Time is a Construct(ion): Heritage and Becoming in Quito's Historic District

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Time is a Construct(ion): Heritage and Becoming in Quito's Historic District

Senior Project Submitted to
The Division of Social Studies
of Bard College

by
Samuel Abate

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INTRODUCTION

This project began in the Spring of 2019 during a study abroad semester in Quito, Ecuador. I vividly remember the third day of this experience, where I went on a day-long walking tour of the historic district with the other students and directors in the program. We visited the Basílica del Voto Nacional, the largest neo-gothic basilica in the Americas; La Iglesia de la Compañía de Jesús, a Spanish Baroque church that is known for its gold-leaf and gilded interior; and ultimately, La Iglesia de San Francisco, the first church to be built in the country of Ecuador. I was immediately drawn by the panoramic views of the city it offered once I got to the top of its steps, and in that moment I felt both calmness and excitement knowing that Quito was going to be my home for the next four months.

After a few months, I began to notice that I was not the only person who was fascinated with the church of San Francisco. It was frequently mentioned on the news channel that my host family and I would watch every night at dinner, it was used as the focal point in paintings and photographs that I have seen in the communal spaces of homes, and it was even portrayed in the street art I would see throughout the city. The more time I spent in Quito, the more it became clear that the church was serving as a symbol for Quito because it was proliferating into so many different parts of my life during my time there. This is one of the reasons that the church of San Francisco became the driving force behind this project.

The project originally began as an exploration of economic life in the church's plaza. I was interested in the various forms of labor that took place in this site because there is an interesting amount of diversity that finds a home there. The most expensive hotel in the country is in this plaza, clearly inviting a wealthy tourist population to the historic district, while there are
also indigenous vendors on the streets and more casual "everyday" businesses framing the plaza. These differences in class were also promulgated by the construction of a metro station in the plaza, which was understood by some to be a threat to the history of the plaza, but it was also affecting some businesses more negatively than others. And so, my primary interest was rooted in class struggle and the metro's arrival. Although both of these themes are an element on this project, I began to shift thematic gears once I began diving into the rich history of Quito.

The historic center of Quito is the first ever UNESCO World Heritage Site to have been introduced to the world, meaning that it has "outstanding universal value" and a distinctive history that the organization deems worth conserving. I made it my mission to delve deep into Quito's history and tackle the special elements of its historic district that make it different from others across Latin America and the globe. Throughout the process of writing this Senior Project I have engaged with material from the fields of anthropology, architecture, art history, environmental studies, museum studies, heritage studies, and philosophy among many others, showing that this project is truly a multidisciplinary effort to understand Quito in its journey leading up to and following its world heritage status. The three chapters of this project highlight three distinct thematic perspectives, all of which call upon the historic district, and specifically the church of San Francisco, and engage with a series of different time periods, theories, and empirical evidence.

The first chapter is concerned with the construction of colonial Quito. It tells the story of structural and architectural change during colonization, but more importantly it puts the non-European at the center of the narrative. Native artisans were primarily responsible for the design and construction of the city of Quito, which is surprising given the European
Baroque-style design that they utilized. Unlike colonial architecture that has emerged in other parts of Latin America, the architecture of Quito shows very little Native iconography in its structures even though the projects were mostly realized by Native artisans. The chapter uses this tension—the tension between the hand of the artist and the artistic style that the structure is using—as a point of departure for an analysis that sifts through the nuances of artistry in a colonial space. In addition, both the plaza (as structure) and the church (as structure and institution) are brought to the forefront to discuss how state power is manifested through these creations. Throughout the chapter there is a clear emphasis on construction and creation, and it also takes the time to acknowledge the role and function of the structures after their erection. By focusing on the development of buildings throughout the Colonial era, one becomes entangled in a history of Quito that, I believe, takes steps towards a decolonized narrative.

Influenced by the fact that Quito was the first UNESCO World Heritage Site, chapter two aims to explore how Quito has served as a model for conservation efforts throughout Latin America and across the globe. It grapples with the notion of heritage at its core and uses the frameworks of authenticity, historical memory, and identity to further investigate the nuances of heritage. In particular, it aims to locate Quito within this narrative and highlight the ironic nature of heritage production, something that is a very defining characteristic of the historic district. It combines an analysis of theory with ethnographic research, therefore giving dimension to a topic that, as we will learn, is full of ironies and unconventional tales of heritage.

Unlike the first chapter, chapter two gives us the opportunity to zoom out and ask some bigger questions about how global heritage is defined, classified, and ultimately performed through larger organizations like UNESCO. Chapter two asks what the difference is between a
centro histórico and a World Heritage site and also pays careful attention to pieces of legislation that have come out of Quito in regard to heritage conservation efforts. Pursuits such as these emphasize the singularity and plurality of heritage just as local, regional, and global perspectives allow for us to enter a discourse that uses both Quito and the global community as focal points. The purpose of this chapter, however, is to talk about a series of communities at the same time and really interrogate what a modern understanding of heritage is or can be.

The last chapter of this project is based on field research conducted in January of 2020. I spent two weeks in Quito focusing on the metro, its construction, and those who were immediately affected by it—the workers in the plaza of San Francisco. My methods mainly consisted of interviews and participant observation, which allowed for me to develop deep connections with the space and the people who have designated it as their place of work. The principal theme of the chapter is waiting, an experience that everyone has faced in their life to some degree, but the way that it emerges in this case study highlights the different ways individuals experience it in both their personal and economic lives. I explore how different workers in the plaza understand waiting in an effort to unpack the notion of modernity in a World Heritage Site, a place that is intentionally supposed to exclude markers of the contemporary. The chapter investigates how those who work in the plaza grapple with modernity, and I propose that these observations can be made through a close look at the experience of waiting.

Some might consider the organization of this Senior Project to be chronological, but I would advise against that thought. Part of the beauty of the historic district of Quito is that it inverts our notions of time, questions our relationship to space, place, and history, and makes us reconsider what it means for something to have value. I imagine all three of these chapters,
although taking place at different moments in time, as simultaneous because by virtue of them revolving around the historic district, everything is treated as a part of the present. This is one of the many arguments that this Senior Project will defend.

The church of San Francisco, as both structure and symbol, is at the center of this project. It was in my mind while writing every piece of this project, so even though it may not be explicitly stated in each moment, please know that it is there in spirit. It is the heart of Quito and I hope that together we will be able to explore the centro histórico in a way that honors this structure and everything it represents.
CHAPTER 1: FROM THE GROUND UP

— INTRODUCTION —

"A spider conducts operations that resemble those of a weaver, and a bee puts to shame many an architect in the construction of her cells. But what distinguishes the worst architect from the best of bees is this, that the architect raises his structure in imagination before he erects it in reality."¹

Nestled in the Andes Mountains lies Quito, a vibrant city that is home to some of the most stunning colonial architecture of Latin America. The historical center of Quito, like many other cultural centers around the globe, contains a series of architectural units that appear "untouched" since their construction, calling into question the different ways people have interacted with the structures despite their clean appearance. Overall, this chapter explores architecture as a mode of storytelling. Specific to the city of Quito, the stories that these buildings tell will comment on Native contribution to construction efforts during the advent of European colonialism. The church of San Francisco lies at the heart of this exploration, for it was the first building to be erected in colonial Quito.

This chapter brings together theories from multiple disciplines in an attempt to deeply examine the architecture that was produced in colonial Quito. By engaging with theories from the disciplines of anthropology, architecture, history, art, and environmental studies, I aim to hybridize my approach in the same way the architecture experiences a blending of influences. Mestiza architecture, in particular, will be at the center of this chapter and it will be through a multi-faceted analysis that I work to address the themes of ownership, silencing, and participation as it relates to architecture.

I will begin my first section by questioning the role of history in the production of narrative. The following section will explore the role of Native artisans in the construction of colonial Quito. It will make an argument regarding the ubiquitous nature of art and how that influences our understanding of "Native" and "European" ownership over architectural products. And lastly, the final section grapples with the plaza and church, in their completed states, to show how state ideology is promoted in their designs. By the end of this chapter, we will have a greater appreciation for colonial architecture in Latin America by understanding how colonial narratives manifest themselves within architecture and how to potentially de-center them in an attempt to bring the perspectives of others to the forefront.

— THE BEGINNING OF A TALE —

Written histories of Quito do not generally begin with the indigenous person at the forefront of their analysis. By this, I mean to say that a majority of historical narratives use the advent of European colonialism as a point of departure for their stories. In the case of Ecuador this is true for various reasons, one of them being that scholars do not have much archeological evidence of the "pre-Hispanic" civilizations of the country, making it difficult for historians to form narratives around the tangible materials they unearth\(^2\). I hesitate to use "pre-Hispanic" as a historical marker, for it reinforces colonialism as a period that attempts and, unfortunately, largely succeeds to erase the customs of a people prior to its arrival. The prefix "pre" conveys how colonialism is often treated as an apex rather than an additive of a narrative, and this perspective will be one of the ways we can begin to interpret the history of Quito.

Michel-Rolph Trillout's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* grapples with the process of historical production as well by centering the human as both an actor and a subject: "Historical narratives address particular situations and, in that sense, they must deal with human beings as actors. But peoples are also the subjects of history the way workers are subjects of a strike: they define the very terms under which some situations can be described". Trouillot effectively highlights the tension between being an actor and a subject in a historical narrative, speaking towards the modes of historical production that characterize Quito prior to European and Incan conquest. As mentioned prior, historians are not as knowledgeable about Quito prior to conquest for a number of reasons; however, it would be naïve to simply accept that this was not at least partially due to the field of historical studies as a whole.

History is peculiar because it is both created by humans and acted out by humans, giving it an anthropological element that not all other disciplines have or require. More importantly, these human contributions to the discipline influence our understanding of how narratives are formed and situated in line with individual understanding. That being said, histories are equally as cultural as the forms of production through which they are made. This study is not necessarily an analysis of whether or not historical facts are inherently subjective or objective, but instead an attempt to emphasize the role of human participation in the definition, delivery, and production of Quiteñx historical narratives.

We are able to trace the history of Quito to as far back as 10,000 years ago; however, as mentioned before, this is only due to fragmented archeological evidence. Prior to Incan conquest in 1495, we know that the land that Quito now occupies was populated by highland tribes and

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additionally a crossroads for trade, which was enabled by the famous Andean Road System that weaved through the Andes Mountains and connected several major cities throughout the region. At its peak, the Andean Road System covered roughly 25,000 miles of land and facilitated trade between the highland countries of Peru, Ecuador, Argentina, Bolivia, and Chile. Taking into consideration the economic power that Quito had during this time, it was a reasonable pursuit for the Incans to attempt to expand their empire, named Tahuantinsuyo, northward and make Quito the northern capital of it. Less than one hundred years after the Real Audiencia of Quito was established, the city was usurped from the Incan people by the European conquistadors. The Real Audiencia of Quito, a regional territory within Tahuantinsuyo, would later influence the naming of the Ecuadorian capital we know of today.

A factual telling of history would only influence our understanding of Ecuador to an extent, considering that myth and legend were integral components of daily life for the Natives. Albert B. Franklin, author of Ecuador: A Portrait of People, beautifully expresses this when he says, "The pre-colonial history of Ecuador is so tightly woven a mixture of honest myth, purposeful legend, and factual history, that there is no use trying to untangle one from the other". Myth and legend, although practiced by all people to some extent, have particular merit in the development of Ecuadorian history and identity. This can be shown through the story of Atahualpa.

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6 I will be using the term "Native" to refer to any non-European. There is not much historical data that clearly identifies the Incan populations from those who were conquered by the Incans during the Colonial period, which certainly comments on the role of history in identity production.
Atahualpa, the favorite son of Huayna Cápac, served as a monumental figure in Incan history. He was given governorship of Quito, the northern capital of the Incan empire, after winning a civil war against his half brother Huáscar. This war weakened the integrity of the empire and strengthened local feelings of nationalism at the same time. Characterized as "prudent, strong, wise, and brave," Atahualpa undoubtedly embodied the values of an Incan ruler and was generally well-liked by his people.

He was one of the first people in the city to engage with Francisco Pizarro, the leader of the Spanish conquistadors, and unfortunately suffered a tragic death as consequence. Pizarro kidnapped and tortured him, permitting his release in exchange for a room full of gold and silver. Once this request was met, Atahualpa was strangled with a silken cord and given a Christian burial, therefore paving the path for Pizarro to gain the support of those who sided with Huáscar during the two brothers' civil war. In this time of weakness, it became less challenging for the Europeans to invade the territory and become the predominant ruling force. Although taking place in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, the story of Atahualpa still manages to resonate with Ecuadorians. Franklin recalls a debate that he attended in 1942 where it was argued that Atuahualpa's personality traits have served as a model for a Ecuadorian nationality, showing the continued importance of Incan figures in a colonized space. In addition, one can find stadiums, streets, and other infrastructural elements that incorporate Atahualpa's name throughout the city's present-day landscape. These observations reflect the presence of Quito's "pre-hispanic" history

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10 Kimmel, Leigh Husband. “Atahualpa.”
throughout the entire city, not just spaces like the historic district that are designated as sites of storytelling.

It is with great difficulty that the stories of the indigenous people are told, for historical production, as Trouillot suggests, can be considered a form of silencing because of its exclusionary qualities; it often rejects the associations that people have with their own stories. Altahulpa's life, although forward presenting and sensible to the Western eye, is one that incorporates myth, legend, and other modes of storytelling that were of value to the Incan people. To deny the presence of these elements is a removal of indigenous agency in the production of their own narratives. The production of narrative, not the narrative itself, permits colonial ideology to enter—removing meaning for some, adding meaning for others—and it silences in the process of its definition. This framework allows one consider one of the many facets that has influenced traditional tellings of Quito's history.

The next section in this chapter will discuss the Colonial Era of Quito, beginning in 1534—only 39 years after the Incans established the city as their northern capital. Built upon the ruins of this Incan city, colonial Quito emerged as one of the architectural epicenters of the Americas and became one of the first cities in Ecuador to be realized with European participation.

— CONSTRUCTION, PRODUCTION, AND ARTISTRY —

The palace of Huayna Cápac once stood proudly where the complex of San Francisco is erected today. Almost immediately after European conquest, the Cabildo of Quito awarded the palace to the Franciscan Fathers soon after construction commenced.¹² The palace served as a

residence for Huayna Capac and a place of worship for the Incan people, therefore designating it as a *huaca*, an object that is assumed to have spirits within it.\(^{13}\) The complex was built upon its ruins, meaning that the new structure assumed the exact location as the structure prior—an act one could consider a form of conquest and emulation.

It was not uncommon in Latin America for churches to be built on top of a site of indigenous focus, for this had been the case in Lima, Cuzco, and Mexico City. Partially destroyed buildings serve as trusty foundations for other buildings and they allow for the new building to be further elevated than the prior structure, asserting both presence and authority in its message.\(^{14}\) The ruins of the original site were used as a point of leverage in a literal and metaphorical sense because they allowed for the newer structure to be physically higher from the ground and in turn, assume greater power. With this being said, the church of San Francisco became one of the first architectural structures to emerge during Quito's colonial era, allowing for it to act as a marker of both European presence and the onset of their rule.

The complex of San Francisco\(^ {15}\) occupied over 30,000 square meters, including a convent, three churches, the San Andrés school of arts, thirteen courtyards and cloisters, and several orchards\(^ {16}\). The church of San Francisco is estimated to have been built in the sixteenth century and it faces a large plaza that acts as the main point of entry. Art historians such as Susan Webster, however, have argued that the church was built in the seventeenth century instead,

\[\text{References}\]

\(^{13}\) Conis, Elena. "San Francisco in Quito, Ecuador: A Union of Old and New World Sources in a Sixteenth-Century Convento." : 38.


\(^{15}\) "The complex of San Francisco" will be used when I reference all aspects of the site, and "the church and monastery of San Francisco" will be used when I am only drawing upon those two specific elements of the complex.

speaking towards the scattered nature of the city's architectural history.\textsuperscript{17} With this information aside, it is necessary to recognize how the structure's architectural derivatives were used to enforce state ideology.

Playing upon the politics of memory, the complex of San Francisco\textsuperscript{18} registered as a site of value to the Native people. With its significant location and undeniable grandeur, the structure used memory as a form of dominance. It employed a visual rhetoric that called upon prior associations with place, making visual measures the primary medium of conveying ideology. Therefore, I propose that architecture was one of the principal facilitators in the religious conversion of Native people. And so, if it were not for the Incan place assuming the same land, would the Europeans have been accepted the way they were by the Native people?

As we will learn later in this chapter, Native people had the opportunity to engage with the architecture in ways that were not likely possible during Incan times, thus providing an example for how they were able to tangibly interact with state ideology.

The complex of San Francisco employed various structural techniques to become a site of

\textsuperscript{17} Refer to Susan Webster's 2012 article, "La desconocida historia de la construcción de la iglesia de San Francisco en Quito."
\textsuperscript{18} Figure 1: The exterior of the church of San Francisco
unparalleled value to the Native people, such as the use of the politics of memory, and these efforts were certainly effective to an extent. Optic memory and tactile engagement are two of the most impressive examples of how architecture became a vehicle of conquest during the early stages of colonial Quito through the complex of San Francisco.

Colonial architecture in Quito reveals the relationship between manual labor and artistic style, a tension that will persist throughout the Colonial Era. In many cases, the styles used in the work of an artist can reflect an element of their identity. In other instances, such as in the architecture of colonial sites throughout Latin America, a particular blending of influences is expressed. Mexico's Posa Chapels, for example, incorporate an artistic style known as tequitqui, a type of relief carving that is known for its roots in Native art forms. I use these chapels as models for mestiza architecture\(^\text{19}\), the decorative blend between two or more cultures to produce a singular structural product. These structures are considered mestiza architecture because they display the artistic and architectural harmony between the chapel, an element of Catholicism that was brought from Europe, and the Native tequitqui style. These types of structures generally contain artistic elements that are both distinctly "European" and "Native". These descriptors imply an element of identity and therefore, execution of these artistic styles can be considered a way of expressing said identity. This is precisely the tension at play in the historic center of Quito, for the "European" buildings were erected by Andean artisans. That being said, a study of architecture in colonial Quito is clearly engaging with the greater notions of identity.

Another example of mestiza architecture is the Andean Hybrid Baroque, a particular architectural form that established its roots in colonial Peru. Although Quito's architecture can be

\(^{19}\) I chose to use the feminine adjective mestiza because the noun"architecture" is feminine in the Spanish language. In most cases, the masculine form of the word is used; however, my conscious effort to demasculinize it permits us to return to its linguistic roots rather than embrace a patriarchal perspective.
thought of as a relative of the Andean Hybrid Baroque, it simply does not compare in its effectiveness to visually convey the hybridity of Native and European perspectives. Webster recognizes this when she writes, "Quito's monumental buildings are strikingly European in appearance and, unlike the so-called 'Mestizo Baroque' architecture of Arequipa and Potosí, for example, they seem to reveal no visible signs of native agency." As an ostensible contrast to the mestiza architecture of other regions within Latin America, the buildings of Quito are visually European and lack a significant amount of iconography, style, or design that can be linked to Native art forms. For this reason, the baroque style can be considered the artistic identity of religious architecture in Quito. We must first investigate the origins of the baroque style in order to properly assess its manifestation in Quiteñx architecture.

The Baroque had its origins in late sixteenth century Italy and it lasted until the eighteenth century. It emerged during the Counter-Reformation, a period of Catholic revival in response to the Protestant Reformation, and became characteristic of the worship and devotion one should maintain with their relationship to God. The style is often associated with grandeur, luxury, and motion—all of which are conveyed through its common use of spiraling columns, gilded interiors, and use of curves rather than straight, harsh lines. Saint Peter's Basilica, located in the Vatican City and arguably one of the principal religious structures of Christianity, although predominantly built in the Renaissance fashion, utilizes baroque elements in its presentation that undoubtedly establish the artistic style as one that is perpetually in conversation with religion. It is systematic in its design and obedient to mathematical laws of order, highlighting how structural forms in art correspond to other types of structure such as religion.

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and state power. The church of San Francisco, the church of La Compañía de Jesús, and the church of Santo Domingo are three examples of baroque-style exteriors in Quito.

The Baroque, which some may consider as a purely European form of art, is reimaged through both the Andean Hybrid Baroque and the Quiteñx Baroque, for they are styles that challenge a historically hegemonic art form of the Western eye. It would be misleading to assume that the Baroque served the same purpose in colonial Quito as it did in post-Renaissance Italy; however, it is through this comparative lens that one gets closer to a better understanding of architecture as a means of conquest.

The architects and builders of the Colonial Era were almost exclusively Andean, stressing the surprising amount of control they had in the design and construction of the city. Their significant contributions to architecture would lead one to think that Native iconography would be placed at the forefront of their creations; however, this was not the case. Its European appearance is uncomfortable, for it forces us to question Natives in their roles as architects and builders. Why would Native people build structures that reveal little to no visual language that reveals their own participation in the

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23 Figure 2: Incan mask detail on the interior of the church of San Francisco
construction process? This tension is integral to how we come to understand the role of Native artisans in the construction of colonial Quito.

The church of San Francisco was designed and assembled by Andean architects and builders, showing how the artistic footprint of the Native was concurrently introduced with colonial rule. Francisco Morocho and Jorge de la Cruz are the names of two men who served at the forefront of the church's architectural project. They were a father-son duo recognized as the *maestros de obra* for the church's construction and they participated in this project for more than twenty years. Masters such as these men were known for both designing and building the architecture of the colonial city, further placing the artistic vision of the Native at the forefront of the city's visual identity. *Maestros de obra*, in particular, had great command over the construction process and clearly exhibited remarkable skill in order to achieve a title such as this.

Native people acquired these architectural skills at the School of San Andrés, which was home to the Quito School of Art. It was established circa 1555 with the intention of instructing the Native elite, as well as some others, in the visual and decorative arts. The School of San Andrés was one of the first institutions to be erected in colonial Quito alongside the church and monastery of San Francisco, proudly gesturing towards the importance of the arts in the beginning of colonial rule. Painting, sculpture, architectural design, and other artistic forms were taught, for they all had a presupposed purpose within the church. Founded by the Franciscans, the school was introduced with the intention of making each student a teacher, which speaks towards the quality and integrity of the education system that was in place. The mastery of

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24 Translation: "Masters of the work". People who held this role were generally the most skilled and well-respected artisans of Quito.
26 Webster, Susan V. "Vantage Points: Andeans and Europeans in the Construction of Colonial Quito." 310.
artistic techniques, then, was an expectation of students, which then gave them the skills necessary to build the magnificent structures they worked on. Through proper revival of European art forms, the Native people of Quito gained a new status in their respective fields.

The question of status is not easy to tackle, for artisans were considered *maestros* (as we know from records of seventeenth-century account books) but their work was often comparable to that of a slave. It was not uncommon for construction in other parts of Latin America and the world to be the work of the enslaved; however, this was not true for Quito. Quito did not have a large African slave population, thus making construction an effort that was dominated by the Andean people—more specifically the artisans that were produced from the School of San Andrés.27

This is not to say that Native people were being used as slaves and additionally, slavery was a different concept then; however, the Colonial Era of Quito resonates with other colonial empires where slavery was more prominent. The Spaniards refused to engage in manual labor, especially building, and this refusal assumes that construction is an action for the inferior.28 Therefore, their titles as *maestros, oficiales, or peones*29 do not directly correspond with the poor reputation that was oftentimes associated with their labor.30

Status, therefore, is difficult to dissect, for the weight of their various titles is not self-evident. It is an issue of perspective, such is the question of artistry that this chapter presents. *Maestro*, a term used and coined by the Europeans, for instance may not have had the

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27 Webster, Susan V. "Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito." 12.
29 Translation: "masters", "officials", and "pawns". There is not much information regarding the use of these titles; however, Webster clues us in to think about them with high regard.
30 Webster, Susan V. "Masters of the Trade: Native Artisans, Guilds, and the Construction of Colonial Quito.": 13.
same significance to the labeler as it did to the labeled. By this, I mean to say we should not assume that European labels of mastery were in any way a comment on status; rather, it could speak towards the dominance the Andeans maintained within their trade. This is to show that labor, although inherently connected to status, can engage with terms like *maestro* to demonstrate a greater story of participation rather than division–not to say that the two are mutually exclusive.

By highlighting participation in the craft of architecture, I aim to take an optimistic approach towards the use of terms like *maestro*. These labels imply that the Native people showcased remarkable dedication in the school of San Andrés and in their architectural pursuits.\(^{31}\) To understand these titles as an argument against their exploitation of labor would be incorrect, but it does propose that the Franciscan education system was working–they were indeed becoming masters of their craft and serving as models for other artisans. This is not necessarily a debate about whether

\(^{31}\) Figure 3: The main altar of the church of San Francisco
the Native people, by virtue of participating in construction, were equated to the slave, or whether their glamorous titles meant that they were recognized as elite. It is of more importance to interrogate the relationship between the Baroque and the person who is engaging with that artistic style. In this case, that would be the Native person.

César Augusto Salgado, in his commentary on New World Baroque theory, says, "To cross from European baroque into the Latin America neobaroque is to move from a hegemonic, diffusionist, and acculturating conception of the term to an emancipating, autochthonous, and transculturating one." Native participation with the Baroque, then, should not be understood as an active engagement with hegemony. Instead, it should represent a form of liberation and a return to indigeneity. This perspective, one might say, is too optimistic and in turn does not recognize art as a colonial effort to assimilate, but art was certainly used as a tool during conquest that aided with conversion efforts. It forced artists to engage their bodies and minds in a practice that requires the acquisition of skills, technique, and style—all factors that are particular to their cultural roots. The Franciscan education system, in general, enforced active participation in artistic production, and this was certainly an effort to assimilate as well. Salgado urges us to reject the thought that the buildings of colonial Quito are Native in construction and European in product, and instead emphasize how they are an Andean product from start to finish. This perspective reinforces the theme of hybridization and pushes aside the European/Native dichotomy that has too commonly emerged in writings about religious architecture in Quito.

Historical narrative has a significant influence upon how the artistic style is digested, but I urge against using the history of artistic production as the only means of situating architecture.

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While I recognize that the Baroque has its roots in Europe, I choose to give less attention to its original purpose in an attempt to re-center the Andean narrative and their particular approach to the baroque style. A theoretical concept known as *uncommoning nature* similarly attempts to emphasize the individual as opposed to the group at large.

This concept was introduced by Marisol de la Cadena, an anthropologist who is demanding a change in the way we understand nature. Pulling from a multispecies approach, she calls upon *uncommoning nature* to further analyze the division between nature and cultural frameworks. Her theoretical approach attempts to challenge how the Western eye homogenizes nature, which assumes that the cultural associations linked to nature are consistent across all populations. By *uncommoning nature*, she aims to emphasize difference and give power to the perspective of the Other. In other words, de la Cadena argues that studies of nature should be done with great consideration for the people who interact with the environment, not just the traditional scientific discourse that surrounds environmental studies. These different approaches to environmental studies are what distinguish nature from Nature, the difference between a homogenized view of the natural world and a culturally specific one.

In a similar fashion, I propose the *uncommoning of the Baroque*. Just as de la Cadena recognizes how homogeneity has dominated the field of environmental studies, I recognize how artists, to an extent, have done the same within their field. Throughout this project we have explored the tension of a "European style" being erected and designed by Native artisans; however, as the concept of *uncommoning the Baroque* argues, this tension is largely due to the fact that the Native perspective is not considered present in the final visual product. In other

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33 See de la Cadena's article "Uncommoning Nature"
words, by recognizing the Baroque as a style that is not strictly European, one is able to better understand the nuances of identity and ownership that surface alongside Native engagement with this particular artistic style in the city of Quito. I want to truly understand the architecture in Quito as an Andean creation and for this reason, I emphasize the notions of *mestiza architecture* and hybridity throughout this chapter. *Uncommoning nature* helps us recognize the architecture of Quito as a completely unique creation, not simply European carbon copy. De la Cadena's analysis allows us to better appreciate these structures as both Andean in creation and product, which is a perspective that has not typically been taken regarding the architecture of colonial Quito. This analysis is an attempt to decolonize notions of identity within art, which is a discourse that is also quite prominent in the study of colonial gardens.

Gardens in colonial Quito served as a critique of Native notions of beauty, showing how European styles became even more prominent as conquest continued. In 1538, citizens of European descent began to ask their government for more land so that they could construct gardens. The land they chose to use for these gardens was the land of the Native people, for a ruling in 1535 required all Native people who were already living in gardens to leave. In addition, the huts of the Native people were considered to be fire-hazards, further highlighting how architectural commentary was used as a form of degradation. The Natives, under the pretense of gardens, became dislocated from their land and moved elsewhere, generally towards the outskirts of town—the areas where colonial construction has not yet reached.34 Gardens, in this instance, serve as a metaphor for the European vision of architecture and organization. Native land, by virtue of being replaced with gardens, illustrates how the European settlers gave priority

34 Fraser, Valerie. *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1535-1635*: 75.
to their framework of aesthetics. The garden is a symbol of organization, beauty, and structure, one that actively serves as a critique of Native architecture at its core.

Native constructions of home are by no means similar to the baroque style of the churches they constructed. In comparison, their homes were rather simple in terms of their design and architectural techniques. Adobe and wood served as the primary materials for their homes, allowing one to say they lived a rather humble lifestyle.\textsuperscript{35} Their homes starkly contrasted the architectural design of religious structures they participated in the construction of, further highlighting the distinction between life at home and life at the church—both of which communicate with nature in marvelous ways.

\textsuperscript{[Q}uiteñx architecture\textsuperscript{]} was developed within the framework of a unique natural environment in which the surrounding green hills were ever present. The uneven topography of Quito creates an infinity of natural perspectives that afford magnificent panoramic views of the city and the snow-capped mountains on the horizon.\textsuperscript{36}

Natural beauty is characteristic of Quito and the architecture serves to compliment the topography. Native artisans, in the production of such architecture, were certainly in conversation with nature while they were engaging in their craft. This is to remind us that the constructed world and the natural world are always in conversation with one another.

As we have seen, the process of construction offers interesting insights regarding Native ownership, identity, and participation in colonial Quito. Once these structures are completed and subject to everyday activity, however, they interpellate the Native populations in a way that is notably different than we have seen in this chapter that ultimately brings notions of the state into the conversation.

\textsuperscript{35} Crespo, Alfonso Ortiz. \textit{Ciudad De Quito: Guía De Arquitectura}: 42.
\textsuperscript{36} Crespo, Alfonso Ortiz. \textit{Ciudad De Quito: Guía De Arquitectura}: 42.
The Church and Monastery of San Francisco stands prominently in front of the volcano and mountains of Pichincha. It serves as a western border for the city of Quito and it also beautifully frames the church complex with its rolling hills and lush, verdant hues. Overlooking a large, open plaza, the church rises slightly above the viewer's line of sight, forcing them to look upward in order to fully capture the impressive design. The façade is arguably one of the church's most baroque elements, making its artistic style pop in comparison to the other forms of architecture that may have adorned the rest of the plaza throughout its history.

The façade, by itself, is perfectly symmetrical. Leading up to the main entrance are curved steps that appear smaller and smaller as they approach their end, giving the illusion that the entrance is more grand in size than it actually is. The chocolate colored doors are intricately carved and the stone surrounding it is similarly fashioned, a hallmark symbol of the baroque style. Surrounding the doors and adorning the bottom portion of the façade are brown, earthy stones that oppose the pristine white utilized in the rest of the building. The two towers that extend from the left and right sides of the door are the highest points of the church, both of which reach high like the mountains in the distance. Height was oftentimes a sacrifice that had to be made in the construction of buildings in colonial Quito, for earthquakes were all too common and so building higher became a risk of its own. In 1868 there was an earthquake that severely damaged these bell towers and it was decided that the structure should not be rebuilt to its original height, and thus this sacrifice was made.37 The desire for height comments on the church's yearning for power–it wanted to extend positively in all directions.

Height is a marker of the natural and the supernatural. The high-reaching towers of the Church of San Francisco emulate the massive mountains in the background, while simultaneously reaching towards the heavens and representing a relationship with God. Height and its ostensible lack of limit shines light on how churches became vehicles of colonial rule throughout Latin America.

Valerie Fraser, author of *The Architecture of Conquest: Building in the Viceroyalty of Peru*, tells us how crosses were planted in the ground to establish both European presence and the site of a future church. This was true for the conquest of Lima, an Incan city that was also taken by Pizarro and his conquistadors. Although there is no evidence as to whether there was a cross erected at the site of the church of San Francisco, we do know that the main church's interior layout assumes the shape of a cross. Inherent in the architectural design lies a message that ties it to a notion of foundation, one that is common for the Andes. The cross is significant because it calls upon the stories of creation and resurrection in the Bible—the stories that grapple with transformation at their core. Churches set the pace for how the rest of the city is going to develop and organize itself. This is effectively captured when Fraser says, "Once the church had been positioned, sites for other important buildings—the town hall (the cabildo), the governor's residence and so on were determined, either on or near to the square".

Across Latin America, it is common for the church to be the first building erected following conquest. With this in mind, it would not be absurd to name the church as a type of home—one that represents both beginning and centrality. The church is the home of conquest because of its history with the founding and development of colonial cities in the Americas;

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however, it is also the home of God, prayer, and worship. Therefore, it assumes the role of a home in both a physical and spiritual sense, further highlighting the distinctions between the church as a form of architecture and an institution. This is not to say that the two forms were mutually exclusive; rather, it is to show how they had separate functions during conquest that were complementary in their goals–to convert the Native people and assert dominance. Through the establishment of the church as home, the Europeans are reinventing the composition of everyday life–from the layout of the city to the structure of the government. Although separate in design, the church as both building and institution work in tandem to achieve a coherent, colonial society. The church's power, although largely due to the reasons we have already explored, was also intensified by other institutions that the church collaborated with. Renato Poblete, in his essay titled "The Church in Latin America: A Historical Survey", expresses this idea by saying that "the church's monopoly of education, hospitals, orphanages, cemeteries, and the keeping of vital statistics became the target of efforts by the state to ensure its own autonomy[...]."40

The church, as an institution, gained a monopoly over several other organizations that would normally emerge in a Latin American colonial cities. God's teachings became a valuable framework that permeated into the education system, which then influenced the missions of orphanages, cemeteries, hospitals, etc. The church and its teachings became elements of everyday life, for they became involved with other institutions that handled life, death, and every moment in between. These efforts can clearly be connected to the state's efforts to maintain its own autonomy, for each moment of life is characterized by the church, what I argue to be the most tangible extension of the state. The church served as an apparatus through which the state

can maintain control and continue to assert colonial power and this is validated by its absolute centrality in the colonial system. As both a form of architecture and institution, we are shown how it smoothly entered the colonial lives of many Latin America cities, for they serve functional purposes that the everyday person depends upon. Alternatively, their connection with quotidian life did not necessarily mean that churches served as places for the public without exclusion.

Churches, and the buildings that oftentimes accompanied them such as monasteries, were a mix of public and private that invited the average person to participate in their own way. Every church functioned differently, of course; however, its interior certainly was more private than its exterior. The interior of a church is enclosed and intimate, and its exterior is public and open. In the case of the church of San Francisco, the exterior was adorned with a large plaza.

Plazas served, and still serve, as places where publics could assume their relationship with the church or the state. In more contemporary times, it is not uncommon to see protesters conglomerating in the plaza or individuals performing with song or dance. In both of these instances the general public is utilizing the openness of the space to offer a commentary, which I argue will always be in conversation with the church or the state by virtue of it being in a plaza. Regardless of the action that is being performed within the space, the main point is that the space was constructed with certain objectives in mind. These objectives, I propose, are similar to those of the church, for they correspond to state ideology and the maintenance of colonial power. Setha M. Low assumes this position as well when she says, "Plazas, for example, are often important spatial representations of society and social hierarchy".  

By interrogating the design of the plaza,

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as we did with the church, it becomes more clear how the state is asserting its message through this particular architectural structure.

Plazas are quite interesting because they are often reduced to "neutral" or "negative" spaces, which would not necessarily be incorrect. Churches, as manifestations of positive space, are then paired with a plaza, negative space, to assist in its presentation to the public. The relationship between positive and negative space can be seen in plenty of Mesoamerican societies and it was certainly a common architectural trend in Europe as well. It allowed for the structure to be indulged without visual obstruction, a privilege that not every building was able to have.

To think of the purpose of a plaza in general is not an easy task and it would require a more intimate perspective to unravel the hidden systems of meaning that manifest themselves in each one. It goes without saying that not all plazas are the same. Some are square, and others are rectangular; some have monuments, and others have markets; some have gardens, and others are empty. Plazas vary across time and space, and for this reason they are wonderful reflections of societies and the people that inhabit them.

Briefly mentioned prior, plazas were used in civilizations throughout the Americas before European arrival and these constructions ultimately influenced the design for the plazas that we see in colonial centers today. Mesoamerican and Andean temples were paired with them similarly to how churches are paired with them during conquest.\(^\text{42}\) Plazas, in both of these instances, designate a place of authority, power, or reverence, making them arguably just as important as the building they were placed in front of. They are the frame for the structure,

\(^{42}\) Low, Setha M. "Indigenous Architecture and the Spanish American Plaza in Mesoamerica and the Caribbean."
further inviting the public to engage in its activities. The plaza, oftentimes, had the ability to hold more people than the religious structure, allowing it to work as a functional extension of the church's architectural breadth.

A plaza's size spoke largely to how it was used and with what type of public it intended to engage with. Incan plazas, for example, are historically some of the largest plazas that were erected prior to European arrival, giving archeologists a good reason to conclude that they were utilized for massive demonstrations and designed to withstand even larger crowds of people. The size of the plaza correlates to its purpose and vice versa, because the human senses act as a unit of measurement for the plaza. It would make sense for the plaza, being almost entirely defined by human activity, to be then be defined by the human senses as well. Public and private space, then, can be determined by the volume one would speak at, the clarity of vision from one end to another, and the comprehensibility of language at varying distances. This idea is built upon those of Edward T. Hall, an American anthropologist who developed the concept of proxemics. Understanding measurement in terms of human senses allows for us to better understand human activity, for the effectiveness of senses vary across landscapes–something that numerical measurements omit in their systematic approach of spatial definition.

This perspective allows us to approach the public and the private through the lens of the human and the architecture they engage with, showing that the plaza is not as "neutral" as one may have thought prior. It is a canvas for the human to adorn and it is through human interaction that meaning is instilled. The state, however, still manages to encode their message in its design. The plaza has clear, rigid borders that separate it from its surroundings, including the church. Its

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rigid, and oftentimes aggressive, design shows its connection to structure and power, reminding us that plazas are sites of ongoing definition as are states and their development over time.

Each plaza functions in conjunction with the structures that decorate its periphery, especially the church. Plazas have existed across the globe; however, in order to fully understand the meaning of a particular plaza one must engage with the unique qualities it presents. Take the plaza of San Francisco, for instance. Over time, the plaza has manifested itself in various ways—with gardens, monuments, fountains, and other decorative elements. Currently, the plaza is entirely empty with the exception of a singular fountain that does not work. In addition to this is the fact that the plaza rests upon the side of a large hill; however, it remains level.

The plaza's flatness is a direct commentary on power and control. The curvaceous landscape of the Andes Mountains is the antithesis of flatness, in turn allowing us to better understand how the construction of a plaza is a forced intervention that functions against nature. Serving as a model for colonialism, the invasiveness of the flat plaza forges together state ideology and colonial architecture. Additionally, the plaza's flatness and horizontal direction are associated with a lack of motion, which directly contrasts the upward motion that is graciously adorning the façade and interior of the church. As a pairing, the church and the plaza could not be more harmonious. The dualities of "neutral and adorned" and "positive and negative space" serve as valuable frameworks to understand the relationship between the church and the plaza. Although the church and the plaza are dichotomous in this perspective, they are quite complementary in their goal to be the architectural constituents for state power.

Together they manage to assume the role of the state, but they also propose a new addition to what is normally considered mestiza architecture, a concept we also grappled with in
the previous section. The plaza, like the church, is a form of *mestiza architecture* because it acts as a physical extension of the church and it also serves as a space to interact with the state directly. Additionally, the plaza calls upon the designs of both European and Native origin, making it a true blend of both cultures.

In my analysis of the plaza and the church, I call upon community participation to help define this common pairing throughout Latin America. Community participation is inherently different from the participation that was explored during the construction of these buildings, for it addresses state power in several different ways. In many ways, the plaza, through community participation, calls upon the individual to build the plaza themselves. That being said, there are notions of building that are still present even though the phase of construction is technically over. Overall, participation is a valuable activity that allows for us to envision how *mestiza architecture* is formed and then used in colonial cities following the period of construction.

— CONCLUSION —

This chapter began with an interrogation of Quito's history through an analysis of historical production. In the following section, we considered the role of Native artisans in the construction of colonial Quito and addressed the role of the Baroque in the formation of artistic identity. And lastly, in the final section, the plaza and church were explored from a variety of perspectives that ultimately led to an analysis that emphasized state power and participation.

Architecture has helped us understand the beginning of Quito's Colonial Era, especially as it pertains to the church and plaza of San Francisco. This site serves not only as the literal origin of the city, but also as the principal site of state power engagement. As we were shown, the church and the plaza facilitate interactions between the state and the people of said state.
Therefore, by examining the different ways Native people interact and participate with architecture, we are better able to focus on how colonial Quito uniquely challenged what it meant to be indigenous. Architecture, and participation with the arts in general, gave the Native people agency over the construction of their city, and with the concepts presented in this chapter such as *uncommoning the Baroque*, I propose that we pay greater attention to Native contributions.

The voices embedded in these structures are important because they are all still alive in the historic district of Quito. Now, the question is: how are these voices heard, or potentially silenced, in the present? And, how can we make sense of the production of history, Native contribution to construction efforts, and the role of the church and the plaza in the historic district of Quito today?
CHAPTER 2: HERITAGE IN LATIN AMERICA AS GENESIS

– INTRODUCTION –

The UNESCO World Heritage Programme considers the historic district of Quito to be the most well-preserved heritage center in all of Latin America.\textsuperscript{44} The district's almost unaltered urban plan, traditional architectural structures, and overall aesthetic cohesion, despite the several earthquakes it has battled in the past, highlight how the site is an exemplar of heritage in local, regional, and global perspectives. This chapter is designed to interrogate the way heritage produces itself and this will be done with the help of three themes: authenticity, historical memory, and identity (la quiteñidad).

These are themes that oftentimes arise in the telling of heritage; however, this particular analysis intends to invert how traditional constructions of heritage are processed and in turn offer a perspective that truly captures the series of dualities and ironies that dominate studies of value across time and space. The case of Quito is placed in the center from the very beginning, which is not a position that has been taken often, and with the help of other scholars and ethnographic evidence, this chapter will unpack how the city serves a model for cultural conservation across the globe. This assertion will be supported with the discussion of the aforementioned thematic branches, as well as with an examination of the centro histórico, UNESCO's World Heritage Programme, and legislation specific to Quito that helped establish conservation efforts throughout Latin America.

The Quito Letter, a document that emerged from a conference held in Quito by the Organization of American States in 1967, sparked a global movement to improve historic preservation throughout Latin America.\(^4^5\) By way of introducing the foundation of what would become known as the centro histórico\(^4^6\), it challenges the pre-existing notions of heritage by questioning the roles of monuments and archeological ruins–both of which are prevalent throughout the region.

The Quito Colloquium of 1977, organized by the UNDP/UNESCO\(^4^7\), continued to build upon these thoughts by defining a historic district as "those living settlements that are strongly conditioned by a physical nature stemming from the past, and recognizable as being representative of the evolution of a people".\(^4^8\) It is important to note the personified approach that the UDP and UNESCO engage with in their attempt to define the historic district, for the use of this vocabulary marks a particular attention to the human experience as it pertains to physical space–a critical element of what will be the centro histórico. Soon I will define the centro histórico; however, it should be made clear that this term was not developed until Quito was named a UNESCO World Heritage Site.

In 1979, Quito was declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site and more importantly, it was the first of its kind. It is clear that Quito has been at the epicenter of many important moments regarding heritage in Latin America and World Heritage status is certainly reifying

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\(^4^6\) Translation: "historic center"

\(^4^7\) UNDP: United Nations Development Programme, UNESCO: United Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

\(^4^8\) Scarpaci, Joseph L. "Globalization Tourists and Heritage Tourists in American Culture: The Case of Latin American Historic Districts.": 3.
Quito's monumental role in the proliferation of heritage discourse in Latin America. At this moment in particular, we see the rise of the centro histórico—which, as we know, is tied to the human qualities of an antiquated space, but also in conversation with the greater themes of globalization.

The centro histórico is one of the many hallmarks of Latin America. Unlike heritage sites in other regions, it is defined by a unique series of characteristics that comment on how heritage has generally been dealt with in the region. Firstly, the centro histórico is an inhabited space. People live, find work, and interact with the space on a daily basis, making it a site that is active in more ways than one. This is a result of its prime location within urban areas, which is true for Quito as well as many other centros históricos: Antigua, Guatemala; Mexico City, Mexico; and Santiago de Cuba, Cuba are just a few examples. Instead of being separated from the more contemporary, populated spots of the city, they are fully integrated into the urban landscape and made easily accessible by all.

The sharp, distinct difference between the centro histórico and the contemporary parts of the city are also defining features that deserve attention. Colonial architecture side-by-side with modern architecture provides a visual narrative of history, as one is oftentimes able to be looking at two historical moments from the same city at the same time. The colonial narrative is present in the centro histórico and as such, it makes sense that the urban areas of Latin American were born from these heritage sites. Quite literally, they are centers that highlight a narrative rooted in colonialism. In part with this observation follows a more obscure narrative, that being the neglect they have received in the years prior to their designation as a World Heritage Site.
Neglect is a theme that will be tackled later in this chapter, but essentially it becomes a vehicle through which one is able to reimagine conservation efforts in Latin America. UNESCO has constructed the idea of the "world heritage site" with the implementation of the World Heritage Programme, but this is not the same as the notion of the centro histórico that was just explored. UNESCO World Heritage Sites, unlike the centro histórico, produce global conversations about heritage by stimulating a narrative of recognition and value that is applied to all nations. Each world heritage site exhibits "outstanding universal value", naturally causing one to consider how the organization is able to measure value on a global scale. Anthropologists such as Joseph L. Scarpaci have had similar questions, leading them to investigate how UNESCO, globalization, and value result in world heritage tourism.

UNESCO is a symbol for globalization, which is precisely what Scarpaci explores in his article titled "Globalization Tourists and Heritage Tourists in American Culture: The Case of Latin American Historic Districts." In his attempt to define the centro histórico, he is able to offer a fresh perspective on heritage that calls into question the nature of tourism as it relates to globalization.

Scarpaci understands globalization and UNESCO as actors within a narrative that complicates a particular vision of heritage and his article essentially argues that UNESCO World Heritage Sites both benefit and suffer from globalization, which he ultimately understands as a form of erasure. He explores the tension between homogeneity and heritage, one of the many dualities that are at play in a centro histórico. Lucía Durán, a specialist of urban and visual anthropology in Quito, identifies the dualities of heritage as well when she says, "In the heart of

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heritage is a process of inclusion-exclusion, problematic and conflicting because of its ability to become visible or invisible, audible or silent in the public sphere, to certain historical processes and subjects.\textsuperscript{50}

Globalization is a theme that will be relevant for the entirety of this chapter. This is because it serves as both a friend and enemy to heritage; its goal of homogeneity is in direct contract with the goals of heritage, yet this is precisely what allows for the historic district to gain recognition. In other words, the landscape of heritage emerges from a dialogue that had the potential to erase it. Although Durán does not directly refer to globalization as an actor in this narrative, she highlights the different forms of erasure that emerge in the construction of heritage. Both Scarpaci and Durán, in their rendering of the Latin American historic district, have highlighted both heritage and globalization as the basis for a series of dualities, showing clearly the general tensions of UNESCO World Heritage Sites across the globe.

Heritage is a point of conflict and furthermore, it demands an exploration of how it manifests itself in the Latin American context. The centro histórico, in particular, is a creation that is unique to Latin America. And Quito, considering its history with heritage legislation, can be considered the home to the centro histórico. As the birthplace of the Quito Letter, the Quito Colloquium, and the first World Heritage Site, the city deserves recognition for being at the forefront of Latin American historic preservation—in particular, for forming the centro histórico.

The rise of the centro histórico, globalization, and duality are only a few avenues through which

\textsuperscript{50} Durán, Lucía. "Barrio, patrimonio, y espectáculo: Disputas por el pasado y el lugar en Centro Histórico de Quito." \textit{Cuaderno Urbano: Espacio, cultura, sociedad} 18, no. 18 (June 2015): 150.

\textsuperscript{51} Translation done by the author. Original text: "En el corazón del patrimonio hay un proceso de inclusión-exclusión, problemático y conflictivo por su capacidad de volver visibles o invisibles, audibles o silentes en la esfera pública, a determinados procesos y sujetos históricos"
one can explore the themes that arise in narratives of heritage such as: authenticity, memory, and *la quiteñidad*.

– AUTHENTICITY –

"This is the heritage-scape," writes Michael A. Di Giovine. "[It is] the social space of an imagined community linked together by their common appreciation and identification with cultural diversity". In his book *The Heritage-scape: UNESCO, World Heritage, and Tourism*, considered by some to be a global ethnography, Di Giovine theorizes the unique place of heritage in UNESCO's World Heritage Programme with his concept of the heritage-scape being at the forefront. The idea of "scapes" has previously been explored in the discipline of anthropology, specifically by Arjun Appadurai in his article "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy". In an increasingly globalizing world, Appadurai disengages with a binary view of the world and instead introduces a view based on "scapes", all of which ground themselves in an imagined community. In particular, he proposes five different scapes that emphasize relationships instead of difference, which compliments his concept of "global cultural flow". The idea essentially argues that in a globalized world, culture is never contained and instead it is always in a dynamic state.

Returning to Di Giovine, it becomes clear that the heritage-scape is an attempt to understand the global practice of heritage production. The "scape" invokes imagery of landscapes, where different elements of the natural world converge to produce an image that is harmonious. This, of course, is the romanticized goal of globalization; however, as we have seen

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through Scarpaci's analysis, it becomes a form of erasure that helps define a modern understanding of heritage. By using the word "erasure", I intend to emphasize the qualities of globalization that have given the ability for a modern definition of heritage to emerge.

Globalization, as Scarpaci understands it, is a force that allows for heritage to surface by means of global connection. Therefore, the heritage site, as an exemplar example of its antique and anti-modern qualities, is highlighted in this discourse of globalization efforts. This critique, as well, makes one question the role of the authentic in a world that is said to be occupied by "scapes"—particularly in World Heritage Sites.

Eric Gable and Richard Handler tackle similar questions in their article "After Authenticity at an American Heritage Site". Although not a UNESCO World Heritage Site, their study of colonial Williamsburg in the state of Virginia challenges notions of authenticity that are undoubtedly relevant to other heritage sites around the world. They speak toward "the dream of authenticity," and this idea assumes that authenticity is not a natural phenomena; instead, it is presumed to be created. In other words, "the dream of authenticity" is a construction. Throughout the text they integrate the words "illusion", "fake", and "lost" in addition to other words that tell the reader that, very plainly, authenticity is not authentic. This perspective, however, was not held by everyone—especially not the staff who worked at one of the museums in Williamsburg.

There is a compelling moment in the piece where the authors turn towards Disneyland to assert their argument. They say, "Colonial Williamsburg differs from Disneyland, in the view of the museum's staff, because it represents the 'real past' rather than one that is made up. It strives

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It is well-known that Disneyland is famous for its fantastical recreations of historical moments but Williamsburg, as understood by employees of said museum, is the antithesis of the world famous amusement park. In other words, Williamsburg is not fantasy. The museum staff's vision of the "real past" is in direct contrast with other forms of historical production, like the amusement park; however, how "real" is Williamsburg?

Gable and Handler present a series of moments where historiophiles question the authenticity of the heritage site, calling into question the style of door locks, age of the trees, and even the overall cleanliness. This proves that authenticity, for many, involves an active engagement with all of the human senses. Heritage sites are defined by their beauty—which would cause one to assume that the visual is superior in this analysis. Instead, I call upon all of the human senses to define authenticity which, of course, is an impossible task.

Di Giovine writes, "Authenticity, therefore, is that animate quality of even the most inanimate of objects—its soul or hau, which always is conscious of its origin, and often longs for a return," which furthers my point that authenticity is prescribed by the human. He describes authenticity as animate, therefore fully personifying the concept. I would argue that authenticity can oftentimes be understood as "organic" or "natural"; however, these renderings of the term eliminate the human elements that help define and create them. Whether the object is animate or inanimate, the language of authenticity makes it human. Therefore, authenticity is at the will of the human senses, the human experience, and the human personality.

To understand authenticity, one needs to understand the nature of the object it is being applied to. Heritage sites, in particular, aim to present themselves as frozen in time. The idea is

that once an individual is interacting with the site, they should be immediately teleported to the historical moment that it is. I hesitate to say that the site is "representing" a moment in history because it is supposed to be that moment in history. This slight change in language shows how understandings of authenticity pose change as the enemy, as if change is not inevitable in a globalized world. Authenticity and change, although oftentimes understood as separate entities, perform similar roles in the heritage site.

Change is performed in many ways throughout the heritage site every single day. Conservation is a practice that is devoted to change; however, it is also in conversation with notions of authenticity. Take as a case in point the Basílica del Voto Nacional in Quito. It is not an uncommon sight to see the Basilica's stained glass removed from its windows for restoration or certain parts of the structure inaccessible to the public for the same purposes. Conservation is an action that uses one form of change to remove a different type of change. In other words, action is needed in order to make an object appear as if it has not been altered over time. This change, the change that is being removed, is an everyday change because it is the result of everyday happenings. This includes normal wear and tare, human interaction, environmental effects, and other elements that instigate change in objects. Without the work of conservationists, heritage sites would not be able to maintain the "dream of authenticity" that tourists, museum workers, and others cling on to so dearly.

Authenticity, in its attempt to maintain a heritage site, is engaging with change in a way that almost appears unconventional. Heritage, in fact, needs change in order to maintain its "frozen" exterior. This is a commentary that serves to help define the nature of conservation work, especially that of heritage sites, and additionally provide a multifaceted approach to the
question of authenticity. Regardless of whether the site is affiliated to UNESCO or not, its relationship to change, heritage, and authenticity remain present. And additionally, the language of sameness, lack of change, and homogeneity uncomfortably resonate with the language of globalization. The "frozen" heritage site communicates a similar type of sameness that Scarpaci speaks of in his analysis of globalization—that is, one that rejects change as a part of its analysis. For this reason, it is necessary to understand that globalization and heritages sites are affected by forms of change.

Authenticity is defined by change and is unable to exist without it. Gable and Handler share that "history changes constantly, that what is believed to be true at one moment is discovered to be inauthentic later on, and that the business of history making involves all sorts of compromises". Change is inherent within history, and therefore the heritage site, which is tied to history, changes in response to the reassessments of history. And so, global practices like historical production are able to influence localized practices of heritage construction and vice versa. I will now turn towards the idea of the "scape" and consider how information is able to move between the local and the global.

In particular, the heritage-scape captures a network of heritage across the globe that truly emphasizes the notion of the "glocal". The "glocal" essentially expresses how the local has become global and the global has become local which, of course, is in conversation with global practices (like globalization) and local practices (such as heritage conservation). Essentially, the global perspective permits a particular analysis of silence to emerge because of its ties to specific and general modes of thought.

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In the case of World Heritage Sites, the word "disguise" may be a better word to use than "silence". I say this because the nature of conversation work entails an effort to impose a particular vision of history upon an object. Conservation efforts are intended to silence the everyday change of an object and so, it can be said that actions related to maintaining authenticity are a form of silencing. By treating objects to make them appear a certain way, conservationists are intentionally removing visual indicators of the present in order to perform a particular history. Therefore, I ascertain that authenticity is performative and ultimately a form of disguise that has a particular interaction with the temporal landscape of a heritage site. I am broadly using the word "disguise" in an attempt to re-imagine frequent efforts that mask the everyday change of tangible heritage. For example, those who remove the grass that grows between the stones of the plaza of San Francisco are engaging with disguise, and so are those who are restoring the chapel of la Cantuña just a few feet away. These examples speak towards the theme of memory, a theme that illustrates the multiple forms of narrative construction that are at play in heritage sites.

– HISTORICAL MEMORY –

On January 15, 2020, I stumbled upon a public exhibition at the Centro Cultural Metropolitano (CCM) titled *Quito: patrimonio documental y memoria histórica*. The CCM is one of the many free museums of Quito's historic district and it is known for its rich library and wide array of temporary art exhibitions. The exhibit was arranged in the main foyer and it consisted of a series of historical images, intending to tell a narrative that highlights the cultural geography of the city. By focusing on images from the 19th and early 20th centuries, the exhibit illustrated a visual history that spoke towards the various forms of memory that are embedded in

58 Translation: "Quito: Documental Heritage and Historic Memory"
the historic center. In the author's note they wrote: "The visual documents are testimonies in the construction of our memory, they are historical, artistic, and ethnographic documents that contribute to the knowledge of the cultural and natural landscape of our city."  

It is clear that the notion of memory is a collective experience. The word "our" is used in reference to both "memory" and "city", implying that the visual documents presented are telling the shared story of the Quiteñx people. These sentiments further suggest that the centro histórico is representative of the city of Quito, not only the people who reside in the centro histórico, and this is a nod towards the unifying role of heritage on a local level. The city of Quito, by virtue of declaring visual history a form of collective memory, proposes that

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59 Figure 4: The artist's statement at the CCM exhibition
60 Translation done by the author. Original text: "Los documentos visuales son testimonios en la construcción de nuestra memoria, son documentos históricos, artísticos y etnográficos, que contribuyen al conocimiento del paisaje cultural y natural de nuestra ciudad."
there is a form of unity in the present that is the result of a manifestation in the past. In this case, the past is presented by a series of photographs, all of which engage with the visual to produce memory. With respect to the notion of visibility, authenticity and memory are similar in their reliance on the human senses and the human experience. Memory, although one could argue is strictly individual, is made collective by the visual medium and rendered by the greater prospects of heritage. Heritage and memory, as seen through this exhibition, are often placed into conversation with one another to comment on the production of historical narratives.

Ross King grapples with the aforementioned themes in his book *Heritage and Identity in Contemporary Thailand: Memory, Place, and Power*. In his first chapter he plainly says that "heritage is at the intersection of memory and power," which he then uses to frame his overall argument: that memory is a social construct. He proceeds to argue that memory is the product of various forms of power that embed themselves into sites and places, meaning that heritage sites are centers of social production. The definition of power that he refers to is both "explicit" and "pervasive", meaning that it can manifest itself within the tangible or the intangible facets of heritage, and therefore leading us towards an analysis that values heritage in all of its forms.

One could argue that the creation of a collective memory is an exercise of power; however, who or what is able to control memory, its production, and the groups it is applicable to? King's analysis, in my opinion, calls upon each individual as an actor within the performance of heritage. This applies to the average, everyday person and to larger conservation organizations such as UNESCO. This is to say that conservation efforts in the name of heritage are actions defined by power, which then contribute to a particular historical memory that is formed. By

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de-centering heritage and instead focusing on memory and power, one is able to see how historical narratives, which are certainly at the heart of heritage, are developed by systems of power and the forms of memory that infiltrate individuals or a series of individuals. Pierre Norma and Lawrence D. Kritzman, authors of *Realms of Memory: Constructions of the French Past*, discuss the multi-faceted nature of memory with ease when they say, "[...] there are as many memories as there are groups, that by nature memory is multiple yet specific–collective and plural yet individual. By contrast, history belongs to everyone and to no one and therefore has a universal vocation".62

Memory is not the same as history and ownership of either concept is a more complicated process to assess. What makes memory different from history, as Norma suggests, is the nature of belonging that is associated with each. Memory appears to be rooted in experience, whereas history is spoken of in terms of its possession. This definition of history is particularly interesting because although the language of ownership is used, the "universal vocation" is still applicable–as if history is a form of universal truth. Memory, on the contrary, engages with the diversity of thought that instead comments on historicity by way of the individual. This is to say that by rooting an analysis within the framework of experience, heritage is understood differently than if it were only influenced by history. In sum, memory is the production of a particular individual or group of individuals and additionally, it is rooted in an understanding of experience. History, contrarily, uses the vernacular of ownership as a means to create a globalized discourse.

At this particular exhibit in the CCM though, the images presented were said to be the property of the Quiteñx people. This is interesting because it is obvious that no one seeing this

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exhibit has a literal memory of the events pictured. By this, I mean to say that the chances of someone being alive and present when these photographs were taken is very slim. The exhibit is clearly engaging with an understanding of memory that transcends the literal and enters an analysis dedicated to the rich heritage that the centro histórico of Quito has to offer to not simply any public, but a Quiteñx public. And so, now knowing the difference between memory and history, how can one understand what historical memory is?

Jonah Rubin's approach to the topic in his article "How Francisco Franco Governs From Beyond the Grave: An Infrastructural Approach to Memory Politics in Contemporary Spain" gives light to the purpose of historical memory. He writes, "The work of historical memory is

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63 Figure 5: Church and plaza of San Francisco photograph within exhibition. Titled: Feria en la Plaza de San Francisco, 1903, John Horgan
less an attempt to shift historians away from archives and toward testimonies, as much ethnographic writing on memory politics would suggest, than a work of producing raw materials for future historical projects". Historical memory, something that one would normally consider as a reference to the past, is instead framed as an image of the future. Using the past as a means of imagining the future is an act that is all too familiar to World Heritage Sites; however, the particular mold of that future is not simply "the past". The blend between history and memory is what allows for the future construction of heritage to be imagined, meaning that heritage is a future-forward action.

By using historical memory to inform "future historical projects", as Rubin suggests, one can understand the centro histórico as a symbol for progress. For this reason, it does not surprise me that the plazas are still used as a place of protest–one of the most public types of demand for progress. For instance, in October of 2019 various indigenous groups from the Ecuadorian Amazon led a peaceful march throughout the centro histórico of Quito to protest the unprecedented raise in fuel prices. I would argue that in this particular moment, this group was engaging with an understanding of historical memory in the execution of their protest, which was undoubtedly an action that was meant to enact change. This goes to show that historical memory is used to define the futures, meaning that heritage as well is less a marker of the past but instead a type of foreshadowing.

As for the exhibit in the CCM, the way in which they interpellate historical memory is through photographs. The curator's tangible approach to memory causes one to think how the city of Quito–past, present, and future–is united by the presentation of these images. It is

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worthwhile to consider, how does the medium of the photograph tell a story differently than other mediums of art? How does engagement with historical memory re-imagine the socio-cultural landscape of the historic district? And finally, as this exhibit questions itself, how does a collective identity form through the process of engaging with heritage?

– "SOY ORGULLOSA DE SER QUITEÑA" –

"Soy orgullosa de ser quiteña" is what Maya told me when we were talking about the centro histórico of Quito. She had just gotten back from pursuing studies in Rome, arguably one of the most well-preserved heritage sites in the world, and we spent a fair amount of time discussing the beauty of tangible heritage, especially in the centro histórico of Quito. The feeling of pride is a response to her feelings about the heritage of her home, thus highlighting one of the many connections that assist in the formation of identity. Maya's understanding of quiteñidad is merging with her understanding of heritage, which is potentially influenced by her travels to Rome, but more importantly forged in a city that she considers herself to be a part of.

The interesting part about this, however, is that she is not necessarily from Quito. She lives in the valley of Cumbayá which, although is technically considered to be a part of the city of Quito, is not necessarily close to the centro histórico. And so, even though there is a literal distance between the heritage site and her place of residence, she is able to resonate with it in a way that enables her to understand herself as quiteña. Maya allows us to see that identity is rooted in place; yet it is not yet clear how place and heritage contribute to a greater understanding of heritage.

The connection between place and identity has been explored in depth by scholars such as James Ferguson and Akhil Gupta. In their piece "Beyond 'Culture': Space, Identity, and the

65 Translation: "I am proud to be Quiteña"
Politics of Difference", they are able to frame how identity is both human and non-human, affixing itself to both the body and to space, and in turn calling upon the tangible and intangible elements of heritage construction:

Keeping in mind that notions of locality or community refer both to a demarcated physical space and to clusters of interaction, we can see that the identity of a place emerges by the intersection of its specific involvement in a system of hierarchically organized spaces with its cultural construction as a community or locality.66

Ferguson and Gupta introduce an idea of space that is both visual and non-visual, defined by both physical space and the different types of interaction that happens within it. In the case of the centro histórico of Quito, one can easily defend both tangible and intangible heritage as existing within the nuanced definition of space that the authors present. World Heritage Sites are particularly interesting because their design is not supposed to alter, meaning that the place itself, as a site of identity formation, is not the same as a standard barrio in Quito. There are a series of restrictions placed on the centro histórico that prohibit types of change that would normally be permitted in other areas of the city. An individual living in one of the other barrios of Quito may have the option to paint their home any color, perform any architectural modification, or simply decorate as they please; however, this is not necessarily true for those who live in the centro histórico. Physical space is different in the centro histórico because the space is not allowed to "change" and therefore, notions of identity emerge in different ways.

Take as a case in point the plaza of San Francisco. It has assumed the role of a marketplace throughout Quito's Colonial Era and into the early twentieth century, where it served as a place that economically engaged a predominantly indigenous population. To this day, I

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would argue that the same purpose has been maintained. Although the market does not visually appear in the same way it had in the past, it was replaced by a series of stores that hug the plaza's borders. The economic and social function of the plaza are still present and architecturally, the physical space is almost entirely the same as it was during colonial times; however, the way that the people have interacted with the space over time is visually different. This goes to show that heritage sites, even though static, are able to allow for new identities to form over time. I agree with the notion that identity is tied to place but, when the space is not changing in the same way as non-heritage sites do, how can one understand the ways in which identity evolves? This question can potentially be answered with a look at how space is classified and organized.

Of course, the centro histórico of Quito was only declared a UNESCO World Heritage Site a little over 40 years ago. This designation undoubtedly changed the way that an individual was able to occupy, envision, and interact with the space—so much as to make it a different environment. As we know by this point, the purpose of heritage is to reject change and embrace a particular vision of history, but what I am trying to focus on is how several different identities are able to emerge in a place that is static. If the site is not changing, then what is? And how is that influencing the construction of Quiteñx identity?

The lack of change is what makes a heritage site unique and therefore, a study of identity is deeply reliant on the physicality of the space. As one could imagine, it is not uncommon for people who live in the centro histórico to be one of the many members of their family to have done so, meaning that the generational ties to space are strong and present alongside the history of the space itself. The same applies to businesses and others who find a livelihood in the centros históricos throughout Latin America. Therefore, a major part of identity has to do with the
generational occupation of space and the overall notion of an enduring function, especially since the space itself is not changing in the same ways that other spaces change. This example, as well as the previous one regarding the plaza's marketplace, emphasizes the importance of continuity in the construction of local identity. Generational continuity is in some ways synonymous with heritage, thus allowing for one to grasp how identity is both affixed to the human and the non-human. Both the site and the people who function within the space are grappling with a notion of identity that comments on the continuous nature of conservation. Between global conversations of conservation and local understandings of quiteñidad, it becomes clear that there are multiple spheres of influence that participate in the construction of a heritage site.

In Maya's construction of identity she forges a connection between the local and the global. By saying that she is proud to be quiteña, she is recognizing that Quito is an integral part of her identity. However, at the same time, by using the centro histórico as the basis for her pride, her identity is also defined by the greater, global structures of heritage that have also given a type of identity to Quito. Within a phrase as simple as "soy orgullosa de ser quiteña", it becomes clear that there are multiple layers of recognition embedded in this statement that comment on a specific form of identity production. Maya's comment recognizes the city of Quito, its centro histórico, and the global network of heritage only using a few words and more importantly, she understands herself to exist within this complex network of identity.

As mentioned prior, the conversation in which she said this phrase was situated on the topic of heritage, specifically that of Quito and Rome. I have never been to Rome, so she spent a fair amount of time explaining her experience as a tourist and a student in that space. The most intriguing element to this conversation, though, was her attention to accessibility. The centro
*histórico*, to Maya, is certainly a tourist attraction, yet it is unable to compete with Rome, which is experiencing so much tourism that it is actually suffering from too much human activity. For this reason, she was excited to hear about new infrastructure projects that would attract more tourists to Quito and part of what makes her proud about her heritage is its reverberating impact. While she was speaking about tourism, it became clear to me that she understood heritage as something to share. In other words, Maya views heritage as something designed for the purpose of global consumption.

The *centro histórico*, then, becomes a vehicle through which the local and the global are interpellated. And more so, the World Heritage Site, often defined by its unique and different qualities, is instead evaluated by how connected it is with the rest of the world. In Maya's understanding of the heritage site, it is the global network that the *centro histórico* exists within that makes her proud to be a quiteña. Recognition becomes the basis of how she understands her identity, which is different from narratives that have historically dominated notions of la quiteñidad. One example of this could be how the implementation of the Quito-Guayaquil railroad transformed the city of Quito and altered the cultural landscape of the historic district.

In 1908 the first railroad in Ecuador was completed. It connected the country's two largest cities, Quito and Guayaquil, and catalyzed a significant urban and economic growth—especially in Quito. By the 1930s, new urban areas were emerging outside of the "*centro histórico" 67 and alongside it arrived a massive change in the economy and population distribution. In fact, by 1990, the historic district that we know of today held less than 6% of Quito's overall population, much of which is due to the railroad and the economic awakening

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67 Quotation marks were used to indicate that at this point in history, this part of the city was simply a part of the city. The term *centro histórico* had not yet surfaced yet.
that it gave the city. As the economy moved away from the historic district, so did the wealth, leaving those of the lower class to occupy what was once the city's epicenter. In other words, while the north of Quito was rapidly evolving, the historic center was left in the hands of the lower class. Although this would generally be the indigenous and/or mestizo populations, there are no official records that indicate as such.68

And so, at this particular moment in history, the centro histórico is defined by a form of neglect. By using the word "neglect" I do not mean to say that it was not cared for, but instead I aim to show how the focuses of development were in other areas of the city. Neglect became one of the many reasons why the centro histórico is as rich as it is today, because its lack of recognition, in a peculiar way, served as a form of conservation. This neglectful, dynamic preservation of the centro histórico is fundamentally different from Maya's perspective, which emphasized the emergence of a heritage site within global discourse. In the early twentieth century, however, neglect served as the principal mode of definition.

The northern parts of Quito are home to the economy and the majority of the Quiteñx population at this time, but that does not mean the centro histórico is lacking any or all importance. It was, and still is, the epicenter of religious influence and political power, proving that the centro histórico was and is still functioning as a synecdoche for the city. The historic district of Quito, in particular, serves as an epicenter for many reasons, which further asserts the argument that it is a microcosm of the entire city.

To be clear, this analysis is true for present-day Quito as well as historic Quito because it is based on systematic forms of urban growth. As previously explored in the previous chapter, La

Iglesia San Francisco was one of the first structures to be built in Quito after the Spaniards arrived and oftentimes, the church became the geographic center of the colonial town. Over the years, Quito has expanded outward from this point in all directions, especially after the arrival of the Quito-Guayaquil railroad. To this day, it still remains in the geographic center of the city and tells a visual narrative of expansion, modernization, and its movement from local to global.

The historical process of neglect in particular shines light on a narrative of how heritage was maintained in Latin America before the second half of the twentieth century, showing that heritage is formed by recognition and the lack thereof. Moreover, it becomes clear that strong notions of identity are able to emerge in both of these instances and the impact of these identity constructions are felt on all scales. From the church of San Francisco to the global arena, Quito has managed to construct an identity that captures the beauty of its heritage and its people.

– CONCLUSION –

This chapter has explored how the variety of discourses that emerge in modern conceptions of heritage. Quito, in particular, has served a monumental role in the proliferation of historic preservation throughout Latin America, and this chapter highlights its unique position within that narrative. By being both a centro histórico and a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Quito offers us the ability to investigate the differences between these two manifestations of heritage and furthermore prove that it was a pioneer in the definition and protection of heritage in Latin America. To help with the exploration of heritage construction in Quito, the concepts of authenticity, historical memory, and identity become critical thematics that unveil the ironic ways in which change, visions of the future, and understandings of the global are able to influence traditional notions of heritage.
As shown through the cases in both Williamsburg, Virginia and Quito, authenticity requires change in order to maintain legitimacy in a heritage site. Oftentimes, there are understandings of authenticity that demonizes change, for it renders an object, place, or thing as inauthentic; however, as I show through my notion of *everyday change*, it becomes a necessary ingredient in the production of authenticity and heritage in general. By engaging with the work of other scholars who speak about globalization and scapes, this conversation of authenticity is able to speak volumes about heritage production across the globe.

The photographic exhibition at the Centro Cultural Metropolitano offers a series of insights regarding historical memory in the *centro histórico* of Quito. This exhibit raises questions regarding how collective memory is formed, the mediums through which it is shared, and the direction of its action. This section frames memory as a future-oriented, collective action instead of an individual's experience with the history, in turn allowing for heritage to serve as a type of foreshadowing—not strictly a vision of the present and the past.

And lastly, identity is explored as it relates to Maya, an informant that says she is "orgullosa de ser quiteña". This section interrogates how identity is both formed and performed on both the local and global stages, highlighting the specificity and plurality that is inherent within studies of heritage. Heritage, which can be understood as a powerful mode of local representation, is surprisingly present in Maya's identity only when it is able to be consumed by a global audience, which nicely contracts the theory explored previously in the chapter that negatively comments on globalization as an oppressor in the narrative of heritage production in the latter half of the 20th century. Finally, with an investigation of neglect, we are able to
imagine the different ways through which conservation and identity have merged to produce modern notions of heritage.

This chapter has placed three integral elements of heritage into conversation with one another to reimagine how the centro histórico of Quito has responded to the change in conservation efforts in Latin America from the early twentieth century to present day. And more importantly, it aims to share how Quito, for various reasons, is at the epicenter of many discourses related to heritage construction.
"Andean states are, more than most counties, works in progress," writes Jerem Adelman in his essay titled "Unfinished States: Historical Perspectives on the Andes." A state in progress is a state in the process of construction; however, what is the finished product that we envision? Similar questions arise in conversations regarding the difference between developed and developing countries. The word "developed" implies that a milestone in development has been met and furthermore, that the countries that do not meet this criteria are actively working towards this status. In sum, conversations of construction arise in the process of defining statehood, potentially implying that the construction of a state can be associated with the various types of development that emerge within said state. The theme of statehood will be a tangential element of this chapter; however, an experience that arises in studies of the state and my own research is waiting.

Quiteñx people have been waiting for the metro to open since the beginning of its construction in 2012. After about eight years of construction, the underground transportation system is expected to open in March of 2020. In terms of transportation infrastructure, the metro is anticipated to become the "spine of the public transportation system" and additionally serve as the largest infrastructure project the country has ever seen. Statements such as these show that this project is a massive undertaking for everyone involved, which naturally makes one think about the time needed to bring this project to life.

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The act of waiting implies a destination and for this reason, I propose that it is an experience that a subject is participating in. Waiting is both static and fluid because movement is assumed; however, that movement is not always visible to the individual who is experiencing the waiting. For this reason, visibility becomes a major element of waiting. In the case of the metro, individuals are, to an extent, unable to see both what they are waiting for and the power that is causing them to wait. This is only to an extent because visually, construction sites are the only markers of the metro that are accessible to the everyday person. Large machinery and construction workers make waiting a visual phenomena; however, the largest efforts are happening underground—beyond the public eye. One might say that waiting puts an individual in a submissive position, meaning that those who are intimately involved with the project exercise a form of dominance that creates "patients of the state".71

In his article "Patients of the State: An Ethnographic Account of Poor People's Waiting" Javier Auyero uses this terminology to refer to a group of lower class individuals who are waiting in the principal welfare office in Buenos Aires, Argentina. His ethnography truly captures the dependency one experiences by being a patient of the state and many of the same sentiments are reflected in the field research I conducted for this project. Although waiting for construction to finish is entirely different from the concept of a waiting room, I would like to think broadly about the way in which the waiting room has traditionally been described. The waiting room is able to be understood as an extension of the state through this perspective and the relationship between statehood and waiting has been explored by many people, especially artists such as Tania Bruguera. In 2018, I had the opportunity to accompany Tania to the

Museum of Modern Art in New York City to see her new exhibit *Untitled (Havana 2000)*. The interactive, performance-based piece is a commentary on the oppressive rule of Fidel Castro in Cuba.

Only four to six people are allowed inside of the exhibit at a time and it is anticipated that those who wish to enter will need to wait at least an hour. Tania says, however, that the waiting is an intentional element of the piece because all Cubans do it and it is impossible to escape it.

*Untitled (Havana 2000)* incorporates the themes of waiting and statehood to illustrate that the act of waiting is an exercise of power in and of itself and once the waiting is over, the spectator is met with silence. This particular silence refers to the silencing of Cubans under the regime of Castro, yet the act of waiting is also a form of silence. Once an individual is a patient of the state, this piece argues, they are a member of a community that is not heard.

It is with this in mind that I begin to view the metro as a manifestation of state power. I was able to conduct my research just two months before the metro was anticipated to open; but, once it is fully operating, will those who were waiting experience a form of relief? Or will their silencing be furthered as Bruguera suggests? Only time will tell, of course, but the point is to discourage anyone from assuming that the metro's opening will only bring relief to those who were waiting. In my research, I came across mixed reactions regarding the metro and these moments of waiting are what my research captures most clearly.

The current transportation situation in Ecuador is already full of waiting. Traffic, in general, is horrendous and during peak hours it may take you double the time to travel to your intended destination. I vividly remember one day where I was going to a friend's house for dinner and I had hoped to arrive around 6:30pm. I left my house around 5:30pm, which was
normal for me, and after a good deal of rain, detour routes (due to construction efforts in other parts of the city), and the rush hour peak, I finally arrived at their house around 7:45pm. Construction is common throughout the city and it bleeds into the happenings of everyday life for those who take the same routes to commute everyday.

The city of Quito is often compared to a sausage because it is long and thin, meaning that the longest, most accessible roads are also the most prone to traffic. Public transportation generally runs up and down instead of left to right because of the rapid changes in altitude on either side, making it very easy to travel between the North and South ends of Quito but difficult to get to the East and West ends. This could potentially be the reason behind the Ecuadorian Hour, which is what locals use to defend their lateness to meetings of sorts. Buses, cars, and taxis dominate transportation in the country and this is especially true for urban areas such as Quito. The problem with this, as we can see, is that traffic creates longer waits and an unpredictable temporality of traveling. Thinking on a national scale, vehicle-based transportation is the most feasible option because the mountainous terrain is unable to support railways, for instance. Additionally, there are only a few airports in the country and flying is certainly not the most economically feasible travel option.

At first glance, the metro would seem to resolve many of these problems within the city. The purpose of this chapter is not necessarily to challenge that, but instead to consider the stakes of the metro's construction in Quito for those who are directly impacted by its construction. For this reason I will spend this chapter telling the stories of workers and business owners in the plaza of San Francisco. As we will see, the construction of the metro is directly impacting their
lives and calling into question how they experience waiting, the relationship between conservation efforts and progress, and the state's role in these happenings.

This chapter will revolve around the stories of four individuals—all of whom are tied to the plaza of San Francisco. Two of them are in a relationship with one another and apart from that, none of the other interlocutors, to my knowledge, are connected to each other in any way that extends beyond their relationship to the plaza. As I will show, their diverse perspectives help illuminate a new understanding of the metro's construction and the different ways they describe their businesses in light of the metro's development.

As much as this introduction has mentioned the arrival of the metro, it is not the primary focus; instead, it is the theme of waiting. The metro's construction is in the background of each of these narratives, but waiting lies at the forefront of this exploration. I will introduce three different types of waiting that are interlocutor-specific: redemptive waiting, continuous waiting, and patience. Additionally, I will conclude with a traditional understanding of waiting in an attempt to return to the greater theme of the metro.

This chapter aims to explore new understandings of waiting by engaging with it in unique, non-traditional ways. I argue that the forms of waiting presented in this chapter are prompted by the failure of modernization and together, they serve as a commentary on the competing forces of heritage and urbanization—a tension that is all too common throughout historic districts in Latin America. Each form of waiting highlights modernization in a different way, showing that waiting and modernity are inherently tied. The chapter features interlocutors who highlight the essence of waiting and furthermore comment on the larger notions of
infrastructure, mobility, and quotidian life. Ultimately, this chapter captures struggle and triumph, construction and final product, and waiting and its alternatives.

TO WAIT –

"Waiting is arguably as old as life itself," write Andreas Bandak and Manpreet K. Janeja in the introduction of their collection titled Ethnographies of Waiting: Doubt, Hope and Uncertainty. Every person has dealt with waiting to an extent; however, it is obviously a unique experience that each individual understands differently. This is the case for business owners and employees in the plaza of San Francisco, where the Quito metro system is erecting a station.

This chapter will explore the concept of waiting by examining it on an individual basis. I propose that not all forms of waiting are identical and therefore, each form deserves an analysis specific to the individual that is participating in the action. As mentioned prior in this chapter, waiting is a mode of working with time. This relationship reveals how an individual experiences waiting and more importantly, defines it. For this reason, I focus on how my interlocutors' individual experiences with construction and transportation reveal their visions of the future. Visions of the future are particularly important because construction is a future-oriented activity—there is almost always an end in mind. This was shown earlier in this chapter when the language of construction was placed in conversation with state development.

There is something to be said about people who are experiencing waiting in a country that is said to be waiting in and of itself. The language of development, although criticized heavily, reveals how this theme is a part of a larger, global narrative. This idea is similar, but not equal, to the instances of waiting that may emerge in day-to-day life, such as the quintessential

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waiting room at the doctor's office. The developing country is proposed in comparison to the
developed country—allowing for a specific image of development to emerge—unlike in the
doctor's office, where an alternative image of development is achieved which also results in a
type of undeniable recognition. Waiting and its alternatives produce a future imaginary while
also emphasising the present circumstances of waiting that influence said imaginaries. Waiting,
therefore, is telling of the present and the future, meaning that those who experience it are also
participating in a mode of storytelling that is forward thinking and almost prophetic.

– CARLOS –

The metro station at the plaza of San Francisco will be at the intersection of La Calle
Sucre and La Calle Benálcazar; the bottom right corner of the plaza. At the southern point of
this intersection is a yellow building that was originally home to a Banco Pichincha, the largest
private bank in Ecuador. Now, it is undergoing a renovation that will transform it into the metro
stop at the plaza of San Francisco. Unlike the other
metro stops, this is the only
station that will not be directly
built into the ground, adding a
special element of visibility to
the metro at this particular
location. The reason for this
decision is likely so that the

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73 Figure 6: The metro's construction zone in the plaza of San Francisco
tangible heritage of the plaza would remain intact, rather than having these elements removed entirely.

Historic centers across the globe form a relationship with temporality; it is clear that they exist under the impression that their antiquated appearance is what separates them from the rest of society. Their ostensible escape from modernity is applauded by larger organizations such as UNESCO, meaning that change, as it correlates with urbanization and modernity, is oftentimes frowned upon by groups of individuals that are interested in preserving cultural patrimony. To think of temporality in a cultural heritage site is complex, for it addresses fluidity in a place that is marked by conservation and preservation or the effort to remove change, variability, or movement. For this reason, it becomes almost uncomfortable to imagine a metro station being built at the plaza of San Francisco because it challenges notions of modernity in a heritage site. This is not to say that construction is an unfamiliar sight in the historic district of Quito and in fact, it is a common happening because of the dozens of conservation based projects that are being realized every day. Construction with the purpose of galvanizing the entire city of Quito, though, is a new arrival in the historic center that has been faced with both pushback and positivity.

Waiting is an element of the construction process that has made its way to the forefront of opinions regarding the metro. Quiteñx people are waiting for the construction to finish, for the metro to open, for the traffic to improve, for transportation to be quicker, and more. After waiting eight years since the beginning movements of the metro's construction, there is a projected opening this year. For those who find employment in the plaza, waiting has become an everyday
endeavor and it speaks towards the nuanced reactions that I encountered during the field research I conducted in January of 2020.

As mentioned prior, the metro station is being built on the southern corner of the intersection of La Calle Sucre and La Calle Benálcazar, and immediately next to this building is a medium-sized Catholic bookstore. The store caught my attention because of its bubblegum pink exterior even though my vision was almost entirely obstructed. On a regular day, the store would be perfectly visible from where I was standing at the main entrance to the church; however, on this day, parked in front of it was a cement truck—one of the multiple construction machines that were working on the metro at that moment. La Calle Benálcazar, which is normally a fully functioning road, was closed to better attend to the construction zone, meaning that large vehicles were occupying the space and no other vehicles had access to the road. This is unfortunate because one of the major tourism companies in Quito had La Calle Benálcazar on its bus route, bringing people from all over the world to the plaza of San Francisco, and because of the construction, they simply had to detour this stop on their tour of the city.

In order to enter the store I needed to walk around the large cement truck, which casted a somber shadow inside because it almost entirely blocked the natural light from shining through the windows. From an interior perspective, the panoramic view of La Iglesia San Francisco that the store would normally offer was replaced with a off-white, monotone cement truck—a perfect metaphor for how modernity and heritage battle with one another.

Not to my surprise, the only people in the store were the owners. A man and a woman behind the counter greeted me immediately as I walked in, making it clear that they were
appreciative of my presence. "¡Buenos días!," exclaimed the man while the woman stood beside him with a large smile on her face. Following this brief interaction I took it upon myself to walk around the store. The store was only a single story and it had several sections that were made clear by slight differences in elevation, giving the shopper the illusion that the space was larger than it actually was. They had rosary beads, Catholic children's books, religious statues, CDs burned with hymns, prayer cards, and other items spread out neatly across the space, making it feel full but not too cluttered. It felt very fitting to be in a space dedicated to Christian material culture while being directly across from the church of San Francisco and I sensed that the owners experienced that connection as well.

I approached them at the counter and began to introduce myself, almost immediately realizing that they were not able to hear me the first time I tried to speak with them. The noise from the construction was loud and overbearing. Drilling and hammering noises came from all directions, disturbing the peaceful energy of the space. I spoke louder the second time, ensuring that they were able to hear me, and I asked them about what was happening outside of their establishment. "Oh, they're finishing the metro," answered Carlos, the male owner. "The construction has made times difficult for us."

At that moment, it was obvious that he was talking about the complete lack of activity in the store. The store's invisibility and the reverberating sounds of construction were deterring customers rather than inviting them, completely hindering business and causing the owners to struggle economically. We continued speaking about the metro, its construction, and more importantly its effects on his business. Ultimately, I asked him, "Entonces, ¿vale la pena?" and

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74 Translation: "Good morning"
75 Translation: "So, is it worth the struggle?"
he responded by saying, "All of us will need to bear through suffering in order to make the metro come to life. Some of us will experience it more than others but in the end, it will be worth the pain." He continued by saying that his suffering was for the good of all of Quito and therefore, the construction was worth the difficulties he was experiencing because of it.

Carlos' message is one that is not rooted in selfishness, but instead in the greater good of the city. His words resonate closely with many messages embedded in Christianity—that not all suffering is negative. Rather, suffering is viewed as a vehicle for change and revival. It is through suffering that Jesus was able to resurrect from the dead and it is in the same light that Carlos can view his suffering as a way to recover his business once the metro opens. His views are intimately connected with Christianity and this is clearly expressed in the type of business that he owns—a Catholic bookstore. The very purpose of his establishment is to spread the word of Jesus Christ and I want to propose that the construction of the metro at this particular station in this moment is robbing the establishment of its intended purpose.

Visibility is a common theme that is addressed in Christianity. The Catholic Layman, a nineteenth century publication dedicated to Irish religion, outlines the difference between church visible and church invisible. They write, "By the Church visible, we mean the Church as men see it; by the Church invisible, the Church as she really is in herself, and as God sees her—who sees all things as they really are."76 In order to express the difference between Church visible and invisible, the writer turns toward gendered language. The church itself is described as a woman and those who are seeing the church are men, which potentially provides a commentary on the nature of waiting that Carlos experiences.

76 "The Church Visible and Invisible." The Catholic Layman 2, no. 23 (1853): 131.
This text is implying that vision is a form of "masculinity", whereas the individual who is being seen is representative of "femininity". This observation implies that the action is dominant and the object, the receiver of said action, is submissive. We can translate this understanding of vision to Carlos' experience with waiting, for his story shows how his waiting is caused by a power beyond his control. Therefore, through this mode of analysis, Carlos is gendered feminine. Carlos and his establishment embody the concept of church invisible because his understanding of waiting is clearly rooted in the well-being of the city, just as church invisible allows us to step back and engage with the omnipotent perspective of God. Both of these perspectives emphasize the greater picture and for this reason, Carlos' story resonates with church invisible more strongly. It is important to understand that although the store is not visible in a physical sense, there are alternative forms of visibility that allow for us to understand the way in which he waits for the completion of the metro. For this reason, I propose that Carlos participates in a redemptive waiting that closely engages with his religious values.

As mentioned prior, the windows that originally provided a view of La Iglesia San Francisco are now framing a view of a cement truck. To remove the visibility of the church, as we now know, is to remove one of the various purposes that this business serves and furthermore, it highlights the alternative forms of visibility and waiting that emerge within this store. The business' visibility and lack of it is crucial to an understanding of Carlos' waiting and more importantly, his story reveals how waiting engages with visions of the future. The cement truck, although it was not parked in front of Carlos' business every single day, serves as a symbol for the lack of visibility that became true for many establishments in the plaza. Businesses in this corner of the plaza were visible one day and invisible the next, showing that visibility was a
recurring problem throughout construction. For Carlos, as I have shown, the theme of visibility emerged through the purpose of his business.

Carlos' seemingly religious relationship to waiting reveals how his understanding of the present and future are contingent upon suffering. This theme shows how Carlos sees the future of his business thriving despite the suffering he is experiencing in the present. In fact, suffering is the vehicle through which his business will improve. His waiting is in direct correlation with the construction of the metro, which is the ultimate symbol of modernity for Quito. This is because the metro will utilize technology that has yet to be used in the city's transportation system and be one of the only forms of public transport that will connect the northern end of the city to the southern end. Redemptive waiting, however, is ultimately Carlos' engagement with religion and therefore, not a marker of submission, but instead it is a marker of devotion and loyalty to his faith and his business.

– DOMINGO A DOMINGO –

Mariana was seated in her usual spot of the store when I visited Wednesday morning. She was by herself watching telenovelas on the TV that was placed on the other side of the room. The store was not very large; only about five customers would be able to be in the store without it feeling crowded. Every inch of the interior was covered with Catholic ceremonial objects. This included figurines and portraits of religious figures, ornate crosses, prayer candles, and other objects. There was no apparent form of organization and I, for a minute, felt suffocated when I entered, which is to say that the store was adorned with an overwhelming amount of beauty.

It is located underneath the church of San Francisco, still at the level of the plaza. To the left of the church's main staircase are five doors, all of which lead to small stores that are
connected to one another. All of them are managed by older women and sometimes they were with other members of their family who were usually women or girls. The entrances looked as if they were dug into the walls of the church and none of them had a name, making them different from the other types of stores that surrounded the plaza. Mariana's store was one of the only stores that was inside of the plaza and physically connected to the church. Her store was not necessarily selling items that the connecting ones didn't offer; however, on this one day that I chose to visit, her store was the only one open out of the five that were there.

Mariana spoke of how she grew up in the store alongside her mother and her grandmother. After many years, the family business was eventually passed down to her, just as it had been to her mother. I assumed that her connection to the store and the objects she was selling would be unique, but when I asked her if there was anything in the store that was particularly special to her, she flatly responded "no." Mariana did not seem to care for the items that she was selling, which surprised me because generation-based family businesses oftentimes call upon themes of pride and authenticity. The historic center, I have been told, is full of several businesses such as these, ones that have been passed down a line of kinship and reflect the history that is embedded in the World Heritage Site. After hearing the single-worded response, I felt the defeated energy that was reverberating in the space after she spoke.

It was only me and her inside of the store and no one else entered until at least 45 minutes after I arrived. The traffic of customers was low and she was certainly aware of that reality. She shared a story with me about her daughter's desire to go to college, but that was not something she was able to afford. Mariana works "domingo a domingo"\(^7\) just to be able to pay her bills.

\(^7\) Translation: "Sunday to Sunday"
She does not give herself days off; a day off means no income and this message felt especially powerful when I noticed that her store was the only one open between the five others she was connected to. Simply put, she was participating in a form of waiting. The way she experiences waiting becomes evident through this story that she shared with me about a woman who used to work everyday like her:

*There used to be a woman in a neighboring store that sold CDs. One day, she decided to change the floor and so she took out the tiles, began digging, and unexpectedly found a box. She opened the box and found precious metals—gold, silver, and others. She became instantly rich and left her store. So when the government says that they are "only finding bones" in the process of digging for the metro, I don't believe them. There is a lot more underground than people would like to admit.*

She proceeded by telling me stories of what else lies beneath the surface of the historic district. Beneath the surface, of course, lie the material remains of Quito's past—a different type of historic center. In addition to these objects, according to Mariana, there are a series of tunnels that run between important buildings throughout the historic district such as the president's house and the church of San Francisco among others. These stories sounded almost fantastical to me and they served as a reminder that my expectations about what existed underneath the historic center may not speak towards its reality. Expectation is a prominent theme throughout her story and it comments on the lack of control an individual has in the construction of their own life, especially their wealth.

These sentiments are reflected in the work *Timepass: Youth, Class, and the Politics of Waiting in India* written by Craig Jeffrey. His monograph explores the educated unemployed population of the Uttar Pradesh state, which is said to be "just waiting" for a job opportunity to arise. "Educated unemployment is not new in India," he writes. "The colonial state often
encouraged large numbers of young people to enter formal education, and not all of these men acquired salaried work".\textsuperscript{78} The connection between Jeffry's analysis and Mariana's story lies within the greater theme of expectation. "Educated unemployment" is presented as an irony, which indicates that the author is grappling with a teleological perspective.\textsuperscript{79} As Jeffry clearly articulates, education does not guarantee employment, just as Mariana's diligence will not make her rich. \textit{Timepass} highlights how action and expectation intersect, therefore providing us with a framework to further interrogate how Mariana experiences waiting in this moment.

As we saw in the story she told about the woman who sold CDs in the store next door, luck enables someone to become rich and escape the "domingo a domingo" work schedule. Mariana's mode of waiting is defined by destiny instead of expectation-oriented action, meaning that she is engaging in a \textit{continuous waiting}. This form of waiting is continuous because of her demanding work schedule and the nature of her business. As a woman working many hours in an establishment representing the female figures in her family, she is able to embrace the continuous nature of her work and use it as the backbone for her experience with waiting. Mariana's emphasis on destiny, instead of intentional action, differs from the type of waiting that is described in \textit{Timepass} and a comparison between these two types of waiting highlights the unique approach she assumes in this narrative.

\textit{Continuous waiting} does not mean that Mariana does not have a vision of the future, but instead it reveals how she approaches the future. This form of waiting challenges notions of activity and inactivity, returning our focus to the temporal qualities of her work to further


\textsuperscript{79} Teleology is a branch of metaphysics that uses purpose and intentions in order to explain phenomena instead of cause or result. For more, see Immanuel Kant's \textit{Critique of Judgement}.
examine the theme of waiting. In other words, waiting is not simply a story of inactivity and Mariana's story serves as a testimony to that statement. Modernity, in her case of waiting, is almost subverted because of the continuous nature of her waiting. I would argue that the goal of modernity is to interact with change and progress; however, her narrative is not engaging with this particular definition of modernity. It is instead questioning the very purpose of modernity in a space that she renders as continuous, which obviously resonates with the greater mission of heritage sites as well. Hidden in the background of this conversation are nods to the metro's construction just across the plaza from her establishment.

A common question that I asked my interlocutors was "is the metro worth the wait?" and I now realize that I was asserting that their respective forms of waiting had a value. "Worth the wait" is a colloquial phrase that assigns a monetary value to time and it is essential to remember that these individuals are business owners. Waiting is an integral element to a business not only because it speaks towards its ability to prioritize its customers, but because it reveals the temporal nature of economic life. Economic prosperity is not always in the hands of the individual in charge of the business and more importantly, that business owners are unable to single-handedly control the economic situation they are participating in.

In these past two sections I have tried to show what happens when business owners experience a form of waiting. In most cases, one would not imagine an analysis of waiting to focus on a business owner, but instead a customer perhaps. A good business is often characterized by its celerity; however, this section comes to question what happens when the owners themselves are unable to control the pace at which their establishments are able to function.
What ties Carlos and Mariana together is the location of their businesses. They are both experiencing the construction of the metro in different ways and it is clearly affecting the way that they imagine their respective forms of waiting. Construction, as a form of waiting in and of itself, creates other spaces of waiting in the process, in turn making the plaza a type of waiting room. The only exception is, however, is that everyone's experience of waiting is unique; it is reflective of their business and their visions of the present and future.

– YANITZA & MAYA –

It was about 1:30pm when we met each other inside of the Río Coca bus terminal for an interview. Yanitza insisted on not meeting at a place around the plaza of San Francisco, her approximate place of work, and instead proposed that we meet inside a burger joint in the bus terminal, which is approximately a forty minute bus ride north of the historic center. These cautionary measures were exercised because Yanitza was secretly in a relationship with a woman named Maya and almost nobody knew about it. Maya was going to be joining us for the interview and Yanitza was worried about her co-workers seeing all three of us together, and so the bus terminal became a location that was able to mediate her need for convenience and discretion.

Sundays were the only days that they were available to meet because of their demanding work schedules and the fact that they were willing to meet with me on their only day off speaks towards their charismatic personalities. Once we found each other inside of the terminal, we made our way to an area where we could sit, eat, and casually converse.

I had known Yanitza from my time in Quito in 2019, but this was the first and only time I had the opportunity to meet the girlfriend that I had heard so much about. She recently returned
from an extended stay in Rome where she was completing her studies and during this time, Yanitza was in Quito and secretly missing her partner of six years. Being in a closeted relationship, she was unable to speak with many people about the feelings she was experiencing while Maya was in Rome. To see them together, for me, was an exciting moment, and it was clear that she was happy to introduce me to Maya.

Unlike the other people I have presented in this chapter, Yanitza is not a business owner. She works for a small store that sells items that one would likely find in a convenience store—candies, medicine, alcohol, and other sorts of products that were both commercial and made in the establishment. Yanitza always created a clear divide between her social life and her work life; they were two separate worlds for her. Despite the fact that I came to know her through her work at this store, she asked me to not come into the store again after a few weeks of knowing her because she did not want her boss to get upset. Of course, I honored her request and from that point onward we maintained a primarily digital relationship because of her limited availability to meet in person. On the day of this interview it had been almost nine months since the last time I saw Yanitza in person and the interview was especially important because Maya decided to come too.

– PATIENCE –

Yanitza and Maya met for the first time in Carcelen, Quito's northern bus terminal. Yanitza had just taken a seven hour bus ride to meet Maya in Quito and up until their first encounter at the bus terminal, their relationship was entirely digital. A mutual friend put them in contact with one another and it was through the internet that they were initially able to form their
relationship. After spending lots of time on Facebook Messenger and Skype with each other, they decided to meet in person for their first date.

Yanitza is from Sucumbios, an eastern province in the Amazonian region that shares a border with Colombia, and Maya was living in Quito at the time. These provinces, although not necessarily far from each other, are difficult to travel between because of their differences in elevation, meaning it takes a significant amount of time to travel by ground between these two distinct regions. The distance between them was obviously not an issue for Yanitza because she was able to bear through the long bus ride to see Maya and from that day onward, they have been in a relationship.

Transportation systems are integral to their relationship because they were experiencing distance in more ways than one. The more obvious form of distance is physical. The first time Yanitza went to Quito she rode the bus and in future visits, she had access to a car which removed two hours from the travel time. On her days off, Yanitza would drive to Quito to see Maya despite the distance. The other form of distance manifested itself within the context of their sexuality. As a lesbian couple, neither of them told their families about the change in their relationship status and to this day, that statement remains the same. "It's because our families will not accept us," Yanitza told me, and these conditions certainly placed restrictions on the way they were able to express their love for one another.

To combat the issue of physical distance, Yanitza left her life in Sucumbios behind and moved to Quito. She lives near the bus terminal where she first met Maya, and Maya lives in the valley in a town named Cumbayá. But, for various reasons, the bus terminal became a site of importance for this couple, as did the theme of waiting as it pervaded into their relationship.
Yanitza and Maya are not waiting in the typical sense, but instead they are engaging in an alternative form of waiting that comments upon the entirety of their time together. This is patience. Patience, as does waiting, implies that there is a delay; however, I argue that there is a more emotional element to patience slightly different than other types of waiting. Patience is a humanized type of waiting that calls upon character and value in order to define itself, meaning that it reveals a certain sensibility that waiting does not. As the common saying suggests, "patience is a virtue," and that principle implies that this type of waiting is well respected and generative of positive character building.

Patience is a word that Yanitza used herself when she was describing how their relationship was able to progress over the years. In a text conversation with me she said, "I am so patient with her. When you fall in love with someone, though, the distance doesn't matter; you give your all." Patience became a relevant theme for Yanitza when she spoke about distance and the *anticuado* opinions of their respective families. Yanitza specifically used the word *anticuado* in one of our text message conversations and by use of it, she is implying that there is a type of modernity that is associated with the acceptance of LGBT+ individuals. In this case, the act of being patient is what defines the modern, which interestingly inverts the standard notion that modernity minimizes waiting. For this reason, it becomes important to think critically about how patience functions differently from other types of waiting.

It should not be forgotten that the word patience is related to the word patient, making us consider what it means to be in a relationship and what forms of waiting are performed in order to sustain it. Patience, as it pertains to transportation, was easily one of the most pressing issues

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80 Translation: "antiquated"
for Yanitza, for she would not have felt the need to move to Quito were it not for the five to seven hour commutes to see her partner. More covert is the patience they have had to endure as a result of the closeted nature of their relationship.

With this perspective in mind, the bus terminal can be understood as a site that oddly manages their discretion because of its public nature. The bus terminal, as one of the focal points of the public transportation system, creates a public that is constantly moving and changing, which adds a private element to its existence. It is not a space designed for social interactions; rather, its focus on transport efficiency turns it into a promoter of movement which, in this case, is synonymous to discretion. Perhaps this is why the couple asked me to meet them inside of a bus terminal for the interview rather than a café.

The bus terminal marked the beginning of their relationship and it also served as the location for our conversation, making one consider the role of transportation and the spaces of waiting that it creates. Bus terminals are places that conquer distances, serve as sites of encounter, and become a setting to express the private for this couple. It is compelling that only in a mundane, public space is this couple able to find privacy. This observation shows that the quotidian is a site of seclusion, suggesting that one of the many ways that they are able to maintain their queer relationship is by engaging with a particular type of public. One of the bus terminal's many purposes is to serve as a place for both waiting and movement, which I would argue that the couple sees as key themes in their relationship as well. For this reason, transportation continues to be essential in their relationship. As mentioned prior, they are grappling with different forms of distance that can be mediated by transportation and therefore, the bus terminal is a site of becoming for these two individuals.
The two of them live in completely different parts of Quito. Yanitza lives towards the northern end of Quito, about 40 minutes away by bus from the Río Coca station, and Maya lives in Cumbayá, a town in the valley of Quito about 25 minutes away. To travel between the two locations would take over an hour via a public transportation route. This is the station that connects the valley to the main city of Quito, so it makes sense that they selected this location to meet in. The blue buses stay in the city and the green buses go into the valley, serving as a visual symbol for the couple, coming from both of these areas, to meet in this location.

Obviously, since choosing this location to meet, the couple was comfortable using the public transportation system in Quito. Each of us took our respective buses to the location and then afterwards, the couple stayed together and I went my own way. The bus station is a liminal space, one that emulates the nature of a construction zone to an extent. The station itself is almost never an end; rather, it is a place that connects a traveler to a large system of connections and possibilities. Construction, too, is an act of movement that aims to reach an end, and to an extent we can see all transportation as a form of liminality. Río Coca, as a place that is so full of rapid movement and change, felt uncomfortable to be in when I was just sitting and waiting for Yanitza and Maya to arrive. Once they arrived, we moved into the only restaurant within the terminal, a burger joint named Tropiburger. It had an entrance within the terminal and outside of the terminal and there was a massive wall dividing the public and private sections of the eatery.

Each of them had just finished telling me graphic stories of experiences they had on the buses of Quito. They shared stories of women being sexually harassed, elderly folk being denied seats in sections that were designated for senior citizens, and armed robbers boarding buses at all
hours of the day. This is to say that Yanitza and Maya do not believe the public transportation situation in Quito is a safe nor comfortable experience; however, each of them depend on it for their everyday tasks. Yanitza especially, as an employee in the plaza of San Francisco, utilizes the bus system to get her to and from work six days a week.

On a normal day, Yanitza needs to take two buses in order to get to work. The first bus she takes brings her to a bus terminal named El Labrador and within the terminal, she is able to transfer to another bus that will bring her to the historic center. The bus transfer within the terminal lets her pay a single fare for two separate bus rides, meaning that she pays a total of $0.25 each way of her commute, adding up to a total of $3 a week in transportation costs. This information will become critical later once we explore how if she were to utilize the metro, which would be able to leave her immediately in front of her place of work, she would be paying more than double the price of her commute she currently pays. The difference, though, would be that her commute time would shrink significantly.

The last form of waiting I will explore engages with the theme in its most literal sense and is also the form that will most intimately reflect the happenings of the metro. The metro has not been mentioned extensively in this chapter; however, it has been in the background of each individual that has been featured. Its construction in the plaza of San Francisco has been mentioned, but this chapter has yet to explore how the metro intends to reform the landscape of transportation in Quito and more importantly, ask how the theme of waiting is an integral component within the greater narrative of transportation. This is a question that Maya seeks to answer.
"Tu vida es tiempo," Maya told me as we began talking about the metro. She was imagining the ways in which the working class would be able take advantage of the speed of the metro to spend more time with their families and loved ones, especially after a long day at work. In other words, when Maya says life, in actuality she is referring to work. And so, life is time but it is also work. As we have seen, people like Yanitza have organized their lives around their occupations, so it is fair of Maya to fabricate the connection between work, life, and time. Maya, however, lives in an area where the metro does not reach, whereas Yanitza is in a position where she would be able to use the metro for her daily commute.

The metro, as a tool to aid in the commute of the everyday person, seemed like a brilliant idea to Maya, but Yanitza was not in agreement with her. Although there is not an announced price for the metro's fare, the couple was under the assumption that it would cost at least $0.50—double the fare of the standard bus—and the price appeared to spark their initial reactions. For Yanitza, if she were to incorporate the metro into her daily commute, she would be spending about three times as much as she would be currently. This is because in her commute, she is able to perform a transfer within the terminal, as mentioned prior; however, it is possible that because of the difference in fare between the bus and the metro, a transfer without an additional charge may not be feasible. Yanitza was under the assumption that she would need to take the bus to the El Labrador terminal and pay an additional fare to ride the metro to La Plaza San Francisco from El Labrador, making it a $0.75 journey each way. When put into comparison with her current one way commute cost of $0.25, she was firmly able to state that she has no intent of ever using the metro in her day-to-day life.

81 Translation: "your life is time"
They began to debate in front of me and although neither of them were being aggressive, it was clear that there was a tension between their perspectives. Maya was arguing that the metro's prospective fare was fair considering that it would eliminate all of the waiting that was all too common in Quito's bus system, whereas Yanitza argued that the average, middle-class Quiteñx person would not even consider using it because of its price. The increased price for the metro shows that less waiting time is associated with a higher fare, and so it became obvious that the arrival of the metro would challenge what it meant to wait in Quito. It was also clear that this argument was commenting on a class divide in the city and furthermore, showed how a difference in waiting was one of the factors that perpetuated their understanding of class division.

"Tu vida es tiempo" expresses how waiting, in its most literal sense, is divisive, but also at the core of life as they understand it. The metro, as it relates to the commute of everyday people, is a step forward in terms of reduced waiting times; however, as this chapter has shown, it comes with a cost that is both monetary and social in nature. Yanitza and Maya have experienced and expressed waiting in more than one way, which comments on the versatile nature of waiting and how an individual can experience multiple forms of waiting at the same time. As Maya beautifully expressed, life is full of unique forms waiting and the goal of this chapter was to deliver that message.

– CONCLUSION –

This chapter has explored the versatile role of waiting to those who work in La Plaza San Francisco. Although these narratives of waiting are not entirely related to the metro, it is important to note that, as we have seen, periods of waiting can happen within one another and
moreover influence each other. Three different types of waiting have helped us navigate this chapter: *redemptive waiting*, *continuous waiting*, and *patience*. In the case of Carlos, *redemptive waiting* represents his religious approach to the experience and it causes us to consider how an individual experience can impact an entire city. Mariana's *continuous waiting* highlights a perspective that emulates the way heritage is functioning in the historic district. That is, her experience of waiting, to an extent, rejects modernity and additionally comments on the generation-based legacy of her establishment. And lastly, *patience* serves as the type of waiting that Yanitza and Maya engage with in their relationship. *Patience* appears to invert notions of modernity and ultimately come to reveal how the bus terminal serves as a metaphor for their queer relationship. These types of waiting have additionally informed our understanding of the present and the future, which is different from simply a study of time.

As we have explored in previous chapters as well, the notion of time is complicated by the fact that a historic district is intentionally inverting how space, place, and time interact with each other. In this very specific intervention, the theme of waiting pervades as an experience of time that is perpetuated by many factors, one of them being the construction of the metro.

Just as the word "construction" suggests, there are certains types of action and inaction that participate in the development of a future; however, waiting is a powerful experience through which one can examine the nuances of temporality in respect to infrastructure. Waiting allows us to further interrogate how an almost universal experience is considerably individual, while also being able to question how the specific framework of modernity influences the ways in which waiting is understood and exercised. This is all to say that the experience of waiting is a theme worth considering, especially in a world heritage site.
CONCLUSION

This project has sought to explore the centro histórico of Quito in a way that has not been done before. In three very distinct chapters, this project has engaged with a series of different time periods, academic perspectives, thematic frameworks, and empirical evidence in an attempt to reveal the extraordinary grandeur of the city's heritage, history, and symbolism within Latin America and beyond.

In chapter one we focused on the process of construction, specifically the role of Native artisans in the construction of colonial Quito, and took a moment to think about how churches and plazas, once they were built, conversed with state ideology to create, preserve, and perform colonial rule. In chapter two we investigated the different facets of heritage as they applied to the centro histórico of Quito and other heritage sites across the globe. We specifically questioned the themes of authenticity, historical memory, and identity in an attempt to concentrate on heritage production as both a local and global activity, which furthered a commentary on the role of UNESCO in modern heritage recognition and production. And in chapter three we identified three different types of waiting that came together to inform a perspective on modernity. Those types of waiting were redemptive waiting, continuous waiting, and patience, and they helped tell the stories of four individuals who were in some way connected to the plaza of San Francisco and the issue of the metro's construction.

If I had more time to expand this project, I would enjoy diving deeper into a study of the metro. Although the arrival of the metro loosely frames the chapter, it does not fully accentuate a tension that is at the heart of the metro's construction—which is, the tension between historic conservation efforts and transportation infrastructure improvement. Both actions imply different
understandings of the future and the metro station at the plaza of San Francisco can be considered a site where these two worlds, that of the centro histórico and the rest of the city, are finally converging in an act of modernity. I wish I could have had the opportunity to speak with construction workers, those who worked on the administrative side of the project, and people involved with the conservation of the historic district. This would provide an analysis that emphasized the metro and its infrastructural pursuits, and I believe it would nicely complement the ethnographic work done with waiting in chapter three. It should be noted that the metro, as of the submission of this Senior Project, has yet to be finished and open to the public; however, there are valid reasons for this delay which are further discussed later in this conclusion.

In addition, I would have liked to further investigate UNESCO and its World Heritage Programme. There is lots of work to be done regarding how World Heritage Sites are nominated, classified, and defined, for the entire program raises the question: what does it mean for a place to have "outstanding universal value"? UNESCO has their own criterion for determining what a heritage site is and in a future pursuit of this project, it would be an interesting idea to look critically at their rubrics and shift my focus towards the work of the organization and their role as a symbol for the global. By further interrogating UNESCO's World Heritage Programme, one may be able to better understand the specific ways in which heritage is rendered different from the rest of the world and potentially arrive at a conclusion less rooted in a particular site, but meaningful for many places across the globe.

Now that we are at the end of this project, I would like us to consider one question: in the centro histórico of Quito, whose history is being told? A very literal response to this question would be that a colonial history is at the forefront. This is true; however, each chapter has
complicated this question in one way or another. In the first chapter, we were forced to question who the true artist was: the Native artisan, who built and designed the structures, or the European because their "artistic vision" was imposed on the buildings, therefore rendering the building as not Native. In chapter two, questions related to authenticity make us reconsider what visual narrative is being told, or imposed, on a heritage site and cause us to wonder how world heritage status affects notions of belonging. And in chapter three we explore three different types of waiting to highlight a relationship with modernity, causing us to question how individual narrative speaks towards strides of development in Quito or the intentional refusal of it (ie. the historic district). And still, I am unable to answer in full the question of whose story is being told in the centro histórico.

The centro histórico of Quito presents an interesting opportunity to explore how a heritage site embodies several different forms of meaning and ultimately, it tells stories that are greater than itself. As we have learned, it creates a discourse around the past, present, and future and additionally draws upon all of these temporalities at the same time. Quito feels both local and global, private and public, specific and general. Its versatile, nuanced existence serves as a model for how heritage conservation is not simply a portrayal of a niche past, but instead a grand commemoration of a plethora of people, historical moments, and transformations over time. Simply put, they are living, breathing works of art and sites of becoming. For this reason, historical conservation is a practice worth emphasizing—especially in regions like Latin America, where conservation efforts were not given the same attention as they were in Europe.

Quito has taught me that heritage sites are one of the many ways that people continue to tell the story of their people. It is the heart of the city and epicenter of their identities because it is
a tangible, interactive form of storytelling. Each element of the historic district helps develop a narrative of resonance and it is important to recognize that these sites are not simply places of "show"; rather, heritage sites engage audiences from across the globe when they share their stories. On top of Latin America's wealth of archeological sites, historic districts offer the region the opportunity to reimagine the significance of heritage for the region and how history plays a role in the way these communities imagine the future.

Historical conservation paves a path—it is not an inhibition. I hope that when people think about heritage sites in the future, they will consider how they have the ability to empower a community and reverberate through time and space. Heritage sites have the capacity to rupture traditional notions of history production and urban growth, and Quito is no exception to this. Quito is an exceptional example of how heritage has been a point of recognition, neglect, tension, progress, waiting, change, firmness, alongside other things. But most importantly, it is a place of revolution, power, and confidence that illustrates the importance of conservation in parts of the world that have clearly been underrepresented in the heritage wave.

Of course there are inherent issues with the colonial underpinnings of heritage designation, but at the end of the day, as this project has shown, Quito's historic district reveals a story greater than these connotations and it makes one reconsider the ways in which heritage studies impact our daily lives. This is especially true for the current moment that we are—that is, in light of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In a time that is heavily defined by uncertainty and fear, the theme of waiting could not be more relevant. Social distancing, stay-at-home measures, and other policies that have been implemented across the globe reflect a type of waiting that challenges notions of work, class, and
ability/disability—all of which are explored in the third chapter of this project. Waiting, and our experience of it, naturally makes us question the future and forces us to contend with our current situations in one way or another. Some of us feel forced to ask: how long will I be out of work?; when will international travel resume?; or, when will it be safe to go into a public space without personal protective equipment? Protests against the stay-at-home measures have been realized across the country, showcasing how some residents of the United States are reacting to the different modes of waiting that they are experiencing.

Additionally, discourses of heritage are emerging on social media. Heritage sites across the globe are taking advantage of the stay-at-home orders, using it as an opportunity to give more attention to conservation projects that may not have been possible during normal circumstances. For instance, an article surfaced on my Facebook feed with the title, "Australian Dive Operators Use Their Downtime to Plant Coral on the Great Barrier Reef." And just a few weeks ago, there were articles posted that proposed that dolphins were swimming through the Venice canals due to the lack of human activity, in turn prompting the hashtag #WeAreTheVirus to surface on several social media platforms. In both of these cases, there is a clear recognition of human impact on heritage sites. By people understanding themselves as the virus, they are taking ownership of the environmental results of their actions and additionally seeing how the lack of human activity is functioning as a form of healing. This is exactly a point made in chapter two, where neglect became a notion where conservation efforts could thrive. Although the case of Great Barrier Reef is a "natural site" and the city of Venice is a "cultural site" (as UNESCO defines them), we begin to see how human activity, or the lack thereof, is a critical element in our understanding of heritage production and protection.
Quito's *centro histórico* offers a discourse that rises above the traditional discussion of heritage studies. This project has shown the diverse ways in which a heritage site can be interpellated, showing the overall versatility of heritage studies and Quito's unique position within this narrative. And most importantly, this project brings an Andean city to the forefront of a study revolving around heritage, a field that has historically been dominated by colonial ideology. For this reason and many more, Quito is able to rise like a phoenix from the ashes of classical tellings of heritage and serves as the new worldwide face of cultural conservation.
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