

FRAMING MACHU PICCHU:  
SCIENCE, PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE MAKING OF HERITAGE

By

AMY ELIZABETH COX

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To Kirk

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|     |   |
|-----|---|
| AAG | Colección Giesecke, Instituto Riva-Aguero         |
| MRE | Ministry of Foreign Relations, Lima, Peru         |
| YMA | Yale University Library, Manuscripts and Archives |

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FRAMING MACHU PICCHU:  
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By

Amy Elizabeth Cox

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This study examines the ways in which early scientific practices and visual technologies have contributed to the cultural imagining and production of Peru's Machu Picchu. First photographed for a global public in 1911 by the Yale Peruvian Expedition (YPE) led by Hiram Bingham, Machu Picchu was not simply unveiled or discovered. Rather, the YPE initiated the framing of the site as a scientific and Incan find, which was soon reframed in Peru as a nativist utopia and national treasure. The translation of crumbling walls and weedy remains of a mountainous ridge into "Machu Picchu: Incan heritage site" involved not only archaeological excavation and reconstruction, but a host of other tools and technologies. Technologies such as photography and visualization, map-making, the conduct and practices of scientific exploration, and particular readings of the historical record were all invoked in specific ways. Today further work framing Machu Picchu continues through national and transnational institutions, legislation, lawsuits, civic protests, tourism, personal experiences and public referendums.

Drawing on texts from turn of the twentieth-century Andean explorations, YPE papers, Peruvian archives, and ethnographic interviews and observations, this dissertation investigates the ways in which expeditionary practices, social networks and

visual technologies were instrumental in initially shaping Machu Picchu into a discovery, lost city and Andean Utopia. Further, this study contrasts those initial imaginings to examine how understandings of Machu Picchu continue to be deployed, contested and reframed today through a myriad of practices, particularly tourism and law. Although historically rooted, today's heritage-discourses surrounding Machu Picchu are culturally contingent and are in many ways attempts to grapple with what it means to be global, transnational and cosmopolitan in the twenty-first century.

## CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

It (Machu Picchu) is far more wonderful and interesting than Choquequirau. The stone is as fine as any in Cuzco! It is unknown and will make a fine story (Bingham to his wife, July 26, 1911, YMA 5, Folder 26)

As part of the Ph.D. process, graduate students are required to pass qualifying exams before conducting their research. The exams serve as one final moment of instruction, inquiry and guidance that the student's committee has with the student. Preparing for the exam is also meant to ready the student for fieldwork and push the student's thinking in different ways. One of the questions on my exam was to discuss the ways in which Machu Picchu itself was an artifact. Thinking about Machu Picchu as an artifact helped me separate the place from its purported past or origin. It allowed me to understand Machu Picchu as a complex construction of scientific, national, and global imaginaries, one of the Seven Wonders of the World.

This dissertation begins with three assertions. First, the genealogy of Machu Picchu as a modern artifact begins with the instruments and practices of Hiram Bingham and the Yale Peruvian Expedition. That is, although local meanings of the area now known as Machu Picchu may have existed prior to Bingham's expeditions, global and national meanings of Machu Picchu may be traced to the ways in which the site was imagined and packaged in the early 1900s.

Second, within the package of practices, concepts, and instruments that shape the meanings attached to Machu Picchu, visual technologies were critical. The act of taking photographs, and the selection, circulation and manipulation of images and diagrams to global and national publics uniquely shape(d) Machu Picchu into an internationally recognized world heritage site and Peruvian national icon.

Third, current debates over Machu Picchu's care mimic initial controversies over the presence of the YPE, but reframe and appropriate their meanings for current political ends. In the case of Peru and the quest for the repatriation of artifacts taken from Machu Picchu, scientific and patrimonial discourses are resuscitated to include perceptions of historical injustice of American imperialism and current issues surrounding globalization. A deep ambivalence and blurring about the proper treatment and people's connection to Machu Picchu are continually fashioned through a wide variety of acts prospecting Machu Picchu as patrimony.

My theoretical approach brings together ways of understanding heritage and nation with recent work in Science and Technology Studies and Visual Anthropology. Much of the previous scholarship on heritage starts with a fixed and timeless definition and attempts to determine the authenticity of an object as national patrimony. These studies often outline the legal and ethical rights associated with repatriation (Messenger 1989; Merryman 1990; Haas 1996; Barkan and Bush 2006). Rather than begin with a static and universal assumption about heritage or attempt to determine the authenticity of Machu Picchu as national/world heritage, I am concerned with the ways in which Machu Picchu has been invoked, organized, and defined, and the effects this has on the imaginary of the Peruvian nation. Consequently, I examine the production of Machu Picchu as national patrimony and a source of nativist identity by tracking the networks, practices and representations through which the site has been publicly made into a national and global icon.

At first Hiram Bingham and the YPE seemed unlikely candidates for the inflection and reliance on the research produced under the rubric of science studies. Although

Bingham was an explorer and considered himself and the expeditions to Peru first and foremost scientific expeditions, science studies in academia has tended to focus on either science produced in a pre-twentieth century time-frame or science as technology, be it medical imaging devices, computers or superconductors (e.g. Traweek 1988; Miller and Reill 1996; Rapp1997; Dumit 1997, 2004). Physics and biomedicine, particularly the study of the body, have been privileged over expeditionary science in science studies scholarship. Furthermore, trying to link science studies to explorers proved confusing and at times counter-intuitive. From our standpoint today, science and scientists conjure up an image of white coats, glass beakers and measurements, drugs and computers. Drawing on science studies to examine expeditionary practices made sense to me, but was resisted by the very label itself. Bingham's expedition and his findings did not seem "scientific" enough.

While Bingham felt that he produced scientific findings through map-making, geography and osteology, substantial results from these practices were only minimally published and did not come to the forefront as the primary or important outcomes of Bingham's expedition. There were no inventions or laboratories or famed devices stemming from the three Yale expeditions to Peru. Moreover, archaeology, what one might assume was the primary scientific practice used in uncovering Machu Picchu and learning more about its past, was not conducted on the three YPE tours. None of the members of the three expeditions to Peru were thoroughly trained in archaeology or physical anthropology. Bingham himself was trained in history, and his teams typically consisted of a geographer, osteologist, naturalist, and topographer as well as several young assistants. Instead what occurred on the three expeditions to Peru is best

described as late antiquarianism collecting. Although YPE topographic maps continue to be used by explorers today and Bingham is credited with locating Vitcos, where Manco Inca ruled until he was assassinated by the Spanish (Thompson 2003), Bingham's legacy does not readily read as scientific.

During the time of Bingham's expeditions, science was still characterized as something more varied. Educated people dabbled in science. Illustrated lectures by explorers or non-professional scientists were common. The pursuit of science for the YPE was science cum history cum adventure and eventually cum industry. The blurring of these pursuits demonstrates the anachronicity of these labels in the early twentieth century when the romantico-scientific aura of the explorer and the "renaissance man" established in the nineteenth century was still very much alive. However, this is not to say that scientific discovery did not play a significant role in facilitating, legitimizing and carrying out the expedition. Without the sheen and the technologies of the scientific expedition, the Yale cohort would have produced a rather distinct legacy. Indeed, it was precisely the scientific aura of the expedition that guaranteed its long cultural legacy both in Peru and in the world at large.

Trained as a historian, Bingham might be best characterized as an explorer with a scientific purpose. The first professor of South American history at Yale, Bingham sought to develop exciting and relevant questions which built upon previous scholarship and then methodically attempted to answer those questions. Bingham hoped to contribute to something beyond individual experience, enriching "civilization's" knowledge. Along the way, he also wanted to make a name for his self. By understanding Bingham and the YPE as scientific expeditions, this dissertation aims to

push the boundaries of science and technology studies to include analysis into the relationship between scientific expeditions, visualizing technologies, and the making of national and world heritage.

### **Science, Photography and the Nation**

In recent decades the nation has emerged as a key topic of inquiry in the social and historical sciences. Benedict Anderson (1983) first argued that the nation was a shared imagined community sustained primarily through the emergence and development of print capitalism. Building on Anderson, scholars suggested that it was not only the sense of parallelism gained through print media, but also a sense of cultural intimacy gained through the public domain (Corrigan and Sayer 1985; Herzfeld 1997). Others added that opposition and difference were also critical for the form of the nation (Alonso 1994; Aretxaga 2003). Specifically within ethnographic and historical studies of archaeology and its relationship to nationalism, scholars have convincingly argued that archaeology is often performed in the name of nationalism or for the political goals of nation-building (Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Schmidt and Patterson 1995; Kohl 1998). Archaeological work is not only directed through nationalist goals, but its findings are often shaped and constrained by national and statist desires and the scientific and social theories that have been built into the nation-state (Arnold 1990).

Although studies on archaeology and nationalism have demonstrated the social and political effects of naming national monuments, they are less concerned with the ways in which specific archaeological practices and technologies have participated in the creation and meanings of heritage. Too often these studies begin post-reconstruction with the purported scientific understanding and importance of the site already established. This research project makes an intervention in this literature

through an investigation into how nationalist and archaeological knowledge are co-constructed. Drawing on work in science studies (e.g. Barnes and Bloor 1982; Latour and Woolgar 1986; Traweek 1988; Law 1992; Golinski 1998), I symmetrically position archaeology, nationalism, ideas and instrumentation to make better sense of the ways in which YPE expeditionary practices and technologies “discovered” not only archaeological ruins but also “discovered”, or produced, specific social knowledges, particularly understandings of Peruvian heritage and patrimony.

My approach draws on Michel Foucault who argued that objects do not exist naturally or *a priori*, but are effects produced by a complex and dynamic set of relationships and practices. To locate and understand the formation of objects it is necessary to track how and where the object emerges, how the object earned authority, and how the object is divided and classified. Recent work in science and technology studies focuses on the formation of objects and its effects – from sea scallops to genes to depression (e.g. Callon 1999; Haraway 1997; Dumit 1997, 2004). I also draw on Bruno Latour. In *Science in Action*, Latour (1987) argues that science is a collective process through which facts and machines are constructed. Based on a theory of translation rather than diffusion, Latour stresses the work involved, the negotiations, the documentation produced, as well as the people who are made alongside the creation of scientific facts. As a result, Latour argues it is critical to study science as a process, to witness the trials of strength and negotiations, to see how a controversy is settled, and ultimately how a dispute ends. Through a focus on the process and production of scientific facts, it is possible to witness the social networks, relationships and identities that are formed in tandem.

Images are key actors not only in the production of scientific knowledge, but in the formation of individual and group identities (e.g. Latour 1986, 1987; Dumit 1997, 2004). In their seminal essay *Seeing and Believing: The Experimental Production of Pneumatic Facts*, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer (1985) first showed how the scientific facts claimed by the eighteenth century scientist Robert Boyle regarding his air-pump were made possible through literary, material and social technologies (1985:25). Witnessing, or viewing the display and demonstration of those facts, was the most powerful fact-constituting technology because it allowed for the unlimited multiplication of witnesses (1985:60). Lorraine Daston and Peter Galison (1992) build upon Shapin and Schaffer's research to argue that while display is crucial for establishing scientific fact, nineteenth century photography offered a new form of mechanical objectivity, whereby raw and contingent experience could be transformed into an experience that was easily digestible (1992:85). Photography became an extremely powerful mechanism for stabilizing facts because of the instant obfuscation of its cultural making and its claim to produce an objective reality.

More recently, Donna Haraway (1997) examines the social effects of scientific practices and visual technologies through the mapping of the human genome. Haraway asserts that the gene is not a thing or master code, but is a signification of a node where many actors meet. The gene obscures and disavows the very socio-technical relationships that generate both objects and value (Haraway 1997:142-147). Furthermore, through the process of visualization, the socio-technical relationships involved in an object's making are instantly obscured (Haraway 1997; see also Latour 1986). Photography, and other "objective" visualizations like map-making, are

instrumental in shaping both scientific claims and social relationships because images can be exchanged, manipulated and serve as an independent, and therefore an objective, tool of verification.

Deborah Poole (1997) has begun to open up the discussion about the ways in which photography in Latin America has shaped identities and nations. At the root of her study is an examination of how visual images and practices structured and reproduced particular scientific projects, cultural sentiments and aesthetic dispositions which characterized the Peruvian nation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The methodological framework Poole provides is one in which the visual is part of an economy comprised of a network of exchange relationships which produce not only social relationships, but knowledge about nations and its subjects. Tracing the photographs' movement, exchange and contextualization, Poole argues that photographs were critical to cultural and intellectual formations about Peru from both a European and Peruvian perspective. Specifically, Poole argues that scientific understandings about race were made and challenged through the photograph. Poole's work highlights that the materiality and movement of the image is as important as its celluloid content.

By the twentieth century, the camera was an essential instrument in scientific exploration. Bingham and the other YPE members used photography, as well as topographic drawings, as a way to document the expedition site, helping to map the area geographically, geologically and ethnographically. Many of the images were selected for publication in popular magazines like *Harper's Magazine* and *National Geographic* and scientific journals like *American Antiquarian Society* and *Journal of*

*American Science*. The same images were reframed by Peruvians for use in publications like *Variedades* and *Ilustración Peruana*. Hand-tinted lantern slides were also made of the images and were used to illustrate the expedition team's many lectures. The Eastman Kodak Corporation, National Geographic Society, and the Hispanic Society of America also used YPE photographs for display in both their traveling and permanent exhibitions. Global sharing of the site's images created novel understandings of the meaning of Machu Picchu and its role in Peru's and the world's history.

In this dissertation I aim to de-naturalize Machu Picchu and in so doing examine the work, denials, loss and socio-technical relationships that continue to generate Machu Picchu. In many ways Machu Picchu operates similarly to Boyle's air-pump and the human genome. The work, relationships and technologies that have gone into its discovery, its creation as a UNESCO world heritage site, beloved national icon, and epiphany-producing tourist destination, are all elided. For Shapin and Shaffer, technologies like witnessing elided the labor of producing facts; For Haraway, the maps of genomes elide the social relations involved in genetic sciences; For Daston and Galison photographic technology elided the practices of objectification.

In the case of Machu Picchu, a powerful Yale network, transnational relationships, expeditionary practices and technologies, and nationalist dreams are elided in a visit to Machu Picchu. The years of cleaning the site, restoration and reconstruction are obscured when people witness the monument or when they talk about the site's meaning and importance. How capital, technology and expeditionary

practices interfaced to develop Machu Picchu into a natural object and fact of global heritage is a jumping off point for this dissertation.

Currently, mestizo middle-class and elite Peruvians identify with, and claim, an Incan heritage. Machu Picchu is the premier emblem of that identity and concerns over its protection enlist narratives of nostalgia, loss, contamination and indecency (pre-dissertation fieldwork May 2005). Historic drawings, photographs, texts and initial YPE facts about Machu Picchu are consistently being reprinted, replayed and reenacted in public. While old themes are conjured through reproduction, they are also grafted in new ways with current struggles, stories and emotions over becoming cosmopolitan, global, and transnational (Dumit 1997; Tsing 2005). The result is a present-day object that is historically rooted but culturally contingent. How current resuscitations of Machu Picchu draw on, but reframe and remember the recent past sheds light on the ways in which the global world of science continues to refashion local meanings and identities in Peru. The effects of YPE actions from 1911-1916 continue to be felt today.

### **Historical and Ethnographic Methods**

In the introduction to the edited volume *Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, Brian Axel writes: “Rather than the study of a people in a particular place and at a certain time, what is at stake in historical anthropology is explaining the production of a people and the production of space and time” (2002:3). Axel argues that historical anthropology “reaches toward its own margins just as it works on the margins of institutional epistemologies to look at the problematic nature of history itself and to rethink the presumptions of social theory and disciplinarity” (2002:3). This dissertation project is first and foremost about the simultaneous production of a place and the people who have come to identify with it. Working in these generative margins of

knowledge, what others have referred to as boundary work (Haraway 1991), is the task of the historical anthropologist.

Doing historical anthropology for me was often a precarious and identity-less pursuit. While on a Fulbright to Peru I met other scholars – anthropologists, biologists, geographers and one historian – conducting their dissertation research. I always felt that my research did not fit a stereotypic mold. It traversed false chronological boundaries. I was neither working solely with paper nor people. Cultural anthropologists sometimes work in archives, but traditionally the historical aspect of their research fits in a neat introductory chapter as a brief, but sturdy, explanatory foundation on which to catapult forward to the present. There is nothing empirically wrong with this approach. However, spending four months at Yale University's archives, I found myself asking why there was not more coursework in cultural anthropology on historical methods and historiography.

Although I identify myself first and foremost as a cultural anthropologist, my research is historical. That is, my research methods and my chronological focus are those of the historian. I have worked in archives in both Peru and the U.S. reading correspondence, magazine and newspaper clippings, journal entries, expedition reports and circulars, prefecture accounts and first person essays and articles. I pored over photographs and sought to understand their provenance and context when in most cases there was little accompanying information. In the U.S. I spent four months working in Yale's Sterling Library's Manuscripts and Archives. In both Lima and Cuzco, Peru, I worked in a variety of public archives including the National Museum of Archaeology, Anthropology and History, The General Archive of the Nation, The

Ministry of Foreign Relations, Riva-Aguero Institute, The National Institute of Culture, the Bartolomé de las Casas Photographic Archive and Lima's La Católica University. I visited other archives such as the Geographic Society of Lima where I found no documents, but whose historic location was evocative of the faded elegance of a bygone era. In looking for the famous photographic studio of Lima's Courret brothers of the early 1900's, I found a store in a pedestrian mall which sells electronics and language learning audio-tapes. I also visited personal archives and met with individuals who shared their documents and photographs from Bingham's era.

I also conducted ethnographic research. I participated in marches, videotaped and interviewed protestors, interviewed workers of the National Institute of Culture and visited Machu Picchu countless times. My primary ethnographic work, in addition to being at Machu Picchu and interviewing employees of the INC, was working with an association of guides referred to as the Colegio Licenciatura de Turismo or COLITUR. COLITUR is the only official association in Cuzco of guides with bachelor's degrees in tourism. Two other associations AGOTUR and PROGATUR require either completion of a short course or a longer vocational course in tourism. At COLITUR I not only interviewed members of the association, but also observed and participated in their tourist activities designed for Cuzqueños.

My presence in Peru was often welcomed, sometimes met with skepticism, or simply ignored. When I first began working with the tour guide association in Cuzco I was invited to attend a graduation ceremony for the newest members of the association. The director of the association thought it might be a good way to meet new members and encourage people to participate in my study. So, one Friday evening I walked

hurriedly down Avenida del Sol, the main thoroughfare in Cuzco, to a nice hotel where the ceremony was being held. I was dressed extremely inappropriately for the graduation ceremony, wearing clean corduroys, my clogs and my black North Face<sup>®</sup> down-jacket. Everyone else was accompanied by their families and wore their finest – men in suits and women in dresses or slacks and leather heels. A quartet played classical music throughout the ceremony and a musical group from K'eros gave a folk performance in conclusion. Hiding in the back row, I waited for the ceremony to begin and end so that I might mingle, introduce myself and pass out my card. My spouse had just arrived to Cuzco for a visit and the last thing on my mind was convincing college graduates of tourism to spend an hour being interviewed. Still, this was a good opportunity and I knew it, so I welcomed the welcoming. About ten minutes into the introductions I was summoned to the front and asked to join the table of eminences that would be passing out the accoutrements of induction, including a photographic name badge that was required for giving tours at Peru's historical sites. I wanted to die. Who would have thought that high heels would be the most appropriate dress for anthropological fieldwork in Peru? I sheepishly walked to the front and took my seat. After about an hour, I was almost relieved about making it through the ceremony without causing too much embarrassment. Then, my friend the director requested that I give the brindis, the toast. Everyone had been given small plastic cups filled with wine. Quickly I turned to Leo (names have been changed) and said: what do you say at a brindis? In the end, I spoke a little about my project and how to get in touch with me, thanked them for allowing me to participate in the ceremony, and congratulated everyone with a big Salud!

My subsequent work with the association could not have gone better and I was invited to participate in a variety of activities where I was kindly treated with curiosity, humor and openness. I became a vehicle through which perspectives might be expressed and shared to a larger community. I never felt like an intruder and was the recipient of extraordinary Cuzqueño hospitality. I imagine that Leo, along with many of the people I interviewed, were quite philosophical about the reciprocal nature of such warmly felt and easily shared hospitality, hoping that I might honor their perspectives as they honored mine.

Not everyone was as welcoming as the tour association. Early on in my research in Cuzco I had begun participating in marches with a local syndicate. The worker's syndicate had organized in protest against new laws commercializing the nation's patrimony. Interviewing members had not been a part of my initial dissertation proposal, but I thought that the group might offer a unique perspective on the importance of Machu Picchu for this group of Cuzqueños. I interviewed participants and had received clearance to attend the highly volatile, long, meetings/performances held in the evenings near the neighborhood of San Blas. I had even attended a Day of the Woman celebration and been given a necklace as a token of appreciation for being a woman.

One Tuesday evening, I had battled the winter rains, and was sitting with a tape recorder in a dimly lit concrete edifice as the syndicate members spoke heatedly about organizing their next strike in protest of the pending patrimony laws. One member was a construction worker who had been jailed for his earlier participation in the protest marches and whose firestorm rhetoric was a blend of poetry, machismo and dramaturgical angst. Concerned over my presence, he halted the meeting to call me out

in front of several hundred union members. As an anthropologist it is sometimes convenient to simply listen and to attempt to draw as little attention as possible. In retrospect my desire is quite laughable since I clearly was the answer to the question: which one doesn't belong?

After being singled out, the room fell silent as everyone directed their stare toward me. There was absolute silence. I felt like I was in a movie where all the heads slowly move in unison towards one person. While I knew that this group of men and women were friendly as individuals, in these meetings people would raise their voices and declaim and renounce vociferously. People held court in those meetings and I fondly remember people's speeches as impromptu yet eloquent political renderings. However, I had quickly become the target of such speeches. Alarmed and taken off-guard, I explained myself and was vouched for by others in the group. This seemed to temporarily satisfy the majority of the people. I continued to work with the group until my main contact was photographed fraternizing with the enemy. Discussions about patrimony turned toward political survival as the group fragmented. I turned my ethnographic attention elsewhere.

In my archival research I was mostly allowed to peruse at my pleasure, though at times I was considered a threat and a possible participant in spy-like subterfuge. This did not only happen in Peru, but in the U.S. as well. I was denied access to two important collections in the U.S. I was not able to research in the archives or photographic collections at National Geographic purportedly because their attorneys had closed access to the collections for non-National Geographic employees following the pending lawsuit between Peru and Yale. I was also restricted from their

photographic collections primarily because I could not convince the gatekeeper of the collection as to the worthiness of my project. The photographic collections at Yale's Peabody Museum were equally as difficult to research. Persistent calls and emails were unable to access the collections or even elicit a response from the staff. These collections, consisting of photographic albums, were critical to the initial frame of the research. The story told here unfortunately works around their absence.

While feeling like I stand at the margins of history and anthropology, while not fully participating in either, I have come to realize that this position has proven to be the strength of this project. Although initially questioned by some for its breadth and its scope, this dissertation could only have been realized by connecting history and anthropology. Linking historical discourses, practices and objects with their present-day renderings demonstrates the presence of a connective tissue that links us to the past.

This dissertation is archaeology without the use of trowels. This is an archaeology conducted through archival research, interviews and tape recorders, video cameras and note-taking. Aware of the circularity, this is work, more work than I had anticipated, which may contribute to a new chapter in the twenty-first century life of an icon.

### **Work towards a Genealogy**

In this dissertation I work under the theory that Machu Picchu is a discourse-object that has archaeology of its own, with its own particular rules of formation and systems of dispersion (Foucault 1972:37-8). The term discourse is often used as a synonym for dialogue and is bandied about as an intellectual replacement for speech. In Peru, the Spanish term for discourse, *discurso*, is commonly used in everyday parlance as a way to denote an entire conversation or conversational style. Throughout this

dissertation I refer to discourses of science and patrimony not simply as words or as conversation or speech. Instead, the term is meant to encompass something broader - the relationships between statements (Foucault 1972:31). In this way, discourse is a package not only consisting of words, but of values, of myths, of materiality and of people connected. Discourse is not only a language use articulated with forms of power, but also demarcates hierarchical forms of representation (Foucault 1974; De Certeau 1984; Ivy 1995).

To conduct an archaeology of Machu Picchu thus investigates its formation through the discourses which help(ed) constitute it, to interrogate and break apart the universals and the “naturals” of our lives. To write that archaeology, an object’s genealogy, is to “to identify the accidents, the deviations - or conversely, the complete reversals - the errors, the false appraisals, and the faulty calculations that gave birth to those things that continue to exist and have value for us” (Foucault 1972: 81).

Stories surround Machu Picchu. Rumors, hunches, secrets, tales of romance, tales of deception, fantastical stories and violent stories. Machu Picchu is a messy story at times filled with longing, loss, superficiality, consumerism, kitsch and hope. Throughout the text I refer to conflicting stories as I try to interject my own. For me, whether or not Hiram Bingham was initially motivated to explore Peru by sexist and competitive jealousy<sup>1</sup>, or if he was informed of Machu Picchu in 1909 by Albert Giesecke, or if, as Mariana Mould de Pease has begun to argue, that a German map-maker was the real discoverer of Machu Picchu (presentation given at UNSAAC, April 2008) are not the focus of this dissertation. This is not a quest to determine the real

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<sup>1</sup> In his book on his father Alfred Bingham asserts that Hiram Bingham was motivated to climb Mt. Coropuna because of competitive sexism toward Annie Peck, a female mountain climber and explorer.

origin story or to replace one “discoverer” with another. Rather, this dissertation tracks the invention of the tale of Machu Picchu into a “discovery”<sup>2</sup> and how the topos of lost cities continues to captivate the imaginary of the world.

In this dissertation I use the term modern to indicate not only the capitalist structures of life, but also the mechanical forms of reproduction that began in Peru in the late 1800s and which came into its sharpest relief around the time of Bingham’s expedition (Benjamin 1969; Poole 1997). Modern is not only a descriptive and periodizing term in the development of capitalism, but also indicates the desires and imagining of what modern looked like in the form of behavior, dress and attitudes (Ivy 1995). Specifically I use modern to indicate the changes in people’s identities and subjectivity as individuals, particularly the way in which patrimony and national heritage began to be pulled in as part of the Peru’s nation building practices. In 1911, Peru’s modernity was being compared with the modernity of other nations. Peru’s desire for co-evalness in a global-scape was part of striving to become modern (Ivy 1995). Transnational infrastructures, scientific practices and national efforts all worked to constitute a discursive complex which was characterized as modern; a mental outlook accompanied by a specific institutional order (Knauff 2002).

This dissertation is organized in two parts. The first three chapters focus on the ways in which Machu Picchu was first made into a discovery for science. In Chapter two (the introduction is technically chapter one), I explicate the transnational social

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<sup>2</sup> The quotation marks around “discoverer” and “discovery” are meant to indicate the constructedness of this term and its invention and deployment in conquest narratives. I insert quotations around “discovery” to demonstrate that discovery is a term which has a political history in South America and perpetuates the myth of lost cities, primitive peoples and all-powerful agents who are heralded and remembered throughout history as discoverers. Now that I have explained this use, I will typically not place quotation marks around these terms throughout the text.

networks, corporate sponsorships, and state alliances which laid the groundwork for the eventual scientific discovery of Machu Picchu in 1911. I argue that the Yale expeditions to Peru marked a turn in scientific expeditions to South America through its marriage of science with modernizing desires for Peru's industrial development. Through this initial groundwork of the expedition as science, Machu Picchu was already being constituted as a discovery even before it was seen. Letters were written, social networks shaped and corporate alliances forged through the discourse of expeditionary science.

Further work in the discovery of Machu Picchu was conducted through map-making, collecting, excavating and photographing the site. In Chapter three, I focus on the practice of collecting and argue that through collecting, Machu Picchu was first fashioned into a "lost city." The YPE collected books, skeletal remains, animals and bodies in an effort to capture Peru's Incan past. The YPE's rapacious collecting agenda relied on the imagined sovereignty of science and the work of huaqueros to reorder the landscape and its subjects. Invoking the authority of science, Bingham was able to enlist workers, hacienda owners and elites on both continents for his enterprise.

In Chapter four I investigate photography and the image of Machu Picchu in U.S. and Peruvian print media. The shaping of Machu Picchu into a national and global icon was enabled first and foremost by visual representations and technologies of reproduction. While National Geographic generously sponsored two of the three Yale Peruvian Expeditions that Bingham conducted in Peru, the utilization of photography, especially the production of a special edition of the illustrated magazine dedicated to Peru and Machu Picchu in 1913, furthered the global articulation of a specific and powerful meaning for Machu Picchu. In this chapter I refer to the YPE photographic

collection as a form of imagined materiality. I do so not only to highlight the way in which national and scientific imaginings relied on materiality for their sustenance, but also how photography was deployed in print media to visualize and circulate those imaginings.

The last three chapters focus on the ways in which Machu Picchu has been discovered for the nation and shaped into patrimony. The first chapter in this section examines the making of Machu Picchu into Peruvian national heritage vis-à-vis the two controversies that ensued over the YPE's requests to remove artifacts from Peru during the 1912 and 1914-5 expeditions. Focusing on the YPE's excavations and removal of antiquities, their proposed 1912 government concession, and the eventual injunction ending the YPE excavations in 1915, I articulate how the presence and interest of foreign researchers fueled historical patrimonial discourses in Peru. Relying on a well-established tradition of "patriotic epistemology" (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001), some contemporary Peruvian intellectuals sought to reframe Machu Picchu as national heritage. They did so in part by appealing to the evidence presumed to reside in Machu Picchu's artifacts. The earlier battles fought in the discourses of science and nation foreground the current lawsuit between Peru and Yale University.

The cultural work of fashioning or "making Machu Picchu" continues today through national and transnational institutions, congressional legislation, and in civic discussions within Peru. Machu Picchu continues to be refashioned not only through national advertising campaigns, but also through guided tours at the sanctuary and marches protesting commercialization of the nation's patrimony. Machu Picchu has become not only a source of expeditionary achievement, but a place where a nation's imagining of its future lies, offering financial opportunity and a heritage roadmap for the

future. Constituted in public and private spheres, Machu Picchu was and continues to be made through a series of relationships, fashioning various subjects along the way.

In Chapter six I focus on the ways in which Machu Picchu has been transformed into an Andean Utopia for the twenty-first century. Based on multiple site visits and extensive interviews with tour guides, this chapter traces the ways in which guides come to understand their “heritage” and what it means to “be Incan.” While tourism is acknowledged as a problematic tool for development, it is through quotidian practices of tourism that much is learned and revealed about Cuzco’s Incan past and subsequently shaped into current understandings of identity.

Finally, in Chapter seven I conclude with an examination of recent congressional legislation and legal disputes involving Machu Picchu. Two months into my fieldwork, news broke that Yale University was going to return objects taken from Machu Picchu. With what seemed like a constant barrage of news stories about Machu Picchu and Yale, I reluctantly began to think of my research between these two bookends: Yale University’s scientific discovery of Machu Picchu on one end, and the Peruvian national claim on the artifacts that continues to fashion the meaning of Machu Picchu for many Peruvians, on the other. Although I did not want to pursue the topic of repatriation, I found that my research spoke directly to the questions being raised in the negotiations.

While my dissertation proposal was initially conceived before Peru threatened to file suit against Yale University, the people I met and worked with in Peru were deeply interested in my project primarily I suspect because of its political currency. As a consequence, I was granted access to a variety of institutional archives, with many individuals willingly assisting in the project. Nevertheless, and by design, I do not take a

stand on whether or not the objects should be returned to Peru. Perhaps this will disappoint some readers. Instead, I frame the negotiations and lawsuit as acts of “prospecting” heritage or patrimony, and as only the latest episode of several such episodes in Peruvian history. I suggest that the collection of artifacts at Yale is of little value to science, but instead is of great significance to the sovereign claims of the Peruvian nation, in part because the artifacts were extracted in the sovereign name of science by Bingham and the Yale Peruvian Expeditions, and because Yale now sees itself as safeguarding the interests of science. While Machu Picchu is further produced and defined in these clashes, ambivalent meanings about the nation, personhood, sovereignty, science, modernity and cultural patrimony emerge in these contests. Today’s heritage-prospecting are, in many ways, attempts to not only settle a historic grievance, but to grapple with what it means to be global and national in the twenty-first century.

Although Machu Picchu emerged in 1911 in a very specific way, today Machu Picchu is valued and defined in multiple and contradictory ways by and for a wide variety of people. Machu Picchu has been fashioned into a neat package, but its history is anything but. Machu Picchu sometimes plays the part of a scientific discovery, the key to Peru’s history, tourist destination and spiritual site of inspiration, soulful sustenance and/or as a material manifestation of the nation’s utopian narrative. This dissertation is my attempt to describe the making of the package.

### **Incan Legacies**

During the summer of 2005, I spent a month working in Yale’s Manuscripts and Archives. I was conducting pre-dissertation fieldwork in preparation for writing my grant proposals in the fall. Yale rents out their un-air-conditioned graduate dormitories to

those sad students who have to spend their summer in New Haven. I was delighted when I was offered a space and hoped that the monastic-like conditions of the dormitory might keep me motivated and focused on my research.

At the time Yale was exhibiting “Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas” at the Peabody Museum. One afternoon, when I could no longer sit sifting through Bingham’s typed carbon-copied letters, I visited the exhibition. Walking into the hall, I was led into an anteroom to watch a short video. Edward James Olmos<sup>3</sup> narrated the film and after viewing the breathtaking scenery, the film ended with an invitation to: “See yourself at Machu Picchu. . . an ancient ruin in the clouds ready to reveal itself, a journey of discovery.” An audio of a clicking camera shutter clacked away as the film screen disappeared into the ceiling slowly and tantalizingly. What had appeared to be a wall were actually two doors which swung open in a fashion reminiscent of the ghost ride at Disneyworld. I, along with six other museum goers, shuffled out of the dark room and into the introductory room of the exhibit. Bingham’s camera, some letters and a small collection of ceramic vessels greeted the visitor. Passing into the next room, wall-sized reproductions of YPE photographs of Machu Picchu hung in a decorative cloak around more vitrine cases. The exhibition was a classic display of “artifacts.” Darkened halls, display cases and dioramas separated the rooms with contextualized vignettes which organized the materials. The exhibit ended with an interactive computer station where one could explore the ruins virtually and listen to experts narrate about Machu Picchu’s meaning.

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<sup>3</sup> Olmos is a Mexican-American actor, first known for his role as a detective in the hit television series Miami Vice

As I exited the final room of the exhibition, I paused to read the closing wall text. Part of it read: “While the cultural transformations unleashed by the Spanish conquest have been profound, the legacy of the Incas remains alive today in the Andes and their language Quechua, is spoken by millions of people.” The Incan legacy portrayed in the exhibit was a legacy survived. For me, there was nothing agential about the exhibit. The Incan legacy felt insulated from external events, practices, relationships and negotiations. The dynamism of histories and cultural practices at work in Peru, let alone Machu Picchu, were made invisible. Moreover, the controversial negotiations and repatriation of Machu Picchu’s artifacts were not addressed in the exhibition. The indigenous Quechua-speakers were portrayed as vestiges of a bygone era.

As I walked back to the dormitory, the exhibit and wall text continued to provoke me. In the museum exhibition, the juxtaposition of archaeological remains and dioramas of indigenous peoples against a single room of “current indigenous practices” not only felt false, but stale and offensive. The people who claim Machu Picchu as part of their ancestral legacy had not only been objectified, but those who were portrayed as having a connection with the “Incan legacy” were a stereotypic portion of Peru’s population. I wondered what Incan legacy was alive.

In thinking about Machu Picchu, heritage and Peru’s Incan legacy, I would not agree that the Incan legacy is alive today. Instead, as this dissertation shows, many Incan legacies are alive in Peru. Moreover, such legacies are partly alive because they are emergent, constantly being invoked, revived and reformed by various actors throughout Peru. Such Incan legacy is not simply alive, but living.

Throughout this dissertation I explore the myriad ways in which Machu Picchu has been framed, defined and lived - from the fashioning of Machu Picchu into a scientific discovery or “lost city”, as the utopian exemplar of a national past and heritage roadmap for the future, as the icon of a nation and its heritage, as a tourist destination, as a familial emblem, and as a symbol in the struggle for postcolonial justice in the world arena. I probe the types of work, relationships and discourses involved in making Machu Picchu natural and self-evident. Corporate sponsorship, volunteers and donations from wealthy individuals first enabled Bingham to set sail for Peru. Bingham’s expedition was further supported through state alliances and prominent individuals interested in knowing more about Peru’s Incan past. Hacienda owners, intellectuals, businessmen, and local workers assisted Bingham and his crew to not only locate Machu Picchu, but clear the site for photography. Some participated willingly, and others assisted the YPE under coercion. Collecting and photography were subsequent expeditionary practices and technologies which further defined Machu Picchu as a “lost city.” The “lost city” was then publicized and circulated in global media markets via the *National Geographic* magazine. In Peru, Machu Picchu became an emblem not just for science’s universalist dreams, but as a nation’s roadmap for its future.

This project was born through an interest in photography. Before investigating the project fully, I argued that photography played a primary role in making Machu Picchu global. Kodak was a major sponsor on all of Bingham’s expeditions and photographs were a primary means for collecting scientific evidence. In 1912 National Geographic became a prominent sponsor, not only offering financial assistance to the expedition, but through their magazine and editorial leadership, Machu Picchu became

widely known and popular. Photographs of Machu Picchu circulated and the discovery of a “lost city” was promulgated globally. These photographic meanings however were not stable and groups in Peru saw the same pictures with delight, but with different meaning.

While photography continues to be a primary focus of this dissertation, other practices, in addition to the image, were also critical to the making of Machu Picchu. Indeed what have surfaced in my research are the connections between industry, photography and words. Simply taking the photographs was not enough, nor was being given the cameras by Kodak. The production of photographs alongside text helped propel a powerful image and visual that was variously meaningful to many people. The definition of Machu Picchu and how to treat that object clashed as desires in the name of science and nationalism surfaced. Political wrangling and discussions over the discourse-object we call Machu Picchu began early on in Machu Picchu’s twentieth century career.

Today the image of Machu Picchu circulates widely and has marked Peru with its own visual referent. Photographers post-Bingham, such as Martin Chambi, further reinforced the notion that Machu Picchu was a part of Peru’s noble and glorious Incan past. With its ability to be exchanged and manipulated, while still serving as an independent, and therefore objective, tool of verification, the imagined materiality first rendered by the YPE in 1911 has helped brand the Peruvian nation with a logo. As evidenced by Yale’s museum exhibition, photography continues to be inextricably linked with Machu Picchu. Divesting Machu Picchu from its image seems to diminish the ability to conjure Romantico-scientific-nationalist dreams.

In an effort to trace Machu Picchu's contemporary genealogy, I have crafted this dissertation with two sections in mind. The first probes how Machu Picchu was made into a discovery for science. I examine how an expensive and challenging expedition was made possible not through an individual's discovery, but through a broad network of persons interested in Peru's Incan past and exploring its countryside. Bingham's expedition had its roots in several centuries of South American exploration, but drew heavily on nineteenth century English explorers like Clements Markham. Drawing on Markham, the YPE goals to map archaeological ruins, climb the highest peak and conduct a reconnaissance of the Andes emphasized "intensive" rather than "extensive" exploration. This way of seeing Peru united a posse of wealthy individuals and corporate sponsors and was based on the assumption that through detailed scientific knowledge, commerce and trade, Peru could achieve modernity. Rather than refer to Bingham as the discoverer of Machu Picchu, I suggest that an elite social network coupled with photographic technology discovered the Incan ruins.

I detail the expeditionary practice of collecting to show how the YPE was empowered to establish matters of fact and witness Machu Picchu as a "lost city." The YPE collecting agenda was two-fold and focused on: 1) The remains of the Inca culture, primarily as evidenced in skeletal remains; and 2) The area's "natural history" particularly the collection of rare animals and pathologized Quechua bodies. I trace how these specific objects had to be first imagined as collectible for science through an emphasis on quantity over context. Such decontextualization provided ample fodder for myth-making and tales of a "lost city" high in the clouds of the Andes. Enabling the YPE agenda was an aura of the benign sovereignty of Science.

Photography was a primary and powerful evidentiary practice and object for the YPE. Photography allowed the YPE to bring back evidence of their expedition, but it also allowed for the creation of a compelling narrative of discovery. I probe how through the taking and circulation of YPE images, enduring global and national images of Machu Picchu as a “lost city” were shaped. As depicted in *National Geographic*, cloudy-skied panoramas, romantic vistas and rock formations promoted an aura of discovery, while work and local inhabitants were vacated from the site. I compare those same images and their reproduction in a Peruvian illustrated magazine to understand how the same images of a “lost city” were translated into a national narrative of belonging.

I also attempt to understand the ways in which Machu Picchu has been discovered for the nation. I describe two early YPE conflicts over artifacts. Through a survey of newspaper accounts and YPE correspondence, I reflect upon the politics of nation and science initially at play around Machu Picchu. I show how Machu Picchu became increasingly meaningful for the nation, as historic patriotic discourses were called up to protect the site from perceived threatening outsiders. This discourse elevated antiquity and ancient history as reputable sources of self-knowledge, positing Machu Picchu’s objects as necessary evidence to guide Peru to its pre-determined prosperous future. Artifacts were not only useful for evidencing Bingham’s success as an explorer, but were integral to the imagining of the nation, serving as the embodiment of national greatness.

Today tourism is inextricably linked with Machu Picchu. I draw on interviews with tour guides to understand what role Machu Picchu and tourism plays in shaping notions of Machu Picchu as cultural heritage. Tour guides framed Machu Picchu as their

Andean Utopia. They felt it was a visitable image of Cuzco' noble Incan past. The guides "got to know" their heritage through their work in tourism, learning what it meant to be a "descendant of the Inca." Although some guides lamented the changes that tourism brought to their cultural identity, the guides were equivocal in their stance, arguing that tourism also strengthened it. Machu Picchu was perceived as a living remnant of their Incan heritage, a sanctuary against the forces of globalization, a place which strengthened them. A multi-faceted contradiction, it was partially through guiding visitors to their "sanctuary" - their Andean Utopia - that guides learned what it meant to "be Incan" and were fortified to live in this world.

Machu Picchu as heritage continues to be shaped today. Most recently, lawyers for the Peruvian state are suing Yale University for the return of objects taken from Machu Picchu during the Yale Peruvian Expeditions. Peru's lawyers argue that the artifacts removed from Machu Picchu are not simply archaeological remains of use to science, but are of "intrinsic and important cultural significance" for the Peruvian nation. At the same time, other groups vie for recognition as Machu Picchu's rightful owner. These conflicts keep Machu Picchu alive as the iconic backdrop for a series of ongoing polemics on nation, science, class and international justice. Rather than take a stance in determining the authentic definition of Machu Picchu or the true owners of Machu Picchu, I have sought to splice together a story from the contests, practices, technologies, and alliances that surround the site. I focus on the lawsuit and the previous Memorandum of Understanding between Peru and Yale, as well as other patrimonial conflicts involving rights to the nation's patrimonial property. In describing

these conflicts, a deep ambivalence and discord about the nation, state and heritage emerges.

One bright sunny afternoon, I, like many other people, paused to watch the dozens of dancers as they made their way around the central plaza of Cuzco. Groups performed their “traditional” dances bedecked in their “traditional” dress. Black skirts plumped with colored petticoats, hats perched delicately, dangling neon colored threads, tapping ojotas (sandals) and laughing masks made their way around the square to the front of the grand cathedral where a table of judges sat. An emcee introduced each group, announcing where the groups were from, whom they represented, as well as the name and style of the dance to be performed. The music would start blaring tin-like through the speakers and the young dancers would enthusiastically perform the dances of their grandparents. Walking closer to the Cathedral to get a better view, I ran into a colleague, who had also stopped to enjoy the public spectacle. Shaking his head in concern, he spoke about the dances being directed at tourists. “Todo es falso (Everything is fake)!” The Andean youth, he claimed, were too creative in their depiction of ancient ritual dances. He lamented that the youth had incorporated non-authentic aspects to these traditional dances. My colleague was as much disappointed as he was irritated at the hubris of the youth.

Pride in the authentic and the traditional, coupled with the fear of losing the noble past permeate private and public discussions. As Cuzco becomes more global, cosmopolitan and a full-fledged tourist Mecca, concerns are heightened and seem to encompass everything from family etiquette to cuisine. Machu Picchu is not immune to

these concerns and is often caught in the discursive burden of tradition and authenticity. This dissertation attempts to skirt this binary sand trap.

Instead, I frame this dissertation not as a polemic about tradition, authenticity, globalization and commercialization, but instead ask different questions to understand the genealogy of Machu Picchu as a living legacy. I describe its archaeology and the multiple positions and perspectives of the various actors implicated in Machu Picchu's making. I hope I have detailed the dimensionality, nuance and not so simple history to the making of Machu Picchu into heritage.

## CHAPTER 2 DISCOVERING MACHU PICCHU FOR SCIENCE AND ITS SPONSORS

It is currently reported in the newspapers that now that the North and South Poles have been reached, there is nothing further of interest or importance to be discovered in the world of Geography...it is true that the surface of the earth has been fairly well covered, and that the corners into which civilized man has not penetrated are relatively few. There are, however, spots on the map where it is still possible to find the words "unexplored" and "unknown". . . . Nevertheless, it is true that by far the greater part of the world has been discovered and partially explored. The great opportunities of the future lie in intensive, rather than extensive exploration...The scientific traveler will not only find his travels much more interesting and entertaining if he has a certain amount of practical scientific training, but he will be able to make his travels much more useful to his fellow citizens (Bingham teaching papers, c. 1916, YMA box 34, folder 38).

Machu Picchu was first seen by Hiram Bingham and the Yale Peruvian Expedition (YPE) on July 22, 1911. Although this event is now viewed as a legendary discovery by a fearless explorer accompanied by a young Andean boy, Bingham initially understood Machu Picchu as an inconsequential expeditionary moment – one archaeological ruin among many others. Although Bingham did not initially foresee Machu Picchu's allure, his sighting of Machu Picchu was no accident.

Machu Picchu started its twentieth-century career as an effect born of a specific way of seeing. Ivy League connections, lettered men, wealthy individuals and commercial desires came together under the rubric of science and the promise of modernity to bear witness to Machu Picchu as a discovery. The potential of the YPE to gather knowledge about Peru's Incan past acted as a point of contact uniting multiple actors across national lines. Corporate sponsorships, financial donations, transnational social networks, government assistance, special privileges and "good" families aligned to facilitate the successful execution of the YPE. This social and financial network legitimized Bingham's expedition and eventually the discovery of Machu Picchu.

This chapter parses out the ways in which an expensive and arduous scientific expedition to Peru was imagined and made possible. First I track the networks and persons that Bingham accessed as a man of science and professor at Yale University, and the corporate sponsorships and private donations that got the expedition off the ground. I then probe the local knowledge and Peruvian government assistance that sustained the expedition in Peru. I explore the ways in which Bingham was able to find Machu Picchu, but also the structures of knowledge and desire that facilitated its finding and interpretation. My goal in detailing the operations and logistics of the YPE prior to Machu Picchu's "unveiling to the world" is to dispel the myths of "discovery" and "lost city" that shrouds Machu Picchu in its aura. The fashioning of Machu Picchu as "the discovery of a "lost city" was to have multiple effects. It made Bingham into a famous scholar and explorer and it sold hundreds of thousands of copies of the National Geographic magazine. My concern here, then, is with the prior making of Machu Picchu into a "lost city" waiting to be discovered by intrepid savants from afar.

### **Scientific Expeditions in South America**

Mary Louise Pratt (1992) has argued that beginning in the eighteenth century scientific expeditions served not only as instruments of expansion for European nations but as "contact zones" of "transculturation." As part of a broader frame of European economic and political expansion, Pratt examines the ways in which European travel and exploration writing produced "the rest of the world" for European readerships (Pratt 1992:5). A predominant theme in her text is how travel narratives created the "domestic subject" of Euro imperialism and how travel books engaged metropolitan reading publics with European expansionist enterprises (Pratt 1992:5). Pratt suggests that through travel writing, aspirations of economic empire and expansion were encoded,

legitimated, resisted and betrayed. Pratt examines the intersection of travel narratives with other forms of knowledge and expression to understand how a particular Africa and Latin America were produced.

Pratt begins her analysis of travel writing on South America with Charles de La Condamine's Spanish-sponsored expedition in 1735. She argues that La Condamine's scientific travel narratives emphasized the role of natural history and the desire to catalog and categorize resources. The same year of La Condamine's expedition, Carl Linne's *The System of Nature* (1735) was published. Pratt asserts that these two events brought about the emergence of Europe's "planetary consciousness" a version marked by an orientation toward interior exploration and the construction of global-scale meaning through the descriptive apparatuses of natural history" (Pratt 1992:15). Pratt concludes that early narratives of science produced a specific type of knowledge about the Other which was both authoritative and ordered.

By the late nineteenth century, the representation of South America in travel narratives had shifted. Focusing on the work of Alexander von Humboldt, Pratt argues that Humboldt's extensive opus of travel narratives reinvented South America. In contrast to La Condamine's texts which categorized the Americas as accessible, recognizable and collectible, Humboldt's nineteenth century texts depicted the Americas as a Nature which was extraordinary, primal and pristine. Although Humboldt was also influenced by Linne's *The System of Nature*, Humboldt's representations transformed South America from a series of resources to be cataloged, into an overwhelming spectacle of Nature which lay in wait for conquering (Pratt 1992:120). The Americas were represented as evacuated of history not only by Humboldt and other European

explorers, but by Spanish American writers who wanted to promote self-rule and independence. More critically, Humboldt's interpretation was based on the contacts made with Spanish American intellectuals. An understanding of the Andes as a microcosm of all the climates, thus containing all the flora and fauna of the world, inspired Humboldt's perception of South America (Cañizares-Esguerra 2006). Consequently, Pratt argues, Humboldt's representations of the Americas were formed in a "contact zone" of transculturation, and were as much a product of European desire as Spanish American science.

Following in the footsteps of French and Spanish predecessors (Pratt 1992; Majluff and Wuffarden 2001), by the middle decades of the nineteenth century British and Anglo American savants began to explore the Peruvian interior. Sir Clements Markham's 1852 voyage to Cuzco and subsequent book *Travels in Peru and India* (1862), and Ephraim George Squier's U.S. government sponsored Peruvian expedition and resulting *Peru: Incidents of Travel and Exploration in the Land of the Incas* (1877), were landmarks in a burgeoning literature. Bingham's Yale expeditions (1906-1907, 1908-1909, 1911, 1912, 1914-1915) were inspired by these earlier explorers and their works.

Although Bingham's interest in Peru was piqued by Adolph Bandelier's (1910) *The Islands of Titicaca and Koati*, his research agenda was influenced more by Markham. An English explorer who set sail for Peru in 1852, Markham wrote several books which shaped Bingham's conception of Peru including *Cuzco, A Journey to the Ancient Capital of Peru* (1856), *Travels in Peru and India* (1862), *The History of Peru* (1892), and *Incas of Peru* (1910). Early in 1911, Bingham wrote to Markham seeking

scholarly guidance and academic support.<sup>1</sup> Markham's travelogues are a mix of adventure, history and industry. In the *History of Peru* (1892), Markham first described the history of Peru beginning with the era of the Incas continuing through to the Republic. Concluding his book are four chapters on Peru's then-current situation: "People of Peru", "The Literature of Peru", "The Trade of Peru" and "The Wealth of Peru." In these concluding chapters, Markham described the promise of Peru as a nation, outlining both the problems and possibilities for Peru's future industrial development. Markham saw Peru as potential, particularly when it came to its diverse climate and abundant resources. Specifically, Markham envisaged Peru's evolution into a modern nation through the benefits of international trade, particularly with Britain, that at the time dominated South America's interior trade. "It may, therefore, be accepted when the means of traffic, in the Peruvian Montana, is fully developed, and steamers are running on all the navigable rivers, that a very extensive and lucrative trade in India rubber will be developed and maintained" (1892:503). He called for new trade routes connecting Cuzco to Brazil as well as for the building of infrastructure to harness Peru's enormous wealth in natural resources (Markham 1892).<sup>2</sup>

Markham's book on the history of Peru is replete with admiration for Peru's distant past as well as hope for its promising future. He commended Peru on its blessed nature and representation of "every clime." Markham concluded *History of Peru* writing that if the two great needs for Peru of immigration and peace were secured, "there may still be a bright future in store for the long suffering children of the sun" (1892:505).

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<sup>1</sup> At the time Markham was editor for Britain's Royal Geographic Society.

<sup>2</sup> By the late nineteenth century Britain dominated trade in southern Peru.

Hiram Bingham's three Yale Peruvian expeditions (YPE) take the lead from Markham's travelogues, combining history, research and exploration into Peru's Incan past, while framing Peru as a nation with great industrial promise.

After seeing Machu Picchu in 1911, Bingham initially surmised that it could be the "cradle of Inca civilization." Taking his cue from Markham, Bingham had set out to find the post-Conquest refuge of the Incans known as Vilcapampa, the "lost city of the Incas." Nonetheless, the supposed presence of "three windows" at Machu Picchu (the actual location of the "three windows" of the Inca origin story was later identified to be in nearby Ollantaytambo) led Bingham to speculate that he had discovered the birthplace of the Inca empire. In an article for *Harpers*, Bingham wrote: "In the mean time it seems probably that Machu Picchu, discovered while on a search for the *last* Inca capital, was the *first*, the capital from which the Incas started on that glorious career of empire that eventually embraced a large part of South America" (Bingham 1913a:719, emphasis original). This initial, "first and last" narrative of Machu Picchu responded to the long-standing, scientific search for Inca origins and the romantic narrative of "the heroic fall" of the Incas to the Spaniards.

Bingham conducted three expeditions to Peru associated with Machu Picchu. The first began in 1911 and lasted from late June through December. Bingham set sail again for Peru on May 18, 1912 to conduct further archaeological work in and around Machu Picchu. He remained in Peru until late November. The final expedition began in the spring of 1914 and lasted through 1915. Although still considered Director of the third expedition, Bingham did not arrive until the spring of 1915, leaving Ellwood Erdis to act as Director for the first year of the expedition. While the first expedition was primarily

an expedition in survey work, mapping, and mountain climbing, the second expedition, which was quickly organized following the success of the first expedition, centered on the excavation and mapping of Machu Picchu and its environs. The third and final expedition included further survey work, completing more maps of the area and collecting a large lot of specimens. Additionally, the third expedition included more “cultural” work which was primarily conducted by Bingham’s assistant, Osgood Hardy. Hardy’s tasks included learning Quechua and studying indigenous feasts and beliefs. Anthropometric photography and health care for the local population was also done to some extent on the last two expeditions by the YPE’s physicians.

The proposed 1911 expedition to Peru was Bingham’s third visit to a South American country. He had already written a book about his adventures tracing Simon Bolivar’s march of 1819 in Colombia and Venezuela, and he had attended the first Pan-American Scientific congress in Santiago, Chile in 1908. Bingham’s attendance at the 1908 congress enabled him to travel overland to Cuzco in 1909. The proposal for Bingham’s 1911 Yale expedition was partially rooted in a long history of scientific exploration of South America, but also the knowledge and contacts acquired during his initial South American experiences. The 1911 expedition aimed to contribute to scientific knowledge by exploring what was “not yet known to science.” The primary motivation for the expedition involved mapping a cross-section of a large portion of the Andes which had “never been scientifically explored” (general correspondence, March 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 6).

The stated goals of the first expedition were four-fold and included: 1) visiting and mapping all archaeological ruins into Amazonia to ascertain how deep into the jungle

the Incas had carried their civilization; 2) conducting a reconnaissance of the 73rd meridian from the Amazon valley to the ocean; 3) climbing and determining the height of Mt. Coropuna, purportedly the highest peak in South America; and 4) determining the latitude and longitude as well as conducting a bathymetrical survey of the “practically unknown and unexplored” Lake Parinacochas (general correspondence, March 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 6). Following his eighteenth and nineteenth-century predecessors in the classification of natural specimens, Bingham additionally promised to collect and catalog the flora and fauna of Cuzco. A geologist, a topographer and his assistant, a naturalist, and a “physiographer” were expected to accompany the 1911 expedition (general correspondence, March 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 6).

Bingham’s initial proposal to explore Peru situated science as an agent for authoritative ordering. However, unlike La Condamine’s need to catalog or Humboldt’s desire to tame, Bingham’s initial expedition sought to measure. Scientific knowledge no longer was only about cataloging or categorizing nature. For Bingham, the gaze that held the most promise for science needed to be more focused and directed; it had to see beyond surfaces. In a course Bingham taught in 1916 entitled “On the opportunities offered to college graduates in exploration and scientific travel”, Bingham felt that much of the world had already been discovered and at least partially explored. Consequently for the scientific traveler, “the great opportunities of the future lie in intensive, rather than extensive exploration.” According to Bingham, such travel would be “much more useful to his fellow citizens” (Bingham teaching papers, c. 1916, YMA box 34, folder 38).

For Bingham, South America had already been discovered and explored, its surface mysteries already known. What promised the most opportunity in science was

not a generous cataloging of resources. Instead, Bingham looked for scientific details and matters of interest to “civilization.” For the 1911 expedition, “intensive” and worthwhile exploration primarily meant measuring what the human eye could not readily behold.

Jonathan Crary (1990) argues that the 1800s marked a turning point for a modernization of vision whereby a “new set of relations between the body on the one hand and forms of institutional and discursive power on the other redefined the status of an observing subject” (1990:3). Stereoscopes and other handheld devices helped reorganize visual knowledge. Crary demonstrates that scientific representation went from being considered an imprint vis-à-vis technology like the camera obscura, to being located within the body.

In her work on Victorian science, Jennifer Tucker (2006) also shows that by the late 1800s in Britain, photography was beginning to be used in science as a way to image truths that could not be seen by the naked eye. Coupled with a microscope, the camera could yield “fresh and truthful observations” (Tucker 2006:187). Photography became the preferred mechanism to visualize nature as it was considered more accurate than artist’s renderings (Tucker 2006; see also Ginzburg 1986). Coupled with new technology such as microscopes, photography could visualize hidden truths, unlocking them for scientific inquiry and human understanding.

The scientific pursuits of Bingham’s expedition were founded on the notion that “extensive” surface knowledge had already been accomplished. What was needed was “intensive” exploration which would focus the scientist’s gaze more intensely. The generalized need to look beyond surfaces and measure what could not be seen was

initially a foundational part of Bingham's Peruvian expeditions. For Bingham, scientific knowledge was located in the details. Indeed in his first book-length account of his motivation to explore the Urubamba Canyon, Bingham recalls being inspired by Rudyard Kipling's *The Explorer*: "Something hidden. Go and find it. Go and look behind the Ranges – Something lost behind the Ranges. Lost and waiting for you. Go" (Bingham 1922:2). Bingham's desire to return to Peru in 1911 was motivated by the notion of finding something hidden, revealing it for the world to see (Poole 1998; Bingham, A.1989).

In an excerpt from a fundraising solicitation sent to one of the YPE's supporters, Huntington Smith, in January 1911, Bingham wrote:

The officials of the Royal Geographical Society, and Sir Clements Markham, who probably knows more about Peru than any living geographer, have assured me that the region which we propose to explore is in great need of scientific exploration. In fact they speak of it as one of the most interesting jobs that remain to be done (general correspondence, January 11, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 2).

Scientific exploration in 1911 was valuable because it could find the last remaining pieces to the jigsaw puzzle. Bingham's letter suggests that what "remain[s] to be done" in science was finite. Good scientists and explorers focused their efforts on understanding those pieces, thereby contributing to the body of knowledge already assuredly known. Coupled with Bingham's sense of adventure and need to look everywhere, the YPE scientific agenda was a mixture of topographical calculations and cave hunting.

In contrast to previous South American scientific expeditions, Bingham emphasized specificity, rather than grandiosity. Filling in the specific gaps of knowledge contrasts markedly with the previous expeditionary narratives of La Condamine and

Humboldt where knowledge on just about everything was needed. Instead, Bingham's expedition sought measurable outcomes and information which would be useful for business, trade and government. A frame of commercial and national relevance assisted Bingham in the planning and execution of his expedition, as well as in its financing.

In her conclusion to *Imperial Eyes* Pratt examines the contemporary writings of Joan Didion and Charles Theroux. Compared with La Condamine and Humboldt, Pratt argues that by the late twentieth century the narratives of science had been replaced by a new imperial trope - that of the civilizing mission. Characterized by a distant viewing and looking through windows of trains, airplanes or taxis, these late twentieth century imperial eyes gaze without engagement. The tenor of these late twentieth century writings are despondent. In both *Salvador* (1983) and *The Patagonia Express* (1978), Didion and Theroux lament the presence of poverty and grime that foreclose Latin America's quest for greatness.

Bingham's early twentieth century expeditions contrast markedly with Theroux and Didion. Bingham was still hopeful. Bingham believed in the promise of scientific discovery and the hope of modernity obtained through commerce and trade. Bingham's expeditionary plan, as well as the relationships he nurtured throughout the expeditions, was framed in the promise of Peru's future and the grandeur of its Incan past. The discovery of Machu Picchu emerged from this image, looking through windows to see beyond the range.

### **Sponsors**

A successful scientific expedition from Yale to Peru required sponsors. Upon returning home in December of 1911, Bingham set about securing funds and planning

for a second expedition. In addition to his personal funds, Bingham obtained ample funding for a second and third expedition from National Geographic, Yale University, and several wealthy individuals. Bingham returned to Peru as Director of the YPE in 1912 and 1915. For the initial 1911 expedition, several individuals contributed \$50 to \$500. The majority of funding for the 1911 expedition was contributed by Paul B. Lanius in the sum of \$1350 and from Bingham and his wife totaling \$1800 each. According to the Yale's Treasurer's Office, the 1911 expedition included individual contributions from Victor Tyler (\$500), Mr. Mixter (amount not disclosed and anonymous), Stuart Hotchkiss (\$50), Henry Hotchkiss (\$50), J.A. Hamilton (\$25), J. Louis Schaefer (\$250), Minor C. Keith<sup>3</sup>, esquire (amount not disclosed), and Otto Banard (\$250) (Yale treasury select correspondence, April 29, 1912, YMA box 16, folder 271; August 8, 1912, YMA box 16, folder 272).

After the sighting of Machu Picchu in 1911, support was more forthcoming and a follow-up expedition to Peru in 1912 was organized. Pledges for the second expedition included a \$5000 gift from Ed Harkness<sup>4</sup>, \$5000 from Bingham and his wife, \$5000 from the Yale Corporation and \$10,000 from National Geographic. A former traveling companion and Yale Alumnus, Stuart Hotchkiss, also contributed to the expedition.<sup>5</sup> For the 1914/15 expedition financial support continued to grow with Bingham and his wife donating \$10,900, Bingham's mother-in-law Alfreda Mitchell donating \$1000, Edward

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<sup>3</sup> In the late nineteenth century, Keith helped build a railroad from the interior of Costa Rica to its port, allowing for the shipping of coffee and other exports to Europe. Keith is also credited with establishing banana plantations in Central America, eventually becoming Vice-President of United Fruit Company.

<sup>4</sup> Harkness also helped in the acquisition of books.

<sup>5</sup> Hotchkiss was from a wealthy family whose fortune was made processing Brazilian rubber (Bingham, A 1989:107).

Harkness \$5000, James Means \$2100, and National Geographic \$20,000 (\$10,000 per year) (Yale treasury select correspondence, October 27, 1914, YMA box 16, folder 281).

The 1911 expedition raised \$11,905.84 with the expedition itself costing \$11,640.88. The cost for the 1912 expedition more than doubled. Initially the treasury office totaled the financial support for the 1912 expedition at \$24,373.04 (Yale treasury select correspondence, December 27, 1912, YMA box 16, folder 272). Later that number would be corrected to \$27,277.51 in gifts including interest, with expenses listed as \$26,887.64 (Yale treasury select correspondence, December 31, 1913, YMA box 16, folder 277). The 1914/15 was substantially longer and more extensive. The total receipts including interest was \$52,655.87, with expenses listed at \$51,851.23 (Yale treasury correspondence, January 25, 1917, YMA box 16, folder 289).

In addition to individual financial contributions, Bingham wrote companies asking for donations or discounts on goods and services. From Abercrombie and Fitch, Bingham received the standard 10-20% discount for explorers and purchased tents and camping equipment as well as the entire outfit for the YPE (general correspondence, March 3, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 4). Waltham Watch lent the YPE a complete set of equipment of chronometers, including four sidereals and four astronomical watches. Their sponsorship was based on the understanding that the YPE would furnish Waltham Watch with “the results of their performance for the period of the expedition, for publication, a matter that we feel you will freely grant” (general correspondence, March 6, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 4).

Guns and ammunition were purchased from Winchester Rifle and saddles were purchased from Smith Worthington. The saddles were so popular in Peru that additional catalogs were sent to several interested Peruvian buyers (general correspondence August 4, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 27). Food boxes were also purchased in the U.S. and shipped to Peru. Each box included a set amount of rations for two men for a specific number of days. With the exception of the watches, cameras and the rifles, all goods were sold in Peru before returning to the U.S. to offset shipping costs and recoup some of the expedition's initial expenses.

Kodak was a significant corporate sponsor for the three YPE expeditions and contributed more to the expedition than any other organization, except perhaps National Geographic. By March 1911, Bingham had already secured sponsorship from a variety of corporations. Bingham wrote Kodak on March 25, 1911 asking if they would like to provide camera equipment "for a scientific expedition in the tropics" (Kodak select correspondence, March 25, 1911, YMA box 14, folder 210). For the expedition Kodak provided the YPE with an entire photographic outfit on the condition that Bingham and the other YPE members use the equipment properly, report on their work and test out the equipment in various conditions (Kodak correspondence, May 16, 1911 YMA box 14, folder 210). A month before departing for Peru, Bingham wrote George Eastman confirming the agreement.

We shall do all in our power to develop the pictures as soon as possible after exposure, using your tank developer and furthermore, that we will make reports to you from time to time regarding the nature of the work and the success which we achieve. It is understood that your object in furnishing the expedition with photographic outfit free of cost is first in order to secure the benefit of our experiments with this material in damp tropical valleys and second, in order that you may have the benefit of this experience for

advertising purposes (Kodak select correspondence, May 16, 1911, YMA box 14, folder 210).

The outfit provided by Kodak was extensive and included a No 3 A special Kodak with leather case, portrait attachment and color screen, wide angle lens and a Kodak metal tripod; a No. 2 1 Bull's-eye tripod, two 3A folding pocket Kodaks with portrait attachment and wide angle lens, tripods and leather case for packing on saddle; 200 film cartridges, 10 exposures, 3 ½ x 5 ½ specially packed in tin boxes; 24 cartridges, 12 exposures and 40 cartridges, 6 exposures for a No. 4 model "A" screen focus Kodak, a No. 3 folding pocket Kodak with 20 cartridges of film, 6 exposures per cartridge and three complete tank developers with necessary chemicals (Kodak select correspondence May 16, 1911, YMA box 14, folder 210).

Returning from the 1911 expedition, Bingham wrote to George Eastman of Kodak that the camera outfit supplied by Kodak had worked "splendidly" and "the results certainly justified our efforts" (Kodak select correspondence December 27, 1911, YMA box 14, folder 210). Bingham wrote that, "I don't know how high your Kodaks have been carried before but we took two to the top of Mount Coropuna, which is probably about 22,500 feet above sea-level" (Kodak select correspondence December 27, 1911, YMA box 14, folder 210). In general the YPE followed the agreement with Kodak developing the film a few days after the pictures were taken. In cases where they lacked water, the YPE sealed the tins with the film, developing it two to three weeks later. The images were critical evidence in visualizing the expedition for hundreds of thousands of people back in the U.S.

Kodak also printed the entire lot of YPE negatives at a special price in Rochester, NY. Kodak also assembled the photographs, mounting them in chronological order in

albums. Bingham kept these albums as research references, eventually donating a set to National Geographic and the Hispanic Society of the Americas. Kodak continued their sponsorship of the YPE for the two subsequent expeditions. In addition to providing a similar equipment package, Kodak also provided Bingham with a No. 4 panorama camera. The donated films and camera equipment provided Bingham and National Geographic with ample material for publicizing Machu Picchu (Kodak select correspondence, March 14, 1912, YMA box 14, folder 211).

Transportation to Peru was also offered to the YPE at a discounted rate by both United Fruit Company and W.R. Grace. Minor C. Keith, Vice-President of United Fruit Co, agreed to allow the YPE members to travel at half fare from New York to Panama (general correspondence, May 22, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 20). Keith also agreed to cover the cost of an archaeological engineer.<sup>6</sup> W.R. Grace facilitated not only the YPE members' passages from the Panama Canal to Callao and Mollendo Peru, but also the passage of hundreds of cartons that Bingham sent back to Yale from the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions (general correspondence, March 2, 1911 YMA box 5, folder 4). W.R. Grace also acted as a liaison with the Peruvian government, assuring privileges such as free customs entry, permission to excavate and use facilities accorded to scientific expeditions (general correspondence, March 10, 1914, YMA box 10, folder 124). J. Luis Schaefer, Bingham's U.S. contact for W.R. Grace, also personally donated \$250 for the 1911 expedition.

To cover transportation costs while in Peru, Bingham relied on the Peruvian Corporation (PC). W.L. Morkill, the President of PC, became an acquaintance of

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<sup>6</sup> According to Alfred Bingham, Keith donated \$1800 for an archaeological engineer (Bingham, A. 1989:13). However in Yale's treasury correspondence, the precise amount was not disclosed.

Bingham during the 1911 expedition. PC owned the concession rights to all of the railroads in Peru and Morkill permitted all goods and persons free passage on the railroad (general correspondence, YMA box 8, folder 86). In addition to utilizing the railroads, Bingham capitalized on the infrastructure already built by foreign corporations in Peru. The Inca Rubber Co., Bolivian Boundary Commission and United Fruit Co. had built trails and roads to bring services to outlying areas in the Peruvian countryside. Bingham utilized these roads to explore much of the Urubamba Canyon. Indeed, the road he followed with his mule train had been established as a route to extract rubber from the nearby tropical region of Peru. Twenty years prior to Bingham's 1911 expedition, the Peruvian government had constructed a mule trail along the banks of the Urubamba river to facilitate shipment of goods through the mountainous terrain. Bingham himself noted that "this new road enabled us to discover what the Incas – or their predecessors – had left here, in the beautiful fastnesses of Vilcabamba" (Bingham 1913a:715).

### **Personnel: Volunteerism, Good Families and Science**

For the 1911 expedition, Yale connections were critical in securing a qualified group of individuals to accompany the expedition. The geologist, Isaiah Bowman, was educated at Yale and was also a Professor at Yale. The naturalist, Harry Foote, whose training was primarily in chemistry, was also a professor at the Sheffield Scientific School at Yale. Kai Hendriksen, although originally from Denmark, was hired vis-à-vis Bingham's connection with President Taft, also a Yale graduate. William G. Erving, a Yale classmate, was contracted as the expedition's surgeon. Paul Baxter Lanus, Bingham's assistant, was a student at Yale in the Sheffield Scientific School and joined the expedition to gain experience. Perhaps the only person without Yale connections

was Herman Tucker, who was contracted at the last minute to serve as the archaeological engineer having had no training in archaeology.<sup>7</sup>

Although expenses were covered through the YPE funds, most of the 1911 expedition members were not given salaries or compensated for their time. Kai Hendriksen was the only member of the 1911 expedition to be financially compensated and was paid a small honorarium of \$50-75 per month, approximately \$250 in total (general correspondence January 11, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 2). Harry Foote and Isaiah Bowman were paid no salary, although they were granted a leave of absence from Yale and their expenses were paid (general correspondence, January 11, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 2). The remaining expedition members went as volunteers with their expenses on the expedition paid. Paul Lanius' father donated \$1350 to the expedition to cover the expense of his son's assistantship with Bingham. Often assigned titles like Assistant Topographer or Assistant to the Director, many of the YPE members did not have prior experience on scientific expeditions and were asked to do a variety of tasks that involved more cooking and cleaning than actual exploration or survey work. After the success of the 1911 expedition, sponsorship grew and compensation became more customary, though not abundant, for the members of the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions.<sup>8</sup>

Men were not only enlisted from the U.S. to go to Peru, but men were also sought from Peru to help in the follow-up research at Yale. Peruvian Julio Corazao was

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<sup>7</sup> Casimir Watkins is often included as a member of the first expedition. Watkins was contracted while Bingham was in Peru to assist with the last few months of the expedition after several members returned home for the fall semester at Yale.

<sup>8</sup> Several members from the original crew for the 1914/15 expedition quit the first summer citing unfair pay discrepancies.

asked to return with the YPE to Yale to study and to assist in the processing of the Peruvian collection. In the agreement, Corazao would be given free tuition at Yale, but had to be cover nearly all his expenses the first year and was expected to spend a lot of time in the classroom and laboratory learning English and working on the collection. In the end, Corazao did not end up spending the year at Yale, but it is unclear from the documents what transpired.

A worthy candidate for the YPE was someone with good connections, some social standing and above all the means to accompany the expedition. The type of men interested in accompanying Bingham had to be adventurous, but also men who could afford the luxury of foregoing more substantial pay in exchange for a unique experience. As a result, for the 1911 expedition Bingham had difficulty finding someone who would accompany the expedition and serve as the topographer's assistant. A friend of Bingham's suggested a man by the name of Lincoln Ellsworth. Interested, Bingham wrote his colleague asking about Ellsworth's background. "I should like to know whether he is a college graduate, how old he is, whether his mother is living, what he has done since graduating from College, or what he did instead of going to College, and how he happened to get a job on the Canadian Pacific" (general correspondence, February 23, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 3). Bingham further inquired, "What business is his father in, or has he retired from business? I judge the latter from the fact of his going to Florence for a long stay." Bingham hoped that Ellsworth's family would pay his expenses on the expedition, thereby saving the YPE any additional expense. Ellsworth had a good education, had some engineering training, worked on the Canadian Pacific Railroad and was a "fine young fellow, polite, courteous, willing and good-looking" (general

correspondence, February 24, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 3). Ellsworth's father, who had accrued his wealth developing a coal property, agreed to pay if Ellsworth decided he wanted to accompany the 1911 expedition. In the end, Ellsworth did not accompany the expedition and Herman Tucker joined the expedition at the last minute.

Other than the surgeons and professors who accompanied the YPE, additional YPE members had to be bright, though a college degree was not required, but also a young man whose family was respectable and wealthy. The latter was not just snobbery, but practicality. Upon returning from the field, the expedition members had to have some financial reserves to allow them to live while looking for work. Herman Tucker was not from a wealthy family and his lack of funds created challenges both for Tucker and Bingham. Upon returning from the field, Tucker wanted to be able to earn money by offering independent lectures about his work in Peru. Bingham refused to let Tucker lecture until the drafting of the YPE maps were completed and Bingham had given his own lectures. Bingham did not want Tucker (or any other expedition member) offering testimony about the outcome of the expedition prior to a conclusive report. Furthermore, Tucker was unable to show his own photographs as the images were property of the YPE. Tucker balked at these constraints and wrote Bingham several letters complaining about not being from a wealthy family and not being able to provide for himself (general correspondence, letters March 4, 1912 YMA box 6, folder 37; April 14, YMA box 6, folder 45; April 30, YMA box 6, folder 53).

Knowledge gained about Peruvian forestry opportunities, mining deposits, trade relations and Peruvian history served many of the YPE members who eventually secured positions in government or private enterprise. Although some found the system

exploitative, others profited from the experience. J.J. Hasbrouck (1914/15) stayed on in Peru, securing a position with the Andes Tin Company. Philip Means (1914) became a well-known scholar of Peru and Isaiah Bowman (1911), Harry Foote (1911), Herbert Gregory (1912) and George Eaton (1912) all used material gathered in Peru to advance their own academic careers. Others, like Paul Bestor (1912) and Osgood Hardy (1912, 1914/15), returned to the U.S. to a career in business using their experiences to demonstrate their ability for hard-work and perseverance. Although the first topographer Kai Hendriksen (1911) returned to Denmark after the expedition and could not participate in the follow-up expedition for personal reasons, Albert Bumstead (1912, 1914/15) secured full-time employment with National Geographic after returning from the final expedition. Joseph Little (1912) enrolled at Yale to get his master's degree in Latin American Import and Export Economics. In consultation with Bingham, Little's thesis was on the Peruvian Corporation. Little stayed in Peru after the expedition to work for DuPont exploring new nitrate fields in Caraveli and eventually worked for the Cerro de Pasco mining corporation (Little report, YMA box 26, folder 26).

### **Global Selves: Seeing Beyond National Boundaries**

The YPE expedition not only required financial support and willing volunteers, but also local contacts. Conducting an expedition had certain logistical requirements. While the YPE could supply their own crates of food, developing tanks for their photographs and even map-makers, other items were needed that had to be secured while en route. Mules, additional food, hotels, taxidermy specialists, shelter while surveying, local guides and services, and general knowledge of the area could not be shipped from the U.S. Coupled with the fact that most of the YPE members did not speak Spanish, Peruvian contacts were crucial to the outcomes of the expedition. Three Cuzco based

individuals contributed to the success of the expeditions and were vital purveyors, and recipients, of goods, knowledge and friendship.

Perhaps the single most important contact for Bingham in Cuzco was Albert Giesecke. A graduate of the University of Pennsylvania, Giesecke came to Cuzco in 1910 to reopen and reorganize The University of San Antonio Abad of Cuzco (UNSAAC). Giesecke was chosen by Dr. Manuel Vicente Villaran, the Minister of Education. Villaran had been searching for a specialist in economic sciences and administration to help UNSAAC implement reforms (Giesecke memoir, AG D-055). Although Giesecke was only 26 years old - four years younger than the legal age to be Rector of a university - Peruvian President Augusto Leguía appointed him Rector of UNSAAC (Giesecke memoir, AG D-055). Giesecke stayed for fourteen memorable years, strongly influencing the academic community of Cuzco, and becoming involved in census-taking, rural education, and economic development. After his tenure as Rector, Giesecke moved to Lima with his Cuzqueña wife, where he worked in the U.S. embassy as a valuable liaison. Giesecke became involved in developing Peru's tourism. He also served as a consultant for films made at Machu Picchu, including the Hollywood film production, *Secret of the Incas* (Giesecke correspondence, AG 1226).

Giesecke served as a knowledge broker of Cuzco society. Notable U.S. anthropologists such as John Rowe and Julian Steward, as well as members of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, solicited Giesecke's help (see Giesecke correspondence AG 0648, 1013, 1302, 1441). Bingham met Giesecke during his travels after the 1909 Pan-American Scientific Congress. As fellow Ivy Leaguers, Bingham and Giesecke became friends, sharing knowledge and social contacts. Giesecke formally welcomed the

members of the 1911 YPE expedition upon their arrival to the city, and soon invited them to lunches, dinners, and conferences.<sup>9</sup> Giesecke became an important moderating figure, negotiating conflicts between Bingham and the Historical Institute of Cuzco, as well as those between the YPE and Cuzco society at large. While Giesecke served as President of the Cuzco Geographical Society, Bingham consulted with him to determine the correct spelling of the native names for places on the YPE maps of the Cuzco valley (Bingham to Giesecke, March 6, 1913, AG 0141). Bingham's writings about the YPE expeditions and their findings as well as YPE updates were published in the UNSAAC's journal *Revista Universitaria*. Bingham was also named honorary professor of UNSAAC's Faculty of Letters in 1911 (Bingham 1912a:23). During the ceremony, Bingham read a paper and gave a shield of Yale University to UNSAAC as homage to their scientific brotherhood.

The relationship between Giesecke and Bingham was built on a shared understanding of Peru as a nation "in-need," but also a nation "of promise." In a paper written for Ernest Patterson of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences on the future needs of foreign capital for Peru, Giesecke wrote:

Peru is essentially a country of abundant raw materials, including almost all minerals (although little iron and coal are produced at present owing to transportation difficulties) and a large variety of agricultural products. . . . Capital and modern business organization are perhaps the chief elements that are lacking. Suitable highways (for commercial and military purposes) are still needed. (July 20, 1916, AG 1169).

Peru promised wealth in resources and scientific achievement. Ivy-league educated men from the U.S. could find success in Peru on both fronts. Giesecke was a well-

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<sup>9</sup> Invitations are found in Bingham's materials and news of the conferences and lunches were also published in the local Cuzco newspapers *El Sol* and *El Comercio*.

connected individual and through his connections Bingham was able to successfully negotiate Cuzqueño life. Following the three YPE tours, Giesecke continued to provide references and translations for maps and photographs to Bingham and National Geographic (e.g. Kip Ross to Giesecke, February 10, 1950, AG 1296). So much so that in 1951 Giesecke was named a Jane M. Smith life member of the National Geographic Society in recognition of his many years of cooperation with the expeditions of the society (Grosvenor to Giesecke, February 6, 1951, AG 0141).

Cesar Lomellini was another instrumental individual for Bingham and the YPE. While Giesecke provided contacts and entry into Cuzco's academic and social circles, Lomellini provided material and logistical support. An Italian merchant who had settled in Cuzco, Lomellini's store was where Bingham purchased mules, miscellaneous supplies, sent and received telegrams and letters, and received funds. Bingham also used Lomellini's store to securely store supplies while doing YPE reconnaissance work. It appears that without Lomellini, the logistical operation of the expeditions would have been significantly more difficult. In a letter to the treasurer of Yale, Bingham wrote requesting a memorial be sent to Lomellini as a token of appreciation for assisting the expedition. The letter acknowledges Bingham's reliance on Lomellini's services and his gratitude.<sup>10</sup>

In addition to providing warehouse space and diplomacy, Lomellini acted as a bank, providing cash to the YPE when other banks were unable to honor the YPE bank

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<sup>10</sup> "As I said in the preliminary report of the Expedition of 1912, his firm (which means Don Cesar himself) have acted as our agents and placed at our disposal their excellent facilities for handling the difficult situations which arise in connection with the organization and administration of an exploring expedition, and all without charging us any commission or rent, although we occupied large room in their warehouses as our headquarters for many months" (Yale treasury correspondence, October 20, 1914, YMA box 16, folder 281).

drafts. According to Bingham, Lomellini provided just prices and negotiated fairly. Working with Lomellini was a welcome relief for Bingham who often felt that he was being duped (Yale treasury correspondence, October 20, 1914, YMA box 16, folder 281). Above all, Lomellini provided advice, information and general sociality.

We have not been very good customers, though he has the best equipped warehouse in Cuzco and we occasionally buy things of him. He has been put to a great deal of trouble by various members of the Expeditions and has never charged us a cent of commission. His advice has frequently been most helpful; his knowledge of the country after thirty years residence is, of course, quite extraordinary, (he is an Italian by birth); frequently he has given us letters of introduction which have opened doors that would have otherwise been closed (Yale treasury correspondence, October 20, 1914, YMA box 16, folder 281).

In addition to Giesecke and Lomellini, the region's hacendados provided shelter, workers, translations, cultural guidance and food for the YPE. Carmen Vargas and the Finca Huadquina were most frequently commented upon in the YPE reports and continually provided shelter, rest, food, translation and "modernity" for the group during their reconnaissance of the Cuzco valley. The finca served as a safe place for the YPE to meet and regroup. The finca provided comforts that the YPE was accustomed to - electricity, dances, prepared meals and hired help. In many of the YPE member's reports, the finca and Vargas's hospitality were described as a place where one found relief and a sense of sameness and home, a similar way of being in the world which provided comfort to the YPE (e.g. Heald report, YMA box 25, folder 23). The hacienda not only provided respite for the YPE, but also manpower for exploration and excavation

Initially the YPE had difficulty securing workers. Although the YPE paid more than the average local wage, the amount of work required was too much for peasant-workers who needed to maintain their jobs on the haciendas and also work their own plots. The Quechua-speaking population living in the area labored under a form of debt

peonage on the haciendas for minimal wages while also tithing a portion of their own harvests to the haciendas. Losing their jobs on the haciendas or incurring the wrath of the hacienda manager was a risk not worth taking. By befriending Carmen Vargas and other hacendados<sup>11</sup>, the YPE was able to contract a few of “their peons.”

Gaining access to individuals such as Cesar Lomellini or Albert Giesecke or the various hacienda owners meant that Bingham had access to much of Cuzco society. A cross-cultural elite status connected these individuals. Ingratiating himself into this privileged network, Bingham had access to needed supplies, logistical support, knowledge about the area, social and scientific legitimacy, and recreation. These connections ultimately allowed Bingham to map several ruins in the Cuzco valley, including Machu Picchu. In a telling account of the expedition, Bingham wrote:

1911 - Tuesday July 4<sup>th</sup>. Bowman's party leaves this morning. Dr. Erving and Hendricksen have made friends of a young man named Alberto Duque who speaks English and was educated at Notre Dame. His father has a big plantation at Santa Ana. He is interested in photography, and very favorably disposed toward the expedition. Today he brings in a friend, Jose S. Pancorbo, who tells me that he knows of the presence of some Inca ruins at Rosaspata, opposite Puquiura. He has a sugar plantation and lives in the valley of Vilcabamba at a place called Paltaybamba. He speaks also of the ruins of Choquellusca, opposite Huayrurani, which is between Lucma and Paltaybamba. He has not seen either of these ruins, but has only heard of them. He draws a map of the district, telling us roughly how to get from place to place. He tells us to stop at Urubamba, Torontoy, and Qquillumayu on the way to Paltaybamba. Arrange with Miguel Silva to go as arriero for 80 soles per month and board himself and travel on foot. This is probably too much. The Arequipa arrieros are accustomed to receiving from 60 to 100 a month, but there at Cuzco they are lucky to get 50 (Bingham's preliminary account, June through September 1911, YMA box 18, folder 3).

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<sup>11</sup> Bingham and the YPE were also hosted at the Lopez Hacienda owned by a wealthy man who divided his time between Abancay, London, and Paris. He had a piano which struck the expedition as incongruous with the location of the hacienda.

While Bingham and the YPE profited from the contacts and information provided by these relationships, his counterparts also benefitted. The Cuzco elite desired the knowledge of Peru's Incan heritage which Bingham's expedition promised to provide (Bingham preliminary account, field journal, June through September 1911, YMA box 18, folder 3). Through his contact with Bingham and the YPE, Giesecke nurtured his identity as a scholar and gentleman of society. Lomellini not only aligned himself with a world-class scientific expedition, but also profited from the services offered the YPE. For the hacienda owners, contributing to the YPE was a chance to learn more about Cuzco's "national past" while gaining social cache.

### **State-Sponsored Science**

In addition to support from Yale alumni, U.S. corporations, and Peruvian elites, the YPE gained the backing of the Presidents of the U.S. and Peru. As a friend and fellow Yale Alumnus, for the initial expedition, Bingham contacted President Taft. During the Pan-American Commercial Congress, Bingham met with Taft to discuss plans for the upcoming Peruvian expedition (general correspondence, March 10, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 4). When Bingham had difficulty paying for a skilled topographer to accompany the expedition, Bingham wrote Taft asking for government assistance and sponsorship for the 1911 expedition (general correspondence, March 21, 1911 and March 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 4).

One of the early challenges for the 1911 expedition was finding a qualified topographer to accompany the expedition. Because of the initial financial constraints, Bingham could not attract a skilled map-maker who was interested in leaving his current position to spend six months in Peru. Bingham wrote Taft to ask for government assistance. Taft's secretary circulated the request to the Geological Survey and

eventually wrote Bingham that a Danish topographer named Kai Hendricksen was currently working on the Geological Survey along the Canadian border and might be interested in the position (general correspondence, March 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 6). Additionally, the U.S. government agreed to provide the necessary equipment to conduct the topographic work. Because of Bingham's connection with Taft, the YPE was able to secure a good topographer and the needed equipment to carry off the scientific expedition. Bingham wrote Taft on May 29, 1911 thanking him for his support.

We appreciate exceedingly your kindness in enabling us to secure such a good topographer as Mr. Hendriksen, and also in enabling us to borrow valuable instruments from the different surveys, which, if we had had to purchase, would have seriously impaired our ability to employ the necessary labor in our archaeological clearing and excavation.

If you feel inclined to ask the Secretary of State to give us a round-robin letter to the American diplomatic and Consular officers and to the Panama Canal Commission (we shall have to say on the Isthmus two or three days waiting for our steamer), I shall appreciate it extremely (general correspondence, May 29, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 21).

For the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions, Bingham contacted Taft to secure passage on the steamers of the Panama railroad company at the same discounted price as the canal workers (general correspondence, May 29, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 21). Bingham also communicated with Taft several times to negotiate a special concession between Yale and Peru in 1912.<sup>12</sup> Finally, Bingham contacted the U.S. Treasury asking for special duties and low tariffs on scientific instruments imported from England (general correspondence, January 17, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 2).

Peruvian President Augusto Leguía also lent critical support for the YPE. Leguía had worked in New York for an insurance company before becoming President of Peru

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<sup>12</sup> Chapter 5 goes into this in detail.

in 1908.<sup>13</sup> He fomented U.S. involvement in all sectors of the Peruvian economy, believing that the “practical” and entrepreneurial spirit of the U.S. would benefit Peru (Callirgos 2007). Consequently, Leguía opened up Peru to foreigners, particularly those who would bring either industrial advancement or new knowledge about Peru’s Incan past. Bingham’s expeditions were exactly the type of scientific work that interested Leguía, as it coupled the nation’s heroic Incan past with commercial possibilities for its modern future. In a letter dated March 28, 1911, Bingham contacted Leguía asking for customs assistance and military accompaniment.

I mention these things [details of the expedition] that you may make such arrangements as you see fit in aiding the work of the expedition. I enclose a clipping from the Yale Alumni Weekly which will tell you of our plans in still further detail. I should like to ask specifically for two favors. The first that the collector of customs of the port of Mollendo be notified of our intention of embarking at that port, and be instructed to pass through the custom house all our outfit without any unnecessary delay, in order that we may begin our field work as soon as possible. All our bags and boxes will be plainly marked Yale Peruvian expedition, so that he will have no difficulty in identifying them.

The second request which I have to make of your Excellency is that you will assign to the party as military aid a bright and intelligent officer who assisted me in my former work at Choquequirau. His name I believe is J. Caceres. He was so efficient, cheerful, and capable that I am sure his presence with us would be of very great assistance to the cause of science (general correspondence, March 28, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 8).

Bingham went on to inform Leguía of the other men who would be accompanying the expedition, including Hendricksen who, “owing to the kindness of President Taft”, was released from his appointment to join the YPE. Bingham closed his letter thanking Leguía for all his help, appreciation and interest in the expedition.

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<sup>13</sup> Leguía is most know for his “oncenio”, or his eleven year Presidential term which began in 1919.

For both the 1911 and 1912 expeditions, the YPE negotiated Peruvian customs easily. The YPE was met at the port where the goods that Bingham imported were granted entry without having to pay taxes or fees (MRE, May 29, 1912, No. 83). The Leguía government also provided Bingham with a letter of support and supplied a military lieutenant who accompanied the YPE on the 1911 expedition. Accompanied by an officer of the Peruvian military, the YPE explored the country unquestioned.

Leguía not only helped the YPE gain entry through the port of Peru, but also paved the way for Bingham to excavate and remove archaeological material. While Peru's laws in 1911 prohibited the removal of antiquities, Bingham was given special dispensation by Leguía to conduct excavations and remove objects from the Andean countryside. While the concessions given to the YPE will be discussed in greater detail in Chapter five, the support and executive dispensation offered by Leguía facilitated the actual execution of the expedition. While the YPE did not excavate many archaeological ruins on the 1911 expedition, the presence of the YPE could have invited conflict and concern were it not for Leguía's support and military accompaniment. Leguía's reasons for supporting the expedition are unknown. However, Bingham's agenda appealed to Leguía enough for him to actively support the 1911 and 1912 expedition before his ouster as Peru's President in the fall of 1912. Leguía's actions were applauded in magazines like *Peru To-Day*<sup>14</sup> for not only benefitting the country, but for contributing to the world's scientific knowledge. Bingham also acted as Leguía's son's legal guardian when he was sent to boarding school in the U.S.

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<sup>14</sup> The magazine was a source of travel information, country updates and advertisements of products available in Peru and book reviews that had South America as subject.

## Scientific Discoveries and Lost Cities

Upon returning to the U.S. Bingham referred to his discovery of Machu Picchu as “scientific.” This delineation is not insignificant. By claiming a scientific discovery, Bingham gained recognition as an explorer who illuminated an amazing example of history. However, he also gained stature within an elite group of men. To discover something scientifically was not simply about adventure or exploration, but about contributing to global and universal knowledge. This framing was due, in part, to at least three factors. First, the sanctuary itself was inhabited and farmed during Bingham’s discovery. Second, across one of Machu Picchu’s rocks was the signature Agustin Lizarraga with the date 1902. Third, Bingham paid a boy living in the area named Melchor Arteaga one sol to take him to Machu Picchu after learning about Machu Picchu from a muleteer who lived nearby.

In Bingham’s first publicized account of the discovery of Machu Picchu, “It [Machu Picchu] was known to a few people in Cuzco, chiefly residents of the province of Convención, that there were ruins, still undescribed, in the valley of the Urubamba. One friend told us that a muleteer had told him of some ruins near the bridge of San Miguel” (Bingham 1913a:709). Bingham went on to write that while en route to Machu-Picchu, the YPE reached a hut where “several good-natured Indians welcomed us and gave us gourds full of cool, delicious water, and a few cooked sweet-potatoes. All that we could see was a couple of small grass huts and a few terraces, faced with stone walls. The pleasant Indian family had chosen this eagle’s nest for a home. They told us there were better ruins a little farther along” (Bingham 1913a:712). Bingham admitted in the article that he had heard vague rumors about the ruins from friends and that Machu Picchu must have been previously known because the French explorer Charles Wiener

referenced the ruins in his text *Perou et Bolivie* (1880). In his own personal pocket field journal Bingham initially credited Agustin Lizarraga with the discovery.

This place discovered in 1902 by Lizarraga. The people have lived here four years, planted cotton and vegetable and ruins on andenes. 3 huts now occupied. Climate seems to be good – . . . corn, sugar cane . . . tomatoes, currants, beans, potatoes. An Intihuatana stone near top of works. Much fine stone work. Some very large stones. Best windows I have ever seen. Many horses (Bingham field journal, YMA box 18, Folder 1, emphasis original).

Although Bingham referred to Lizarraga as the discoverer in his first articles, speeches and even in *Inca Land* (1922), the presence of Lizarraga's signature faded until, in his final version of the story, *Lost City of the Incas* (1948), Bingham flatly wrote, "Would anyone believe what I had found?" (Bingham 1948:186).

Mariana Mould de Pease has strongly contested Bingham's notoriety as discoverer of Machu Picchu. Although she refers to Bingham as the first traveler to have visited the sanctuary of Machu Picchu (2000:134) and the first tourist (2003), Mould de Pease argues that Jose Gabriel Cosío was the first Peruvian to visit Machu Picchu in 1911 as scientist, writing his own Anglo-style travel memoir (2001). Mould de Pease views the signature of Agustin Lizarraga on the walls of Machu Picchu prior to Bingham's visit as a sign of Machu Picchu's "Peruvianess" (2003:56). For Mould de Pease, positioning Bingham as the first discoverer has initiated a history of Machu Picchu as a place dedicated to foreign visitors. The fact that a local boy led Bingham to the site further fuels her desire to deemphasize and demythologize Bingham and the other YPE members as discoverers. Mould de Pease calls for a Peruanization of the site and its meaning, arguing that a new history must be written from the perspective of Peru. This perspective must focus on the Peruvians who participated in making Machu Picchu famous and the importance the area had for its inhabitants. In 2002 a group

even presented a motion for Peruvian Congress to officially recognize Agustin Lizarraga, Gabino Sanchez and Enrique Palma as discoverers of Machu Picchu because their names had been written on its rock walls in 1902 (Mould de Pease 2005:203).

New scholarship further contests Bingham's notoriety as discoverer of Machu Picchu. A German engineer named J.M. von Hassel made maps of the area as early as 1874 and Augusto Berns, an engineer who had been contracted by the Southern Peruvian Railways, apparently had attempted to extract riches from the area with his sawmill prior to Bingham's expedition (Keys 2008). Building on this new research, Mould de Pease claims that Bingham knew of Machu Picchu prior to his arrival to Peru in 1911 and was duplicitous if not conspiratorial in his so-called discovery of Machu Picchu (presentation UNSAAC, Mould de Pease, April 2008). Even *The New York Times* has recently joined in on the debate over who really discovered Machu Picchu when it, without irony, asked, "Was a lost city, ever lost?" (Romero 2008).

As more people weigh in on whether or not Bingham was the discoverer, the hunt for a "true discoverer" perpetuates the notion that Machu Picchu was found by an Anglo male. The notion that Quechua-speakers had inhabited the area long before any of those discoverers continues to be obfuscated. The racialized myth of discovery continues without a larger contextualization into the individuals, networks and infrastructure which facilitated and made Machu Picchu into a discovery.

In his article, "Representation, Appropriation and Power", Craig Owens (1991) writes about the debate between art historian Meyer Schapiro and philosopher Martin Heidegger over a pair of boots painted by Vincent Van Gogh. In *The Origin of the Work*

*of Art* (1935), Heidegger claimed that the boots in Van Gogh's painting were a pair of peasant women's shoes. Challenging Heidegger, Schapiro asserted that the shoes were the artists' which therefore transformed the painting into a self-portrait. Drawing on Derrida, Owens argues that there was no disagreement between Schapiro and Heidegger. The two men were in perfect agreement because they both asked the same question: To whom do the shoes belong? Whom do the shoes represent?

The search for Machu Picchu's real discoverer mirrors Van Gogh's old boots. Replacing Bingham to insert their own heroic figure, Mould de Pease along with countless others who have sought to debunk and demythologize Bingham, all ask the same question: Who discovered Machu Picchu? The answer is always the same: a mythic figure whose presence frames a place through the negation of others, all while perpetuating the notion of a "lost city" waiting to be found. That Bingham was not alone in his expeditionary achievements continues to be overlooked. Such questions seem to typify the long history of imperial and national narratives (e.g. Pratt 1997, Cañizares-Esguerra 2006). Bingham did not discover Machu Picchu. Instead, through the allure of science, an elite social network and photography first invented and discovered Machu Picchu.

Travel and scientific exploration were part of, and were facilitated by, expanding flows of capital and expansion of corporations across national boundaries. Without these connections, carrying off an expedition like the YPE would have been more difficult logistically and perhaps more importantly less imaginable. Bingham had to draw on governmental relationships and corporate sponsors who were interested in the promise of future opportunities between the U.S. and Peru. Without the support of W.R.

Grace, Kodak, and the Peruvian government, the expedition would have been more costly and success less likely. Bingham's involvement in scientific organizations and connections with prominent scholars further legitimized the YPE proposal. Science proved to be a powerful tool. With its ability to connect people from disparate backgrounds, to justify financial support for an expedition, and to provide rationale for soliciting government officials, Bingham drew on science in order to carry out his expedition. The universalized virtue of science together with expanding markets was a winning combination that Bingham worked to his favor. Indeed without the sheen of science, a camera, and the ability to ship goods, a "lost city" could not have been found.

In *The Enterprise of Knowledge*, Ricardo Salvatore (1998) argues that a multiplicity of practices of engagement helped channel U.S. capital, expertise, dreams and power onto the South. Equally as important as military and territorial conquests, the representational machine was critical because it produced representations of cultural difference which circulated (Salvatore 1998:73). Representations constructed South America as a territory for North American dreams, capital, and practical experience.

The search for knowledge also played a key role in "conquering" South America (Taussig 1993, Salvatore 1998). Library, university, business and government interests all intersected in the quest for scientific knowledge. In particular, antiquarianism was a key to the expansion of North American cultural influence in South America (Salvatore 2003:72). If North American scientists could prove the true origins of the Inca, then North America would have more control over South America (Salvatore 2003:72). The union of a mercantilist outlook with useful knowledge made scientific expeditions like Bingham's not only possible, but exciting and desirable for a multitude of actors.

The desire for knowledge of Peru's Incan past, coupled with commercial interests and the promise of Peru's development facilitated Bingham's dreams as an explorer. Although Salvatore's assertions over the YPE as an act to expand representational control over Peru are of critical insight, Salvatore's polarities are perhaps too neatly delineated and generalized. Many actors, including Peruvians, were also interested in the true origins of the Inca. The desire to know Peru's Incan past, coupled with modernist desires for Peru's economic development, fostered an elite transnational network which supported the YPE agenda. Hiram Bingham was, in many ways, able to photograph Machu Picchu because of this history of expansion.

In the two subsequent chapters I examine the expeditionary practices of the YPE. Chapter three focuses on the ways in which the YPE practice of collecting initially helped fashion Machu Picchu into a "lost city." Through the collection of skeletal remains and anthropometric photography, Machu Picchu and its environs were transformed. In Chapter four I examine the YPE images and their publication in both *National Geographic* and the Peruvian illustrated magazine *Ilustración Peruana*. I argue that through photography and their reproduction in *National Geographic*, the discovery of Machu Picchu as a "lost city" was invented and circulated to a wide audience. Through these first three chapters I demonstrate that making Machu Picchu into a discovery necessitated a lot of work, both physically and imaginatively.

### CHAPTER 3 COLLECTING A “LOST CITY” FOR SCIENCE

Grave robbing is at best an unholy venture. The scientific collector of bones doubtless has better intentions than the mere treasure-hunter; but both follow, in part, the same course; and whichever one finds himself last in the race for the prize, probably regards his competitor’s work as unwarrantable desecration (Eaton report, 1912, YMA box 24, folder 10).

Although popular myth associates Bingham and the discovery of Machu Picchu with archaeology, Bingham was trained as an historian and “had little interest in stratigraphy” or other methodologies associated with modern archaeological research.<sup>1</sup> Instead, what was practiced on the Yale Peruvian Expeditions (YPE) is better characterized as a late antiquarianism-inspired collecting spree or, less generously, strategic “grave robbing.” The YPE cleared fields, extracted human remains from caves and in general “collected things.” Although field notes were taken, the evidence suggests that the recording of information about the location and context of the object was less important than the recovery of the object itself. Collectible things included not only conventional archaeological artifacts excavated from the earth, like bones, pots, jewelry and household miscellany, but also books, manuscripts, exotic animals and species “previously unknown to Science.”<sup>2</sup> The YPE also made finds and purchased

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<sup>1</sup> The wall text from Yale University’s *Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* Exhibition at the Peabody Museum in New Haven, 2005, reads: “He [Bingham] had little interest in stratigraphy and limited interests in the contexts in which artifacts were found. Most excavations were conducted with little supervision and without detailed documentations fundamental to professional archaeologists. He was interdisciplinary and ahead of his time, excelled in obtaining a vision of the entire site through extensive clearing and detailed mapping and selective excavation.”

<sup>2</sup> Edmund Heller, member of the 1914/15 expedition, collected materials at various altitudes including Puno and the Amazonian forests. Heller brought back 900 specimens of mammals, representing approximately 80 species. Heller did not confine his collections to mammals however. He also brought back 700 specimens of birds, 200 specimens of reptiles and 100 specimens of fishes. The collections became a source of controversy as Smithsonian, National Geographic and Yale could not decide where to store and study the collection. The reptiles and fishes went to the Peabody Museum and the birds were given to the American Museum of Natural History.

artifacts in antiquity shops and from private collectors.<sup>3</sup> Also of great importance for the legacy of Bingham and his expeditions, were the photographic images taken or “collected” of the site and of living Quechua bodies.

The collecting agenda of the YPE were two-fold. First, the YPE focused on the remains of Inca culture, which meant skeletal remains, books, and other “antiquities.”<sup>4</sup> Second, the YPE focused on “natural history”, either in the form of rare animals or Quechua bodies. Ultimately, remains and photographs of bodies became one of the focal points of the YPE collecting program. These remains and images were sometimes conceived as vestiges of the Incan race, as gross anatomy, or as evidence of fantastical cultural practices.<sup>5</sup> Skeletal remains were usually located and collected by huaqueros (local treasure hunters), who, relative to local wages, were paid handsomely for their knowledge of the Andean terrain. The bodies of living Quechua speakers were collected through photography by the YPE physicians on the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions, respectively.<sup>6</sup>

In this chapter I will suggest that the YPE’s collecting practices helped fashion Machu Picchu as a “lost city.” The YPE collecting practices combined prospecting with the notion that Science had a higher, sovereign claim on those objects that might contribute to the accumulation of its knowledge. Rather than representing a nation’s or

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<sup>3</sup> One of Bingham’s most significant library purchases was from Mr. F Perez de Velasco. Bingham paid 2500 British pounds for all his books, pamphlets and papers of all types that dealt with America. In a shipping update from WR Grace, written on January 29, 1912 thirty-one cases of books by F. Perez de Velasco shipped from Lima, Peru totaling \$7312.50 (YMA Box 6, Folder 34).

<sup>4</sup> The materials are held at Yale’s Peabody Museum.

<sup>5</sup> Trepanned skulls were of particular interest.

<sup>6</sup> See Edwards (1990), Pinney (1992) for work on early scientific and anthropology expeditions in classifying the bodies of indigenous subjects.

empire's sovereign claim over a territory and its people, the YPE relied on the sovereignty of Science to make its objects collectible. Working with local scholars, Peruvian antiquarians, and huaqueros, the YPE found, and brought home to Science, via National Geographic and Yale University, "the lost city" of Machu Picchu.

While it may seem reasonable to argue that the Machu Picchu we visit today is an object fashioned over time, that the "archaeological" remains themselves were also fashioned and a product of particular practices of seeing and collecting, is perhaps a more challenging assertion. A mummy seems to be always a mummy. Nonetheless, the collection of now treasured artifacts of Machu Picchu had to first be imagined and valued as collectible. For Bingham and the YPE, "collectible" translated as the prized, romantic-scientific proof of a "lost city". Once collected and placed in circulation, the objects themselves helped shape forms of knowledge about Peru's Incan past and national future. As this chapter demonstrates, YPE collecting involved a re-signification of the objects, the landscape, and its people. Bingham and the YPE were not just collecting things; they were collecting a worldview.

Many museum collections today are comprised of objects obtained "for Science" from local indigenous populations around the turn of the twentieth century (Gosden and Knowles 2001; Maxwell 1999; Barringer and Flynn 1998; Cannizzo 1989, 1998; Hooper-Greenhill 1992). Museum collectors were motivated to "salvage" or rescue what they could from the onslaught of modernization of what were seen to be "dying races" that would soon disappear. Salvage ethnography was en vogue as scholars argued that the cultural knowledge embodied in material objects must be rescued "for Science" before a

particular “culture” or “tribe” “vanished” from the face of the earth.<sup>7</sup> This knowledge was considered valuable evidence not only of human technical expertise in material culture, such as basket-weaving or textile making, but also as highly prized ethnological evidence of use in the debates over human evolution (Wallis 1995; Edwards 1992). In many instances the objects collected were purchased directly from living indigenous populations. Many of today’s ethnographic and natural history museum displays are based on this early twentieth-century salvage paradigm for collecting practices.

However, unlike many such collecting expeditions of the period, the YPE did not seek out or purchase objects used by the contemporary, local indigenous population. Rather, what attracted the YPE were the remains of the Inca civilization.<sup>8</sup> The YPE was interested in collecting buried artifacts and purchasing books and antiquities, not “salvaging” tupu pins from living Quechua speakers. To understand the Incaist collecting bias of the expedition, it is necessary to place the YPE in the context of previous research and ongoing debates in the study of Peruvian civilization and its antiquities.

During the nineteenth century, the question of the origins and nature of the Inca state was a topic of heated debate. There was little consensus, for example, on the question of the “racial” origins of the Incas. Whether or not the origin of the founders of the great Peruvian civilization was indigenous, European, Aryan (that is, Oriental or

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<sup>7</sup> The discipline of anthropology has its roots in these early practices, see Stocking (1987, 1995); Urry (1972).

<sup>8</sup> Not only did Bingham and his party purchase archaeological artifacts from local collectors, but Bingham also was interested in purchasing rare books for Yale’s library. Book collecting had not been a part of the original expedition plan and because funds had not acquired for purchases, Bingham found himself writing for sponsorship to purchase collections and bring them back to Yale. Bingham also purchased an extensive collection of maps and illustrations from Chadenet in August 1913.

Indo-European), Chinese, or Japanese continued to be debated into the twentieth century. Mark Thurner (2003) argues that these racialized debates about Inca origins responded in part to the colonial schism in historical discourse between the glorious Inca past and the miserable Indian or indigenous present (2003:142).<sup>9</sup> Traces of this historical discourse and its racist implications are evident in the YPE expedition, and indeed are materialized in the selection of skeletal remains and photographs taken of Quechua-speakers' bodies.

By the turn of the twentieth century, exploration in Peru had come to mean the study of Peru's "ancient civilizations" (Salomon 1985). Ethnographic research and the study of present day Andean populations had not yet achieved the status of antiquities. This was due, in part, to the continued conceptualization of Peru's indigenous populations as "epigones incapable of contributing to the understanding of Inca greatness" (Salomon 1985:86).<sup>10</sup> Anglophone explorers such as Ephraim George Squier or Clements Markham instead examined the Peruvian nation's imagined past civilizations through the romantic lens of the Inca.<sup>11</sup> Although the schism between the glorious Inca past and the miserable indigenous present began to lessen by 1930,

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<sup>9</sup> Through an examination of nineteenth century exploration drawings of indigenous Peru, Thurner shows how specific themes which resonated with Creole desires came to dominate and were materialized through representations in texts and drawings.

<sup>10</sup> See also Tamayo Herrera (1980). In *Crania Americana* (1839) and *An Illustrated System of Human Anatomy* (1849), Samuel G. Morton examined the physical characteristics of Native American skulls over time. Morton wanted to demonstrate that because of the continuity of skull characteristics over time, the role of environment was less influential than previously surmised. George Combe, who had contributed an appendix to *Crania Americana*, criticized Morton's theory by pointing out that Morton himself had recognized the greatness of Mexico's and Peru's native civilizations, while simultaneously placing indigenous skeletal remains as inferior (Bernasconi 2002).

<sup>11</sup> During this same period British anthropologists focused on the evolutionary development of mankind. The Ethnological Society of London (founded in 1842 and monogenist in orientation) and the Anthropological Society of London (founded in 1863 and both polygenist and anti-Darwinian in orientation) eventually merged in 1872 to form the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland (see Stocking 1971).

Bingham's three expeditions to Peru were based on, and perpetuated the assumption that what was important "for Science" was the Inca.<sup>12</sup>

The YPE collected in the name of the empire of Science, and its worldview would circulate not only on Yale's campus, but globally in the pages of *National Geographic*. The Peruvian territory was conceived as a source of useful material and data for Yale University and the scientific community at large. What was useful or collectible for the YPE agenda was framed in terms of a racialized understanding of the Incan past and Quechua present. Excavated skeletal remains were prized for the clues they held of the noble and glorious Incan civilization, while Quechua bodies were collected through photography as evidence of a miserable, underdeveloped, and primitive present-day "race." Together, both skeletal remains and pathologized Quechua figures lent a romantic-scientific aura of Machu Picchu as a "lost city."

### **Cave Hunting for Science**

No trained archaeologist accompanied the YPE on any of the three expeditions.<sup>13</sup> This decision was based partly on the difficulty in finding a trained archaeologist willing to assist the YPE without pay and partly based on the fact that archaeology was not a primary goal of Bingham's first 1911 expedition. As excavating became important in the second and third expedition, a sustained and systematic practice of excavation was neither conducted nor enforced. Although archaeology was still in its nascent stages, important work had been conducted in Peru by the German-

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<sup>12</sup> The lessening of the historical schism is attributed in part to the indigenista movement in Peru, particularly in Cuzco by intellectuals including Luis Valcárcel. Valcárcel was to come into conflict with Bingham during the last YPE over the removal of Peru's antiquities, see Chapter 5.

<sup>13</sup> "Archaeological engineers" Herman Tucker (1911) and Ellwood Erdis (1912 and 1914-15) were members of the YPE. "Archaeological Assistant" Philip Ainsworth Means accompanied the 1914/15 expedition, but quit after a few months in the field.

born Max Uhle “the founder of Peruvian archaeology.” His research at Pachacamac, conducted for the University of Pennsylvania in 1896 and 1897, and whose findings were published in 1903, were considered ground-breaking and influential.<sup>14</sup> Whether or not Bingham was aware of the Pachacamac Report is less clear, but highly likely.<sup>15</sup> Nonetheless, archaeology remained important in name because it provided a scientific image for the explorer and the expedition, but what occurred at Machu Picchu was collecting.

Harvard Professor Dr. W.C. Farabee urged Bingham to bring a trained archaeologist on the expeditions to Peru. Recognizing that the area held much promise for science, Farabee attempted to persuade Bingham of the worthiness of archaeology to the YPE goals.

Dear Prof. Bingham,  
I am glad to know your arrangements are nearly perfected for your South American expedition. . . . May I suggest that you should take with you a trained archaeologist? The region you propose to explore is, as you have said, the most important in Peru and you owe it to science that just as important results should be attained. The most careful work should be done. Archaeology is different from most subjects in that its material once used is largely worthless for further investigation. If a mistake is made in historical research it matters little because the original sources remain; but in archaeology the evidence is largely destroyed. We know very little in Peru because in the past all the digging was done by relic hunters. Your archaeological assistant ought to be well acquainted with all the material from Peru so that he may know what to expect to find and what he has found when it appears. Otherwise he may destroy more valuable material than he secures and the world would be none the wiser. There are so few places which have escaped the vandals that those few ought to be made to yield every particle of evidence they contain. . . . I feel sure that you will find so much that your archaeologist will have to remain much longer than the

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<sup>14</sup> The Pachacamac Report continues to be used in courses on South American Archaeology.

<sup>15</sup> Uhle followed his patroness, Phoebe Hearst, to the University of California Berkeley where he worked from 1899 to 1905. Bingham received his master’s degree in history from University of California Berkeley in 1900, writing his thesis on the American supremacy in the Hawaiian Islands.

allotted time. Any good find ought to be thoroughly explored before leaving it or it will be destroyed by the natives.

I trust you will pardon me for preaching but to me it is a serious matter.

Most sincerely yours,

W.C. Farabee (general correspondence, April 7, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 13).

Bingham responded to Farabee on April 26, 1911. While thanking Farabee for the advice, Bingham explained that the archaeological assistant who would accompany the expedition would be under the personal direction of Bingham and would therefore not destroy any valuable material. However, the assistant's work was conceived not as archaeological excavation, but as construction.

My archaeological assistant, whom I believe is now in Cambridge with you, will work the first few months under my personal direction. His particular job as engineer will be in the construction of roads and bridges, the clearing of the jungle and in map making. I am sure that he will not destroy any valuable material. I expect to take personal charge of the actual work of exploration, although I shall leave the surveying and map making largely to Mr. Ellsworth (general correspondence, April 26, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 16).

Collecting objects and shipping them to Yale was not a significant part of the 1911 expedition.<sup>16</sup> Therefore, the lack of an archaeologist did not play as decisive a role as in the subsequent two expeditions. During the 1912 follow-up expedition, the focus on excavating Machu Picchu and its environs made archaeology more significant. Still, even though the emphasis of the expedition had changed, finding an archaeologist to accompany the YPE continued to pose a challenge for both the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions. Bingham vacillated between hiring a trained archaeologist and hiring a "solid man of science." Bingham wrote letters to Roland Dixon, also a professor at

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<sup>16</sup> Bingham did ship back "glacial bones."

Harvard, and Mr. Bryce, a U.S. diplomat whom Bingham met while in Peru. Three letters detail Bingham's quandary and decision making process.

Dear Mr. Bryce:

No word has come from Peru yet, nor have I heard from Mr. Grosvenor as to whether the Geographic Society is going to help in the next expedition. The thing that puzzles me most now is what to do with regard to the archaeological members of the party. Good systematic archaeologists are extremely scarce and are all interested in something else. I mean they do not know anything about Peru, nor do they care much about it. Would it be better to get some young man trained in science who would know how to collect accurately and record carefully what he found and saw, and let somebody in this country study the things we bring out, or would it be better to take even a second or third class archaeologist who could study the things himself after he got back? There seems to be great dearth of good material. I have put this same question to an ethnologist and a geologist. Each answered it as you might expect. The ethnologist said take the third-class archaeologist if you can't get a better archaeologist. The geologist said take a first-class right young man who knows nothing about archaeology, but who can be trusted to collect everything he sees with care and with enthusiasm. If it were only possible to get a first-class archaeologist I should not be in such a quandary...

Faithfully Yours,

Hiram Bingham (general correspondence, March 11, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 38).

My dear Dixon:

Thank you very much for replying so fully to my letter. . . . I have decided that what I want is a first-class young man of scientific training who will have sense enough and collect everything of any value, to note exactly where it came from, and to attend to the details of packing, etc. If he is also a trained archaeologist who can profitably spend five or six months after he gets home in examining the material which he has brought home and in writing it up for publication, so much the better. But I am inclined to think that a first class man with scientific training but without archaeological theories would be more valuable for our purposes than a third-class archaeologist. What do you think about it? (general correspondence, March 11, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 38).

March 15, 1912

(From Roland Dixon.)

My dear Bingham:

What you say about a first-class young man of scientific training is perfectly true, but the difficulty lies in the fact that *to know what is and what is not of value, to know what is necessary to observe and what is immaterial requires some special archaeological training*. There is unfortunately a

dearth of men who are going in for this work. We have at present three good men, all with excellent training, but they are all on the last lap of their courses for the Ph.D. and would not probably care to be away at this time. . . . Other than these we have no one here who has had any training in methods of excavating, recording, etc. It is really a discouraging situation, for there is a call for several good men, but none seem to have come forward within the last two or three years. I'll rack my brains and see if I can think of anyone else who might do, here or elsewhere. . . .  
Faithfully Yours,  
Roland Dixon (general correspondence, March 15, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 38, emphasis mine).<sup>17</sup>

Dixon, like Farabee in his earlier letter, was concerned that the YPE would not be able to distinguish the value of the found items. Dixon stated: "But the difficulty lies in the fact that to know what is and what is not of value, to know what is necessary to observe and what is immaterial requires some special archaeological training." The weakness in Bingham's team was its lack of formal archaeological training. While hiring a first-class man with scientific training was a good start, both objects and supporting contextual evidence might be overlooked by the untrained eye. For both Dixon and Farabee acquiring a discerning archaeological eye was critical. The YPE did not know what objects were important, which were insignificant and, most critically, what evidence was necessary to support scientific and historic claims about the found material.

Dixon wrote Bingham a week later offering to train Bingham's men. While the men might not get first-hand experience excavating, Dixon believed that a semester course in the methods of archaeology, taking measurements, recording observations and understanding the main features of the region, would be better than no training at

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<sup>17</sup> Bingham had asked Roland Dixon to accompany the expedition, but Dixon declined stating that he was going to be on a sabbatical traveling for a year.

all.<sup>18</sup> In the end, no members of the YPE enrolled in any of Dixon's courses.<sup>19</sup> Although Bingham did not seem to regret his decision about choosing a "solid man of science" over a "third-rate archaeologist", he did take steps to direct and train the YPE members in "archaeology" through expedition circulars.

Circulars were packets of information that Bingham used to inform and train expedition members.<sup>20</sup> Essentially pamphlets which were bound in binders, the circulars acted as the YPE's operating instructions. No special group training session occurred prior to the expedition's departure. Instead, individual meetings were conducted with Bingham and a notebook of circulars was given to each member prior to departure. If one-on-one meetings were not possible, meetings were held on the ships en route to Peru.

The circulars included a variety of information that might be of use to party members in the field. In addition to details about the packing lists of the food boxes, instructions for daily meals, the cleaning of a rifle, and rules for hygiene and camp

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<sup>18</sup> Dixon wrote Bingham on March 24, 1912: "My dear Bingham: We should be only too glad to do what we could in the way of giving any man you might send up here what theoretical training we could in the matter of excavation etc, but it is really the practical work that counts. There is no chance that I know of for any one to get personal experience in excavating etc. hereabouts. We could discuss with your man the methods to use, what to observe and how to take measurements, make records etc. and could go over with him some of the main features of the region in which he would be working. If he were a bright chap, he would probably get some benefit out of this purely theoretical work, and ought to be able to do much better work than without such knowledge. He ought to be able to get this theoretical side in a couple of months I should think. I suppose he would have to register as a Special Student, and take one half-course (anthropology 20a). We shall all be glad to do what we can for any one you might think of sending" (YMA box 6, folder 40).

<sup>19</sup> It appears from some of the correspondence that some members did spend a few weeks with Dixon.

<sup>20</sup> Each member of the 1912 expedition was also given a copy of *Hints for Travellers*, volume 2, a small booklet published by the Royal Geographical Society. Bingham felt that there was a considerable amount of valuable material which may be read with "profit by members of the expedition." Members were expected to read the booklet on the trip from New York to Peru (circular No. 16, YMA box 19, folder 17).

sanitation, the circulars also included information on collecting.<sup>21</sup> The contents of the circular could be updated as Bingham saw fit. So, for example, if information on the food boxes changed, Bingham could print new instructions and give them to each member to include in his binder. The circular on archaeology acted as the singular training the YPE members received in excavating, collecting, recording and storing archaeological remains. The circular was their methods course.

The archaeological circular specified where to look, what to look for, how to collect and what to record. Despite a lack of detail, suggestions for labeling and packing were also included in the tear sheet. Bingham did not specify hard and fast rules for excavation and collection practices. The archaeological section of the circular pamphlet from the 1912 expedition included these instructions:

**Where to Look.**

In traveling afield, collectors on the lookout for osteological and archaeological specimens should examine all exposed gravel banks, and should excavate here and there in so-called “ash deposits”, kitchen middens, ancient “camp sites”, and rock shelters as well as in the neighborhood of prehistoric ruins, natural points of lookout, waterholes and ancient cultivated fields.

**What to Collect**

In general, it will be desirable to bring in not only remains of man, bones, sherds, artifacts, etc. but also the bones of any animals found associated with him.

**How to Collect**

Do not be in too much of a hurry to get bones or potsherds out of the ground. Do not allow loose specimens on the surface to escape you. As far as possible, entirely uncover skeletons before removing from the ground; also start notes before removing material. It is sometimes difficult to enter correct data later on. If a skull, bone or pot breaks, try to keep its pieces together. This does not mean that you must spoil the fine new fracture by trying to match pieces. If complete human skeletons are found it may be possible to keep the bones of each hand and foot together, in a separate package. The most valuable parts of a human skeleton are the skull and

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<sup>21</sup> Other circulars included important addresses, blank contracts, how to treat a snake bite, and the care and selection of mules.

jaws. Every effort should be made to get these out entire. If damp, they should be wrapped in dry material of any kind, and dried out slowly. Should the teeth drop out, save them carefully, and do not allow them to rattle against each other when packed.

**What to record.**

When skeletons, bones, or artifacts are discovered in middens or deposits of considerable depth (depth being an indication of long occupation of a given locality), notes should record the depth in the deposit at which specimens were found. Photographs and sketches should be made, showing the extent of the midden. If personal trinkets are found with human remains, note carefully any evidence as to whether they are associated with any given individual, as around the neck or arm or as a medallion on the breast. Trinkets belonging with an individual should be given the same record number. Notes to be taken describing each find should cover:

- a) Geographic locality
- b) Geological formation or general nature of the deposit (cemetery, grave, kitchen midden, etc.)
- c) Position and orientation of all human remains, the relative position of different parts, and the degree of completeness of the skeleton Do not be afraid of making notes ample.
- d) Photographs, before, during and after excavation (Bumstead journal, 1912, YMA box 19, folder 17).

Though expanded and more detailed, the circular for the 1914/15 expedition is similar in content (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23). Bingham provided more information about the possible locations of valuable materials. Having excavated the area two years prior, Bingham shared knowledge about what had been learned from the 1912 expedition to provide further context and guidance for the 1914/15 expedition members.<sup>22</sup> The 1914/15 circular presented an account of the archaeological terrain

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<sup>22</sup> For example, Bingham explained how bodies were buried in the area noting that: "There are several types of graves; the method of disposing of the dead, most frequently practiced in the Cordillera Vilcapampa, being to place the bodies in natural and artificial caves, large and small, beneath the boulders and ledges of the mountain-sides. Interment was sometimes made within cylindrical tombs (chulpas) built of stone, and in small graves cut directly into the face of vertical gravel cliffs. Small rectangular plots on nearly level ground, enclosed by low stone walls may also mark ancient graves" (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23).

and gravesite conditions in the Vilcabamba region.<sup>23</sup> Also included were clearer instructions about the necessity of photographing and visualizing the objects *in situ* prior to, during, and after excavation.<sup>24</sup> Labeling and packing the excavated artifacts were discussed at greater length as well.

One difference between the 1912 and 1914/15 circular on collecting was the emphasis on visualizing through diagrams. In the later expedition, the YPE was informed that they could not solely rely on the camera for documentation of gravesite excavations. Diagrams taken at some point during the excavations were also considered an important part of the research record. In the 1914/15 circular Bingham stated:

The true value of all archaeological and ethnological material depends largely on the possibility of determining its age or “culture”; and to properly observe and record the requisite evidence, by notes and diagrams, is one of the most important and most difficult duties of an archaeologist (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23).

Although Bingham recognized the critical nature of observation in excavation, the individual collector determined the most appropriate method for excavation as well as what was considered collectible. However, Bingham did offer a warning to the collector

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<sup>23</sup> Bingham wrote: “It will be well to remember that in burial caves the human remains may be found either on the floor or buried beneath it, or occasionally walled in at the rear. Pottery and various implements and ornaments are likely to be found with the human remains, both on the surface and in the ground, and should always be searched for, care being taken while excavating not to injure fragile articles. Fabric of llama’s or vicuna’s wool or of cotton in the form of clothing or of mummy wrappings is occasionally preserved in very dry graves. Bones of mammals and birds are frequently found with human remains and should always be saved” (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23).

<sup>24</sup> The circular stated: “Graves and other places of interest should be photographed before excavation is begun; and it will often be found advisable to take photographs again during the progress of the work and at its close. Interior views of caves can sometimes be taken showing the arrangement of human remains and accompanying objects; but the camera must not be the sole reliance for the purpose of illustration; the preparation of diagrams, showing the arrangement of the contents of a grave, at one or more of the stages of excavation, is an important part of the record. Should it prove impossible, for any reason, to photograph the site of an important find, the roughest kind of a pencil sketch is far better than no picture” (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23).

that he should not be rushed by his companions and should take the time to think about and select the most appropriate method for removing material from the selected site (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23).

The 1914/15 circular also contained greater detail for the packaging and labeling of materials. Care was to be taken when packing the artifacts. Explanation about padding, wrapping and storing the items for shipment was included in the 1914/15 circular. It also included the suggestion that items excavated be given a serial number noting the location, gravesite, date and initials of the collector. If several skeletons were located in the same cave, then the bones found should carry the additional label of skeleton 1, skeleton 2, etc.

Although the 1914/15 circular included more details and directions, the thread between the two circulars remained the same. Both circulars emphasized the need to look everywhere. Even with additional direction and specific context about the area, the circulars were based on a generalization about collecting everything that might be noteworthy. In the 1914/15 *Special Instructions for the Archaeological Engineer* Bingham began with: "In general it is desirable to collect not only the remains of prehistoric or pre-Columbian man, but also the bones of animals contemporary with him, and articles of every kind, made or used by him, with the exception of building materials" (Hasbrouck notebook, circular no. 17, YMA box 23). Skeletal remains continued to be the emphasis of the "archaeological" collecting enterprise.

Bingham was rarely present during excavation at a site and offered little specific hands-on direction. In 1912, Bingham was more often doing reconnaissance to locate more archaeological sites in the Cuzco area or negotiating concessions with the

government.<sup>25</sup> For the 1914/15 expedition Bingham did not arrive to Peru until 1915, leaving Ellwood Erdis in charge of the YPE team for nearly a year. Although the circulars stressed the importance of recording the context of an object, the lack of systematized photographs, measurements, and a uniform labeling system coupled with the absence of a precise description of how an object was found indicated that context was not everything, if anything at all.<sup>26</sup> While a visual record was important, it was not deemed vital enough to follow the circular's instructions or any type of systematic recording. Particular attention was not invested in quality detailed measurements and analysis of a few specimens.<sup>27</sup> Instead, the value of the YPE collecting lay in quantity.

Finding skeletal remains proved difficult. With their lack of archaeological expertise and no previous experience excavating in the Andes, the YPE's ability to locate burial sites for excavation was harder than first assumed. If YPE members were not going to receive formal training "to know what is necessary to observe and what is immaterial" then training would have to come through the circulars. However, the information outlined in the circulars was quite general and was largely ignored. Because the guidelines for collecting were so vague, knowing precisely what one was looking for and what was of critical importance was difficult. Knowledge of the Andean landscape

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<sup>25</sup> Bingham's negotiations with the Peruvian government for a concession will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5.

<sup>26</sup> As with the collection of the skeletal material, the difficulty with the collections brought back by Heller was the lack of context. In a note that Gilbert Grosvenor of National Geographic received from Mr. Chapman from the American Museum of Natural History, Chapman wrote requesting a visit to the area where the collecting took place because "I should then be in a position to gain much information at first hand, and to prepare a paper which would be of far greater value than one based merely on a study of so many bird-skins" (National Geographic correspondence, May 3, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 263).

<sup>27</sup> It is possible that these accounts would be included with the Peabody Museum collection where the skeletal remains are now held. In the archive of YPE materials held at Yale's Sterling library there are scant details of the objects collected.

and its history was necessary to locate caves, middens and burial sites. To collect remains, one had to know what “was necessary to observe and what was immaterial.” One had to acquire a discerning eye that saw specimens for science where others saw lucrative bones and trinkets for gringos. Ironically perhaps, one of the key ways that a trained “archaeological” eye was acquired was by paying huaqueros to help the YPE. The YPE saw the landscape “archaeologically” through the experienced eyes of the grave digger.

Gravesites became the primary source of the YPE collections.<sup>28</sup> Gravesites were important because they held not only skeletal remains, but often household objects and metalwork. The gravesites were typically caves which, once located were remarkably easy to remove materials.<sup>29</sup> However, practicality was not the only reason that bones were especially alluring for the YPE. Bones allowed for the YPE to pursue its generalized goal, discussed above, of understanding more about the origins of the Inca civilization and “race.”

On the 1911 expedition, Bingham was initially excited and motivated by the discovery of “glacial bones.” One morning in July 1911, Bingham, accompanied by the naturalist Harry Foote and the surgeon William Erving, sighted several bones and a stone wall which had been exposed due to recent road construction and erosion in the Ayahuaycco quebrada (ravine) (Bingham 1922). Buried under seventy or eighty feet of gravel, Bingham surmised that the bones were of glacial origin and perhaps evidence of

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<sup>28</sup> This is not to say that other items were not collected. Ceramic pieces and metal objects were also collected. Additionally, “native agricultural products” were also collected. The local population was compensated with coins or other inducements such as sticks of chocolate, cans of sardines, beads or cheap pocket knives.

<sup>29</sup> Much of the remains were found practically disinterred.

the existence of glacial man in South America.<sup>30</sup> Yale Curator of Osteology George Eaton,<sup>31</sup> worked with the bones back at the Peabody Museum and speculated that the bones were between 20 and 40,000 years old (Bingham 1912b, 1922). Based on Eaton's dating, Bingham's "glacial bones" were surmised to be the oldest human remains found in the western hemisphere. Isaiah Bowman, the geologist on the 1911 expedition, additionally determined that based on its relation to alluvial deposits the wall was pre-Inca (Bingham 1922). The discovery of the bones of pre-historic man might help define Bingham as an explorer and scientist who uncovered another clue in the scientific debates on race and evolution. While the "glacial bones" turned out to be insignificant, collecting skeletal remains remained the focus of the YPE.<sup>32</sup>

After having little luck in finding the things he sought, Bingham began offering prize-money for those who brought finds to the YPE's attention.<sup>33</sup> An incentive plan was first implemented on the 1911 expedition only to become a much more significant part

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<sup>30</sup> In the 1914 *Boletín of Sociedad Geografica de Lima*, Jose Gabriel Cosi6 wrote that Bingham had possibly discovered seventy thousand year old fossil fragments which may correspond to a gigantic animal found intercalated in a ravine of Huancaro.

<sup>31</sup> Eaton became the osteologist on the 1912 expedition.

<sup>32</sup> The bones turned out to be of bovine not human origin.

<sup>33</sup> The workers were not the only individuals who facilitated the YPE's collecting enterprise. Bingham also made several purchases from local merchants and collectors who were interested in selling not only their pre-Colombian objects but also their collection of rare written texts. The Peruvian collectors decided to sell their life's work not only for commercial gain, but because they entrusted Bingham and Yale University with the preservation of their objects because they were men of good repute - they were men of science. People in Peru often solicited Bingham to purchase their collections. Bingham received a letter from a Mr. Domingo Canepa November 5, 1912, wanting to sell several items to Bingham. Located in Pisco, Per6, he owned a store called: "Establecimiento de Abarrotes, Vinos, y Licores Extranjeros del Pa6s". Canepa wrote to Bingham saying that he had huacos, pieces of gold, silver and a great diversity of woven tapestries, all in a good state of conservation. Bingham also received a letter from Luis Ulloa trying to sell Bingham a variety of manuscripts (general correspondence, YMA box 10, folder 120). There is evidence that Bingham purchased a significant collection of antiquities, including textiles, representing the civilization of the southern Peruvian coast. The materials were subsequently donated to Yale (Yale treasury correspondence, January 28, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 285).

of the YPE expeditionary practices on both the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions.<sup>34</sup> The incentive plan turned out to be a boon to the YPE project. Not only did monetary payments help overcome worker's reluctance to help the YPE with their mission, but by accessing the worker's knowledge, the YPE could overcome its inability to locate sites worthy of collecting (Eaton report, YMA box 24, folder 10). The YPE expedition paid informants to help locate caves and dig-worthy sites and a photographic record was taken of the locations. Through the efforts on the part of the huaqueros, the YPE initially determined and selected "what was necessary to observe and what was immaterial."

Other incentives were used to encourage participation with the YPE. Guns were used to persuade hired hands who threatened to desert the expedition, and were constantly carried as means of making the expedition team members feel safe (see Heald report, YMA box 25, folder 23; Little report YMA box 26, folder 26).<sup>35</sup> While guns were needed to prevent open questioning of the YPE and its labor practices, the threat of military inscription and fear of government-supported brutality was also manipulated to pressure area farmers to meet the needs and demands of the YPE.<sup>36</sup> In one instance, the government chaperone threatened the indigenous population living near the ruins that if they did not sell livestock or supplies such as eggs to the expedition,

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<sup>34</sup> The YPE did not just rely on paying people for their knowledge of the Andean countryside. Officials of various towns also offered to assist the YPE in their collecting spree. For example, Edmund Heller notes that one governor informed the YPE of a good place to hunt viscachas (YMA box 27, folder 46).

<sup>35</sup> The YPE brought eight Special Revolvers Cal .38. The YPE members were instructed to have a large gun in plain site. In a letter to Colt's Firearms dated March 20, 1914, Hiram Bingham wrote: "I long ago adopted the theory that by carrying a good-sized gun in plain sight in a wild or semi-civilized country, one could avoid any necessity of having to use it in self-defence [sic]" (general correspondence, YMA box 10, folder 126).

<sup>36</sup> Kenneth C Heald was a member on the 1912 expedition. Heald's policy was to shoot any man who tried to desert the expedition and instructed his translator, field guide and assistant Tomas to shoot any man who tried to bolt, but to do it carefully "around the edges."

their animals would be killed (Erdis journal, April 26, 1915, YMA box 19, folder 20). By payment or by force, supplies and information were extracted by the YPE.<sup>37</sup>

Ellwood Erdis, a member on both the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions, was given the titles of “archaeological engineer” and “engineer” respectively, and was a key figure in the YPE collecting enterprise.<sup>38</sup> Along with Erdis, George Eaton, an osteologist, was another key figure in the collection of skeletal remains. A member on the 1912 expedition, Eaton wrote in his notebook about the schedule of rewards offered to those services rendered by the local people employed by the YPE. Payment was given to those who could find and direct the YPE to graves containing valuable materials. Consequently, he wrote, “every peon employed by the YPE” was sent out to prospect the countryside (Eaton report, YMA box 24, folder 10).

Not everyone employed by the YPE was successful in locating gravesites. Many of the contracted workers were newcomers to the region and did not have a familiarity with the area. They did not yet know how to see the landscape for finding and excavating the objects they sought. Three men, however, were highlighted in the field reports as being extraordinarily useful to the YPE. These men were identified by surname only as Alvarez, Richarte and Fuentes. The Peruvian threesome were

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<sup>37</sup> In addition to the general violence that was part of the expedition, one Peruvian died while working for the YPE. A boy, who was attempting to ford a river, was washed off his feet and drowned in the stream. He was carrying a tripod and a microscopic alidade. While the tripod and body were not recovered, his poncho and the alidade were found at some distance down the stream. Although the reports and journals say that the boy had been told not to cross without assistance, he disobeyed and was not seen until he was already in the middle of the river, about to be washed away (Bingham report, July 19, 1911, YMA box 18, folder 3).

<sup>38</sup> For much of the 1914-5 expedition Hiram Bingham was not in Peru and Erdis was the de-facto leader in charge. Trapping animals was also an important part of collecting in Peru. Although Erdis found that he did not have a lot of success initially trapping dogs, Heller amassed what can only be described as a shameful haul. One of the reasons why Philip Means resigned was that trapping was never part of his job description and he did not feel that it should be part of his duties.

considered faithful guides to the YPE and uncovered much of what was eventually collected and shipped back to Yale University.<sup>39</sup>

The YPE process of collecting began by paying scouts to locate gravesites. The scouts, often unaccompanied by an YPE member, then excavated the tomb. The materials found were delivered to Erdis, who labeled and listed the bones and other articles collected. Erdis recorded the information the collectors conveyed regarding location and contents of graves. According to Eaton, Erdis rarely supervised the excavation of gravesites, but managed a team of collectors to double the amount collected from Machu Picchu and the surrounding area. Although Eaton relied on Erdis's reports for his analysis of the skeletal remains, Eaton felt he could not wholly trust what was said by the collectors given the level of excitement and the inclination toward hyperbole (Eaton report, YMA box 24, folder 10). Moreover much of what was found by the YPE huaqueros were items from caves that had already been looted and therefore the context of the findings was necessarily dubious (general correspondence, YMA box 7, folder 71).

In his report, Eaton noted that much of what was excavated was actually not fully interred.<sup>40</sup> The majority of skeletons were found in contracted position located in caves, sheltered from sunlight, moisture and wind. Where there was sufficient headroom, the mummies were placed upright. Often the mummies were slightly buried, only a few

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<sup>39</sup> In 1912, the work of collecting was principally performed by Richarte and Alvarez, who, after spending the month with Eaton continued on to work for the YPE throughout the season. The two men hunted for graves and excavated them under the reward incentive program. Melchor Arteaga is of course mentioned as the person who led Bingham to Machu Picchu. A man named Tomas is also named in the YPE member's reports as being a useful scout.

<sup>40</sup> There is not much contextual or geographical information on the location of gravesites and contents found in each grave.

inches deep, presumably to keep them from falling over.<sup>41</sup> Such placement of objects meant that excavating and collecting was a relatively quick and painless affair.

Without the efforts and knowledge provided by Richarte, Alvarez and Fuentes, the YPE would not have been able to pursue such a rapacious collecting practice. The quantity collected would have been significantly diminished and it would have taken the YPE longer to see their surroundings “archaeologically.”<sup>42</sup> In many respects, the YPE members received their special training from people who lived in the area and who could provide the details and locations of gravesites and nearby archaeological ruins. The guides hunted graves, essentially robbing them of their remains, and delivered the skeletons and recovered artifacts to the YPE (Erdis journal, August 7 and 8, 1916, YMA box 21, folder 39). In many cases, detailed context was not recorded nor were surroundings photographed. Sometimes members of the YPE were present to record gravesites, but in general they were not.

Huaqueros delivered the bones of the “lost city” to Bingham. With their knowledge of the landscape as well as their physical exertion, the huaqueros decided what was immaterial and what was necessary to observe. Under the reign of science, the lootings of the huaqueros became a legitimate form of collecting. Eaton half-recognized as much in his journal when he observed:

Grave robbing is at best an unholy venture. The scientific collector of bones doubtless has better intentions than the mere treasure-hunter; but both follow, in part, the same course; and whichever one finds himself last in the

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<sup>41</sup> In his report, Eaton writes that some of the muscle tissue found on the skeletons was taken as good fortune by Alvarez, Richarte and Fuentes and placed in their cooking pots to make a soup. Eaton did not partake in the soup.

<sup>42</sup> In Heald's field report he remarks that on the way to Choquequirau: “If one of the peons had not been over the trail before and remembered it with the tenacity of memory or these mountain Indians, we would soon have been hopelessly lost” (YMA box 25, folder 23).

race for the prize, probably regards his competitor's work as unwarrantable desecration (Eaton report, 1912, YMA box 24, folder 10).

Huaquero vision enabled the YPE to prospect, excavate, disinter, remove and ship skeletal remains to Yale. The claims of science refashioned the objects from sacred burial remains into scientific artifacts of universal value. Through the process of "cave hunting" and collecting, the objects came under the dominion of the YPE, which acted in the name of Science.

A series of abridged excerpts from Erdis's journal entries reflects the mindset of the YPE collecting practices as well as the type of information that was written about each find.<sup>43</sup> Erdis, writing to Bingham about an exciting skeleton and well-preserved skull of a Quichua, pondered in one letter, "I have the feeling that everything we find within four miles of Cuzco is a feather in our Yale cap, don't you" (general correspondence, YMA box 7, folder 71)? In the first journal excerpt, Erdis wrote about visiting Don Jose Marin who was initially skeptical about the presence of the YPE strangers. After offering several gifts, including money and cigarettes, Erdis asked if the man had any ollas, idols or champes that he would like to sell.<sup>44</sup> Marin did not, but then the conversation turned to bones:

Aug 9, 1914: . . . Asked him if there were any bones or skulls around. He said "lots", and asked if I wanted any. In six or seven minutes I had four skulls from caves under boulders. Two are regular; one is deformed, and one has been trepanned about 2 ½ inches in top of forehead. Had no room for more. When I got them packed, he said there was one cave which had 50 skulls in it. I had already paid him 20 cents a piece on account of the skulls, which pleased him greatly. Told him I would be back maybe in three months and he promised to help me get all the bones I wanted. . . . (Erdis journal, April 18, 1914 – February 1916, YMA box 21, folder 38).

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<sup>43</sup> Not all of the excerpts are specifically about collecting at Machu Picchu, but I use them here to convey the tenor of finding things and the mindset the YPE had about collecting.

<sup>44</sup> Ollas are ceramic jars or vessels, which are most often left unglazed.

Aug 20, 1914: Chilipampa Valley - Cave #11 (open) had two mummies, both lying face downward, one across the other; arms and legs doubled up on chest and abdomen. Underneath were skeletons of three or four others not mummified. On extreme left was skeleton of baby, same level as mummies. Skull was broken, and only got upper half. Several abnormal bones; some diseased; some congenitally deformed, and a collar bone broken and repaired by nature. Got 9 ½ skulls from this cave, one of which (mummy) was trepanned. Cave #11 is on point 200' east of adobe houses, and 100' lower. One mummy skull has about 1 1/2" diam. . . . Two of the skulls in #11 are slightly deformed. Also got pierced green stone ornament on steep slope 10' below cave and ½ stone broken ring, animal head, and some sherds. *Only took mummies and skulls and odd bones.*<sup>45</sup> Cave is about 4' high x 4' wide x 3' deep. In cave #10 – open – 25' further uphill than #11, and on left side of point, took two trepanned, and one long deformed skull . . . There's about two sacks of bones in cave #11 yet, but have caves 9, 10, 11 marked for next year (Erdis journal, April 18, 1914 – February 1916, YMA box 21, folder 38).

May 4, 1915 - Got 172 skulls in central part of cave. . . . Then got big bronze tupu or pin (Erdis journal, April 18, 1914 – February 1916, YMA box 21, folder 38).

May 8, 1915 - After lunch went with Hasbrouck<sup>46</sup> who was cave-hunting all morning. We visited one cave with 15 skulls in sight, one with 18 skulls in sight, one skull of which had five daisy trepans, and the 15 skulls one had mummified parts and rope; a number with one or two skulls. . . . (Erdis journal, April 18, 1914 – February 1916, YMA box 21, folder 38).

May 16, 1915 - Brought down from the cave 2 big sacks of leg bones and pelvises. Tomorrow morning we'll leave for Ollantae with them – 17 boxes bones (one big box has interesting and is so marked, and 3 boxes sherds – all from paucarcolla. There are 6 ruins here, viz; Patallacta, Cchuucuchaia, Hollidia (fortress), Qquishuarpata, Holleria, and Llactaspatas. The latter is only 7 or 8 boxes but it's the first of the whole 6. . . . Think I've reported to you that in one cave here we have 26 skulls in sight, in another 15 and in another 18. One skull is marked by some horrible disease – perhaps syphilis. One skull has 4 very fine trepans which will average an inch or more in diameter . . . (Erdis general correspondence, YMA box 11, folder 161).

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<sup>45</sup> Emphasis mine.

<sup>46</sup> J.J. Hasbrouck was the Engineer for the 1914/15 expedition.

The reports, letters and journal articles convey an image of a hurried and unquenchable collecting binge.<sup>47</sup> Filling their empty food boxes with specimens to be shipped, offering prize money to those finding graves, threatening Quechua-speakers to assist the YPE in their agenda, and the constant discussion of their haul, confirms this image that the YPE was on a collecting spree. By the end of 1915, the YPE and the local populace had grown tired of their enterprise. The frenetic obsession with collecting had to come to a close, but not without making its object first.

For the YPE, scientific and historical evidence appeared to reside in the object itself. The sheer quantity of collected items mattered more than detailed contextual analysis.<sup>48</sup> A significant haul was thought to bring prestige to the YPE, to Yale and to the U.S. Because the object was imagined to contain all the knowledge needed, YPE members like Eaton could analyze the bones without locating it in its burial context or interviewing the workers and locals about what role the object might have played. Further contextual information was ignored because it was thought to be superfluous or an exaggeration of the reality of science embedded in the object itself. Pulled from one context, the skeletal remains were freed to be re-imagined as the inhabitants of the “lost city” of the Incas.

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<sup>47</sup> Erdis was not the only person to record cave hunting exploits. Luther T. Nelson, the YPE physician wrote: “May 3<sup>rd</sup>. . . We went because we thought we ought to. A stiff climb of about 600 feet followed by a hard scramble up another 40 feet and there in truth was a pair of mummies! And nearby a couple of deformed skulls. The best mummy had a trephined [sic] skull! We filled four cases that afternoon, and while Hardy struck the camp and got already for our return, I went into the inner cave the next morning (May 4) and excavated more bones and parts of mummies enough to fill all of our boxes! We just had boxes enough. . .” (YMA box 26, folder 27).

<sup>48</sup> Grosvenor had written Bingham on May 2, 1912 saying: “We all hope that you will be able to excavate and bring back a shipload of antiquities for your museum at Yale” (YMA box 15, folder 238).

## Witnessing the “Lost City” in the Andean Landscape

In their work *Leviathan and the Air-pump*, Steven Shapin and Simon Schaffer (1985) demonstrate that material, literary and social technologies were necessary to constitute Robert Boyle’s 17<sup>th</sup> century air-pump as a matter of fact. These technologies functioned as objectifying resources and worked to “achieve the appearance of matters of fact as *given* terms” (1985:77, emphasis original). Moreover, witnessing was critical for the establishment of fact as witnesses could “see and believe” offering collective and public testimony to the true state of affairs in nature (1985:57).<sup>49</sup> Not everyone counted as a reliable witness however, and Boyle’s modest witnesses relied on self-invisibility and conventions of so-called transparency to be able to offer accounts which established scientific facts as mirrors of reality.

The YPE acted as the first modest witnesses to Machu Picchu as a “lost city.” Although the YPE relied on huaquero vision to see their way through the Andean countryside and collect the material evidence of the “lost city,” the huaqueros themselves did not occupy the status of witness. To be a modest witness, one had to have science on your side (Haraway 1997). The YPE needed to not only know “what was necessary to observe and what was immaterial,” but the YPE also needed to ready the ruins for proper witnessing. Only by first performing Science through clearing, collecting and reconstructing, could the YPE offer public testimony to the true state of Machu Picchu.

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<sup>49</sup> In her work on photography on the Torres Strait Expedition, Elizabeth Edwards (1988) draws on Shapin and Schaffer to argue that photography acted, like Boyle’s literary technology, as a virtual witness allowing a seemingly unlimited number of people to verify the truths of A.C. Haddon’s expedition. Photographs offered both British and Torres Strait publics the opportunity for direct witnessing, which, when combined with rhetorical effect and display, convinced the viewing public of the reality of the Torres Strait society.

Clearing the landscape was critical for proper witnessing. Distractions had to be excised to better enhance the viewing of the lost city.<sup>50</sup> With the brush removed and crumbling walls returned to order, Machu Picchu could be witnessed as an eternal antiquity. Through clearing, reconstruction of walls, and collecting, the YPE was enabled to witness Machu Picchu as a natural fact. Inherent in the ability to constitute Machu Picchu as a “lost city” was the transparency to witness Machu Picchu *as it always was*. The work of the expedition disappeared and the contracted workers, huaqueros, Bingham and the YPE members were made invisible through scientific witnessing. Documented by photography, Machu Picchu as a “lost city” became an “immutable mobile” and traveled globally (Latour 1987).

Eaton spent four weeks at Machu Picchu in 1912 clearing the countryside and collecting specimens. Erdis spent countless months clearing and prospecting Cuzco’s countryside in search of archaeological ruins, remains and other collectible fauna. Other YPE members such as Edmund Heller and Luther Nelson also actively participated in “cave hunting” and reconnaissance of Cuzco’s countryside. Machu Picchu did not just appear as a “lost city,” but was made to appear as one through the techniques of collecting, clearing, and photography.

“Nature” often presented a problem for proper viewing or witnessing the landscape “archaeologically.” In one instance, vampire bats had inhabited a cave where two mummies had been found (Bingham journal, May 4, 1915, YMA box 20, folder 33). To remove the skeleton the bats had to be cleared, but how? The hired workers, who had located the cave, made a bonfire of the dry mummy wrappings. While the bats

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<sup>50</sup> See Cox (2007) for discussion on the use of photography in lantern slides to better witness racialized figures.

successfully left the cave, the specimens were, as one journal entry put it “unfortunately charred.” Out of this cave 20 skulls and a dozen skeletons were collected. In his journal, Bingham lamented the bad shape of the skeletons after the bonfire, but wrote that it was a “fine haul which would keep Eaton busy for some time” (Bingham journal, May 4, 1915, YMA box 20, folder 33). No YPE member was present for the collection of the skeletons and the paid huaqueros had been left to their own devices.

Obstacles did not just occur when collecting objects. One of the primary ways in which caves and monuments were made witnessable was through burning.<sup>51</sup> Chopping away at the jungle by hand proved slow and ineffective in the eyes of the expedition party. The solution came in the form of soaking the countryside with a flammable substance and setting fire to the landscape.<sup>52</sup> Erdis used a carbide lamp for burning grass on top of walls and wrote that “it beat using matches, saved time, patience and cuss words. It also did a good job” (Erdis report, April 26, 1915, YMA box 25, folder 23).<sup>53</sup> Setting the landscape aflame was an expeditious way to make rock walls visible and facilitate the finding of gravesites and archaeological ruins. Erdis wrote:

Again it worked beautifully, the fire taking and in a few minutes roaring up the mountain cutting almost as wide a path as the one which we had first set and of which we could now see the front some two miles off, the dark red flames jumping 40-50 feet in the air and the smoke making it almost twilight. The new fire effectually stopped our progress for the day, so we made camp where we were (Erdis report, YMA box 25, folder 23).

The Andean countryside in many ways was invisible for the YPE. First the landscape had to be cleared, reconfigured and made into a place where one could witness sites

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<sup>51</sup> Heald in his account also tells of setting fire to the cane in order to cut a trail to Machu Picchu.

<sup>52</sup> Both Heald and Erdis comment on this practice in their journal entries.

<sup>53</sup> Heald also wrote in his report about using fire as a way to clear brush on the way to Choquequirau.

worthy of collecting. Brush was removed, grassy hillsides burned and wildlife culled. Next, one had to acquire a discerning eye noting the location of caves and promising places to excavate. To do this, the effects of time had to be disappeared. Objects were subsequently collected and wrested from their history and made into timeless artifacts worthy of scientific inquiry and reclassified as specimens. The artifacts thus became data that would be used to produce findings and claims about the Incan civilization. Finally, the monument had to be further “purified” and “cleaned” of debris that might distract or disturb proper witnessing (see Callon 1999; Latour 1984, 1986). In the process of reclassification, purification and witnessing, Machu Picchu became the “lost city” discovered by science. Making things visible was a critical step in making the Andes collectable and finding the “lost city” of Machu Picchu.

The clearing and construction of the Andean countryside was an act of making visible the *given*, or the obvious fact, of the “lost city.” The very notion of clearing connoted finding something. Chopping away at jungle and burning the countryside was a process of making something *appear*. That *something* was hidden, always there, not made, but found. Allowing the rock walls to be more visible was an act of scientific resurrection and clearing that made it possible to witness Machu Picchu as a timeless antiquity. The skeletal remains brought forth from its peripheries, and the photographs taken of the site and Quechua subjects circulated to encourage a virtual witnessing of the place as a majestic Incan refuge, hidden from Spanish conquerors, but discovered by Science.

Bingham considered the site itself, along with the objects buried or tucked alongside its perimeter, to be the “lost city” of Vilcabamba, the final retreat of the Incan

empire.<sup>54</sup> Being a scientific discovery, the objects and the monument could then become the property of science with Yale as custodian. The YPE not only collected the skeletal remains of Machu Picchu and its environs, but sought to collect its present day vestiges found in living bodies.

### **Picturing the Miserable Indian for Science**

Heritage and the past are not synonymous concepts. Not all objects of the past are deemed worthy of being called heritage or history. Some objects never make the grade of heritage. While the YPE has had a role in shaping the meaning of Machu Picchu, much of the YPE expedition has been forgotten, made invisible, or obfuscated then and now. As Bingham often pointed out, work other than archaeology was conducted on the three YPE tours of Peru. Map-making, for example, never entered the public lexicon for Machu Picchu in the same way that the iconic image of Huayna Picchu has. Although in Chapter four I discuss the role of photography in globalizing the public face of Machu Picchu, most of the YPE's photographic images never made it into the public arena.<sup>55</sup> Another body-collecting technology of the expeditions that is even less acknowledged today was anthropometry.

Anthropometric photographs were taken during the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions. David Ford, Harry B. Ferris, and Luther T. Nelson were U.S. physicians who were not formally trained in the so-called science of anthropometry and physical

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<sup>54</sup> Bingham acknowledges that the area was owned by a Sr. Ferro and people were farming the terraces, but continued to consider the buried skeletal remains part of the sovereignty of science.

<sup>55</sup> National Geographic published 244 of the 8,000 photographs.

anthropology.<sup>56</sup> The physicians accompanied the expedition primarily to provide health care for the YPE members. However, Bingham felt that they could be of use for the scientific agenda of the YPE by conducting research on the Quechua population. A mainstay on colonial expeditions, anthropometry sought to order and typologize all of humankind (Wallis 1995; Edwards 1988, 1990; Pinney 1990, 1992). Set within an evolutionary paradigm, measurements were taken to rank human beings on a hierarchical scale of evolutionary development (Bowler 2003). Physical attributes were thought to betray not only one's cognitive development, but one's moral behavior (Wallis 1995; Bernasconi 2002; Cox 2007).

Anthropometry was also an attempt to enable the traveler to collect information without prejudice arising from his individual bias. Pamphlets like *Notes and Queries* (1892, 1912) offered information on how to take useful anthropometric measurements free of subjectivity. Charts were included in the booklet to match shapes of noses, lips, eye, hair and skin color. Travelers and expeditionary scientists were encouraged to record descriptive characteristics, and to measure heights, skull circumference and observe types of social behaviors as a way of systematically collecting data. This data could later be mined for patterns and generalizations by professional scientists and scholars at home (Urry 1972).

The anthropometric images of the YPE were not widely circulated. The material compiled by Ferris from the 1912 expedition was eventually published in *Memoirs of American Anthropological Association*. Ford's images taken on the 1914 expeditions

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<sup>56</sup> One member received a two week training session with Ales Hrdlicka at the Smithsonian. Hrdlicka offered advice on what he felt was the most important questions to study (YMA box 25, folder 20). Hrdlicka also shared wisdom on how to persuade the "Indians" to be measured.

were originally intended for Ales Hrdlicka at the National Museum. In the end the museum did not want the images since Hrdlicka was too busy with his own.<sup>57</sup> Nelson's work, it appears, never circulated. None of the images appeared in popular magazines or newspapers.<sup>58</sup>

Some of Ford's images are stored at Yale's Sterling Libraries' Manuscripts and Archive Collection. Along with a smattering of lantern slides, they are the only images stored at the archive.<sup>59</sup> The anthropometric images and the individuals featured in the photographs are left out of the YPE story and consequently out of Machu Picchu's story. Although these images are not stereotypic anthropometric photographs replete with calipers or meter sticks, the images reflect the same visual trope of profile and type typical of anthropometric photography from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

In his work on photography and the British Empire, James Ryan (1997) argues that the camera was one instrument in an armament of strategies to produce and document different physical characteristics of the subjects of the British Empire. Although images taken on British expeditions to their colonies did not follow anthropometry to the letter, they did exhibit an "ethnographic picturesque." The picturesque reflected a stylistic composition reminiscent of profiles framed by meter

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<sup>57</sup> Ales Hrdlicka, a prominent physical anthropologist from the United States, wrote Bingham on May 14, 1913 before the final 1914 expedition to Peru. He encouraged Bingham to return to Peru. The country, he wrote, was a vast store-house of facts as well as specimens, and he should like to see at least some of our institutions engaged there (YMA box 9, folder 100). Hrdlicka went on to tell Bingham that if he decided to return (to Peru) that he had good information regarding a number of locales where good collections could be made at moderate expense.

<sup>58</sup> Gilbert Grosvenor wrote Bingham: "The point for us to consider now is how to make these valuable measurements of Dr. Ford's available for the advancement of science. I am tempted to offer them to Dr. Ferris, but I doubt whether he would care to handle them, particularly as his report on the 1912 measurements, which was completed a year ago has not yet been published, a delay due in part to the editor of Amer Anthro. . ." (National Geographic special correspondence, YMA box 16, folder 260).

<sup>59</sup> The albums of the expedition's research photographs are stored at the Peabody Museum.

sticks, but also a romanticized depiction of the Other.<sup>60</sup> Annie Maxwell (1999) also demonstrates that photographs of people being measured with calipers and meter sticks against grid backgrounds were generally uninteresting and not readily accessible to a public untrained and unfamiliar with anthropometry. In contrast, more humanistic and “ethnographic” representations were more popular, if not easier to take, and thus ethnographic depictions were encouraged if not sought after.

While Ford’s images do not reflect anthropometric type photography to the letter, neither do they exhibit a humanistic or “ethnographic picturesque.” Ford was interested in the gross medical conditions of Andean peoples. Photographed with an unflattering gaze, individuals were scoped before being visualized. Their deformities, their beings as less than ideal, their carnivalesque attributes were displayed with a distancing medical gaze. Like other anthropometric images, Ford also emphasized the subjects as types. Individuals with massive goiters, scars and malformations were photographed uniformly and in classifiable rows. Printed with eight or nine frames per page, individuality was replaced by the group. He or she became “they” (Figure 3-1). The printed films appeared as trading cards of freakishness.

In several images, men and women were pictured with unsightly growths (Figure 3-2 and 3-3). The individual faded as sickness and deformity was highlighted in the photograph. Witnessing the massive goiters and scars degraded the degraded further. These images were graven and the subject’s accusing stare highlighted the death of the indigenous as equivalent subjects (Figure 3-4). These subjects were not considered

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<sup>60</sup> Ryan argues that the physical external as a manifestation of the interior and one’s moral constitution was beginning to be questioned. The currency of types did not necessarily and always provide proof of correlation between appearance and moral character. Instead, Ryan shows that an ethnographic picturesque played a prominent role in teaching subjects like geography by conjoining race and place.

heroic examples or vestiges of the great Incan civilization nor were they felt to represent the noble heritage of the Peruvian nation. They were not paraded around and printed in magazines with global distribution. Instead, these subjects were the miserable native present which prevented the Peruvian nation from recapturing its glorious past.

Unlike Ryan's ethnographic picturesque, the YPE images do not encourage a lost nobility to salvage. While the profile frame is an ethnographic photographic trope, the depiction of these individuals seems not just to typologize, but to shock and awe. They do not nostalgically lament the vanishing past. Instead, the series of images were medical problems to be analyzed and resolved and are haunting reminders of human suffering and physical and emotional pain (Figure 3-5). These photographed subjects were samples of a miserable present (Figure 3-6).

Indigenous subjects were forced into being measured by the YPE either by police, the lieutenant accompanying the YPE, or hacienda managers (Nelson journal, July 21, 1912, YMA box 20, folder 27). These individuals were not citizens of Peru, but subjects of Science. While some volunteered over concern for their own health, many were wary and refused to participate in anthropometric research.

At Huadquina (Hacienda) the Indians were ordered to a room to be measured. One subject objected strenuously and made it as difficult as he could for any measurements to be taken. He would not stand straight nor sit straight, nor assume any position correctly. Finally, when the measurements were all taken he was offered the usual medio for his trouble. This he promptly refused and wouldn't have a bit of it (Nelson journal, attributed to image 3690-91, YMA box 26, folder 27).

The portraits of medical ailments were not widely publicized, but were still part of the history and making of Machu Picchu in the twentieth century. Built on the marginalization and exploitation of the Quechua body, these subjects were not part of the noble Incan past that Bingham and the other YPE members sought to collect. The

indigenous bodies were captured as the inferior vestige of Peru's racialized past. Although the skulls and skeletons collected in the countryside were conceptualized as Quechua-speakers' distant ancestors, the present indigenous subjects had no rights to them or to their own. Instead, the photographs as collectibles offered evidence of primitiveness of the then present-day Andean countryside, the difference medicalized and pathologized. Like their skeletal counterparts, the photographed bodies furthered the portrayal of Machu Picchu as a "lost city" by emphasizing the historical schism between the noble Incan past and the indigenous as "epigones incapable of contributing to Incan greatness."

Time has occluded this documentation and these individuals. It is doubtful that Cuzqueños have ever heard of Ford. In my interviews in Peru, nobody was aware of the anthropometric component to Bingham's work in Peru. Instead, these photographs are obscured. They are not glorious. They do not enunciate a great find. They are not hand-painted and neatly placed between two panes of glass only to be magnified in darkened lecture halls.<sup>61</sup> They are not catalogued in albums nor do they grace the pages of illustrated magazines.<sup>62</sup> These photographs do not make heroes, but they do give testimony to the unpublicized formation of the native medical specimen.

Although the images were not used in National Geographic or on the pages of newspapers, Ford's photographs were situated in the same understanding of Machu Picchu as a "lost city." The exotica of deformed Quechua bodies surrounding the treasured archaeological monument were rooted in the suspicion that the contemporary

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<sup>61</sup> Many of Bingham's favorite images were hand-tinted by W.C. Ives in New Haven, CT and used in his illustrated lectures.

<sup>62</sup> These images appear to have never been published.

Quechua were either unrelated to, or the degraded remnants of the glorious Incan race. Unlike other expeditionary or colonial photographs, the indigenous subjects were not conceived as “vanishing” and framed in an ethnographic picturesque, but instead were captured as unfortunately persistent. While the “lost city” was shrouded in clouds and brush, the Quechua speakers were considered racialized medical curiosities and the inferior laborers of the once great empire.

### **My Precious: Talking Skulls and the Science of Collecting**<sup>63</sup>

In the YPE archive, writings about interactions with the Peruvian population are not as frequent as one might expect. While there is some information about Augusto Leguía, Carmen Vargas and other privileged individuals who assisted Bingham, information on those who actually were employed by the YPE is scarcely noted in the field journals. Nonetheless, when moments are captured on paper, the narratives mingle curiosity with contempt.

While my peons did not do a quarter of the work that white laborers would have done, they did very well for natives. I found that an occasional mild kick and a reward to the best worker at the end of the day did far better and pleased them much more than talking to them. Everyone except the kickee enjoyed the physical remonstrance against laziness, and he mostly took it with a grin. Also with an accession of energy which was very gratifying. Their habit of stopping three times a day to renew their cuds of coca is a nuisance, but one for which there is no remedy (Heald report, YMA box 25, folder 24).

K.C. Heald's<sup>64</sup> report on Machu Picchu cited above is evidence of the physical violence that the YPE inflicted upon the hired laborers. The passage also demonstrates the

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<sup>63</sup> Edmund Heller in his journal writes: Their [Quechua speakers] explanation of our desire to carry away skulls is that on getting them to the United States we can make them talk and thus we can acquire information about buried treasure (YMA box 27, folder 47).

<sup>64</sup> Assistant Topographer to the 1912 expedition.

frustration Heald felt as these subjects refused to be willing participants in the YPE agenda.

However, not all YPE members had Heald's disposition toward the worker.<sup>65</sup> Joseph Little, Bingham's assistant on the 1912 expedition, observed and wrote about much of the inequality he witnessed in the Peruvian countryside. In his report he described an Indian village, located on the lands of a hacienda, where approximately three thousand people lived (Little report 1912, YMA box 26, folder 26). Little lamented that the conditions were "semi-feudal" with workers receiving wages of ten cents of gold per day, which, Little noted, was typically returned to the hacienda owner at week's end through the purchase of merchandise and beverages. Little referred to this practice as "starvation stipends" and wrote that it was disguised debt peonage that made it possible for less than five percent of the ruling class to control all of the lands (Little report 1912, YMA box 26, folder 26). The basis for Little's concern, however, was not so much about the subjection of people to slave-like conditions, but rather about the effects of a system which contained all the elements that nurtured communism. "This chasm that separates naked poverty from entailed wealth creates in South America the anachronism of de facto dictatorships thinly hidden behind the façade of democracy. It contains all the elements that nourish communism" (Little report 1912, YMA box 26, folder 26).

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<sup>65</sup> While not everyone dismissed the indigenous population, they remained less than in the eyes of the YPE. Hiram Bingham wrote in his journal May 5-6, 1915: "The Indian of Peru would be a pretty good kind of raw material. They are not so bad as I used to think, and some of them are really good citizens – according to their lights. I think enforced service in the army is good for them, as it gives them a certain amount of education and a new viewpoint. At all events they are patient, steady plodders – when not drunk or nearly so. They made good material for the Incas to work with. One can understand the wonderful old stone work when one realizes how patient and plodding the Indian of to-day is" (YMA box 20, folder 33).

Although viewing the Quechua speakers as primitive subjects, the YPE also feared for their own moral contamination. Worried that the YPE work ethic and standards would diminish, Bingham instructed the expedition members to not become too friendly or get too close to those unlike them.<sup>66</sup> While it was fine to associate with hacienda owners and business men, fraternizing with Quechua speakers was not encouraged. Osgood Hardy, a member on the 1914/15 expedition, was the only member specifically commissioned to concentrate on learning Quechua. His task was to learn the challenging language so that he might be able to document some of the folklore and beliefs of the “Quichua Indians.” In a letter to Hardy, Bingham wrote:

I am particularly anxious that you should look out for native feasts and try to ascertain their causes. What feasts are there that seems to be connected with agricultural husbandry, or herdsmanhip? Are there any feasts on or about December 21? March 21? June 21? September 21? I hope very much that you can make friends with some intelligent Quichua with whom you can converse daily in Quichua, and from whom you can learn folklore and local traditions. It would be worth while to have such a man perpetually employed as your personal servant. You might even train him to cook in a clean manner, so as to save your own time. At Machu Picchu we had two or three fairly bright young Quichuas who would be perfectly satisfactory for the purpose I have in mind (general correspondence, October 10, 1914, YMA box 11, folder 143).

Bingham wanted Hardy to learn Quechua as a vehicle through which to learn “vestiges of early custom” (general correspondence, May 6, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 58). In general the YPE members viewed the indigenous of Peru as something for their use, a source of information, supplies, labor and sometimes shelter. They were viewed almost

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<sup>66</sup> In a letter from Hiram Bingham to Joseph Little on April 26, 1913 Bingham warns: “There is only one word of caution that I feel disposed to inflict upon you. Don’t ever let your surroundings in Latin America affect your ideals of work and faithfulness to duty. I have noticed over and over again in South America a spirit of carelessness towards one’s employers and lack of loyalty. It is extremely difficult to maintain one’s New England sense of conscientious attention to details and everlasting hustle when one is surrounded by such laziness and easy going ways as are prevalent in many parts of South America” (YMA box 26, folder 26).

always as obstacles to the greater task at hand even though without their assistance the YPE goals would doubtless have been achieved.<sup>67</sup>

Surprisingly there was very little conflict with the local population during the three YPE expeditions.<sup>68</sup> On very few occasions did the YPE members experience theft or have their lives threatened. Osgood Hardy does mention that while at Camp Angostura, part of the property of Carmen Vargas, the YPE did have a run in with a group of Quechua speakers. The group, according to Hardy's recollection, carried stones and canes and threatened Hardy and the topographer Albert Bumstead, demanding to know what they were hunting. The YPE members raised their voices, spoke in broken Spanish, and explained who they were and what they were doing.<sup>69</sup> Hardy explained that they had government support and showed a map to the group. When those explanations did not work, Hardy threatened the men with his gun, "and everyone became more pleasant" (Osgood Hardy journal, June through December 1912, YMA box 19, folder 22).

The lack of conflict noted in the reports and writings of the YPE might lead one to assume that the local population was relatively sanguine about having the YPE rummage through their backyard. Yet, dispersed through the YPE papers are observations about the "illogical superstitions" of the indigenous population. While the superstitions were noted in journals and reports as evidence of the backwardness of the

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<sup>67</sup> Kai Hendrickson, the topographer on the first 1911 expedition, wrote in his journal that the lack of campsites, the harsh climate, rugged terrain and slow and frightened Indians made working so frustrating that one wished weren't there (YMA box 24, folder 3).

<sup>68</sup> Sickness could have played a role. Outbreaks of small-pox and typhoid fever were observed by many YPE members in their journals. Bingham's assistant on the 1912 expedition, Paul Bestor, for example, wrote that entire villages had been abandoned due to sickness.

<sup>69</sup> Hardy, with some irony, notes that the Quechua speakers had no idea what they were saying.

Cuzco population, the so-called superstitions might be better considered as a response and reaction to the violent reordering that was being leashed on the landscape and their bodies. The collecting of skeletal remains in particular was a source of moral conflict.

Eaton wrote of the superstitions of Alvarez, one of the main persons who assisted the YPE in finding graves and collecting their remains. Alvarez, Eaton wrote, had a “strong superstitious dread of incurring trouble through his sacrilegious labors as my fellow grave-robber” (Eaton report 1912, YMA box 24, folder 10). Eaton noted that this fear was so marked that any type of ailment was blamed on the practice of collecting skeletons. In one instance, in a relapse of a latent malady, Alvarez insisted that the rash he had acquired was the “retaliation by the malevolent spirits whose sepulchers he had desecrated” (Eaton report 1912, YMA box 24, folder 10). Eaton wryly noted that the profitability of looting graves convinced him to repress his concerns and continue to assist the YPE.

In Heald’s report he wrote of an episode involving Tomas, his assistant and manager of the other workers. On one reconnaissance trip, Tomas had a horrible nightmare and woke crying and pleading. This was not the first time Tomas had awoke frightened on the trip and the repetition of the nightmare scared the other workers. In the nightmare a huge “black animal with sharp teeth had seized him [Tomas] by the arm and was dragging him to the cliffs which were on one side of the city to throw him over” (Heald report, YMA box 25, folder 23). Heald dismissed the dream as nonsense, but noted in his report that the others were frightened and wanted to return home.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>70</sup> These superstitions are not an iteration of a “folk belief “system, but a vehicle toward producing a new form of consciousness. See Holly Wardlow in Knauft (2002).

Bilingual workers were hired as translators/managers/intermediaries and were vital to the expedition. They ensured the efficiency of the other hired workers who were enlisted to clear the landscape. The intermediaries also translated and communicated grievances of the laborers back to the YPE. Without willing men the party would have found themselves literally lost to the whereabouts of Machu Picchu.<sup>71</sup> Still, in a posthumous biography of his father, Alfred Bingham ruefully wrote that Bingham's research methodology consisted mostly of "pumping natives" on the whereabouts of ruins (Bingham, A. 1989).

Locals, however, were not innocent naives who were exploited in the collecting and clearing process. Many people in Peru, Cuzco, and its environs, including elites and peasants, were eager to assist the expedition. While I discussed how an intellectual and capital owning population assisted Bingham and the YPE in Chapter two, in this Chapter I have focused on the ways in which peasants and indigenous Quechua speakers assisted Bingham in the expedition. Not only did these hired laborers help clear the landscape readying it for witnessing, but they scouted the countryside, excavated and collected remains from caves and other gravesites. They provided knowledge and physical effort to facilitate and realize the desires of the YPE. Many also provided food supplies for the crew off their small farms. Most dramatically, some submitted or were forced to submit their bodies to be measured and photographed.

While it is difficult to ascertain the precise reasons for the participation of indigenous laborers given the scant archival record, those hired to work for the YPE

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<sup>71</sup> Men were hired to construct a bridge for a trail up the Machu Picchu Mountain. Melchor Arteaga was the most knowledgeable and knew the way to reach the city, and acted as a guide for the YPE. Arteaga also helped direct the work of the hired laborers and was paid 1 sol per day. There were ten workmen and the accompanying soldier. Marcos Arenas was also an arriero (Heald report, YMA box 25, folder 24).

were paid handsomely, the doctors who did the measuring and photographing provided medical attention to those who were ill and suffering, and the YPE enlisted government support and carried guns, always visibly. While some individuals provided help in the hopes of advancing Science's quest to learn more about Peru's Incan heritage, others helped to help themselves. Still others took part in the expedition because they were forced into submission. All of these relationships were crucial to Bingham and the YPE and significantly contributed to the contemporary production of Machu Picchu. Through their know-how and their efforts, the local Quechua speaking population helped make the site collectible and visible, readying the place and its contents for scientific witnessing.

### **Conclusion**

For things and ideas to be fashioned into collectible objects, a new way of witnessing the landscape at Machu Picchu was necessary. Physical labor, burning brush, local knowledge of the Andean landscape, and commoditization of the remains of ancestors all had to be harnessed before an object could become part of the YPE collection. Collecting involved ignoring some people's rights, overriding their livelihood, and dismissing different concepts of the universe. Collecting also involved negotiation and an appeal to the needs of certain individuals, be it extra cash or medical treatment.<sup>72</sup>

While Bingham emphasized the careful excavation of objects in the circulars, what was practiced diverged greatly from the instructions. According to the notebooks and journals kept by the YPE members, very little time was taken to record the

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<sup>72</sup> Mieke Bal (1994) in her work on narratives and collecting argues that collecting can be viewed as a story.

contextual evidences of the objects collected. The rapacious collecting of skeletal remains, however, facilitated the making of a new signification for Machu Picchu. De-contextualized skeletal remains provided fodder for myth-making about the Incan civilization.<sup>73</sup> The quantification and classification of the site through mummified bodies contributed to a fantastical rendering of Machu Picchu as the “lost city,” the last capital of the Incas, Vilcabamba.

The scientific practice of discovery included digging in graves, clearing the landscape through fire, and generally sweeping up all deemed worthwhile. In addition to the collections found through excavation, personal collections and libraries of antique volumes were purchased from individuals eager to sell either for a profit or for preservation. Rare animals, insects and birds were hunted. Bodies were measured and photographed. Objects were removed from one context and re-fashioned into something worthy of scientific inquiry. Information about the objects’ whereabouts was gleaned from locals, hacienda owners and their farmers. Through the act of collecting and becoming part of the YPE scientific collection, the objects manifested the regnant imaginary of a noble Inca past and an absent or miserable indigenous present.<sup>74</sup>

Underlying the YPE collecting practice was the notion that the artifacts of the Inca past ultimately fell under the benign sovereignty of Science. The aura of the sovereignty of scientific knowledge dissolved national borders and involved a multi-national populace who were implicated in the collecting enterprise. Huaqueros,

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<sup>73</sup> Originally the majority of skeletal remains were thought to be women. The inference from this so called osteological fact was that Machu Picchu was a safe haven or harem for acclacuna, or Inca virgins.

<sup>74</sup> The YPE collection does not contain a wide variety of objects. One of the challenges of the collection has been that there was not a precise catalog of the objects removed from Peru. Consequently it is difficult to ascertain with precision exactly what was collected.

government officials, and YPE members participated in the imagining, collecting and making of Machu Picchu into a “lost city.” Only the YPE members could be its modest witness, however. The YPE members, imbued with the remarkable power to establish matters of fact, witnessed Machu Picchu as a “lost city.” The clearing, construction, collecting and photography were all expeditionary techniques and technologies which eventually resulted in the immutable mobile of Machu Picchu as the “lost city.” Bingham did not collect objects of Science, as much as he collected a by-product of guided huaquerismo. Under the imagined authority of Science, Bingham claimed material objects as its privileged domain, inspiring others along the way to join him in the cause.

The “lost city” gained traction and legitimacy when it was reproduced through images in newspapers and especially in the pages of *National Geographic*. Such reproduction was a powerful fact-constituting technology and allowed for the seemingly endless multiplication of witnesses to the discovery of Machu Picchu as a “lost city.” The photographic documentation of the caves, gravesites and Andean countryside became objective evidence which allowed for Machu Picchu as “lost city” to circulate globally and be witnessed infinitely. However, as Chapter four argues, such virtual witnessing relied on the images’ insertion into a rhetorical and narrative frame. The frame, and how truths were witnessed, varied depending on the witness. Although the “lost city” traveled globally through photographs, what the “lost city” came to mean for citizens of Science and some citizens of Peru diverged significantly.



Figure 3-1. Quichua Indian Untitled "A" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



Figure 3-2. Quichua Indian Untitled "B" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



Figure 3-3. Quichua Indian Untitled "C" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.



Figure 3-4. Quichua Indian Untitled "D" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

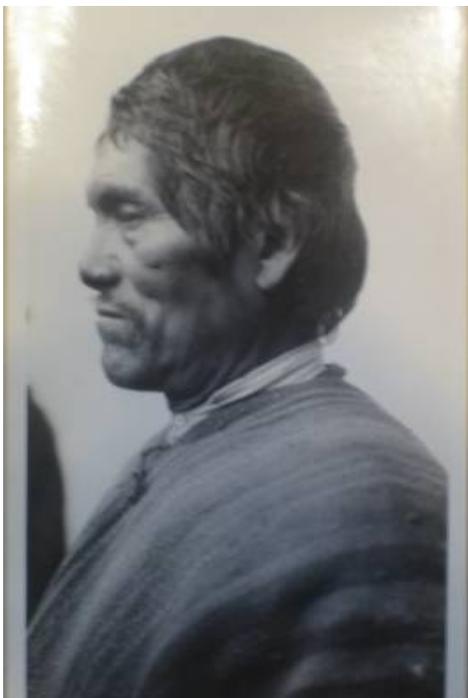


Figure 3-5. Quichua Indian Untitled "E" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

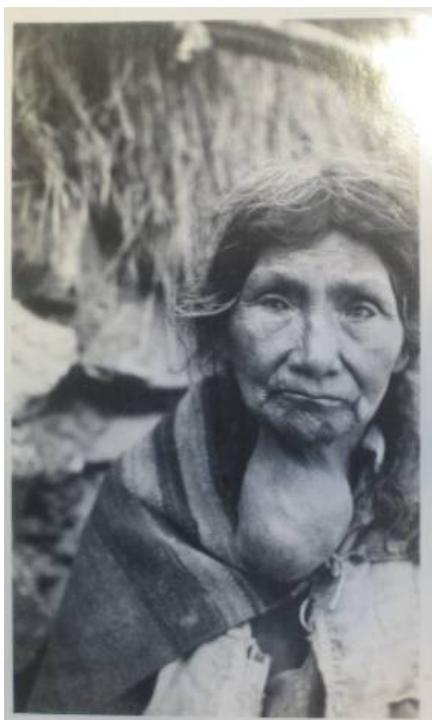


Figure 3-6. Quichua Indian Untitled "F" taken by David Ford c. 1912, Yale Peruvian Expedition Papers, Manuscripts and Archives, Yale University Library.

## CHAPTER 4 IN THE WONDERLAND OF PERU

The Indians are very fond of having their pictures taken (as opposed to those who think they are being recruited for military). One Indian, when he found he could have his picture taken free, dressed in his Sunday clothes. The next day he returned to see the photograph. When he was shown the negative he refused to believe that it was his picture because he couldn't see the colors and the spangles that decorate that Sunday coat he wore (Luther T. Nelson report, YMA box 26, folder 27 regarding photographs #3555-56.)

Would anyone believe what I had found? Fortunately. . . I had a good camera and the sun was shining (Bingham 1952:180).

The documentary, framing, and reproducible nature of photography were critical both for the science of Bingham's Yale Peruvian Expeditions (YPE) and the subsequent invention of Machu Picchu as a national logo and global icon. This chapter addresses the ways in which the framing of the initial photographic images of Machu Picchu was shaped by scientific, commercial, and national desires and designs. Through a reading of the images and text of the 1913 edition of *National Geographic*, "In the Wonderland of Peru," and those of *Ilustración Peruana* that appeared shortly thereafter, in this chapter I examine the ways in which the taking and circulation of photographs shaped enduring global and national images of the archaeological monument.

Hiram Bingham and the YPE did not set out to find Machu Picchu. Nonetheless, after the unanticipated sighting of a "lost city" in 1911, Bingham's other goals gradually vanished from public view. Newspaper and magazine articles recounted the incredible find and positioned Bingham and the YPE as noble adventurers sacrificing themselves for the global good of science.<sup>1</sup> In U.S. publications the ruins were said to be thick with

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<sup>1</sup> In the newspaper article "Taxi Ride his most Thrilling Adventure", newspaper unknown, the sub-tagline was: "Prof. Bingham home after planting College Flag at top of 22,500 foot peak Refers to South American Adventure Modestly; Discovered Old City."

vegetation and overgrown, virtually deserted and mysterious (Thompson 2002). However, much of the site had already been cleared by local inhabitants by the time the Yale expedition arrived, and the area was also claimed by several haciendas or estates producing wood and tea (Muniz N.d; Thompson 2002). Machu Picchu was not only regionally known prior to Bingham's discovery, but was also thinly inhabited by peasants. The U.S. media image of Machu Picchu as a "lost city" circulated widely and was authorized globally through newspaper articles, museum exhibitions, illustrated magazines and lectures, in time becoming the iconic image we know today.

Bingham and his team were avid and conscientious photographers, taking over 9,000<sup>2</sup> photographs on their three expeditions. Many of the images were landscape views that highlighted the spatial organization of the monument. Other photographs documented the location of material objects within the remaining structures of Machu Picchu (Lopez-Lenci 2004; Poole 1998). The few photographs of the Andean peoples who inhabited the site and its environs either served to typologize the customs and dress of Quechua peoples or highlighted medical ailments, such as massive goiters and skin diseases.<sup>3</sup>

Photographs became one of the primary and most powerful evidences for the expedition's research and findings. Returning after the 1911 expedition, Bingham remarked that while he was not permitted to bring a wall of Machu Picchu back to the U.S. he did have excellent photographs (N.Y. Herald 1911). Bingham immediately commissioned Eastman Kodak to make two albums of mounted photographs intended

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<sup>2</sup> Citations list the number of images anywhere from 8,000 to 11,000.

<sup>3</sup> Chapter two discusses the anthropometric photographs which were taken by the YPE physicians.

solely for research purposes.<sup>4</sup> YPE photographs were published in magazines and journals world-wide, transferred into glass slides to illustrate YPE public lectures, and enlarged for display in several museum exhibitions. In short, an aura of discovery of the “lost” Incan past was promoted by the selective gaze and publication of YPE photographs.

### **Imagined Materiality: Photographic Machu Picchu as Collection and Logo**

Photography was a unique medium for the production of knowledge surrounding Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu circulated globally, and produced both universal scientific claims and nativist cultural sentiments through the photograph. The lofty horizons captured in Bingham’s views are one aspect of the photograph as an imagined material. Another was its material reproduction in the *National Geographic* magazine, which put Machu Picchu in the laps of readers around the world, who could thereby perform their own imaginative travels to, and discovery of, the “lost city.”<sup>5</sup>

By the early twentieth century, a camera was considered indispensable in the field and images were critical evidence for legitimizing not only the anthropological discipline as a whole, but also the findings of scientific explorations (Ryan 1997; Edwards 1992, 1990, 1988). Professional photographers were hired to accompany scientific expeditions, and guidelines outlining what constituted scientifically-valuable photographs were widely distributed to travelers and amateur explorers (Garson and Read 1892; Freire-Marreco and Myres 1912). Photography was considered invaluable because it was thought to capture what words often could not. Moreover, photography’s

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<sup>4</sup> Letter to Mr. Craig, Eastman Kodak dated January 2, 1913, (YMA Box 14, Folder 214). Bingham went on to make research albums for all the photographs.

<sup>5</sup> See Willumson (1994) for discussion of albums as both narrative and performance.

imaging technology could record cultural practices and physiognomic features as a way of documenting peoples who were thought to be fast disappearing (Garson and Read 1892; Pitt-Rivers 1892; Freire-Marreco and Myers 1912). Photography acted as a documentary technology and evidentiary object and was used to bring far-away places “home” for future study. Uniquely, photography was both the means for collecting evidence and its object.

Scholarship on photography has emphasized the visualized referent, the image itself, and the power of the photograph’s reproducibility.<sup>6</sup> Thus, photographs have been examined for their import as a technology of seeing (Dumit 1997; Tucker 1997; Daston and Galison 1992; Crary 1990), for the types of gazes exhibited in its frame (Lutz and Collins 1993; Kuhn 1985; Barthes 1981; Berger 1972), for the creation, expression and perpetuation of racialist understandings of the Other (Poole 2004; Chavez 2000; Alloula 1986), for their role in state formation (Tagg 1988; Sekula 1986, 1987) and for the ways in which they create and consolidate powerful conceptualizations of nations (Poole 1998; Ryan 1997; Anderson 1991). Considering the photograph as collected object or scientific evidence is often obfuscated when thinking about the power of photography’s imaginings.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, photographs are powerful shapers of knowledge, not only because they are indexical and reproducible, but because they are also material objects. The thingness of a photograph is critical.

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<sup>6</sup> The edited volume *Sensible Objects* (2006) attempts to expand on the notion of the visual to include other senses.

<sup>7</sup> Scholarship on collecting in the early twentieth century has tended to privilege and examine the collection of more traditional ethnographic objects (see Gosden and Knowles 2001; Edwards, Gosden and Phillips 2006; Graves-Brown 2000; Barringer and Flynn 1998). This emphasis is perhaps due in part to the fact that until quite recently, photographs in museum’s collections were not registered as part of the museum’s formal collection and were stored in multiple and disparate spaces within the museum (Crimp 1993).

In *Photographs Objects Histories*, Elizabeth Edwards and Janice Hart (2004) address this ontological divide that haunts studies of photography. Although the visual remains critical in photography, Edwards and Hart argue that “photographs have inextricably linked meanings as images and meanings as objects; an indissoluble, yet ambiguous, melding of image and form, both of which are direct products of intention” (Edwards and Hart 2004:2). For Edwards and Hart, the visualized referent and the photograph as object are inseparable. I draw on Edwards and Hart in this chapter to examine the display and circulation of photographs in the *National Geographic* edition “In the Wonderland of Peru.” I do so to understand the ways in which a specific understanding of scientific authority and meanings about Peru were initially collected and substantiated through photographs. I situate the YPE images as circulating imagined materials in an attempt to solder the divide between the imagining espoused in the image and the materiality of the printed photograph.

Photographic technology played a central role in the YPE and acted as both the technology for the collection of scientific evidence and the collected object itself. In the printing and reproduction of photographic images, Bingham’s view was materialized or commoditized. Ideas were registered in the frame of the photograph. Like maps, but perhaps less like genomic depictions (Haraway 1997), YPE photographs relied on their insertion in texts to establish meaning. Like maps, photographs denied the object’s maker and her history (Craib 2004). However, as the YPE imagining was differentially materialized and inserted into new texts and contexts, its initial meaning (itself unstable) could be modified. The photograph as scientific object was, like all texts, unstable as it circulated and was translated, rematerialized in text.

Bingham, and the other YPE photographers, sought to collect views and types through their expeditionary photographs. Generally vacated of people, the YPE photographs inscribed a specific way of seeing Peru as a territory lying in wait for discovery, a “lost city.” The imagined materiality traveled and circulated, being refashioned in a variety of contexts. The Peruvian magazine, *Ilustración Peruana*, translated the Wonderland issue along with 142 of its illustrations. Positioning the YPE photographs as imagined materiality I examine how notions of Peruvian patrimony and nationalism were espoused vis-à-vis the same YPE photographs when printed in the Peruvian illustrated magazine. Considering photographs as imagined materiality further aims to de-fetishize the image. In so doing, I map a critical social effect, the making of a national logo.

With respect to national images, Benedict Anderson (1991) has argued that one of the effects of the sheer reproducibility of prints may eventually produce a “logoization” of the map or image for the nation. Pictorial symbols come to speak metonymically about the nation. Furthermore, these symbolic speech acts - in which images stand in for the nation - are so deeply embedded in the national imagination that very few citizens are aware of its historicity or artificiality (Anderson 1991:182). Mauricio Tenorio-Trillo (2003) argues that national images are far from being fixed. Instead, national images form of a complex arena in which nations define each other through affirmation or negation and are often used across factions and classes (Tenorio-Trillo 2003:60). Tenorio-Trillo suggests that we need to tell a story of how national images are defined, consumed, rejected and transformed by various people within a nation. “All in all the

destinies of the various identities within a nation are constantly changing, challenging, and utilizing the nation according to specific circumstances” (Tenorio-Trillo 2003:66).

While I agree with Tenorio-Trillo that images are not uniformly totalizing, an emphasis on translation and exchange might better illuminate the web in which national representations are suspended to understand how national logos are framed and felt. Such a reliance on translation and exchange necessitates the framing of the photographic image not only as indexical referent or visual representation, but as materiality moving and circulating through space and time. Photographs are unique objects, with the image and its meaning being reproduced and reshaped in a constellation of contexts. The circulating imagined materiality ultimately shapes actors and knowledge in distinct ways. In highlighting the translational and relational process of photographs as imagined materiality, I work toward a discussion of photography as both a practice of collecting and an object for collection, the circulation of which formed a specific notion of Machu Picchu as a “lost city.”<sup>8</sup>

### **Discovering the “Lost City” in Photographs**

In “Landscape and the Imperial Subject,” Deborah Poole (1998) examines one of Hiram Bingham’s photographs of Machu Picchu. Poole argues that nineteenth century explorers of South America such as Ephraim George Squier espoused a philosophy of vision which was statistical and quantitative and displayed items such as skulls or potsherds as “populations” whose pattern could be measured, their meanings generalized (1998:121). While Poole situates Hiram Bingham’s imagery at the end of nineteenth century visual modernity, Poole suggests that one crucial difference exists

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<sup>8</sup> Susan Sontag (1977) famously said that “to collect photographs is to collect the world.”

between Squier, and other explorers of that era, and Bingham. Bingham's source of beauty, Poole suggests, appeared in the object itself rather than in the artist's hand. Reading a photograph printed in Bingham's *Inca Land* (1922), Poole demonstrates that Bingham's form of visuality coupled the "mountaineer's (or modernist's) concern with the body and physical discipline, and the imperialist's triumphant sense of geography and conquest" (Poole 1998:124). Bingham's vision and aesthetic of discovery began at the horizon, and sought to visualize the mysterious yet hidden beyond. The view had to be physically achieved allowing Bingham to "see", but remained objective (Poole 1998:122).

Although Poole acknowledges that photographic technology was critical for creating objective representations divorced from the appearance of artist's rendering, the specific camera equipment that Bingham and the other YPE photographers used also facilitated Bingham's vision and helped to materialize the imagining of Machu Picchu. For the 1911 expedition Eastman Kodak provided the YPE with a No 3A Special Kodak with portrait attachment and wide angle lens as well as two 3A folding pocket Kodaks. For the 1912 expedition, Bingham requested that Kodak lend the expedition a panorama camera. George Eastman had initially offered Bingham a speed Kodak, but Bingham declined saying that for the 1912 expedition, a panorama camera would be more useful.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>9</sup> In his letter to Eastman, Bingham wrote: "I am almost convinced that it would be extremely advisable to have one Panorama Kodak in the outfit. I do not feel so sure about the Speed Kodak. We do not have to take pictures of the fastest moving objects. There are no automobiles, and athletes and race horses are equally scarce. I have understood, however, that the lens is better than that in the 3A Special, and will give finer details. Can you give me some advice on this? . . . In many of the deep canyons where we are expecting to work it needs a Panorama Kodak to show the opposite side of the mountain up to the top. Of the three cameras you gave us last time we still have the two ordinary 3As, one of which is fitted with a wide angle lens. One of the members of this next expedition has a 3A of his own. If we can get the camera you sent us by registered mail that will make four. If you can give us three new 3A Specials, and

For the 1912 expedition, Bingham was bringing along more men, wanted to take more photographs, and most of all wanted images of the Urubamba canyon. Only the Kodak panorama camera could help Bingham “show the opposite side of the mountain up to the top” (Kodak select correspondence, April 15, 1912, YMA box 14, folder 11). Technology was critical for manifesting Bingham’s philosophy of vision. Coupled with the 3A fitted with a wide angle lens that was useful for highlighting details at shorter focal lengths (e.g. the rocky walls of the monument), Kodak’s camera technology permitted Bingham to collect views and materialize his own imagining of Machu Picchu.<sup>10</sup> Bringing over 3000 negatives on the 1912 expedition, technology was the first step in the visualization of Machu Picchu as a “lost city” (Kodak select correspondence, April 15, 1912, YMA box 14, folder 11).<sup>11</sup> The second step was the reproduction of those imaginings in *National Geographic*.

The 1913 “In the Wonderland of Peru” is entirely devoted to Bingham and the YPE and is replete with 244 illustrations. Not surprisingly, images in the 1913 *National Geographic* edition tend to be panoramic landscapes or detailed close-ups of the granite walls of Machu Picchu (Figures 4-1 and 4-2). Breathtaking landscapes and distanced vistas are included along with examples of the ruins before and after clearing (Figures 4-3 and 4-4). The photographs of the Wonderland edition highlight the

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one No. 4 Panorama we shall have nine Kodaks in the outfit and ought to be well equipped for the scientific work that lies ahead of us” (Kodak select correspondence, April 15, 1912, YMA box 14, folder 11).

<sup>10</sup> Bingham asked Eastman for information on how to take a good photograph and Eastman promptly provided Bingham with copies of the pamphlet “How to make a good picture.” The choice of words is interesting, making implying human involvement and manipulation, taking connoting a direct replication without intervention.

<sup>11</sup> Bingham requested 1,000 more negatives for the 1912 expedition because on the 1911 expedition they brought 2500 negatives and ran out.

remoteness of the place by vacating the landscape of work and of people. Very few images of the YPE workers or work being done for that matter are included in the edition. Instead, Bingham's photographic narrative is one of the scenic: picturesque country, lush vegetation, rocky outcrops, terraced hillsides and impressive stone masonry (Figure 4-5).

The edition begins with a reference map of the region explored by the YPE and serves to orient the reader for the photographic journey ahead. As we begin the article we join Bingham and the YPE and visit the sea ports through two images: one photograph of the YPE members in front of a fisherman's hut with reed boats and another with a fisherman and his catch of the day - two manta-rays (Figure 4-6). Before heading off to Cuzco via Juliaca on the train, we accompany the YPE on a visit to the city of Lima where we see a Corpus Christi procession. From there, we ride the rails and see the Andean countryside through several photographs of llamas taken near various railroad stations and town plazas. We also gaze at the countryside and see not only llamas, but a "Group of Mountain Indians", "A Typical Mountaineers' Hut", "A Typical Peruvian Indian Woman" and a group of Indians in "A Scene at Sicuani Station, Southern Peru." Finally, we begin our exploration of the Andean mountains when we cross the Apurimac River (Figure 4-7 and 4-8).

The Wonderland edition is a photographic narrative of travel. As the reader turns the pages of the heavily illustrated edition, we accompany Bingham in experiencing the wonderland of Peru witnessing and performing our own scientific discovery. The reader first arrives in the port city of Lima. Then, as we wait to catch the train that will take us into the Andes, we view Quechua speakers in their different dress, spinning yarn. We

see dozens of llamas (Figure 4-9). Arriving in the Andes, we build a bridge to cross the river and join a mule train up the mountain trail. After making the arduous journey, we turn the page, and arrive at the visual feast at the sanctuary of Machu Picchu.

After showing the difficulty the YPE had in crossing the Apurimac river, the reader is presented with a “Bird’s-Eye View of Machu Picchu (During Clearing) and the Urubamba Canon” (Figure 4-10). Shot from the foothills of Huayna Picchu, the image captivates and beckons the viewer into its mysteries. As the river winds around the mountains, the ruins, however faint, are presented in tantalizing anticipation. More images of the Urubamba valley follow depicting mule trails winding up the mountainside before detailed photographs of the monument itself are shown. Intermingled amongst the numerous photographs of terraces, rock walls, niches and stairwells are depictions of precipitous heights and long and lean cloudy-skied panoramas of the sanctuary (Figures 4-11 and 4-12). The horizon beckons the reader. The aesthetic of discovery pulls the reader in to travel with the YPE on their journey. Photographs highlighting the YPE members building a bridge, crossing the Urubamba River and following mule trails are included to not only carry the viewer along on the expedition, but also act as visual evidence to the YPE physically achieving their scientific exploration. The Wonderland issue is a tale of arduous physical achievement and the discovery of the once hidden. Bingham’s success, as framed in *National Geographic*, is to unveil what had been there the entire time. Both a narrative of travel and an aesthetic of discovery, the readers of the magazine discover for themselves the wonderland that is Peru.

Images of human subjects in the Wonderland are limited. After leaving the half-dozen images of typical “Quechua Indians” presented in the initial pages of the edition,

representations of human subjects become sparse. The hired YPE laborers are sometimes included in the detailed photographs of the monument's stairwells, walls and niches. Presumably they are included to act as markers for perspective and indicators for size or perhaps to add interest to an otherwise mundane image (Figures 4-13 and 4-14). They are not the subjects of the image, but rather incidentals to the impressive stone construction of the ancient city. In addition to these images of workers as human yard sticks, the Wonderland edition has one photograph of men working to clear the sites and three images of men with YPE members in caves<sup>12</sup> (Figures 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17). Close-up portraits of two workers that served the expedition are also included (Figures 4-18 and 4-19) as are a final page of six images of Quechua "types" (Figures 4-20 and 4-21).

The portraits of the two workers are displayed midway through the issue (Figures 4-18 and 4-19). The first is a portrait of Alegria, Mr.Happiness. Titled "A Cheerful Workman From Cuzco", the caption conveyed that while he was one of the most consistent employees of the YPE, the majority of the other contracted workers were not. "Most of the workmen were content with what wages they could earn in two weeks, and kept us continually busy trying to replace them" (Bingham 1913b:426). Alegria is the presentation of anomaly and he stares curiously into the camera. The second portrait is a photograph of Enrique Porres. Titled "The Best type of Indian Workman: Southern Peru", the image is included to connote the Andean practice of chewing coca. Porres is photographed with a slight bulge in the cheek and the caption reads:

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<sup>12</sup> Laborers accompanying the expedition are pictured previously in the two images of the YPE crossing the Apurimac River.

Portrait of Enrique Porres, one of the most intelligent workmen that we had to assist in excavating Machu Picchu. In his cheek may be observed a swelling showing the presence of a quid of coca, the leaves of the plant from which cocaine is extracted. Nearly all the Mountain Indians chew the coca leaf. A quid is carefully made up at the beginning of the day's work, during the middle of the morning, at the beginning of the days work, at the commencement of the afternoon's work, and in the middle of the afternoon (Bingham 1913b:436).

The tight decontextualized frame of the image, coupled with the *National Geographic's* titles and captions, essentialize and dehumanize both Porres and Alegria. The two men are framed as types. They are spectacles and objects one might see when traveling in the Peruvian wonderland. While Bingham seems to be quite fond of the two gentlemen, showing a familiarity and appreciation for their work in the narrative of the article, the workers are displayed impersonally and without betraying details. Presented in the Wonderland, the two employees are viewed not as helpful assistants participating in the expedition and its discoveries, but as odd others who one might encounter en route to discovering Machu Picchu.

The three subsequent photographs of the YPE laborers at work in Machu Picchu are titled: "Excavating at Machu Picchu (Lt. Sotomayor, at the right, in charge of the gang of Indians)", "Collecting the Skeletal remains of the Ancient Inhabitants: Machu Picchu" and "A Large Burial Cave: Machu Picchu", (Figures 4-15, 4-16 and 4-17). The images and the captions highlight expeditionary science in action and the physical exertion of the YPE achievement. Ironically, the three images of science in action (out of a possible 244) are inconsequential compared to the dozens of photographs highlighting the majesty of the views, stone walls, stairwells, niches and rocky outcroppings of Machu Picchu. Instead, the workers fade into posed decoration to the monument itself. The YPE work in letter-writing, fund-raising, planning, reconnaissance,

clearing, excavating and reconstructing Machu Picchu are black boxed as we witness the discovered “lost city.”

The Wonderland article closes with six images of the “typical Cuzco” personage: a girl, a woman, and a father (Figures 4-20 and 4-21). Printed three to a page and across the fold, the types and their presentation are a familiar frame of expeditionary and anthropological photographs (Ryan 1997; Edwards 1990; Pinney 1990). Pictured in their unique dress, the individuals are shown either in profile or facing the camera. The lay-out of the photographs, the images themselves and the titles help frame the individuals into types: “A Typical Cuzco Girl”, “Another Quichua Woman: Cuzco”, “Types of Indian Women in The Marketplace”, “The Father of his Country”, “Quichua Girl: Cuzco”, “A Typical Old Indian Woman in Cuzco.” Coupled with the final photograph of an arranged still-life of ceramic vessels, the Quechua portraits appear as curiosities collected on the scientific expedition. The “type” photographs serve as the final reinforcement of the representation of the YPE as scientific explorers discovering a lost, but wonderful, land.

Throughout the Wonderland edition, Machu Picchu is depicted as hidden, lost or unknown. The YPE scopic regime organized Peru’s territory through depopulation of the countryside framed in a trope of tropicality. The aerial and long-distance panoramic views sacrificed detail for the fantasy of conquering the unknown. Overgrown brush connoted heroic sacrifice and hidden lands. The site was de-inhabited and the actual work vacated from the images of Machu Picchu. Instead, the photographs as printed in *National Geographic* demonstrate the physical achievement of the expedition through breathtaking vistas and bridge crossings. The aesthetic of discovery translated in

*National Geographic* made Machu Picchu safe and consumable, serving up difference in the form of the distant and spectacular, inviting exploration. The reader of the photographic travel narrative could participate in the expedition, witnessing the unveiling of the “lost city” in its pages and discovering the place anew with each turn of the page.

### **In the Wonderland of Peru: Bingham and National Geographic**

After Bingham returned from the 1911 expedition to Peru, he attracted the attention of the director and editor of *National Geographic* magazine, Gilbert Grosvenor.<sup>13</sup> Grosvenor wrote Bingham that he believed Machu Picchu was by far the most important geographical discovery made in South America and wanted to find out more about the “lost city” and its inhabitants. National Geographic Society (NGS) became a major sponsor for the 1912 and 1914/15 expeditions to Peru and granted Bingham \$30,000 for his research expeditions. In turn, Bingham published three articles about the expeditions in the magazine: “In the Wonderland of Peru” (1913b); “The Story of Machu Picchu” (1915b); and “Further Explorations in the Land of the Incas” (1916).<sup>14</sup> The 1913 illustrated edition consisted of 244 illustrations and was entirely dedicated to the YPE and Machu Picchu. The issue circulated worldwide, with its images and text being reprinted and translated in various publications including *Ilustración Peruana* in Peru.

NGS began in 1888 as an amateur scientific organization which targeted gentlemen scholars (Lutz and Collins 1993:16). Focused on geographic and commercial possibilities abroad, NGS sought to bring home the “the world and all that is in it” to its

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<sup>13</sup> While Grosvenor was not a Yale man (he went to Amherst), President Taft was his cousin by marriage. Grosvenor’s father-in-law was Alexander Graham Bell, who helped found the National Geographic Society.

<sup>14</sup> Bingham also published an article titled “Building America’s Air Army” published in 1918.

members.<sup>15</sup> Grosvenor, along with Alexander Graham Bell,<sup>16</sup> sought to expand the Society's presence and magazine's readership by focusing on popular rather than technical articles (Lutz and Collins 1993:21).<sup>17</sup> Photographs became a primary avenue toward this end and images quickly became an integral part of the magazine.

In 1905 Grosvenor, desperate to fill the pages of the magazine's January edition, included eleven pages of photographs. The issue was so successful that Grosvenor apparently said that the word photograph became as musical to his ear as the jingle of a cash register to a businessman (Poole, R. 2004:66). Reduced costs of photoengraving meant that images could be included in the magazine at a lesser expense. Additionally, the majority of photographs printed in the magazine were submitted by travelers, diplomats and amateur photographers who did not charge NGS for use of the images.<sup>18</sup> By 1908, the magazine was over half pictures.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> NGS was modeled on Britain's Royal Geographical Society and sought to create an organization where members could meet regularly, exchanging and sharing ideas in an effort to increase and diffuse geographic knowledge broadly defined (Poole, R. 2004:27). To become a member of NGS one had to be nominated or be sponsored by an existing member. See R. Poole (2004) for details on the birth and rise of National Geographic.

<sup>16</sup> Bell controlled the financial side of the magazine and eventually took over after the death of the Society's founder.

<sup>17</sup> Lutz and Collins conclude that NGS became a maker and broker of scientific knowledge, but was not constrained by the scientific community. NGS was a mix of science and entertainment packaged for at-home consumption.

<sup>18</sup> The Lhasa photographs used in the 1905 edition were given to NGS free of charge.

<sup>19</sup> In his report of the year 1914, Grosvenor codified the editorial philosophy of the magazine in seven points. While the first principle was absolute accuracy, the second was "abundance of beautiful, instructive, and artistic illustrations." The remaining five points were: 3) Everything printed in the magazine must have permanent value; 4) All personalities and notes of a trivial character are avoided; 5) Nothing of partisan or controversial character is printed; 6) Only what is of a kindly nature is printed about any country or people; everything unpleasant or unduly critical being avoided; 7) The contents of each number planned with a view of being timely. Whenever any part of the world becomes prominent in public interest. . . . The National Geographic Society have come to know that they will obtain the latest geographic, historic and economic information about that region, presented in an interesting and absolutely non-partisan manner, and accompanied by photographs which in number and excellence can be equaled by no other publication" (Poole, R. 2004).

The photographs included in the magazine were “straightforward.” That is, because the images were supplied by travelers, the photographs did not rely on artistic or pictorial treatments, but rather were somewhat naïve prints from amateurs (Lutz and Collins 1993:26). Consequently, NGS adopted a “realist code” for their images which implied a direct transcription of reality, one that could be universally read and understood by any reader without deep study (Lutz and Collins 1993:26). Bingham’s images of landscapes, cultural “types”, and rock formations are characteristic of such realism and sought to transcribe, or evidence, the wonderland of Peru through a scientific and naturalistic eye.

Sponsoring the YPE and its archaeological goals was not initially obvious for the NGS.<sup>20</sup> From the Society’s point of view, archaeology was not part of the geographic mission of NGS and Grosvenor had difficulty encouraging the NGS board members to sponsor Bingham’s 1912 expedition to Peru (NG select correspondence, March 8, 1912, YMA box 15, folder 237). Eventually the NGS agreed to sponsor two YPE expeditions, declining to sponsor a third in 1917.<sup>21</sup> The arrangement for the 1912 sponsorship included \$10,000 along with any instruments needed by the topographer of the expedition in exchange for publication rights to any of the reports and articles emanating from the expedition.<sup>22</sup> NGS was so pleased with the results of the 1912 expedition that they agreed to sponsor the 1914/15 expedition to Peru for \$20,000 to

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<sup>20</sup> Eventually, archaeology became important for the society and NGS would sponsor archaeological investigations in the Southwestern US and in Mesoamerica.

<sup>21</sup> Bingham requested \$8,000 from NGS to return to Peru in 1917 (Grosvenor to Bingham Jan 8, 1917, box 16, folder 266).

<sup>22</sup> National Geographic began sponsoring scientific and exploratory expeditions when it gave its first grant to Robert E. Peary for \$1000 in his quest to arrive at the North Pole (Poole, R. 2004:85).

“solve the mystery connected with the ancient peoples of South America” (NG select correspondence, Bingham to Grosvenor, January 19, 1914, YMA box 15, folder 247).

The agreement between Bingham and NGS was straightforward. In return for significant monetary sponsorship, Bingham would grant rights of first refusal to NGS on any popular articles emanating from the expedition. After the publication of the preliminary report in *National Geographic*, Bingham would then be able to publish the technical and scientific articles in scientific periodicals. Furthermore, first rights to all YPE photographs were granted NGS for illustrating the initial story.<sup>23</sup> A Memorandum of Agreement detailed the arrangement.

- a) The National Geographic Society was to receive for publication in the National Geographic Magazine the preliminary report of the expedition one month before it was sent to any other journal.
- b) The National Geographic Society was to have exclusive rights in the first popular story of the expedition, *illustrated by the best photographs taken by the expedition.*<sup>24</sup>
- c) The National Geographic Magazine was to have the first option upon any popular articles prepared as a result of the work of this expedition, the price for such articles to be agreed upon between the editor of the magazine and the Director of the expedition.
- d) After the publication of the preliminary report of the expedition, scientific reports on various parts of the expedition may be published in any scientific periodical or in monographs wherever, in the opinion of the Director, such publication would be most beneficial to the cause of science (NG select correspondence, April 24, 1912, YPE box 15, folder 237).

The Memorandum of Agreement for the 1914/15 expedition differed only slightly.<sup>25</sup> The agreement included a commitment to receive a popular article of 6000-7000 words

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<sup>23</sup> For people who receive grant support from National Geographic today, the agreement is remarkably similar.

<sup>24</sup> Emphasis mine

<sup>25</sup> For 1914/15 expedition Grosvenor wanted to have monthly reports to NGS to keep up the story in the press, but a similar agreement regarding rights to photographs was agreed upon for the final expedition.

written by Bingham with an option for a second article covering the material which was not highlighted in the first article. The magazine also had first rights of refusal to any publications with no other magazine, including scientific journals, publishing articles until after NGS published their first article. Lastly, NGS had the option of collecting and publishing a technical memoir, comprised of all the various papers and technical results of the expedition. In terms of illustration, NGS continued to have first rights to use photographs and maps made by the members of the YPE. If the magazine sold more issues beyond expenses, then Bingham's commission was 15% on all copies sold after the initial costs were covered.

By the time the Wonderland edition was published in 1913, *Harper's Magazine*, *The Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society* and *American Journal of Science* had already published several stories about the YPE (e.g. Bingham 1912b, 1912c, 1912d, 1912e, 1913a). Newspapers in the U.S. had also written about the YPE: "Explorers find a city that was 'snuggled under corn fields'", *New York Herald*, December 22, 1911; "Bingham's climbing of Mt. Coropuna", *Boston Transcript*, December 16, 1911; "Taxi ride his most thrilling experience" (Bingham scrapbook, YMA box 97, folder 13, newspaper and date unknown). Still, Grosvenor believed that not enough people were aware of the discovery of Machu Picchu and its importance.<sup>26</sup> Many of the publications were aimed at smaller scientific audiences and the stories in *Harper's* were published with practically no

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<sup>26</sup> Harper's had agreed to take four articles, paid at \$250 each (general correspondence, March 14, 1911, YMA box 5, folder 15). The initial article focused on the YPE's adventurous accomplishments and the discovery of a partial skull and bones found near Cusco. Although eight photographs were included in the article, only two were of Machu Picchu. The photographs were printed side by side and the caption read: "The Ruins of Machu Pichu [sic], A city probably built by the megalithic race, who preceded the Incas: discovered by Hiram Bingham on his 1911 Expedition to Peru.

illustrations. Because of the lack of imagery accompanying the story in Harper's, Grosvenor believed that the importance of the YPE discovery was "grasped by very few people" and the general geographic public, whom the society represented, knew nothing of it (NG select correspondence, April 7, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 242).

In many ways, Grosvenor was Machu Picchu's first publicist and was instrumental in making the image of Machu Picchu familiar around the world. In addition to encouraging National Geographic to fund the expeditions, he oversaw the 1913 Wonderland edition, advising Bingham on what to include in the story. Although Grosvenor believed that Bingham's article was the "most extraordinary narrative of discovery in South America" that he had read, Grosvenor requested several changes and additions for the article (NG select correspondence, March 18, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241).

Grosvenor requested a brief review of the 1911 expedition and a number of images showing the "the extraordinary beauty of the route to Machu Picchu." Grosvenor wanted to give the complete story of Machu Picchu and its discovery by the YPE. He asked Bingham to bring readers up to date about how Machu Picchu was found by the YPE who were accompanied by "two natives." He requested several paragraphs about why Machu Picchu was superior to previously discovered Inca ruins and why the discovery of Machu Picchu, "the cradle of the Inca race," was so important (NG select correspondence, March 18, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241). Grosvenor also wanted Bingham to speculate about the number of people living at Machu Picchu, the condition of the soil, ideas about the habits of ancient peoples, particularly the position of women at Machu Picchu, and whether or not any of the buildings at Machu Picchu resembled

ancient ruins in Egypt or Asia (NG select correspondence, March 18, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241).

Grosvenor also selected the illustrations to accompany the text and had the final say on the arrangement of the magazine's lay-out. References to the panorama insert and place names used in connection with the description of pictures were considered helpful (NG select correspondence, March 18, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241). In one communication, Grosvenor wrote Bingham stating: "In your Geographic article you give a fine description of how the bridge was made, but a picture of the wild country is also needful" (NG select correspondence, March 18, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241).

Grosvenor directed Bingham to arrange all proofs in sequence and "plan your titles and descriptive text for the pictures to form more or less consecutive story or description" (NG select correspondence, April 7, 1913, YMA box 14, folder 242). Bingham dutifully responded to Grosvenor and attempted to create a cohesive narrative for the publication.

I have tried to plan the titles and descriptive text for the pictures to form a more or less consecutive story, or description as you requested. It has been harder to make the titles than the descriptive text. I have included pictures of the ruins of Pacaritampu, but regret that we have none of the ruins of top of Huayna Picchu. I have also advised you regarding the best pictures of the monolith at Vitcos.

I am now going to try to add to the article a few paragraphs telling how we found the city in 1911, and some other paragraphs regarding the extraordinary beauty of the route to Machu Picchu, and I will try and follow your other suggestions as far as I can (NG select correspondence, April 14, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 242).<sup>27</sup>

As publicist, Grosvenor wanted control over the story. Not only did Grosvenor direct the narrative of the story in the Wonderland issue, but he also managed the story's roll-out.

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<sup>27</sup> Grosvenor had praised Bingham on the narrative, but wanted to improve upon it for its readers.

When Grosvenor learned that the *New York Times* was about to publish an article accompanied by photographs from the 1912 expedition before the *Wonderland* issue went to press, Grosvenor sent an urgent telegraph to Bingham asking how they had received the story and accompanying images.<sup>28</sup> NGS had the exclusive rights to the 1912 YPE story and Grosvenor wrote Bingham that he did not even want the *Yale Alumni Newsletter* to see advance copy or pictures of the edition (NG select correspondence, May 2, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 243). As their contract with Bingham stated, NGS had “exclusive rights to the first popular story of the expedition, illustrated by the best photographs taken by the expedition.” Premature newspaper coverage threatened to spoil the powerful unveiling of Machu Picchu and Grosvenor admonished Bingham, writing: “I do not think even you realize the sensation that the article will make as produced in our Magazine” (NG select correspondence, May 2, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 243).

The editorial team at NGS was comprised of Grosvenor and John Oliver La Gorce. The two men were committed to bringing the article out in a “most striking and emphatic form” (NG select correspondence, April 7, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 242). This meant an issue heavily illustrated with artistic, beautiful, yet instructive photographs. The editorial philosophy of the magazine was to organize and structure the magazine along photographic lines, with the text being shaped from the images themselves (Poole, R. 2004).<sup>29</sup> The 1912 contract ensured that NGS had exclusive

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<sup>28</sup> Control over images was difficult. If foreign newspapers or magazines, for example, printed the pictures, it was more difficult to pinpoint copyright infringement. Any newspaper in the U.S. could copy the image from a foreign newspaper without a line of credit. Consequently, National Geographic was adamant about not allowing the images to circulate prior to the publication of the edition.

<sup>29</sup> Early on, Alexander Graham Bell criticized Grosvenor about the lack of continuity between the text and the images.

access to not only the first written article, but also to the “best photographs taken by the expedition.” As Grosvenor had insisted, without photographs the public would know nothing of the discovery and would not be able to grasp nor imagine the place.

Photographs were essential because it was through the images of Machu Picchu that the YPE research and work came to life. The discovery was the photographs. NGS had exclusive rights to the photographs and consequently to the story of Machu Picchu.

Grosvenor selected the illustrations for the Wonderland edition out of albums that had been provided by Bingham. Upon returning from the field, Bingham had sent the entire collection of YPE negatives to Eastman Kodak in Rochester, NY where they were printed in their entirety. Bingham selected the specific tone, treatment and paper for printing the negatives based on the effect that they would lend to the photograph as scientific document.<sup>30</sup> The photographs were then placed in albums as a way of organizing and cataloging the visual evidence. The albums were used as a reference tool and a set was eventually presented to Grosvenor (Kodak select correspondence, January 15, 1913, YMA box 14, folder 214). Reproductions were requested based on the cataloged photographs. Engravings were also made from the albums.<sup>31</sup> The imagined materiality of Machu Picchu contained evidence, which, although indexical, could be manipulated, shuttled and exchanged.

From the albums, Grosvenor crafted a compelling and sellable narrative about Machu Picchu. Grosvenor tailored the issue to be more popular and less technical,

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<sup>30</sup> From a series of letters written in January, 1913 to Mr. Craig at Kodak Corporation (Kodak special correspondence, YMA box 14, folder 214). Bingham wanted the pictures mounted on black and slate/dark-gray paper (at the request of National Geographic), printed with a Glossy and Velox finish. The glossy was to be burnished to prevent hindrances for reproduction.

<sup>31</sup> NGS sent the albums to Gill Engravers in New York for working up the edition. NGS still has the set of albums in their offices in Washington D.C.

telling Bingham that he should publish the scientific articles one at a time in various journals to gain more publicity for the expedition. Although Grosvenor said that NGS eventually wanted to publish the articles in an entire volume, publicity and prestige would be better achieved through the publication of a series of articles, eventually culminating in a monograph (NG select correspondence, March 1, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 241).<sup>32</sup> Grosvenor was excited about the Wonderland issue and wrote Bingham in February of 1913, saying “we are going to astound the public when we get this article out in our March number” (NG select correspondence, February 15, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 240).

The Wonderland issue privileged the photographic frame as the primary means to convey “Machu Picchu” to its readership. As a result, maps were marginalized even though they had played a prominent role in the Yale Peruvian expedition. Not only had map-making in Peru involved several individuals full-time, but the drafting of the map involved the dedication of topographer Albert Bumstead full-time upon returning from the field in 1912.<sup>33</sup> Map-making was also tangible proof of scientific work and Bingham urged Grosvenor to include the map in the Wonderland edition. For Bingham, the map not only had artistic value, but was quite costly to make and of great scientific interest (NG select correspondence, May 12, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 243).<sup>34</sup> However, Grosvenor was not interested in including the map in the 1913 issue. He insisted that

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<sup>32</sup> The publishing of the monograph was a source of contention between Grosvenor and Bingham. Eventually, NGS published *Inca Land* (1922), but, the negotiations, contracts and publication of the text was not as easy as Bingham felt it ought to have been.

<sup>33</sup> Kai Hendricksen was the topographer on the 1911 expedition and the maps he made were not the maps in question for printing with National Geographic. After the 1914/15 expedition, Bumstead was hired as an illustrator at National Geographic.

<sup>34</sup> Bingham had also written Grosvenor earlier about including Bumstead’s map as a special insert NG special correspondence, February 22, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 240.

the map be printed separately because it was of interest to a more specific audience and too costly to print in the 1913 issue (NG select correspondence, May 14, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 243).<sup>35</sup> Although gleaning prestige from its affiliation as a scientific organization, NGS did not tailor the magazine to this public.<sup>36</sup> Expeditionary feats coupled with beautiful imagery made for better copy than maps.

At the time of the Wonderland edition, the magazine's print run had reached over 210,000 copies.<sup>37</sup> Grosvenor informed Bingham that each copy would be examined and read by (at least) an average of five people. Altogether, nearly one million people or more, Grosvenor said, would read the edition on Machu Picchu.<sup>38</sup> Grosvenor was intent on expanding the readership of the magazine and the impressive Wonderland issue was an effort in that direction.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> Although a small map was included as a reference guide for the reader of the Wonderland edition, it is unclear if the other more detailed topographic maps were ever published separately by National Geographic. Some of the maps were included in other scientific publications, like the *American Journal of Science*.

<sup>36</sup> National Geographic originally cultivated members from the Washington D.C. power structure. Presidents, dignitaries and senators attended National Geographic's annual white tie dinners and were members of NGS. NGS became a household name when its subscription began to grow due to Grosvenor's active pursuit of members through blank subscription forms inserted into each edition and a direct mail campaign. (Poole, R. 2004).

<sup>37</sup> National Geographic started with 209 members. The print run for the magazine in September of 1912 was 135,000. By May of the following year the print run of the magazine had grown to 225,000 (NG special correspondence, May, YMA box 15, folder 243).

<sup>38</sup> By 1916, National Geographic had grown and the printed edition totaled 475,000 and a page of advertising cost \$350 to print. Grosvenor predicted that by the end of 1916, the edition would be 575,000 units (NG special correspondence, YMA box 16, folder 260). Grosvenor did much to encourage new subscriptions to the magazine. Although a new member had to be recommended to the society, they were, with very few exceptions, almost always accepted. Grosvenor also started including subscription forms into each magazine as a way of expanding membership both in numbers and in geographic distribution.

<sup>39</sup> "The next time you are in Washington I am going to take you down to see the printing shop. You will then appreciate what a tremendous job getting out the National Geographic Magazine is. Six big and most modern presses working night and day, week in and week out, are not able to take care of the job, and therefore the printer is building a large new plant, which will afford room for the installation of additional machines. Yours Faithfully, Gilbert Grosvenor. P.S. Our circulation today is double that of

Dedicating an entire expanded issue was a significant statement for the society and no expense was spared. The issue also included a specially printed, folded and hand-inserted panorama photograph, which was thought to be not only visually arresting, but exciting for the reader of the issue.<sup>40</sup> Although the 1913 National Geographic edition was published nearly two years after the initial sighting of Machu Picchu in 1911, Bingham admitted that he did not realize the magnitude of his findings until his photographs were published in the 1913 National Geographic issue dedicated to the expedition (Bingham, A. 1978).

The National Geographic edition did reach millions of people.<sup>41</sup> The photographs and text were variously translated into a variety of global publications. The *Illustrated London News* and the French version of the illustrated news carried the images (NG select correspondence, September 6, 8 and October 3, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 245). Within Peru, two prominent magazines, *Peru To-Day* and *Ilustración Peruana*, mimicked the *National Geographic* edition. The YPE photographs were also made into hand-painted lantern slides to be used in lectures like those given to the American Geographical Society in New York on November 25, 1913 (Kodak correspondence,

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Century, and I believe at least 100,000 more than Harper's" (NG select correspondence, May 5, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 243).

<sup>40</sup> "As I have previously written you, your work in Peru is by far the most important geographical discovery made in South America, to my knowledge. For this reason our Society is sparing no expense to bring your article out in a most striking and emphatic form. The panorama is going to cost about \$2,000, and we are, furthermore, devoting not only an entire magazine to the subject, but are making the month's issue considerably larger than usual in order to contain the complete series of pictures" (NG select correspondence, Grosvenor to Bingham, April 7, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 242).

<sup>41</sup> Following the publication there were constant requests to republish photographs (NG special correspondence, October 3, 1913, YMA box 15, folder 245).

October 27, 1913, YMA box 14, folder 220).<sup>42</sup> The photographs were displayed in several exhibitions including a Kodak exhibit which toured throughout the U.S. for two seasons and consisted of bromide enlargements for picture display in a hall accompanied by lantern slides used to illustrate lectures (Kodak select correspondence, April 5, 1912, YMA box 14, folder 211). In 1914, Kodak sponsored a subsequent exhibit using YPE photographs for the Panama-Pacific Exposition in San Francisco (Kodak select correspondence, July 11, 1914, YMA box 14, folder 224). NGS also developed an exhibit of 200 photographs that were displayed in connection with the second Pan-American Congress and installed an exhibit of YPE photographs in their offices in January 1916 (NG select correspondence, January 8, 1917, YMA box 16, folder 266). By 1917 Yale University had also opened a Peruvian exhibition room featuring artifacts and photographs from the expeditions to Peru.<sup>43</sup> The YPE images have been, and continue to be, published in a variety of contexts, reinforcing the naturalness and timelessness of their imagined materiality.<sup>44</sup>

### **Peruvian Translations**

*Ilustración Peruana* was an illustrated bimonthly magazine published in Lima, Peru. Although news of Hiram Bingham's discovery of Machu Picchu was covered in

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<sup>42</sup> Beginning in 1911, Bingham sent photographs to W.C. Ives in Mystic, Connecticut to hand-paint the images and turn them into lantern slides.

<sup>43</sup> Bingham had to borrow the photographs on a semi-permanent loan from national Geographic (NG special correspondence, January 10, 1917, YMA Box 16, Folder 266).

<sup>44</sup> YPE images continue to be published. When the news story about Peru suing Yale University was publicized in 2005-2008, YPE images were used as graphic art to accompany the news copy. *The New York Times* had a mini-slide show of some of the best known YPE images. In 2005 Yale University installed massive reproductions of YPE photographs as wall mounts for their *Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas* exhibition.

Lima and Cuzco daily periodicals in 1911 and 1912, the editor of *Ilustración Peruana* wrote Bingham in 1913 after seeing the Wonderland edition.

Peru recognizes the worth of your beautiful work published in National Geographic Magazine; the press of this capital noticed the beautiful description of Machu Picchu that was inserted in the columns of the magazines and produced for you just and deserved praise. The Director of *Ilustración Peruana*, an illustrated bimonthly magazine edited in this city has begun a month ago, to translate your valiant work with the reproduction of some of the more curious photogravure that illustrate it; in this way a grand service is lent to the culture of this country, that already in a Castilian version, one will taste the animated and erudite description of the explorer of the Urubamba. I wish you a thousand congratulations on your work, and thanks, as a Peruvian, for your propaganda in favor of my patria (general correspondence, Aug 19, 1913, YMA box 9, folder 109).

The *Ilustración Peruana* edition covered bits and pieces of the National Geographic text and was translated into Spanish by Julio Hernandez. The Peruvian magazine managed to reprint 142 images from the Wonderland edition and about a quarter of the text.<sup>45</sup> The translated version was not a complete reproduction of the issue, but instead spanned nine editions, each issue carrying about five to six pages of translated Wonderland text and photographs. *Ilustración Peruana* also included work and photographs by Peruvian archaeologists Horacio Urteaga and Jose Gabriel Cosío to accompany the materials from *National Geographic*.

In their July 1912 issue, the editors of *Ilustración Peruana* wrote to the readers about the newly focused mission of the magazine:

Leaving aside the information of today and the literature of political order, *Ilustración Peruana*, in this new stage of its existence, wants to present

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<sup>45</sup> Along with Peru's daily newspapers, other publications printed information about the YPE from the 1913 Wonderland edition. *Peru To-Day* was a magazine written in English and targeted the ex-patriot and business community living in Peru. In their July 1913 edition, the article summarized the *National Geographic* edition, saying: "A more extended review of the findings of the Yale Expedition will appear in our next issue but in the meantime the thanks and gratitude of the Republic are most surely due to the little group of American archaeologists who have brought the hieroglyphics of such a gigantic lesson out of the wilderness and forgotten past."

itself, corresponding to its name, as a magazine, exponent of our culture, in which alongside the photograph and the drawing that has an artful note and historical evocation, to study with a criteria of generalization, our most interesting problems (1912:144).

*Ilustración Peruana* did not only present itself as an exponent of culture. The magazine also sought to promote Peru's modernity and promise as a nation through favorable visual propaganda. Through images of Peru's capitals, ports, and monuments, *Ilustración Peruana* sought to expound a "general graphic knowledge of our vast territorial extension, not only in the country, but also especially in the foreign, where as it is well known there is a grand group of people who still do not forget the feathers of the savages of our jungles nor do they imagine a city more or less habitable or comfortable in the majority of American republics" (1911:1097). Testing these suppositions was the magazine's "constant object." The pages of *National Geographic* were translated toward that end and sought to demonstrate Peru's territorial extension and promote the greatness of Peru's past.

*Ilustración Peruana's* edition was not a direct facsimile of the Wonderland issue. Photographs were printed in a different order, though not wildly out of step with the original edition. The captions for the images were translated directly, but the narrative of the article was edited to fit around a different lay-out for the edition. Because the Peruvian edition had more images per text volume, much of Bingham's narrative was not included. Most significantly, however, were the editorial changes made to the photographs. The illustrations chosen for reproduction were primarily those which detailed the archaeological monument of Machu Picchu. As such, the translated YPE imagined materials were taken only from the first three-quarters of the Wonderland

issue and did not include the photographs of other monuments around Cuzco or the images of the “typical” Quechua.

The first page of the Peruvian version featured a reduced reproduction of the panoramic image of Machu Picchu with the title “Ancient Ruins of the Incan City Machu Picchu”. The caption read:

This marvelous city, constructed by the Incas probably 2,000 years ago, was discovered in 1911 by Hiram Bingham of the University of Yale and revealed in 1912 under his direction and the auspices of the National Geographic Society of Washington and University of Yale and is considered the most important group of ruins discovered in South America since the conquest of Peru. The city situated on a summit surrounded by cliffs, 2000 feet above river level and 7,000 feet above sea level, in the grand canyon of the Urubamba, one of the region’s least accessible of the Andes, 60 miles north of Cuzco. It is formed of nearly 2000 structures of white granite that includes palaces, temples, sanctuaries, baths, fountains and many steps. Accordingly, it seems the city was not known by the Spanish during their dominion (1913:171).

Below the panorama and caption, the YPE route map of 1912 was included along with the title: “En la Maravillosa Tierra del Peru.”

The Peruvian version of the Wonderland edition began by translating the first pages of Bingham’s article. The magazine outlined the general plan and route of the YPE, the personnel accompanying the expedition, the overall health of the explorers and indigenous beliefs about vaccinations. The photographs reproduced were also taken from the first pages of the Wonderland issue and, together with the narrative, helped explicate the arrival scene. The photograph of reed boats, one photograph of the procession at Corpus Christi, the photograph of a fisherman at Salaverry, six photographs of llamas and other animals, five images of Quechua subjects and the two images of the YPE crossing the river were included in the first installment.

The remaining eight installments in the magazine were subtitled “The City of Machu Picchu, Cradle of the Incan Empire” and focused on the monument itself. Photographs detailing the rocks, niches, stairs, areas and caves of Machu Picchu comprise the majority of images. The photograph of the YPE laborers digging a trench and the group excavating in the cave were also reproduced. Noticeably, the panoramic vistas so intriguing and captivating in the National Geographic version were not incorporated into the translated edition. Instead, the Peruvian version highlighted Peru’s past embodied in the rock formations emphasizing detailed depictions of Machu Picchu itself.

Each of the nine issues in *Ilustración Peruana* had a special section titled “Charlas Quincenales.” The introductory page discussed notable books, events and other items of interest to the readers of the magazine. Preceding the magazine’s first translation of the Wonderland edition was a charla which framed the work of Bingham. The editors of *Ilustración Peruana* explained the importance of the *National Geographic* edition by situating the YPE and Machu Picchu in a broader context of the importance of investigating Peru’s ancient history:

Today more than ever, history is documented in field investigations. Antiquarians and geologists, historiographers, osteologists and the learned of all branches of human knowledge organize repeat field trips alone or in groups to pull out of those ruins the secrets of the millenarian life. They explore and profane tombs and palaces to expose in high relief some wall, or in a temple half crumbling, the key of some allegory, the mystery of their primitive rites; to determine comparatively the age of a race; to reconstitute perhaps some fossilized fragments, the characteristics of a species disappeared (1913:170).

The charla posited that investigative work was important not only for the savant and the archaeologist; it was important because it allowed Peru to relive its past, to imagine the ancient habits and work of its people. Visiting the ruins one could let the imagination

drift across the ages to “relive the laborious life and think of the beings that breathed, worked and loved (there).” Archaeological ruins were valued because the “ample and evocative silence should intensify the charm for the thinker, the dreamer and the poet” (Ilustración Peruana:1913). Rock walls, fossilized fragments, skeletal remains and terraces gave body to an imagined historical community.

Also preceding the translation of Bingham’s text was an illustrated story by Jose Gabriel Cosío. Cosío, a colleague of Alberto Giesecke and professor in Cuzco, had met Bingham during the 1911 expedition. After Bingham sighted Machu Picchu, Cosío visited the sanctuary and wrote about his experience in *Revista Universitaria* (1912). On Bingham’s 1912 expedition, Cosío had also been contracted by the Peruvian state to accompany the YPE and verify their excavations and shipments of artifacts. As a Cuzqueño intellectual, Cosío imagined the importance of Machu Picchu distinctly from Bingham, the YPE and National Geographic. In his article, Cosío does not highlight the adventure and personal and physical achievement of the YPE to Machu Picchu. Instead, Cosío’s narrative is patrimonial and paints Machu Picchu as a part of Peru’s national legacy.

Cosío’s article describes the “perfection and symmetry” of Machu Picchu and details “the noble edifice” in the Andean landscape. The article includes five pages of photographs and text describing the location and size of its impressive features. Cosío provides measurements of each lateral stone comprising a wall and gives the distances and directions between each edifice, literally mapping the place out in text. Cosío’s text reverently describes in minutiae the dimensions of the stone walls and distances between locations.

Cosío's illustrations are an even more striking contrast to the YPE images. Rather than framing the archaeological monument through expansive panoramic landscapes, Cosío's images depict Peruvians in three-piece suits and hats climbing the walls of Machu Picchu (Figures 4-22, 4-23, 4-24 and 4-25). In Cosío's photographs, Machu Picchu becomes a backdrop for group photographs; the exoticism and hidden, vast expanses are excised from his images. The inclusion of people posing for portraits radically shifts the meaning of Machu Picchu, and the result is a narrative not of travel or discovery, but of belonging. Through Cosío's eye, Machu Picchu, though still a "lost city" is refigured as a place of national heritage. Machu Picchu is occupied, the "lost city" finally home.

The insertion of Cosío's text and photographs, along with the significant edits made to both Bingham's article and photographs, dramatically altered the reading of Bingham's vision as initially framed in *National Geographic*. Although Bingham's edited text still narrated the YPE discovery of Machu Picchu in Peru, without the photographs of captivating landscapes and Quechua types or much of Bingham's article, the Wonderland no longer read as an unveiling of a depopulated and hidden city, or an arduous adventure. Instead, the story became a voyage of self-discovery conducted in favor of the Peruvian nation. By focusing primarily on the detailed photographs of the sanctuary itself and Cosío's images of group visits to the sanctuary, the Wonderland story was translated into an instructive and national history lesson. Even the inclusion of the two images of YPE workers at Machu Picchu read not as odd Others, but as Peruvians working in service to the nation.

In *Ilustración Peruana*, Machu Picchu continued to be heralded as an astounding discovery. Though both magazines framed Machu Picchu as a “lost city”, what this meant differed entirely depending on the magazine. In *La Ilustración Peruana*, the images and text of the Wonderland edition were translated as evidence of the ancient harmonies of the Peruvian nation. Machu Picchu was the ruin of Peru’s glorious past, and “her” sophisticated technologies and masonry could now “surprise the world.” The inclusion of Cusió’s text and images of people with group portraits reflects this sense of ownership and belonging. The dozens of YPE photographs detailing the monument continue the narrative of getting to know the nation’s ancestors. In *La Ilustración Peruana*, an imagined historical community with Machu Picchu at its center was made possible through the circulation and translation of the Machu Picchu’s imagined materiality.

### **Conclusion**

In a letter dated January 14, 1913, Gilbert Grosvenor wrote to Bingham complimenting him on his 1912 expedition.

I want to tell you that I think you have brought back to the National Geographic Society full value for the subscription we made to your last expedition. You were very wise to confine your efforts so largely to the wonderful city of Machu Pichu [sic], and I hope that the plans for a special monograph profusely and handsomely illustrated, such as we discussed, may be realized. It will be a very fine thing for you and a credit to the Society as well (NG select correspondence, YMA box 15, folder 239).

At the end of the letter Grosvenor penned a handwritten note to Bingham, saying:

I don’t think you yet appreciate the splendid work of your last half year in Peru. From your private references to it, I expected that you would not have much to show for your last trip to Peru and was agreeably surprised at the great results. Your photos of Machu Picchu are wonderful. You underestimate your work.

Machu Picchu has been imagined as the nostalgic loss of ancient wisdom, the final site of resistance for the Incas against the Spanish conquerors, as a spiritual landscape lying in wait for its mysteries to be unveiled, as a heritage lesson for the future of a nation, and as an awe-inspiring location worthy of a tourist snapshot. The photographs of Machu Picchu and its subsequent visualizations in *National Geographic*, *Ilustración Peruana*, museum exhibitions, and newspaper articles were a powerful means by which to define, organize, and control a geographic area and its subjects. The Wonderland issue astounded the public and its text and photographs were translated into various formats and languages worldwide.

Many scholars have argued that expeditionary photography assumed an imperialist gaze materialized in landscape and anthropometric views (Mirzoeff 1998; Ryan 1997; Alloula 1986; Pinney 1990). The continuities between the expeditionary photographs of the YPE and the work of other expeditionary photographers are difficult to ignore. Bingham and the YPE sought to bring light to darkness, utilized types as a way of classifying a landscape and people, and focused on geographic rather than human depictions. Bingham's vision depopulated Cuzco and its environs and in so doing sought to conquer and possess the landscape for Yale, Science, and National Geographic.

However, the meaning of the imagined materiality of Machu Picchu was not stable. YPE photographs traveled and the imperial gaze thought to be embedded in the celluloid frame changed with the imagined materiality's movement. The Wonderland issue initially crafted a vision of Machu Picchu as a "lost city" discovered by the YPE.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>46</sup> By June 15, 1913 "Lost City in the Clouds Found After Centuries" was published in the *Boston Morning Herald* with a panorama photograph of Machu Picchu.

The aesthetic of discovery was framed as a photographic narrative of travel wherein the reader journeys with the YPE expedition. The translation of the Wonderland in *Ilustración Peruana*, however, demonstrates that the initial vision produced by Bingham and Grosvenor in the pages of National Geographic lent itself to other readings. Framed in *Ilustración Peruana*, the imagined materiality of Machu Picchu shifted to become something else: a “lost city” found for the nation’s glory couched in an imagined Creole national narrative of belonging forged in earlier centuries, wherein the “Incas” were domesticated as “ancient Peruvians.”

The imagined materiality of Machu Picchu played a key role in bringing the site to a worldwide readership.<sup>47</sup> Collecting Machu Picchu through photographs was instrumental not only in shaping scientific claims, but in shaping notions of national heritage. Visualization connected the U.S. and Peru, making Peru known and safe for U.S. consumption, while simultaneously promoting the mystery of an Incan past. Being able to participate in the exotic journey vis-à-vis a magazine, newspaper or public lecture helped elevate Machu Picchu as a known destination. The contrasting implications of the images of Machu Picchu, and their insertion into differing narratives of discovery, nationalisms, and heritage foreground the conflict between science and nation.

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<sup>47</sup> Ironically the edition did not seem to have the effect that National Geographic felt the expedition deserved. In January of 1914, NGS wanted to re-announce the YPE findings because they felt that newspapers and media were not giving enough attention to the story. Although Bingham was irritated with this move, National Geographic went ahead with the distribution of press releases and more coverage of the expedition and its findings were published again in national papers.



Figure 4-1. The Ruins of an Ancient Inca Capital, Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-2. Ingenious Stone-Fitting: Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-3. An Architectural Triumph: Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham 1912.



Figure 4-4. A Picture of the Same Part of the City of Machu Picchu as Shown in the Preceding Illustration, but Photographed the Year Before. H.L. Tucker, 1911.

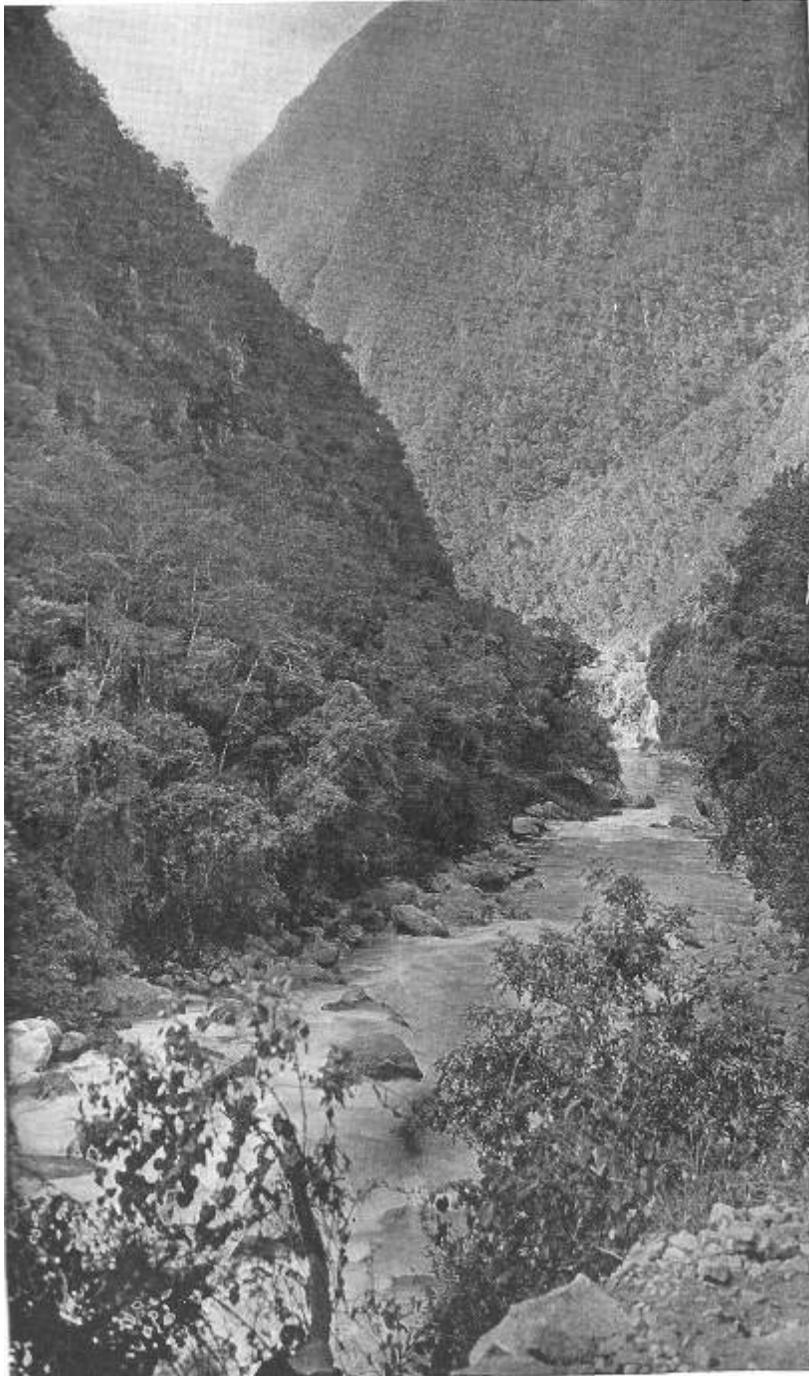


Figure 4-5. A Picturesque part of the Grand Cañon of the Urubamba on the Road to Machu Picchu, Southern Peru. Hiram Bingham 1912.

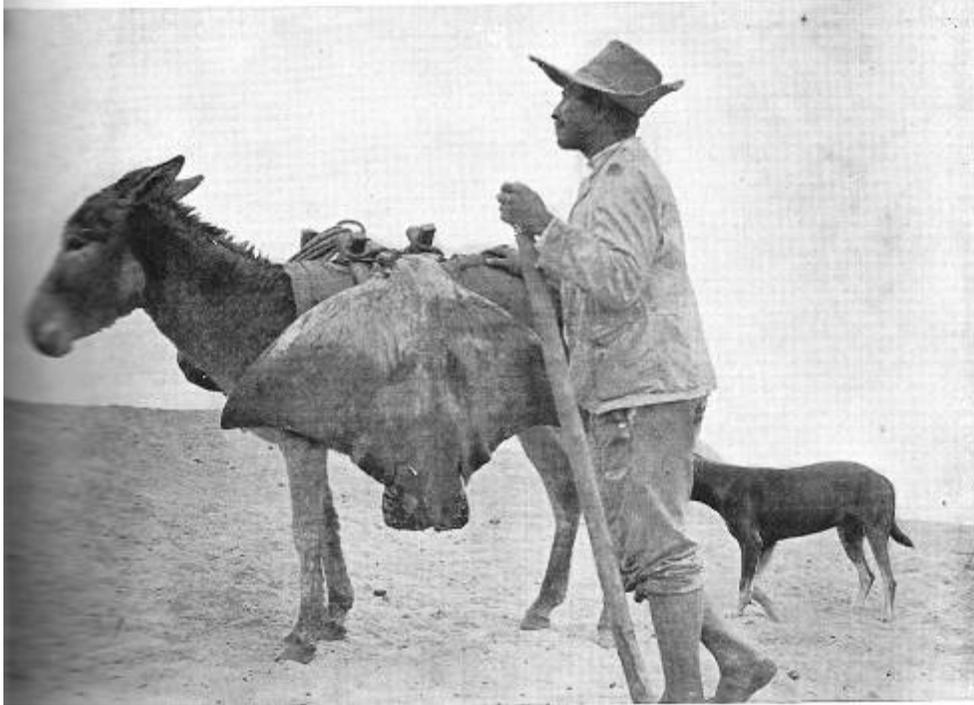


Figure 4-6. A Fisherman and His Catch at Salaverry, Peru. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-7. Troubles with the Transport: Southern Peru. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-8. Crossing the Apurimac. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-9. Llamas at Santa Rosa Station, Southern Peru. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-10. Bird's-eye View of Machu Picchu (During Clearing) and the Urubamba Cañon. Hiram Bingham 1912.



Figure 4-11. Machu Picchu and the Wonderful Urubamba Cañon. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-12. The Narrow Ridge on Which Machu Picchu is Situated and the Magnificent Urubamba Cañon. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-13. The Narrowest Stairway. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-14. A Small Private Stairway in Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-15. Excavating at Machu Picchu. (Lt. Sotomayor, at the right, in charge of the gang of Indians) Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-16. A Large Burial Cave: Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-17. Collecting the Skeletal Remains of the Ancient Inhabitants: Machu Picchu. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-18. A Cheerful Workman from Cuzco. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-19. The Best Type of Indian Workman: Southern Peru. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-20. A Typical Cuzco Girl; Another Quichua Woman: Cuzco; Types of Indian Women in the Cuzco Market-place. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-21. The Father of his Country; Quichua Girl: Cuzco; A Typical Old Indian Woman in Cuzco. Hiram Bingham, 1912.



Figure 4-22. Untitled "A", *Ilustración Peruana*, 1913.



Figure 4-23. Untitled "B", *Ilustración Peruana*, 1913.



Figure 4-24. Untitled "C", *Ilustración Peruana*, 1913.



Figure 4-25. Untitled "D", *Ilustración Peruana*, 1913.

## CHAPTER 5 CONTESTS OVER ARTIFACTS

Feb 15, 1912, New York

My Dear Ballen:

. . . .The President of the United States attended a Meeting of the Yale University when the matter was discussed and expressed a great deal of interest in the subject. It was therefore suggested that it would be advisable to ask the Government of Peru to give a concession to Professor Bingham and his associates giving them the right to excavate and explore ancient sights [sic] and the ruins of Cities and Temples for a period of years. The concession is to be for Educational purposes only, with no idea whatever of making it a commercial project. The question is, Do you think that the Government of Peru will grant such a privilege? . . . He of course does not expect to carry out of the country everything that he finds. He would naturally expect that the Government would give him the privilege of taking specimens of what he might find, it being understood that where he finds one or more specimens of a kind, the Government of Peru would of course take its share. . . The President [of Peru] has therefore suggested that the concession be secured during his administration, which will expire on September 24, 1912, as his supporters control both Houses, and a future administration or congress may be adverse. . . (Mr. Schaefer to Mr. Ballen, general correspondence, February 15, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34).

This chapter examines the politics surrounding the presence of the YPE in Peru.

While the exploitation of the then present-day indigenous subjects and viewpoints did not significantly affect or alter the YPE agenda and expeditionary practices, the removal of objects from Machu Picchu and other archaeological sites became increasingly problematic with each subsequent expedition. Indeed the removal of Peru's ancient past through the robbing of its indigenous ancestral gravesites became highly controversial eventually culminating in an injunction to halt excavations in 1915.<sup>1</sup> I focus on two conflicts – Yale's attempt for an exclusive concession to remove artifacts in 1912 and the 1915 injunction – to examine the ways in which Machu Picchu and other archaeological sites became increasingly meaningful for the Peruvian nation. In so

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<sup>1</sup> This injunction led to the now controversial agreement that stipulated that Yale would return all the artifacts within 18 months.

doing, I trace how the presence of the YPE and their removal of artifacts from Machu Picchu and its environs relied on a patriotic epistemology which privileged knowledge embodied in antiquities over the assertions and claims made by foreigners (Cañizares-Esguerra 2006). The protection of Peru's archaeological heritage, particularly Machu Picchu, from outside interlopers like Bingham and the YPE, drew on a century of patriotic discourses which fashioned antiquity as the embodiment of national greatness.

In 1912, Yale University, under Bingham's guidance, sought a concession to explore and conduct archaeological work from the Peruvian government. The concession would allow Yale University to excavate and remove antiquities from Peru for a specified number of years. Although the concession was never approved, the request for the concession was highly controversial in both Peru and in the U.S., and placed Bingham in the midst of Peruvian political wrangling, presidential factions, and U.S. scholarly jockeying. In the end, the YPE was not granted a special concession, but was granted permission to ship artifacts to the U.S. which had been excavated during their 1912 expedition. The YPE was to cease excavations on December 1, 1912 and was instructed to leave duplicates and one of a kind objects at the National Museum (Bingham to Hadley, general correspondence, October 26, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 71). An inventory of the objects was taken by Jose Gabriel Cusió and the objects were to be returned if and when Peru asked for them (Cusió 1915).

The YPE returned to Peru in 1914 and remained there until the end of 1915. While Bingham had been successful at networking and negotiating with important Peruvian stakeholders for the 1911 and 1912 expeditions, for the 1914/15 expedition Bingham sent Ellwood Erdis to direct operations until he could arrive a year later. Erdis

did not secure the correct permits for excavation. Coupled with a heightened collecting enterprise, the lack of permits caused the YPE bureaucratic difficulties in shipping the collected materials back to Yale. Bingham left Peru in 1915 frustrated and unsure of when the excavated materials would be shipped to Yale for study. Erdis stayed in Lima to negotiate an agreement with the Peruvian government and the National Museum. Seventy-four boxes of materials were eventually shipped to Yale with the stipulation that they be returned in 18 months.

Both the 1912 concession and the 1915 injunction served as catalysts for a public discussion about the role, care and meaning of Machu Picchu. In these contests, Peruvian intellectuals drew on established patriotic discourses to frame Machu Picchu as national patrimony. Transforming Machu Picchu into national heritage was partially achieved vis-à-vis these public conflicts and conversations over Yale's request for a concession and rights to ship artifacts. In halting Yale's concession and regulating the YPE practices, actors speaking for the Peruvian state began to set limits on Machu Picchu as only a scientific discovery, and instead began to situate Machu Picchu as heritage of the nation, positioning its artifacts as vital evidence for Peru's future development.

### **Yale Excavating in Peru**

Just two months after returning from the first expedition to Peru, Bingham began to consider a special concession that would allow Yale University to excavate Peruvian archaeological sites and ship the collected materials back to the University for study. Bingham broached the idea to U.S. President William Howard Taft. After receiving a positive response for the idea of a concession, Bingham began to concretize the plan. Bingham wrote to Taft: "We have discovered a large number of clues, including not only

the so-called glacial bones, but also the ruins of half a dozen ancient cities, which make it extremely desirable to undertake the work of archaeological exploration and excavation” (general correspondence, February 12, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34). The only difficulty, Bingham wrote, was the Peruvian bureaucracy.

The Peruvian government had passed a law in 1911 decreeing that all ruins and ancient cities were the property of the Peruvian government. Such property must not be excavated by private persons. While Bingham believed that the law was mainly directed at local treasure hunters, the law nonetheless forbade the exportation of Peruvian antiquities. From Bingham’s perspective, the law impeded the completion of investigative and scientific work. A special concession negotiated between the Peruvian government and Yale University could have circumvented this problem, allowing Yale to continue their excavations in Peru (general correspondence, February 12, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34). This concession, as imagined by Bingham, would allow Yale to undertake archaeological exploration for fifteen to twenty years, granting Yale the rights to “freely excavate and explore the remains of ancient cities” (general correspondence, February 12, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34). Additionally, Bingham imagined that the concession “ought also to make possible the deportation from Peru of a certain amount of the material found in the work of excavation” (general correspondence, February 12, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34). Bingham was convinced that a great deal was to be learned of the past history of Peru through careful and systematic excavations. What lay beneath Peru’s soil was of scientific importance and universal value. Bingham’s connection with Leguía, gave him hope that such a concession was feasible.

On February 13, 1912 Bingham wrote his trusted contact at W.R. Grace, Mr. Schaefer, to inform him of the plan for a concession.<sup>2</sup> Bingham requested information about the political climate in Peru and the most appropriate timing to seek a concession. Schaefer contacted people in New York and Lima and assured Bingham that the upcoming 1912 expedition would not interfere with the proposed concession. If anything, Schaefer wrote, Bingham's presence in Peru "should materially assist you in getting the concession" (general correspondence, March 15, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 37). Schaefer wrote his counterpart in Lima, Mr. Ballen, who agreed to inform Bingham of the most auspicious timing for a visit and formal presentation of the request for a concession (general correspondence, February 15, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 34). A code system was set-up so that Ballen could telegraph Bingham when the timing was right.<sup>3</sup>

By early April 1912 plans were well under way in Peru to secure the concession for Yale. Both the State Department and the American Embassy in Peru wrote Bingham letters of support for the concession (general correspondence, April 1, 1912 and April 8, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 42). The Acting Secretary of State, Huntington Wilson, wrote Bingham on April 8 stating that the President of Peru had agreed to submit to Congress

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<sup>2</sup> Bingham also asked Schaefer's advice as to whether or not he should bring letters of backing from American financial institutions and learned societies or if Schaefer felt that the support of Yale and the U.S. government was sufficient (general correspondence, February 22, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 36).

<sup>3</sup> In the letter from Schaeffer, a code was set up which allowed Ballen and Schaeffer to communicate quickly by telegraph on whether or not the climate was amenable to a concession. The codes were: OEMOB 1 – Think that the prospects are favorable of getting the concession for Professor Bingham, and advise his coming here in June; OEMPH 2 – Think the prospects are favorable for getting Professor Bingham the concession, but do not think that the should come here at this time; OEMRY -3 Do not think that the prospects are favorable for getting Professor Bingham the concession. On April 19, Schaeffer wrote Bingham saying that he had received a telegram from Ballen in Peru with OEMYL, which he thought much have been a typo of OEMKL noting that the time was favorable for Bingham to arrive in Peru. OEMKL was not on the February 15<sup>th</sup> letter, so it is unclear precisely what OEMKL meant.

a bill granting Yale exclusive rights for archaeological explorations for twenty years (general correspondence, April 8, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 42). An extra session for congress was planned for June and Wilson urged Bingham to pass the concession while Leguía, a long-time friend of the United States and former executive of the New York Life Insurance Company, was still in office.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, through the Department of State, Bingham requested that the American Ambassador in Lima secure the same privileges for Yale's 1912 expedition as they had received in 1911, allowing the YPE to excavate and remove antiquities from Peru (general correspondence, April 13, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 45). By April 13, 1912 Peruvian President Leguía had granted Yale and Bingham the same privileges they had received in 1911 and agreed to the negotiation of a concession (general correspondence, April 13, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 45).

The correspondence over the concession began to take on a sense of urgency. H. Clay Howard of the legation of the U.S. in Peru wrote to President Taft about Yale's plan for exhaustive archaeological explorations in Peru. Having secured the cooperation of President Leguía and Peru's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Howard wrote Taft requesting the exact details of the bill to be submitted to the Peruvian Congress. According to Howard, Leguía supported an exclusive concession with Yale for twenty years because it allowed for the conservation of Peruvian antiquities. From Leguía's perspective, Peru's existing law inhibited scientific exploration and actually encouraged treasure hunting with a haphazard enforcement of the law. Leguía was in favor of granting the concession to a U.S. institution. A prestigious U.S. university such as Yale

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<sup>4</sup> Leguía's first term ended September 24, 1912. He returned to the Presidency in 1919-30 by means of a military coup.

would be “even better.” Leguía would “rather have such rights placed in the United States than in Europe; and granted to such a university as Yale, than be the subject of indiscriminate concessions of conflicting rights, and perhaps to irresponsible concessionaires” (H. Clay Howard to Bingham, general correspondence, April 1, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 42). Not only did Bingham propose concessionaire rights, but European universities and museums were also working hard to secure their own rights to explore, excavate and remove objects from Peru through concessions (general correspondence, April 1, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 42). Bingham’s spirits were buoyed by the supportive correspondence.

The attorneys of Yale University were asked to draft a proposal which would be submitted during the special session of the Peruvian congress. The first draft was given to Bingham on April 17, 1912 and was written by John Bristol of the firm Bristol, Stoddard, Beach and Fisher. Bingham responded to the draft with a few suggestions, including a request to research how concessions were granted in Egypt. Bingham and Bristol agreed that some of the more specific terms would need to be changed when translated into Spanish. But, as Bristol informed Bingham, it was best to throw in as much as possible into the proposed concession hoping that some things “would stick” (general correspondence, April 19, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 48).

Although Bingham felt that his presence in Lima would assist in the passage of the concession, he was concerned about asking for exclusive rights. Exclusivity might cause firm opposition in the Peruvian congress, but also grief in the U.S. (Bingham to Wilson, general correspondence, April 11, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 44). Nonetheless,

the concession's exclusivity clause continued to be included. On April 24 Bingham wrote to Yale's President Hadley regarding the details of the concession.

I am enclosing a letter from Mr. Bristol together with the final form of the concession which he has drawn up, after making such changes as I suggested. I should be very glad to have you look it over and criticize it if you feel so inclined. I am advised by W.R. Grace and Company that they have heard from their confidential agent that this is a favorable time for securing the concession in Peru, and that they will telegraph later when I ought to go. The State Department advises me that they have received another cable from our Minister in Lima assuring us that the President will grant all necessary privileges for this year's expedition, according us the same favors granted us last time. It seems to me we are now in a position to go ahead without any further difficulties except those that can easily be overcome as they arise (general correspondence, April 24, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 51).

Hadley did not make any changes to the concession and a final copy was drafted naming Bingham as the agent for the Yale Corporation in securing the concession (general correspondence, April 26, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 52). With Bingham named as the petitioner, he could make any changes necessary while in Lima. Yale was poised to propose the concession in Peruvian Congress.

Before the concession was submitted to the Peruvian Congress, the details of its passage began to worry Bingham. Talk of a special treaty, rather than a concession, between the U.S. and Peru surfaced (Bingham to Schaefer, general correspondence, April 29, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 53).<sup>5</sup> Originally Bingham wanted to ask for a concession without involving the difficulties in a special treaty. A special treaty required approval by the U.S. Senate and Bingham felt that the Senate was unlikely to pass a treaty granting exclusivity to one U.S. university. Although it appeared that Peru was not

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<sup>5</sup> Bingham went on to write: I must confess I do not like this business of the special treaty, but I suppose the question is not for me to decide. I expect to go to Washington this week, and will talk things over with the authorities here and there at once...The question of this concession is getting to be rather complicated, and I wish it were possible to carry it through without a treaty. It looks now as though I could leave here May 18<sup>th</sup> unless you think I ought to leave earlier."

interested in granting rights to more than one concessionaire, the exclusivity clause continued to disquiet Bingham.

As the details of the concession began to be debated, legal questions over the ability to carry out archaeological excavations on public/vacant lands vs. private lands surfaced. The lack of knowledge of Peru's existing laws and legal system began to press on Bingham as he questioned whether asking for a concession would really have any effect (Bingham to Wilson, general correspondence, April 29, 1912, YMA box 6, folder 53). During the first week of May 1912 Bingham sent letters to Schaefer, Wilson and Taft among others, inquiring about the necessity of a treaty, the urgency and timing with which the concession needed to be made (given the current President's term coming to an end) and the best way to proceed (Bingham to Taft May 3, 1912; to Schaefer May 1, 1912; to Woodward May 2, 1912; to Wilson May 2, 1912, general correspondence, YMA box 7, folder 55).<sup>6</sup> Simultaneously, Bingham continued to make plans for his upcoming expedition and wrote to his trusted contacts requesting discounted rates, special favors, and financing.<sup>7</sup> On May 11 the request for a concession was sent from the White House to the State Department and communicated to the legation in Peru (general correspondence, May 11, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 61).

Two days prior, Bingham wrote Hadley:

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<sup>6</sup>In a letter to Schaefer dated May 13, 1912, Bingham refers to Ballen's work as strategic for "entering into the enemy's camp" to get them interested in the concession (YMA Box 7, Folder 62).

<sup>7</sup> For example, in the same letter sent to President Taft on May 3 regarding the concession, Bingham also writes about the traffic in the Panama Canal. Given that their expedition was setting sail within the next month along with 70 boxes of food and other supplies, Bingham wrote Taft asking for a special privilege allowing a more expedited review and passage of the YPE materials. Bingham also wrote Leguía on May 3, 1912 apprising him of the expedition's pending arrival and plans and requesting special treatment at the Customs House in Callao and Mollendo (YMA Box 7, Folder 56).

Peru is anxious to do everything she can for the United States to put us under obligation of friendship for her. That is apparently the reason why she is offering us exclusive rights and wishes a treaty. It seems to me that the best way to meet the requirement for a guarantee in regard to the continuance of the work, if such a guarantee is requested, is to insert a clause in the concession stipulating that the concession shall lapse if work upon it is not begun within, say two years from date of issue, and if a certain amount of work is not done under the concession every two years thereafter. A clause of this nature is, I believe, common in many franchises, and seems to me reasonable. How does it strike you (general correspondence, May 8, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 58)?

In the end, a special treaty was circumvented. Instead, the concession contained a clause stipulating that the concession would lapse if the work was not done in a timely manner.

### **Negotiating the 1912 Concession**

By July of 1912 the YPE party had arrived in Peru.<sup>8</sup> However, Bingham was reluctant to leave Cuzco to assure the passage of the concession in Lima. Instead, Bingham preferred to spend the next four months in Cuzco “making new discoveries” and would go to Lima only if it was necessary to push through the concession. Bingham wrote to Mr. Morkill of the Peruvian Corporation asking him to continue to support the concession while he remained in Cuzco (general correspondence, July 14, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 68). Bingham was confident that the concession would pass easily. In a letter written on July 14, 1912 to H. Clay Howard of the American legation in Peru, Bingham said: “I should feel very badly indeed to have to return to Lima on account of the concession. As there is little if any opposition to the project I believe that the only thing necessary is to see that it does not die a natural death from neglect or oversight”

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<sup>8</sup> Nine boxes of osteological material were sent to Yale on July 13, 1912 through Lomellini & Co. (general correspondence, YMA box 7, folder 68).

(general correspondence, July 14, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 68). A similar letter was also sent to Mr. Ballen of W.R. Grace.

Not only was the President and Congress in favor of the concession, but the press in Cuzco had also been extremely supportive of Bingham's and the YPE's return to conduct another expedition in Peru. Bingham did not believe he needed to return to Lima because he did not anticipate any difficulty with the approval of the concession. Meanwhile, Bingham kept Yale's President Hadley abreast of the expedition, the shift toward more extensive mapping, and of the general political climate of Cuzco. Hadley, in turn, congratulated Bingham on his ability to keep such good connections on both sides (general correspondence, August 21, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 68).

In retrospect, remaining in Cuzco proved unwise for Bingham. Without the constant presence and pressure by Bingham, the request languished. The concession was never granted, not because of widespread disapproval, but because Bingham did not nurture its passage in person. Instead, per the advice of President Leguía, Bingham entrusted a Peruvian lawyer to review the concession in Lima, making a few necessary changes to the document.<sup>9</sup> By October of 1912 the bill had yet to be submitted to Congress.

Leguía had drafted and signed a bill giving Yale a concession for ten years. Unfortunately the bill had been passed to the Committee on Education, where Bingham ruefully noted "it was peacefully sleeping" (Bingham to Hadley, general correspondence, October 4, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 70). Bingham arrived in Lima in late September to urge passage of the delayed bill. The bill was finally reviewed and passed onto the

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<sup>9</sup> The attorney was Leguía's cousin and also the attorney for the Peruvian Corporation.

Instituto Histórico (IH). Tardily, Bingham attempted to meet with the high ranking members of the IH.<sup>10</sup> The concession was not of preeminent importance, especially because Bingham had not been present to make sure of it. Bingham also felt that Yale's concession was not prioritized over last minute favors and acts of nepotism that had filled Leguía's last months in office (Bingham to Hadley, general correspondence, October 4, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 70). Additional evidence also suggests that other U.S. institutions and stakeholders intervened to prevent Bingham and Yale from securing the concession.<sup>11</sup>

By October 7 it became clear to Bingham that the passing of the concession had taken a turn for the worse. Bingham met with the President of the IH, Mr. Larrabure y Unanue.<sup>12</sup> Larrabure y Unanue informed Bingham that he had personally, and recently, introduced a bill prohibiting the exploration and removal of objects of archaeological or antiquarian interest. Consequently, he replied to Bingham, there was no way he could support the bill without compromising his own integrity (Bingham to Hadley, general correspondence, October 7, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 70). President Leguía recommended that Bingham withdraw the request for a concession until a more auspicious time.

Many in Peru began to protest the special privileges granted Yale on the 1911 and 1912 expeditions. The press excoriated Leguía for granting Yale privileges to excavate and remove artifacts (Bingham to Hadley, general correspondence, October

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<sup>10</sup> Bingham also referred to a meeting with the "Society for the prevention of Cruelty to Ruins" (general correspondence, October 4, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 70).

<sup>11</sup> See YMA box 8, folder 77 and folder 95 regarding U.S. Citizens opposed to Bingham's concession. See also letter from Rowe to Giesecke dated November 22, 1912, AG1302.

<sup>12</sup> Larrabure y Unanue had been Leguía's former Vice-President.

14, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 70). Leguía's departure from office drew attention to the YPE and their special treatment, with many questioning the YPE's motives. Bingham had closely aligned himself with Leguía. Furthermore, he had requested special favors and relied on individuals appointed by Leguía to assist him in carrying out his expeditionary goals. Although this alliance produced favorable results initially, when the political tide turned against Leguía, Bingham was swept up in its wake. Guillermo Billinghurst, the mayor of Lima since 1909, came to power as a populist champion of Peru's working class.<sup>13</sup> As Leguía's pro-U.S. and capitalist stance was critiqued, Bingham and the YPE became a symbol representing all that was corrupt in Peruvian politics. A frustrated Bingham wrote Hadley on October 21, 1912 just days before withdrawing the concession request.

Peru is like all the rest. The only difference was that the former president smiled on our scientific work – and so all the government officials smiled. The present President yawns (or would if he dared) and the Peruvians copy his manners. . . . Not only does it appear that there is no real interest or appreciation of what we are trying to do for Peru, and the power that be are merely going to reflect the Presidential attitude of regarding our work as an insult and disgrace to Peru, but there is actual hostility to the United States. . . . The result of my week's work has been to make me feel that I was very much mistaken in the favorable opportunity for scientific work in Peru. Even if we got our contract through, it would be hard to work under it. There would be long delays in Lima. There would be exasperating delays with the minor officials; chiefly because it would soon become known that the Man at the Top did not care about science anyhow. I must admit that I did not realize how greatly the favorable reception which I have always received in Peru was a reflection of the President's known good will to us.

If it were possible I should withdraw the contract at once, but it is in the hands of congress and I must await their action. They rise this week, and

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<sup>13</sup> Billinghurst had announced his campaign tardily and requested a postponement of the elections. Leguía denied his request, infuriating Billinghurst's supporters, who promptly organized a general strike of the 1912 election. The required one-third of votes was not cast and the election was decided by Congress, with Leguía and Billinghurst eventually striking a deal. In exchange for appointing his brother as Vice-President (Klaren 1999), Leguía urged his supporters to cast their vote for Billinghurst. Billinghurst's Presidency lasted eighteen months.

theirs is not one chance in a thousand that they will do anything about our project. . . The favorable aspect of last year has changed so remarkably during the first four weeks of the new administration that I feel it would be a mistake to try and do any archeological research here at present. I do not believe Billinghurst has any real interest in seeing foreigners go ahead on such lines. . . . With luck we shall have more than a hundred boxes of stuff for the Museum (general correspondence, October 26, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 71).

Increasingly frustrated and finding himself in the midst of Peruvian political factions, Bingham eventually withdrew the proposed concession. Bingham did manage to negotiate permission to continue with excavations, shipping the materials that they had at the time already excavated and collected during the 1912 expedition.<sup>14</sup>

The controversy and the negative press did not sit well with Bingham however, nor did it quickly dissipate. He continued to be the subject of editorials criticizing Yale's ability to ship goods based on a false sense of "international etiquette" (Quintanilla 1921). Letters of support from Giesecke, Ballen, and The Geographic Society of Cuzco were published in Lima's papers in response to the public criticism. On February 28, 1913 a letter to the IH by the future Peruvian Ambassador to the U.S., Pezet, was printed in Lima's daily newspaper, *El Comercio*. Two months after returning to the U.S., Bingham learned of the editorial. Feeling that Pezet painted Yale in a poor light, Bingham responded in a letter stating that he had never wanted a monopoly, but was acting in the general interest of science.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>14</sup> The agreement was signed October 31, 1912 with its news published in Lima's *El Comercio* November 5, (YMA box 7, folder 71).

<sup>15</sup> Billinghurst would later say that he thought Bingham too hasty in his decision to remove the concession from Congress. The following year, Bingham received word that Billinghurst was more favorable to supporting another YPE expedition to Peru and granting a concession (Bingham to Morkill, general correspondence, December 8, 1913, YMA box 9, folder 118).

After the concession debacle, other ideas circulated about how to work productively in Peru and abide by its laws regarding the removal of antiquities. The idea for a museum and school of archaeology in Cuzco surfaced and was actively promoted by Albert Giesecke. Giesecke felt that such an institution would “minimize the antagonism” of individuals and institutions in Lima and go a long way toward the goal of science. Giesecke had been trying to interest the University of Pennsylvania in helping establish such a place and wrote Bingham to see if Yale would be interested in such collaboration (Giesecke to Bingham, general correspondence, April 9, 1913, YMA box 8, folder 92; see also folder 98).<sup>16</sup> The proposed museum and institute did not materialize, although a similar project was revived in 2007.<sup>17</sup>

### **How the Concession Failed**

The YPE request for a special concession and the presence of foreign scientific expeditions received significant coverage in the Peruvian press. In addition to editorials printed in Lima’s largest daily newspaper, *El Comercio*, and other periodicals such as *La Crónica* and *La Nación*, magazines also published news of the conflict.<sup>18</sup> In an effort

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<sup>16</sup> Bingham was interested enough to write both the Archaeological Institute of America and the Carnegie Institution of Washington. The thought was to purchase a farm in the Cuzco area to build suitable residences for two archeologists and their families, and four or five research assistants. A farm appealed to Bingham because with land, the archaeologists could produce their own vegetables and supplies which were difficult to procure in Cuzco or not to Bingham’s liking. Using the farm as a base, excursions and expeditions could be carried out in the surrounding area; an area, Bingham wrote, which was replete with enough ruins in the area for work for at least forty years, if not eighty. While a Peruvian government concession was probably necessary, an institution which could undertake first-hand anthropological work, provided that they leave all materials in Peru seemed to be an idea Peru might favor.

<sup>17</sup> Chapter seven goes into detail about the Memorandum of Understanding and the construction of a museum and research center in Cuzco.

<sup>18</sup> Bingham’s scrapbook has dozens of news clippings from 1915 newspapers such as *La Cronica*, *El Sol*, *La Prensa- Lima*, *El Comercio-Cuzco* and many miscellaneous clippings which are unmarked detailing news of the conflict.

to tell his side of the story, Bingham responded to the editorials through letters which were published in the various periodicals.

*Peru To-Day*<sup>19</sup> had been covering Bingham's expeditions favorably since 1911. The magazine highlighted the biographies of expedition members and applauded YPE efforts to explore the interior of Peru. Targeting a different audience than Lima's dailies, *Peru To-day* was more favorable to Bingham's concession request and to the presence of foreign expeditions in Peru. In their October 1912 issue, *Peru To-day* commented on Bingham's "Valuable Scientific Expedition."

The exceedingly important explorations being conducted under the direction of Dr. Hiram Bingham of Yale University are looked upon all over the world with greater interest than the people of Peru appreciate. And no people will derive greater benefit from the knowledge acquired by these means than the Peruvians themselves. It is therefore to be hoped that no difficulties will be made about the granting of the Government's full permission to continue a work so well begun. The invaluable services already rendered to Peru by Dr. Bingham entitle him to expect the hearty cooperation of the authorities in the study of the pre-historic ruins about Cuzco, which are unsurpassed in the world. Quite aside from the scientific value which attaches to such work, and descending to the question of profit and loss, Peru is offered the chance of having the ruins explored without cost by competent men and the findings will be written up, not only for their fellow-scientist, but in the magazines and newspapers and many tourists will come here to see for themselves, as they have done to equally ancient, but no more interesting Greece, Italy and Egypt (*Peru To-day* 1912:372).

*Peru To-day* published follow-up stories in their December (1912) and January (1913) issues. In the January issue, the magazine tackled the reasons why the concession did not pass. The editors argued that the opposition to the YPE came from those who were concerned for their own commercial interests and from Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue,

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<sup>19</sup> Printed in English and published in Lima, *Peru To-Day* was dedicated to covering subjects for English-speaking foreigners in Peru.

President of the IH. In attempting to apply fairness of coverage to the debate, the editors of *Peru To-day* wrote:

It is not true, to summarize, that Peru does not desire to have the valued co-operation and help of Professor Bingham and his staff, nor does it lack in appreciation for the generosity the people of the U.S. who have given valuable financial aid to the work in question. It does, however, reserve the right to discuss matters which affect its possessions and take time about any decisions affecting the same (Noel 1913:531).

The editors went on to quote a passage from an editorial Larrabure y Unanue wrote in the *West Coast Leader*.

We regret that he (Bingham) should have been so hurt at having the big motives of Yale University brought into question that he considered a dignified withdrawal of the project his only course, and should thereby have taken away the splendid chance that was offered and have given his opposers an opening to appear as patriotic delivers from purely imaginary dangers (1913:531).<sup>20</sup>

Bingham wrote the editors of *Peru To-day* and *El Comercio* arguing that he never wanted an exclusive concession. Upset at accusations that the YPE harmed artifacts and monuments, Bingham felt he had suffered a personal slight when the YPE was granted a temporary privilege allowing excavations to continue only until December 1, 1912. Bingham felt that his work was not only noble, but also served Peru's interests. The YPE brought to light architectural monuments and made topographic maps which were useful to all. Rather than be considered a suspect, Bingham felt he should have received accolades and honors.

If our explorations had been carried on for a selfish purpose with secret commercial ends in view, it might have been good policy to have told us to stop our explorations on a given date, but to go to the length of instructing the local government officers publicly to see to it that not only our excavation, but our explorations must stop, implied a very serious criticism

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<sup>20</sup> The quote was also published in the *West Coast Leader* in their October 31, 1912 edition.

of our manner of work, and of our objects, which I believe was uncalled for and undeserved (Bingham 1913:644).

In an earlier letter, Bingham relied on the universal good of Science to justify the YPE actions.

If the government of Peru can elaborate a more favorable contract for the science of the world, regulating the method that should dominate in all excavations for the truthful advancement of archaeology, the university will have great pleasure because we only pursue admirable scientific ends and the ability to amplify some knowledge about anthropology, geology, geography, osteology, ethnology and general (knowledge) about history. To watch over the scientific program of this country and above all to demonstrate the effectiveness of your slogan light versus truth working incessantly to uncover nature's secrets and to make truth triumph before all, spreading the light of science (Bingham 1912:2).

Bingham concluded his letter by offering assurance that the YPE had no commercial interest in the work and was motivated only by the love of science. Furthermore, scientific knowledge, he argued, would ultimately benefit Cuzco, and thus the Peruvian nation, in the form of attracting tourists and travelers who wanted to admire the marvels of the Incan Empire.

The concession served as a catalyst for Lima's intellectuals to rally around the nation. Emilio Gutierrez Quintanilla, who would eventually become the director of the National Museum in Lima, became a vocal opponent to foreign scientific expeditions and was especially critical of Bingham and the YPE.<sup>21</sup> Quintanilla drafted and enforced the 1915 agreement between Bingham and Peru outlining the return of artifacts shipped from the 1914/15 expedition. A prodigious writer, Quintanilla wrote "for the moths and for the thieves" (Quintanilla 1917:4).

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<sup>21</sup> He was critical of all foreign scientists and explorers working in Peru, including Max Uhle.

In a lengthy editorial in *La Nación* Quintanilla equated the sacking of its subterranean treasures with the exploitation of the Spanish conquistadores.

The modern culture invokes scientific and historic interest, but forgets that in their supreme norms, figure justice, rights, the law, solidarity and fraternity of the human races. To destroy an indigenous sepulcher in order to take advantage of its contents as a treasure or as a document is to exercise an established right by law as above the title that the consciousness of the raza has as more legitimate (Quintanilla 1913:4).<sup>22</sup>

Quintanilla questioned: “What legitimate cause incorporates them today in the public domain, putting an end to the religious idea that explains its existence and suffocating the most revered sentiments of the defeated race, shackled, debased, but alive still?”

Quintanilla asked if the Peruvian “judge this same event tomorrow if it were the cemeteries of our fathers that were destroyed?” Science should not be elevated above indigenous reasoning, practices and beliefs. The benefit of such equality, Quintanilla expounded, was not simply human rights, but was the possibility for “national unity, military power and economic force, all critical for global commerce and industry” (Quintanilla 1913:4).

Quintanilla’s discourse is interesting on various levels. The editorial was published in September of 1913, nearly a year after the Yale concession was withdrawn from Congress. Targeting the Peruvian Republic for those laws that permitted excavations, Quintanilla felt that symmetry was needed for national unity. Scientific reasoning and rationale ought to be placed on par with other justifications. Without symmetry, the country would continue to be a fragmented Republic unable to fulfill the ultimate goal of participating in and partaking of the benefits of global commerce.

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<sup>22</sup> All translations are mine.

Quintanilla questioned the translation of objects from a religious domain into the public and secular domain. Attempting to persuade the republic, he asked how the public would feel if their ancestors were unearthed and placed on public display or used in scientific study. The Peruvian Republic would never have a role on the world stage if it placed the rights of some of its peoples over another. He argued that what was good for the nation was not the celebration of objects torn from the indigenous context, but rather respect of the various viewpoints within the country. Furthermore, such reverence for the practices of Peru's ancestors was crucial not only for national unity, but for the nation's eventual commercial success. Placing objects in national museums would not lead to Peruvian unification. Quintanilla seemed to argue for a co-evalness of Peru's diversity, all united under one national, yet commercial, umbrella.

The sub-text of Quintanilla's argument is that buried objects were evidence of a storied and heroic national trajectory. Peru's soil and its contents were critical for nation-building and artifacts provided material evidence for a cohesive narrative of belonging and national identity.<sup>23</sup> The shifting of the objects from one location to another threatened its meaning and thus threatened the future of the nation. Controlling the context and meaning of the objects became a lesson for nation-building. Objects of an imagined Peruvian past were needed to imagine the future of a nation. The key to national modernity were the artifacts of the indigenous ancestors.

Quintanilla's justification for the protection of archaeological remains was not new. In 1851, Mariano Eduardo de Rivero, the first Director of Peru's National Museum, co-wrote *Antigüedades Peruanas* with Juan Diego de Tschudi. In it, de Rivero argued

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<sup>23</sup> Liisa Malkki (1992) argues that references to soil, what she refers to as arborization, is a persistent and pervasive discourse in national imaginings.

that past civilizations, not just those of Babylon, Egypt or Greece, but Peruvian antiquity, could serve as nourishment and instruction for national progress (Turner 2006:397). Unlike other historical texts which were dedicated to Spanish royalty, *Antigüedades* was dedicated to the Congress of Peru and the “cause of National Sovereignty”, or the cause of memory against ruin. Antiquity and ancient history had become a reliable source of self-knowledge, replacing the history of the Spanish monarch with a history of the people (Turner 2006:399;Cañizares-Esguerra 2001).Quintanilla draws on de Rivero’s patriotic epistemological stance. However, instead of replacing the history of the King, Quintanilla’s goal was to replace the history provided by foreign scientists.

During this period in Peru, vandalism and looting of archaeological sites was not uncommon. Many editorials and stories in Peruvian periodicals spoke generally about the protection and conservation of antiquities and specifically about ruins such as Sacsayhuaman. In an article from *Peru To-day*, the unearthing and selling of objects were positioned in response to national imaginings and hopes for futurity. The editor wrote: “If we deserve the title of civilized, we should pledge ourselves to conserving them [the monuments], so that we will be able to liberate ourselves from the anathema of the new generations” (Noel 1912:73).<sup>24</sup> Excavation was anti-nation. Peru needed its artifacts to exist. Objects were needed for a national imagining of a future great nation. To go forward, Peru needed to look back.

The Bulletin for the Geographic Society of Lima (BGS) published several articles on the YPE work in Peru, including notices of the YPE arrival and an article by Bingham

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<sup>24</sup> Looters were not only unnamed individuals of the sierra digging up gravesites. By 1912 the sale and exportation of Inca, pre-historic and colonial relics had increased and the government was encouraged to take action. In one news article, action was direction toward the bishops of churches reminding them of the 1911 law.

on the ascent of Mount Coropuna. The BGS also published articles by Jose Gabriel Cusió on ruins in the Cuzco area. In the conclusion of a 13 page article detailing the ruins of Machu Picchu, Cusió wrote about the rapid criminal actions that were destroying “the monuments that are the glory of our past and source of our history in all places in which they exist, whether it is in towns, separate villages, cities and in private collections” (Cusió 1914:24). Cusió also referred to the looters of Sacsayhuaman in the article and expressed concern about lesser known monuments in the Cuzco area such as Ollantaytambo, Pisac, Torontoy, and Kkenco (Qquenco).

In his article Cusió linked the possibilities for the nation with its treatment of its artifacts. In Cusió’s eyes, the remodeling of houses in Cuzco and the mutilation of a stone collar of faces that had once adorned the base of the Intihuatana at Machu Picchu, served as evidence of the degeneration of the public’s respect for historic artifacts.<sup>25</sup> Such degeneration threatened the nation’s futurity (Cusió 1914). The fortification of the nation was an internal battle waged against both scientific researchers and those who looted indiscriminately. The treatment of objects was moralized and Cusió demanded government support to help stop the destruction of the monuments.<sup>26</sup>

For Quintanilla, Cusió and even Bingham, objects were critical for both the advancement of science and nation. Collected skeletal remains were evidence of Bingham’s expeditionary success. Artifacts materialized the YPE work, and were the objects out of which scientific study would be performed, acquiring knowledge that was

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<sup>25</sup> Although the article was written on December 31, 1912, no mention was made of Bingham, the concession, or to the commercial demand for these artifacts. Rather Cusió’s concern was directed toward the Peruvian public.

<sup>26</sup> The article mostly recounted descriptions of the area around Machu Picchu, along with discussions of meteorology, osteology, pathology, archaeology and construction.

useful for all. For Quintanilla and Cosi3, the disinterred artifacts represented the key to the Peruvian nation's future. Without the objects, the nation would be lost. Possession was critical to imagining the nation and its progress.

The critique of the YPE and looters emphasized the need to protect Peruvian soil. Framing Peruvian earth as bountiful drew on historical understandings that Peru's climate had uniquely contributed to the brilliance of Peruvian civilization (Thurner 2010, Cañizares-Esguerra 2001). Creole naturalists, such as Jos3 Hip3lito Unanue (1755-1833) argued that Peru's abundant and representative altitudinal climates had fostered "genius." According to Mark Thurner (2010), Unanue supposed that Peru's climate had "generated its own 'genius,' and in turn that genius had created sagacious and beneficent social laws of indigenous origin" (2010:165). Similar to Unanue and de Rivero before, Quintanilla and Cosi3 argued that Peru contained everything it needed for greatness. Protecting antiquities and the soil which housed such antiquities became a point of national responsibility.

Although a long-term concession with the Peruvian government was never revisited, the YPE returned to Peru in 1914 granted the same privileges to explore and excavate as on the 1911 and 1912 expeditions. The presentation of the *National Geographic* "In the Wonderland" edition served to ameliorate tensions in Peru over the 1912 concession. Rather than battle over the concession, news of the edition was heralded in Peruvian media and in private circles.<sup>27</sup> By 1915, however, the conflict over

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<sup>27</sup> For example, the illustrated daily *La Cronica*, published images of Machu Picchu from National Geographic on December 8, 1913, but did not mention the concession or Bingham's 1912 problems with the government. *La Cronica* published a series on the ruins of Machu Picchu and Cuzco, each fully illustrated, See for example: December 8, 1913, December 13, 1913, December 16, 1913, February 3, 1915.

shipping antiquities out of Peru had once again become a matter of public discussion and controversy.

### **Artifacts of the Nation: The 1915 Injunction**

While still in the field on the third and final YPE, Bingham updated Gilbert Grosvenor on the work that was being carried out in 1915 (NG select correspondence, June 22, 1915, YMA box 15, folder 256). Although the government had not yet interfered with the YPE work, Bingham wrote that rumors and malicious lies were being circulated about the YPE in the Peruvian press. As in 1912, Bingham dedicated a significant portion of his time on diplomacy rather than on exploration. Bingham met with officials in Cuzco, including the local Historical Institute (IHC) to explain and to verify the nature of the YPE work and to deny charges of illegally removing antiquities.<sup>28</sup> By June of 1915, Bingham had written a response and official statement on the YPE viewpoint in the local paper (Bingham 1915:5).

Among other things, the YPE had been accused of bringing a steam shovel from Panama to get the treasures out of the mountains and transported more quickly (Bingham to Grosvenor, NG select correspondence, June 22, 1915, YMA box 15, folder 256). Stories circulated that the YPE had secured anywhere from five hundred thousand to five million dollars worth of Inca Gold, shipping it out of the country via Bolivia. People were interviewed saying that they had seen a dozen mules, packed with objects of gold and silver and pottery (La Cronica 1915). In Osgood Hardy's journal, he noted that the prefect of Cuzco ordered the YPE to stop excavating, exploring, and exporting because

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<sup>28</sup> The IHC was formed in 1913 and was charged with monitoring and conserving the historic monuments of the area. The IHC was to study Peruvian history and advise the government on the best practices to conserve and protect archaeological remains. They were also supposed to study the folklore of Cuzco. The President of the IHC at the time was Luis Valcárcel. Jose Gabriel Cosío was also a member.

someone had accused the YPE of shipping antiquities by night via Arica (Osgood Hardy journal, June 15, 1915, YMA box 22, folder 46). Peruvians suspected that the YPE were making excavations surreptitiously, using 80 mules burdened with treasures to carry out the mountain's riches (Bingham to IHC, n.d. YMA box 11, folder 159). Since no duplicate objects had been found in the museums, people wanted to know where they were (La Cronica 1915).

Unlike in the two prior expeditions, the YPE had planned to stay almost two years in the Cuzco region. Consequently, the YPE had set up headquarters in Ollantaytambo. They rented a building which served as lodging and a warehouse where the YPE could regroup and organize their materials before deciding what to ship back to Yale. One evening, a group from Cuzco visited the YPE. The visitors included officials from the municipality, a Jesuit Priest, the President of the Society of Artisans and members of the IHC, including its President Luis Valcárcel. The group asked to examine the materials stored at the YPE house, known locally as "yanquihuasi" (Yankee house). Bingham and the YPE were asked to open all of the boxes (Osgood Hardy journal, June 15, 1915, YMA box 22, folder 46).<sup>29</sup> According to Hardy's notebook, the men departed at 9 pm saying they were quite satisfied the YPE was not doing anything harmful. Apparently, the confusion had come about because Elwood Erdis had initially requested permits from only four cabinet officials, overlooking one person (Osgood Hardy journal, June 15, 1915, YMA box 22, folder 46). Technically, the YPE had been breaking the law for the entirety of their 1914/15 expedition.

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<sup>29</sup> The event was also noted in the journals of Bingham and Erdis.

The debate over the presence of the YPE was performed publically in newspapers. On July 5, 1915 Bingham responded to the accusations in an open letter to *La Cronica*. Bingham reminded the Peruvian public that he worked toward transparency, allowing all boxes and objects to be viewed by the IHC. Only one piece of silver, he explained, and nothing of gold was found. Moreover, he pointed out that in 1915 they did not conduct excavations in Machu Picchu. The excavations that were conducted in 1912 were presided over by Jose Gabriel Cosiío who had published his report. Contrary to the rumors, the YPE had only two archaeologists employed at the time. Working with them were only six men, not the dozens of people fantastically imagined in the newspapers. Furthermore, Bingham wrote that the YPE members were comprised of scientists - topographers, a naturalist, agronomists and a physician - who were conducting valuable scientific work, searching for ancient roads, and populations. Moreover, the YPE took many pictures for National Geographic, which consisted of more than 400,000 members. Bingham argued that scientific work should be important for Peru because it brought attention to the area and highlighted its fame.<sup>30</sup> Bingham concluded the article saying that he was open to more discussion, but that he was incapable of breaking the law. He was an honorary member of the University of Cuzco, The Geographic Society of Lima and the Historical Institute of Cuzco (Bingham 1915:9).

In the same newspaper of Bingham's open letter, Enrique Palomino wrote that the rumors about the YPE were fantastical. Palomino claimed to have been a secretary to Bingham, working with him in 1909 on his first visit to Cuzco. In his editorial Palomino hoped that the public would not judge too quickly.

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<sup>30</sup> Curiously, Bingham listed the financial figures that National Geographic Society and Yale University offered as support.

The very jealous defenders of our national antiquities, have too late sounded the alarm in Cuzco; they should recognize the public notoriety that this department has, that some of the foreign houses have made a monopoly of the commerce of cloth, huacos and ancient and colonial utensils, exporting in large quantity and for the benefit of individuals; enriching besides many national individual merchants that have their special business with these objects, whose worth for them is in the 20 to 30 pounds that the tourists give them. . . . And this business is so extensive reaching to this capital, patiently seen by the government and all the scientific institutes, that in this occasion those confuse lamentably, the high scientific ends of the universities of the U.S. They were witnesses to the shipments made to the museums in Washington, N.Y. and Yale – well shipped, a grand variety of animals, fragments, skulls etc to be analyzed and returned – serves to block explorations that only high interests have, not only for America, but also for Universal Science. . . men of science can guarantee quality in contrast to merchants who ship goods (Palomino 1915:9).

Cosío was not necessarily the YPE's biggest ally. In 1911, he had written in *Revista Universitaria* an article which hinted that the YPE had damaged the Intihuatana stone during clearing and excavation. Bingham wrote to Albert Giesecke demanding that Cosío retract his statements, stating that the YPE did not touch the stone (Giesecke to Bingham, general correspondence, November 26, 1912, YMA box 7, folder 73).

Bingham assured Giesecke that the damage had been done prior to the YPE discovery and Bingham had the photographic evidence to prove it. Still, Cosío defended the YPE against mounting public criticism in a letter to the editor on July 20, 1915 (Cosío 1915:10). In an effort to assure the public that the YPE was not hauling mountains of gold out of Peru, Cosío acted as a trustworthy witness and vouched for YPE actions. Cosío had acted as a government delegate to the YPE on their 1912 expedition and had received the artifacts and made a list of the inventory the YPE had shipped to Yale. Furthermore, an agreement between the YPE and Peru was drafted and signed. In the agreement, the government of Peru reserved the right to demand the return of the objects and examples that it deemed important. He, as well as the Ministry of

Instruction, had a complete copy of the inventory.<sup>31</sup> Cosío's testimony supported the YPE as a trustworthy and legitimate operation.

The fracas continued to escalate. The summer of 1915 was to be one of heightened conflict as Bingham felt the support for the expedition diminish. As the cases of skulls, bones and potsherds were prepared for shipment in the fall of 1915, measures were taken to prevent the YPE from further removing artifacts. Eventually an agreement was reached on January 27, 1916 whereby 74 cases would be shipped to Yale where they could be studied. The agreement stipulated that after 18 months the contents of the cases had to be returned (general correspondence, April 13, 1916, YMA box 13, folder 191). Paperwork and official permission delayed shipment, but on June 20<sup>th</sup> the 74 cases were shipped to Yale, arriving on or about July 20/25 in New York (W.R. Grace to Bingham, general correspondence, July 3, 1916, YMA box 13, folder 198).

Exasperated, Bingham had described the shipment of 74 cases from the 1915 expedition as consisting of about 24 cases of sherds of very small value.<sup>32</sup> The other boxes contained mostly bones and skulls, including some interesting trepanned and "a number of archaeological objects of no great value" (Bingham to Grosvenor, NG select correspondence, February 21, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 260). Bingham felt that the decree of the Peruvian Government was superficial considering that the majority of the material shipped to Yale was duplicate material which would be useless in Peru and therefore discarded in the museum basement or sold on the street. Bingham felt the

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<sup>31</sup> This is confirmed elsewhere, see Quintanilla 1921.

<sup>32</sup> The sherds he said were hardly worth paying the freight on if we must pay it both ways, but he hadn't seen these sherds which were collected near Vitcos. Most of the sherds that had been collected were left in Ollantaytambo at their headquarters.

actions of Peru's bureaucrats were political lip service to the public to demonstrate how careful the politicians were of the nation's archaeological treasures.

Emilio Gutierrez de Quintanilla presided over the inventory and shipment of the Yale materials. In an article published in *La Prensa* on January 8, 1916, Quintanilla argued that the situation with the YPE revealed how unsatisfactory the Peruvian laws were. He urged the government to take their time and stop the shipment of goods. Making such a decision was within the rights of Peru given the antiquity laws of 1893 and 1911. In the *La Prensa* editorial, Quintanilla published the inventory of the 74 boxes listing the bones, the wrappings, rocks, pots and potsherds that comprised the collection (Quintanilla 1916). The list was translated from the inventory initially provided by Ellwood Erdis. After listing the contents of the boxes in the newspaper, a frustrated Quintanilla wrote:

It seems, well, that the expedition organized by the University of Yale traveled the Department of Cuzco in demand of Peruvian antiquities, ignoring national sovereignty in the same fashion as those expeditions of Cortes and Pizarro examined the states of Montezuma and Atahualpa, in the name of religion and treasury of Carlos V. No acceptable end justifies, nor reconciles the means, if Peru is not today much more crude than in the time of the Inca, abandoned at the enthusiasm of the first occupant. In protection of the respectability of this earth, so mistreated always by its own or strangers, and fulfilling a need imposed by the position I hold, I point out the irregular manner in which the expedition members of Yale University carried out their operations; a manner that injures the patrimonial sentiment (Quintanilla 1916:7).<sup>33</sup>

Seemingly at wit's end, Quintanilla concluded his full-page editorial highlighting the absurdity of being asked to review 74 boxes, contemplate 626 objects and write 99 pages of notes in a few short weeks.

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<sup>33</sup> My translation

The conservation and preservation of Peru's antiquities became Quintanilla's passion.<sup>34</sup> In 1921 Quintanilla wrote a memoir. Perhaps best described as a frustrated longing for national greatness, many of the pages are a recounting of the YPE scandal and the fact that at the time of the memoir's printing, the artifacts still had not been returned.<sup>35</sup> He argued that the ability of Bingham to remove objects in 1912 in the name of international etiquette and in the face of the 1911 law, demonstrated that scientific corporations could easily test the weakness of Peruvian laws. Quintanilla referred to the rumors which had once circulated around Bingham and the YPE, noting that numerous and clandestine mules were used to transport cargo via Arica, and through Bolivia by river (Quintanilla 1921: 213).<sup>36</sup> He complained about the inaccuracy of Ellwood Erdis's testimony in describing the interment of objects as "a few to thirty inches." For Quintanilla this was clearly a fabrication and any knowledge of the sedimentation and geologic constitution of the medium in which the objects were excavated was worthless. He wrote that more than any general opinion about the ancient civilizations could not be supported "nor would new light penetrate those prehistoric periods that anteceded the actual earth geography" (Quintanilla 1921:282). Incredulously, he asked if all the objects of diverse interest to science were found "smiling at the sun" (Quintanilla 1921:289).

In the memoir, Quintanilla cited much of what he had previously published. For Quintanilla the past was still alive and continued to exist in Peru's present populace.

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<sup>34</sup> In 1922 Quintanilla published *Manco Capac*, accusing Julio Tello, the former director of the National Museum of selling skulls and other antiquities to foreign collectors.

<sup>35</sup> Not only did it bother Quintanilla that the objects he signed for had not been returned in a timely manner, but that other collections seem to have been shipped without passing through the proper channels. Citing a telegram where Bingham wrote that he had not yet shipped the collections of minerals, bones, animals, birds, plants, etc, Quintanilla wonders what happened to these pieces.

<sup>36</sup> Quintanilla also refers to a priest who purportedly witnessed the mules and verified that the contents contained a valuable gold idol (1921:214).

The past as evidenced in objects would guide Peru to a prosperous future (Quintanilla 1921:285). The ancestral criteria continued to be the key to resolving the complicated problems of Peru. The nation could not be born through outsider knowledge. Rather, only through the ancient history of Peru as embodied in its antiquities could Peru take shape as a prosperous nation. Nationalism coupled with a patriotic epistemological stance obligated Peruvians to be concerned with and to take care of their ancient history. Science at the hands of outsiders was dangerous.

Tradition, history and national soul are not another thing. The resurrection of the past in a symbol or a monument is an integral part of the present life, and its influence is exercised in the future. To relinquish ourselves of that past is to tear out the primary entrails. To consent to it, would be suicidal (Quintanilla 1921:286).

In the end of his memoir, Quintanilla demanded that Yale return the materials shipped from the 1912 and 1915 expeditions. Furthermore, he argued, the university should be required to send an authentic copy of the studies and related reports of the explorations of 1912 and of the explorations of 1914 and 1915 (Quintanilla 1921:292). Quintanilla's patriotic argument was anticipated by Peru's founding museum director, Mariano de Rivero in the 1840s and 50s, and it is resurrected once again by 2005, particularly by Mariana Mould de Pease.

Archaeological ruins had even before Peru's independence come to form part of "the spirit" and future of the nation. Since independence, the scientific and patriotic care of ruins translated into the pride and brilliant future of the Peruvian nation. The YPE in excavating and profiting from the ruins, threatened to damage not only the spirit of the nation, but the possibility for Peru to achieve glory again. Coupled with fear and panic over being viewed as inferior, people called for a museum by which the IHC and the government could conserve the nation's antiquities.

## **Failure to Translate: The Denouement of Bingham the Explorer**

Returning to Yale after the 1912 expedition, Bingham wrote to his friend and colleague at the Smithsonian, Dr. Holmes, regarding future scientific work conducted in Peru.

Dr. Hrdlicka called on me last Friday, and I was very glad indeed to see him. He is going to have, I am afraid, considerable difficulty in getting permission to investigate graves and export bones. . . . It took me seven weeks to get that kind of permission after it had been promised. If I had secured by decree before doing any work, or better still, before going to Peru, I should have been saved a great deal of trouble and loss of time. Accordingly, I venture to suggest, in the interests of science, that you urge upon the State Department the necessity for cabling the American Minister in Lima to secure the necessary decree before Dr. Hrdlicka arrives. . . . Although the material which he is after is of no particular value to the Peruvians, and although they would not know what to do with it if they had it, the very fact that he is willing to come such a long distance and spend money in securing it, is sufficient proof to them that the material that he is after is material that they ought to keep in the country (general correspondence, January 7, 1913, YMA box 8, folder 76).

By 1915, Bingham's frustration with Peruvian laws and with the conditions placed on the excavated objects intensified. Bingham wrote Grosvenor that he was tempted to let the Peruvians "whistle for the objects" (NG select correspondence, November 28, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 265). Grosvenor offered more sobering advice, saying, "I feel that we ought to abide by the letter of our agreement with the Peruvian Government and return all the material that we contracted to return, and I am glad you share this view with me. Why don't you have plaster casts made of the more remarkable skulls" (NG select correspondence, November 29, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 265)?

In a now prescient letter, Grosvenor admonished Bingham for making the fight so public. "I realize all the facts are on your side, but you can't make the public realize the justice of your statements. The smoke that you would raise would dim the brilliance of your work in Peru. . . . Don't do anything that will detract from the brilliance of the Machu

Pichu [sic] discovery. This discovery will loom larger every successive year” (NG select correspondence, December 29, 1915, YMA box 15, folder 258). Both Bingham and Grosvenor felt that the treatment the YPE received was unfair and unjust not to mention disrespectful.

In January 1916, National Geographic offered to do a story on the controversy. Bingham declined feeling that it would “rake up the matter again” and cloud the work that was successfully completed (NG select correspondence, January 20, 1916, YMA box 16, folder 259). Both Bingham and Grosvenor finally agreed that it would be detrimental to get involved with the Peruvian Government over the matter. In the end, the story was never published by NGS. Bingham did not return to Peru until the dedication of the highway to Machu Picchu in 1948. His career as an explorer ended with the 1915 expedition. Upon returning to Yale, Bingham continued to teach before enlisting in the U.S. Air Force. He became a pilot and eventually a U.S. Senator representing Connecticut.

The excavation and removal of objects in the name of Science became the loci for two epic battles. For Bingham, the artifacts were important for Science and held the key to understanding Peru’s past. Scientific practice could also benefit Cuzco and the nation of Peru by bringing fame and notoriety to the area and thus developing tourism. Within Peru, the artifacts were imagined by many as a heritage roadmap directing the nation toward a prosperous future. The positioning of objects as invested with ancestral knowledge was useful to both factions, encouraging the public to see themselves and their (national) future in archaeological objects and in the sepulchers of Peru’s ancestors.

In this chapter I discussed the ways in which the politics of science and nation were stirred around Machu Picchu. From 1911-1916, Machu Picchu was defined as Peruvian heritage in response to foreign expeditions, the goals of science and the needs of nation-building. The excavation and removal of Peruvian antiquities by the YPE revived what Cañizares-Esguerra (2001) has called “patriotic epistemology.” This patriotic epistemology criticized the ignorance of foreign observers and “validated the historical knowledge produced only by learned clerical observers and by pre-colonial and sixteenth century Amerindian nobles” (Cañizares-Esguerra 2001:207). Such an epistemological stance highlighted the shortcomings of Europeans, privileging eyewitness accounts of native nobleman and the material cultural remains of indigenous civilizations. Although Cañizares-Esguerra work focuses on eighteenth century Spanish and Spanish-American debates about the pre-colonial American past, Thurner (2003; 2010) has demonstrated that a patriotic epistemological stance was consistently deployed by Peruvian intellectuals throughout the nineteenth century and into the twentieth to contest European narratives of Peru. .

### **Heritage and Machu Picchu Today**

Today, Machu Picchu has become central to the way in which many Peruvians imagine Peru. During the tenure of Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo (2001-2006), Machu Picchu came to the forefront of national politics. Toledo not only held a ceremonial inauguration on the grounds of Machu Picchu, but also acted as a tour guide to the famed ruins for the Travel Channel’s series “The Royal Tour.” In the final two chapters of this dissertation, I move away from the YPE and the historical treatment of Machu Picchu, toward an ethnographic approach to present-day practices involving the site. I do so to investigate the ways in which Machu Picchu continues to be imagined

and constituted as heritage, particularly from the vantage point of Cuzqueños. Central to understanding Machu Picchu as Peru's national heritage is indigenismo.

Indigenismo came to fluorescence in Peru in the early twentieth century. Broadly, indigenismo sought to “defend the Indian masses and to construct regionalist and nationalist political cultures on the basis of what mestizo, and largely urban, intellectuals understood to be autochthonous or indigenous cultural forms” (Poole 1997:182). Because of its history as the capital of the Incan Empire, indigenismo was particularly strong in Cuzco between 1910 and 1930. Local intellectuals focused not only on describing the Andean countryside, but also writing and studying the Incan past and its history (Poole 1997:182). Bingham's three Peruvian expeditions occur early relative to the indigenismo movement in Cuzco, and benefitted from, and contributed to, its formation.

Frank Salomon (1985) argues that the turn toward regional Andean self-discovery through indigenismo coalesced around the interests and research of foreign ethnologists. Through ethnological investigation and its conclusions, the indigenous population was transformed into a valuable and important, albeit essentialized, object of study. Through this scientific lens, Cuzco's surrounding Quechua population began to be reframed as the descendants of the noble race of the Incas (Salomon 1985; De la Cadena 2000). The racial origins of Peru's indigenous population were no longer in question, but were instead subsumed into the national and historical imagined community of indigenismo and recast as Incan.

Bingham's elite contacts in Cuzco, as well as President Leguía, were interested in the YPE and their excavations because they themselves were interested in knowing

more about the Peruvian nation's Incan past. Interested in resolving the "indigenous problem", urban elites rallied around Science in an attempt to learn more about the nation's Incan past (Salvatore 1998). In particular, Albert Giesecke, one of Bingham's and the YPE's most trusted allies, had a significant role in shaping the indigenismo movement. During his tenure as Rector of the University, Giesecke encouraged his students to examine their surroundings using direct observation and statistics (Salomon 1985:88). One of his students, Luis Valcárcel, became a prominent figure in the indigenismo movement. Valcárcel's text *Tempestad en los Andes* (1927) inspired a generation of thinking, advocating the need to return to the values of pre-conquest Inca society.<sup>37</sup> Photographers such as Martin Chambi visualized Cuzco through a romantic and nostalgic, but also modernist lens, emphasizing a pro-Andean indigenous regional pride. Pro-indigenous movements in other parts of Peru also began to promote the idea that the miserable condition of Peru's indigenous population was the trace not of racial inferiority, but disenfranchisement, exploitation, and discrimination (Salomon 1985:88).

Not all nativist intellectuals sought to return to the purported pure values of the Incan past. Writers such as Jose Uriel Garcia argued that through miscegenation a new and improved Indian would provide Peru with a prosperous future (Poole 1997). Such privileging of Peruvian hybridity, typical among Peru's nineteenth-century intellectuals, combined the romance of the past with the promise of the present. As Deborah Poole argues: "The 'New Indian' intellectuals who would guide this mission were to be forged by melding the telluric (or spiritual) power of the Andean landscape with the intellectual prowess of a mestizo avant-garde (Poole 1997:183). Today, these two nativist strains

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<sup>37</sup> His text continues to be read and inspires people today.

have mutated, resulting in Incanism, or a reverence for the Incan past and for all aspects of indigenous culture (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000).

Incanism has been described as a specific Cuzco variant of Peruvian nativism (Flores Ochoa 1995). In their work on nativist ideology in Cuzco, Pierre van den Berghe and Jorge Flores Ochoa (2000) argue that Incanism is an elite phenomenon and rallying ideology of the urban, educated, mestizo class of Cuzco, which works symbiotically with tourism to maintain a patrimony that attracts tourists. This elite mestizo imaginary is a romantic, escapist, nostalgia which allows its followers, if only briefly, to avoid the unpleasant and harsh realities of underdevelopment (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:11). Such Incan nostalgic pride, visualized most readily in monumental forms such as Machu Picchu, has become a useful tool for tourism marketing (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000, Silverman 2007, Hill 2007). While diverse forms of Incanism are variously articulated in Cuzco, all such mobilizations are contextualized by the tourist industry and neoliberal order (Hill 2007:434).<sup>38</sup> Simply put, tourism valorizes Incanism and Incanism authenticates the tourism experience (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:23). However, as Michael Hill (2007) argues exchanges between the tourist and Cuzqueños involve complex emotional dimensions and are not simply, or only, about economic choice.

In *Indigenous Mestizos*, Marisol de la Cadena (2000) argues that today's Cuzqueños proudly claim their mestizo hybrid status, but do not forego their romantic and essentialized pride for their Incan past (De la Cadena 2000). Consequently, the

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<sup>38</sup> Hill goes on to argue that Incanism offers a space for Urban Mestizos to resist the centralism of the state and international neoliberal economic order. However, such resistance is not a critique of capitalism per se, but is a challenge to political obstacles.

indigenous mestizo is a “successful Indian”, urban, educated and “decent” or proper, but caught up in hierarchies of cultural and racial classification (2000:318). In other words, the historical schism between the miserable native present and glorious Incan past, glossed today by the cliché “Incas si, Indios no” (Incas yes, Indians no) continues to play out as regional and national elites privilege Incan-ness over Indian-ness. Today’s Incanism provides symbolic capital (Bourdieu 1987) for Cuzco’s urban elites to distinguish themselves, and is realized in patriotic discourses and understandings of their “heritage.” However, this Incanist “heritage” continues to be defined with little room for Quechua-speaking indigenous campesinos (Meisch 2009:178). Machu Picchu is a critical and iconic centerpiece of Incanism.

In the next chapter I focus on ethnographic work conducted with tour guides to examine how Machu Picchu has come to be imagined as an Andean Utopia. Machu Picchu has come to represent not only a romantic and timeless notion of the nobility of Incan civilization, but also the mythical home and oracle of the modern nation. Tourism and a valorization of the Inca are in a symbiotic relationship, both working for and nurturing one another (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000). I suggest that the tour guides learn about their Incan heritage and what it means to be Incan through tourism and their work as guides. I argue that both the orchestration of knowledge of the Inca and the production of that knowledge occurs at Machu Picchu in complicity with the demands of global tourism (see Castañeda 1996: 58).

In the final and closing chapter of this dissertation, I return to the conflict over the possession of Machu Picchu’s artifacts. However, rather than sketch a polemic, examining the validity of legal claims for the return of those objects, I frame the lawsuit

as one among several moments of prospecting the nation's Incan heritage as a resource. Machu Picchu has become everyone's golden egg<sup>39</sup> and is invoked in a myriad of contrasting discourses and desires. In investigating these moments of prospecting Machu Picchu as heritage, it becomes apparent that Machu Picchu is both everywhere and nowhere, lending itself to the desires of institutions, individuals, and nations. In short, Machu Picchu is not about artifacts; it is an artifact.

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<sup>39</sup> Pierre van den Berghe and Jorge Flores Ochoa write: "The goose of Incanismo is laying the golden eggs of tourism" (Van den Berghe and Flores Ochoa 2000:19).

## CHAPTER 6 TOURISM AND UTOPIA

We need to protect in order to remember. Humanity does not have much memory – (Machu Picchu) is part of our memory (interview June 2, 2008).

Today Machu Picchu<sup>1</sup> is visited annually by more than 400,000 people.<sup>2</sup> In Cuzco itself it is a widely held belief that on the order of 95% of the local population lives off tourism. Much of this tourism may be attributed to the allure of Machu Picchu. The global business of tourism is considered to have an economic multiplier effect which ultimately benefits, directly or indirectly, the majority of Cuzco's population. Curiously, it is also widely and simultaneously acknowledged that many groups are marginalized or adversely affected by the tourist industry (e.g. Flores Ochoa 1996). People both love and hate the inevitable paradox of Cuzco as a historical site and tourist Mecca. Unlike other tourist attractions that often have little meaning or interest for the local population, the archaeological site of Machu Picchu remains highly significant for the citizens of Cuzco, acting as spatial, visual, tactile and living proof not only of a national narrative of greatness, but of personhood.

In *Buscando un Inca* (In Search of an Inca) Alberto Flores Galindo (1986) argues that under Spanish colonial rule the Inca Empire was invented in the collective memory of Peruvians as a historical paradise or Andean Utopia. Deftly examining the hanging of two men in 1805, Flores Galindo argues that, rather than seeking independence from Spanish rule, the men sought restoration of a Utopian Inca order. Unlike those

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<sup>1</sup> Currently the sanctuary of Machu Picchu is managed by four state entities – the National Institute of Culture (INC), the Regional Management of Foreign Commerce and Tourism (DIRCETUR), the National Institute of Natural Resources (INRENA) and the local municipality of Aguas Calientes.

<sup>2</sup> According to the INC, the total number of visitors (both national and international tourists) to Machu Picchu for 2007 was 439,122. In 1986, the number of visitors was 146,000 (Flores Ochoa 1996).

European and eschatological Utopias which framed paradise as an impending future a la Thomas More, Flores Galindo argues that their Andean Utopia was conceived as historical - an epoch which had already existed. Galindo pointed out that rather than “rely on some architect of the future, the Andean Utopia substituted a historian” (1986:205).

In this chapter I argue that Machu Picchu has become the new, visitable image of an Andean Utopia. However, instead of being formed in opposition to Spanish colonial rule, today’s Andean Utopia is constructed in the quotidian practices of tourism and in response to, and within, neoliberalism and globalization. The “sanctuary” of Machu Picchu is not just a gold mine for Peru’s tourist “industry without chimneys;” it also represents a spiritual destination where global and national pilgrims are nourished and strengthened. Paradoxically, while many Cuzqueños strive to protect Machu Picchu from further commercialization, it is tourism which has most contributed to Machu Picchu’s construction as an Andean Utopia. In short, Machu Picchu embodies the Andean Utopia, but also the threat to that Utopia.

Helaine Silverman (2007) argues that Cuzco has become a full-time performance, a mega-entity, of a romantic elite past designed to promote “authentic” experiences of “the Other.” I argue that such dehistoricization coupled with its visual impact and riffs on Incanism, is precisely what allows Machu Picchu to perform as an Andean Utopia. Both ahistorical and timeless, Machu Picchu is a nowhere place<sup>3</sup> – a deterritorialized destination for globe trotters in search of meaning. Initiated during Bingham’s romantico-scientific discovery of the “lost city”, today’s new age Utopia has

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<sup>3</sup> Utopia literally means “no place.”

its roots in early scientific exploration and its knowledge production (Castañeda 1995, Flores Ochoa 1995, Van den Berghe 2000). Manufactured by and in history, Machu Picchu is the ultimate imagined materiality of global and national dreams, a twenty-first century reinvention of the “lost city.”

Unlike many other archaeological and patrimonial sites in Peru, Machu Picchu offers a winning combination for the cultivation of utopian experiences among visitors. Machu Picchu is not located in the middle of a blighted, postcolonial urban area and is inaccessible by taxi or bus. To visit Machu Picchu one must participate in a special, orchestrated journey. Machu Picchu is also a relatively compact archaeological site allowing the visitor to view the site in its entirety from key points, which encourages panoramic photography and imaginative flight. Compared with Peruvian archaeological marvels like Chan Chan or Pachacamac, which require the visitor to explore the ruins at eye-level, a visitor to Machu Picchu can easily climb to its upper reaches to witness the spectacular vistas, grasping, in a single moment, the magnitude of the site and its surroundings. The site also offers a panoramic view of Nature as the backdrop or cradle of the ruins. These three aspects, each of which is the consequence not only of its geographic materiality, but the way in which this materiality has been carved out, visualized, and deployed, help give Machu Picchu its special aura. With this winning trifecta, Machu Picchu is a visitable microcosm of Incanism, an Andean Utopia at the end of the train line. The views, compact site and special journey “back in time” recreate a Humboldtian romantico-scientific “view of Nature” and ancient civilization, encouraging and allowing visitors to experience for themselves all that is the “Wonderland of Peru.”<sup>4</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> Advertisements strongly play to Machu Picchu’s “aura.” In its most recent campaign, Disney Travel has been marketing their tours to Peru. The print advertisement features two photographs placed on the

In this chapter I deploy my interviews with tour guides to examine the commercial practices and utopian discourses of tourism in and around Cuzco and Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu's transformation into a threatened Andean Utopia was a multi-faceted contradiction. Initially, train and bus travel fashioned Machu Picchu into a pristine embodiment of the Incan past. Subsequently, tour guides actively constructed time-travel or historicist narratives into their tours, encouraging visitors to "travel back in time," so as to see Machu Picchu "as it really was." Simultaneously, this narrative of time-travel fashioned tour guides' own sense of self as living "descendants of the Inca." Tour guides considered the "sanctuary" of Machu Picchu active in shaping not only the tourist experience, but their own identity and connection with "their heritage." At the same time, tour guides felt that the very practice of tourism and presence of tourists, while strengthening some aspects of cultural identity, endangered other vital practices and beliefs associated in their minds with "being Incan."

When I began writing this chapter I sought to classify and select neat passages from my interviews and insert them within my analytical framework. I cut and pasted countless times, but my attempt to shore up Machu Picchu's boundaries proved futile. Exasperated, I came to think that such tidiness of thought does not currently exist around Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu is everywhere. Consequently, this chapter is written with various threads that more often than not blur into other sections. While I initially viewed this blurriness and hybridity as a descriptive weakness, I now believe

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upper half of the page. The left photograph is an image of a family visiting Machu Picchu. The other is a detailed photograph of the same family's smiling daughter in her Andean ch'ullo being hugged by her mother. During my fieldwork in Cuzco, fliers were also being circulated for a "Magic Carpet Ride." The flier explained that the ride was an "entertaining and unique interactive movie souvenir where you 'star' in your own 3 minute personalized film." You and your friends could fly over all of Cuzco's main attractions, including Machu Picchu, "interacting with nature and local townspeople." The front of the flier showed a group of four flying over Machu Picchu, the tagline reading "Star in your own movie".

that it accurately reflects the way in which Machu Picchu is currently being produced and lived.

### **Time Travel through Visual Enlightenment: A Visit to Machu Picchu**

When Bingham first photographed Machu Picchu, the primary means for arriving at the site was on foot or by mule. A decade after Machu Picchu's global unveiling, Albert Giesecke became a vocal advocate for the construction of a hotel where visitors could rest and take their time examining and enjoying the site and its environs (Giesecke 1911). In the early 1920's several guidebooks were produced offering history lessons, shopping advice, and instructions for a visit to Machu Picchu (Flores Nadar 1994). In 1928 the railway line was extended closer to Machu Picchu and the first restaurant and hotel were constructed in the area (Muniz N.d). Over the next two decades electricity was brought to the area, construction began on the Incan highway and the rail line further extended. Amenities and improved public access resulted in increased popularity and heightened visibility, but also the displacement of rural peoples and dissolution of the region as a center of trade and exchange (Muniz N.d). For many, including Giesecke, the promotion of Cuzco's archaeological ruins and indigenous customs and history through tourism was considered useful to economic development and the future prosperity of the region.

Today the vast majority of visitors to Machu Picchu arrive by train. The visual experience of the train ride is breathtaking during any season. The landscape shifts from small farms, to raging rivers and as suddenly as the aridness of the Cuzco and Ollantaytambo countryside disappears, the more temperate climate of the cloud-forest appears. The drop in elevation from Cuzco to Aguas Calientes (the town at the foothill of Machu Picchu) is about 3,000 feet. As the train descends, the vegetation becomes

denser, the air pregnant with humidity. The sensation that one is being transported into the unknown is palpable and energizing. Every so often the train operators stop the train and the engineers disembark to manually switch the tracks. Returning trains creep from the opposite direction. The ride is slow, deliberate and picturesque. It is also decadent, romantic and colonial and one of my favorite features of a visit to Machu Picchu.

Currently Peru Rail has the sole concession to run the trains from Cuzco or Ollantaytambo to Aguas Calientes.<sup>5</sup> They offer four types of train service. The first is a train service reserved only for Peruvian travelers. Although this service is substantially cheaper than the other services, Peru Rail prohibits foreigner's use of these trains claiming that they generously subsidize this service to provide affordable transportation to the population of Aguas Calientes and surrounding areas. This policy is a source of complaint and many argue that this is not only offensive, but untrue.

The three other types of train services are marketed to visitors and as such are offered at higher rates. The least expensive option is the Backpacker train. This option is comfortable, with food and drink available for purchase. The cheapest backpacker train often leaves or arrives during the early morning or evening when it is dark so the scenery is not as much a part of a visit to Machu Picchu. Still, the smoke billowing from the caboose and the people selling steaming cobs of choclo (hominy corn) coupled with the gentle sway of the train still manages to romantically transport the mind to another epoch.

The Vistadome service is Peru Rails' second option. The passage is more expensive, but boasts complimentary light fare, wine for purchase and a dance-fashion

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<sup>5</sup> During my fieldwork, Andean Rails was trying to start up a separate train service, but was running into problems with Peru Rail and their claim to an exclusive concession to use the rails.

show where one can purchase alpaca sweaters and scarves modeled by the servers. The Vistadome's most appealing attribute are the large windows that curve up through the ceiling permitting breathtaking views of the lush scenery, the rushing Urubamba River and the snow-capped Andean mountain peaks. The anticipation is palpable as tourists snap photographs of the snow-capped glacial peaks and passing scenery. On the return to Cuzco, the light of the canyon is perfectly warm as it hits the rushing Urubamba River, an ethereal comfort accompanying the returning passengers to the present. Considering that the train ride is only about 30 miles, a passage on the Vistadome costs about half the airfare from Lima to Cuzco.

The third train option is the most luxurious. Geared toward "VIPs", the Hiram Bingham service has an old-timey quality. Designed as a vintage of the early twentieth century boxcars, the train is replete with a variety of comforts serving full meals along with a typical Andean dance performance of the Ukukus<sup>6</sup> and fashion show modeling alpaca knitwear. One of the unique and best features of the Hiram Bingham service is its schedule. Rather than depart at 5 or 6 am like the Backpacker or Vistadome trains, the Hiram Bingham leaves at 9 am and returns later in the evening allowing the visitor to explore Machu Picchu for an entire day after a full night's sleep. The cost for a round-trip ticket is a mind-boggling \$641.<sup>7</sup> Such "VIPs" as Bill Gates traveled to the sanctuary on this train. The Hiram Bingham is also the service used for luxury package tours like those offered by Abercrombie and Kent. For those who can pay, the Hiram Bingham is

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<sup>6</sup> Traditionally the Ukukus accompany travelers during Q'olloyor Riti.

<sup>7</sup> This was the listed price in 2008. If the train ride is included in packages, the tour operator most likely receives a heavily discounted price.

the most convenient and comfortable way to get the most out of a few days stationed in Cuzco.

Upon arriving at Aguas Calientes one can either walk or take the bus to Machu Picchu. The vast majority of tourists take the bus. The first bus departs at 5:30 am and the sanctuary opens at 6 am. Locals sell hot beverages and cakes to the sleepy, but excited, visitors before they are shuttled onto the buses. While an hour bus-ride from Cuzco to the town of Pisac costs \$1.00, for \$6 one can board the tourist bus and travel for 15 minutes, curving up the snake-like switchbacks of the Hiram Bingham Highway. A decade ago Machu Picchu could be reached by multiple bus operators. The route has since been sold in a long-term concession to a single operator to provide comfortable luxury tourist buses for visitors. As one ascends, anticipation grows, as does the fear that one of these tourist-class buses might be pitched off the side of the mountain. Visitors crane their heads in the bus to try and catch a glimpse of the mountain and famed ruins.

Disembarking, waiting in line and then entering Machu Picchu has taken time, planning and a lot of money. Entry tickets are not for sale at the site and most visitors have either come on a package tour accompanied by a tour guide with the entry ticket included in the price or have purchased their tickets at the INC office in Aguas Calientes. The tourists queue at Machu Picchu's entrance with ticket in hand. Shuttling through the slowly moving line, INC officials stamp the entry ticket and record your visit. By the time one reaches the entrance to Machu Picchu, one feels almost deserving of the site's majesty.

For those not traveling by train, another option, besides hiking along the railroad or taking an eight hour mini-bus ride from Cuzco and hiking from the hydroelectric plant, is to journey on one of the many treks offered by tour agencies. The most popular and noteworthy trek is the Inca Trail. The Inca Trail consists of a four-day hike which can sometimes be shortened to two days. In the last eight years control over the number of trekkers on the trail has increased and only a certain number of visitors are allowed at any one time in the designated overnight camping locations. Because of the Inca Trail's restrictions and its popularity, other trekking alternatives have emerged including five and seven days journeys via Mt. Salcantay. While these routes offer their own spectacular accomplishments, only the Inca Trail allows you to camp the night before outside Machu Picchu, permitting its hikers to be the first in the sanctuary.

After three days of hiking and visiting smaller ruins, the Inca Trail trek culminates with the presentation of Machu Picchu serenely nestled in the mountain top. Waking early on the fourth day and arriving at the Sun Gate is a site to behold. The trekker peers down into Machu Picchu's expanse, a sort of visual offering and a chance to witness the mountain tops, cliff-hanging river drops and rolling hillsides all embellished with wispy cloud formations. The sanctuary is sleeping and the view is nothing short of majestic, literally taking one's breath away.

Another opportunity for time travel through visual enlightenment is offered to those who make the additional climb to the top of the adjoining mountain Huayna Picchu. Visitors queue outside a gate to be among the daily number of allotted climbers to hustle their way up the steep trail. Comparatively large numbers of people jockey for a tiny spot on the uppermost edge of Huayna Picchu's peak. Perching themselves on

one of the precariously positioned boulders, they sit entranced, absorbing the spectacular natural wonder of the Machu Picchu vista. Huayna Picchu boasts its own ruins, but the real destination is the summit. The aerial view presents Machu Picchu like a picture perfect postcard, serene, still and peaceful in its presence.

Arriving to the site early or staying late when the majority of visitors have departed, allows one to meditate in the area's serenity. The most coveted views of Machu Picchu occur in the early morning and late afternoon when the clouds lift or descend. The most populated train has yet to arrive, or has already departed, and the site is not inundated with visitors. Viewed through the mist, Machu Picchu is not simply the ruins of a city, but a testimony to a higher power. For those who arrive alongside the hundreds of other tourists, a visit to Machu Picchu often does not have the same life-changing, epiphany-producing, quality. For others, rain or cloud cover threatens the spectacular viewing of the place and the experience is "missed." The visual is everything at Machu Picchu. The perceived remoteness of the location atop a mountain, the approach and arrival, and the jutting views off the mountain of snaking rivers, all conjure a visual sense of the primeval past.

Like Mexico's Chichen Itza, Machu Picchu is considered by many New Agers to be a magnetic and spiritual location, attracting those in search of mystical experiences.<sup>8</sup> Machu Picchu is often referred to as a "sacred place" or "a sanctuary" that can renew "energies" and strengthen the soul. It is not unusual to see groups of tourists arrive early to the sanctuary to perform Yoga-like stretching in an effort to channel the site's energies. The Intihuatana stone at Machu Picchu is particularly coveted for its "energy."

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<sup>8</sup> See Castañeda 1996 for discussion on Chichen Itza as museum.

Although the phallus-like rock is now cordoned off, tour guides jockey for space to speak to their groups, while individuals attempt to get close enough to the sacred rock in order to waft the energy of the heated stone with their hands, bathing themselves in the spirit of the place.<sup>9</sup>

In his work on tourism to Israel's archaeological heritage sites, Uzi Baram (2004) argues that the success of tourism is not in allowing tourists to visit a variety of heritage locations, but in the ability to "carve a small country into these separate landscapes" (Baram 2004:314). Although there are cracks and ruptures in Machu Picchu's aura of time travel (such as the security guards and the dozens of people selling handicrafts and trinkets at the train station), Machu Picchu is indeed a place carefully carved out of the Peruvian countryside. Not only is it physically remote, lying atop a mountain surrounded by rivers, but it is imaginatively carved out as a separate time. To visit the site, the tourist is taken on a tour that attempts to create the effect of traveling back in time.

The visual is one of the primary ways through which this simultaneous bridge between the present and the past is faceted. The slow and gentle sway of the trains, the quaintness of the boxcars, and the change in scenery conjures a specific sensation of retreat. Arriving at the town of Aguas Calientes, one feels as if they have arrived to a small outpost whose only purpose is to serve the visitors of Machu Picchu. A city born out of the tourism gold-rush, everything is geared and marketed toward the visitor. Boarding a bus to twist and turn up the mountain-side on route to Machu Picchu, cements the feeling of having visited a monument of Cuzco's millenarian ancestors.

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<sup>9</sup> The Intihuatana was damaged during the filming of a commercial for the local beer company, Cuzqueña and since then has been roped off, preventing people from getting too close and harming the stone.

Arriving on the train from Cuzco to Aguas Calientes further allows the visitor to compartmentalize the place and separate Machu Picchu from its more expansive surroundings. The distanced travelled coupled with the breathtaking vistas further nurture a sensation of time-travel. Like the clicking of the gears on a roller coaster at an amusement park, the arrival scene heightens anticipation, creates a feeling of distance, distorts time, and sets a mood and tone for the adventure upon which the traveler has embarked.

### **Interviewing Tour Guides to Machu Picchu**

For this study I worked with the Colegio de Licenciados en Turismo (COLITUR). COLITUR is a professional association for those who have graduated with a bachelor's degree in tourism. The association provides institutional support, ongoing education, camaraderie and the ever-important identification card which allows guides to legitimately work in Machu Picchu and at Peru's other patrimonial sites. There are two other professional tourism organizations in Cuzco, PROGATUR and AGOTUR. These associations are geared for those who do not have their bachelor's degree in tourism, but instead have attended either a vocational institute in the instruction of tourism for three years or a shorter course of about six to nine months. Some estimate that there are currently 4,000 guides actively working in Cuzco and its environs. At the time of my research, COLITUR had nearly 1000 members and was rapidly growing.

Not everyone with a bachelor's degree in tourism is a tour guide. The degree is also geared to those who are interested in owning a travel agency or working in hotel management. All aspects of tourism and hospitality are covered in the five year degree including two courses on guiding, three required courses on national and local history, as well as courses on management, entrepreneurship and economics. Many students

upon graduating with a degree in tourism begin as tour guides because the work is profitable and flexible. About half of the guides I interviewed worked part-time as a guide during the high season which is roughly May through September.<sup>10</sup> The rest of the year many of the guides worked as teachers, administrators for non-profit organizations, or were enrolled in post-graduate work.

Affiliating with COLITUR was perhaps the single best thing I did during fieldwork. From a professional standpoint, COLITUR provided me with access to hundreds of people who were trained to work in tourism. In addition to interviewing COLITUR members, I attended some of COLITUR's ongoing education classes which included topics like natural medicine and Quechua. I also participated in some of their local tours. I conducted the majority of my interviews at the offices of COLITUR, which provided a safe, quiet, physical space to interview tour guides who worked at Machu Picchu.

I formally interviewed twenty-five COLITUR guides. Each interview lasted between one and two hours. My only requirement to be interviewed was that the guides have experience working at Machu Picchu. Although I had a structured list of questions, the interviews often veered in productive tangents based on their comments and interests. While almost all of the formal interviews were conducted at the offices of COLITUR, some also took place in nearby cafés and parks.

Informally, I interviewed approximately another twenty-five guides during waiting periods, casual moments, visits to Machu Picchu and bus trips. Often these informal interviews led to subsequent formal interviews with colleagues they had referred. While

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<sup>10</sup> Many in Cuzco now say that there is no longer a high-low season.

working with COLITUR was not the only ethnographic aspect to my research, this chapter focuses on interviews with those guides.

### **Temporal Bridges, Sentient Entities and Self-Fashioning at the Sanctuary**

In many ways the job of the tour guide to Machu Picchu is to nurture a temporal bridge to an imagined past, both for their clients and for themselves. One guide stated that during her tours she tried to go back in time, using her imagination to achieve love and value for the Incan culture and to convey how much was sacrificed (interview May 21, 2008). The guides' role in conjuring a specific sensation and memory is critical for a successful visit to the ruins. Without the guide's temporal management, the ruins can become just rocks, old building foundations, and unused agricultural terraces. Through stories, the tour guides craft a romantic and New Age image of Machu Picchu as an Andean Utopia for the twenty-first century.

Tour guides to the sanctuary invite their guests to romantically envisage Machu Picchu as it was five hundred years ago. The visitor is prompted to imagine the thatched roofs lashed onto the crumbling rocky edifices and to see the stepped terraces not as empty grassy knolls, but as abundant harvests which would have been planted by their Incan ancestors. Visitors are asked to see Incan people strolling through the large recreational expanses and observe the smoke billowing from their imagined fires. Visitors are told to envision the royal estate of the Inca Pachacuti, with separate neighborhoods for the peasants and the nobility. Visitors are brought to a small garden and told to imagine indigenous specimens growing at the sanctuary. At the Intihuatana stone, visitors are urged to feel the stone's primal "energies" and imagine sacred ritual acts performed by priests.

Part of the mystery and attraction of Machu Picchu is its imagined history. The visitor who is unable to cross this temporal bridge is often disappointed. Crowds often infringe on the visitor's ability to transport herself into a virtual past. The disappointed tourist who does not make this imaginative leap may ask: "What is so special about this place, which is just a pile of rocks?" (interview April 20, 2008). The performance of spiritual and historical transcendence is lost on the visitor who cannot, or does not wish to, imagine the place in a romantic or New Age fashion, "the way it was." While there are other possible histories to be imagined for Machu Picchu, the tour guides emphasize the romanticized past of the archaeological site and their personal connection to the ruins as shared Incan heritage.

Many of the guides I interviewed had visited Machu Picchu in their youth. However, the guides confessed that they did not understand the place and were not moved by their first visit to the sanctuary (interviews May 16, 21, June 2, 6, 13, 2008). With time, education, and subsequent visits to the sanctuary, the guides said that they began to understand the place, to develop an intimacy with the site and to feel a sense of mutuality and camaraderie with the mountain. Reina<sup>11</sup>, a guide who had worked for the INC and Peru Rail before guiding at Machu Picchu, felt that "to be Cuzqueño is to be one of the Incas, Gods of the sun. . . I now identify with the culture, before no, but now yes, because of knowledge" (interview May 21, 2008). Through her work in tourism, Machu Picchu came to life and, along with it, her sense of belonging and connection.

Me: And, why did you want to be a guide?

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<sup>11</sup> All names are changed.

Guide: Because suddenly I like history more, I like to identify myself with that which is mine, or its like I know a little more, and suddenly I know more the tradition of the experiences of the ancient Cuzqueños, so that I identified myself a lot and I very much liked to study history, archaeology, anthropology and from there to being a guide (interview May 16, 2008).

A sense of history and connection to an imagined past was also critical for the tour guide's own fashioning of self and place. As one guide commented, "Machu Picchu is identity, it allows us to remember who we are . . . it is that which we were, that fortifies us to remember our ancestors" (interview June 13, 2008). Another guide referred to his relationship with Machu Picchu as self-nourishment. "I shouldn't feel bad about my humble origins, but sometimes I feel guilty, isolated for being a guide because I have more. I try to have people (in Cuzco) know their culture . . . Guiding is self-nourishment about this culture . . . it is the best therapy" (interview May 19, 2008).

All of the guides interviewed felt that a visit to Machu Picchu, whether the first or the thousandth time, brought something new to learn and to experience. One guide likened it to a movie theatre, where the object of the gaze is always moving and always different (interview June 6, 2008). Another described Machu Picchu as a book: it ends, but re-reading it one discovers new things (interview May 26, 2008). Another described it as a film that will continue without ending, never knowing how it all ends because the film keeps going (interview June 6, 2008). Another described it as living identity (interview May 19, 2008). The guides personified the site, and talked of being "in a relationship" with Machu Picchu, of constantly "getting to know one another."

And when I began to guide, when I am in Machu Picchu, it is as if my body begins, how can I explain, begins to tremble a little when I am there. When I explain, when I begin to tell the stories it is as if Machu Picchu envelops you and begins to explain all and I tell the people to think as if they were in this epoch and the people begin to close their eyes and look and I tell them histories and they pay much closer attention than when the people are making the route (around Machu Picchu). At times they ask coherent

questions, not like at other times when there are boys that ask really incoherent questions that are not reasonable to answer at that moment. Little by little I have begun to guide archaeology professors and we go speaking of that which is Machu Picchu, how it was constructed, who would have lived here, what thing were they . . . But that is what motivates you to continue examining, to continue studying the form of life then (interview May 15, 2008).

A temporal bridge was forged through the tour guides' ability to narrate an imagined past. However, in interviewing the guides, Machu Picchu was not simply an object upon which to project meanings or fashion personal identity. Instead, Machu Picchu was talked about as if it were a persona. Machu Picchu was not only a geographic place, an example of a nation's past, or even an example of a region's heritage. Machu Picchu was often described by the tour guides as a sentient being with distinct "energies," "spirits," "vibrations" and even "emotions."

And how I continue telling you, Machu Picchu is something enigmatic, something beautiful, something that, for me, gives me a little fear at times being there, at times it impacts me so much that I forget things. Being at Machu Picchu at times I want to sit, relax, take a moment in peace being there. When we are with people, at times, that vibration is contagious that each one has of emotion. And when they ask us questions, they want us to answer them, but at times they ask questions that are not at the right moment. I can give an answer but not scientific, a version nothing more. And the emotion that makes me feel them, that if they are from the outside, foreign, they say what luck that you are Cuzqueño, what luck that you are here because we are so far and we arrive here and we are impacted. At times it makes me want to cry when I am with these people. For me, Machu Picchu is something incredible. And enigmatic, like I told you (interview May 15, 2008).

The guide-sanctuary relationship was personal and many felt that the archaeological ruins represented a mythical home. As one guide succinctly answered: "I feel at peace, the icon of my culture, a place still alive - energy, peace, pride to have been born here. I am at home" (interview May 28, 2009). When asked how many times they had guided at the sanctuary, another guide responded: "Machu Picchu is like my house – I've never

counted how many times I have been there” (interview May 22, 2008). Consistently described as a place of peace and tranquility, or a place with a “concentration of universal energy”, Machu Picchu has become not just an edifice with a history, but a place where the tour guides feel a soulful connection. “It is magic, mysterious, not only the construction, but the surroundings – majestic. When I travel I miss it” (interview May 26, 2008). Typically referred to as “the sanctuary” the guides often framed Machu Picchu as an oasis and a dwelling place. El santuario (sanctuary) frequently appears in official discourse, INC pamphlets, a variety of books and films, and personal references. In referring to the place as “a sanctuary” multiple actors, including the tour guides, help transform the site from a tourist attraction visited by thousands into a place of sacred reverence.

Through the act of guiding, the tour guides learned about their heritage and history and thus learned to value what had been learned, becoming who they were born to be. As one guide emphatically stated: “We have footprints – we know where we come from, we have roots” (interview May 20, 2008). Moreover, because of their connection with Machu Picchu, the guides felt that they had a clearer identity and sense of who they were and where they came from compared with other Cuzqueños. Through the practice and experience of guiding, the tour guides developed an understanding of their Incan heritage and what it meant that they were “a descendant of the Inca.” As one guide put it, “Being Cuzqueño is a distinction, it has its own history, culture, food; (it is) to feel part of a culture, a heritage. Being a guide is motivation to know more deeply for tourism” (interview May 19, 2008).

The need to care for the mountain was often linked to the importance and centrality of Machu Picchu for the guides' sense of self. During the interviews, assertions were made that those who disrespected the mountain would reap ill effects. Too much emphasis on materiality, for example, contradicted "the mountain's energy." One tour guide lamented "everything is in dollars! People sleep in dollars, dream in dollars, the new saint is the dollar – it is all very exaggerated" (interview May 22, 2008). When visitors did not treat the sanctuary appropriately, the tour guides became frustrated and felt personally slighted. The guides harbored a reverence for the site which was in direct connection with how they conceived of themselves. "Being Cuzqueño– in the cultural center of the Inca – you carry a cultural burden on your shoulder . . . it is important to protect Machu Picchu because you (are) protecting your essence" (interview June 6, 2008). Another guide had a more lengthy response to the centrality of patrimony to her sense of self.

Because the patrimony is our identification, our richness, the patrimony is our antecedents, it is our pride, our identity, our insignia or I mean, it is everything, our patrimony there (Machu Picchu) it is fashioned, so I think that one should do everything, everything to protect it because it isn't going to die with us, but is going to pass from generation to generation, etc., etc., no? (interview May 16, 2008)

For many of the tour guides, the act of guiding was conceived as an act of sharing part of their selves.

Professor of anthropology at the University San Antonio Abad in Cuzco, Jorge Flores Ochoa, argues that while most of Cuzco's population might not be able to explain what Machu Picchu is, they feel that it is an important part of their history. He refers to this sentiment as Incanism. "The Incas . . . are a permanent reference to something that is present not past. When people speak of the Incas they do not say 'the Incas were',

but ‘the Incas are’, so that they think of the Incas as something present although they know that it is the past” (interview April 8, 2008). For Flores Ochoa the lack of jokes and negative discussion of Incas implies an almost sacred vision of the Incas. He pointed out that while not every Cuzqueño is a descendent of the Inca, practically all Cuzqueños identify with them, referring to them in family kinship terms like grandfather (interview April 8, 2008).

During my interviews with the guides, Machu Picchu seemed to be more than Incanism. Throughout the interviews, Machu Picchu was consistently portrayed not as a “thing” acted upon, but as a “thing” or being which acted upon them.<sup>12</sup> More than historical fact or fiction, the tour guides I interviewed felt an almost animistic connection with the mountain.<sup>13</sup> Machu Picchu was not only a historical place or a part of an abstract national narrative of greatness, but was also a part of a relationship which fortified and nurtured the guides’ sense of self. Machu Picchu was imagined to impact the guides, thereby shaping their understanding of who they were in the world. It also “acted” as a refuge to spiritually lead the guides toward something beyond the mundane and material. Guides said that they kept Machu Picchu in their heart, and that a visit to the sanctuary was like a religious pilgrimage, or a visit to a friend, not a work destination. Both an imagined sense of history and of an intimate relationship fashioned the Cuzqueño tour guides’ sense of themselves as descendants of the Inca. In short, Machu Picchu was framed as a powerful agent in the guide-sanctuary relationship.

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<sup>12</sup> Much has been written on sentient non-human being in the Andes (see Allen 2002; Abercrombie 1998; Platt 1997; Nash 1992; Taussig 1980).

<sup>13</sup> See Marisol de la Cadena (2009) for her work on indigenous rights and mountains as sentient non-human beings.

Ricardo Salvatore (2003) argues that under global capitalism, the Andean Utopia “has been reduced to a development strategy geared to the demands of international tourists and to the modernizing dreams of national and international capitalists” (2003:78). While it is undeniable that Peru’s archaeological sites and cultural assets are being heavily exploited and promoted by global tourism and nationalism, an Andean Utopia is being reconfigured at Machu Picchu not simply, or cynically, as a development strategy. For the tour guides, framing Machu Picchu as an Andean Utopia came about through a sense of the mountain as a source of cultural heritage, and as a home for spiritual nourishment and relief from the pressures of global capitalism. To imply that Machu Picchu was being constructed as an Andean Utopia solely for the tourists or as a way for guides to profit from the mountain, sidelines the very real personal relationships the guides cultivate with their “sanctuary.” Again, as Michael Hill (2007) has noted, tourism is not only about economic exchange, but about emotional connections.

Studies on tourism often highlight archaeological sites and indigenous tourism as examples of commodity fetishism or structurally produced simulacra (e.g. Garcia-Canclini 2002; Castañeda 1996; Nash 1996; Smith 1989; Greenwood 1978). While Salvatore and others may argue that Machu Picchu is a perfect example of late capitalist consumer identification with the global economy of desire, I hesitate in wholly reframing the experiences of the tour guides. Instead, I want to move away from its undertones and implications of authenticity to take the guides’ claims seriously. In so doing I aim to position their personal experiences, feelings and perceptions symmetrically with other “facts” which are circulating and absorbed through objective self-fashioning (Dumit 1997).

To be Cuzqueño is to consider oneself a descendent of the Incas and to “carry the blood of the Incas” (interview June 6, 2008). Machu Picchu has become the premier icon of that Empire and the so-called Incan way of life. The mountain impacted the tour guides way of being and way of thinking. Although the mountain’s energies were received in the present, these energies were understood as ancestral. Along with the guides’ stories and Incanist frame of the sanctuary, the mountain itself acted as a temporal bridge to an imagined past. For the tour guides, Machu Picchu was a way of life; a political ontology contrasted with neoliberalism.

### **Come Back Different: Changing the World One Tourist at a Time**

Interviewed tour guides were asked if there was one message they wanted the tourist to take from a visit to Machu Picchu.<sup>14</sup> The answers resonated around two interconnected themes: that the tourists return to their homes changed, and that they leave with respect for Peru, its culture and its history. In general, the guides wanted the tourists to understand and feel that a visit to the sanctuary was a “once in a lifetime,” epiphany-producing experience. As one guide pronounced, “there should be no words to describe the experience” (interview June 6, 2008). The guides wanted their guests to return to their old lives changed, overwhelmed by “a grand sentiment of what it is to feel and know what it means to be a human being”, to “get to know their interior” and to “value what human beings are capable of” (interviews June 6, 2008, May 19, 2008, and May 15, 2008). One guide wanted visitors to take back a significant appreciation of Cuzco’s cultural legacy and spread the word to others (interview May 28, 2008). The guides hoped for extraordinary experiences for their clients and a visit to Machu Picchu

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<sup>14</sup> “Come Back Different” was one of the advertising slogans used for visitors to Machu Picchu. One guide pointed this out to me and he thought it was the best campaign Peru had for the site.

was framed as a way to connect, transcendently, with and beyond one's self. A visit to Machu Picchu was a chance to witness Andean Utopia.

Carolina explained how she nurtured her "guided" to see the world through a different lens.

Me: What do you want the tourists to take away with them, to understand, after a visit to Machu Picchu?

Guide: That they take the impact of the marvel, that they take the, that they find something of tranquility, respect, spirituality. That, perhaps, satisfies the interior of their being because at times for example, to go and to look at something surprising is good, no? For example for me a building of 100 feet, ooh how grand, how would it have been constructed? But that is it, no? But, to go to a place perhaps mystical one finds one's self and perhaps reflects a little, no? . . . I have always tried in my guiding, of course the history I tell them, but there are places that I take them to and I tell them: listen to the sound of the river, look at that nature, no? And with the sound of the river, a few become quiet, they listen, they look and perhaps some, they feel transformed, no? A little peace, relaxation, and that I like, and I want that the travelers take that part from the history and all those things, no? And well, that (interview May 16, 2008).

The desire to build Peru's admiration and respect in the world by transforming one tourist at a time was an unexpected theme that emerged in the interviews. Through the spiritual experiences and imagined pasts at play in Machu Picchu, the guides hoped to elevate Peru's status in the world. Both knowledge of the culture and the profound development of the Incas were important messages to be carried by Machu Picchu's visitors. The guides hoped that the tourist left Cuzco not only satisfied, well-treated, content and at peace, but also changed with the new knowledge of the noble ancestors of "the great nation of Peru."

As one guide observed: "Here in the nation of Peru, we have many nations, many nations. And, yet all identify with Machu Picchu. We all speak the same language through Machu Picchu" (interview June 4, 2008). Machu Picchu was imagined to unite

disparate regions, nations and even political factions. Machu Picchu was an Andean Utopia which could bring peace and prosperity to the nation of Peru and the world. Sharing that Utopia was both a way to garner worldwide recognition and contribute to humanity.

Because of the sanctity of Machu Picchu, the guides expected respect and reciprocity from the tourists visiting the site. All of the guides felt that there was specific etiquette and behavior required during a visit to “the sanctuary.” One guide lamented the way in which some people treated Machu Picchu. The guide said that she felt a “true connection with the past and it hurts when others do not respect my beliefs as sacred” (interview May 26, 2008). Not respecting the landscape, streaking or stripping naked (a popular tourist act at the site), or performing salacious acts at the sanctuary were interpreted not simply as silly or immoral tactics, but as personal affronts and desecrations (interview May 26, 2008). Not acting in a suitably reverent fashion at the site was understood as a lack of respect for all that Peru has contributed to humanity (interview June 4, 2008).

The desire for equivalence and frustration over not being respected in their own home played out in various ways. Jaime, a particularly hard-working guide, met me one morning on what were both a local holiday and his day off. We sat in the sun in a small plaza outside the office of COLITUR. After talking with me for nearly an hour, Jaime responded to my last question thoughtfully. He wanted the tourist to leave satisfied and with a good impression of the culture. He wanted to change the image of the Peruvian because the reputation of the Peruvian in other countries was terrible. “People,” he said, “think that Peruvians are thieves or rapists” (interview May 22, 2008).

Jaime went on to express some frustration at not being respected by visitors. According to Jaime, tourism was going to continue to be a part of Cuzco. That much was inevitable. Consequently, he wanted the tourist to follow the law of the traveler. That is, he wanted visitors to respect the beliefs of the local populace. Straightening up, he leaned toward me and said that he felt that tourists should not take pictures of people if they do not want their picture taken. "If someone was conducting a ritual" he said, "the traveler should not take a picture because the ritual was sacred for that individual" (interview May 22, 2008). For Jaime, photographing the ritual seemed equivalent "to taking a picture of someone showering in their home" (interview May 22, 2008).

Accompanying tourists to Machu Picchu was not simply or only a means to make a living. The tour guides held high expectations for a visit to Machu Picchu and fully expected life transformations to occur as a result. Sharing their Andean Utopia, the guides expected respect and reverence not only for the sanctuary, but for themselves and their nation.

### **An Industry without Chimneys**

Tourism to Machu Picchu and other cultural heritage sites in Peru is often referred to as an "industry without chimneys." In contrast to Peru's other profitable industries such as mining, tourism does not pollute the lakes and rivers and does not leave its workers with severe and debilitating health problems. There are seemingly no environmental hazards associated with tourism. This assumption has led many entrepreneurs and people with commercial interests to argue that visits to Machu Picchu should be escalated.

In 1983 UNESCO named the sanctuary of Machu Picchu and the city of Cuzco a world cultural and natural heritage site. Paradoxically, the classification of Machu Picchu as world heritage has fomented an explosion of tourism that threatens its very status as a UNESCO World Heritage site (Heritage Committee 2003). Concerns over how to manage and provide services for the visitors at Machu Picchu are a constant topic of national and regional public conversation.

While UNESCO recommends that the site receive only 2500 visitors per day, some want to interpret this as 2500 people at a single time. Consequently, some argue that time slots should be allotted for visitors, with three turns per day. Instead of paying \$40 and being able to spend all day at the site, one would pay \$40 for a certain block of time. While visits to Machu Picchu often exceed 2500 visitors per day, proponents of increased visitation and time-slot visitations argue that Machu Picchu could sustain at least 5,000 to 10,000 visitors per day. Other ideas for the development of Machu Picchu's economic potential include adding lights to the sanctuary, thus enabling night visits. Some have even suggested establishing more entrances to increase the efficiency and ease with which people enter and exit Machu Picchu.

The tour guides I interviewed argued increased tourism would interfere with the ambience and energies of the site. All of the guides believed that the feelings they were trying to convey to their groups would be severely hindered by the increased attendance and limited viewings. Indeed part of the magic of Machu Picchu is its remoteness and its lack of technological add-ons. In 1997, Peru's President Alberto Fujimori proposed building a cable car to the top of the mountain of Machu Picchu. The cable car idea was extremely controversial precisely for fear of "visual contamination" and damaging the

connection of Machu Picchu with the surrounding environment (Noticias Local 2007). Today Machu Picchu is part of a no-fly zone and helicopters are not permitted to fly over the site. Heli-Cuzco, a helicopter operator in Aguas Calientes, is frequently cited for violating this law. Developing Machu Picchu's economic potential through increasing tourism is considered detrimental not simply for the well-being of the sanctuary, but for the quality of the touristic experience.

In my interviews I asked the tour guides whether or not tourism to Cuzco and Machu Picchu brought advantages or disadvantages. The response was not simple or unanimous. The need to protect the city for future generations was often at odds with the assumption that tourism was inevitable and that Cuzco was able to sustain itself precisely because of tourism. Some of the guides believed that tourism had become better managed. The city was cleaner and better restrictions and management had been put in place. Some guides felt hope for the future. Others felt that tourism required the people of Cuzco to better arm themselves for cultural change (interviews April 16 through June 11, 2008.)

While there was no consensus about whether or not tourism was advantageous, all agreed that tourism had brought change. Cuzco's "culture" was changing and this was both lamented and applauded during the interviews. Many feared that locals were trying to imitate tourists, allowing their own customs to be shaped by outsiders. Not wearing the typical Quechua dress or drinking coca-cola instead of chicha morada<sup>15</sup> were the typical hallmarks called up in the interviews. Language was also consistently cited during the interviews. The guides thought Quechua was either strengthened or

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<sup>15</sup> Chicha morada is a non-alcoholic refreshment made by boiling corn with cinnamon, oranges and other spices.

weakened by outside visitors to the city of Cuzco. One guide asked, “everyone learns another language – Japanese, English, German – how many people in town take the time to learn Quechua?” (interview May 29, 2008). Still, others felt that the resurgence of Quechua was due in part to the respect and admiration tourists had for the language.

Something good (from tourism) is Quechua – tourists like it and the local population now values the language -same with the textiles. The bad is the high costs of property and all the old houses are being converted into touristic places, the nocturnal life . . . no, can't say tourism is good or bad (interview June 2, 2008).

Guides discussed the changes in their identity that were taking place through tourism. Many of the tour guides believed that change was inevitable, especially for those with “weak identities.” Faulting the general lack of knowledge of history and self, the guides argued in various ways that it was easy to succumb to the temptations of outsiders. Temptations like drugs, poor behavior, bad manners, and prostitution were cited as examples of those with weak identities.

Tourism has changed Cuzco . . . (The neighborhood of) San Blas is now not Andino. Instead of Andean food, people eat Swiss food. People stay here with their bad habits, take drugs, smoke, sell their shit, in the past the porters on the Inca trail were locals, now they wear modern clothes and are not from here. We don't have a strong identity and we are becoming cosmopolitan – we imitate habits of other places – we orient ourselves for the tourist. . . . Man should live in harmony with nature, it is necessary to care for it and protect it. Should be revaluing it, it is sad that we are not protecting our patrimony nor our resources; it is painful to see this (interview May 19, 2008).

The perception of loss, particularly of long-held traditions, was often believed to be a result of increasing contact with outsiders, specifically through tourism. However, some guides quickly pointed out that tourism was not the only culprit in cultural change. Several guides argued that while tourism needed to be better managed, many of the changes had to do with globalization in general not tourism per se. “It is not just tourism,

but globalization that has changed Cuzco” (interview June 6, 2008). The dozens of internet cafes, constant blare of televisions and technology in general were also included in what was fostering change in Cuzco.

Not every guide felt that tourism was a culprit in bringing bad habits. An equal number of guides believed that tourism had also brought change that was needed. Many guides attributed a greater tolerance for national Others to tourism. Respect for Quechua-speakers was believed to be a direct result of the respect and interest tourists had for Cuzco’s indigenous population. A heightened interest in the Inca ancestors and Cuzco’s history was also attributed to tourism. To some, tourism strengthened identity. Tourism was viewed as a vehicle to raise consciousness.

Me: Do you think that tourism has changed Cuzco? Specifically in terms of the heritage and identity of Cuzqueños.

Guide: Because of tourism, not so much, before there was not as much identity. Now with tourism there is more identity, yes, because before those who spoke Quechua were marginalized, that which was “pueblo” was marginalized . . . that has been since colonization there was so much marginalization, so much disdain, so much work as slaves for those they considered inferior, etc. That has been the case until very recently, recently national identity has grown and so that me, in my case for example, I feel proud to speak Quechua and so I go teaching and so I go telling my daughters, look, when I was a girl I traveled with my mom and I saw these things and now, look . . . me in my work I apply that, I tell them imagine all that I have been through now I have to tell those things and for me it is part of my life, no? So I tell them look at these things; there is the truth! And so on, no? In that way then, they go on believing (interview May 16, 2008).

While many of the guides interviewed felt that common emblems of culture such as dress, crafts and language were being altered to please tourists, others felt that tourism had helped strengthen identity. Some guides felt that Cuzco was losing itself because of tourism, while others felt they were finding themselves. While the guides disagreed over

the positive and negative aspects, all believed that tourism brought change. This, the guides unanimously agreed, should be managed.

Echoed throughout the interviews was a need for the Cuzqueños to fortify themselves against the forces of change brought by tourism. The solution to a changing Cuzco was a resounding and unanimous desire to improve tourism management and to “fortify culture.” Through the strengthening of culture one could begin to respect Cuzco as a community. The majority of tour guides felt that education was a primary way in which fortification could take place. Somewhat paradoxically, tourism and guiding was one example of strengthening culture through education.

Guiding was not only motivation to know one’s culture more deeply. Guiding was also an opportunity to share that knowledge with others (interview May 19, 2008). The guides believed that the citizens of Cuzco needed to be taught about their heritage to help it persist. Tourism could be a tool for development. The Inca was not just a history lesson, but was a practical guide for living. One guide explained to me that the people of Cuzco needed to understand that the Incas were the first ecologists (interview May 19, 2008). Consequently, throwing garbage in the streets and leaving plastic everywhere was not following the mandates of their culture and was disrespecting ancestors (interview May 19, 2008). Begging tourists for money was also frowned upon by the majority of guides as distinctly lacking in culture. Begging for alms was not something the Incas would have practiced or taught.

Finally, all those interviewed admitted that tourism brought economic benefits that helped bring jobs. In all of the interviews each guide highlighted the economic benefits of Machu Picchu. Although aware that the steep entrance fees did not

necessarily benefit everyone, there was a widely held belief that Machu Picchu brings tourists and that tourists spend money in Cuzco. Machu Picchu was commonly referred to as an economic multiplier or an object with a long tail, distributing its riches to those who come in either direct or indirect contact. Although the guides acknowledged a disparity between those who profited from Machu Picchu and those who suffered under its unequal and hierarchical structure, the guides attributed these missteps to Peru's corrupt bureaucratic structure. Tourism had not provided many communities surrounding the area with gainful employment, nor had it raised the quality of life in Cuzco. Yet, all of the guides believed that if tourism was managed correctly, Cuzco and its people would benefit enormously from tourism to Cuzco and Machu Picchu. Consistently cited during the interviews was that dishonesty on a governmental and corporate level prohibited Cuzco from benefitting economically from Machu Picchu's annual half-a-million visitors.

Although tourism management was acknowledged as a problematic tool for development, it was through tourism and difference that much was learned and revered about Cuzco's Incan past. Both economic and moral-social development would occur through learning and understanding the region's Incan history. One guide said: "The history of Cuzco is so violent, the Catholic Church was so harsh, I wish we could have maintained the Incan customs, more pure, more sacred" (interview May 21, 2008). The references to history and collapsing of self into that history were part of the guides' work in utopia dreams that involved the sanctuary. Machu Picchu was sacred because it represented physically and spiritually a path to truth. Machu Picchu was 32, 573

hectares of pride and potential. It was a place with energies that, if you were attuned, could fortify your soul.

### **An Andean Utopia for the Future**

The tourism trade in Cuzco can be overwhelming. Walking through the central plaza on the way to the neighborhood of San Blas, vendors of all ages often swarm the visitor. Hawking everything from knit leg-warmers, to finger puppets, to woven blankets to burnished gourds it is easy to assume that tourism is only an economic opportunity and industry. Undoubtedly for some it is perhaps precisely that. And yet, for the tour guides, their identity as “being Incan” was partially earned and learned through tourism to Machu Picchu.

Guiding at Machu Picchu helped fashion specific understandings of the Incan Empire and an identity that was deeply connected with that Empire. Machu Picchu was also perceived as an actor whose energies and vibrations shaped the guides’ sense of self during a tour as well as humanistic and mystical knowledges. Still, the guides were equivocal about tourism. A visit to Machu Picchu brought an opportunity to improve the reputation of the Peruvian nation around the world and impact individuals’ deeper sense of themselves and the universe. Yet tourists often did not treat Machu Picchu with the respect the guides felt it deserved. The constant and prolonged presence of foreigners in the city of Cuzco was perceived to both strengthen and weaken cultural identity. Most of the guides believed that tourism to Cuzco and Machu Picchu was inevitable. If properly managed, it could pay dividends to the citizens of Cuzco.

While some may critique the guide’s dreams as capitalist fantasies, quaint folk iterations or New Age delusions, to take the guides’ claims seriously means to reevaluate our notions of tourism, indigenaity and how the two are deeply intertwined.

From the temporal bridges fashioned through Peru Rail's train journeys to guiding at the sanctuary, the industry of tourism has participated in the construction of Machu Picchu as an Andean Utopia. Partially through guiding visitors to their "sanctuary", the guides learn more about "being Incan." Machu Picchu has become part of the guides' sense of self and part of their dreams for the future. Paradoxically it is a place shaped and nurtured out of the complicit and tacit relationships sustained between Incanism, global tourism, New Age spirituality, and a neoliberal economic order. Framed as an antidote to an alienating commercial and global world, Machu Picchu has become the guides' Andean Utopia. This commercial and ritual pilgrimage to Peru's mythical home renews and fortifies the lives of guides.

## CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION: THE AMBIVALENCE OF HERITAGE-PROSPECTING

Symbol of a country: For Peruvians, Machu Picchu symbolizes Peru. In its construction, the ancient Peruvian demonstrated their capacity to maintaining in harmony the architectonic structures with nature. It is also a symbol of creativity and equilibrium and tenacity of the ancient Peruvian man to overcome the difficulties of his surroundings. In sum, it is the pride of all of the country, a legacy that we should preserve for future generations (El Comercio 2007).

In her thoughtful ethnography, *When Natures Goes Public*, Cori Hayden (2003) examines the multiple networks, exchanges and effects of pharmaceutical bio-prospecting in Mexico. Hayden argues that through the practices of bio-prospecting specific material objects and discourses are made and unmade. Hayden asserts that the real products made from bio-prospecting are not revolutionary drugs for pharmaceutical companies, but the knowledges, relationships and institutions that are produced in its shadows.

In this conclusion I employ Hayden's notion of prospecting to the heritage business in Peru to argue that a nation's connection to "its heritage" is contingent upon contemporary practices of a global nature. Prospecting not only shapes what is considered heritage, but the very practice of heritage-prospecting fashions national subjectivities, forges and severs relationships, and creates a multiplicity of knowledges including understandings of the nation. Although we saw in earlier chapters that Machu Picchu was first envisioned from a romantico-scientific or late antiquarianist perspective, constituted in the expeditionary practices of grave-digging, and then in the circulation of commoditized images, the site is prospected today not for bones, but for global tourism and national identity. In this last chapter, I explore the ambivalent nature of this

contemporary prospecting and reflect on some of the ways in which it reproduces earlier forms of prospecting.

Heritage-prospecting is a daily occurrence in Cuzco. Campesinos from the city's outskirts walk the cobbled streets clothed in their "traditional dress" hoping to earn a few cents by posing for a tourist snapshot (aka *sacamefotos*) (Simon 2009). "Bricheros" fill the bars and discotecas, hoping to invite the interest of a gringo/a. These Peruvian men and women play up their new age Incanist roots attempting to win a meal, a beer or perhaps even a plane ticket out of Peru (Vich 2007; Pomareda 2007). Even Peru's National Institute of Culture has vested interest in prospecting national heritage, often making the nation's heritage read more readily as Incan. In the case of Machu Picchu the authorities have placed llamas at the site, although camelids are not indigenous to the lower altitude zone in which the site is located (Meisch 2009).

In his most recent work on Chichen Itza, Quetzil Castañeda (2009) has suggested that "heritage" has become less the thing, the patrimonial object, than the specific configuration in which that thing is embedded. Instead, Castañeda argues that heritage has become both a resource and form of governmentality (2009:293). Slavoj Žižek (2003) has argued that we live in a dematerialized world, consuming lifestyles instead of actual products. I read the production and consumption of heritage through these two cultural developments. I argue that heritage-prospecting in the twenty-first century relies not on the consumption of an actual product, but on the prospect of an image to change one's life experience. Heritage a la Incanism is a cultural resource manufactured in a global sphere, its authenticity sparkling like fool's gold, promising but ultimately elusive. Such mythical elusiveness, however, is enormously profitable.

Prospecting Machu Picchu as Incan heritage today is in many ways simplified precisely because so little of scientific or historical value is known about the site. The three YPE tours, the multiple excavations conducted by the INC, and the area's huaqueros have denuded the site so as to leave very little contextual evidence of its actual Incan past. Due to the lack of scientific documentation and the speculative claims about Machu Picchu's Incan history, there are very few constraints on the popular imagination. In short, there are few material and scientific limits to prospecting Machu Picchu as a highly profitable virtual heritage that exists and may be visited – the ultimate imagined materiality.

Heritage is big business in Peru. Promoted as a sustainable industry, there has been a significant shift of resources toward heritage management in the last thirty years (Flores Nadar 1994; Flores Ochoa 1996). Unlike silver, gold and other mineral mining, heritage is considered profitable without being hazardous to the environment. While heritage-prospecting may not produce toxic tailings, it does produce different byproducts which transform the environment and affect its peoples. Made through multinational institutions, national politics, corporate contracts, tourism, conferences, sex and lawsuits, heritage is not tradition or unearthed antiquities. Like nation, heritage is a product of global connections. Like nation, it is an imagining which relies on an array of discourses, individuals, material manifestations, and institutions to make its object. In what follows, I focus on three ethnographic events where Machu Picchu is presently prospected. I am interested in the reordering of categories such as the global, the self, nature and culture, but also how prospecting reflects a deep ambivalence about "heritage" itself. The result is an examination less of Machu Picchu and its artifacts, than

its insertion and emergence in a constellation of conflicting national and scientific discourses, claims, and desires, many of which have been present since its global unveiling in 1911.

### **They Want a Five Star Hotel to Go to The Bathroom? What Nerve!**

In February of 2008, I returned to Cuzco for the fourth time. I had been to Cuzco as a backpacker, as a student studying Quechua, and as a researcher working on my master's degree in anthropology. I was familiar with Cuzco, but every time I returned the city seemed dramatically altered. The sheer quantity of tourists felt exponentially more encompassing with each visit. The quantity of bars catering to English speakers had grown and more non-Cuzco Peruvians and foreign ex-patriots were living in the city.

The first week in town on my fourth visit to Cuzco, now as a Ph.D. student conducting fieldwork, I went to a new British themed pub with some friends for trivia night. Everything was in English. The wait staff had only a rudimentary understanding of the national language. An ex-patriot enclave has developed in Cuzco where people come as backpackers seeking adventure and stay for a few months to either teach English or volunteer at a non-profit. The ex-patriots do not seem to mind the paradox of living in an exotic place, without ever having to actually live as the exotics do. Still, Cuzqueños run the city and can strike and create complications for the well-planned tourist. The exotic sometimes breaks through. One such event occurred on February 21, 2008.

Two laws had been passed in December of 2007 purportedly timed to coincide with the Cuzqueño lawmakers return to their homes for the holidays. The first, law 29164, sought to promote the “sustainable development of tourist services to the

cultural patrimony of the nation.”<sup>1</sup> The second, law 29167, established the procedures for acquiring the licenses to sustainably develop such services, including the edification, amplification and remodeling of hotel services. Together the laws sought to grant concessions to individuals or companies who would invest and develop Peru’s cultural patrimony. The passage of these two laws in Lima created a firestorm in Cuzco.<sup>2</sup> In essence, the laws sought the ability to sell rights through limited concessions to develop areas around patrimonial sites. The stated object of the law was to “establish the conditions that favor and promote the development of private investment to permit the recuperation, restoration, conservation, improvement and sustainable development of the real estate that forms the cultural patrimony of the Nation, through concession for the benefit of Tourist Services” (Normas Legales 2007). The ultimate goal of the laws was to increase tourism to the patrimonial sites of Peru, with concessions granted to those who would create attractive services.

The minimum conditions for receiving a concession included: a) Respect of the rights of the nation following the 21<sup>st</sup> article of the Constitution of Peru and law 28296, General Law of Cultural Patrimony of the Nation; b) Establishment of hotel services with a minimum of 4 stars and restaurants with a minimum of 4 “forks”, including the sales of handicrafts and novelties; c) Assurance that the areas for development do not compromise the infrastructure of the patrimony; d) Adherence to other laws already in place such as the Master Plan of each site; e) Building the project harmoniously with the environment; f) Putting resources toward the betterment of the area; h) Non-interference

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<sup>1</sup> The actual name of the law is Ley de Promoción del Desarrollo Sostenible de Servicios Turísticos en los Bienes Inmuebles Integrantes del Patrimonio Cultural de la Nación.

<sup>2</sup> By the time February 21<sup>st</sup> arrived, two smaller protests had already taken place in the city.

with the free access of the public to the cultural patrimony of the nation (Normas Legales 2007).

In addition to listing the requirements for the concession, the law also established an evaluation committee to be housed within the National Institute of Culture (INC). The committee was charged with determining the viability of proposals and granting the concessions. A list of possible infractions and sanctions were also detailed for concessionaires who did not abide by the contract.<sup>3</sup> The concession could be cancelled at any time for not following the law, for losing certification to offer tourist services, for putting the nation's cultural patrimony at risk, or for not paying the agreed upon price for the concession.<sup>4</sup>

Many things are considered cultural patrimony in Peru. Musical instruments, dances, cuisine as well as eminent musicians, writers and artists are all considered Peruvian patrimony. The proposed laws, however, focused only on the development of property. This primarily implied archaeological sites. While the laws did not legally privatize the property around cultural patrimony, the laws were interpreted as such by much of Cuzco's population. Those living in the Department of Cuzco were outraged not only that such a law could be passed, but that the law could be dictated from Lima.

A strike was planned to shut down the city of Cuzco "in defense of the region's cultural patrimony." For forty-eight hours in February the town stopped. The groups of

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<sup>3</sup> Under Article 12 Infractions: the law states that the sanction will be imposed by the INC and will be a fine no less than 0.5 UIT and no greater than 50 UIT.

<sup>4</sup> The concession fees would be distributed as follows: the INC would receive 40% destined for the recuperation, preservation and improvement for cultural patrimony; The Ministry for Foreign Commerce and Tourism (MINCETUR) would receive 20% directed toward the promotion of the cultural patrimony; 20% would go to the regional government to generate infrastructure and basic services for the areas around the patrimony; and 20% would be given to the municipal district for signage and security of cultural patrimony.

protestors began their demonstration on the main boulevard running through the city, the Avenida del Sol. From this main thoroughfare protestors marched up to the plaza, and around the main park, eventually filling the central square. The airport was closed temporarily and public transportation was at a standstill. Independent tourists who could not rely on private hotel transportation were invariably stranded and forced to reschedule their travel plans. Many restaurants and shops were also closed.

For many tourists, this was authentic excitement. Having breakfast in one of the many cafés overlooking the main square, tourists ate their eggs and toast and drank their coffee while observing the plaza in the early morning as it filled with protestors. Groups of people demarcated by their flags and organizational banners began to picket and rally through the plaza. Many wanted to make a strong rebuttal of the laws recently passed and had travelled from Cuzco's outlying communities to partake in the demonstration. Women, children, and men marched with their whistles and their flags shouting catchy phrases like: Cuzco united will never be defeated! Cuzco defends itself! If there isn't a solution, arm for the revolution!

While some Cuzqueños stood alongside the protestors, watching and supporting, others capitalized on the gathering to sell gelatins, ice creams and other snacks. A mammoth wall hanging of Tupac Amaru<sup>5</sup> hung outside a window along the main plaza. Some participants even dressed as Incas and marched in front of their groups, gesticulating with golden staffs. In the evening of the first day of the protest, a public forum was held in the university building on the square. Speakers, dances and a skit were performed in an effort to publically discuss the ramifications of these laws and to

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<sup>5</sup> Tupac Amaru I was one of several heirs to the Sapa Inca throne. He was executed for treason by Viceroy Toledo in 1572.

strategize how best to proceed. The day following the 48 hour protest, an all day conference was held at the building of a small local NGO and featured a panel with guest speakers and break-out sessions.

During the march, I interviewed people actively protesting as well as bystanders. In total, I informally interviewed twenty-three subjects during the 48 hour period. Later, I formally interviewed eight participants, each interview lasting between one and two hours. I also attended the community forum and conference where several dozen people spoke about their concerns. Listening to and interviewing the participants of the strike, two connected themes emerged. First, informants had an overwhelming fear of being strangers in their own town. The laws implied that the promotion of cultural patrimony was not targeted toward the people living in the area, but rather toward foreigners who could afford luxuries. Outsiders would develop the amortized areas of archaeological sites and they would experience the nation's treasures. Concessions could only be granted to those who could invest and create five star hotels<sup>6</sup> and four "fork" restaurants. The second theme was fear of becoming class pariahs or marginal citizens within Cuzco society. While a small group of elites might profit from the treasures of Cuzco, the average Cuzqueño would not. Protestors cited the injustice of Cuzco's distribution of wealth and the resulting marginalization of the population. The protestors criticized the political party of Peru's President Alan Garcia for not only being corrupt, but for its mercantilization of all the nation's resources. The inequality in wages, the rising cost of goods, the poverty, and the lack of food were consistently cited during the protest. Some protestors pointed to those who continued to live in poverty alongside

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<sup>6</sup> Although the law specified four star hotels, the people interviewed referred to the requirement as five star hotel constructions.

the archaeological ruins, saying “the government has ignored the south” (interview February 21, 2008). Incredulously protestors asked, “where did all the income from the outrageous entry fees to Machu Picchu go” (interview February 21, 2008).<sup>7</sup> Shaking their heads solemnly, they responded to their own question saying that the money went to Lima and did nothing to benefit Cuzco’s population.

Although the laws specified rules about public access, most of the informants I interviewed felt that the laws would diminish access and the ability for citizens to enjoy their patrimony. Furthermore, none of my informants trusted the government to rectify future wrongdoings. In one interview, an indigenous girl who had accompanied her parents in the protest stated that “of course she marched” (interview March 1, 2008). “We marched”, she said, “because we had to protect what was ours.” She and her family were worried about not being able to freely pass through Sacsayhuaman on the way to town or use the areas around the ruins for grazing their animals. The property was of their ancestors and “belonged to us” (interview March 1, 2008).

Cuzqueños felt threatened by the urbanization of the areas arguing that many developers saw only the economic potential of places like Machu Picchu or the ruins of Sacsayhuaman. They did not understand the personal significance of the nation’s cultural patrimony.<sup>8</sup> Many believed that the laws were thought to discriminate not only against local economies, but against the ancestral communities who had a personal relationship with the property and lived alongside the patrimonial sites.

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<sup>7</sup> At the time the cost was \$40.

<sup>8</sup> The person who helped draft the bill, Mr. Bryce, was highlighted as particularly insensitive to the feelings of Cuzqueños. Bryce, a wealthy Limeño, had recently become a congressman. My informants in Cuzco resented his rapid rise to the legislature and were suspicious of his motives.

All of my informants felt they were being asked to be visitors of their own heritage. The government, they argued, was always selling Peru “piece by piece” to other countries.<sup>9</sup> The protestors were proud of being from Cuzco and being descendants of the Incas. Protecting the patrimonial sites from concession, or what was more frequently referred to as privatization, was an effort to protect a part of what made them who they were. Nullifying the laws was necessary not simply for themselves, but for future generations. The need to preserve and protect the patrimony for grandchildren, the children of those grandchildren, and the future generations was a consistent response to questions about motivations for protesting. Many of those interviewed said: “We have to defend what we have inherited” (interviews February 21, 2008).

The motivation to march revealed a deep frustration over excessive prices and increased inequality coupled with a keen desire to protect “their way of life.” All of these feelings of frustration seemed to be summed up in a law paying people to build luxury hotels around national patrimony. While most of Cuzco, in some form or another, relies on tourism for its income, the disparity between the city’s hosts and guests had become too much to bear during the 48 hours. The protestors hoped to send a strong message of *rechazo* (rejection) to the central government.

During the 48 hours I also interviewed many protestors who had never been to Machu Picchu. While some had had an opportunity to visit while they were in high school, the majority of those interviewed did not know Machu Picchu first hand. How could they feel so strongly for something that they did not know personally? While at

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<sup>9</sup> Most frequently this lament was met with the example of Chile owning all of Peru.

first seemingly incongruent, the responses were clear. While many of the protestors had little, if any, first hand experience of Machu Picchu, they still felt the need to protect what they considered to be part of their history.

The sense of being forgotten and marginalized stretched into other areas during the protest. Several participants noted the absurdity of not being able to attend Catholic mass at many of the churches during various times of the day because the buildings were closed for tourists. If they wanted to pray they had to do so before 9 am. Moreover, tourists paid to enter the sanctuaries. “Where did this money go?” one woman asked me. “Not to benefit the thousands of people in need” (interview February 21, 2008).

Motivating people’s protest was not only outrage at the proposed privatization of the patrimony of the nation, but also the privatization of other natural resources. During this same period, natural gas deposits had been discovered and were concessioned to the natural gas company CAMISEA. Due to the company’s structure in pricing, gas was cheaper in Lima than in Cuzco, the city closest to the natural gas reserves. This neoliberal platform made no sense to the protestors. “People are poor and don’t make anything. Look at CAMISEA – the people continue to be poor” (interview February 22, 2008). In defending the nation’s patrimony many Cuzqueños protested their own marginalization and the rising cost of living in general – including the climbing prices of natural gas, rice and entry fees to Machu Picchu.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>10</sup> The INC has recently implemented a plan that on Sunday visits to all archaeological ruins are free. Although the entry free for Machu Picchu is now waived, one still has to consider the cost of the transportation and hotel in Aguas Calientes. As one person asked, “how could a person whose monthly salary is s/400 (at the time approximately \$133) visit Machu Picchu?”

Perhaps the most striking display of the protest was through the makeshift poster gallery on the walls surrounding the plaza. In front of the main cathedral stood a man handing out paper and felt pens encouraging protestors to post their thoughts. On the other side of the plaza, in front of the university building, another group of people taped their criticisms onto ancient Inca walls. People gathered to read all of the postings and to listen as groups debated and declaimed in the afternoon Andean sun. Next to images of those who were thought to have compromised the dignity of the Cuzqueños (including President Alan Garcia), were derogatory remarks and critiques of development, neoliberalism, social injustice and a nation that forgets.

“Apra =\$\$ We demand dignity and respect to the city that represents Peru – Live Cuzco!”<sup>11</sup>

“We need investments not invasions! Carajo!”

“Down with the mercantilization of patrimony; Down with privatization, down with the high cost of living, down with neo-liberalism.”

“The ‘mafia’ of the business of tourism only serves to exploit and further oppress the poor class.”

“The pueblos identify themselves following their patrimony; a pueblo without patrimony is a pariah in their own territory.”

“When money talks, the truth shuts up.”

“Cuzqueños defend the Mother Cuzco until death.”

“We take care of our Quechua language; our Cuzco aerial space; our train lines; our highways; our Incaic seat, our raza.”

“Christ is the road, but the priests charge the toll.”

Although very few of the posters were written in Quechua, some were written in English in an apparent attempt to educate the tourists who were trying to decipher the events:

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<sup>11</sup> Originals were written in Spanish, my translation.

“They want to allow hotel complexes 8 stories high in the woodland next to Sacsayhuaman and MP (Machu Picchu).”

“Please put up with our protest and try to understand we are doing this for the future well-being of Cuzco.”

“Everyone in the Government is massive liars and official thieves of the state.”

“They can privatize anything they want but why our national treasures?”

“The government wants to make quick money for themselves without sustaining tourism for Cuzco.”

(And most poetically) “Alan Garcia is a cunt.”

One poster defined what exactly Cuzco meant by cultural patrimony:

What is patrimony? It is the totality of material or non-material goods created by nature, man or both. They are property of the nation not the state, for their importance and historic, archaeological, anthropological, artistic, economic, scientific, touristic, landscape, etc., value. They have legal protection and are under the reach of the state, and are moreover intangibles, imprescriptible, inalienable. Patrimony understood as resource is a good that should be utilized in favor of the population.<sup>12</sup>

Cesar Aguilar Peña is one of Cuzco’s most well-known and respected cartoonists. His illustrated political comic book *Ch’illco* is a publication dedicated to satirizing those in public office. On the second day of the protest, he taped a large piece of butcher block paper onto the side of the University building. While his son sold back issues of *Ch’illco*, Aguilar Peña began to paint his protest. The backdrop for the poster’s image was Machu Picchu. From the green mountain-scape, three buildings cartoonishly sprang forth: One building was called Hotel Five Rats, another was a restaurant four forks and the third was titled McDolar.

The national response to Cuzco’s demonstration was generally unfavorable. The protestors in Cuzco were publically referred to as “terrorists” for their disruption of law

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<sup>12</sup> My translation.

and order (Diario El Sol 2008:1; Maron 2008:A6; Garcia 2008:A11). Several people were subjected to criminal suit because they had prevented access to the airport, train and other means of travel. While some in Lima were vaguely aware of the protest, the local resonance of the event was passed over in the national news. Deemed terrorists, the protestors were portrayed as a small marginalized band; a few rebels who did not accurately represent the city of Cuzco or Peru. While a handful of Lima's intellectuals supported the protestors by signing petitions against the laws, the strike did not escalate nationally and was soon forgotten.

What became clear in the aftermath of the peaceful protest was that a deep schism about national patrimony exists in Peru. On the one hand, not being able to profit from cultural heritage was considered un-Peruvian. Business people and many government officials believed that archaeological sites should be developed in an effort to increase tourism and thus bring economic benefits to working Peruvians. Those who supported the laws argued that Peru's cultural patrimony were treasures to be exploited and should be enjoyed by everyone. If tourism was one of Peru's most promising economic activities, then the government should do everything to encourage its development. Referring to an upscale restaurant and bar that has been built alongside an archaeological site in the heart of one of Lima's affluent residential neighborhoods, the Huaca Pucllana, developers argued that such investment paid dividends directly to the people of Peru. Efforts to protect cultural patrimony from further commercialization and outside influence were considered terrorist acts in the eyes of the central government, and in direct opposition to the future well-being of all Peruvians.

On the other hand, many of the Cuzqueños interviewed said that they felt that patrimony was lived and embodied. Patrimony was not simply a place to be parceled out in concessions by the state. Patrimony was communal and belonged to the nation. Places like Machu Picchu or Sacsayhuaman provided a sense of history and distinction in what were considered the homogenizing forces of neoliberal policies. Protecting such places from commercialization meant the protection of self and communal values.<sup>13</sup> Machu Picchu, and Cuzco's other patrimonial sites, had become the focus around which two national political camps sparred. Ollanta Humala, founder of the Peruvian Nationalist Party, lost to Alan Garcia in a close run-off Presidential election in 2006.<sup>14</sup> Many of his strongest supporters were based in the Andes. During the protest, hopeful rumors circulated that Humala would make his way from Puno to support the protest. While Humala never appeared, Garcia capitalized on the protests to discredit the nationalist discourse that emerged during the 48 hours. Simultaneously, Humala supporters capitalized on the protest to critique Garcia's politics and connect patrimony with broader discontent over neoliberalism and privatization of Peruvian resources.

Linking sustainable tourism with archaeological sites through law 29164 and 29167 was one attempt to prospect Cuzco's heritage. Street marches, poster painting, conferences, and workshops were subsequent responses and attempts to thwart the legislation, but also to prospect the nation's heritage differently. Protestors wanted to be

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<sup>13</sup> Jorge Flores Ochoa, pointed out that "for a Cuzqueño to say that Machu Picchu was going to pass into private hands without differentiating between concession and privatization is a very juridical discussion and quite silly, the matter is that Machu Picchu is going to pass to those who administer tourism, and who are they?" (interview April 8, 2008).

<sup>14</sup> Humala actually ran under the UPP (Union for Peru) party.

able to determine for themselves how Machu Picchu, which they took to be a regional resource, would be managed and marketed.

Unlikely effects sprang from the 48-hour protest. While the protests stalled the final implementation of the laws, the notion of national patrimony was expanded to include natural gas, water, Catholicism, and even popular business entities such as Wong Supermarkets, interest in which had recently been sold to a Chile-based transnational supermarket chain. The 48 hour strike espoused a sacred secular self and vision for the nation which was anti-government, anti-corruption, and anti-neoliberal. Consequently, the sale of the beloved, but privately owned, Lima-based Wong Supermarkets to a Chilean company, was discursively linked with selling concessions to foreign companies to develop archaeological sites. Natural resources and emblematic companies were conceptualized alongside Peruvian archaeological property as an integral part of what constituted being Cuzqueño. National heritage and its patrimony were being redefined as a resource while its proper treatment and management was negotiated through the protests. Simultaneously, Machu Picchu acted as the iconic global, national and regional symbol deployed by both warring factions. Ultimately what was produced during the 48 hours of heritage-prospecting, were understandings about development, the nation, neoliberalism, the Peruvian government, the global, and the self. Machu Picchu persisted as a valuable prospect for a nation's imagining of its future.

### **International Cooperation, Collaborative Stewardship and a Museum for All**

In November 2005, Peru threatened to sue Yale University for repatriation of objects taken from Machu Picchu and other archaeological sites during the three Yale Peruvian Expeditions (YPE). After attempting to negotiate an agreement, Peru filed a

lawsuit in December 2008. The lawsuit is not simply about a breach of contract over objects that were lent to Yale University and never returned. For many Peruvians, the objects of Machu Picchu form part of their patrimony and national identity. The government of Peru has demanded access, ownership and control over the artifacts as well as the photographic and written documentation of the expeditions.

In 2002 Peru began discussions with Yale University for the repatriation of Machu Picchu's objects.<sup>15</sup> It was not until 2005 that significant progress toward negotiating an agreement outside of the courtroom began in earnest.<sup>16</sup> However, by July 2005 it became clear to the Peruvian parties that a more aggressive strategy was needed. The new strategy involved a trifecta of moral, political and legal avenues (correspondence, Ferrero, July 26, 2005, MRE). The new plan was five fold and included: a) suspending dialogue with Yale temporarily; b) the presentation of a formal letter from the Peruvian embassy requiring the return of all objects; c) searching for North American support, through diplomatic channels or other private associations familiar with the topic; d) carrying out a public campaign denouncing Yale in the international press and other media;<sup>17</sup> and e) diplomatic action with North American authorities including meetings with the Executive and Legislative branches of

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<sup>15</sup> The first lady of Peru at the time, Eliane Karp, first met with Yale's attorneys regarding repatriation of artifacts.

<sup>16</sup> In correspondence held at the Ministerio de Relaciones Exteriores (MRE) dated May 17, 2005. Peruvian Embassy in U.S. communicated with counterpart in Lima regarding conversations with Dr. Richard Levin, President of Yale. Peru viewed legal action as premature and hoped that an amicable resolution through dialogue was still possible. In a later letter dated July 26, 2005 negotiations were said to have been on-going for three months.

<sup>17</sup> The call for repatriation has had relatively short play in U.S. media. Although the event has been a subject for the New York Times Magazine (2007) and the New Republic (2006), the repatriation quest story provides Peruvian media with constant subject matter appearing in national as well as local publications monthly if not weekly.

government.<sup>18</sup> Additionally, the Peruvian team began to research for legal documentation surrounding the removal of artifacts by Bingham not only in terms of Peruvian law, but in terms of international rights.<sup>19</sup>

Peru secured the services of the U.S.-based law firm Williams and Connolly to assist with their case and began negotiating with Yale's attorney Dorothy Robinson. Concerns were raised by the Peruvian embassy over various assertions made by Yale. First, Yale had argued that the YPE, with Bingham as its Director, brought many of the pieces back to Yale prior to latter agreements and formal stipulations. These artifacts were therefore not subject to Peru's claims for return. Second, Yale argued that much of the current Yale collection was on loan from other collections and that some pieces were acquired personally by Bingham and was therefore not part of the YPE excavations. Third, a statute of limitations for the agreement between Yale and Peru was applicable (Ferrero, MRE correspondence, November 21, 2005). Underlying Yale's assertions was the assumption that Peru could not properly care for the objects and valuable material for humanity would be lost if returned to Peru. According to the Peruvian embassy, a counter proposal addressing Yale's points was drafted and submitted to Yale in November of 2005.<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Former Peruvian President Alejandro Toledo did meet with President Bush in spring of 2006. Although the subject of Machu Picchu was not formally on the agenda, the Peruvian embassy felt that the subject would be addressed. I am not aware of a formal meeting with Congress, but Senator Chris Dodd (CT) has been an ally of Peru's cause.

<sup>19</sup> An early point of confusion was whether or not Peru had issued a Supreme Decree 2169 on December 5, 1920 demanding the return of objects held at Yale. While National Geographic asserted that there was indeed a decree, the decree does not appear in Peru's *Normas Legales* a publication detailing all decrees and laws.

<sup>20</sup> The proposal was based on a proposal drafted and submitted by Eliane Karp's on May 12, 2003.

By the end of 2005, Peru escalated their challenge and inquired about the cost of having Williams and Connolly and other law firms, represent them in U.S. Court. Peru anticipated a legal battle lasting at least two years. The Peruvian Embassy met with their own stakeholders including Luis Lumbreras, Director of the INC, and the Minister Manuel Soarez, the sub-secretary of Foreign Cultural Policy. Both men were pleased with the strategy that the Peruvian Embassy in the U.S. was taking and hoped for the eventual return of the objects (Ferrero, MR correspondence, February 22, 2006).

Initially Peru decided not to opt for a long legal battle with Yale and continued negotiations. Yale seemed amenable to the return of the objects and an ad-hoc committee was formed to negotiate and devise a plan for the return of objects. The committee was comprised of two members elected by Peru, two members elected by Yale and one member to be agreed upon by both parties. The ad-hoc committee was charged with making an inventory of the collection and establishing criteria to divide the different parts of the collections. The ad-hoc committee also negotiated the details of the return of the objects, including the establishment of timelines and locations. Yale continued to express concern over the safety of the objects and the conditions for storing the artifacts and offered to share their expertise and “know-how” (Ferrero, MRE correspondence, February 22, 2006). The committee also enlisted the support of a legal advisory board. Negotiations thus began in earnest in early 2006, with Peru highly aware of the cost they would incur in legal and personnel fees if they opted to pursue a more litigious course of action.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> In a communication dated September 26, 2006, Peruvian representatives attended a conference on sustainable culture. At the conference they met with Dr. Barbara T. Hoffman. She encouraged Peru to continue with negotiations, arguing that an amicable agreement was far more desirable than opting for a more litigious, and thus riskier and expensive, route. Yale University’s endowment for 2007 was 22.53

A joint statement was released by both the Government of Peru and Yale University on September 14, 2007. After nearly two years of active strategizing and negotiating, an agreement had finally been reached. A Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) was signed by both agents of Yale University and the nation of Peru and was intended to “create a model for the ongoing collaborative stewardship of materials that are of historical importance to Peru and Yale, and of cultural importance to the people of Peru and the world” (2007:1). In the statement, the MOU was lauded as a “new model of international cooperation providing for the collaborative stewardship of cultural and natural treasures” (2007:1). Furthermore, the two parties would “embrace not only the archaeological materials Hiram Bingham excavated from Machu Picchu but also other aspects of scholarly and research interest, such as study of flora and fauna of the national park surrounding the archaeological site (2007:1). The agreement highlighted the ongoing relationship between Yale and Peru in the future conservation, study and exhibition of the “Incan Archaeological Materials from Machu Picchu.”<sup>22</sup>

The MOU outlined various acknowledgments and agreements between the two parties. Both Peru and Yale acknowledged that Machu Picchu was rightfully recognized by UNESCO as cultural patrimony of the world and treasured by humanity. The MOU noted that Yale had acted as a good steward of the materials and that Peru had also honored the achievements and memory of Hiram Bingham whose “discoveries and contributions to archaeology and geography are respected worldwide” (2007:1). Also in

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billion dollars or approximately \$1,770,994 per student. The GDP for Peru in 2007 was estimated at 219.6 billion. With a population of about 29 million, that amounts to \$7,572 per citizen (CIA.gov).

<sup>22</sup> This wording seems highly problematic if Peru wants all of the materials taken from Peru’s soil, not just those excavated at Machu Picchu, returned.

the MOU, both Yale and Peru agreed to amicably resolve future disputes over possession and ownership of materials.

Following the acknowledgements, the MOU outlined the principles for the cooperation, collaboration, and friendship over the stewardship of the materials. In this short paragraph, Peru expressed its gratitude to Yale for the “stewardship, conservation and intellectual contribution of Yale in connection with those Materials for over nine decades, and for the groundbreaking scholarship and exhibition of the Materials that has occurred under Yale’s sponsorship” (2007:1). In return, Yale expressed its gratitude to the Peruvian people “whose ancestors created the historical Materials that scientists and curators at Yale have conserved, displayed and studied in those nine decades” (2007:1).

As part of the MOU’s proposed collaborative framework, both parties would co-sponsor a museum exhibit that would travel internationally and feature not only the objects from the historic Yale Peruvian Expeditions, but also various dioramas and other multimedia materials developed at Yale during their 2005 museum exhibition “Unveiling the Mystery of the Incas.” Along with artifacts housed at Yale, various objects would be loaned by the government of Peru as a compliment to the traveling exhibition. The traveling exhibit was intended as a vehicle to promote understanding of Inca life and culture, but also tourism to Inca sites in Peru. More critically, the funding accrued through the traveling exhibition ticket sales would go towards subsidizing the building of the “Machu Picchu Museum and Research Center” in Cuzco. The building of the research center was outlined in the MOU and was a requirement for the return of the materials. Presumably included to alleviate Yale’s concerns over the future care and

treatment of the objects, the MOU stipulated that Yale would return the pieces once the museum and center had been constructed. Furthermore, the MOU specified that the museum would meet the standards of “security and other technical specifications” agreed upon by both parties. An advisory board for the proposed center was outlined in the MOU. The board would be comprised of two members appointed by Yale and two members appointed by Peru, with a fifth person, selected and agreed upon by both parties, acting as chair of the board. The MOU also specified that the museum and research center act as a “suitable memorial acknowledging the life and work of Hiram Bingham” (2007:3). The hope of both parties was that the museum would be open for the much anticipated centennial of Bingham’s discovery of Machu Picchu in 1911. Once the museum and research center was opened in Cuzco, the museum quality objects would return to Peru. The MOU specified that not every item was going to be returned simultaneously. Instead, Yale would acknowledge Peru’s title to all the excavated objects in exchange for having usufruct<sup>23</sup> rights to research the collection in Cuzco.

Yale will acknowledge Peru’s title to all the excavated objects including the fragments, bones and specimens from Machu Picchu. Simultaneously, in the spirit of collaboration, Peru will share with Yale rights in the research collection, part of which will remain at Yale as objects of ongoing research. Once the Museum and Research Center is ready for operation in late 2009, the museum quality objects will return to Peru along with a portion of the research collection (2007:3).

However, many of the objects were subject to ongoing research and investigation at Yale. The MOU specified that this portion of the collection would not be returned to Peru

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<sup>23</sup> Usufruct in the MOU was stated as: “the rights to possess, use and enjoy for academic, scientific and curatorial or museological purposes, including but not limited to these explicit rights: the rights to study, restore, assemble, date through chemical or physical means, exhibit, lend for traveling exhibits, publish research related to, and publish depictions or make reproductions or copies in any media or format; no monetary payment shall be required for such rights” (2007:2).

by 2011, but instead would continue to be housed in New Haven, Connecticut until their study had been concluded.

Although initially hailed by both sides as a grand new model of cooperation and collaboration, it was only a short time before Peruvians began to protest. Two aspects of the MOU were of concern. First, many Peruvians balked at the notion that a new museum had to be constructed. Some wondered how Peru would come up with additional funding to build and care for the center. The location of the new museum also created a flurry of speculation. Some felt that a new museum should be near Machu Picchu. Although there is an INC managed site museum at the base of the mountain of Machu Picchu, many in Cuzco expressed the desire to nationalize the overpriced hotel that sits nestled next to the entry of Machu Picchu and convert it into a museum and research center. Others felt that the museum should be housed in Cuzco in what is now part of the University's soccer fields. A new contemporary state of the art facility could be built in Cuzco as a showpiece for the repatriated objects.<sup>24</sup> Still, others continued to believe that there were museums of quality already in existence in Cuzco which could be retrofitted to house the center. Regardless, to many it felt like Yale was unilaterally determining Peru's form of care of the objects as a condition for Yale's returning of Peruvian patrimony. To many, this felt like a stipulation imposed by Yale when Peru should be receiving her objects without conditions.

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<sup>24</sup> In one conversation with a state official, building a museum in the spirit of the Getty Museum was something Peru should do to demonstrate their capabilities as a nation.

The second stumbling block for public acceptance of the MOU was that Yale was going to return only the “museum quality” pieces.<sup>25</sup> Who, many wondered, decided what constituted museum quality? What made an object museum quality? Furthermore, what were the non-museum quality pieces and how many were there? Why were not all of the objects being returned? Anything short of the total return of objects without conditions was unacceptable to many Peruvians.

On February 23, 2008 former Peruvian first-lady and Belgian anthropologist Eliane Karp wrote an editorial that was published in *The New York Times*. In the editorial Karp stated that “Yale continues to deny Peru the right to its cultural patrimony, something Peru has demanded since 1920” (Karp 2008).<sup>26</sup> Karp critiqued the agreement saying that Yale refused to acknowledge Peru’s sovereign right over the objects. The MOU, Karp argued, reflected a colonial way of thinking by a modern academic institution. She went on to suggest that Yale had deliberately stalled negotiations when her husband was in power because of his indigenous identity. Waiting for a new Peruvian President who was hostile to indigenous matters favored Yale in the negotiations.

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<sup>25</sup> The MOU defined “museum quality” as those Materials in the collection that “are suitable for and capable of being displayed in a museum exhibition” (2007:2). Specifically, they were objects taken from the inventory that had been supplied to the ad-hoc committee.

<sup>26</sup> Although there was not much play in the U.S. media about the MOU, a blog on a Yale Daily News Article expresses a very different opinion than those held by many Peruvians: By JamesH (Unregistered User) 5:29pm on March 3, 2008: “Let Peru pay for the inventory and 100 years of protection for priceless artifacts. These items would long have been in a private collection if not placed in the Peabody. Peru’s own government is involved in antiquities dealing. Take pictures now for in several years these items will no longer exist. How soon with these “cultural property” disputes popping up will it be before the Peabody is an empty shell?”

Karp's editorial was translated and republished two days later in the local Cuzco newspaper *El Diario del Cuzco* (Karp 2008).<sup>27</sup> Above the fold and on the first page, Karp, wearing an emblematic Tawantinsuyo scarf, was featured to the right of the title: "Eliane Karp de Toledo shows that the agreement was a trick." In bigger letters the headline read: "Yale will not return the treasures of Machu Picchu." The letter acted as a catalyst for the resuscitation of national patrimonial narratives drawing on Peru's history of being coerced or duped by a powerful nation. Anti-colonial discourses surfaced and public concern over the terms of the MOU mounted.

Karp's editorial marked the beginning of an onslaught of vocal and public criticisms of the MOU primarily from Peru's intellectuals and institutional elites. As a way of exhibiting due diligence, the Director of the INC, Cecilia Bakula, visited Yale on March 3, 2008 to witness the pieces for herself. Richard Burger, Curator of the collection, had been charged with creating an inventory and determining the quality of the pieces (Needham 2008). Many in Peru became suspicious of his inventory and wondered how Peru would know it was getting everything Yale had in its possession. Bakula visited Yale to verify the collection, make her own inventory and assure the nation that Peru had not been tricked in signing the MOU.

Within Peru a more expansive critique of the MOU was forming. Concerns over the MOU fixated on various points including: 1) the appearance that Yale had the right to determine the museum quality pieces and therefore what would be returned to Peru; 2) Yale had usufruct rights over the pieces until the construction of a museum, with the implication that without the proper installations Yale would continue with usufruct rights

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<sup>27</sup> The op-ed was also published the 25 of February in Lima's *El Comercio* though not as prominently displayed.

over the objects for another 99 years with additional rights in any case for an indefinite period; 3) If the museum in Cuzco was not ready at the end of the traveling exhibition, the pieces from the exhibit would return to Yale; and 4) all of the MOU was subject to Connecticut law.

An International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) conference was held in Lima in March 2008. As part of the conference, letters were written ardently critiquing the MOU. INC official Maria Elena Cordova and Luis Lumbreras, former director of the INC and noted archaeologist, took issue with the MOU and subjected it to a thorough analysis. After 15 detailed pages of protest, Lumbreras and Cordova concluded that Peru needed to follow its own laws and its own constitution with the Peruvian Congress' participation before agreeing to any MOU with Yale University.

In addition, an open letter was addressed to President Alan Garcia. Signed on March 7, 2008 by Peruvian and U.S. scholars<sup>28</sup>, the letter stated:

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<sup>28</sup>Signatures included: Carlos Bustamante Monteverde, PhD in Biophysics, Professor of UC-Berkeley, USA; Martín Benavides Abanto, PhD in Sociology, resident investigator of the Center for Advanced Studies in Behavioral Sciences (CASBS)- Stanford University, USA; Marcos Milla Comitre, PhD in Cellular and Molecular Biology, California, USA; Mariana Mould de Pease, BA in history, Vice-President for the Peruvian Committee of ICOMOS, Lima; Benjamín Marticorena, PhD en Physics, Vice-Rector of the University of Antonio Ruiz Montoya, Lima; Ruth Shady Solís, Doctor in Anthropology and Archaeology, President of the Peruvian Committee of ICOMOS, Lima; Javier Herrera, Doctor in Economics, Director of DIAL of the Institute of Investigation for Development (IRD), France; Humberto Guerra, MD, PhD, Principal Professor of the University Peruana Cayetano Heredia, Lima; Jorge Flores Ochoa, Doctor in Anthropology, Principal Professor of the National University San Antonio Abad del Cuzco; Marco Martos Carrera, Doctor of Letters, President of the Peruvian Academy of Language, Lima. Walter Alva, Doctor in Archaeology, Director of the Museum of Tumbas Reales of Sipán, Lambayeque; Carlos Aguirre, PhD in History, Professor of the University of Oregon, USA; Víctor Pimentel, Architect, honorary President of the Peruvian Committee of ICOMOS, Lima; Uriel García, Doctor in Medicine, Professor of the University Peruana Cayetano Heredia, Lima; Roger Guerra García, Doctor in Medicine, Principal Professor of the University Peruana Cayetano Heredia, Lima; Elmer Ojeda, PhD in Anthropology, Professor of Linguistics UC-Davis, USA; Carmen McEvoy, PhD in History, Professor at the University of Virginia, USA; Álvaro Roca Rey Miro Quesada, Master of Science in Fine Arts, Sculptor, former director of the Museum of the Nation, Lima; Aldo Migone Zunino, PhD in Physics, Chair of the Physics Department of the University of Southern Illinois, USA; María Rostworowski, investigator of the Institute for Peruvian Studies, Lima; Juan Chiappe Corigliano, Doctor in Medicine, Anglo-American Clinic, Lima; Salomón Lerner Fabrés, PhD in Philosophy, Principal Professor of the Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú, Lima; Teodoro Hampe-Martínez, Doctor in Geography and History, Professor de la

The “Machu Picchu Collection” of this university and others, like the vast Max Uhle collection at UC Berkeley, **should** be returned to Peru...Although the property of Peru over this patrimony is **clearly** recognized in the MOU, this agreement reflects an arrogant attitude and prejudice on the part of Yale, of denying Peru its moral and legal right to decide with sovereignty, without conditions nor tutelage, in so much as the future of the complete collection (Monteverde et al 2008).

Public critique of the MOU continued in Peru with what seemed like weekly updates.<sup>29</sup>

In the beginning of the negotiations Peru demanded the return of all objects taken from Peru by the YPE. The foundation of Peru’s argument was that the cultural patrimony held at the Peabody Museum and Yale University was the property of the Peruvian government and has been held illegally for the last nine decades. Peru also considered the photographs<sup>30</sup> and YPE documentation held at Yale’s Sterling Library’s Manuscripts and Archives to be cultural patrimony of Peru.<sup>31</sup> Anything short of the recognition of Peru’s total sovereignty over the materials seemed to destabilize this

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Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú and of the National University of San Marcos; Patrice Lecoq, PhD in Anthropology, Professor of the University of Paris, Panteón-Sorbonne, France.

<sup>29</sup> *Diario El Sol*, Cuzco: March 22, 2008 “In spite of the specialist’s critiques – Government: Yale will return all the pieces”; *El Diario del Cuzco* April 4, 2008 “They will repatriate Incan pieces of Yale.”; *El Diario del Cuzco* May 5, 2008 “UNESCO Supports Peru (says Yale should return objects)”; *La Republica*, May 11, 2008 “Yale should comply with the law and with their word”; *El Comercio* June 19, 2008 “Yale Shows the Pieces but does not assure that they are going to return them”; *El Comercio* June 19, 2008 “National Geographic asks Yale University to return all the objects of Machu Picchu.”

<sup>30</sup> Albums containing photographs from the expedition are stored at both the Peabody Museum and National Geographic in Washington D.C. National Geographic allowed Peruvian officials to view the nearly 9000 images carefully stored at National Geographic in 23 albums that Hiram Bingham made and subsequently sent to Gilbert Grosvenor, editor of National Geographic, between 1911 and 1916. While National Geographic could not make duplicates of the entire 9000 images, they did agree to make a generic catalog and inventory of the images. A number of images from the YPE are digitized on-line and researchers and others can ask for permission to view the images via National Geographic’s secure on-line database. National Geographic also sent copies of 274 images to the INC on/around February 7, 2006 which had been printed by National Geographic in various publications and forms. The images are not currently located at the INC library in Lima.

<sup>31</sup> The majority of photographs are held at the Peabody Museum. The personal papers of Hiram Bingham as well as the YPE papers, notebooks and correspondence were given to Yale by Bingham and are housed at Yale’s Sterling Library Manuscripts and Archives.

argument. That certain representatives for Peru signed an MOU replete with a variety of stipulations was not acceptable.

### **Prospecting Machu Picchu in Court: A Nation's Intrinsic Significance**

In late 2008, the legal representatives of the Republic of Peru in the case declared that they would sue Yale University. How the MOU was dissolved is unclear. On December 5, 2008 the Republic of Peru filed a general civil suit against Yale University in Washington D.C. District Court. The cause of action was “for the return of property wrongfully and fraudulently obtained by Defendant” (2008:1). In the complaint Peru stated that:

These artifacts belong to Peru and its people and are central to the history and heritage of the Peruvian nation. Yale is wrongfully, improperly, and fraudulently detaining this property and has refused its return. The property in question is composed of centuries-old Incan materials- mummies, skulls, bones and other human remains, pottery, utensils, ceramics, objects of art and other items (“artifacts”) – which were excavated from Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and the surrounding areas by agents of the University (Republic of Peru v Yale University, [2008]).

In the suit, Peru argues that it is the rightful owner of the property and has the right to defend its legal property. The document draws on UNESCO treaties and multinational agreements including the 1970 UNESCO convention on the Means of Prohibiting and Preventing the Illicit Import, Export, and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property and the 1972 UNESCO Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage to justify their claim. Peru filed fourteen causes of action and seeks damages in excess of \$75,000.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> This number reads as insignificant, but it is a standard “greater than” amount on the court document.

In one section of the 31 page complaint, Peru's attorneys describe the importance of the artifacts today.<sup>33</sup>

70. The Historic Sanctuary at Machu Picchu has dramatic importance to the nation of Peru, the Peruvian people, and their heritage.

71. In light of the profound importance of Machu Picchu to the Peruvian people and its central place in the history of the Peruvian nation, the site has been inscribed on the United Nation's World Heritage List and was recently recognized as one of the Ten "New" Wonders of the World.<sup>34</sup> It is one of the most well-known and recognizable archaeological sites in the world.

72. The mummies, skulls, bones and other human remains, pottery, utensils, art and other artifacts and objects taken from Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and the surrounding areas and currently in the custody of, inter alia, Yale have intrinsic and important cultural significance to the nation of Peru, the Peruvian people, and their heritage (Republic of Peru v Yale University, [2008]).

The complaint goes on to state that the collection of artifacts from Cuzco, Machu Picchu, and the surrounding areas held by Yale "constitutes one of the most important collections of its kind in the world" (2008:18). That Yale has profited from these objects is also a source of contention and the complaint argues that Yale's traveling exhibit of artifacts from Machu Picchu "generated millions of dollars of revenue for Yale" and that "Yale intends to make the exhibit part of the Peabody Museum's permanent collection" (2008:19).

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<sup>33</sup> The document lists assertions to build their case. Some are prone to hyperbole. "In fact, by the time that the 1914-16 expedition was completed, Bingham and the members of his expeditions had completely stripped Machu Picchu, and the surrounding areas of their archeological objects, leaving nothing behind." Looters in the area had also done their part to strip the mountain of its objects.

<sup>34</sup> A source of pride for many in Peru is the recognition of Machu Picchu as one of the new "Seven Wonders of the World". In a contest initiated in 2006 by the Swiss filmmaker and explorer, Bernard Weber, people all over the world were asked to vote on-line for the new "Seven Wonders of the World". Many communities in Peru took steps to encourage residents to vote for Peruvian sites. Machu Picchu was at the top of the list and computers were set up outside the sanctuary allowing people to cast their ballot. Some towns, including Cuzco, felt so moved by this contest that they set up public computers so that everyone would be able to vote. Machu Picchu and Christ the Redeemer of Rio de Janeiro are the only two monuments from South America to be included on the list.

The basis and justification for the complaint is that Yale not only breached a contract with Peru by not returning the artifacts, but that the artifacts taken from Machu Picchu and its environs are considered to have “intrinsic and important cultural significance to the nation of Peru, the Peruvian people, and their heritage” (2008:18). In the complaint the artifacts are framed not simply as the property of the sovereign nation, but culturally significant for the nation. Its people are somehow embodied in the objects. But how does a nation prove this?

Proving a breach of contract is not sufficient because the statute of limitations has long been passed. Instead, new understandings and legal mandates about the meanings and rights associated with patrimony are being written into precedence. Is Peru’s claim worthwhile? What evidence do they have? What national and multi-national legal norms are being drawn upon to substantiate their claim? What does it mean to protect objects of both scientific and cultural import? How does one prove that artifacts are intrinsic to the patrimony of a nation? Is Peru’s connection to the objects of a place “discovered” in 1911 more important than Yale’s, the so-called “discoverer?” The onus is on Peru to prove that the objects are of intrinsic and important cultural significance to the nation, the Peruvian people and their heritage. Having a U.S. court make this decision may or may not prove validating and may or may not provide a final resolution.

Peru has returned to its trenches to redraw the inquiry and produce formalized claims and motions of redress that speak to and fulfill the demanding requirements of litigation. Initially, Yale moved to dismiss the case saying that not only did Peru file in the incorrect court, but that its claims were “stale and meritless” (Glenn 2009:2). On July

30, 2009 a federal district judge ruled that he did not have jurisdiction over the case and moved the case to a federal district court in Connecticut (Ticker 2009). Whether or not Connecticut will be friendlier terrain for Yale is not yet clear. Regardless, the return of materials is now predicated on a legal decision as Peru opens itself up for inspection and judgment.

Suing Yale in U.S. courts places Yale and the U.S. court in a position to determine the validity of Peru's claims for cultural property. The burden is on Peru to reshape the perspectives and practices about repatriation of cultural property. Peru needs to prove that the objects are the cultural property of the nation of Peru and belong back on Peruvian soil. Moreover, Peru needs to prove that owning history's objects is critical for self-determination and self-possession. This will surely be difficult, as Machu Picchu's history is not only Peru's. Bingham's notebooks or Ford's photographs, while critical for Peru to be able to construct their own national narrative, also form part of Yale's institutional heritage. Furthermore, Machu Picchu is now considered patrimony of humanity, a world heritage site since 1983. How the signed MOU, which admits as much, will be used in the case is unclear.

Peru's heritage-prospecting through legal channels does not simply lead into a "not quite" moment for a "not yet" nation (Tsing 2005, Chakrabarty 2000). While Peru is indeed opened up for inspection and is forced to speak on Yale's terms and in U.S. courts, heritage-prospecting in this instance also leads to defining the role and importance Machu Picchu has for Peru.<sup>35</sup> Through the lawsuit, Peru will need to specify and define what it means that Machu Picchu and its objects "has dramatic importance to

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<sup>35</sup> James Clifford (1988) argues that the history of Indian life in Mashpee was not an all or nothing. Instead, their history was an emergent reality - "a series of cultural and political transactions" (1998:344).

the nation of Peru, the Peruvian people, and their heritage.” In the conflict of nation v. academic institution, Machu Picchu as cultural patrimony and cultural property is being mapped and framed. Prospecting through the lawsuit, Machu Picchu and Peru’s national patrimony are being constructed as it is defined, lived and embodied. Heritage nationalism with Machu Picchu as its emblem is being fashioned and fortified through the lawsuit.

The current lawsuit came about because many citizens of Peru were unsatisfied with the terms of the MOU. Initially, the MOU was signed and applauded. The artifacts of Machu Picchu were being returned! However, specific agents rejected the MOU believing that the MOU perpetuated Yale as a paternalistic institution that continued to infantilize Peru through its treatment of Peru as a nation incapable of properly caring for her own treasured property. While the lawsuit does open up Peru for inspection, the lawsuit is also a more aggressive act of prospecting to claim, control and define the nation’s heritage and position Peru as equivalent. That the materials at Yale may not be returned because of a U.S. court decision seems almost beside the point.

### **Eureka! Prospecting Springs Leaks**

Upon closer inspection the lawsuit is not without paradox. State officials, bureaucrats, and scholars based in both Lima and Cuzco are those most vocal about the repatriation of Machu Picchu’s artifacts. Within the nation of Peru however, some groups of people do not share, and are therefore not included, in the viewpoint espoused in the case’s court document. Their perspective is obfuscated. In the lawsuit the Peruvian nation or republic is portrayed as the only valid broker and owner of Peru’s cultural heritage and patrimony. Heritage is hierarchical however. Through an

examination of Peru's claims, small cracks open and often spring leaks. One leak is the conflict between the Peruvian state and indigenous groups within Peru.<sup>36</sup>

Quechua-speaking groups in Peru often claim and are claimed by the nation as ancestors of the Incas. Typically portrayed as authentic vestiges of the past who are friendly and welcoming, they are depicted in everything from tourist brochures to websites to clothing catalogs. Dressed in their traditional garb, knitting, chewing coca, burnishing gourds, or shepherding alpaca across the high plains, Quechua-speakers are the nation's decorative aesthetic. As stated in earlier chapters, when Hiram Bingham discovered Machu Picchu three families resided and made their livelihood off of the land we now refer to as the sanctuary of Machu Picchu. A descendant of one of the families who held Machu Picchu as property is currently suing Peru's INC for compensation for the nationalization of their land. The lawsuit is based on the claim that the Peruvian state never compensated the Abrill family for their property which included the sanctuary and ruins of Machu Picchu (interview January 16, 2008).<sup>37</sup>

According to Roxanna Abrill, the sanctuary of Machu Picchu was initially part of the Bethlehemite Monk's property. The property was acquired by the Nadals who sold the land to the great grandfather of Ms. Abrill, Mariano Ignacio Ferro in 1905.<sup>38</sup> In 1928, Ferro's son-in-law, Emilio Abrill, suggested that the government expropriate the land due to the amount of tourists, foreign archaeologists and looters who had continuously

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<sup>36</sup> One activist in Cuzco is trying to rally indigenous groups around the notion that this property belongs to them. His work draws on U.N. conventions about the rights of "First Peoples."

<sup>37</sup> This controversy is the subject of a forthcoming book by Sergio Vilela, an editor of a popular magazine in Lima, and Jose Carlos de la Puente, a graduate student at Texas Christian University.

<sup>38</sup> Ferro's name is mentioned in Bingham's journals.

visited the site since 1911.<sup>39</sup> His letter was met with silence and Ferro instead sold part of the property to the Zavaleta family. However, the portion which included the sanctuary of Machu Picchu was excluded from the sale.<sup>40</sup> That transfer of title is the subject of the lawsuit.

The Peruvian government argues that they purchased the Zavaleta property in 1975. The Abrill family argues that their portion, the portion containing the sanctuary of Machu Picchu, was never purchased by the government. Although a formal letter was sent from the Peruvian state in 1944 to Emilio Abrill acknowledging his willingness to donate the land, the property was never formally nationalized. Consequently, Abrill and his family were never financially compensated. Thus, according to the Abrills, Machu Picchu remains their private property and the state has been using it illegally for nearly a century.

In 2006 the Abrill family, represented by Roxanna, requested 100 million dollars from the INC as fair compensation for the property. As Roxanna Abrill points out, this sum is less than three years of INC entry fee earnings to the sanctuary. However, Abrill is quick to point out that her lawsuit is not about the financial compensation. Instead, the lawsuit is about national recognition of her family, their heritage and their place in the history of Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu could be said to have “intrinsic and important cultural significance” for the Abrill family.

Whether or not one believes her rationale, the Abrill lawsuit and her claims parallel the Peruvian nation’s lawsuit with Yale University. While the Peruvian nation

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<sup>39</sup> According to Sergio Vilela, Ferro said he helped Bingham negotiate the area and provided men and supplies for the expedition (interview January 16, 2008). I did not find anything in Bingham’s archive to confirm this, but Ferro’s name is mentioned in Bingham’s field notes.

<sup>40</sup> In 1929 a law was passed stating that archaeological remains pertained to the property where found.

sues Yale University asserting their rights to the artifacts held at Yale and seeks financial retribution for their century-long breach of contract, the Abrill family sues agents of the Peruvian state asserting their rights to the property and the nation's lack of compensation for nearly a century. Both the Peruvian Government and the Abrill family rely on the discourse of heritage to substantiate their claims. The place, and its objects, are said to hold intrinsic importance to their identity. Peru claims the objects by drawing on legal memos, Bingham's letters and Presidential agreements. Roxanna Abrill has researched national archives, prefecture accounts and land transfers to substantiate her claims. Furthermore, the making of Machu Picchu into Peru's national cultural heritage is potentially strengthened through Peru's lawsuit against Yale. The lawsuit rallies the nation against the colonial tactics of Yale. But, the making of Machu Picchu into Abrill's family heritage is also strengthened through her own lawsuit. The lawsuit rallies the nation against corrupt state practices. Simultaneously the lawsuit playing out in Connecticut's courts fortifies the Abrill's claim. If the repatriation of objects is based on the intrinsic importance of cultural heritage for the nation, then is it not inconceivable that a family who owned the property might also feel that importance more personally? Furthermore, if the objects were removed from what was Abrill's private property, are those objects hers?

Roxanna Abrill's claim that her lawsuit is not about financial compensation may seem disingenuous. Undoubtedly she and her family would be pleased with such compensation. However, the lawsuit signifies not only a restoration of her family's history and legacy, but also a limit on the way the state stakes claims to cultural property, heritage and history. Machu Picchu does not only signify cultural patrimony for

the imagined collectivity of a nation. Machu Picchu is also part of Abrill's heritage. How, and if, the Abrill claim will be mapped onto the patrimonial discourse Peru uses in its lawsuit will depend on the tack Yale takes with their own defense. In other words, are the artifacts of Machu Picchu also an intrinsic and important part of the cultural heritage of Yale University?

Like Hayden's bio-prospecting in Mexico, the production of a tangible product will not be the outcome of the lawsuits. Rather, heritage-prospecting through legal channels and the final verdict in the suit will create a suite of effects. Historic discourses are re-emerging around the case of Machu Picchu, reiterating and perhaps reshaping what world heritage and cultural patrimony mean for the Peruvian nation. Understandings of a nation's sovereign rights to "world heritage" will be redefined. Compelling corporate and national alliances will be strengthened.<sup>41</sup> A new era for digging for Machu Picchu's artifacts revives an old network around heritage and expeditionary science.

Clearly the lawsuits are more than a dispute over the politics of knowledge. The lawsuits are also about certain stakeholders' desire for global respect and equality. Tired of being pacified, Peru's lawyers have become more aggressive in the dispute, asserting itself in ways that Yale cannot ignore, while sublimating their own internal conflicts over Machu Picchu. The Abrill family also fights to be included in the collective national history of Machu Picchu. As the meaning of Machu Picchu as cultural

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<sup>41</sup> As Peru struggled against Yale, a compelling corporate and mutually beneficial alliance between National Geographic and Peru was also formed. In the numerous memorandums between Peru's U.S. embassy and its Lima counterpart, ample references to the fact that National Geographic continued to act as an ally, a friend and a supporter of Peru were written. National Geographic provided valuable information to Peru. They also publically supported Peru's claims, stating that Yale should return the artifacts. Meanwhile, National Geographic continues to cover Peru as a country of adventure for those seeking difference. In 2005 National Geographic sponsored an exhibit on Peru and was in the process of publishing an illustrated travel book of Peru.

patrimony is defined through the lawsuits, the ambivalence of what that means and what rights are associated with it, expands.

### **Machu Picchu Everywhere**

In a recent series of paintings by Peruvian pop artist Marcel Velaochaga, narratives of history are juxtaposed against an ephemeral Peruvian present. The series entitled, "Machu Pictures", features the iconic image of Huayna Picchu with the terraces and sections of the Machu Picchu sanctuary neatly laid before its feet. In all of the paintings, Huayna Picchu is painted in neat swatches of acrylic fluorescent pinks, yellows, greens and blues. Against the pop depiction of Machu Picchu, Velaochaga juxtaposes another moment in Peru's imagined history, creating a playful and probing dynamic about the myths of Peru's past and future.

Velaochaga paints well-know national and global images against the backdrop of Machu Picchu. In "Tourists", the Homer Simpson family gazes at the viewer. Are they visiting Machu Picchu? Or is it a commentary on the pop commercialism of the sanctuary, or both? In another, "The Prisoners", three black and white striped llamas stare bewildered, yet accusingly and inquisitively at the viewer. Are the llamas a synecdoche for the Andean peoples or are they a commentary on the ubiquitous tourists ever-present at Machu Picchu, led around like pack animals at Machu Picchu? In another poignant depiction, a portrait of ex-President Alberto Fujimori climbs a set of stairs with his eyes cast downwards, a nod to an image from the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima during a hostage crisis in 1996. Another painting features Lenin and Stalin, a paring that came about after Velaochaga viewed the 2006 film *The Motorcycle Diaries*, wondering if Peru would have had a different history if Che's bike had traversed Machu Picchu. A perhaps too obvious reference to Hiram

Bingham, one painting casts Indiana Jones playfully gazing at the viewer. The obvious slippage between 1911 and 2007 is easy – the global myth of the adventure seeking archaeologist with Machu Picchu’s discovery and exploitation.

Influenced by Andy Warhol, Velaochaga says that he uses images that are iconic to explore the seemingly constant story in Peru. The same history, he says, is always at play in Peru (interview November 28, 2007). Inspired by a tourist snap-shot at one of Lima’s many photocopy and print shops, Velaochaga uses the theme of tourism to examine the connection between consumption and culture in a society that has become all spectacle. Velaochaga hopes that the paintings help us see the “spectacle-ization of reality that can become a daily nightmare, constant, one of which there is no waking” (Planas 2007). Velaochaga was perhaps prescient or simply paying attention that Machu Picchu was everywhere in the visual landscape of Peru. In the same year of his exhibition, Superman went to Machu Picchu in the famous comic book series.<sup>42</sup> Homer Simpson indeed took his family to the famed ruin during one of its episodes. And Indiana Jones was found chasing skulls in the 2008 film “Indiana Jones and the Kingdom of the Crystal Skull.” In late 2008 South Park even staged an episode at what is fast becoming a profitable Hollywood Machu Picchu studio.

In Lima’s *El Comercio*, Enrique Planas reviewed Velaochaga’s exhibit. Planas describes Machu Picchu as a “symbol of a lost nation, ideological frame of indigenismo, tierra incognita for gum-chewing tourists, space of the most delirious pseudo-archaeological theories and, of course, icon of fast-food tourism, today more popular

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<sup>42</sup> Each insertion into global pop culture is big news in Peru. The Superman story was front page news of *El Comercio*, Lima’s largest daily newspaper.

than ever after having been recognized as one of the seven modern wonders” (Planas 2007).

By the end of 2008 nearly all of paintings in the series had sold and Velaochaga was working on more paintings for the series, one to include an image of U.S. forces invading Iraq (interview November 28, 2007). The striking aspect of each painting is how a new commentary is easily created when juxtaposed with the stable, vacated, icon of Machu Picchu. Machu Picchu is meant to represent Peru if only in its most stereotypic of fashions. The psychedelic hues, the juxtaposition of images and mixture of references encourage pause to reevaluate many of society’s most dearly held myths. Presidential power, political figures and even the U.S. landing on the moon are Velaochaga’s chosen subjects.

Tourism is of course one of the most prominent themes and Velaochaga’s critique first appeared to me as both humorous and scathing. The images of the llamas held captive at Machu Picchu or the silly face of Homer Simpson easily conveyed the absurdity of what Machu Picchu has become. Velaochaga admitted that he had not been to see Machu Picchu in ten years when he painted “Machu Pictures.” “I don’t know how it is now, but what I paint in the series is the idea that I have of Machu Picchu, full of tourists. Families that go without knowing where they are or where they step” (Planas 2007). Implicit in Velaochaga’s paintings is a critique not simply of tourism, but of a history of mistrust and mistreatment of the Peruvian nation by those in power. “Machu Pictures” is Velaochaga’s imagined postcards.

Not everyone in Peru worships Machu Picchu. Many are cynical about its exploitation and its constant commercial presence. While most agree that it has become

the logo or icon of the nation, many do not feel they are represented in this national image. Moreover, Velaochaga is not alone in his critique of how the site has been managed and what it has become. In passing conversations and even in some of the interviews I conducted with the tour guides, individuals confess a reluctance to champion Peru's rights to the artifacts at Yale. Secretly they admit that they too do not trust the INC and that the objects of Machu Picchu are probably better cared for in Yale's Peabody Museum. Prominent state actors were critiqued as crypto-indigenists (interview May 23, 2008) or satirized as New Age buffoons.<sup>43</sup> Postcolonial ambivalences about the nation and state surface under Machu Picchu's watchful eyes.

The same image of Huayna Picchu used in Velaochaga's paintings is ubiquitous in Peru. Machu Picchu is plastered on bus-stops and vending carts, embroidered on handbags, used as art in magazines, newspapers, calendars and corporate logos, and is the graphic used to sell nearly every imaginable product from cell-phones to watches to Kotex. The entrance to the Lima airport even has a large billboard with an enormously encompassing image of Machu Picchu welcoming visitors to Peru and urging them to buy Merrill sneakers. That Machu Picchu and its artifacts are a national treasure of intrinsic and important cultural significance is at odds with its commoditization by nearly everyone. Instead, Machu Picchu seems more of a backdrop on which to project one's commentaries and desires. Scientifically vacated, nations,

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<sup>43</sup> Karp and Toledo were frequently critiqued for their romantic depiction of all things indigenous. On the front page of the popular weekly magazine *Caretas*, President Toledo and his wife are caricatured as two Indians, leaping through the air, complete with all the accoutrements of perceived Incaness. Medallions, tupu pins, feathers, and leather sandals adorn the couple's body as they gaze ridiculously into the unknowable distance. The tagline of the cover, reads: *Vende Afuera, Friega Adentro* – It sells abroad, but it disgusts at home.

institutions, and individuals are free to drift toward its mythical magnetism, spinning virtual gold through sovereign claims.

### **A Noble Past, a Prosperous Future**

In 2007, Lima's most popular daily newspaper, *El Comercio*, published a series of special newspaper inserts focusing on various tourist destinations in Peru. All the major attractions were covered along with some that were not quite as well-known. Machu Picchu was of course the subject of one of the weekly magazine-like inserts. Discussing the rise in mystical tourism based on the marvelous energy radiating from Peru, part of the copy read:

Symbol of a country: For Peruvians, Machu Picchu symbolizes Peru. In its construction, the ancient Peruvian demonstrated their capacity to maintaining in harmony the architectonic structures with nature. It is also a symbol of creativity and equilibrium and tenacity of the ancient Peruvian man to overcome the difficulties of his surroundings. In sum, it is the pride of all of the country, a legacy that we should preserve for future generations.

In the tab, the trajectory of national heritage returns to include the ancient. Peru is conceived as timeless, stretching back as far as the imagination can conjure. Notably, it is the noble past of Machu Picchu which contains lessons for the present great nation-in-waiting. Nurtured as role models for a Peruvian futurity, the ancient embodies the national dream: someone who is in harmony with nature, but who works hard and is creative and wise; someone who can build technologically sophisticated structures that are universally admired. A peaceful prosperity and wise contentment of ancient man is implied in the stone edifices. Machu Picchu is a lesson for the nation and the people of

Peru should experience and know their nation's heritage. Without their past there can be no national future.<sup>44</sup>

Scholarship on identity in postcolonial nations has recognized the desire to relate with and return to a romanticized past (Bhaba 1994; Chakrabarty 2000; Garcia-Canclini 2002). A nation's colonial past is often cited as the motivation for these desires as subjects long for and identify with a lost indeterminable object (Ivy 1995; Povinelli 2001). In the case of Peru, and Cuzqueños in particular, this desire manifests itself in the shape of an Andean or Incan Utopia (Pratt 1992; Poole 1998; Mignolo 2000; De la Cadena 2000; Pacheco 2007). The, "we were once great" or "we were noble" or "we were wise and powerful" continues to be expressed in narratives of identity and nationhood, particularly when prospecting heritage.

Today Machu Picchu is considered the sacred material patrimony of that identity. The concern over its care and protection not only draws on postcolonial narratives of nostalgia, loss, indecency and contamination, but also the struggles, stories and emotions of what it means to be global, cosmopolitan, and transnational in the twenty-first century. The ambivalence of such an enterprise surfaces in the practice of heritage-prospecting.

I do not attempt to outline the parameters of the true nature of Peruvian heritage, nor do I take sides in these contentious debates. In each of the examples treated in this conclusion, patrimony and heritage take on differing definitions, are assembled in incongruent spaces, and function differently. At times notions of heritage are expanded to include anti-globalization discourses. Cuzco's heritage is at risk as the city becomes

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<sup>44</sup> The theme of the promise of Peruvian heritage for national greatness is surprisingly consistent with Quintanilla's discourse to protect heritage after Bingham's expeditions, see Chapter 4.

more cosmopolitan and the nation's patrimony is developed by foreign investors. Yet, the state demands the ability to develop Machu Picchu to attract more tourists. Through lawsuits and efforts for repatriation, lawyers for the Peruvian state work toward defining Machu Picchu as an essential and unique part of being Peruvian, protecting its property from foreign ownership. Although Machu Picchu's world heritage status is proudly heralded within Peru, control over its objects should only be in the hands of certain qualified Peruvians. The artifacts of Machu Picchu are of intrinsic significance for the nation and needed for its future. Still others admit that the state is a poor custodian of artifacts, and many of the museums in Peru reflect this less than ideal state. Not every Peruvian takes Peru's official side in the debate with Yale. Simultaneously, Machu Picchu is part of an alternative national history. Such marked boundaries are tested through Machu Picchu's twentieth century history, its UNESCO status, and by academic and personal relationships with the sanctuary. It is not so clear who owns Machu Picchu yet alone how Machu Picchu is heritage.

There is no unity over what constitutes Peru's heritage or how it should be treated. The return of artifacts, promotional campaigns, museum building and public access all clash through the different conceptions of what heritage means for the citizen's sense of self, nation, and world. Cultural patrimony has the possibility to unite people to speak out against unfair business practices, unequal distribution of wealth, corruption and imperialism. Heritage also promulgates and reinforces a sense of difference, sometimes revered and sometimes spurned. At times, heritage is an object to be possessed by the state or individuals, at other times it is an entity that belongs to all of humanity. The only certainty that arises out of heritage-prospecting is that Machu

Picchu itself is an artifact that several parties claim to possess, but which may be imagined and experienced in a number of ways by a variety of individuals.

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## BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Amy Cox graduated from the University of California at Los Angeles with a bachelor's degree in political science. She holds two master's degrees, one from the University of Florida in anthropology and one from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland in the history of art. She has written about race, indigenous identity, the environment, and photography. Currently, she lives with her husband and daughter in Lexington, KY.