

Building the Site of Power

The Construction of an Archaeological Object in the Andean Highlands



Abstract

This paper examines the way that archaeological discourse creates its object in a manner which subsequently legitimises archaeological intervention and control of Andean 'historic' sites. Focussing specifically on the excavations undertaken in one city, Huanuco Pampa, and framing the subsequent discourse phenomenologically, it is demonstrated that archaeological engagement renders specific aspects of the site more visible than others, and that this inscription is epitomised in maps which, it is further argued, can be regarded as instruments of power. The themes of power and discourse, visibility, and subjective engagement continue in the argument that archaeological theories of material culture construct a, possibly mythic, image of an 'advanced' Incan past and portray the current residents of the site as a 'fallen' race. It is further contended that, by firmly embedding these residents in 'nature', the discourse enables archaeology to use their own material culture and history to fashion themselves as 'culture'. Thus it is demonstrated that the discourse not only constructs a dualism between archaeology and the Andean peasantry, but does so in a manner which creates a problem, the ruined 'historic' site and the neglectful local residents, and a solution, the skills and knowledge of archaeology. The role that archaeological discourse plays in the construction and perpetuation of power relations is thereby demonstrated, and the discussion concludes by situating this thesis within a broader context regarding the nature of power, institutional norms and the potential for contestation.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

The ruins of Huanuco Pampa sit on a plain in the Peruvian Andes, 3,800 metres above sea level, 12 kilometres from the nearest town and isolated from any major roads (Morris and Thompson 1985). The two decades of archaeological excavations that occurred at the ruined Incan citadel appear to be the epitome of objective, scientific research; grids were laid, trenches dug, artefacts carefully logged and packaged for the onward journey to the laboratory. There they were carbon-dated and scrutinised, and the results, alongside the maps, charts and drawings of the site's architecture were used to draw the conclusions that feed the record of archaeological knowledge. Hence new arguments on Incan society were proposed, arguments that seem to be founded on the material evidence that the once 'lost city' of Huanuco Pampa had disclosed.

This paper unpacks this textual discourse in order to contend that the archaeological representation of Huanuco Pampa is constructed in a manner that enables the archaeological team to intervene and control the site, an exercise in power that consequently shapes the portrayal of themselves alongside the site's past and present occupants. Drawing its theoretical inspiration from both Heidegger and Foucault, it aims to demonstrate that archaeological activity is subjected to the prevailing values and practices of the discipline, and that these work in a dialectical process to both create the object of archaeology's interest and constitute its institutional authority. The key objective is not, however, to examine the extent to which these archaeological representations are accurate, but rather to explore how and

why specific aspects are rendered visible, whilst others are receded. Thus while the relationship between discourse and power is the central theme of this work; representation of the 'other', self-fashioning, and the role of material culture will also be touched upon.

The importance of this topic has been highlighted by Ahmed and Shore (1995), whose discussion of the relevance of anthropology stresses the need to 'study up' and explore the processes 'at home' which generate interest in other societies. Although the areas of development, tourism and history are all being increasingly examined, anthropology rarely casts a critical eye over its disciplinary neighbour (Gosden 1999) and archaeology itself displays a "shocking...lack of self-reflexivity or awareness" (Tilley 1990: 325). Moreover, with the exception of the *One World Archaeology* series (cf Gathercole and Lowenthal 1989), the discipline rarely produces any work that assesses its own politics and power relationships and therefore an interdisciplinary approach, in which archaeological knowledge of the Andes is investigated within the context of ethnography, anthropological theory, and historical sources is taken in this paper.

In order to unpack the detail of this material, the focus is directed at one site of archaeological activity, the Incan city of Huanuco Pampa, and consequently the primary material assessed comprises of a number of key reports produced by the two lead archaeologists at the excavations, although these will also be situated, when necessary, within the context of other archaeological reports in the region.

Chapter 2 Shaping the City

2.1 Bringing the Site into Being

Archaeological excavations are, by their very nature, physical, (Renfrew and Bahn 2000) and the investigations at Huanuco Pampa are no different. In addition to the collections made from the surface, over one thousand trenches were dug, and the earth removed and sifted manually to expose building foundations, pottery shards, and other 'finds' (Morris and Thompson 1985: 61). These techniques bring the archaeological team into close contact with the material aspects of Huanuco Pampa, and it can be argued that this engagement inscribes their activity onto the site and thus effectively brings it into being in a manner shaped by archaeological interests.

This phenomenological perspective has been advocated by Heidegger (1971), who disputed the Cartesian dualism of the thinking mind and disengaged body to argue that our understanding of the world is constructed through our physical interaction with it. He explains this through the concepts of dwelling and building, and argues that individuals-in-the-world, *Dasein*¹, 'dwell' in a 'background' of practices, relations, and objects, and that the process of 'building' brings certain elements of this background to the fore and into being. This thesis is demonstrated by the example of a bridge crossing a stream, which Heidegger explains constitutes, rather than connects, two existing banks by 'gathering' the landscape around it.

¹ *Dasein* is Heidegger's term for human beings, whom he argues (1962) are 'thrown' into the world and continually interpret and engage with entities within it.

He concludes;

the banks emerge as banks only as the bridge crosses the stream.

The bridge designedly causes them to lie across from each other....The bridge *gathers* the earth as landscape around the stream (1971: 152, emphasis author's own).

This concept, when applied to archaeological excavations, suggests that the very practical engagement that archaeologists have with the site effectively constructs it for them, as the digging and clearing that they partake in not only 'gathers' the site around them, but also brings certain elements to the fore. This process is explicit at Huanuco Pampa where the scale of the site resulted in the need for sampling (Morris 1975, Morris and Thompson 1970, 1985), which meant that only three hundred (Morris and Thompson 1985: 73) of the estimated four thousand buildings were investigated (Morris and Murra 1976: 273). Moreover the archaeological team constructed a number of physical boundaries to protect the site and reconstructed the access routes and traffic flows (Morris and Thompson 1985: 69), a process which Heidegger argues facilitates the creation of a place from space. He states;

a boundary is not that at which something stops, but as the Greeks recognised, the boundary is that from which something *begins its presencing* (1971: 154, emphasis author's own).

Consequently it can be argued that the physical engagement of uncovering and reconstructing walls, boundaries and foundations brings them out of the background and into 'being', and that this process facilitates the construction of Huanuco Pampa as an archaeological place.

It seems that this process continues to the naming and mapping of the site onto paper as Heidegger's thesis also indicates that these activities should be regarded as a physical, rather than a mental, form of engagement and he further states that language is the primary mode in which objects are brought into 'being' (1993: 401). Weiner (1991) and Feld (1996) both utilise this concept in their respective studies of the Foi and the neighbouring Bosavi (Papua New Guinea) to demonstrate that the naming of locations in songs and poetry make selective aspects of the landscape more visible than others, and that in doing so, the environment is shaped in a culturally specific manner². This highlights the role that bestowing a name plays in demarcating a location as a discrete, valorised entity, a process that would seem to be explicit at Huanuco Pampa as the name distinguishes the site from the surrounding environment and the neighbouring Spanish settlement of Huanuco Viejo (Morris and Thompson 1985: 56).

However Weiner states that "all of our...movements and actions...mark out the world in the same way as does our lexical labelling" (1991: 31), an argument that suggests that, as speaking can be regarded as a physical activity (Heidegger 1993), drawing and writing can also be viewed in the same way. This perspective has also been highlighted by Tilley (1994), who states that "space is socially produced" (ibid: 10), and argues that bodily movements and activities facilitate this production by constructing boundaries. Although it does not specifically address the issue of charting and drawing directly, this body of phenomenological work implies that the physical act of drawing a map of Huanuco Pampa on to paper and physically interacting with it are akin, a

² See also Hoffman (2002) who draws similar conclusions regarding the Ishelhin in Morocco.

conclusion which subsequently suggests that Heidegger's (1971) perspective on boundaries can be extended. Thus it seems that the site does not solely come into being through the erection of physical boundaries, but is also constituted by the drawing of a line on an archaeological grid. Huanuco Pampa is thus constructed in both the material and discursive worlds.

Map-making in this manner has generally been regarded as dichotomous from physical engagement with the environment, primarily because the Cartesian notion of the disengaged thinking subject ensures that it is regarded as a theoretical activity (Casey 1996). Ingold (2000) challenges this perspective and highlights the existence of the 'cartographic illusion' (ibid: 234) by arguing that, although maps and charts are presented as reified and static documents, they are constructed by dynamic interaction. He explains that in order to record the world it has to be moved through and that this process of physical engagement, which enables certain elements to be presented whilst receding others into the background, is removed by the map-making techniques preferred in the Western cartographic tradition. Therefore he challenges the established dichotomy by demonstrating that maps and charts bring locations into being because they are the manifest result of interaction with the environment, and this, coupled with the conclusions of Weiner (1991) and Tilley (1994) implies that the process of making a map is not only a physical act in itself, but one that epitomises individual engagement with the world.

Thus in the archaeological context it can be argued that creating a map of Huanuco Pampa embodies the archaeologists' engagement, as it makes the

aspects of the site that their physical interaction has brought to the fore visible to others. This conclusion resonates with both Weiner's (1991) and Feld's (1996) accounts as it seems that maps and charts perform, in part, a similar function for archaeologists, as songs and poetry do for the Foi and Bosavi; they provide the means to constitute the world by rendering specific elements visible within it³.

2.2 Framing the Site

As human interest is inscribed onto the world and maps through a process of selection, it would seem that this selection has to be guided in some way. Heidegger (1962) argues that it is the background in which *Dasein* dwells that determines which aspects are brought forward, a point which Dreyfus (1991) defines by explaining that the

shared everyday skills, discriminations, and practices into which we are socialized provide the conditions necessary for people to pick out objects (ibid: 4).

Thus Heidegger (1962) claims that *Dasein* does not perceive non-significant parts of the world and then superimpose value and signification, but rather that parts of the world are selected because they are significant and valued; *Dasein* is an 'engaged agent' whose engagement is determined by desires. He concludes;

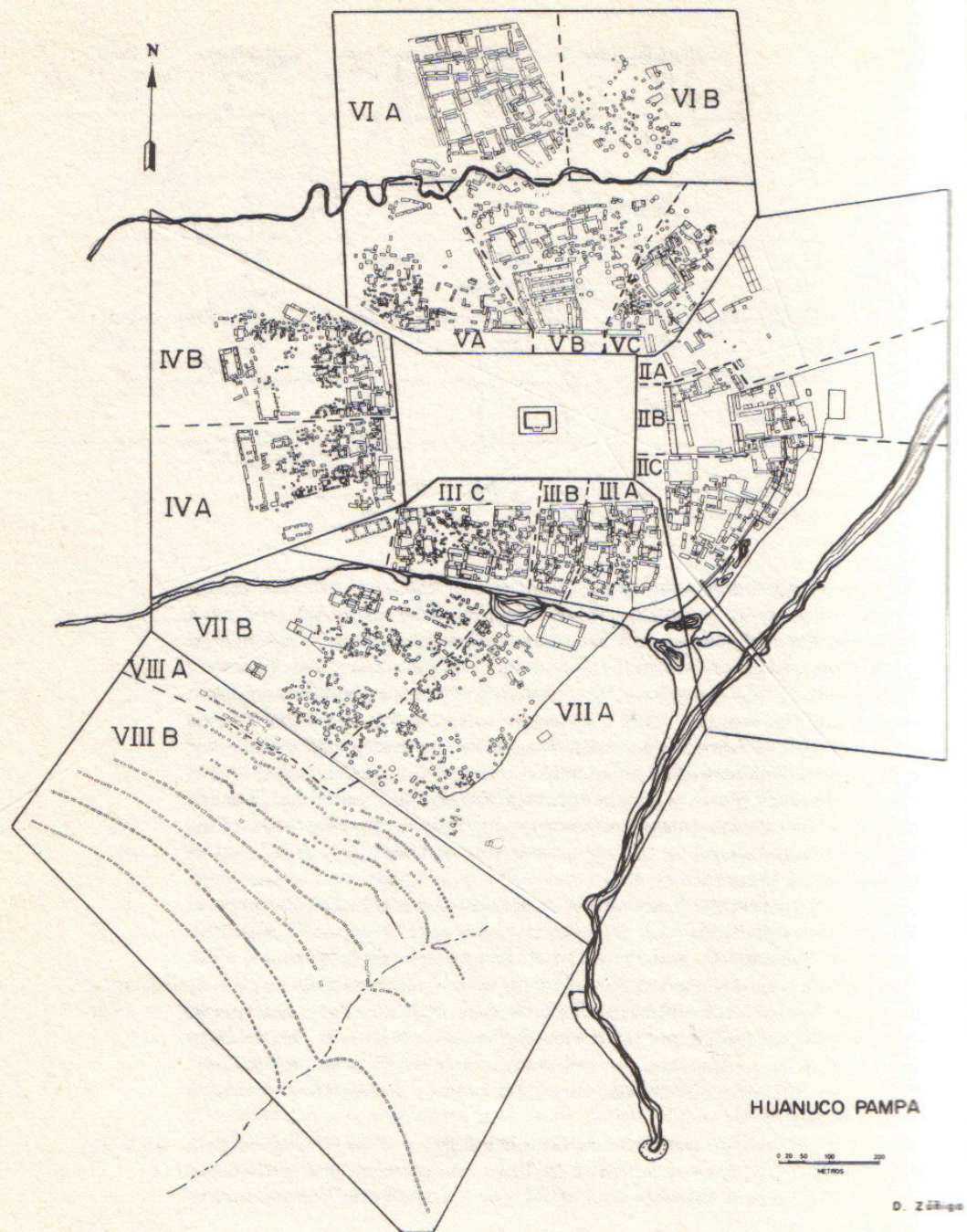
³ This conclusion is not to state that there is a direct parallel between the role that maps play for the archaeological team at Huanuco Pampa and the performance of songs as both Weiner's and Feld's ethnographies highlight that they provide the Foi and Bosavi with a connection with the land and ancestral spirits by providing an outlet for social memory. There is no direct evidence to suggest that this is the case for archaeology.

we do not...throw a signification over some naked thing which is present-at-hand...the thing in question already has an involvement which is disclosed in our understanding of the world, and this involvement is one which gets laid out by the interpretation (1962: 150)

Feld's (1996) ethnography again develops this concept by exploring the reasons why certain aspects of the Bosavi landscape, but not others, are valued in songs and poetry. By obtaining the detailed meaning behind place names⁴, he demonstrates that parts of the landscape are selected as significant because of the Bosavi activity that occurred in the location, rather than it being chosen because of its physical attributes and value being placed upon it after selection. Thus he determines that the Bosavi are engaged agents whose place names are shaped by their interest in the world, a conclusion that demonstrates that the process of selection is subjective and influenced by the Bosavi background. Although the Bosavi are culturally distant from the archaeological team at Huanuco Pampa, it would seem this concept of subjective selection can also be applied to the latter's narratives as an in-depth reading and comparison with wider Andean archaeological accounts indicates that only certain elements of the site are included. This is exemplified by the map of the site in figure 1 overleaf.

⁴ For example he explains one place name as meaning "a man named Gaso, Wasoba's father's father, a man of clan Wabisi, well, long ago, having left Mulama, staying here by the Yolo he built a big house, later he quit it, left to stay at Nageba:da:n, that's all" (1996: 111)

Figure 1: Plan of Huanuco Pampa showing Archaeological Zones
(from Morris and Thompson 1985: 78)



Key to Zones

Ceremonial Centres
Supposed Barracks
Storage Areas

central area, IIA, IIB and IIC (to the right)
VA, VB, VC, VIA (above central area)
all other zones

(from Morris and Thompson 1985)

The most striking feature of the map is the centrality of the large platform, the *ushnu*, and its surrounding open space that Morris and Thompson conclude is a plaza for state-sponsored public ceremonies (1985: 58). All other buildings are depicted as radiating out from this space and the focus throughout the discourse are on those that are believed to perform a public function, hence storehouses (Morris 1978, 1982, 1992), barracks (Morris 1972, 1982) and state-ceremonial sites (Morris 1972, Morris and Thompson 1970, 1985) receive more attention than others. It seems that domestic buildings are generally marginalised and even those which are recognised are still portrayed as state controlled and fulfilling a public function (Morris 1974, 1982). Moreover Morris and Thompson state that there are numerous outlying villages, some which are still occupied (1985: 18), yet these do not appear on any maps, as neither do the pre-Incan remains that are also located on and near the site (ibid: 56). Other exclusions include the archaeologists' and workers' own lodgings, excavation trenches and unexcavated areas, and there is no distinction made between buildings which are still standing and those for which only foundations have been identified. Whilst this outline of inclusions and exclusions is not exhaustive, it does uphold Ingold's (2000) conclusion that individual inscription is removed from maps, and also demonstrates that the archaeological mapping of Huanuco Pampa selectively constructs an image of a site that consists of unoccupied, Incan, public architecture.

This centrality of public architecture is a common theme amongst a number of other archaeological accounts of Incan citadels (cf H. Bingham 1951, Hyslop 1990, Julien 1983, Moore 1996, Savoy 1971), and they frequently seem to

marginalise domestic dwellings constructed by less complex masonry techniques, a point made by Niles (1987) in her introduction of the anomalous Callachaca residential site,

this kind of [residential] group.....is unimposing and has consequently been ignored by archaeologists, who find their attention drawn to the many more spectacular Inca remains (ibid: 25).

Therefore it seems conclusive that the archaeological team working at Huanuco Pampa are selecting specific aspects of the site and feeding them into the textual discourse, a conclusion that implies that the charting is not an accurate reflection of the reality, but rather a subjective interpretation.

This perspective is advocated by Turnbull (1993) who argues that maps should be regarded as cultural constructs rather than objective entities. He compares Australian Aboriginal to Western Ordinance survey maps in order to interrogate the hidden meanings and assumptions intrinsic to map-making methods and demonstrates that they are predicated on subjective interpretations of the world. Thus his work demonstrates that there are other methods of depicting the world, and that the archaeological method of presenting Huanuco Pampa is just one of many possibilities. Turnbull's conclusion is echoed by Black who states that the map-maker should be regarded "as creator rather than reflector" (1997: 11) and by Wood who argues that maps are "historically contingent sign systems" (1992: 2) that perpetuate the myth that they are depicting reality.

However the wholesale application of this argument to the site of Huanuco Pampa seems problematic, as Wood states, in the style of Baudrillard's (1994) '*simulacra*', that maps are detached from the site that they seek to represent. This suggests that any claims to the authority and authenticity of the charts of Huanuco Pampa are validated primarily through the discourse and the archaeological institution, rather than the materiality of the site. This will be explored in greater detail in chapter seven, but it would seem that, as the aspects that are mapped do exist materially, discourse and materiality are not completely removed from each other. This latter perspective is presented by Gell (1985) whose central argument, that maps contain non-indexical statements which are true wherever the reader is located, (1985: 278), initially seems irreconcilable with Wood's (1992) notion of disengagement. However Heidegger's (1962) argument that *Dasein*'s engagement is finite indicates that this is not the case as he maintains that *Dasein* is presented with a number of possibilities from which s/he constructs the world, thus it is not conjured out of a void, but rather created from a partial selection of the whole⁵.

It therefore seems that the maps of Huanuco Pampa are simultaneously founded on material reality and culturally constructed, as the reality that is depicted is fragmented by the archaeological team's personal engagement with the site. As Black confirms;

a map is a show, a representation. What is shown is real, but that does not imply any completeness or entail any absence of choice in selection and representation (1997: 11).

⁵ See Ingold (2000) for a more detailed discussion regarding Gell (1985), the phenomenological perspective, mapping and map-making.

Therefore it seems that archaeologists 'make' the site of Huanuco Pampa by selecting elements that are important to them and making those visible through plans and maps.

2.3 Maps and Power

The way that the mapping and charting of the site makes certain elements of it more visible than others can be regarded as an exercise in power, as Foucault's (1989) association between discourse and power demonstrates. He extends the phenomenological concept of foreground and background by framing it within the context of power relations, and thus argues that the process of rendering an aspect visible or invisible is a form of power either for self or over others⁶. Moreover Foucault states that "space is fundamental in any exercise of power" (1984: 252), and argues that the production of space and those within it is enabled and perpetuated by power relations, an argument that implies that the archaeological shaping of Huanuco Pampa, both by physical interaction and through the creation of maps, provides archaeologists with the means in which to constitute their own power.

The role that maps play in constructing and perpetuating power relations has been highlighted by Wood who refers to the process of selecting the material elements to be included as 'interested selectivity' (1992: 1), with the key term being 'interest'. He explains that this selection is a *conscious* process that helps promote the interest of the groups making the maps, and claims that the actors 'conspire' (ibid: 2) to mask their engagement by presenting maps as

⁶ This is illustrated in Tsing's (1993) ethnography in which she demonstrates that the hiding of a dead child's body and subsequent silence provided women with the means to assert their own individual authority over men.

accurate reflections. Thus he embeds Ingold's (2000) aforementioned concept of 'cartographic illusion' within a framework of power relations and conspiracy theories, a perspective also evident in the work of Harley (1988). He explicitly argues that cartography developed with the growth of the State and that maps enabled the acquisition and maintenance of power by performing both a practical and symbolic role in the declaration of territorial rights. This assertion of territory does seem to be explicit in the maps of Huanuco Pampa, particularly in the way it is divided arbitrarily⁷ and overlaid with Roman numerals and plot numbers (figure 1).

This stance has been extended further by Wood (1992) who emphasises that maps help constitute land as property,

there is nothing in the trees or grass, on the sidewalk or street, to mark the ownership the map grants us (the *land* is there: it is the *property* the map creates) (ibid: 9, emphasis author's own).

Wood's argument therefore suggests that the mapping of Huanuco Pampa not only constructs the site as an archaeological object which facilitates the assertion of power and control, but also constitutes it as the property of the archaeologist. However, whilst this may be the case theoretically, legally and practically it is problematic as it has been highlighted that for private property to be substantiated as such, it needs to be verified by another individual or governing body, normally the State (Engels 1972). The question as to whether discourse can facilitate this verification will be discussed in chapter seven, but

⁷ Morris and Thompson state that their plot divisions were only partly indicated by the layout of the site itself, and were ultimately determined by archaeological practicalities and interests (1985: 72)

it does seem that even without it, ownership of Huanuco Pampa is implied as it is shaped by archaeological interest and overlaid with territorial signifiers, thus the archaeological engagement with the site can be regarded as contributing to archaeological power. As this engagement appears to be subjective and governed by the 'background' in which archaeologists 'dwell', this conclusion raises the questions concerning the nature of the background and the reasons behind the selection of specific architectural characteristics; questions that can be partially answered by the conclusions that the archaeologists draw regarding Incan history.

Chapter 3: Creating the Glorious Inca Past

3.1 'Advanced' Architecture and 'Civilised' Societies.

Accounts of a 'great' Inca empire, which was politically, economically and technologically 'advanced', are not difficult to locate in the Western historical record (cf Collier et al 1982) and the use of architecture as a representative mode seems to facilitate the construction of this particular image of Andean society. Archaeology as a discipline is premised on the notion that material objects provide the means to understand the social organisation of the culture that produced them (Renfrew and Bahn 2000), a theoretical framework which seems to be rather uni-directional in Andean narratives, as the focus is generally on the social production of the built environment rather than their social reproductive capability (Moore 1996). Consequently the central tenet of the archaeological theory of Inca citadels is the Durkheimian (1915) notion that architectural form can be regarded as a mirror which reflects the society that produced it.

This theoretical tradition can be traced back to the influence of Boas (1897), whose student, Kroeber (1952) and subsequent Berkeley School (Menzel 1977, Rowe 1962), view the built environment through an aesthetic lens and use architectural patterns to plot the growth, expansion and decline of Andean cultural traditions. Ironically, considering Boas' relativist stance, value-statements, which assess the quality of the buildings through a Western aesthetic and engineering perspective, are inherent within these Andean accounts, and they subsequently create typologies, rank sites and assess the complexity of the society which produced it (Moore 1996: 14). Thus an

evolutionary approach, which Moore states “views the scale of public architecture as an index of socio-political complexity” (1996: 14), is taken; ‘fine’ architecture is equated to ‘civilised’ society. The drawing of a direct relationship between the built environment and civilisation is not uncommon in Western academic discourse. Wilson (1988) makes a distinction between societies that have architecture and those that do not, and argues that the former have ‘culture’, whilst Hall’s (1998) review of ‘great’ cities in history demonstrates that cities are perceived to be the locus for civilisation and cultural ‘development’.

This theoretical paradigm seems to be invoked in the accounts of Huanuco Pampa as the architecture in the Eastern sector is referred to as ‘fine (Morris 1982: 164), and the argument made that areas of dressed stone masonry and its graduations in ‘quality’ demonstrate the existence of a complex, highly organised society (Hyslop 1990, Morris 1982, Morris and Thompson 1970, 1985). Moreover Morris concludes that the architectural form of the site is “a ‘mirror of history’ which reflects the character of societies and their institutions” (1988: 235). The previous chapter highlighted the prolific nature of ceremonial plazas, barracks and storehouses and therefore it is perhaps not surprising that the archaeological team draw the conclusion that the masonry and layout of the space reflects efficient political administration (Morris 1978, 1982), military organisation (Morris 1982, Morris and Murra 1976), and a productive economic mode (Morris 1982, 1978, 1992). The summary of the activities that occurred at Huanuco Pampa concludes;

warfare, both real and ritual, was certainly an element. The use of religion to legitimize authority was also important, and there are

suggestions that a state ideology was involved. Economic factors were also central to the overall administrative strategy (Morris and Thompson 1985: 166)

The archaeological team at Huanuco Pampa are not alone in identifying these traits as other excavations on similar sites have also drawn parallel conclusions (H. Bingham 1951, Julien 1983, LeVine 1992, Moseley 1992), and the thesis is exemplified by Hyslop's (1990) review of Inca settlements which is structured into the chapters, 'the centre', 'military settlements', 'water management' and 'agricultural production and storage'.

These aspects of society, coupled with examples of 'fine' masonry, therefore seem to be utilised in drawing the conclusion that Incan society was 'advanced' and 'civilised' and as the accounts of Hall (1998) and Wilson (1988) highlight this assertion is subsequently associated with 'culture'. The automatic equation between these societal elements and culture is problematic and subjective, and in this respect the accounts of Huanuco Pampa can be regarded as rather ethnocentric. The possible reasons why these elements over others are emphasized and associated with culture will be discussed in chapter five, but it does initially seem evident that the archaeological narratives of Huanuco Pampa construct, through a selective representation of the built environment, an image of an advanced civilised Incan society.

However the narratives not only present the materiality of the site as evidence that enable conclusions to be drawn, but also suggest that the conclusions are made after the site has been uncovered. This depiction seems misleading

as the phenomenological perspective taken in the previous chapter demonstrates that the process of selection is grounded in the desires and objectives of the archaeologists and that valorisation is made before, not after, aspects of the site are made visible. This suggests that the theoretical framework used forms part of the archaeological 'background' (Heidegger 1962), and guides the archaeologists' engagement and their selection of specific architectural characteristics. Thus the theory that a direct relationship exists between the complexity of the built environment and the complexity of the builders, can be regarded as not only framing Incan citadels, but also determining which aspects of it are made visible through archaeological engagement.

The process of guided selection also seems to continue through to the use of theory itself as Lawrence and Low's (1990) review of built environment theories demonstrates that the functionalist-evolutionist paradigm is not the only concept available to archaeologists. They highlight that there are a number of other ways that Andean architecture can be assessed, and explore symbolic approaches, which focuses on the meaning imbued in the built form, and cognitive perspectives, which attempt to understand how architecture locates the individual and extends the concept of self. Both of these theories have been utilised in other archaeological contexts (cf Hodder 1989, Tilley 1990) and Tilley asks,

why is it that, given there are an almost infinite number of aspects of material culture patterning to be discussed, only a limited number of statements tend to be made, disseminated in various ways, and repeated? (1990: 336).

This suggests that the theory *per se* is not part of the archaeological background, but that the values that determine its use and original conception are. These values will be explored in greater depth in chapter five but it does appear that these are related to notions of civilisation and culture. Therefore it can be seen that the archaeological background determines the selection, not only on a theoretical, but also a practical level, and that this subsequently facilitates the construction of the 'advanced' Inca society at Huanuco Pampa by presenting fragments of public, 'high quality', architecture as representative of the whole, and associating these with culture.

3.2 The 'Great' Incan Civilisation.

The conclusion that an advanced Incan society is an archaeological construct could imply that the depiction is disengaged from the historical reality that it seeks to represent and thus the concept of 'great Inca empire' could be seen to take on an almost legendary or mythic form. Yet it initially appears that the account of Huanuco Pampa is not removed from historical reality at all as contemporary sources verify the accuracy of the narrative. As contemporary verbal history was re-edited or obliterated when a new Incan monarch ascended to the throne and there are no written forms that can be deciphered existing today⁸ (Davies 1997: 1-7), all the accounts of the period were compiled by the colonising Spaniards, the most prolific of these being Cieza de Leon. He describes the citadel at Huanuco Pampa as a "fine royal edifice, the stones of which are large and accurately set" (in Markham 1864: 284) and

⁸ Incan bureaucratic records were kept in the form of a *quipu*, a system of knotted ropes that are believed to be an accounting system (Ascher and Ascher 1981)

highlights that there were “many virgins and priests” (1864: 284), and tribute collectors at the site. Moreover he states that there were “royal store houses” (ibid: 285) and that a large proportion of the population had been brought together by wars.

However this account can also be viewed as culturally framed, as it would seem logical that archaeologists are not the only actors whose engagement with Incan society is determined by their background, but that the chroniclers were also governed by their social values. This has been highlighted by Davies (1997: 5-7) who argues that the accounts were framed by the political agenda of legitimising the Spanish conquest and demonstrates that the Spaniards did not have the social or linguistic categories to deal with Incan society. Moreover Cohn (1987) argues that Western historical narratives should not be regarded as objective accounts, but are themselves cultural artefacts which are shaped by the biases and values of the authors. Therefore it would seem that from its commencement, European written narratives regarding Incan society rendered certain elements visible, whilst excluding others.

The way that early accounts have acted as a foundation for a misleading version of Inca and post-conquest Andean history has been demonstrated by Harris (1995). She states that ‘*the Coming of the White People*’, is generally regarded as a significant rupture in Andean history⁹ but explains that a close reading of the accounts ‘against the grain’ suggests that, for the Bolivians the

⁹ Morris and Thompson’s (1985) accounts epitomises this Eurocentric approach as they state that from November 1532, the date that Pizarro’s troops ambushed the Incan king, Atahualpa, life changed dramatically for the Andean population (ibid: 19).

process was more continuous as they assimilated the colonisers into the same social category as the Incan rulers. This argument not only demonstrates that the accounts were constructed by the colonisers in a manner which promoted their own political agenda, but also explains that this has facilitated the perpetuation of the notion that 'the conquest' is a significant event to all parties involved. Consequently Harris highlights that the arrival of Columbus in the Americas in 1492 signifies a radical break in Latin American history and has taken on mythic proportions within Western historical consciousness, a conclusion that resonates with Obeyesekere's (1997) conclusions regarding '*The Apotheosis of Captain Cook*'.

Obeyesekere critiques Sahlins' (1985) assertion that the Hawaiians saw Cook as the god Lono by arguing that Sahlins' reading of the texts was framed by his own European prejudices that pre-disposed him to view non-European cultures as spiritual and irrational, and Western colonisers as civilising. Thus Obeyesekere highlights the existence of 'myth-models' (1997: 8) in Western academic discourse and states

one of my basic assumptions is that mythmaking, which scholars assume to be primarily an activity of non-Western societies, is equally prolific in European thought (ibid: 10)

The conclusions of Harris and Obeyesekere do not demonstrate that the notion of an advanced, Incan society is a culturally constructed myth of European derivation, but they do open up the possibility that it may not be as factually 'true' as archaeological accounts present it to be. However the Huanuco Pampa narratives can be seen to differ in their use of the built environment to

support their depiction of an advanced Incan society, and whilst this depiction may be partial, its partiality is based on the materiality of the site; the storehouses, ceremonial plaza and barracks do exist. As highlighted earlier, in archaeological theory this existence is generally regarded as substantive and Levi-Strauss (2001) suggests that the difference between myth and history is material evidence when he discusses “the account of a mythical or perhaps historical – I don’t know which, perhaps archaeology will settle the matter – time” (ibid: 33)

But whilst the barracks, plaza, and storehouses exist, it has also been demonstrated that the functions that they are seen to perform are not only subjected to the values of the archaeological ‘background’ (Heidegger 1971), but are also selected *because* of this background. It is the archaeologist who interprets the large open space as the site of state-sponsored ceremonies, and the rectangular buildings as barracks, for as Tilley states “the *meaning* of material culture is created”, not automatically inherent (1990: 332, emphasis authors own). This indicates that the visibility of specific material characteristics contributes to the perpetuation of a pre-existing image of Incan society, rather than providing the means for the archaeological team to draw their own conclusions. This argument again does not prove that the ‘great Inca empire’ can be regarded as a myth it merely suggests that, contrary to Levi-Strauss, material evidence does not prove that a myth is founded on historical reality but can rather potentially perpetuate a myth that is not.

Therefore it would appear that the hypothesis that the ‘great Inca empire’ is a mythic archaeological construction can neither be proved nor disproved, but it does seem that archaeological narratives of Huanuco Pampa perpetuate the

notion through a selective engagement and theoretical interpretation of the site. Furthermore this engagement appears to be influenced by the background of values in which the archaeological team 'dwell' (Heidegger 1962). This conclusion does however raise further questions regarding the effects of this European representation of the Andean past, specifically in relation to the way it facilitates archaeological control over the site, a query that an analysis of the way the current population are represented goes some way to answering.

Chapter 4 Constructing the Local Community

4.1 The Static, Uncultured Peasant

The representation of the current population is in stark contrast to the depiction of the Incan past. Andeans are not prolific in the accounts of Huanuco Pampa (Morris 1972, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1988, 1992, Morris and Murra 1976, Morris and Thompson 1970) and as the site is in a rural location, those that are acknowledged tend to be classified as peasants (Morris and Thompson 1985). However it seems that the discourse brings specific elements of peasant life, particularly those that facilitate their representation as ‘uncultured’, to the fore, thus unskilled agricultural labour, ‘superstitious’ beliefs and continuous lineage are rendered visible whilst mixed-race *mestizos* and the *intelligensia* are receded into the background.

The discussion of the local peasantry at Huanuco Pampa stresses the continuous nature of agricultural activity in the region by highlighting that the same terraces have been worked since the Inca period and that the methods used have not changed or ‘developed’ in any way. Morris and Thompson’s (1985) account illustrates this by highlighting that the potato storage system excavated is the same, albeit larger and more complex, as the one found in a local peasant’s storehouse, whilst their description of the local community concludes that “most were farmers who till the soil with methods similar to those of pre-European times” (ibid: 16). This statement not only emphasises agricultural continuity, but also clearly exemplifies the Eurocentric value judgement that is inherent within the discourse as the arrival of Europeans becomes the key point of reference, a problematic perspective highlighted by

Harris (1995) in the previous chapter. However Morris and Thompson do emphasise the level of skill and environmental knowledge that is possessed by the peasantry, for example they point out the in-depth understanding of soil variations that the peasants possess (1985: 16). Yet it seems this acknowledgement again emphasises continuities with the past and highlights the local population's close association with nature, as Morris and Thompson's statement, "there is an understanding of the environment that can only come as the accumulated knowledge of centuries" (1985: 18) testifies. Moreover the account stresses the small-scale nature of farming in the Andes and associated hardship endured by the local population, a representation that is further reinforced by images that show 'traditional' modes of farming.



Figure 2: Traditional Modes of Farming and Subsistence. This photograph is used by Morris and Thompson in their summary of the excavations at Huanuco Pampa (1985: 85). As it does not add anything to the investigation of the site or the archaeological conclusions, this image appears unnecessary and therefore its use would seem arbitrary.

Further accounts of the local community highlight their role as manual labourers and they are depicted as an excavation resource to be used by the archaeological team, rather than individuals who can provide knowledge and aid the analysis. The demarcation between the two groups is firmly reiterated, the archaeologist is the skilled individual and the peasants are unskilled labourers, a notion that is again communicated by the images used in the accounts.



**Figures 3 (left) and 4 (below).
Labourers at the Site.**

Note the European overseer in figure 3 and the centrality of the archaeologist in figure 4. The distinction between manual labourer and skilled professional appears to be further expressed by the symbolism of their attire and actions.

(Morris and Thompson 1985: 134 & 85)



The lack of intellectual support that the peasants can offer the excavations is further reiterated in discussions that depict the local population's belief system as superstitious and irrational. Morris and Thompson (1985) illustrate this in their explanation that the local community originally refused to work at Huanuco Pampa because of the latter's belief that ancestral spirits on the site would cause harm to those who excavated it. These beliefs are undermined by the authors, who treat these concerns cynically and turn them into a joke,

an old man who visited us at our tent one evening told us that if we slept at the ruins we would awaken without out testicles – that the spirits would snatch them away. This gave rise to some rather humorous comments on the mornings that followed (1985: 18).

Reinforcing this image of the 'ignorant peasant' is a number of references (Morris 1982, 1988, Morris and Thompson 1985) to previous looting of the site by local Andeans, and contained within this discourse is the promotion of the idea that the peasantry do not appreciate, or understand the historical value, of the built environment that surrounds them. Morris and Thompson state that the *ushnu* platform, which is finely cut and therefore considered the most important monument at Huanuco Pampa, is "now scarred by the illicit excavations of treasure hunters" (1985: 15). This is not just an ethnocentric perspective of Incan history, but also constructs the local population in a framework of mistrust and suspicion and portrays them as a group which are inhibiting the archaeological excavations.

Therefore the archaeological narratives represent the local population as superstitious, irrational peasants who cannot offer anything apart from manual

labour, cannot be trusted and who have progressed little, if at all, since 'Pre-European times'. This representation not only has the effect of firmly embedding those who live near the site in the rural environment, but also seems to frame them as part of 'nature'.

However it could be argued that these portrayals accurately reflect the rural location and the associated social and cultural life. As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, archaeological accounts do seem to be partially grounded in reality and it would seem that their representation of Andeans is no different. Both Heidegger (1993) and Foucault (1989) have argued that the elements excluded from discourse are just as crucial as those that are included and it would seem virtually impossible to comprehensively detail all of the possible elements of Andean social life that are not incorporated into archaeological accounts. However one of the most striking omissions in most of the accounts (Morris 1972, 1974, 1978, Morris and Murra 1976, Morris and Thompson 1970) is the local peasantry themselves as there is no reference at all that the environment around the site is populated. Thus when these accounts are read in isolation, the site of Huanuco Pampa appears as *terra nullius*; an unoccupied space that is undisturbed by human activity. Moreover the summary of the excavations of the site (Morris and Thompson 1985) also suggests two key aspects of Andean society that are excluded; these are urbanity and its accompanying partner in archaeological theory, culture.

Morris and Thompson (1985) include in their narrative a general discussion of Inca cities and stone masonry, and contained within this are the ruins of Sacsayhuaman, a major site located on the periphery of Cusco. The city of Cusco has a large urban populous with a thriving commercial and tourist

district (West 2003¹⁰). Participant observation in the region indicates that the area is developed and that a large proportion of the population do not wear the full traditional dress portrayed by Morris and Thompson in figure 5 below.



Figure 5: Sacsayhuaman Site, Cusco. This site is on the outskirts of the city and surrounded by suburban housing and development. Moreover it is a key tourist attraction and those Andeans in traditional dress are there to earn money by posing for photographs (Morris & Thompson 1985: 38).

Thus the archaeological accounts highlight a continuous, rural essence and it seems that those Andeans who do not fit the stereotype of the peasant are excluded from the discourse, even although a number, like members of the Peruvian intelligensia and local archaeological movements (cf Cadena 2000, Zagarra in Parsell 2002) could be involved in the excavations and subsequent

¹⁰ This survey indicates that Cusco has 319,400 inhabitants and that the one million visitors to the city each year has led to a developing infrastructure and increasing foreign investment.

analysis¹¹. The absence of Andean urbanites seems even more anomalous considering that Cusco has a number of key sites in its urban centre which are also regarded as fine examples of stone masonry and which could be used to demonstrate Morris and Thompson's key point regarding Incan building skills (Ubbelohde-Doering 1967: 196-200). Moreover the one image that is used from a site in the centre of Cusco does not reflect its urbanity.

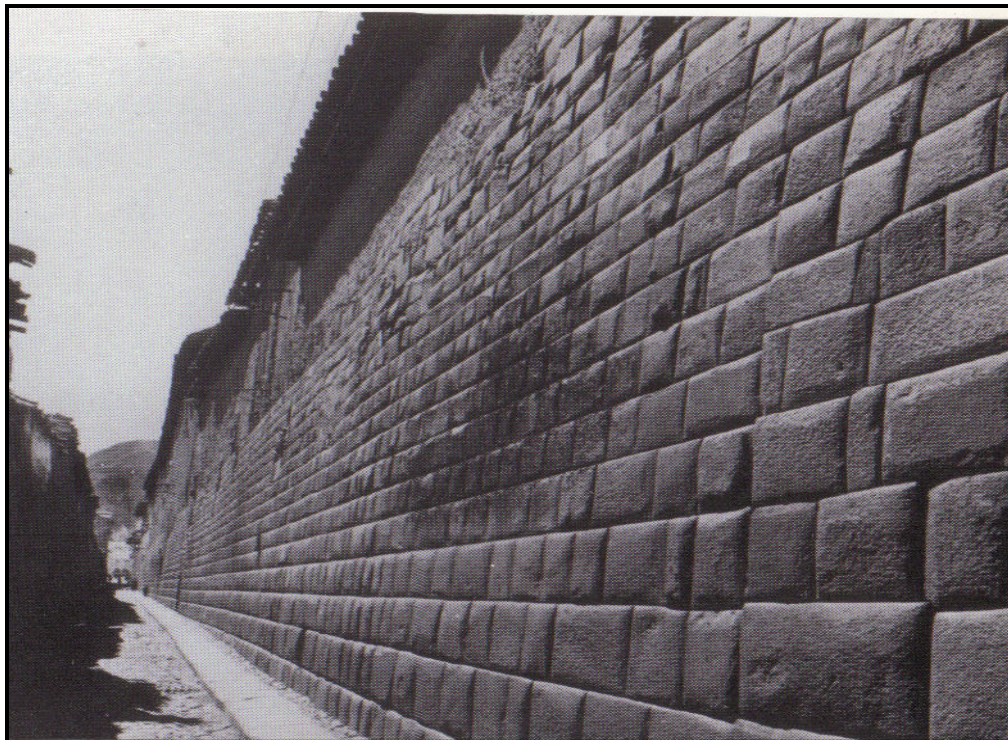


Figure 6: Wall in Cusco. Examples of this type of masonry are generally located in the heart of the city, in streets and alleys originating from the central plaza. This image does not reflect the proximity of the urban sprawl, and therefore its use appears selective (Morris & Thompson 1985: 39).

Therefore it seems that a process of selection, in which fragments of Andean society are represented as a depiction of the whole, promotes the stereotypical notion that those who live in the Peruvian Andes are all part of the peasantry. Moreover this affinity to nature seems to be laden with value

¹¹ The acknowledgements at the back of the summary (1985) indicate that indigenous archaeologists contributed to the analysis but they are absent from the main text in all the accounts (Morris 1972, 1974, 1978, 1982, 1988, 1992, Morris and Murra 1976, Morris & Thompson 1970, 1985)

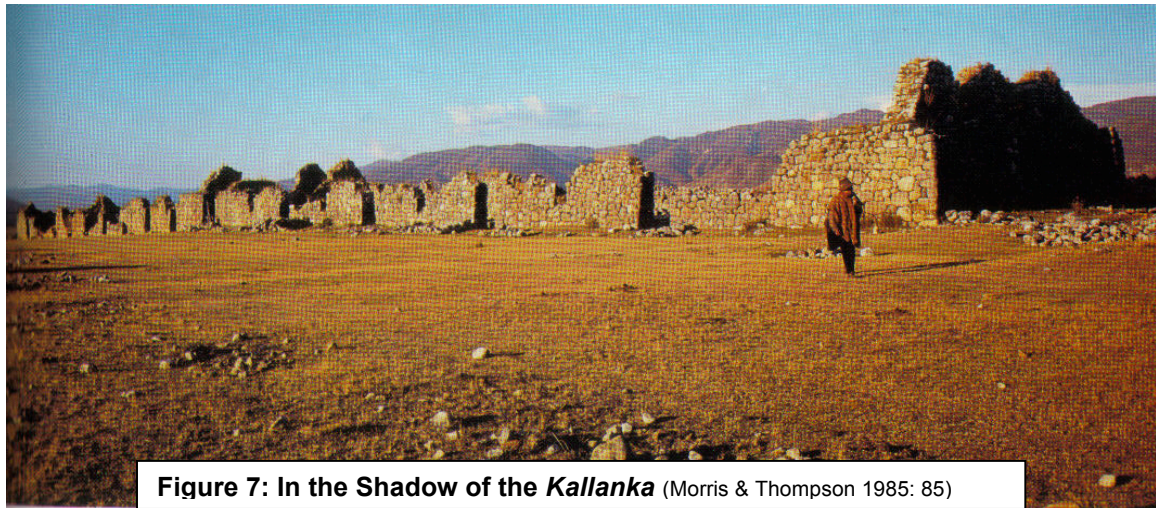
judgements regarding a lack of civilisation and progression, a perspective that is made evident in Shanin's (1987, 1990) accounts of literature on the subject. He argues that peasantries have consistently been regarded as "backward societies" (1990: 5) across a number of literary genres which have depicted them as ignorant and uncivilised; a depiction that is exemplified in Marx and Engel's '*Communist Manifesto*' (1978), in which they equate peasant society with barbarism (ibid: 476-478) and refer to the "idiocy of peasant life" (ibid: 477)

It appears that by representing the local population in the manner that they do, Morris and Thompson's (1985) account can be regarded as part of this tradition. The possible reasons and motivations for this will be discussed in chapters five and six; however what is initially apparent is that this depiction of the local population enables a distinct contrast between the current residents of Huanuco Pampa and their predecessors to be made. As demonstrated in the previous chapter the past inhabitants of the site are presented as an advanced, civilised society and it would seem that by juxtaposing images of this with images of the Andean peasant, the discourse indicates that the current residents are not only un-progressive, but that have actually regressed from former glories. This is further reiterated throughout the discourse as the photographs of the site's architecture seem to encourage associations between ruined architecture and ruined race, an affinity that is reliant on the presentation of a continuous lineage.

4.2 Ruined Architecture and Ruined Race.

By using images that show contemporary Indians next to Inca ruins, the archaeological summary (1985) seems to effectively collapse the past and present by representing the local community as the living descendents of the Incas, a point made explicit by the statement “the blood of the Inca still runs in the tribes of the highland villages” (Ubbelohde-Doering 1967: 195). This continuous descent not only renders colonial intervention and miscegenation invisible, and hence permeates a notion of a ‘pure’ race, but it also draws on and perpetuates the idea of a static and undeveloped social group who have continuous agricultural and spiritual practices. Hence, by identifying the local community as the descendents of the civilised society that previously lived in the city of Huanuco Pampa, the group’s fall from civilisation is made explicit by the ruinous architecture surrounding them. In this respect the ruins of the citadel do not just reflect the collapse of the Inca Empire, they can also be seen to signify the ruination of the Peruvian peasantry in the Andes, as it appears that an equation is made between them and the architectural ruins.

This is demonstrated by an image (figure 7) used by Morris and Thompson which depicts a member of the peasantry standing in front of the ruins of a *kallanka*, a large hall on the side of the site’s plaza, in which he is effectively dwarfed by the scale of the building. Thus ‘the peasant’, who is not given any identity of his own, seems to be used as a measuring resource to illustrate the scale of the building.



Moreover, it can be interpreted that another scale is operating here as he seems to be depicted as living in the shadow of his once glorious past, a perspective that has been demonstrated by Gero and Root's (1989) examination of archaeological representations in the National Geographic magazine. Although focussing primarily on popular rather than academic archaeology, the images they use parallel the composition of those used by Morris and Thompson (1985), and therefore their thesis can also be applied to the accounts of Huanuco Pampa¹². They argue that the images of the 'other' used in archaeological narratives are manipulated in order to stress that local communities have progressed little, if at all, and state that pictures of local residents next to ruins act as "human scales for more than the size of archaeological features – scales, too, for difference in the human condition" (1989: 30). Consequently they could also be theoretically referring to Andean peasants when they conclude that in the archaeological discourse "these innocents *with* their ruins (are) quite '*in ruins*' themselves" (ibid: 32 emphasis authors' own).

¹² Whilst the academic archaeologists at Huanuco Pampa seem keen to promote the distance between themselves and commercial 'explorers', Crick's (1985) discussion of the dichotomous construction between ethnographer and tourist suggest that the distinction is more arbitrary than they depict.

Gero and Root's thesis echoes Wood (1992) and Harley's (1988) discussion of maps in chapter two as they argue that this selection of photographs is a *conscious* process which uses the images to classify and promote the backwardness of non-Euroamerican races. As a result they all regard the use of selected images as an expression and facilitator of power, an argument which is also commonly found in the anthropological critique of ethnographic images. In the Andes, this work is exemplified by Poole (1997) who argues that nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropometric photography promoted racist values and fantasies by contributing images of Andeans to the racial classification paradigm invoked by anthropologists of the period (ibid: 15).

Poole's work is typical in its focus on the photographs of actual people, yet the examination of the images used in the Huanuco Pampa discourse, together with Gero and Root's (1989) argument, suggest that the architectural context also plays a significant role in creating the image of the 'other'. However Poole's account does demonstrate that photographic images, by making selective characteristics visible, can constitute and promote an essentialised image of a group of people, and that these can be used as instruments of power. This conclusion resonates with Foucault's (1989) thesis regarding power and knowledge in which he argues that discourse is a key mode in which power over others is expressed and constituted, a thesis which implies that the construction of the local population as regressive peasants can be seen as a reflection, and potential assertion, of archaeological power.

The implications of Foucault's thesis in respect to the way that archaeological discourse can be perceived will be discussed in greater depth in chapters six

and seven, although the portrayal of the local population as negligent and ignorant initially suggests that their representation assists archaeological intervention and control of the site. This image of the stereotypical peasant seems to be constructed not only through the selective representation of essentialised traits and the subsequent association with nature, but also by juxtaposing the image against a civilised, Incan history and drawing a relationship between ruined architecture and 'ruined' race. However, it can also be argued that the sole representation of the peasantry's current state would suffice in enabling archaeologists' control of the site. This suggests that the depiction of the Incan past as advanced fulfils an additional function for the archaeologist, one which would seem, as the following chapters show, to reiterate specific values and create distance between the Andean peasantry and European archaeology.

Chapter 5 The Self-Fashioning of Archaeology

5.1 The Objective Scientist Vs The Adventurer

Just as the construction of Andean peasants is premised on the distance between the past and present condition of their material culture, archaeological self-fashioning also seems to be partly predicated on the history of archaeological activity in the region. This is particularly evident in accounts of the techniques and methods used to excavate the site which not only demonstrates the scientific, 'objective' manner of the investigation, but also highlight the distance between the techniques used today and the non-scientific excavations of the early 'explorers'. These techniques were outlined in chapter two, but the Huanuco Pampa narratives specifically demonstrate this by stressing the number of excavations involved (Morris and Thompson 1985: 61), classifying the data into tables, and turning the results into mathematical equations (ibid: 77). Moreover there is consistent reference throughout the work to the extensive level of sampling involved (Morris 1975, Morris and Thompson 1970, 1985) and to the systematic evaluation of the high volume of material, as the archaeologists refer to the "enormous task of establishing a recordkeeping system for a large, complicated site" (Morris and Thompson 1985: 72).

Therefore it becomes evident that the discussion on techniques casts the archaeological team within an objective and un-biased paradigm, a process that parallels the map-making techniques discussed in chapter two as it

seems to remove any personal inscription¹³. However the current archaeological team do not just use their activities at the site to fashion themselves as objective scientists, as the descriptions of the harsh environment and arduous conditions indicate that they also style themselves, seemingly in a contradictory manner, as 'adventurers'.

Morris and Thompson open their summary of the excavations with a detailed description of their journey to the site (1985: 14-19), which is portrayed as physically exerting and treacherous. They explain;

a few horses and a mule were saddled and loaded, and we started off, some of us on foot, over the high boggy grassland...it soon got dark and we found ourselves stumbling along in a bog and jumping streams. The mule fell and had to be reloaded in the water by flashlight...we spent the night in our sleeping bags on the floor on some straw while guinea pigs ran about us (ibid: 16).

Earlier archaeological accounts of the region (H. Bingham 1951, Savoy 1971) indicate that there is an element of historical continuity in these depictions of the self, an argument which suggests that the distance between past and present archaeology is not as great as the archaeologists portray there to be¹⁴.

¹³ This projection of an objective discipline can also be seen to perpetuate the notion that their maps and charts are not biased or subjective in any way. This is discussed further in chapter seven.

¹⁴ As popular archaeologists also stress this 'adventurous, exploratory nature' of archaeology (Rose 2003, Ziegler & Thomson 2003) it would also seem that the distance is also not as great between academic archaeology and contemporary self-styled explorers as academic archaeologists promote there to be. As the discussions on self-fashioning and colonialism indicate, the way that different archaeological groups define themselves in relation to each other and use the historical consciousness of colonial exploration to do so, could prove to be a fruitful area of further research.

Thus there seems to be a tradition of archaeologists using the discourse to fashion their own image in a manner which resonates with the Indiana Jones (1981) stereotype, a conclusion that echoes Clifford's (1986) discussion of '*Ethnographic Self-Fashioning*'. He analyses Malinowski's (1922) work on the Trobriand Islands and his field diaries (Malinowski 1967) in order to contend that the act of writing ethnography provided Malinowski with the means to fashion himself as a professional fieldworker and authoritative anthropologist (1986: 158). He continues to argue that as ethnography has to be written within a certain linguistic paradigm, this construction of self occurs within a culturally specific framework, a perspective that indicates that archaeological descriptions of adventure are deemed acceptable by the discipline. This argument not only demonstrates that academic discourse, although constrained within certain frameworks, can be used as a mode of self-fashioning, it also implies that the construction creates tension between the professional and personal persona. However the archaeological discourse seems to resolve this by ensuring that the two traits of objective scientist and intrepid explorer are regarded as complementary, not mutually incompatible, and this is achieved by demonstrating that the environmental elements, whilst harsh, are ultimately under the archaeologists' control.

This control stems from the archaeological 'discovery' and uncovering of the site from the wilderness that surrounds it. Morris and Thompson's (1985) discussion of the environment and landscape seems to construct an image of a site that is isolated from the rest of the world, an image that is further reiterated by images of the site.

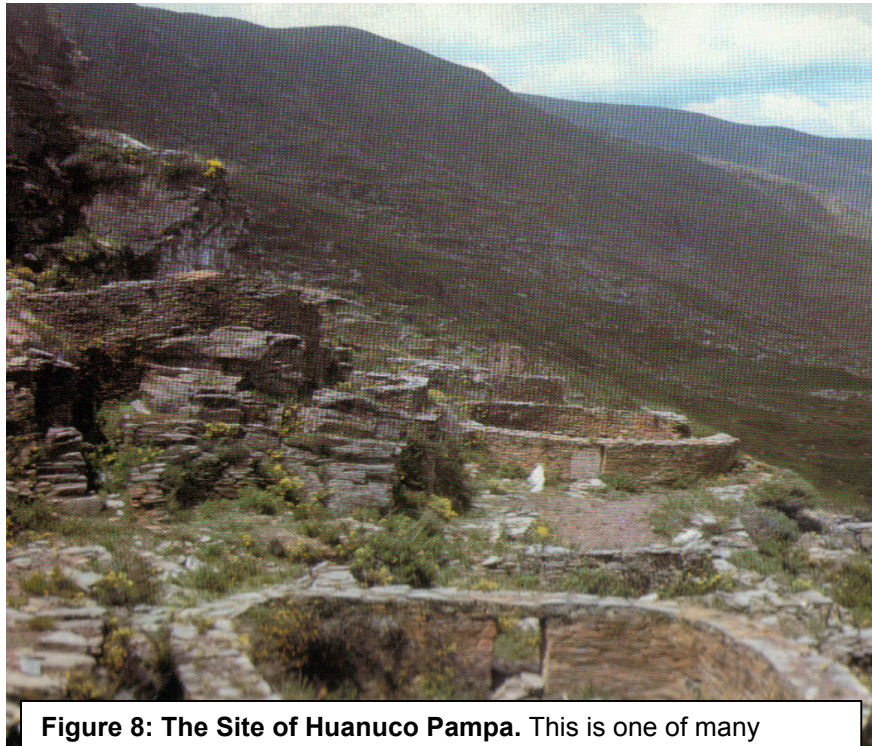


Figure 8: The Site of Huanuco Pampa. This is one of many images that reinforce the narrative evocations of an untouched, isolated landscape (Morris & Thompson 1985: 86).

This not only reiterates the portrayal of a local peasantry that remain ‘untouched by civilisation’, but also promotes the idea that the ruins are in some way ‘lost’ and are therefore waiting to be (re)’discovered’, thus Huanuco Pampa is positioned as *terra nullius*. The theme of discovering lost cities is common throughout the history of archaeological activity in the Andes (H. Bingham 1951, Parsell 2002, Rose 2003, Savoy 1971, Ziegler & Thomson 2003) and whilst Hiram Bingham’s statement that “it is fair to say that I discovered Machu Picchu” (in A. Bingham 1989) is not made so explicitly in recent accounts, Morris and Thompson’s (1985) discussion of the location and state of Huanuco Pampa indicates that the theme remains prevalent today.

The lost and ruined state of the site can therefore be regarded as a problem that archaeology, with its advanced, scientific techniques, positions itself to

solve because as demonstrated in chapter two, the site is literally reclaimed back from nature through the process of uncovering, reconstructing it and mapping. Moreover, by referring to the existence of looters (Morris 1982, 1988, Morris and Thompson 1985), this process seems to be framed by notions of morality as the archaeological intervention is depicted as a way of saving the site, and the knowledge that it can potentially offer. This is surmised by Sabliff and Renfrew's introduction to Morris and Thompson's work when they state "the authors have succeeded in rescuing one more part of that vanished world from oblivion" (in Morris and Thompson 1985: 8).

The concept of protection seems to be a key mechanism for justifying the archaeological activity at Huanuco Pampa and as Price (1989) argues, this moral 'obligation' is frequently invoked to justify ownership and control. She states that the "world is ours" (ibid: 79) attitude is still prevalent in artefact collection and preservation today, and that notions of "cultural arrogance" (ibid: 81) are consistently invoked to legitimate Euro-American control of artefacts from 'other' societies¹⁵. She continues to argue that this morality is also associated with notions of 'culture', an argument made explicit by Gosden (1999), who highlights the historical foundations of the association between the archaeological endeavour and civilisation. Thus it seems that the two traits of scientist and adventurer are not incompatible but are rather two parts of a whole that mutually perpetuate the construction of the archaeologist as 'culture' controlling 'nature'.

¹⁵ This is further demonstrated in the discourse surrounding repatriation claims. Examples include the Peruvian claim for the return of the skeletons Bingham removed from Machu Picchu (Associated Press 2003) and the British Museum's refusal to return the Parthenon Marbles (Howarth 2002).

5.2 Reiterating the Values of Culture

This assertion of culture over nature also seems to provide a means for reiterating the belief that military, political and economic organisation equates to civilisation. As previously discussed in chapter two making these elements visible contributes to the archaeological construction of Huanuco Pampa, but it can be further argued that this process also constructs the self by providing a way of reiterating the values that are deemed important. Vibert's (2000) discussion of male buffalo hunters and traders in North Western America demonstrates this process by arguing that positive descriptions of hunters provided traders with the means of expressing their own values regarding strength, bravery and masculinity. She concludes;

this model of manhood had more significance, perhaps, for the traders' self-image than for their imaginings of buffalo hunters. While the texts...are explicitly about buffalo hunters, implicitly they are about white, middle-class men (ibid: 286).

Whilst there is cultural and temporal distance between Vibert's actors and contemporary archaeologists her stance suggests that, although the archaeological account of Huanuco Pampa seems initially to be describing Incan society as economically productive and politically organised, it is actually reaffirming and describing the archaeologists' own ideal society¹⁶.

Gero and Root (1989) support this perspective as they also argue that the archaeological discourse provides a way to express the ideology of the

¹⁶ It would also be possible to take a gender perspective on this point as a number of accounts written by male archaeologists highlight the existence of groups of female Incan virgins (H. Bingham 1951, Savoy 1971). See Gero & Conkey (1991) for a feminist deconstruction of archaeological discourse.

discipline. They specifically highlight the bourgeois values that they believe underpin archaeology and state that “archaeology is touted, exploited and capitalized upon to reinforce the dominant ideology that produced it” (1989: 19). The notion that archaeological activity and the consequent collection of artefacts is specifically a bourgeois activity is common (Clifford 1988, Price 1989), and it does seem that by stressing Incan accumulation of material goods, the accounts of Huanuco Pampa are expressing an economic mode particular to capitalism (cf Marx 1995). Moreover it could be argued that these bourgeois values are, in part, disguised in the discourse by the promotion of a moral objective, as it is the latter that is presented as the reason behind archaeological control and intervention of the site.

Thus it can be seen that the discourse on Huanuco Pampa not only facilitates the construction of past and present Andean society, but also provides the means for archaeology to fashion itself as culture, both explicitly through the discussion of environment and techniques, and implicitly by reiterating the values that are associated with specific elements of the site. The recognition that the discourse provides a means for expressing the archaeological self answers the queries raised in chapter three and four as to the reasons behind the selection of public architecture and the role that a depiction of a ‘great Inca empire’ plays. In this respect the specific values of ‘culture’; capitalist mode of production, political organisation, advanced technology and morality can be regarded as the ‘background’ (Heidegger 1962) in which the site of Huanuco Pampa and its actors, both past and present, Andean and European, are constructed.

Chapter 6 Constructing the Relationship between Archaeology and the Peasantry

6.1 Fashioning Self and Other in Relation to Each Other.

As discussed in chapter four the local population who live and work in the area around the site of Huanuco Pampa are represented as unskilled, superstitious peasantry whom the discourse firmly associates with nature; a portrayal which is in stark contrast to the self depiction of the archaeological team as culture. Therefore distance seems to be created between the two groups primarily by framing the history of their respective material cultures in an opposing manner. As the Andean peasants' built environment has fallen into ruin and the archaeologists' technology has developed, regression of the peasantry and progression of archaeology becomes evident. This distance indicates that the two groups are not only constructed in relation to the site of Huanuco Pampa, but are also constructed in relation to *each other*.

This construction of distance between self and other has been prolifically highlighted by Said's (1978) discussion of '*Orientalism*', which demonstrates that accounts of 'The East' were constructed as the opposite image of the West. Said acknowledges the influence of Foucault in his work, and this can be seen in his argument that Western accounts of the East made certain elements of society more visible than others; these are sexually insatiable men, exotic women, corrupt despotism and mystical religiosity. Although the specifics differ, this process of presenting selected aspects of both self and other are also occurring in the accounts of Huanuco Pampa, and as these also appear to be in contradistinction to each other, it seems that Said's

perspective, in principle rather than in detail, echoes the archaeological narrative. This application of Said's argument to the archaeological context suggests that the characteristics of Andean society which are rendered visible are done so because they are regarded by the archaeologists as opposite to their own the self-image, a perspective has been made explicit by Beardsell (2000).

He applies Said's thesis to a wide range of narratives on Latin America, including archaeological accounts, to argue that they are shaped through the lens of 'New Worldism' (2000: 21). This tradition, Beardsell explains, dates back to Columbus' earliest accounts and ensures that Latin Americans are consistently shaped as different to Europeans. He continues to argue, like Said, that this shaping is a dialectic process which constructs both self and other in relation to each other, a notion of relativity that is further argued by Cooper and Stoler (1997). Their account of the relationship between coloniser and colonised groups highlights that the discourse produced by the colonial administration facilitated the creation of the categories of self and other in contradistinction to each other¹⁷. Thus they demonstrate that the categories of self and other are unstable and that the distance between them needs to be consistently redefined and reiterated.

As textual discourse would seem to be one of the sites in which these dynamic processes are played out, it can also be argued that the archaeological accounts of Huanuco Pampa play a similar role, an argument

¹⁷ There are a number of other accounts, many specifically influenced by the thesis of Foucault (1989), which draw similar conclusions. Examples include the work by Subaltern Studies Group (cf Guha & Spivak 1988), Hall's (2000) edited collection and Stoler (1995).

which implies that the archaeologists do not just use the site and the surrounding environment to construct their own identity, but also use the local population in the same manner¹⁸. This suggests that selected traits of the Andean peasantry are made visible because they are opposite to the archaeologists' own self-image and that this process reiterates and constructs archaeological values. As highlighted in previous chapters these values form part of the archaeological 'background' (Heidegger 1962) that facilitate the selection of traits, and therefore it can be seen that a dialectic continuum is occurring in which a partial image of the local peasantry reinforces archaeological values, which subsequently, defines the representation of the peasantry.

This argument extends the conclusion made in chapter four regarding the fragmented depiction of the peasantry by highlighting that the possible motivation behind this selection is self-representation and the reiteration of the values in which the archaeologists 'dwell' (Heidegger 1971). However, just as chapter two highlighted that architectural characteristics are laden with value-statements, it appears that the portrayal of both self and other are also politically weighted and that, by positing the archaeologist and the Andean peasantry opposite each other, the discourse facilitates the construction of the social order.

¹⁸ This conclusion lends itself to the critique that it does not account for the agency of the Andean population, an issue that will be addressed in the conclusion and suggestions for further research.

6.2 Constructing the Social Order

Comaroff and Comaroff state that the “assertion of the collective self and the negation of the collective other” are complimentary (1992: 54), and as the framing of characteristics as either positive or negative is a subjective action, they argue that a judgement is consistently made by the self. The Huanuco Pampa discourse makes this concept explicit in the portrayal of a responsible, moral archaeologist and the looting, superstitious Andean peasant, but it is also evident in the representation of an undeveloped, regressive social group who live in the shadow of their predecessors. This perspective is further upheld by Stoler (1992) who argues that the construction of the European self in relation to the ‘other’ consistently invokes notions of superiority, and concludes that in the relationship between coloniser and colonised, difference consistently stands for hierarchy. Whilst the archaeological team do not define themselves as colonisers and the peasants as colonised, it can be argued that at Huanuco Pampa similar social categories and historically contingent power relations exist, and therefore it seems that Stoler’s conclusion can be applied to the relationship between Andean peasantry and archaeologists¹⁹.

All these accounts maintain that distance between two social groups is utilised to construct a social order in which the self is elevated above the other, an argument which suggests that the archaeologists at Huanuco Pampa use the discourse to promote their superiority over the local population. However,

¹⁹ It has been argued that European control of the sites and heritage of the ‘other’ can be considered a form of neo-imperialism (Olwig, 1977), and the relationship between archaeology and colonialism is firmly established (Gosden 1999, Lyons and Papadopoulos 2002, Kuklick 1991). Although this paper does not explicitly explore the ways that this could be the case, the conclusion that archaeologists have power over the territory and the local population, and the bourgeois values of the archaeologists indicate that this could be a fruitful discussion.

Comaroff and Comaroff (1992) and Stoler (1992) predicate their arguments on notions of race and ethnicity, and as it has been demonstrated that the narratives of archaeological excavations at Huanuco Pampa construct both archaeologists and the peasantry through the relative state of their material culture, it seems their application in understanding how the hierarchy is constructed is limited.

Yet it has been demonstrated that the discourse frames archaeologists and the peasantry within a culture/nature paradigm and Ortner's (1974) discussion of this dichotomy highlights that culture is elevated above nature. Although the contents of the categories are different, as Ortner argues that nature is associated with women, and culture with men, her argument still indicates that from a Western perspective, culture is regarded as controlling nature. She states "culture at some level of awareness asserts itself to be not only distinct from but superior to nature (1974: 73)²⁰. This is evident in the Huanuco Pampa discourse as chapter four highlighted that the archaeologists fashion their excavation activity as reclaiming culture back from nature, and they cast the perceived Andean population's shift back to nature from their cultured past as a negative regression. This perspective is made explicit by Shanin (1987) who concludes that civilised, cultured societies are regarded within the tradition of European evolutionary thought as naturally ascending from organic, peasant societies and that "becoming civilised was associated with de-peasantization" (1987: 381).

²⁰ Ingold (1994) states that Heidegger's (1971) perspective of dwelling and building suggests that the dichotomy between culture and nature has been overestimated. Whilst the process of selection that takes place within the archaeological discourse indicates that this is the case, the key point of this argument is that the discourse falsely constructs the dichotomy.

Thus it appears that the archaeological discourse not only constructs the self and other as opposites but it uses the distance that is created to construct a hierarchical order in which archaeology, through its association with culture and progress, is elevated above the Andean peasant's 'natural' state of being. It also seems that inherent within this representation are a series of value statements that equate civilisation and culture as the norm and associates anything below this threshold as deviant. Foucault has highlighted the existence of these 'dividing practices' (1977), and argues that discourse is used to facilitate the classification of individuals and groups based on 'normative judgements'; thus those that are classified as abnormal are regarded as a problem. This argument can also be found in ethnography, for example Barry Morris' (1989) account of the Dhan-Gadi aborigines highlights that the Australian state divided them from the rest of society by a series of judgements that resulted in them being categorised as deviant. He continues to argue that this classification enabled the State to intervene in Dhan-Gadi society, a position that suggests that the discourse enables archaeological intervention and control over the local population at Huanuco Pampa.

However it is generally recognised, as the disciplinary division between European archaeology and anthropology exemplifies, that the role of archaeology is to investigate the past through material culture, not to analyse those who continue to occupy historic sites. Yet by presenting the local population in the manner that it does, the archaeological discourse seems to construct them as a problem, an argument that indicates that the representation of the peasantry plays a more significant role in facilitating archaeological activity than is superficially apparent. It has been previously

highlighted in chapter four that archaeologists regard the isolation and lack of visibility of the site as a problem that they position themselves to solve, and it would seem that the representation of the peasantry as neglectful, untrustworthy and ignorant of the site's value to humankind perpetuates the potential waste of Huanuco Pampa if archaeological intervention does not take place.

Thus it appears that the Huanuco Pampa discourse constructs both the site and the local population as an archaeological problem, and that by fashioning archaeologists as a solution, the intervention and control of the site seems to be legitimised. As highlighted in chapter two, this control is further reiterated in the discourse by the way that the site is shaped by the interest of the archaeological team and through the use of territorial signifiers and this process, together with the fashioning of the past and present occupants of the site, can also be seen to reiterate the values in which archaeologists 'dwell' (Heidegger 1971).

Chapter 7 Discourse and Power

In concluding that archaeological discourse creates the object of its intervention, this discussion of Huanuco Pampa narratives echoes Foucault's (1981, 1989) thesis that discourse and power are mutually constitutive, an argument that can be critiqued as effectively fetishising discourse. Hence questions regarding the extent and source of its authority need to be raised, and as it has been highlighted in the previous chapters that the archaeological discourse and its institutions are inextricably linked, it appears that the analysis of texts should be placed within the institutional context of those who produce it. Archaeology is regarded as part of the Western academic tradition of the Enlightenment and subsequently a purveyor of objective accounts (Gosden 1999), and this suggests that the discipline of archaeology rather than its discourse *per se* provides an authority that encourages the reader to regard it as a true depiction.

Tagg's (1988) Foucauldian inspired account of the images used by the British police force and political authorities takes this perspective in demonstrating that they were unquestioned *because* of their source. Therefore he contends that the institutional weight behind the image, rather than the image itself, enables a claim to be regarded as 'true', and this implies that discourses emanating from 'authoritative' institutions are less likely to be contested. These authoritative statements, defined as 'serious speech acts', are seen as discrete from the 'everyday speech acts' that do not originate from authoritative institutions (Dreyfus and Rabinow 1982: 48-49); a concept that is applied to the archaeological context by Tilley (1990), who argues that it is the discipline of archaeology which legitimises the statements made by

archaeologists. Moreover he explains that the statements themselves work to define the boundaries of the institution, and hence Tilley demonstrates that the two elements can be regarded as self-perpetuating and mutually entwined. This perspective, which parallels Foucault's argument that objects emerge in a manner that enables discourse to function by setting its own boundaries (1989: 46-56), has also been demonstrated in the discussion of archaeological self-fashioning in chapter five. Therefore it seems evident that by representing the archaeologist as authoritative, the discourse reiterates the authoritative nature of the institution; a dialectic process which consequently legitimises the discourse as a reflection of reality.

However as Tilley states that only certain statements made by archaeologists will be taken seriously (1990: 296), he highlights the limitations of archaeological discourse and implies that archaeologists are also subjected to its power. This concept is further developed by Foucault who argues that power is a transcendental phenomena (1984: 247) and demonstrates (1977, 1981) that a set of rules and practices within an academic discipline govern the way its subjects view the world²¹. This concept is akin to Heidegger's (1962) thesis on background, but whereas Heidegger argued that the practices in which *Dasein* is enmeshed shapes the way that knowledge is *produced*, Foucault's theory also demonstrates that it shapes the way it is *perceived*. Thus it seems that every author and reader is enmeshed within a network of power which not only governs the production of archaeological

²¹ Foucault (1977: 195-228) makes this concept visibly explicit through his metaphoric use of Bentham's Panopticon, a fictional piece of architecture that ensures that every being is disciplined through visibility and categorisation.

knowledge, but also ensures that it is received in a particular manner; the 'gaze' can be seen to be framed by the discursive norms and practices.

This has been demonstrated by Ferguson (1994) who distinguishes and compares two discrete accounts on Lesotho, a World Bank report and an academic narrative, and explains that although they draw different conclusions, each one is readily accepted as factual by those within the institution who produce it. The reasons for this, he concludes, are not that one is more correct than the other but because the "discursive normativity" (ibid: 30) of their respective institutions ensures that each group asked different questions and perceived different answers as legitimate. In highlighting these 'normativities' Ferguson's account suggests that the Huanuco Pampa narratives are, at least, accepted as authoritative by others within the discipline, an argument which simultaneously highlights that the potential for questioning the mode and manner of producing knowledge is limited.

This consequently implies that, contrary to accounts that emphasise the construction as a conspiratorial process (cf Gero & Root 1989, Harley 1988, Wood 1992), the creation of Huanuco Pampa and its actors is not a conscious process, as the archaeological team's engagement can be seen to be governed by their background values and accepted frameworks. This is not to state that archaeologists have no individual agency within these practices as the accounts can be regarded as variations on a central, accepted theme; hence this tentative conclusion raises further questions in regards to the *extent* to which individuals within the disciplinary framework seek to construct self, 'other', and location in order to facilitate their *own personal* control and acquisition of the excavation site.

The question as to the extent that those outside the discipline contest archaeological conclusions does, however, remain, and Ferguson also highlights the potential for contestation by illustrating that those outside of the producing institution do not accept narratives at face value. Moreover as Foucault argues that power and resistance occupy the same space (1984: 245), and that sites of power are 'heterotopias' (1986: 24)²² he further demonstrates that discourse can be challenged and appropriated.

The appropriation of discourse has been demonstrated in Rappaport's (1994) ethnography of Cumbe history (Colombian Andes) which argues that the intended meaning and function of documents changes in differing cultural and temporal contexts. She explains that Deed 28, which was used by the Spanish colonisers as legal justification for the ownership of previously Cumbe-held land, has been appropriated by the Cumbe who now use the document to challenge Spanish ownership and prove their own land claims. Therefore she concludes that written documentaries are "multilayered, pliable and ambiguous" (1994: 176) and should be regarded as cultural artefacts in their own right, an approach that has already been demonstrated in chapter two's discussion regarding the maps of Huanuco Pampa as cultural constructs.

Moreover Edwards' (2001) study of historic photographs explicitly argues that images cannot convey one specific message or ideology because those who view them overlay their own values and preconceptions onto the image, a perspective that contrasts with Gero and Root's (1989) and Poole's (1997)

²²Foucault's definition of heterotopias is a site in which different groups and individuals overlay their own meaning and personal history.

conclusions that photographs facilitate classification. This argument, coupled with Rappaport's conclusion, therefore indicates that the photographic images of the peasantry at Huanuco Pampa discussed in chapter four may not be as powerful in creating the social order as initially suggested.

This is further reiterated by the central tenet of Appadurai's (1986) edited collection on *'The Social Life of Things'* which, as the textual discourse of archaeology, in the shape of books, maps and photographs, can be cast as an object, could also be seen to be applicable. This work, especially the chapter by Kopytoff (pp 64-91) regarding the biography of objects, argues that objects are enmeshed within social relations, and the valorisation and significance of a 'thing' varies throughout its history. Thus objects, including textual discourse, can be regarded as active entities that take on different meanings, an argument which implies that the conclusion of Edwards (2001) and Rappaport (1994) can be extended to critique both Wood's (1992) and Harley's (1988) thesis regarding the intrinsic power of maps. This suggests that the maps and charts of Huanuco Pampa, alongside the photographs, cannot be regarded as authoritative and that, despite its institutional weight, the power of the archaeological discourse is questionable.

This indicates that the discourse has the potential to be challenged by those outside of the archaeological domain, but as Ferguson's (1994) account of 'discursive normativities' indicates, it would seem that any contestation of the discourse is limited and framed by the paradigms of any external domains²³.

²³ The implication for this conclusion is, of course, that any anthropological critique of archaeology will be produced within its own 'discursive normativities', and shaped by its historical relationship with archaeology (cf Gosden 1999 for further detail on this relationship).

Thus the contestation can be seen as limited, an argument further upheld by Foucault's (1981) thesis that whilst a plurality of discourses exists, some are more marginal than others. The extent to which the archaeological discourse is appropriated or contested by those whose 'history' archaeology claims to represent remains to be investigated, but it initially appears that, as the archaeological team are excavating Huanuco Pampa and many other sites in the region (Parsell 2002, Rose 2003, Ziegler and Thomson 2003); artefacts from the sites continue to be held by Euro-American institutions (Associated Press 2003); and the view prevails that the sites are 'undiscovered' until made visible to the rest of the world (Beardsell 2000), that archaeology as a discipline is predicated on unequal power relations and that discourse is a key mode of constituting this power.

Conclusion: Areas for Future Research

In demonstrating the discursive processes in which archaeological power is constituted, whilst highlighting its potential for contestation, this paper opens up two key areas for further investigation; the implications of archaeological power for the local Andean community in their daily lives, and the processes by which they appropriate Huanuco Pampa and the archaeological discourse. The phenomenological perspective advocated throughout this paper could be particularly valuable in exploring the latter theme as it can be extended to the aspects of the site that local manual workers, not just archaeologists, engage with and make visible. Thus the site can potentially be regarded as a 'heterotopia' (Foucault 1986), a perspective which could indicate areas of Andean resistance and break down the rather one-dimensional and narrow view of power employed throughout this paper.

Shifting the focus back to the archaeologists, there are also some further areas for future research. This paper has highlighted that the self-fashioning of the discipline draws on the memory of previous explorers, and as the language and attitudes invoked indicates both a degree of continuity and rejection of Europe's colonial past, the extent to which the historical consciousness of this period plays in the shaping of today's institution could be a valuable research theme. This would also open up the topic of myth-making, and further investigation into the values and beliefs that surround the Incas, in both Euro-American and Andean discourse, could extend and develop the work initiated by both Harris (1995) and Obeyesekere (1997).

Finally this paper has hinted at, but not explicitly explored, the nature and role that time politics plays in the creation of the archaeological object, a theme that Fabian (1983) has demonstrated could also be fruitful in understanding the nature of power relations inherent within academic investigation. Thus this paper has opened up many areas for further investigation. However, whilst they could all be valuable, surely the most pressing area of future research is the Andean discourse and the methods that the local population employ to manage *their* history, *their* built environment, and *their* relationship with archaeology. This subsequent research could, potentially, contribute to altering the balance of power by providing the local population with a voice that, as this paper has demonstrated, archaeology silences.

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