradictory reports of other chroniclers who did not see any *wawqi* for themselves, but who assumed that *wawqi* must have been made in the image of the ruler. Spaniards logically drew such conclusions because, in their minds, the *wawqi* were representations (not embodiments) of deceased kings, and that such representations were best accomplished through optical naturalism, which was (and still is) the convention in the European tradition.

What was essential from an Inka perspective, however, was the rock of which *wawqi* were composed. Stone, in the Andean worldview, is a transubstantial medium and is always capable of animation.¹⁰ Such beliefs are still present in the Andes. Ethnographer Catherine J. Allen, in her 1988 study of one contemporary southern Andean society, observes that “from an Andean perspective, the compact hardness of stones . . . implies not a lack of animation, but a different state of animation—life crystallized, as it were” (63). Indeed, stone was the perfect medium of embodiment, for it was capable of hosting the *anima*, the spirit or animating breath, of living entities. Rocks stand at one extreme of life’s continuum; they are hard, dry, and virtually unalterable, but that does not mean that they are not alive. The belief in the potential of stone to animate runs deep and wide throughout the Andes. Dozens of indigenous stories featuring acts of lithomorphy have been recorded in since colonial times. One story, widespread in the Andes in the Pre-Hispanic era, tells of a quarried rock that was so upset at being relocated that it wept blood. In a seventeenth century illustration by an indigenous artist, one can see tears streaming from the distressed stone as it is being dragged by workers; the gloss on the renitent rock reads, “lloró sangre la piedra” (the stone cried blood) (Fig. 3). In this story, the stone embodied the spirit of the site from which it was quarried. As a consequence, it suffered greatly when removed from its place of origin. It not only felt strong

emotions, but shed heart-felt tears (tears of blood), and physically resisted movement as well.



Fig. 3. Felipe Guaman Poma de Ayala, c. 1615, “Captain Inga Urcon & the Tired Stone,” *Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno*, fol. 159 [161]. Work in the public domain; photograph courtesy of the Royal Library (Copenhagen, Denmark) www.kb.dk/permalink/2006/poma/161/en/text/.

The Inka called the essence of a thing or type of things *kamay*. *Kamay* was independent of form and could be embodied in various ways. It could pass from host to host by innumerable means: through the smoke of a burnt offering, on a breath of air, in a current of liquid, or through a simple touch. Indigenous Andeans could transfer the *kamay* of their revered beings to new locations in the following manner: if the sacred entity were friable or divisible in some way, they could take an actual piece of the original and, by placing that piece onto an object in a new location, transform the new object into an embodiment of the original. If the original were solid and immobile, they could take a textile that had touched it and, by placing the textile on some object—usually a stone—in some new location, successfully transform the new rock into the revered original (Albornoz 171).¹² The new rock was then addressed by the original one's name and treated as the original would have been treated. Hills near new Inka settlements were not only often named Wanakawri (after the hill near Cuzco on which one of the *wawqi* [petrous brothers] of the first Inka rested), they *became* Wanakawri. The Inka employed transference and the idea of embodiment, carrying their sacred Cuzco valley with them and recreating Wanakawri at distances far from their homeland. Historian Sabine MacCormack understands this idea as an expression of the Andean principle of “continuous identity” according to which “identity could be conceptualized as continuous even when its expression or representation changed” (1991, 408–9). Whether or not the embodying rocks and hills visibly resembled the original Wanakawri *wawqi* was clearly of secondary importance. Rock embodiments were thus a critical element of Inka material culture, but one which evades quick visual identification and confounds our attempts at analysis based on theories of representation.

Given the notion of transubstantial essence or breath—of *kamay*—it is not hard to understand how rocks could have hosted the *kamay* of Inka rulers. Several Spanish chroniclers indicate that the lithic brothers also sometimes contained fingernails and cuttings of hair of the person with whom they were equated.¹³ The petrous embodiments could well have held small cavities or niches in which the hair and fingernails described by the chroniclers were deposited. These bodily sheddings—relics and therefore material metonyms of the entire body from which they came—bolstered the equation of the ruler who was embodied and the host in which he was embodied.¹⁴ The capacity to host *kamay*, an ability demonstrated by both rock and sheddings of various sorts, was key to establishing presence. What we might term presentational materials were precious and sacred because of their embodying capacity rather than the qualities of their external form. In the discipline of art history, scholars are accustomed to speaking of representations, as well as signs, icons, images, indices, and symbols.¹⁵ All of these things operate through substitution. Indeed, in his well known essay “Meditations on a Hobby Horse,” first published in 1951, E. H. Gombrich

asserted that not only are all images substitutive, but that non-resemblant representations like the hobby horse are comparable to images—that is, they can be considered image-like—because they are substitutive as well (1–11). But this emphasis on representation—on substitution—fails to acknowledge cultural traditions such as that of the Inka which eschew surrogacy in favor of embodiment. An embodiment is a fundamentally different mode of presentation from substitution. While representations *mediate* between absent or invisible prototypes, embodiments make the absent or the invisible *immediate*. They do not replace or stand in for the things they are held to embody. Embodiments operate through a belief in shared, albeit transubstantiated, essence or *samay*; the rock is perceived to be that which it embodies, regardless of its appearance. The *wawqi*—the petrous brothers of Inka rulers—were clearly not substitutive. In Inka hearts and minds, *wawqi* were not replacements for dead ancestors; they were the ancestors themselves.

The Jesuit Bernabé Cobo relates the discovery of the body of the eighth Inka ruler (Viracocha Inca) which was tracked down by Gonzalo Pizarro. Cobo writes that Pizarro, brother of the famed conquistador Francisco Pizarro, “burned some Indians, men and women” to force them to reveal the location of the mummy because it was rumored to have a treasure of precious metals with it (1979, 132). Eventually, the royal mummy was located, seized, and burned. The fate of its companion *wawqi* is unknown because Spaniards at first took no notice of the nonrepresentational rocks, which to them, had no meaning. Accounts such as this reveal the loyalty indigenous Andeans had both to the mummies and the *wawqi* of the deceased rulers. Only by torture did Spaniards ascertain their whereabouts. While the conquistadors initially sought the treasure held by mummy and *wawqi*, Spaniards quickly realized that the mummies were dangerous because they commanded considerable political and religious authority; they were still conferred with, and capable of, inspiring their followers to action against Spanish rule. After the colonial magistrate of Cuzco systematically tracked a number of them down, they were taken to the viceregal capital of Lima—far away from the Inka political and religious center of Cuzco. They were exhibited for a short while in the Hospital San Andrés, where Spaniards were understandably fascinated by these preserved royal cadavers. One was described as follows: “the body was kept with great care, and it was so well preserved . . . that it appeared to be alive. Its eyes were made of a thin golden cloth, its hair was grey, and it was entirely preserved, as if he had died that same day” (Cobo 1979, 141). Following exhibition, the mummies were buried.¹⁶

Because Spaniards rapidly recognized the danger posed by the cadavers of the divine, ancestral deceased, control over the dead—both the bodies of the deceased and beliefs about them—was a critical element in the conversion efforts of early Christian evangelizers in the Andes (Harris 49).

Spaniards insisted on the burial of both anciently and newly deceased according to Roman Catholic tradition. Indigenous Andeans, however, did not readily abandon their dead and continued efforts to maintain contact with their ancestors. Reports of resistance are most complete from the Archbishopric of Lima, where the records generated by extirpation campaigns from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reveal the tenacity of Andean beliefs regarding cadavers.¹⁷ Bodies of the dead were surreptitiously excavated from church cemeteries and taken to the traditional crypts, usually caves, where they were united with their ancestors. Witnesses, explaining why they had disturbed the consecrated dead, reported that the deceased were unhappy with burial—alone and isolated, unable to breathe and move under the weight of the earth, and overwhelmed by the stench of their own rotting flesh which had not been allowed to desiccate naturally in the cool, arid air of the traditional crypt-cave (Doyle 103–4). Thus, despite the introduction of Roman Catholicism, the ancestors still communicated with the living and were still regarded as essential to the wellbeing of the community. Festivals involving drinking and feasting with the divine deceased were maintained throughout the colonial period. So many indigenous Andeans turned to their ancestors for blessings, forgiveness, and aid with innumerable ills, that evangelizing Spaniards recognized the ancestor cult, what Cobo characterizes as “the beastly act of venerating the bodies of the dead” (1990, 39), as the most significant impediment to the full conversion of indigenes to Roman Catholicism. Indeed, many Andeans respectfully asked their *mallki* for permission to participate in Roman Catholic rites for, while the ancestors were perceived to be active and influential, the images of saints and crucifixes introduced by Spanish priests were characterized as “painted and gilded wooden sticks” which were without power to heal illnesses or ensure a plentiful crop (Doyle 78). In response, the extirpators of idolatry invaded the crypt-caves, removed the mortal remains, and buried (or re-buried) them. Apparently, if deemed threatening enough, the mummies were burned as a way of extinguishing all attachments to the living. The concentrated efforts to eradicate “ancestor worship” lasted for nearly 150 years. Even today evidence exists to suggest those campaigns were not entirely successful. Contemporary indigenous Andeans—nominally Roman Catholic—maintain reverence for and communication with their deceased ancestors.¹⁸ For example, in the community of Sonqo, located east of Cuzco in the Andean highlands, indigenes bury their dead in the local cemetery, but conceptually, they locate their ancestors in Pre-Hispanic sites of deposition, the traditional crypts found in crumbling ruins on the sacred hill outside of their village (Allen 1982, 184; 1988, 59).

While the danger of sacred ancestral mummies was readily understood, Spaniards did not so quickly comprehend the power of the Inka’s lithic embodiments, the *wawqi*. They did not understand the fact that the *wawqi*

were kept, revered, dressed, fed, conversed with, and treated as though they were still animate or capable of imminent animation. Because most *wawqi* were neither commonly of precious materials, nor finely crafted (nor crafted at all for that matter), the two things to which Spaniards (given their cultural precepts) responded, they were deemed unimportant and so not preserved (Cobo 1979, 132). The Jesuit Cobo, who used the now missing reports of Polo de Ondegardo as a source, tells us of the fate of the most significant of all royal *wawqi*. It was called Wanakawri, and was the petrified brother of the first Inka ruler. It stood on a hill of the same name just south of Cuzco. Cobo describes the Wanakawri *wawqi* by writing, “era mediana, sin figura y algo ahusada” (it was of moderate size, without representational shape, and somewhat tapering); he indicates that the Spaniards removed “muchasuma de oro y plata, no repararon en el idolo, por ser . . . una piedra tosca” (a great quantity of the gold and silver from this shrine but paid no attention to the idol [that is, the *wawqi*], because it was . . . a rough stone) (1956, 2: 181; 1990, 74). In the sixteenth century, a descendant of Pre-Hispanic Inka royalty (Paullu Inca), took possession of it and housed it near his own dwelling in Cuzco, where it continued to be revered, until the Spaniards finally recognized its sacred character and seized it. Thus, the danger *wawqi* presented to successful conversion to Christianity was only gradually perceived. Spanish priests observed that, early in the colonial period, when a royal descendant of the Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers died, his family members made a *wawqi*, which was venerated just as much as any of the Pre-Hispanic *wawqi*, this despite the fact that the esteemed individual had died a Christian and had been given a church burial.¹⁹ We may deduce that the Inka (even as they became Christian and adopted certain Christian practices such as burying their dead) attempted to maintain their tradition of keeping and interacting with their divine ancestors in the form of their petrous embodiments.

While *wawqi* were commonly referred to by Spaniards as idols and the use of *wawqi* was characterized as idolatry, it should be noted that the concept of idolatry depends on surrogacy. Roman Catholic priests and friars, given their culturally-inscribed notions of idolatry as a confusion of index and prototype—that is, a substitution of an inanimate object for a spirit entity—failed to understand the Andean principle of embodiment, by which spirit moved readily from host to host. While transubstantiation may have eventually become accepted dogma in the Roman Catholic faith, it was highly circumscribed and often controversial. Consider, for example, the long, slow, and difficult history of the belief in transubstantiation, in which the doctrine of the Real Presence was not formally defined by the Vatican until 1215. The feast of Corpus Christi, which celebrates the transubstantiated body of Christ in the consecrated Eucharistic host, was introduced in 1264, but had to be introduced again in 1317, because it was not readily accepted throughout the Catholic world (Dean 1999, 7–8). In

contrast, the Inka and other Andeans enjoyed a widespread and generalized notion of transubstantiation prior to the arrival of the Spaniards. Europeans, however, failed to recognize that the notion of transubstantiation could be, and was, an aspect of Andean philosophy. Although extirpators in viceregal Peru hunted down mummies and petrous embodiments, they never understood the transubstantial *kamay*, which could move freely and could occupy countless hosts. Because there was no Spanish understanding of the Andean notion of embodiment, we have only commentary on the fate of the hosts, the materials which gave substance to the ethereal essence, and even that is, of course, extremely limited. There is no record of what became of the essence of, and no indication of what happened to, the Inka notion of embodiment under Spanish rule, when Europeans introduced their notion of representation. Once the mummies and *wawqi* of the divine ancestors were destroyed, did their disembodied *kamay* dissipate, losing potency over time? Was its power to transubstantiate simply forgotten, and did the Inka and other indigenous Andeans abandon the principle of embodiment? What I offer in the following section are speculative answers to these questions.

Whether by coincidence or not, just a decade after the last of the mummies of Inka rulers were hunted down and destroyed in an effort to extinguish the beliefs pertaining to the dead, and to deny the ancestors any bodily public presence, portraiture was introduced to the Andes. The Pre-Hispanic Inka had made no portraits, in the sense of physiognomic likenesses, of particular people. While it is impossible to say why there was no Pre-Hispanic tradition of Inka portraiture, we can observe that because bodies were actually kept, no surrogate likenesses such as portraits were necessary; there was no absence to disavow. Most scholars trace the origins of Inka portraiture to the highly influential Viceroy Francisco de Toledo, who, in 1572, ordered paintings to be made of the rulers comprising the Pre-Hispanic Inka dynasty.²⁰ He then had them sent to King Philip II of Spain, who housed them in the royal palace in Madrid, where they subsequently burned in the fire of 1734. Since there was no tradition of Pre-Hispanic Inka portraiture for Toledo's artists to draw on, these so-called portraits were primarily depictions of distinctive royal Inka clothing and regalia, as well as indigenous Andean physiognomic types and hair styles. These aspects of the so-called portraits, together with noble pose and carriage, bore the burden of royal signification. Through analogies to the European practice of royal portraiture, these paintings *created* a royal Inka dynasty in the image of European royal lineages and worked to re-fashion Inka rulers into kings whom Europeans could recognize. These series of royal portraits lent a visual face to Spanish versions of Inka history, which was composed of a single line of male rulers.²¹ When visually inscribed in this manner and format, the Pre-Hispanic rulers are clearly objects of European self-reflection.

While we have no real idea of what Toledo's paintings looked like, we

do have other early portrait series, particularly that which illustrated Antonio de Herrera's *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*, published in 1615 (Fig. 4). Some scholars suspect that the Herrera engraving is based on Toledo's portraits. Not long after Toledo commissioned his portrait series, he was emulated by some descendants of Inka royals who themselves recognized value in the visual representation of their deceased ancestors.²² In 1603, this group of Inka noblemen in Cuzco commissioned a painting of the Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers and their descendants that they then sent to Spain as evidence of their royal heritage and, therefore, their claim to rights as nobility under Spanish law (primarily to be exempt from onerous tribute obligations). Unfortunately, their painting—like those of Toledo—no longer exists.²³



Fig. 4. Antonio de Herrera, 1615. “**The Inka Dynasty,**” *Historia general de los hechos de los castellanos*. Work in the public domain.

During the seventeenth century in the Andes, two clear types of Inka royal portraiture emerged.²⁴ In one type, members of the Pre-Hispanic dynasty are replaced by Spanish authorities. They show, either in a single canvas or a series of canvases, a succession of twelve or thirteen Inka rulers. Following the royal Inka lineage is King Charles of Spain (or one of his representatives) who replaces the Inka as rulers of the Andes. A late example of this type of Inka royal portraiture is a series of sixteen paintings which portray the founding couple and the thirteen successive Inka rulers, followed by paintings of the Spanish conquistador Francisco Pizarro who became governor of Peru after toppling the Inka state. Appearing in the lower right, Pizarro literally marks the end of the Inka line (Fig. 5). Dynastic portrait series of this sort worked to reinforce the Spanish regime by underscoring the *end* of the Inka dynasty—the death of the kings. Typically, and not too surprisingly, this genre of painting was commissioned and owned by Hispanics. Dynastic portraits commissioned by Inka owners do not follow this same inevitable march to conquest, and so comprise a second type of dynastic portraiture. Descendants of Inka monarchs sent painting after painting to Spain as evidence of their royal heritage (Gisbert 119). In contrast to dynastic paintings commissioned by non-Andeans, this second type of dynastic portraiture depicts the royal lineage which continues from the Pre-Hispanic era into the viceregal period, in order to demonstrate the clear relationship between the living descendants of rulers and their royal ancestors.



Fig. 5. Anonymous, after 1800. *Inka Dynasty & Francisco Pizarro*. Work in the public domain; photograph courtesy the Denver Art Museum.

Not all portraits of Pre-Hispanic royalty commissioned by indigenous elites were sent to Spain along with petitions, however. In Inka households, paintings of the ruling lineage conforming to the second type of royal portraiture, averred the royal heritage of the residents. In these portraits, too, the line of indigenous kings was most often followed by their colonial descendants. One fairly well-documented series of this sort belonged to the powerful Chiguan Topa family; it consisted of twelve portraits of Inka royals. The series was apparently either originally commissioned, or at least enhanced, by Don Marcos Chiguan Topa, a dominant political figure in eighteenth-century Cuzco, who is the subject of one of the portraits in the series (Fig. 6). The series included not only Pre-Hispanic rulers, but also Don Marcos, himself, and other colonial-period descendants of Inka royalty,

both male and female. The Chiguan Topa family traced their lineage to the Inka ruler Lloque Yupanki, and so the series that hung in their Cuzco residence mapped their royal heritage from that ruler to the time of Don Marcos. Through paintings such as these, colonial Inka nobles sutured themselves to mytho-historical Inka rulers, thereby appropriating the European genre of portraiture in order to keep their ancestors present.



Fig. 6. Anonymous, eighteenth century. *Portrait of Don Marcos Chiguan Topa*. Work in the public domain.

Displays of portraits of a continuous royal line from the founder of a lineage through the living descendants are not unlike the Pre-Hispanic processions, in which the living Inka ruler was accompanied by the mummies of his father, grandfather, great-grandfather, and so on through the progenitor of the royal line. The first Spaniards in the Andes witnessed such a procession of the Inka dynasty, in which the living head of the Inka state was followed by the mummies of his royal ancestors, who were paraded in order, from the most recently deceased to the founder of the lineage (Estete 334).²⁵ As the royal cortege advanced, time receded from the present, to the near past, to times ever more distant. Although the corpses were long gone, portraits of Pre-Hispanic rulers recreated such processions along the corridors and around the rooms of elite Inka homes in the Spanish colonial period. With the portraits of the dead hung next to those of the living, the colonial-period descendants of Inka rulers denied the Spanish invasion its purported power to sever the flow of Inka history by dividing Andean eras into disconnected pre- and post-conquest periods (Dean 1999, 118).

Because many of the Pre-Hispanic ancestors were mythical, Andean canvases can be said to subvert the genre of portraiture (as imported from Europe), in which portrait paintings were generally understood to depict actual, historical individuals. Possessing portraits also replaced the practice of keeping royal corpses and *wawqi*. Painted images of rulers were assembled and displayed in the corridors of colonial Andean homes in ways reminiscent of the gatherings of mummies in the temples and palaces of Pre-Hispanic Cuzco. But questions remain; did representation (i.e., painted likenesses which surrogated absent rulers) replace embodiment (hosted essences) as the principal function of objects associated with the dead? Was the idea of embodiment destroyed along with the royal mummies and the eventual seizure of *wawqi*? Ironically, Spanish festive practices may have inadvertently encouraged the persistence of the idea of embodiment, for, despite the concentrated and earnest activities of extirpators of idolatry, Spaniards actually introduced new embodying media, even as they seized Pre-Hispanic bodies and, eventually, some of the rocks, as well. One such new medium introduced from Europe was oil painting.

Portraits of the Spanish king, rendered in oil paint on cloth, were often used in a way that suggested that the monarch was actually present in the image. The Spanish diarist Josephe de Mugaburu provides numerous vivid eyewitness descriptions of ceremonies in seventeenth-century Lima while he was sergeant of the palace guard there. On one occasion in 1666—when King Charles II would have been just five years old—Mugaburu relates how the portrait of the young Spanish monarch was removed from the council hall in Lima and seated on a throne located outside in the plaza next to the door of the palace. Its appearance in the plaza was heralded by musket and artillery fire, and flag salutes; shouts of praise issued from the crowd, as if Charles, himself, were making an appearance. The portrait, serving for

Spanish viceregal audiences as a surrogate king, then received gifts from Spanish colonial dignitaries (Mugaburu and Mugaburu 105–6). The actions just described were common throughout the Spanish empire where not only portraits, but royal signets and signatures, often surrogated the absent monarch, as well (Rappaport and Cummins). In addition to the reception of the portrait as the king himself by Hispanic residents of Lima, Inka leaders also participated in gift-giving to the king's painted likeness. Inka participants and viewers may well have concluded that the great fuss made over the painting was a demonstration of embodiment, wherein the oil paint and canvas of the portrait hosted the *anima* of the absent monarch. If Europeans commonly failed to distinguish between index and prototype on such occasions, how could the Inka—blissfully unfamiliar with esoteric arguments derived from erudite Christian iconoclast and iconophile positions—have been expected to draw the requisite fine line?²⁶ In practice, representation and embodiment often produce the same behaviors. They are both presentational modes: representation produces presence through substitution, while embodiment creates presence through transubstantiation. One viewer treats the painting *like* the absent ruler, while the other viewer understands the painting to host the essence of the absent ruler, and so *be* the ruler. Although, in the end, both may behave similarly, their underlying presumptions are worlds apart.

In August of 1692, a procession was held in Cuzco in honor of the feast day of the Our Lady of Loreto.²⁷ Inka devotees were led by an indigenous nobleman named Don Diego Sicos Inca, who claimed descent from the royal lineage and wore costume elements, most particularly the Inka imperial headdress with its distinctive scarlet fringe covering the forehead. Wearing this headdress proclaimed him to be a direct descendant of indigenous emperors. Whereas in Pre-Hispanic times the living Inka leader had the mummies of his ancestors as his festive companions, Don Diego Sicos was joined in his viceregal-period cortege by a painted canvas depicting “an Inga in his ancient costume” (Cahill 613). Thus, we must wonder whether it is possible—even likely—that the Inka understood portraiture as a new means of embodiment, of keeping their own royal ancestors around and present, not as substitutes for or evocations of their absent ancestors, but as embodiments of them. While the Inka of the colonial period clearly embraced portraiture, and so seemingly or superficially accepted the notion of representation, we cannot know whether their acceptance of painted portraiture indicated a concomitant rejection of the important principle of embodiment.

Painted portraits of Inka rulers coincide with the enactment of Inka royalty in viceregal festivities. Portraits, such as that of Don Marcos Chiguan Topa discussed above, document the appearance of the subject in festive performances (Fig. 6). In the painting, Don Marcos wears specific regalia not worn in daily life; the headdress he wears, recognizable owing to its distinctive scarlet fringe, is that of the royal Inka. (It is like that worn by

Don Diego Sicos in the procession for the Our Lady of Loreto in 1692 just described.) In Pre-Hispanic times, this headdress was displayed only by the Inka head of state. In Spanish viceregal years, it was donned only for special occasions: the feast day of the patron saint of Spain (Santiago or Saint James), the Corpus Christi celebration, and for other festivities during which the descendants of Inka rulers dressed in the costume of their royal ancestors. We are fortunate to have a series of paintings dating to the final quarter of the seventeenth century that depicts Inka nobles participating in the Corpus Christi procession in Cuzco (Fig. 7).

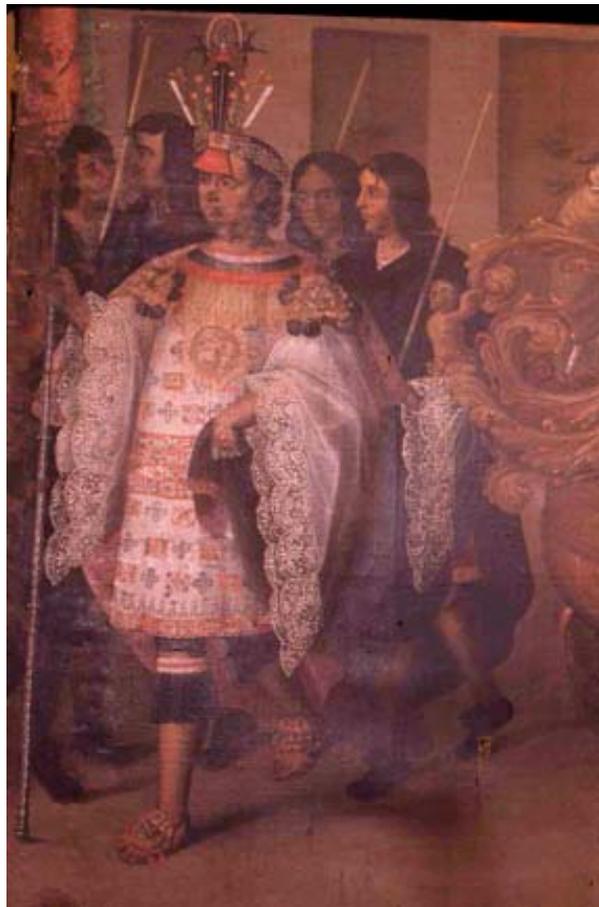


Fig. 7. Anonymous, c. 1675. *Parish of San Sebastián*, detail, Corpus Christi Series (Cuzco, Peru). Work in the public domain.

The canvases feature descendants of Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers dressed in modified royal Inka regalia. They wear finely woven tunics with solar pectorals and headbands featuring the scarlet fringe.²⁸ In addition to these paintings, we have written descriptions of festive occasions for which Inka nobles enacted their royal ancestry. In 1610, for example, Inka leaders in Cuzco resuscitated the Inka royal lineage for a special religious celebration (Cobo 1979, 101; Romero, 1940, 17).²⁹ Significantly, on this occasion, Inka nobles “impersonated” Pre-Hispanic rulers from Manko Qhapaq (Manco Capac), the mythical founder of the Inka state, to Wayna Qhapaq (Huayna Capac), the ruler who died just before the Spanish invasion. The “impersonators” of the eleven Pre-Hispanic monarchs were said to have been the descendants of the rulers whose identities they assumed. Acting as Wayna Qhapaq for this performance, for example, was Don Alonso Tupa Atau (a.k.a. Don Alonso Topaatauchi). Those who took the place of the deceased rulers marched in the order of Pre-Hispanic predecessors, from most recent to most distant in time, just as Inka rulers had once paraded with their ancestral mummies from the most recently deceased to the founder of the dynasty. The historian Sabine MacCormack observes that prior to the confiscation of royal mummies, “the deceased Incas were present in their own bodies, while in 1610, the mummies having been destroyed, they could at best be represented by their kinsmen” (2001, 349). But is representation all that was left? Since the essences of these rulers were transubstantial and could inhabit a variety of hosts, it is not inconceivable that at least some indigenous Andeans perceived the anima of their deceased rulers to be present in the bodies of their closest descendants.

As was the case with portraits, Spaniards introduced to the Andes the practice of festive impersonations such as those just described for Christian celebrations. In so doing, they may well have unwittingly encouraged new instantiations of embodiment. In an Hispanic celebration in Lima in 1724, for example, the new Spanish king, Louis I, was impersonated by a “handsome youth” seated in a throne; not only was the child treated by Hispanic residents of Lima as the king, but he received words of praise and loyalty from members of the indigenous community as well. The latter dressed in the costume of Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers and declared the mock Spanish king to be a true Inka (Romero 1936, 84–89). While in relating this event I have utilized the language of representation, of substitution, we must wonder whether, as each Inka ruler in the person of one of his descendants acknowledged the Spanish king in the person of a costumed youth, he perceived that youth as a festive surrogate of the Spanish king or as an embodiment of the king. Also, we must wonder whether each of these Inka rulers, in the mind of native witnesses, was impersonated or embodied. Spanish recognition of presence in the form of portraits and the bodies of impersonators aligns with Andean ideas of embodiment. Indeed, the

processing of portraits and festive “impersonations” enabled parades of past rulers, like those once comprised of royal cadavers, to continue into the viceregal period. Sacred things were believed to have the ability to possess human beings for periods of time. Could not the sacred dead manifest this ability as well? Were costumed individuals and painted images mere surrogates summoning the specter of long deceased Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers, or were they understood to embody their royal ancestors, bringing them back from the dead for the period of display? The irony that Corpus Christi, in particular, a festival which itself celebrates a certain well known instance of transubstantiation, might have occasioned multiple non-Christian transubstantiations should not be lost on us.

However intriguing the possibility that costumed individuals were performative embodiments of their ancestors, and that painted portraits hosted the essences of the dead, we cannot know what was actually believed. We can, however, be cautious about the ways we characterize colonial indigenous practices, of their use of portraiture and their enactments of Inka royalty. We can avoid closing down interpretive possibilities in the ways we speak and write about the past, employing the lexicon of representation as though it were the fundamental operation of visual culture universally. Certainly, it is possible that the notion of embodiment could have lent vital significance to viceregal evocations of the Pre-Hispanic past. Indeed, the persistence of the idea of embodiment and the transference of essences help us understand the political power attached both to the painted portraits, and to the performed evocations of the Inka dynasty under Spanish colonial control. Late in the eighteenth century, the viceregal government blamed both the paintings and the costumes worn in performance for inciting rebellion, most notably that of José Gabriel Túpac Amaru in the early 1780s. After that uprising, the government restricted or prohibited the display of aristocratic Inka heritage, including the wearing of Inka costume and the display of Inka royal portraits. In April 1782, a *pragmática* was drafted, whereby indigenous Andeans were prohibited from wearing clothing reminiscent of that worn in Pre-Hispanic times by the Inka head of state, as was the display of paintings of Inka royalty; it was ratified in November 1795. Only from a distance of centuries can we suspect that the paintings and the costumes were potent symbols of the Inka state reborn because they were the embodiment of Inka rulers who, despite the best Spanish efforts, refused to die a European death, that is, a death which severed them from the living and denied them a bodily presence in viceregal society. In the lives of their descendants, those who continued to understand embodiment as an imperial Inka imperative, the presence of Inka rulers loomed large long past the period of colonial Spanish occupation.

Notes

1. Pedro Sancho de la Hoz, writing in 1534 regarding the deceased Inka ruler Wayna Qhapaq (Huayna Capac), whom he calls Guarnacaba, says “su cuerpo está en la ciudad del Cuzco, muy entero, envuelto en ricos paños y solamente le falta la punta de la nariz. Hay otras imágenes hechas de yeso o de barro las que solamente tienen los cabellos y uñas que se cortaba y los vestidos que se ponía en vida, y son tan veneradas entre aquellas gentes como si fueran sus dioses. Los sacan con frecuencia a la plaza con músicas y danzas, y se están de día y de noche junto con él, espantándole las moscas” (334) (. . . his body is in the city of Cuzco, very much intact, wrapped in rich textiles, and lacking only the tip of the nose. There are other images, made of plaster or clay, which contain the hair and fingernails that were cut and the clothing that was worn [by the ruler] in life, and they [the mummies and statues] are venerated among these people as if they were gods. Frequently they take them out to the plaza with music and dancing, and they remain with him [the ruler’s mummy] throughout the day and night, shooing away the flies.)
2. For a review of the written sources providing information about the Andean cult of the ancestors and an analysis of that material, see Frank Salomon.
3. The exact manner by which the Inka preserved royal corpses is unknown. Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit chronicler of Inka history and religious practices writing in the mid-seventeenth century, indicates that they used “a certain bitumen and concoction,” (1979, 141) but provides no details. Elsewhere, Cobo mentions “embalming” (1990, 39–40), and other sources tell us that at least some of the internal organs were removed.
4. Mary Ellen Doyle (135–44) discusses the ways Andean ancestors were believed to influence the lives of their descendants in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. While her study focuses specifically on the Archbishopric of Lima, where extirpation campaigns yielded considerable data about the keeping of ancestral cadavers, many of her findings apply more generally to Andean attitudes about and practices concerning the deceased.
5. *Mallki* can be spelled *mallqui* as well as *malki*. I follow Rodolfo Cerrón-Palomino’s dictionary of southern Quechua (1994) for the spelling of all Quechua words used here. Whether a noun is singular or plural, I have opted to utilize its singular form since the Quechua plural (the suffix *-kuna*, e.g., *mallkikuna*) often causes confusion, but adding an “s” (e.g., *mallkis*) creates an awkward bilingualism.
6. Andeans were not unique in understanding death and new life to be necessarily intertwined; see various essays in *Death and the Regeneration of Life* (1982), edited by Maurice Bloch and Jonathan Parry.
7. *Wawqi* is also spelled *huauqui*, *huauque*, *huauqqe*, *huaoqui*, *huoque*, and *guaioqui*. González de Holguín defines “huauqqe” as “hermano de él” (137); Santo Tomás defines “guauquine” as “hermano generalmente” (281).
8. Both Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois and Maarten Van de Guchte identify a sculpted human head in the collection of the Museo de América (Madrid) as part of a *wawqi*. The former concedes that there is no proof of this (414–15n576), and the latter acknowledges that aspects of the image were clearly sculpted in colonial times (261). George Kubler writes, “In 1930 a large stone head which has been thought to represent the Inca Viracocha was excavated at a depth of 8 m. (25 feet) below the pavement of the Jesuit church in Cuzco. This fragment is unique, and it may have been re-cut in the colonial period, with a timid effort to represent the features of a middle-aged man by incisions representing wrinkles” (321). For a discussion of how

the head was discovered as well as some preliminary analysis of it, see Larrea 153–209.

9. The complete passage reads: “Vsaron los Indios nombrar ciertas estatuas, o piedras en su nombre, para que en vida y en muerte se les hiziesse la misma veneración que á ellos. Y cada aylo, ó linage tenía sus Idolos, ó estatuas, de sus Yngas, las quales lleuauan á la guerra y sacauan en processión para alcanzar agua y buenos temporales y les hazían diuersas fiestas y sacrificios. Destos Idolos vuo gran summa en el Cuzco, y en su comarca; entiéndese que á cessado del todo, ó en gran parte la superstición de adorar estas piedras después que se descubrieron” (Polo de Ondegardo 10) (The Indians used to name certain statues or rocks in his [the ruler’s] name in order that both in life and in death they would worship them. Every ayllu or lineage used to have its idols or statues of the Inka rulers which they would carry to war and take in procession in order to secure water and favorable weather, and they used to conduct various feasts and sacrifices [with these statues]. There were a great number of these idols in Cuzco and its surroundings; know that, ever since the discovery of these rocks, they have ceased these practices or largely abandoned the superstition of adoring them).
10. Despite the fact that Polo de Ondegardo implies that all *wawqi* were made of rock (at least all those he discovered), Cobo identifies two of the *wawqi* (which, of course, he never saw) as being of gold. Other chroniclers also claim that one or two of the *wawqi* were of gold (Betanzos 138; Sarmiento 217). Interestingly, none of the gold “brothers” was ever documented by Spaniards who might actually have seen them. It seems likely that reports of Inka gold were greatly exaggerated. Indigenous Andeans, perceiving the Spanish desire for precious metals, not infrequently piqued both the imagination and avarice of the conquistadors by telling them tales of great riches which, not insignificantly, were located elsewhere, and would, thereby, require the Spaniards to move on to more lucrative territory.
11. Colonial-period dictionaries many confuse the terms *kamay* and *samay*. The anonymous dictionary of 1586 translates *zamay* as “breath or spirit” (*aliento*) and the verb *zamaycuni* as “to imbue the spirit” (*infundir el alma*) (Anonymous 29). Santo Tomás (246) and González de Holguín (323–24), the authors of two other early Quechua dictionaries, provide similar definitions for *çamay* and *samay*. *Samay*, when possessed by normally inanimate things, implies an invisible animating essence or breath that may be, but is certainly not necessarily, reflected in form or shape. Many scholars prefer the spelling *camay* (*kamay*) to *samay*, because the term seems to be related to the root *kamaq* and the verb *kamay* meaning to grow, produce, or create.
12. In his instructions for destroying “guacas” (or *waka*, sacred things or places), Albornoz advises would-be extirpators to first seize, and then burn, all precious textiles (*bestidos de cumbe*), for if any of the textiles touched the *waka* (things he terms relics), devotees could recreate the *waka* elsewhere (196).
13. For example, see Cobo (1979, 177) and Betanzos (138, 192, 204, 298).
14. The Inka valued metonymic connections and seemed to have given them greater weight than they did metaphoric comparisons. Most cultures use both—likenesses that operate through visual comparison (i.e., visual metaphor), and elements that are parts of the thing they represent (i.e., material metonym). While Western culture generally prefers metaphor, with portraits being the most basic instantiation, Inka visual culture placed greater importance on material metonym (Dean 2006).
15. According to the semiotician Charles Sanders Peirce (writing in the late nineteenth century), there are three primary types of sign, the smallest unit of meaning: 1) Tokens or symbols, which acquire meaning through shared cultural convention; 2)

- Indices, which have some existential or natural connection with what they represent; and 3) Icons, which resemble what they represent (3:2210–11).
16. For more on the fate of the mummies after they were exhibited in Lima, see Hampe, 1982 and 2003 and Guillén Guillén.
 17. For descriptions and analysis of these records, see Doyle 200–5. See also Pablo Joseph de Arriaga's *La extirpación de la idolatría en el Perú* (1999), which is an early seventeenth-century account of Spanish efforts to eradicate Andean religious practices in central Peru.
 18. Because of their importance, many ethnographers have discussed modern Andean regard for ancestors; see, for example, Doyle 200–243; Allen, 1982; Allen 1988, 23–24, 54–63, 93; and Harris.
 19. Cobo tells us: "Although Paulla [*sic*] Inca [a descendant of Inka royalty and leader of the Inka who remained loyal to the Spaniards after an indigenous uprising] died a Christian and as such was given a church burial, nevertheless, the Indians made a small statue of him. On it, they put some fingernails and hair that they had secretly taken from him. This statue was venerated by them just as much as any of the bodies of their other Inca kings" (1979, 177) (Aunque Paullu-Inca murió cristiano y como tal fué enterrado en la iglesia, con todo eso, los indios le hicieron una estatua pequeña y le pusieron algunas uñas y cabellos que secretamente le quitaron; la cual estatua se halló tan venerada dellos como cualquiera de los otros cuerpos de los reyes Incas); for the Spanish, see Cobo 1956, 2: 103.
 20. For the most comprehensive study of the colonial-period portraits of Pre-Hispanic Inka rulers, see Gisbert 1980, 117–46.
 21. Modern scholarship has raised some serious questions about the historical accuracy of colonial-period accounts of Inka history, including the possibility that Andean rulership was dual. See, in particular, Duviols 1979 and Zuidema 1964 and 1990.
 22. Gisbert suggests that this painting, commissioned by colonial-period Inka nobility, functioned as the model for the Herrera engraving (118–9).
 23. The *mestizo* author Garcilaso de la Vega who was living in Spain and to whom the portraits were sent, received the painting, and passed it (as well as the obligation to present the Inka's petition at court) to Don Melchor Carlos Inca, the grandson of the last Pre-Hispanic Inka ruler (Wayna Qhapaq), who was also in Spain at the time.
 24. For the full argument, see Dean 2005, 79–103.
 25. It is not certain that Estete was actually the author of this particular document; see Franklin Pease G.Y. 1995, 18–20.
 26. For a sense of the intellectual debate regarding idolatry and icons, see Saint Theodore the Studite (1981). Theodore, 759–826 CE, a monk in Constantinople who wrote in defense of the veneration of icons favored the reverence of icons, but was careful to distinguish between the essence of sacred entities and the representations of them.
 27. See Cahill for a complete description and analysis of this procession.
 28. Indigenous costume elements have been modified to suit Spanish tastes and customs. Breeches have been added to the costume, as have lace sleeves; jewels adorn the colonial headdress. As I have discussed in depth elsewhere, these accommodations were made in order to communicate the subject's noble heritage in ways that both Spanish authorities and Andean constituents could readily comprehend (Dean 1999, 97–170). The composite costumes articulated the subjects' key role as mediators between Spanish authorities and Andean commoners.
 29. This was not the first occasion on which the royal Inka lineage had been performatively actuated. The first recorded procession occurred in the Bolivian mining center of Potosí in April 1555 (Arzáns de Orsúa y Vela 1: 96).

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