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Assessment 2:

The influences of tourism on heritage sites, with an example of '*La Calle Mantas*' in Cusco/Perú

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1. Introduction

Due to construction work, back in 2014 in 'Calle Mantas' - Cusco/Perú, some unusual 'prehispanic' findings were made. Not only did they find walls in fantastic shape, but also discovered it to be one of the most important streets, ending the 'Camino del Contisuyo', which was one of the four principal ways of 'Qapaq Ñan', and the connection to 'Hawkaypata' – the most important square for ritual ceremonies of the old Inka culture. A '*Scientific Mekka*', if you want. The ministry of culture in Cusco, UNESCO and various other scientific researchers/organisations interfered, trying to find the best solution of handling the situation, was it not only a main street back in the days of the Inka, but also right now, in modern Cusco. In the end this incredible discovery led to a very controversial view in public about how to deal with heritage sites in general, and the benefits and disadvantages this would bring, especially for visitors of the city. Since the tourism sector, is one of the most profitable once for the gross domestic product of the city, commercialisation of heritage sites plays an important part for all further decision making, next to cultural-, historical- and social value. I would like to focus on this dichotomy between profitable, tourism orientated value of a heritage site, and the value for the local community in my work: To what point demonstrating and 'selling' cultural heritage is more important, than cultural, social, but also spiritual, historical or emotional value to protect a site - in this case - without interfering common life of the society? And what is more important, the protection of cultural heritage, for it is the past, influencing the present; or commercialising it for a mostly mass-orientated tourism in Cusco, for it is the present, carrying social and cultural values from the past, which can be used as product for cultural exchange on an economic materialising level?

2. Cusco and its heritage sites

The City of Cusco in the Andean highlands of Perú was once the capital of the Inka empire. Most of the tours to 'Machu Picchu', one of the 'New 7 Wonders of the World' and UNESCO (natural- and cultural) World Heritage Site since 1983, start from Cusco, which is with its many heritage sites a very popular tourist destination (and UNESCO World Heritage Site, since 1983 as well) anyways. Next to heritage classics like 'Sacsayhuaman', or the famous 12-cornered stone, more and more foreigners are visiting Perú to get in touch with nature, experience the lifestyle of locals and natives, their traditional folklore, ancient remains, rituals, language, mystics and spirituality of its people and city, which lies up at almost 3400 meter above sea-level. Just having a look on the last decade, the tourism in Perú is constantly growing, still showing potential to improve its numbers. While Lima contains the only international airport (so far), a vast majority of foreign tourists enter the country through the capital city. Most international visitors, however, usually spend not more than a couple of days, maybe a week in Perú's largest city. Instead they fly to the country's widely acclaimed and most famous international tourist destinations – Cusco and 'Machu Picchu'. Serving as the primary gateway to Perú's highland region, Cusco has been labelled the 'archaeological capital of the Americas', the 'navel of the world'. Talking about nearly 1.7 international tourists in Perú in 2014 (Smith/Hurt, 2011:13), some professionals and institutions (e.g. UNESCO, UNEP, ICOMOS) get concerned, if this tourist-boom is not getting over the top and too much to handle for the - economically still classified as developing – country. They refer not only to the costs of maintenance of many heritage sites of the city, but also to adjust tourist offers, the expand of hotel industry, and probably most concerning extending the infrastructure of the city, which ironically leads to my example of the heritage site(s), buried under the main roads of the city. Even if growing tourism also means the growth of the GDP of the country, more job opportunities or diversity, the question is, if Cusco is ready for this concentration of tourism in the city, or if *'la planchada le podira salir más cara que la camisa'*.

2.1. The case of 'La Calle Mantas'

We are back in 2014 in Cusco, and the number of international tourists visiting the city increases constantly. Naturally the preservation, renovation and protection of heritage sites became part of a daily city life, especially the city center, where most of the sites can be found. The geometrically perfectly matching rocks tell the story of an old empire with advanced architectonic, astronomic and mathematic skills. But this perfection, encountered in the wall's structure, located around the city center, was usually reserved for important buildings and was often attached to some spiritual or religious background. Not every accommodation of any member of the Inka society was looking the same. It was mostly temples, ritual or administrative places, palaces, universities (e.g. 'Machu Picchu') or other important buildings or roads, which were built with such effort and correctness in style and structure to embrace the importance of it. To understand, what happened not quite five years ago, I need to deviate a bit: The Inka empire, called the '*Tawantinsuyu*', freely translated as '*Four Regions United*' was divided in four parts: The '*Antinsuyu*', the '*Qollasuyu*', the '*Chinchasuyu*' and the '*Kuntisuyu*', all merging into '*Qosqo*' (Cusco), the physical, political and spiritual center of the Inka universe. It is told, that the city was shaped like a puma, his head was the temple of '*Sacsayhuaman*', two rivers outlined the body and the main plaza – '*Hawkaypata*' – arose from its belly. It formed the center of the city and was used for rituals and ceremonies. The four main roads of the '*Qhapaq Ñan*' ran from the four sides of '*Hawkaypata*' into the four, former mentioned regions of the '*Tawantinsuyu*'.

After more than 400 years, one of these four main roads was now discovered in the 'Mantas'-Street, during construction work, which hasn't been done for at least 15 years. The local newspapers, archaeologists, and organisations like the UNESCO went crazy, since Cusco itself is part of the official World Heritage Sites, a discovery like that could not be left ignored. The problem was, that it was not just back then, but also in the present time one of the most important streets towards and away from the city center. Many parades or activities happen there and furthermore it is one of the few ways, which goes straight to the city, without any small sideways or impossible curvy streets to pass. What, then, should happen with the discovery?

3. Cultural heritage as bait for tourists

The case of the '*Calle Mantas*' envelops two essential dilemmas: On the one hand, there stands the discovery of an ancient cultural heritage of the local community and city; part of the identity and history of the Peruvian society. On the other hand, there is the urgent need for the street as transport route for goods and people, but also necessary for daily business. There are stores, hotels, banks, restaurants and other facilities on the way, which would be very hard – or even impossible to access with an open whole in the ground. Even if both sides are dealing with controversial issues, they lead to the same dichotomy between heritage conservation and heritage profit through commercialisation, whatever further decision would be made. Heritage, especially architectural heritage often gets involved in the inscrutable net of an economic dilemma of supply and demand. It also becomes an intersection between old-fashioned and modern, historical and futuristic, worth having or redundant. Of course, this case is a little bit more complicated, because the discovery in '*Calle Mantas*' is one of the culturally, spiritually and socially significant architectural masterpieces of the Inka empire, which is why the city of Cusco was first and foremost declared a World Heritage Site. Furthermore, it is remains and constructions like that, to bring tourists from all over the world, who want to see and experience history of a certain place. Sarah Mass talks in one of her articles about 'Commercial Heritage as Democratic Action', that the atmosphere or the 'aura' (Benjamin 1969 in: Jones 2009:6) of a heritage site is one of the most important emotions people want to receive, (not only tourists, but especially such) to feel connected to a certain place (Mass, 2018:475). Probably the appreciation of the 'atmosphere' is not always seen from a historic accurate point of view (e.g. heritage built under a terrible regime), but as 'always been there' and part of the local history and identity, therefore the emotional relation to a place or object is automatically connected to the sense of community. An 'echo' of this feeling, or this created 'atmosphere' is transferred on every visitor. Of course, there exist not only positive associations and emotions of certain heritage sites, but even if they are sad or uncomfortable (e.g. Concentration Camps, The Colosseum in Rome, Checkpoint Charlie, etc.), tourists still appreciate the feeling of participation in a foreign culture. They come to visit heritage sites with a, let me call it '*difficult past*', for comprehensibility and affiliation, even if it is an illusion. The same happens with the city of Cusco, where many tourists believe in the magical power of the stones, to gain spirituality and energy. Maybe for some it becomes their truth, their reality, but it also could be an artificially painted picture of the past, created to impress and amuse tourists, to give them

the false feeling of understanding what the locals understand, knowing the past of a foreign culture, to further know their present and reality. This kind of (politically) constructed truths of heritage sites are tricky: Do they show visitors (local or not), what they want them to see and let them feel, what they want them to feel, or is it ‘real’ and ‘authentic’?

3.1. Authenticity is what the tourists want – authenticity is what they get

Siân Jones deals a lot with notions, such as ‘authenticity’, ‘identity’ and heritage in her works. For her, ‘authenticity’ of heritage could be seen, as dichotomy from materialist approaches: ‘authenticity’ as inherent in the object; or constructivist approaches: ‘authenticity’ as a cultural construct (Jones, 2009:2). The question in both cases is: How do people experience ‘authenticity’ in practice at heritage sites and what makes it so compelling? First of all, to talk about ‘authenticity’, the definition should be clear. According to Jones, and in the context of heritage, it is a description for originality or its true nature, considering its materials, date, form, workmanship or construction, in case of an object (Jones, 2009:3). Institutions, like UNESCO, dealing with heritage management, try to classify notions like ‘authenticity’ on heritage sites, to justify their importance and furthermore, to measure the amount of money or work, that should be put in its conservation and protection. If the object or place does not fulfil certain criteria, it is simply ‘not worth having’. The inability to make enough profit, due to its lack of ‘authenticity’ and therefore the branding of not interesting enough for visitors is also what happened with the remains, found in ‘*Calle Mantas*’. Dealing with ‘authenticity’ of cultural heritage is always accompanied by the confrontation with ideological and symbolic constructions, which are historical, political and social impacted (Konsa, 2013:125). What is classified as ‘authentic’ and therefore especially profitable for the heritage industry is dependent on the opinion of a view powerful institutions, trying to justify their decision over a quantitative data collection through clustered characteristics of what is original and what not. But those approaches have been seriously challenged since the early 1990’s, by alternative perspectives of indigenous/non-western approaches versus the so far ruling point of view of industrial/Western ideas of heritage and heritage preservation. Jones gives an example of a Japanese Buddhist monument, which was completely renovated, but with ‘new’ materials – *ergo*, its ‘originality was replaced’ (Jones, 2009:4). The ‘Western’ notion of ‘authenticity’ and

conservation was tremendously challenged, until '*The Nara Conference of Authenticity*', 1994, finally had to change their requirements for the classification of 'authenticity':

"All judgements about values attributed to cultural properties as well as the credibility of related information sources may differ from culture to culture, and even within the same culture. It is thus not possible to base judgements of values and authenticity within fixed criteria." (ICOMOS 1994:47)

For '*The Nara Conference of Authenticity*', all criteria for 'authenticity' are maybe abolished now, but the case of '*Calle Mantas*' still did not end in favour of the remains, but later more about that.

As we can see, 'authenticity' does not react to materialistic classifications, it is an emotion, subjective and culturally constructed, not naturally inherent in an object. It refers to originality or uniqueness, as in '*being authentic as individual*', which leads to the need of a deconstruction of the notion. Ruskin thinks, that the feeling of '*voicefulness*', that we have in relation to certain buildings or places, gives them substance and life and would only lead to its destruction by an excessive concern with origins and restoration (Ruskin 1849 in: Jones, 2009:5). The search for origins and restoration are nevertheless essential parts of modern (mass-)tourism, eco-tourism, heritage-tourism, etc., and part of a commercialisation of the past with the aim of profit.

4. The problematic of (mass)-tourism in terms of heritage sites in Cusco

Mass tourism does not have a clear, consistent definition. Also, social anthropologists prefer the research of smaller segments of tourism, focusing on inductive methods, away from thinking of '*the mass*' (Vainikka, 2013:268). And who can blame them, as it is much easier to describe the individual, while tourism constantly changes, offers more activities, more independence and flexibility worldwide. Vilhelmiina Vainikka writes in her article 'Rethinking Mass Tourism' about two big discourses, trying to understand the phenomena of mass tourism: 1) mass tourism, as '*deterministic discourse*', homogenously and mostly described as hostile and opposite of eco-tourism; and 2) mass tourism as '*flexible discourse*', heterogeneously, meaning that all kind of tourism can be measured as mass tourism (Vainikka 2013:271). I would like to focus on the '*flexible discourse*' in my work, because it mostly describes my opinion on the term. Mass tourism, in this case, is a social constructed, multidimensional combination of

all kind of popular styles of tourism. It is not defined through a ‘package, or all inclusive-vacation’, but through its mode of the international movement of tourists. The ‘*flexible discourse*’ describes the always changing and complex nature of tourism industry and consumption (Vainikka 2013:276). The tourist can be classified in different types, always under the condition of seeking pleasure, such as ‘thermalists’ (health), ‘students’(education), ‘pilgrims’ (today more of an interaction from religious tourism and pleasure-tourism), ‘old country visitors’ (migrants or posterity of such), also ‘conventioneers’ (aim is to be part of the tourist-program), ‘business-travellers’ (instrumental intentions), or ‘tourist-employees’ (work and travel) (Cohen 1974:541-543), each one of them with particular claims to their travel or vacation. There are only two categories, which differ a little bit from the rest, thinking of a typical, new-country-visit-type of tourist: the ‘old country visitors’, and the ‘tourist-employees’. Those two would probably not check-in into a hotel or any other tourism industry managed facility (or at least not as guest), and their country experience most certainly differs the most from all other examples, as they 1) already know the country, maybe even grew up there, and 2) stay ‘*behind the scene*’ and have a higher chance to get in touch with locals. But those two tourist-classifications still mostly cannot avoid flight/bus/train-agencies, restaurants, visits of museums or heritage sites, etc., which shows the power and scope of the tourism industry. Even if the tourist thinks, he/she planned and organised an individual, non-commercial travel, absolutely free from any boundaries or tourist-traps, like the eco-tourism sector often likes to make believe, the next agency, where you can plan your trip to ‘Machu Picchu’, or doing the ‘Inka Trail’ is not far, or the nice ‘*mamitas*’, sitting on the street with their ‘*authentic*’ wardrobe, or crafts and arts, all unique and handmade, is this not also a sign of coordinated behaviour of mass treatment of the tourist industry, controlled by supply and demand?

“[...] more and more tourists, including those on package holidays, venture beyond, interested in natural, cultural heritage or rural sights, leading to a more active and heterogeneous role of mass tourists.” (Vainikka, 2013:278)

Vainikka goes on, mentioning Hazbun, who talks about the influence of mass tourism on the local communities, using foreign influences for their own purposes – e.g. rural tourism as alternative income generation activity for rural communities (Lo, 2017:763) – which makes the concept of mass tourism detectable on a micro-level of the local practice as well (Hazbun, 2009 in: Vainikka, 2013:278). The social relation of guest- and host moves towards an economic commodity-related ‘business relationship’, influenced by global or regional market systems.

This change through constantly faster moving and growing tourism also affects cultural heritage and how to deal with heritage sites. As Laurajane Smith describes it, there is no such thing as heritage, it only becomes heritage, when we use it in a heritage discourse, it is therefore neither a naturally existing phenomenon, nor universal or eternal (Smith 2006 in: Konsa, 2013:128). Heritage is always an ideological and symbolic construct, that not only differs among people, but also from culture to culture, time, and level of society, which makes it impossible to choose the correct value for each object/place (Konsa, 2013:130). What makes it an official heritage site, now is most likely the one, which makes the most profit for visitors, evaluated from an economic point of view. Of course, there exist cultural heritage within families as well, and a lot of places gain their value through their spiritual ‘aura’ – as I mentioned before, emotions combined with heritage sites, are one of the most important connections between visitor-and object/place. Also, language, experience, behaviour, narratives, etc. are significant parts of cultural heritage, but cannot exist without people forming and carrying it and, also - not to forget - celebrating, demonstrating, and showing it to some sort of audience.

4.1. The value of a heritage site: The decision over the discovery in ‘La Calle Mantas’

Talking about heritage sites in Cusco, they fall under the category of World Heritage, which carries the idea of cultural heritage, that crosses all ethnic, state and local boundaries and characterises humankind, as a whole (Konsa, 2013:134). The meaning of value is similar to the one of ‘authenticity’, because it is almost impossible to classify an emotion, universally accepted. The statement of World Heritage Sites is defined as neutral, but it is still an abstract notion they try to generalize. When does a valid object becomes heritage? The choice over value – in this case of heritage – can therefore, only be made by those who have sufficient influence in decision-making, which makes heritage directly related to power (Konsa, 2013:136). Some time ago, the church had great influence to decide what object or place has value, or not. The road of ‘*Qhapaq Ñan*’ was not valuable enough and therefore covered up. In return, big baroque churches were built, in honour of the Spanish empire and to demonstrate its ‘developed’, ‘superior’ architecture. Nowadays old markets, once valued for their created space for social interaction, purchase and exchange, are fighting against privatization and the creation of space for larger, more profitable shopping centers (Mass, 2018:460). One point has not

changed over the years, that the decision over value and the conservation or demolition of a place/object was only a socially elitist practice (Mass, 2018:463).

The discovery of an ancient treasure, which lied down between pipe lines, buried beneath the surface of a street over hundreds of years, finally freed and accessible for everyone did not make any difference. Too low its value, too expensive its preservation, even though ‘authentic’ and real, the higher power of the government decided, that it is ‘not worth it’. According to the ‘*International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*’, the heritage site must be more important in its value, than everything, that exists on its surface. It continues, with the argumentation, that a lot of important festivities and parades happen on exactly that street, ironically celebrating Christ and the catholic church, was it not war, together with a missioning of the population, that brought the site in ‘*Calle Mantas*’ underground. One more critical point has been, that the heritage site should be in an ‘*integral context*’ with the rest of its environment, which would have been truly impossible, or at least attached to enormous expenditure. It would also have been very complicated to built protection around the walls, to control any kind of pressure caused of the surrounding buildings, wet grounds, or demolitions through rain water (ICOMOS, 1966; Cusco en Portada/El Comercio/Terra, 2014). The road of ‘*Qhapaq Ñan*’, entering the ‘*Hawkaypata*’ and junction to the ‘*Cusipata*’, an historic discovery with a sobering outcome, that in our capitalistic system, nothing values more than money.

5. Conclusion

In my work, I wanted to describe the influences of tourism on heritage sites, with the special example of the discovery of ‘*La Calle Mantas*’ in 2014. The difficulty in this case was first, the location of the site and the immense expenditures it would entail to preserve the ancient road, to make it available for the mass. In this case, the consideration of profit through commercialisation of the place, to recover the money spent for its maintenance, gained more sympathy, than the protection of the site, out of spiritual or emotional values of the local community. This reflection leads to the conclusion, that heritage protection only happens nowadays, if it is sustainable for further commercial use, otherwise it is squander of resources. Talking about a heritage site, in the length of a whole street, naturally different interests collide. Any kind of external (or internal) influence interferes with the local use of resources in general,

and with the environmental or archaeological considerations (Carman, 2005:85). What concerns me, is the unequal hierarchy in collaboration, when it comes to terms like decisions over the further treatment of a heritage site, where usually the descendent or indigenous community can be found on the bottom line. They maybe get the right for consultations, but the last words, have the view with power. The closer a heritage site gets to a city center, the less consultations are required from native communities. Furthermore, in this case, the Inka-descendent are not as widespread, or even existent anymore. The closest some can get to the once existing culture is through lived practice in rituals, stories or customs, mostly performed by small communities settled in the higher regions of the Andean mountains, further outside of the city. For comparison, not like, for example the Maya-culture, which is still a recognized minority (e.g. Island of Yucatán, Guatemala, Honduras, etc.) and therefore still has a co-determination right in cases, that approach cultural heritage. Similar to the Aboriginal community, where Judith Field writes about the absolute integrity, the archaeologists established, while working on heritage sites, in Cuddie Springs, Australia (Field, 2000 in: Carman, 2005:87). I do not claim, that the 'Ministry of Culture' in Cusco did not try to find a solution to keep the walls, but I do think, that the reasons for doing so were guided from (tourist-)industrial, commercialistic thoughts, motivated from industrial/western criteria of heritage sites and profit, and that the final decision to cover it up again had nothing, or comparatively little to do with emotional values of identity or history of the native society. Neither do I believe, that scientific opinions or the consultations of the community have been seriously integrated in the process, as this would not be the first time in Perú. Rumours have been started, about building a museum in '*Calle Mantas*', or at least prohibit trucks and busses, that weigh more than 4,500kg to enter the center (Andina, 2014), probably to calm the community members, who were claiming in favour of preserving the remains, but this is just a speculation, originated from a rumour.

Our world is moving fast, developing technology, infrastructure and reinforcing globalisation. Tourism is nothing new, Faulkner, Moscardo and Laws write, that the first travels, motivated for reasons, other than trade, war or exploration, but meant to be as voluntary activities, were already mentioned in antique literature (Faulkner/Moscardo/Laws, 2001: xxiii). It is only natural, that tourism, the movement of people, guests and hosts, have a big influence on economic, environmental and furthermore, cultural- and social changes of a country, and its cultural heritage. The challenge is to find the balance between demonstrating it for educational purposes, pleasure and amusement, for visitors, and the emotional value for natives, with the purpose of affiliation and retaining history for all humanity.

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