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Tawantinsuyu

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Tawantinsuyu
The Inca State and Its Political
Organization

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Cover photograph of an Inca khipu, or knotted-string record in the National Anthropology and Archaeology Museum, Peru by the author

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*To the memory of my mother
Kaarina Pärssinen*

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Glossary

Aclla: a woman chosen for state and religious service.

Acllahuasi: the building where acllas lived and worked.

Altiplano: high plateau of the South-Central Andes.

Apo: major lord, important chief, "king."

Apocazgo: polity controlled by apo.

Audiencia: advisory and judicial body in Spanish America under the Council of the Indies and the Crown in Spain.

Auqui: Inca prince, a son of the Inca king.

Ayllu: subdivision of a social unit, based on genealogy, lineage, or kinship.

Caballero: gentleman, knight.

Cabecera: chief village of a district.

Cabildo: municipal council.

Cacique: Spanish term for the indigenous regional leader.

Cacique principal: paramount regional leader.

Capac: chief.

Capitania: Colonial division of land and people to recruit labor force to the silver mines of Potosi.

Ceques: sacred sightlines radiating out of the center of Cuzco.

Chacra: a cultivated land or holding

Chasque: runner who carried messages along the Inca roads.

Chicha: fermented drink made of maize or other crops.

Corregimiento: a major administrative subdivision within Colonial audiencia.

Coya: queen or full daughter of the Inca king and the queen.

Curaca: regional ethnic leader.

Curacazgo: polity controlled by curaca.

Encomendero: Spaniard who received the encomienda grant.

Encomienda: grant giving the labor of specific Indian communities

to a Spaniard in return for "protection and Christian religious instruction."

Fanega: grain measure, equivalent to about 1.5 bushels.

Guamaní: Inca province.

Guaranga: unit of 1,000 tributaries.

Guarmicoc: an Inca official who elected *acclas* and *yanas* for the service of the state and church.

Hanan: the upper half or moiety of dual sociopolitical structure.

Hatha: Aymara term for an *ayllu*

Huaca: sacred object or place.

Hunu: unit of 10,000 tributaries.

Hurin: the lower half or moiety of dual sociopolitical structure.

Khipu: recording device and writing system by using knots on colored strings.

Khipu kamayoq: a specialist of khipus.

Llacta: a hamlet, village or town; a nucleated settlement.

Machapaicha: royal headdress of the Inca king.

Mallku: Aymara term for a curaca.

Mandón: Spanish term for an official, or overseer of a small ethnic group

Michic: an Inca official, judge.

Mit'a: rotational, periodic labor service in the Inca state.

Mita: rotational, periodic labor service in Spanish Peru.

Mitimaes: colonists, men not residing in their place of ethnic origin. Most often transplanted to a new location by the Incas.

Mitt'ayoc: a man engaged in mit'a.

Montaña: eastern slopes of the Andes.

Mullu: *Spondylus*, large seashell.

Nusta: princess, a daughter of the Inca king or *auqui*.

Oidor: high Spanish official in *audiencia*, judge.

Orejon: Spanish term for an Inca noble.

Pachaca: unit of 100 tributaries.

Palla: a daughter of an Inca noble.

Panaca: a descent group of a former "Inca king."

Parcialidad: moiety or a part of a large sociopolitical unit.

Probanza: a Spanish document containing juridical testimonies.

Puric: adult man with *corvée* responsibility.

Quinua: an Andean grain grown at high altitude.

Repartimiento: coercive, official allotment of Indian laborers among jobs and Spanish employers.

Reduction: re-settlement of indigenous population in a few nucleated villages.
Regidor: a councilman of cabildo, a Spanish official.
Saya: moiety.
Segunda persona: second-in-command of an indigenous polity.
Señorío: ethnic polity.
Serranos: indigenous highland inhabitants.
Sierra: highlands.
Suyu: one of the four principal districts of the Inca Empire.
Tawantinsuyu: "Land of the Four Quarters." The Inca name for its empire.
Tambo: resting place or "inn" along Inca roads.
Tocricoc: an Inca governor of guamaní.
Tokoyrikoq: an Inca inspector.
Vecino: citizen, resident with specific rights and duties.
Visita: administrative survey for conducting inquiries into operation of administrative affairs.
Visitador: a person who was in charge of visita.
Yana: a servant.
Yunga: warm lowlands or valley.
Yungas: indigenous lowland inhabitants.

Introduction

The aim of this study is to analyze, summarize and bring up to date interpretations and knowledge concerning the main aspects of Tawantinsuyu (the Inca State) especially relating to its political organization. The questions the investigators have to face are numerous and therefore somewhat different methods and approaches will be used relating to each problem. In fact, the methods and approaches mainly depend on the amount and quality of our primary sources since we do not have any other choice than to accept the limitations of our primary material. Nevertheless, we may say that in general, historical methods, as well as anthropological models and theories will be used. Furthermore, archaeological and linguistic information helps us considerably to understand some spatial and administrative principles and structures of Tawantinsuyu.

In general we may say that one must act like a historian when dealing with chroniclers and other written documents. However, after the investigator has evaluated, for example, a chronicler's original sources, a chronicler's possibility to understand the phenomenon they were describing, the validity of their information and so on, he, the investigator, must act more like an anthropologist to seek the structures Tawantinsuyu was composed of. Of course, it is impossible to document all the details of the analyzing processes which lie behind the final description, but when an investigator uses terms like *dualism*, *triadism*, *corvée*, *sacred center* and so on, one may be aware that he is referring to theoretical models and constructions which, he hopes, may help us in understanding the phenomena under analysis. However, in more detailed parts of description scholars willingly use original

Quechua and Aymara terms like *suyu*,¹ *saya*, *ayllu*, *hatha*, *curaca*, *mallku*, *apo*, *hanan*, *chhulla*, etc, because those terms have meanings which cannot be translated by using only one or two words. The same is true with Spanish terms like *cacique principal*, *segunda persona*, *cabecera*, *orejon* and so on, which had specific meanings in 16th century Spanish Peru.

In this study I especially try to seek those structures which prevailed for a considerable time through all those changes that occurred during the Conquest period, since the fact is that although the Spanish conquest in 1532 destroyed the upper level of hierarchy in the Incaic political organization, the break did not destroy everything equally. Especially those political structures which were based on earlier "pre-existing" sociopolitical principles in the middle and lower levels of hierarchy left their traces many times up to Toledoan reductions realized in the 1570s and sometimes (especially in the highlands) even up today (depending on factors such as demography). In practice, more than the history of events I am studying the history of structures and the principles of organization which had a long duration (*longue durée*) in the sense of Fernand BRAUDEL.²

It is also important to note that we can only see the past and foreign cultures in the mirror of the concepts and modes of thought of our own culture. Furthermore, in the case of Tawantinsuyu we are mainly forced to see the foreign culture through the 16th century Spanish eyes. However, by observing the Andean ways to categorize and the systems of thought in some "native sources," we may try to catch an awareness of those principles the Inca and local administrative organizations were based on. After all, an Andean man was a human being as we are and he also used logic which is intelligible to us. Because of that, we have hope that the structures and principles of the political organization of the Inca state can be described, within the limitations of our own culture, by using Western language and by our own systems of thought. However, we should nevertheless be aware that the inner content

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- 1 I will normally write words and names in Quechua and Aymara as found in the 16th century sources. However, that "rule" is not very exact. For example, I will write *khipu* instead of *quipo*.
 - 2 BRAUDEL (1958; 1958-1960) 1980:25-54, 64-82.

of those principles may be something we cannot grasp or fully share.³

Considerably few Peruvian chronicles were published in the 16th and 17th centuries and it was only during the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century when most of the classic chronicles about the Incas saw daylight.⁴ Since then only a few "Inca chronicles" like Guaman Poma's "Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno" ([1615] 1936, 1987), Martín de Murúa's "Historia general del Perú" ([1616] 1962-64, 1987) and the complete version of Betanzo's "Suma y narración de los incas" ([1551] 1987) have seen the first print.

Before many chronicles were published, writers like Michel de MONTAIGNE, Francois de VOLTAIRE, Lewis Henry MORGAN (and Friedrich ENGELS who followed MORGAN) had used the Inca empire as an example of a certain ideal or underdeveloped type of society.⁵ On the other hand, the time when the most Peruvian chronicles were published produced a period when many classic syntheses about Inca society were written by authors like CUNOW ([1896] 1937), MARKHAM (1912), BAUDIN (1928), MEANS (1931), KARSTEN ([1938] 1946) and ROWE (1946). Of these, ROWE's overview is still one of our most important studies about Inca society. Furthermore, somewhat later, authors like MURRA ([1955] 1980), MASON ([1957] 1978), MOORE (1958), von HAGEN (1961), VALCARCEL (1964) and HEMMING (1970) wrote their own interpretations about the Inca state, but as John V. MURRA has pointed out, all of them used the same sources, and if studies of BAUDIN, ROWE, MURRA and HEMMING differ "it is in matters of interpretation and ideology." He also states that most of all this is due to the limited amount of time "contemporary historians have invested in looking for new sources."⁶ In fact, MURRA is one of those most important ethnohistorians who started "a new era" in the Inca studies by emphasizing the

3 See also SALOMON 1986:2-9.

4 Before most of those chronicles had been published, PRESCOTT (1847) had used their manuscripts in his classic work "Conquest of Peru."

5 For a more detailed analysis of the texts of Montaigne and Voltaire, see WEDIN 1966:3-5; see also MORGAN 1877 and ENGELS 1884.

6 MURRA 1985:61.

necessity to search for new sources (instead of continuous use of the same well-read chronicles) to understand the structures and principles underlying Andean economic, social and political organizations (MURRA [1964] 1966; 1967; 1968,1970; 1972 etc.). After MURRA focused our interest on early Spanish administrative documents like village by village or house by house inspections called *visitas* (Diez de San Miguel [1567] 1964; Ortiz de Zúñiga [1562] 1967, 1972), other *visitas* and local sources like "Probanzas" and "Informaciones" have been published. Especially Waldemar ESPINOZA SORIANO and María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO have been active in this respect. Thanks to these new sources our understanding about the Andeans have grown considerably and it has become evident that the earlier ideal "heliocentric" image about Inca society does not stand criticism. As Richard P. SCHAEDEL (1988) says: "This image has changed in the course of the last three decades of ethnohistorical research, a period in which everything that had been accepted as axiomatic about the Incas has been subject to reappraisal."⁷

During the last decades our knowledge has grown especially concerning Andean economic organizations. Concepts such as reciprocity, redistribution and ecological complementary and vertical control have become familiar to us, thanks to the pioneering works of MURRA which have stimulated many other outstanding studies.⁸

It is also important to note that from the 1960s onward Tom ZUIDEMA (1962, 1977, 1978, 1986, 1990) and later on scholars like AVENI (1980) and URTON (1981) have focused attention on the Incaic kinship and social organization in Cuzco and its relation to *ceques*, rituals, calendar, astronomy and cosmology. Also ROWE's (1979; 1985a) studies about the *ceque*-system and the social organization of Cuzco merit attention as well as his publication and comments about the text of Capac Ayllu (1985b). In addition, scholars like DUVIOLS (1967, 1971), DEMAREST (1981), and ROSTWOROWSKI (1986) have pushed our knowledge forward about the Inca religion; and scholars like WACHTEL

7 SCHAEDEL 1988:768.

8 See, for example, SALOMON 1985, 1986; PEASE 1979, 1985; HARRIS 1985; MORRIS 1985.

(1973, 1990), OSSIO (1973), LOPEZ-BARALT (1979), ADORNO (1978, 1986), CERECEDA (1985, 1988), PLATT (1986, 1988), HARRIS (1986) BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE (1986, 1987), in turn, have done the same relating to knowledge about some aspects of symbolism and ideologies of Andean thought.

However, our knowledge about the political organization of Tawantinsuyu has not reached the same level as, for example, our knowledge about its economic organizations. We do have some excellent case studies which, among other things, refer to sociopolitical organizations relating to areas like Lupaca (MURRA 1968,1970), Huánuco (MURRA 1967; MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985, etc.) Canta, Lima (ROSTWOROWSKI 1968–1969; 1978), Chachapoya (ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967), Chunchu (SAIGNES 1985), Chicama (NETHERLY 1984, 1988) Macha (PLATT 1986, 1988), Laymi (HARRIS 1986), Sora (DEL RIO 1990) and so on. Although sometimes scholars have willingly enlarged the results of one or a few case studies to apply to the whole empire, the fact is that we do not yet have an adequate overall view of the administrative structure of the Inca state. Craig MORRIS (1985) has even stated that we "do not have sufficient evidence to begin to describe the overall structure and organization of Tawantinsuyu." He notes especially that quadripartite "and the often seemingly competing systems of dual, tripartite and decimal principles all deserve detailed study."⁹

In fact, María ROSTWOROWSKI (1986; 1988) has already tried to make some kind of overall summary about the religious, social, political and economic structures of Tawantinsuyu on the basis of the classic chroniclers and the local sources she herself has published on various occasions. However, although her summaries grasp some important points, she only superficially touches the question of political organization.

In general, it may be true that we do not yet have enough published sources to start a profound approach to this topic. On the other hand, if we may use archival manuscripts for published sources, I think such an approach is possible. For that purpose I have used considerable energy in searching for those new sources as MURRA has asked us to do.

9 MORRIS 1985:478–479.

In 1985 I started to research archival material at the Archive of the Indies in Seville which was familiar to me because of a short two-month visit I had made there in 1982. After I had spent a year in Seville I began to plan my first field expedition to Peru and Bolivia which I finally realized in 1987. During a period of ca. two and a half months I mapped many old settlements, especially in the area of Cajamarca, Arequipa and Caquiaviri and did archival research at Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo and finally at Archivo Departamental de Arequipa.

I spent the academic year of 1987/1988 at the University of Rochester (New York), concentrating my attention on the theories of social anthropology and anthropological linguistics in order to complement my earlier theoretical training in general history (University of Turku, Finland) and archaeology (University of Turku and University of Helsinki, Finland). After that I have researched additional material at Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre, at Archivo histórico de Potosí, at Archivo de La Paz and during the winter of 1990/1991 again at the Archive of the Indies in Seville. During two field periods in the years 1989 and 1990 I have also led archaeological excavations in Caquiaviri (Pacasa), organized by the Department of History (University of Turku), Department of Archaeology (University of Helsinki) and Instituto Nacional de Arqueología, Bolivia, and sponsored by the Academy of Finland. The results of that project will be soon published in a separate book, "Caquiaviri y la provincia de Pacasa 300–1825." On the other hand, the general results of my archival and other studies relating to the political organization of Tawantinsuyu can already be seen in this study.

In this book I will start my presentation by describing the Inca systems for recording many kinds of information and explaining how the oral tradition and "written texts" were finally transmitted to the next generations. The understanding of that system is extremely important since it also helps us find the most "original" *kipu*-based parts of certain chronicles in the form which typically follows Andean classificatory logic. Furthermore, I also address attention to the question of dependency between some chronicles because that problem has methodological importance although it is often omitted by some purely anthropologically oriented

scholars. In the second stage of this study I will compare *kipu*-based texts, classic chronicles and local administrative sources in order to give an adequate description of the relative chronology of the Incaic expansion and to approximate the area and the total amount of people annexed into formation known as Tawantinsuyu. After that, in the third stage, I will make an excursion to those basic means and principles that regulated and governed the relations between the Incas and the conquered kingdoms.

In the fourth stage I will concentrate on the question of the sociopolitical organization of Incaic Cuzco situated at the sacred heart of the empire. In that connection I will again address the importance of using *kipu*-based texts and other native sources in order to understand the most original principles of Andean thought and ideology reflected in the sociopolitical and spatial order.

After the analysis of the sociopolitical and spatial organization of the Inca capital I will concentrate on the administrative principles, divisions and hierarchy of the rest of Tawantinsuyu down to the village level. Specific attention will be given to the questions of dual, triad, four-part and decimal principles, extending the ideas of Graig MORRIS and many others.

Furthermore, to get a broader picture of these principles I will not concentrate on one or two case studies relating to each administrative level. Rather I will describe many kinds of local traditions whenever it is possible within the limits of our sources. I hope that the systematic description of different local cases helps us to understand the actual nature of the Inca government and the political complexity of the entire Inca state.

Finally, I would like to stress that this study will only sporadically pay attention to the role of religion and the Inca church or to the role of economic organization, although it is true that those systems were, in reality, connected in many ways with the same structures of political and sociopolitical organizations of Tawantinsuyu. However, I think that the overall description of religious and economic organizations would be a topic of a separate study and only after such a study would we have the possibility of dealing with those organizations in the connection of "total" structures.

I Sources¹⁰

1. The Inca Texts and Writing System

1.1. The pictographic writing of the Incas

We know that the Incas painted tapestry and the wooden goblets, *keros*, with narrative scenes.¹¹ Furthermore, many of the important buildings of the Incas seem to have also been painted with narrative motives.¹² But that is not all, according to Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cristóbal de Molina. The Incas even painted their own history and myths on specific wooden boards. As Sarmiento writes:¹³

10 This Chapter is based on my article "Otras fuentes escritas por los cronistas: Los casos de Martín de Morúa y Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara," published in *Histórica*, Vol.XIII, No.1, 1989 and a paper "Prehispanic Central Mexican and Andean 'Writing Systems'. A Comparison between some Aztec and Inca Texts," presented at the University of Rochester on April 27, 1988. Another version of the same paper will be published in *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*.

11 See, for example, ROWE 1961:317-341.

12 ROWE 1946:287; BONAVIA 1985:151-175; La Gasca (1553) 1976:53. For these wall paintings an anonymous Agustinian priest ([ca. 1560] 1865:39) wrote as follows: "Hallarse há una cosa muy comun en todos los edificios ó en los mas del Inga y Rey de aquella tierra, y aun hasta hoy los pintan los indios, ques unas culebras muy grandes, y dizen quel Inga tenia dos culebras por armas, y así las he visto en muchos tambos, especialmente en el Cuzco y en Guamachuco."

13 "Y demás desto había, y aún agora hay, particulares historiadores destas naciones, que era oficio que se heredaba de padre a hijo. Al (l)egóse a esto la grandísima diligencia del Pachacuti Inga Yupangui, noveno inga, el cual

"... they had, and still have, special historians in these nations, which was a hereditary office descending from father to son. The collection of these [annals] is due to the great diligence of Pachacuti Inga Yupangui, the ninth Inca, who sent out a general summons to all the old historians in all the provinces he [had] subjugated, and even to many others throughout these kingdoms; and he had them in Cuzco for a long time, examining them concerning their antiquities, origin, and the notable events of the past in these kingdoms. And after the most notable events of their history were well investigated he ordered these things to be painted on great boards, which were deposited in a great hall of the temple(s) of the Sun; there such boards, adorned with gold, were kept as in our libraries; and he appointed "doctors," who were versed in understanding and declaring their contents. And no one was allowed to enter where these boards were kept, except the Inca or the historians, without a special order of the Inca."

Unfortunately all of these boards have disappeared and we do not have any clear idea about "the messages" that these paintings had contained. However, it is quite sure that in the interpretation of each painting the Inca historians and priests also needed oral texts.¹⁴ That's why it is reasonable to think that the method of how the paintings were used was similar to the Aztec system, which, in

hizo llamamiento general en todos los viejos historiadores de todas las provincias quél sujetó, y aun de otras muchas más de todos estos reinos, y túvolos en la ciudad del Cuzco mucho tiempo, examinándolos sobre las antigüedades, origen y cosas notables de sus pasados destos reinos. Y después que tuvo bien averiguado todo lo más notable de las antigüedades de sus historias, hízolo todo pintar por su orden en tablonces grandes, y deputó en las Casas del Sol una gran sala adonde las tales tablas, que guarnecidas de oro estaban, estuviesen como (en) nuestras librerías, y constituyó doctores que supiesen entenderlas y declararlas. Y no podían entrar donde estas tablas estaban sino el inga o los historiadores, sin expresa licencia del inga." In: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 9; 1943:114–115.

Similarly, but more shortly Molina ([1575] 1943:7) wrote: "Y para entender donde tuvieron origen sus idolatrías; porque es así que éstos no usaron de escritura, y tenían en una casa del Sol, llamada Poquen Cancha que es junto al Cuzco, la vida de cada uno de los Incas, y de las tierras que conquistó, pintado por sus figuras en unas tablas, y que origen tuvieron; y entre las dichas pinturas tenían asimismo pintada la fábula siguiente: ..."; see also KARSTEN 1946:163–164.

14 Actually many chroniclers confirmed that oral texts were the most important part of the Inca "official history," see, for example, Cieza de León 1553b:cap. xii; 1986:30–31.

turn, is generally much better known thanks to the studies of Edward E. CALNEK.

In general, CALNEK demonstrates that where the combined pictorial-glyphic and oral texts of the Aztec were involved, the same glyphs and symbols could be used with considerable flexibility, because any lack of clarity could be cleared up by additional oral information. The pictorial-glyphic component, consequently, "could contain any number of diverse and seemingly unrelated points of information, since these would be drawn together and given definite meaning when combined with a verbal recitation."¹⁵

In fact, CALNEK gives us some excellent examples of how the Aztec combined pictorial-glyphic representations with oral texts. For example, he presents us the following figure in which he has found four significant units of information:



Fig.1. Fragment from the Tira de la Peregrinación (reproduced from Seler, 1902-23, v. 1, Add. 2, p. 35) (tracing).

15 CALNEK 1978:242.

According to CALNEK, those four units of information are:¹⁶

- 1) a broken tree;
- 2) five dots (an unfinished glyph for the year "5 Tecpatl"?)
- 3) an altar with the god Huitzilopochtli; and
- 4) a group of people engaged in a meal:

But as he shows, this scene does not provide us with a complete and intelligible message in its own right. In fact, it acquires a definite meaning only when some version of the following episode from the Mexica peregrination is known:¹⁷

(translation mine)

"When they arrived in the place where a very thick tree, a ahuehuete, is standing, they settled immediately under it; soon they set up there a small altar on which they also set "Tetzáhuitl Huitzilopochtli"; after staying there for various days they offered him his provision and immediately, when they had already proceeded to eat they heard someone speaking to them from the top of ahuehuete and saying: "Come here you who are there, lest the tree would fall over you since tomorrow it will fling down; because of that, they immediately ceased eating ... and it happened that when he menaced, the tree, the ahuehuete, broke down over them."

It can be noted that the oral text compliments the exact meaning of the pictorial "text;" and, viewed the other way, the details of the picture compliment the oral text.

CALNEK also shows how these kinds of individual pictorial scenes are "both linked together and separated from each other by simple transitional devices, such as conventionalized footprints indicating movement in space, or calendrical glyphs denoting the

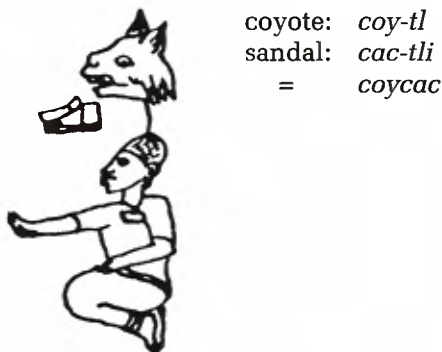
16 CALNEK 1978:246.

17 Cuando llegaron a donde se alza un árbol muy grueso, un ahuehuete, se asentaron inmediatamente a su pie; luego levantaron allá un pequeño altar, en el que pusieron y asentaron también al "Tetzáhuitl Huitzilopochtli"; después de hallarse allí por varios días le ofrendaron luego sus provisiones e inmediatamente, cuando ya iban a comer, oyeron que alguien, desde lo alto del ahuehuete, les hablaba, les decía: "Venid acá quines ahí estáis, no sea que caiga sobre vosotros, ya que mañana se derrumbará el árbol"; por esto dejaron de inmediato lo que comían ... y sucedió que, cuando amaneció, se desgajó y rompió sobre ellos el árbol, el ahuehuete." In: CALNEK 1978:246-247; Tezozómoc (16th century) 1949: 19-20.

passage of time.”¹⁸ Furthermore, he states that each of the scenes with the corresponding oral narration represents a single episode. That is why the exact chronological place of each episode can vary in different versions of the same story. The system itself can be represented as the following formula:¹⁹

$$\text{EPISODE } 1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Scene} \\ \text{Narration} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{transition}) + \text{EPISODE } 2 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Scene} \\ \text{Narration} \end{array} \right\} + \text{etc}$$

It is also important to note that even the Aztec place-name and personal-name hieroglyphs had pictorial (nonphonetic) and phonetic forms.²⁰ For example, in the following glyphs we have a place-name recorded once pictorially and once phonetically:



As Charles DIBBLE writes, here the glyphs refer to Coyucac, to "place of the Coyuca people", who were indentified by the cropped, deformed head as is indicated by the woman (or in some

18 CALNEK 1978:252.

19 CALNEK 1978:253.

20 The place-name or personal-name hieroglyph is nonphonetic if the word recalled by the glyph can be given in any of several languages. But if the glyph calls forth a sound or a syllable with a meaning other than the object pictured, it is phonetic; see DIBBLE 1971:324–326.

cases by the head alone). Phonetically recorded coyo(tl) 'coyote' plus cac(tli) 'sandal' reads Coyocac 'place of the Coyuca'.²¹

As a whole, the Aztec writing was a mixed system and only after the Spanish conquest did it develop into syllabic writing. And if compared to the Inca pictorial writing we may notice that the general principles must have been quite similar among the Aztec and among the Incas; except that only the Aztec used phonetic glyphs, since we do not have any evidence about hieroglyphic writing in the Andes.²²

1.2. The system of *kipu*

It is generally stated that the *kipu* was basically a numerical system used for numerical records and as a mnemonic device.²³ However, some authors such as KARSTEN, have wondered why many independent chronicles confirm that the Incas used *kipus* to record historical events, laws, ceremonial rites, etc.²⁴

For example, Bernabe Cobo wrote about the *kipus* as follows:²⁵

(translation by Hamilton)

"Instead of writing they used some strands of cord or thin wool strings, like the ones we use to string rosaries; and these strings were called quipos. By these recording devices and registers they conserved the memory of their acts, and the Inca's overseers and accountants used them to remember what had been received and consumed. A bunch of these quipos served them as a ledger or notebook. The quipos consisted of diverse strings of

21 DIBBLE 1971:326.

22 However, LARCO HOYLE (1946:175) has supposed that differently marked beans in the Moche pottery paintings are one kind of glyph and he interpreted those as proof of an ideographic writing system among the Moche. On the other hand, his supposition has been under debate since the opposite view of KUTSCHER (1950:79, 84).

23 MASON 1978:230–234; ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:74–79; MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985:109; DAUELSBERG HAHMANN 1984:46–49.

24 KARSTEN 1946:159–166; see also Cieza 1553b:cap. xii; 1986:30–31; Polo de Ondegardo (1571) 1917:46; Molina (1575) 1943:17–19; Cordoua Mesia et al. (1582) 1925:284; Acosta 1588–1590:lib. VI, cap. viii; 1987:401–403; Calancha 1639:90–93; Cobo (1653) 1979:253–255; and RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO 1984:45–53.

25 Cobo (1653) 1979:253–254.

different colors, and on each string there were several knots. These were figures and numbers that meant various things ...

On explaining their meaning, the Indians that know them relate many things about ancient times that are contained in them. There were people designated for this job of accounting. These officials were called *quipo camayos*, and they were like our historians, scribes, and accountants, and the Incas had great confidence in them. These officials learned with great care this way of making records and preserving historical facts. However, not all of the Indians were capable of understanding the *quipos*; only those dedicated to this job could do it; and those who did not study *quipos* failed to understand them. Even among the *quipo camayos* themselves, one was unable to understand the registers and recording devices of others ...

There were different *quipos* for different kinds of things, such as for paying tribute, lands, ceremonies, and all kinds of matters pertaining to peace and war.”

In fact, eminent scholars such as John V. MURRA and John H. ROWE have demonstrated that some *kipus* included stereotyped information about *corvée*, historical events, holy places and so on.²⁶ However, they have not solved the problem of how the *kipu* system worked in practice and how much information it was possible to transmit autonomously without additional oral texts. On the other hand, Marcia ASCHER, Robert ASCHER and Carlos RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO have recently published various books and articles about the physical aspects of *kipus* and about their numerical and structural contents; but not even they have sufficiently compared the technical information about the *kipus* to the archival information about concrete transcriptions and the Spanish translations of actual *kipu* texts.²⁷

Unfortunately we do not have any concrete *kipus* which we could interpret by using the corresponding translation from the original text. It is even possible that no such *kipus* are left, since the same thing seems to have happened to most *kipu* records as happened to most Maya and Aztec books: they were

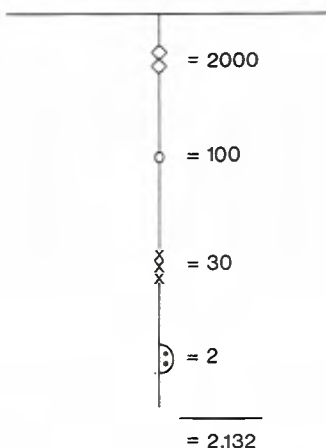
26 MURRA (1973) 1975:241–254; 1982:237–262; ROWE: 1979:1–80; 1985b:193–245.

27 ASCHER & ASCHER 1969:526–533; 1978:1–1155; 1981; 1989: 35–48; ASCHER 1986:261–289; RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO 1980; 1984:11–62. RADICATI has also paid attention to *quilcas*, colored strings without knots, which were sometimes used instead of *kipus*.

destroyed and burned by some Spanish conquistadors or clerics.²⁸

Today, in the museums we have some four hundred *kipus* left, which, in turn, are mainly found in graves.²⁹ On the other hand, in various archives we also have little known Spanish transcriptions from the original "*kipu*-texts." Those are mainly tribute, storage or *corvée* records and census lists, but, in fact, those are extremely important because they give us a clear idea of how the *kipu*-writing worked in practice.

John LOCKE demonstrated more than sixty years ago that all of the known *kipus* are numerical in nature and that the Incas used the decimal system in their knotted cords.³⁰ Ones, tens, hundreds and thousands were marked down as follows:³¹



28 Cordoua Mesia et al. (1582) 1925:287; However, nor did all book and *kipu* burning take place under Spanish conquistadors. We know that in the 15th century Aztec ruler Itzcoatl decided to destroy the existing historical writings in order to preserve a version of native history that would do justice to the Aztec state (GIBSON 1975:313; MILLER 1986:224). And the same thing seems to have happened in Peru. During the civil war between Atahualpa and Huascar (about 1530) Atahualpa seemingly wanted to destroy the old historical tradition and rewrite it, since *kipu kamayoqs* interviewed by Vaca de Castro told that Chalcochima and Quisquis, captains of Atahualpa "mataron todos los quipocamayos que pudieron haber a los manos y les quemaron los quipos ..." (Quipocamayos [1542-1544] 1920:4).

29 ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:68.

30 LOCKE 1923:passim.

31 LOCKE 1923: fig. 3; see also ASCHER & ASCHER 1981:29-31 and DAY 1967:14-40.

After LOCKE's findings many authors have doubted, as noted, whether it is possible at all to record historical texts on *kipus*. However, my aim here is to prove that it is possible (both in theory and in practice). Let us examine first how the knotted cords were used as tribute and storage records.

In the Archive of the Indies we have an important document dealing with manpower and objects that the Huanca gave to the Spanish conquistadors. The list of those things was transcribed and translated from the original *kipus* presented by the *curacas* of Hurin Huanca, Hanan Huanca and Jauja to the Audiencia of Lima.³² The document has also been published by W. ESPINOZA SORIANO under the title: "Los Huancas Aliados de la Conquista. Tres informaciones inéditas sobre la participación indígena en la conquista del Perú 1558–1560–1561," and furthermore, John V. MURRA has analyzed the classificatory system used in the last of the *kipu*-based informations, presented in 1561.³³ Here I will deal with the *kipu(s)* presented in 1558 to the "Audiencia."

At first, to get the idea of what the *kipu*-text was like, we may take a look at the actual text which begins as follows:

" Memoria

de los indios que yo don Jerónimo Guacrapáucar di al marqués don Francisco Pizarro desde que salió de Caxamarca. Son los siguientes:

Los indios que dio al marqués

- 1) Primeramente se perdieron en aquella jornada 596 indios y mujeres 119 ...
- 2) Más le dimos en oro y plata en Caxamarca en oro 596 pesos en plata le dimos otros tantos que son 596 pesos ...
- 3) Más le dimos en ropa de cumbe 80 piezas de ropa de hombre y de mujer ...
- 4) Más le dimos cuatro mantas de caballo ...
- 5) Más le dimos cuarenta carneros ...
- 6) Más le dimos 149 hanegas de maíz ...

32 "Memoria de los indios que yo don Jerónimo Guacrapaucar di al marquez don Francisco Pizarro desde que salio de Caxamarca, año 1558," Audiencia de Lima 205, AGI.

33 MURRA (1973) 1975:243–254.

- 7) Cuando el marqués fue a Bombón le dimos 826 indios y todos se perdieron en la jornada ...
- 8) Más le dimos a Soto capitán por mandado del marqués 37 indios [y] 45 indias y todos estos indios y indias murieron en la batalla que dieron al inga Yucra Gualpa ...
- 9) Cuando vino el marqués a Xauxa de Bombón trujo de pérdida indios 927 y de indias trujo 114 indias ...
- 10) Dímosle cuando llegó a Xauxa dos cuentos y 400 y 142 hanegas de maiz [sic] ...
- 11) Más le dimos de quingua 238 hanegas ...
- 12) Más le dimos de papas 2386 hanegas ...
- 13) Más le dimos 51 cocuentos [sic] y 4656 carneros
- 14) Más le dimos dos cuentos y 386 corderos.
- 15) Más le dimos ollas e cántaros 2983 vasijas.
- 16) Más le dimos de ojotas 209 pares.
- 17) Más le dimos de perdices 2386.
- 18) Más le dimos dos cuentos y 3862 libras de pescado.
- 19) Más le dimos treinta y seis cuentos y 377 cargas de leña.
- 20) Más le dimos cinco cuentos y 6862 cargas de carbón.
- 21) Cuando salió el marqués para el Cuzco le dimos 837 indios para carga y perdiéronse 102 indios y mujeres 20/20 [sic].
- 22) Más le dimos maiz para el camino 9155 hanegas.
- 23) Más le dimos 119 hanegas de quingua.
- 24) Más le dimos 193 hanegas de papas.
- 25) Más le dimos de ollas y de cántaros, 1430 vasijas.
- 26) De una batalla que tuvimos con Quisquis inga nos mataron 979 indios indias que nos llevaron fueron 1131.
- 27) Fuimos con el tesorero a dar batalla a Quisquiz y llevamos 774 indios y se fue huyendo a Los Andes.
- 28) Dimos al tesorero cinco piezas de ropa de cumbe y cuatro mantas de caballo.
- 29) Más le dimos de maíz un cuento 1931 hanegas.
- 30) Más le dimos doscientas y veinte y cuatro hanegas de quingua.
- 31) Más le dimos de papas 600 hanegas.
- 32) Más le dimos de carneros 1942 ovejas.
- 33) Más le dimos 238 corderos.
- 34) Más le dimos 50 pares de ojotas.
- 35) Más le dimos de ollas y de cántaros 1430 vasijas.

- 36) Más le dimos tres cuentos y 5693 cargas de leña.
- 37) Cuando volvió el marqués del Cuzco con Manco Inga le dimos 5952 hanegas de maíz.
- 38) Más le dimos de quingua 390 hanegas de quingua.
- 39) Más le dimos de papas 590 hanegas.
- 40) Más le dimos 200 carneros ...”

As MURRA has demonstrated, in these kinds of texts, individual objects are presented in series which, in turn, form large categories or classes.³⁴ From the "Memoria" we can find that, for example, corn (maize), quinoa (quiringua) and potatoes (papas) form the category "cultivated plants"; alpacas and llamas (or male and female llamas? [carneros, corderos]) form the category "domesticated animals," and so on. Further, within each category the order is generally the same. For example, among the cultivated plants corn always appears before quinoa and potatoes. However, the system as a whole is somewhat different here from what MURRA noticed on another *kipu*. There, as he says, "potatoes always appear after llamas; leather sandals (ojotas) always precede bottle gourds (porongos) and those carbon or fish."³⁵ Because in our sample, llamas also appear after potatoes, it must mean that the order between different categories was not necessarily the same (although it often was), and thus the system was in this sense "elastic."

Anyhow, if we now compare our text to Garcilaso's account about the *kipu*, the system as a whole becomes more intelligible:³⁶

"The colors (of strings) showed what subject the thread was about, such as yellow for gold, white for silver, and red for warriors. Objects that had no special color were arranged in order, beginning with the most important and proceeding to the least, each after its kind, as cereals and vegetables."

Although Garcilaso is probably wrong in details,³⁷ we may still

34 MURRA (1973) 1975:243–254; see also RADICATI DI PRIMEGLIO 1980:85–86.

35 "las papas aparecen siempre después de las llamas; los ojotas preceden siempre a los porongos y éstos al carbón o al pescado." In: MURRA (1973) 1975:245.

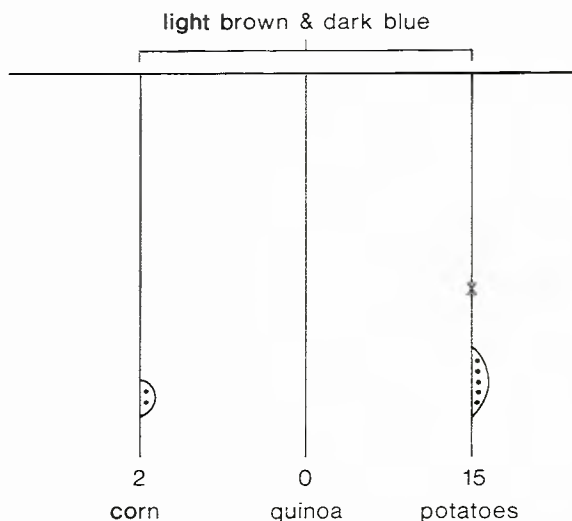
36 Garcilaso (1609) 1966:330.

37 In "the Memoria" of Jerónimo Guacrapáucar the gold and silver form a pair as well as the copper and lead. This probably means that the gold and silver belonged to the same color category.

accept his statement about two basic variables in an imagined *kipu*: color and order. And if we add to it the third one, the number of knots, we have all three basic variables: 1) color; 2) order; and 3) number.

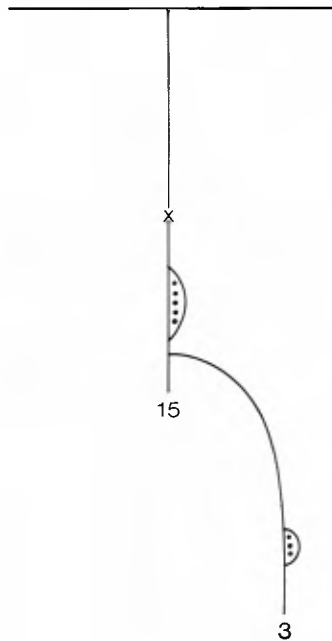
In fact, by using different combinations of colors and twisting techniques, it is possible to establish several hundreds or even thousands of different categories, such as domesticated animals, cultivated plants, wild animals, etc.³⁸ And finally, after the category is established, each subject is also easy to encode by referring to its numerical order within the established category. Hence, corn always seems to appear before quinoa; quinoa before potatoes and so on.³⁹

For example, if the color combination of light brown and dark blue refers to cultivated plants, the sentence: "two 'hanegas' of corn and 15 hanegas of potatoes" can be marked as follows:



-
- 38 Of the existing *kipus* Marcia ASCHER and Robert ASCHER (1978:1-1155) have differentiated 61 single colors in hundreds of different combinations.
- 39 It is also interesting to note that once the Indians learned new things from Spaniards they only added them at the end (sometimes at the beginning) of the list of the category like this:
 "121 ovejas de la tierra (alpacas ?)
 16 corderos de la tierra (llamas ?)
 110 puercos (big)

However, if one must later add other 15 hanegas of potatoes at the end of the *kipu*, it can be done by using only one light brown and dark blue pendant cord and one supplementary cord as follows:



In this case the supplementary cord gives meaning: third subject in the light brown and dark blue category (= cultivated plants).

But if we return to the given text, we can note that the "Memoria" is organized into series of categories so that every new serie begins after stereotyped historical information such as "Cuando el marqués fue a Bombón (when the marqués went to Bombón)," "Cuando vino el marqués a Xauxa de Bombón (when the marqués arrived to Jauja from Bombón)" and "Cuando salió el marqués para el Cuzco (when the marqués went out to Cuzco)" was presented.

9 cabras (goats)

1915 gallinas (hens)

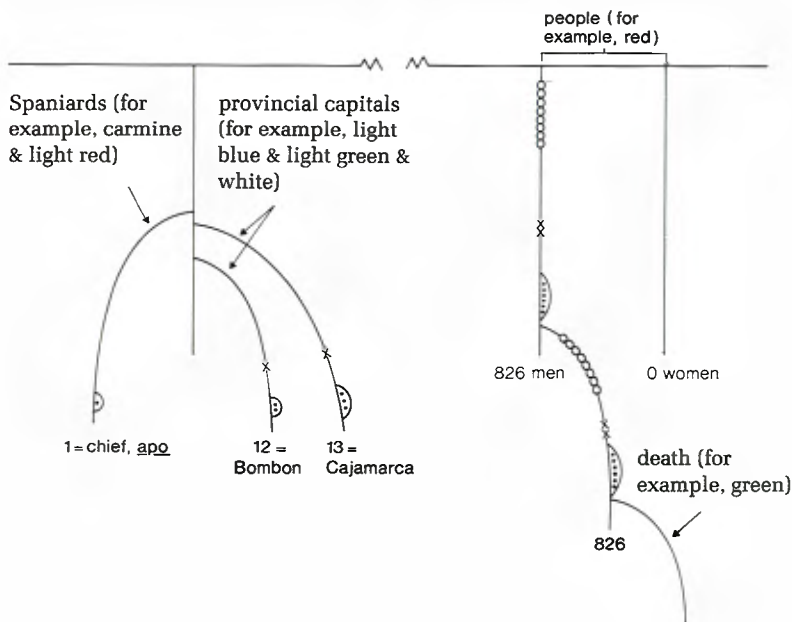
17967 huevos (eggs)

See "Memoria de don Alvarado cacique de los indios ..." In: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1971:212.

How was this kind of information marked on the *kipu*? I think chronicler Calancha gives us an answer when he said that:⁴⁰

"Every main town (cabecera) of the province had a number"

Because towns like Bombón and Xauxa were provincial capitals they may well have been marked down by numbers in the color-category "the provinces and provincial capitals." And even the word "el marqués" may have been marked as "a chief" in the "new" color-category of "Spaniards or Viracochas." If so, a sentence like "Cuando el marqués fue a Bombón [de Cajamarca] le dimos 826 indios y todos se perdieron en la jornada (When the marqués went to Bombón [from Cajamarca] we gave him 826 men and all of them were lost during the expedition)" can be marked as follows:



40 "Cada pueblo cabeza de Provincia tenia su cifra." In: Calancha 1639:91.

By using two pendant cords with five supplementary cords it is possible to give the following messages:

- 1) "chief"
- 2) Spaniards
- 3) Cajamarca
- 4) Bombón
- 1) 826 men
- 2) 826 men
- 3) death

By combining these messages with oral narration, the *kipu kamayoq* could read the story quite easily: "When 'the chief' of Spaniards (el marqués Francisco Pizarro) went from Cajamarca to Bombón we gave him 826 men. Those 826 men never came back."

Furthermore, because the cords are arranged in the "Memoria" according to individual episodes, we can describe its structure by using a similar formula as CALNEK did with some Aztec texts:

$$\text{EPISODE } 1 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Messages} \\ \text{Narration} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{transition}) + \text{EPISODE } 2 \left\{ \begin{array}{l} \text{Messages} \\ \text{Narration} \end{array} \right\} + (\text{trans.}) \text{ etc.}$$

In general, it seems that the Incas used a similar marking method in other administrative records such as in *corvé* lists and census.⁴¹ For example, if we take a sample from the famous Chupaychu *kipu* (which was read and translated into Spanish in 1549) and compare it with the artifact categories presented in "Memoria," we may easily notice the similarity:

Chupaychu kipu

"... They gave 40 Indians more to make soles and they took them to Cuzco and to the storehouses.

40 more carpenters to make plates and bowls and other things for the Inca and they took them to Cuzco.

40 more potters to make pots and they took them to Guanoco ..."⁴²

41 Probably the main cord always told whether the *kipu* dealt with *corvé*, census, history and the like.

42 "... Más daban cuarenta indios para hacer suelas y las llevaban al Cuzco y a los depósitos. Más daban cuarenta carpinteros para hacer platos y escudillas y otras cosas para el ynga y lo llevaban al Cuzco. Más daban cuarenta olleros para hacer ollas y las llevaban a Guanoco ..." In: Mori & Malpartida (1549) 1967:306; see also MURRA 1982:243.

Khipu in the "Memoria"

"... We gave him 482 more pairs of *alpargates* ["sandals"] and from *ojotas* [we gave] 452 pairs of *ojotas* ["other kinds of sandals"].

We gave him 200 more ropes and 682 *pipeas* and 423 *cucharas* ["spoons"].

[We gave] 1769 more vessels from pots and pitchers ..."⁴³

The basic difference is that when the "Memoria" refers to artifacts, the Chupaychu *khipu* refers to people who make these artifacts.

On the other hand, census lists may have been more complicated because such lists included many place names and personal names. Although it is possible that in some provinces *khipu kamayoqs* memorized almost all the names according to the order in which they were listed in the census, I still think that in Cuzco, at least, principal *khipu kamayoqs* must have had methods to mark down all the important names they needed to know. And what made their job easier was the fact that regions, towns and even *curacas* in non-Quechua areas were often given Quechua names. Actually the same happened also in Central Mexico where regions and towns in non-Nahuatl areas were given Nahuatl names, partly because the names were easier to record in hieroglyphic form.⁴⁴

Already we know that each province and provincial capital had its proper number. But how could other place and personal names have been marked on the *khipu*?

Let us take an early census example referring to the area of Limatambo in "Chinchasuyo," but which was copied in 1535 in Cuzco.⁴⁵ The list begins as follows:

– Village called Chonda; of *mitimaes* ["colonists"]; *cacique orejon* ["Inca chief"] Coco 250 Indians

– Village called Guaman Coro, *principal* ["secondary leader"]
Pisco 100 Indians
etc."

43 "... 124) Más le dimos 482 pares de alpargates y de ojotas 452 pares de ojotas. 125) Más le dimos 200 sogas y pipeas 682 y de cucharas 423. 126) Más de ollas y cántaros 1769 vasijas ..." In: Guacrapáucar (1558) 1971:208.

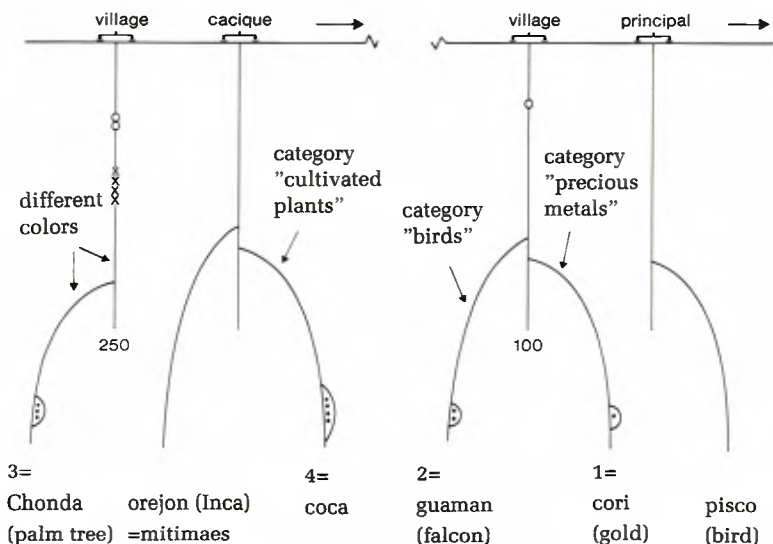
44 DIBBLE 1971:330.

45 "Pueblo que se dize Chonda, de mitimaes, cacique orejon Coco, 250 yndios. Pueblo que se dize Guaman Coro, principal Pisco, 100 yndios ..." In: "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Mazuelas, 1–VIII–1535," fols. 76v–77r, Justicia 420, AGI.

Using an analogy to Aztec hieroglyphic writing I will assume that the names of these kinds of lists were marked down by a phonetic and non-phonetic system. For example, the village called Chonda, which means in Quechua "palm tree" can be marked down by a color and number combination which refers to that kind of tree in tribute and *corvée* lists. Another village, Guaman Coro, can be marked down by two cords where the first color and number combination refers to falcon (Guaman = falcon) and the other, for example, to gold (Cori = gold). Because the gold is not a typical village name, the *kipu kamayoq* who interpreted the text could have made a little correction (that cori means coro) and so he got the name Guaman Coro.

Similarly, the name "Coco" is so phonetically close to the word coca that it might have been marked down by a color and number combination which means "coca" in storage and *corvée* lists, and so on.

The name "Pisco" is the same as a well known valley on the coast and it might have had its proper number. If not, the name which means in Quechua "bird" (=Pisco), could have been marked down by a color and number combination which means simply "bird" in storage and *corvée* lists. If my hypothesis is correct the *kipu* would look like this:



It is also clear that in some cases specialized *kipu kamayoqs* seem to have marked various historical episodes under a single sub-class of the major category of which they were in charge. For example, in Chucuito some *kipu kamayoqs* of llama herders seem to have classified the *camelid* under the four main sub-classes: 1) carnero grande (male llama?) 2) oveja grande (female llama?) 3) carnero paco (male alpaca?) and 4) oveja paco (female alpaca?). However, still they had marked onto their *kipus* messages which refer, among other things, to the early history of the Conquest period as can be seen in the following sample dealing with the loss of "carneros grandes" in the town of Chucuito:⁴⁶

"Discharge they gave from they *kipus*:

- When Centeno went to fight in Guarina he took them 98 llamas to carry back.⁴⁷
- He took another 24 back-llamas in Desaguadero.
- Gonzalo Pizarro took 281 male llamas to carry them to Cuzco.
- They gave 40 male llamas to Francisco de Carvajal.
- 32 of their male llamas have died ..."

These examples have demonstrated that it was possible to mark down information about historical events even onto the ordinary Incaic storage and *corvée* records. But that is not all. We have evidence that the Incas had specific *kipu* "annals" about their own history.

46 " Descargo q[ue] dan por sus quipos
 - que les tomo Centeno quando fue a dar la batalla de Guarina noventa y ocho carneros pa[ra] cargas
 - que les tomo otros veynty quatro carn[er]os pa[ra] cargas en el Desaguadero
 - que les tomo G[onzal]o Pizarro pa[ra] llevar al Cuzco duzientos y ochenta y un carneros
 - q[ue] dieron a Fran[cis]co de Caruajal quarenta carneros
 - que se les han muerto treynta y doss ..."

In: "Relación del ganado que parece aver entregado Juan Vasquez de Tapia y Diego Pacheco a estos caciq[ue]s de Chucuyto y sus pu[eb]los por de su mag[es]t[ad] juntamente con el descargo que los d[ic]hos caciques dan por sus quipos," sin fols., Audiencia de Charcas 37, AGI. The whole transcription (and translation) contains 8 folios (16 pages) of text.

47 The battle of Guarina (Huarina) was fought in 1547; see LOCHARD 1982:43.

1.3. Khipu records and historical texts

The Inca history was probably transmitted mainly by oral tradition but as I mentioned earlier many chroniclers confirm that the Incas also used specific *khipus* to record historical events. For example, Cieza de León wrote that each Inca chose three or four skilled and gifted old men to recall all that happened in the provinces during the time of their reign, and to make and arrange songs so that thereby it might be known in the future what had taken place in the past. But then he adds that all this was put down on the *khipu*, too.⁴⁸

One of the best examples of this kind of "written history" was published some years ago by John H. ROWE in his article: "Probanza de los Incas nietos de conquistadores." It includes a text called "Memoria de las prouincias," which deals with the provinces conquered by the so-called tenth Inca, Topa Inca Yupanqui. As ROWE writes, the text of "Memoria" is a summary whose structure suggests the use of a *khipu*.⁴⁹ ROWE also noted that "Memoria de las provincias" is very similar to the texts presented in Cabello's, Murúa's and Sarmiento's chronicles.⁵⁰ This must mean that also they have had access to the transcriptions of the same or related *khipus*.

However, here I will analyze only a part of the text presented in "Memoria" and compare it to Sarmiento's chronicle. After that I will present my hypothesis of how the text was marked down on a *khipu*.

Let us first take a sample from "Memoria de las provincias" and from the text of Sarmiento:

Memoria de las provincias

- in the province of Angaraes, situated in Guamanga, cabecera of the whole province, [he conquered] Vrcussla Curosla Ymrraras and by razing he seized its king Chuquis Guaman.
- [In] Yauyus he razed Taya and Siquilla Pucara, and passed forward ...

48 Cieza 1553b:cap. xii; 1986:30–31.

49 ROWE 1985b:198–199.

50 See ROWE's analysis in ROWE 1985b:207–216.

- ... and then [he conquered] the province of Palpa Chimo and the others came to him peacefully.⁵¹

*Sarmiento*⁵²

... [he conquered] in the Angaraes the fortress of Urcocolla and Guailapucara, and seized its lord called Chuquis Guaman; in the province of Xauxa [he conquered] Siquilla Pucara, and in the province of ...

... and [he conquered] the province of the Paltas and the Valleys of Pacasmayo and Chimo, which is now Truxillo ...

ROWE has noted that these texts are based mainly on categories like "provinces, fortresses, and kings."⁵³ Furthermore, ROWE thinks that the sentence "situated in Guamanga, *cabecera* of the whole province (que es en guamanga caueza de toda la provincia)" was not in the original *kipu*, but was added as an explication for Spaniards.⁵⁴ While we may accept that the sentence "and passed forward (y paso adelante)" is a "transitional narration" which is not based directly on the *kipu*, I think that just the name (number) of the provincial capital may have been marked on the original *kipu*. As we have quoted earlier from Calancha: "Every main town (*cabecera*) of the province had a number." Thus the sentence "situated in Guamanga, *cabecera* of the whole province" can be explained – vice versa – as a comment of how they knew which main province and further, which sub-province, was in question.

In general, many of the differences in place names between "Memoria" and Sarmiento can be explained as errors of "escribanos" and "copistas" but I would like to give attention to two errors which may have been made by a *kipu kamayoq*. First,

51 "– en la prouincia de los angaraes que es en guamanga caueza de toda la prouincia [conquisto] a vrcussla curoslia ymrcaras y asolandola prendio a chuquis guaman su rrey.
– yauyus asolo a taya y a siquilla pucara y paso adelante ...

– ... y luego la prouincia de palpa chimo y los demas le salieron de paz." In: Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:207–209, 224.

52 "... [conquisto] en los angaraes, la fortaleza de Urcocolla y Guailapucara, y prendió a su cinche nombrado Chuquis Guaman; en la prouincia de Xauxa a Siquilla Pucara, y en las prouincia ... y la prouincia de los Paltas y los valles de Pacasmayo y Chimo, que es agora Truxillo ..." In: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210.

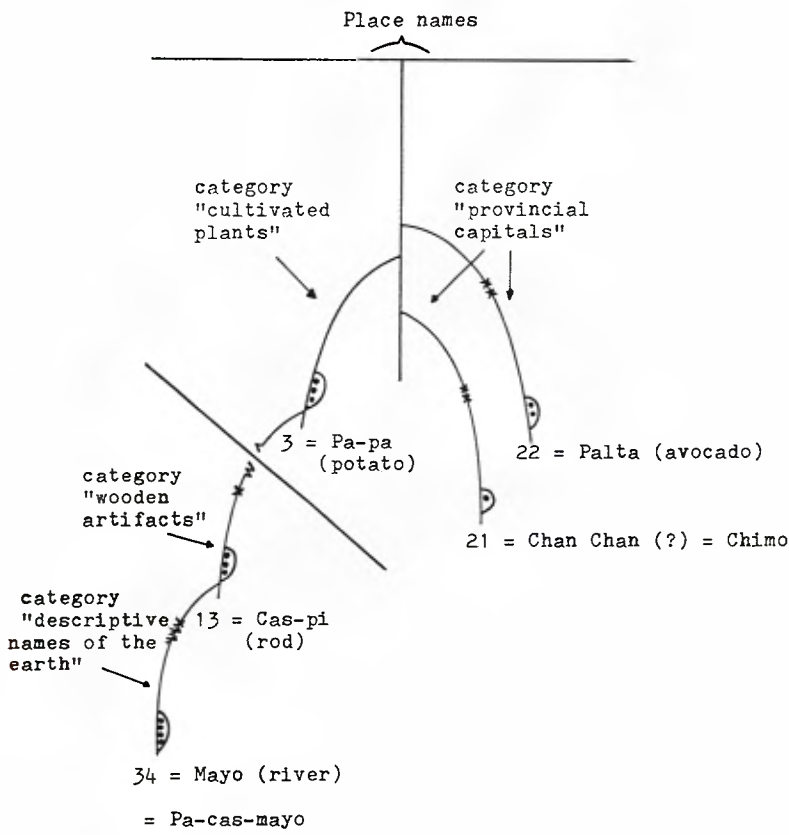
53 ROWE 1985b:197.

54 ROWE 1985b:198.

when Sarmiento spoke about the province of "Xauxa," in "Memoria" one spoke about the province of "Yauyus." Although the phonetic difference between the two names of these well known provinces is not extremely clear, it is not self evident that Spanish transcriptions are wrong. As a matter of fact, it is also possible that the *kipu kamayoq* had "read" the number of the province (= provincial capital) incorrectly; since, at least spatially, Xauxa is adjunct to Yauyo.

Secondly, when one said in "Memoria" that Topa Inka conquered "the province of Palpa Chimo," Sarmiento wrote that Topa Inka conquered "the province of the Paltas and the Valleys of Pacasmayo and Chimo." The error in "Memoria" can be interpreted by the following hypothesis: Palta is a Quechua name for a cultivated fruit (avocado), but Pacasmayo and Chimo are not pure Quechua names; they are names of a coastal language (Muchic). That is why the name of Pacasmayo may have been difficult to interpret in a *kipu* text. And what the *kipu kamayoq* had done was that he seemingly took the first phonetical sound from the name Palta (which was expressed by a color and number combination) and combined it with the phonetic sound "pa" which he got from the second supplementary cord. When it actually was a question of two place names (Pal-ta and Pa-cas-mayo), he got only one name, Palpa.

In fact, it is not important whether the *kipu kamayoq* had made an error or not. More important is that this kind of error is theoretically possible. In every case, the sentence: "[he conquered] the province of the Paltas and [the Valleys of] Pacasmayo and Chimo" could have been marked originally on the *kipu* by the phonetic system as follows:



Our hypothesis probably contains some errors, especially in its details. However, transcriptions and copies of *kipu*-texts, conserved in various archives, demonstrate that "writing" really was possible by using knotted cords. In this study, we have tried to show that it was even possible to encode person and place names on *kipus* by a phonetic and non-phonetic system.

Furthermore, we have tried to demonstrate that the system might have worked in historical texts basically by the same principle with which it worked on census, *corvée* and storage records, and, in fact, only very stereotyped and simple messages were used. If it had been necessary to add more detailed information, for example, to an historical text, the Inca historians had

the possibility of combining painted scenes, "kipu-writing" and oral text. The situation was basically the same among both the Aztec and among the Incas, but instead of glyphic writing the Incas used *kipus*.

In general, without oral components the system was not very effective if one needed to "write" poems and prose. Nevertheless, the *kipus* suited extremely well to be used in recording census, *corvée* and storage lists as well as in writing considerable simple and stereotyped historical "annals." It is also evident that the famous system of post-runners of the Inca empire would not have been so efficient without concrete "written messages." When hundreds of post-runners transmitted messages between Chile and Cuzco or between Quito (Ecuador) and Cuzco the (oral) information could have easily been distorted if *kipus* would not have been used.

Finally, I have not been able to specify the exact connection of the so-called Inca counting board of pebble stones to the *kipu* texts. Such a "counting board," associated with the figure of a man holding a *kipu*, is presented by Guaman Poma in one of his drawings;⁵⁵ and in fact, various interpretations of its mathematical use have been presented.⁵⁶ However, we have evidence that those boards were used together with *kipus* in the reading of the *kipu* text.⁵⁷ Hence, we may wonder that if the *kipus* already contained numerical information, what was needed to calculate when the messages were read? Could it be that more than pure calculating

55 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:360 [362]. See also fig. 2.

56 WASSEN 1931:189–205; LOCKE 1932:37–43; DAY 1967:31–38; see also ASCHER 1986:264–266.

57 In 1578 the Spanish judges needed to know how much taxes the Indians of Sacaca had paid during the years 1548–1551 to Alonso de Montemayor in La Plata. For that purpose they asked two old *kipu_kamayocs* to give the account of paid taxes from their *kipus*. However, our document demonstrates that those two old men also used pebble stones when they read the *kipus* to Spanish officials: "E luego les fue pedido que muetren por los dhos quipos lo que dieron al dho don Al[ons]o y a otras personas en su nombre el primer año de los quatro que dizen que no tuvieron tasa e tomando sus quipos en las manos dixeron auer le dado lo siguiente y puestos unas piedras en el suelo por las quales fueron haziendo quenta. Juntamente con los quipos dixeron lo siguiente: 1. año – 21 200 p[es]los de plata corriente ..." See "Pleito de los indios del repartimiento de Sacaca con los herederos de don Alonso de Montemayor, sobre lo que el dicho don Alonso cobró demasiado de los dhos yndios, La Plata 1579," fol. 262r, Pieza 1, No. 2, Justicia 653, AGI.

COTADOR MAJORITEZORERO
TAVANTISVIOQVIPOC
CYRACA-COM DOR-CHAVA



con tabor y tabor

con tador

Fig. 2. A man holding a khipu (A drawing of Guaman Poma).

boards, those pebble stones were used to clarify various names, objects, things, words or even phonemes under each *kipu* category? As José de Acosta says:⁵⁸

”In spite of these quipo [*kipu*] strings, they have others, the pebble stones, from where they exactly learn the words they like to remember ...”

Unfortunately, we cannot answer to that question yet.

2. Chronicles and Other Written Sources

2.1. The Incas and the chroniclers: some basic problems

We know that it was the so-called ninth Inca, Pachacuti, who started systematically collect information of his predecessors.⁵⁹ As said, it was marked on wooden panels – which were kept in a certain building – and also the *kipu*-strings were used. Furthermore, the interpretation of history, kept in pictures and *kipus*, was a task of the persons especially chosen for the job.⁶⁰

Inca history, collected in this way, was taught, in a certain amount, to the sons of the lords in the court of Cuzco, especially during the days of great celebrations.⁶¹ However, the main principle was that the royal *panacas* conserved the information from their branch of the family at the same time as when they took

58 “Fuera de estos quipos de hilo, tienen otros de pedrezuelas, por donde puntualmente aprenden las palabras que quieren tomar de memoria ...” In: Acosta 1588–1590:lib. vi, cap. viii; 1987:402; see also Cordoua Mesia et al. (1582) 1925:284.

59 Betanzos 1551:cap. xvii, 1987:86; Sarmiento 1572: cap. 9 and 30, 1943:114–115, 176–177.

60 Cieza 1553b:cap. xii; 1986:30–31; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 9; 1943:114; Garcilaso 1609:lib. vi, cap. v; 1976 II:18–19.

61 See Cieza 1553b: cap. xiv; 1986:37–38; Segovia (1552) 1943:33; see also Las Casas (ca.1559) 1948:111–112 who copied Segovia. According to Valera (in Garcilaso [1609]: lib. iv, cap. xix, 1976 I:203–204; see also Vásquez de

care of the mummies of the dead Incas.⁶²

From the historian's point of view all of these things raise many problems. First, it is clear that Pachacuti and his successors had great influence over what information was kept in pictures, *kipus* and songs, and what was transmitted to the general oral tradition.

Second, conceptions of each Inca seem to have been different in each emperor's own *panaca* than in others'. It also seems that many chroniclers didn't fully realize this disparity when they were collecting subject matter for their chronicles. In fact, this may explain many contradictions generally noticed in the texts of classic chroniclers.

Third, *kipu kamayoqs* interviewed by Vaca de Castro told that Chalcochima and Quisquis, captains of Atahualpa "killed every *kipu kamayoq* they could catch and they burned their *kipus* ... (mataron todos los quipocamayos que pudieron haber a los manos y les quemaron los quipos ...)"⁶³ This, if it is true, must have made the situation very confusing even before the Spaniards destroyed the rest of the *kipus*.

And finally, especially from the time before Pachacuti, we can find only pieces of history told by the Incas themselves (with the modifications of every royal lineage). We cannot verify this "official history" from the oral tradition of other people outside Cuzco. But after Pachacuti had begun the military expansion of the Incas, the situation changed considerably. It is no wonder that nowadays the value of "relaciones geográficas," "visitas" and other documents written outside the Inca capital has been proven many times.

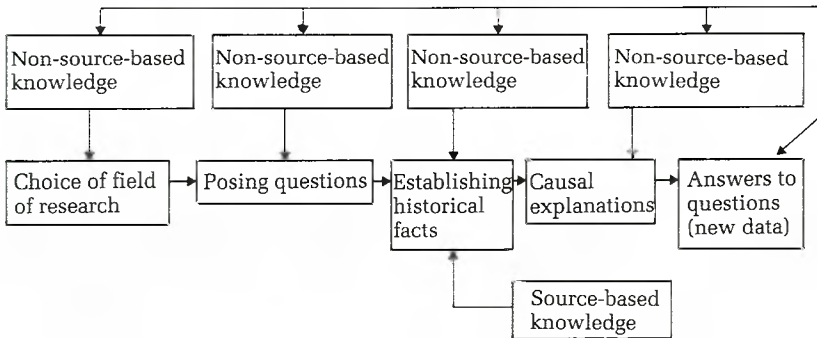
Espinosa 1629: lib. iv, cap. lxxxv, xciv, xcvi; 1969:372, 381, 384, who had used Garcilaso) and Morúa ([ca. 1609] 1946:169) the Incas even had a school in the city of Cuzco where they could learn the history of the Incas, among other things, but as John H. ROWE has pointed out, this claim is not very convincing (ROWE 1982:95).

62 Betanzos 1551:cap. xvii, 1987:86; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 9, 1943:114–115; see also Cieza 1553b:cap. xi, 1986:27–29.

63 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:4.

2.2. "Non-source-based knowledge" and the practice of copying earlier sources

Historians have long known that their own cultural background always has some effect on their reasoning. Jerzy TOPOLSKI has shown this situation schematically while demonstrating how "non-source-based knowledge" has an effect during historical research work:⁶⁴



Although one can find the same problem in the works of chroniclers, we do not yet have enough specific research on this subject. Of course, Andeanists have often mentioned each chronicler's general attitude towards Incas, whether they are near the "Garcilasoan" or the "Toledoan" schools, etc, but we need more detailed analyses. A good example of how we can better understand chronicles is Rolena ADORNO's article "Las otras fuentes de Guaman Poma: sus lecturas castellanias," published more than ten years ago in "Histórica" as well as her book "Guaman Poma."⁶⁵ She was able to demonstrate how some writings of Spanish clerics had influenced Guaman Poma's way of thinking and how these writings have formed a real model for some of his chapters. We really need more of this kind of research.

Another very typical problem in the chronicles of the 16th and

64 TOPOLSKI 1976:418.

65 ADORNO 1978:137-158; 1986.

17th centuries lies in the practice – quite general in that epoch – of copying earlier sources and presenting the information as the writer’s own. Long ago historians knew that Román y Zamora had copied almost everything from Las Casas’ “Apologetica historia sumaria ...;”⁶⁶ Las Casas used at least Bartolome de Segovia’s text, and possibly Cieza de León’s “La crónica del Perú,” Xerez’s “Verdadero relación” and also Estete’s “Relación” from the year 1533.⁶⁷ Further, Acosta heavily used Polo de Ondegardo and to some extent Cristóbal de Molina.⁶⁸ Cobo used at least Polo de Ondegardo, Cristóbal de Molina, Pedro Pizarro, “Informaciones del Toledo,” Acosta, Garcilaso de la Vega, Luis Jerónimo de Oré, García de Melo, Francisco Falcon and Ramos Gavilán.⁶⁹ Santillán, in turn, copied the first version of “Señores” (for which Castro & Ortega Morejón’s “Relación de Chíncha” served as a structural model), Damian de la Bandera and Polo de Ondegardo;⁷⁰ etc. Although scholars have found this kind of dependency among several chronicles, still more remains to be found.

2.3. The case of Martín de Morúa

Father Martín de Morúa was from Northern Spain; the year when he was born is unknown. He may have come to Peru between 1550 and 1580.⁷¹ According to Guamán Poma de Ayala, Morúa was “*comendador* of the village of Yanaca in the province of Aymaraes” and “*cura* [priest] *doctrinante* of the village of Pochuanca.”⁷²

66 ROWE 1946:195; ARANIBAR 1963:130–134.

67 ARANIBAR 1963:131–132; WEDIN 1966:86. One of Las Casas’ sources might have been Fray Domingo de Santo Tomás with whom he was with correspond.

68 PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962:299; ARANIBAR 1963:109; WEDIN 1966:86; see also Acosta (1588–1590) 1880:391.

69 Cobo mentions himself many of his sources but not all of them: Cobo 1653: prólogo and lib. xii, cap. ii; 1964 vol. I:4, 5 and vol. II:59–60; ARANIBAR 1963:125–126; ROWE 1979b:ix–x.

70 WEDIN 1966:57–73; see also ARANIBAR 1963:129; LOHMANN VILLENA 1966:174–193; MURRA (1970) 1975:279–280; ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO 1970:138–141.

71 MEANS 1928:411; BALLESTEROS-GAIBROIS 1962:xxxii–xxxiv.

72 Guamán Poma (1615) 1936:648, 906.

According to PORRAS BARRENECHEA, the main part of Morúa's chronicle "Historia del origen y genealogía real de los reyes Incas del Perú" (Ms. Loyola) was written between 1590–1600.⁷³ Furthermore, John H. ROWE specifies that Chapter 16 of the second book (libro II) was written between 1592 and 1598 and the whole fourth book (libro IV) between 1600 and 1609.⁷⁴ We have by the same author (Murúa) another chronicle "Historia General del Pirú" (Ms. Wellington, ed. by M. BALLESTEROS-GAIBROIS) based on his first, and probably also on the unpublished notes used by Sarmiento de Gamboa in his "Segunda parte de la Historia General llamada Indica," Guamán Poma's "Nueva Corónica" and possibly on some other chronicles.⁷⁵ In this specific case study I will deal only with the first work.

Although Morúa claims in his first chronicle that his principal sources of information had been the Inca *kipus*, one need not take that claim too seriously. Carlos ARANIBAR and Pierre DUVIOLS had noticed at the beginning of the 1960s that Morúa had copied at least "Confesionario ..." (published in Lima 1585) which contained among other things Polo de Ondegardo's "Los errores y supersticiones de los indios" from the year 1559, and "Instrucción contra las ceremonias y ritos ..." from the year 1567.⁷⁶ Even in the same Chapter where he dealt with these *kipus* he had actually used the written sources of others: in this case Jerónimo Román y Zamora's "Repúblicas de Indias" (which is almost completely based on Las Casas' "Apologetica"), as one can see from the following paragraph:

73 PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962:379.

74 ROWE 1987:574.

75 Parallelism with Guamán Poma and Murúa has been analyzed by MEDIZABAL LOSACK (1963:161–164) and OSSIO (1982:567–569). Parallelism with Murúa and Sarmiento: compare Murúa 1616 lib.I, cap.25; 1987:92–93 – Sarmiento 1572:cap. 46, 1943:216; Murúa 1616:lib. I, cap. 26; 1987:98 – Sarmiento cap. 51, 1943:229, etc.; see also PEASE 1978:89 note 32. According to ROWE, Murúa had not used Sarmiento or Cabello, but probably Cristóbal de Molina's missing work (ROWE 1985b:194, 200). I agree that Murúa had not used Cabello but other sources like Molina. However, Murúa's work is every now and then so similar to Sarmiento's that he seems to have used (together with Cabello) Sarmiento's papers and notes dealing with the information collected from the royal *panacas*. If not, the text Murúa used must have been quite a similar to Sarmiento's account, anyway.

76 ARANIBAR 1963:106; DUVIOLS 1962:33–43.

Román y Zamora⁷⁷

Esta era un género de nudos hechos en unos cordones algo gruesos, á manera de pater nosters, ó de rosario, ó nudos de cordón de San Francisco; por estos contaban los años, los meses y dias, por estos hacian unidades, decenas, centenas y millares, y para que las cosas que querian contar diferenciassen, hacia los nudos mayores y menores y con diferencias de colores, de manera que para una cosa tenian nudo colorado y para otra verde ó amarillo, y ansí iba lo demás; ...

Morúa⁷⁸

ésta era un género de nudos hechos, como dicho es, en unos cordones algo gruesos, a manera de pater noster, ó de rosario, ó nudos de cordón de nuestro P. San Francisco, por éstos contaban los años, los meses y dias; por estos hacian unidades decenas, centenas y millares, y para que las cosas que querían contar diferenciassen, hacían los nudos mayores y menores y con diferencia de colores, de manera que para una cosa ténian nudo colorado, y para otra, verde o amarillo, y así iba lo demás; ...

Las Casas⁷⁹

Y eran unos nudos en unas cuerdas de lana o algodón. Unos cordeles son blancos, otros negros, otros verdes, otros amarillos y otros colorados. En aquellos hacen unos nudos, unos grandes y otros chicos, como de cordón de San Francisco, de unidades, decenas, centenas y millares ...

77 Román y Zamora 1575: lib.ii, cap. xvi; 1897 II:67-68.

78 Morúa (ca. 1609) 1946:224.

79 Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:124.

It is a well known fact that in Guamán Poma's "Nueva corónica y buen gobierno" and in Morúa's work there are many structural similarities.⁸⁰ On the other hand no one has noticed – as far as I know – that Morúa had also used a good deal of Diego Fernández el Palentino's "Segunda parte de la historia del Perú" from the year 1571.

Morúa had copied Fernández, for example, in the part of his book that deals with the reigns of Inca Viracocha, Pachacuti and Topa Inca (libro primero, capítulos X, XI, XII). Of these, Chapter XII, which deals with the reign of Topa Inca, is almost completely copied from Fernández' Chapter V of his third book:

Fernández⁸¹

Morúa⁸²

Topa Inga Yupanque
 fué gran señor y muy valiente.
 Extendióse y subjectó
 más tierra que todos sus
 antepasados; porque como
 tenía su padre tanta
 gente, tierra y vasallos
 debaxo de su mando y
 era tan rico,
 y él sucedió en
 ello, puso luego diligencia en
 conquistar
 toda la tierra
 hasta Chile y Quito.
 Y a todos tuvo en gran
 concierto y razón. En
 cualquier parte que él

Este Señor y Rey
 Tupa Inga Yupanque
 fué muy valiente y muy temido
 sujetó mucha tierra, el cual dió
 (conquistó) más que todos sus
 antepasados; porque como
 tenía su padre tanta
 gente y vasallos
 debajo de su mando, y
 era tan poderoso y rico,
 y él sucedió en todo
 ello, puso luego diligencia en
 conquistar en todas partes; y así
 conquistó en toda la tierra
 hasta Chile y Quito,
 y todos tuvo en gran
 concierto y razón, y en
 cualquier parte que él

80 PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962:379; MENDIZABAL LOSACK 1963:156–161. Parallelism with Guamán Poma and Morúa (Murúa) is even more evident in Morúa's later chronicle (Ms. Wellington; see MENDIZABAL LOSACK 1963:161–164 and OSSIO 1982:567–569).

81 Fernández 1571: lib. iii, cap. v; 1963 vol. II:81.

82 Morúa (ca. 1609) 1946:73.

mandase cosa alguna, se hacía y cumplía luego con gran presteza, diligencia y solicitud ...

mandase alguna cosa se hacía y se cumplía luego, con gran presteza, diligencia y solicitud; ...

Morúa had also used Fernández in Chapter XV of his first book, which is entitled "De los Aíllos, parcialidades y linajes que estos doce Reyes y Señores Ingas tuvieron:"

Fernández

Morúa

Estos Ingas fueron tenidos en mucho en este reino. De todos ellos cuentan catorce Aíllos o linajes, conforme a los señores que ha habido. Y los que de cualquier destos descendían eran verdaderos Ingas, y se tenían en más, porque procedían de algunos de los señores, que era como decir de sangre real. Tenían puesto a cada Aillo su nombre; el primero fué de Mango Capa Inga, al cual Aillo nombran ellos Chima Panaca Aillo. El segundo, de Sincheroca Inga, al cual llaman Piauragua Aillo. El tercero ...⁸³

Estos doce Señores Ingas fueron tenidos en mucho en este Reino, de todos los Indios; los cuales cuentan haber habido catorce aíllos o linajes, conforme a los Señores que ha habido; y los que de cualquier de éstos descendían, eran verdaderos Ingas, y se tenían en más, porque procedían de alguno de los Señores; que era como decir de Sangre Real. Tenían puesto en cada aillo su nombre (1); el primero fué de Mango Cápac Inga, al cual Aillo nombran ellos Chima Panaca Aylo; el segundo, de Sinchiroca Inga, al cual llaman Piauragua Aylo; el tercero ...⁸⁴

This last dependence is important to note, since many historians have used Morúa and Diego Fernández regularly as independent

83 Fernández 1571: lib. iii, cap. vii; 1963 II:84.

84 Morúa (ca. 1609) 1946:79.

sources when they have investigated the social organization of Cuzco.

Furthermore, it is quite clear that Morúa also used many other chronicles, many of which have been lost since he wrote. For example, he may have used Blas Valera's and Cristóbal de Molina's missing works. But to answer the question of what other sources he might have used is the task of future research.

2.4. The case of Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara

We do not know much about the chronicler Pedro Gutiérrez de Santa Clara. He was probably born in Mexico or in Cuba as "mestizo o criollo" after the year 1521, and we know that he was still alive in the year 1603. Gutiérrez wrote his chronicle "Quinquenarios o Historia de las guerras civiles del Perú (1544–1548) y de otros sucesos de las Indias" in Mexico after the year 1590.⁸⁵ The events of Gutiérrez' life and the value of his work have been in dispute for a long time.

Yet in the year 1946 PORRAS BARRENECHEA wrote that perhaps Gutiérrez' chronicle is "an autobiography because he must have seen many of those sceneries he is narrating" and that "as chronicler, Gutiérrez de Santa Clara should be placed on the same side with Cieza and Garcilaso." Furthermore, PORRAS BARRENECHEA summarized Gutiérrez' account of the Incas as follows:

"In summary, in his chronicle there are very interesting insights and novelties about many aspects of Inca history."⁸⁶

In the 1950s, however, Marcel BATAILLON began to seriously doubt if Gutiérrez had ever been to Peru, since he had copied so heavily from the published chronicles of others. When Gutiérrez dealt with the civil war of Peru he used at least Diego Fernández,

85 KNOX 1958:95; BATAILLON 1961:412, 421–422; PEREZ DE TUDELA BUESO 1963:c.

86 PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1946:1, 15.

López de Gómara, Zárate, Cieza de León and Fernández de Oviedo.⁸⁷

However, in 1963 Carlos ARANIBAR and Juan PEREZ DE TUDELA BUESO still believed that Gutiérrez had been to Peru and had described matters he had seen and heard.⁸⁸ As Carlos ARANIBAR has put it:

"Recent studies of Marcel Bataillon present a doubt whether Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, "l'historien-romancier," would ever have gone to Peru. It is true that up today there is no document which would testify to the presence of this chronicler in these lands, and that professor Bataillon has detected some literal transpositions where Santa Clara may have utilized another's sources or where he may even have transferred his Mexican experience into some events of Peruvian civil wars. However, there is no information about the Inca history which would obligate Professor Bataillon to convert Santa Clara into a skillful copier and a great liar, for there is no serious evidence. On the other hand, the erudite investigator Rafael Loredó admitted some years ago that there is a possibility that our chronicler may have been in Collao in 1546."⁸⁹

I have not seen any clear proof which would testify to Gutiérrez' presence in Collao. On the contrary, in 1961 Marcel BATAILLON proved that Gutiérrez had used other chronicles in his version of Inca history. He wrote in *Nueva Revista de Filología Hispánica*:

Pedro Gutiérrez' other (sure) sources, concerning printed books and the matters dealing with Peruvian pre-Spanish history, are the

87 BATAILLON 1952:1-21; Extrait de l'Annuaire du College de France 1959, 1960, 1961, cit. by BATAILLON 1961:406 note 4.

88 ARANIBAR 1963:118-119 note 5; PEREZ DE TUDELA BUESO 1963:lxxxix.

89 "Investigaciones recientes de Marcel Bataillon plantean la duda sobre si Gutiérrez de Santa Clara, "l'historien-romancier," llegó alguna vez al Perú. Es verdad que hasta ahora no hay un solo documento que atestique la presencia del cronista en estas tierras y que el profesor Bataillon ha destacado algunas transposiciones literarias por las cuales Santa Clara habría aprovechado ajenas fuentes y aún habría traslado su experiencia mexicana a algunos sucesos de las guerras civiles del Perú. Pero no se ha hecho cargo de las noticias sobre historia incaica, las cuales le obligarían al profesor Bataillon a convertir a Santa Clara en un diestro copista y falsario de gran tono, para lo cual aún no hay prueba seria. Por otro lado, ya el erudito investigador Rafael Loredó ha admitido, desde hace algunos años, la posibilidad de que nuestro cronista haya estado en el Collao por 1546." In: ARANIBAR 1963:118-119 note 5.

appendix of the second part of the chronicle of "el Palentino" and the "Historia natural y moral de las Indias" of Father Acosta. He also used, to give "originality" to his version about the discovery of America, a bestseller of Gonzalo de Illescas the "Historia pontifical y católica (2a parte)" prohibited by the Inquisition."⁹⁰

However, BATAILLON's writings did not get much attention from Andeanists outside France. It is characteristic that in 1982 John H. ROWE published an article where he writes in references that Gutiérrez' information from the Incas had been written during 1546–1548.⁹¹

My aim is not to discuss the question of Gutiérrez' possible trip to Peru.⁹² However, I would like to show that the part of his book which deals with the Incas is actually based heavily on the chronicle of Diego Fernández el Palentino. But that is not all: I will show that he also used the chronicles of López de Gómara and Román y Zamora.

For example, Chapters LXIV and LXV from the third book of the *Quinquenarios* are based on Diego Fernández' text from the year 1571:

Fernández

... Vestíanse todos
unas
camisetas casi blancas,
y
tenían por delante
una
señal como cruz. Y éstas,
no las vestían en otro

Gutiérrez

... traían todos los electos
vestidas unas
camisas largas y muy blancas,
de
algodón, y en los pechos tenían
una
manera de cruz +, y éstas
no se las vestían en otro

90 "Otras fuentes seguras de Pedro Gutiérrez en punto a libros impresos, son, para lo tocante al Perú prehispánico, el apéndice de la Segunda parte del Palentino y la Historia natural y moral de las Indias del padre Acosta. También utilizó, para dar "originalidad" a su versión del descubrimiento de América, un "bestseller" prohibido por la Inquisición, la 'Historia pontifical y católica' de Gonzalo de Illescas (2a parte)." In: BATAILLON 1961:410.

91 ROWE 1982:116.

92 According to John H. ROWE, Gutiérrez may really have visited Peru during the civil war (personal communication).

tiempo; sino para este efecto. Poníanse oxotas de paja o de totora, dando a entender que de allí adelante habían de ser para mucho, y que habían de trabajar mucho. Y a los quince días ...⁹³

tiempo sino era en éste, y poníanse un calzado de totora, que significaba que habían de trabajar mucho en servicio de sus dioses y del gran señor Inga. A los quince días ...⁹⁴

The history of the Inca rulers as Gutiérrez had put it down differs noticeably from the Diego Fernández text. While el Palentino presents the traditional history, Gutiérrez claims that the Incas ruled first in the province of Collao in the Titicaca area and it was either Pachacuti or Topa Inca who conquered Cuzco. Some anthropologists and historians have used Gutiérrez' claim in their own theories,⁹⁵ but it is evident that Gutiérrez copied his idea from Spanish chronicles – not from Peruvian Indians. It is a well known fact that many early Spanish sources claimed that Inca Viracocha was the first Inca ruler and that he was from the Titicaca area.⁹⁶ Although Cieza de León, Betanzos and many others firmly argued against this view in the 1550s, it did not prevent Gutiérrez from making this claim again with new modifications based on his imagination. In fact, one can see in his text that he used in his narration of the Incas at least one of those early Spanish sources: López de Gómara (who in turn had used other sources, since he had never been to America):

93 Fernández 1571: lib. iii, cap. vi; 1963 II:83.

94 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. lxiv; 1963 III:253.

95 See, for example, ZUIDEMA 1962:123–126; IBARRA GRASSO 1978: 553, 572.

96 Andagoya (1546) 1986:122; López de Gómara (1552) 1852:232; Zárate (1555) 1853:471; Segovia (1552) 1943:32. This error may be based on that these chroniclers have confused the legend from the god Viracocha and the myth from Manco Capac and then mixed those with Inca Viracocha.

López de Gómara

... y hablan con él lenguaje que los seglares no entienden. No le tocan con las manos sin tener en ellas unas toallas muy blancas y limbias; sotierran dentro el templo las ofrendas de oro y plata. Sacrifican hombres, niños, ovejas, aves, y animales bravos y ...⁹⁷

Gutiérrez

... y hablan a los ídolos en lenguaje que ellos mismos no entendían, diciendo en voz alta y baxa una plática muy larga y oscura, que comenzaba prorrupre, etc. A los dioses que tenían *no los tocaban con las manos, sino con unas tobajas muy blancas*, y enterraban muchas veces *dentro de los templos las ofrendas* que los indios daban, así *de oro y plata* como de otras cosas muy estimadas entre ellos. *Sacrificaban hombres y mujeres, niños y muchachas, animales bravos y ...*⁹⁸

Even though Gutiérrez' story diverges greatly from Diego Fernández' chronicle along the main lines, this did not prevent him from copying el Palentino's many details for his history of the Inca rulers. For example:

Fernández

Llocuco Panque
Inga
no conquistó ni ganó
cosa
alguna de nuevo, más de
sustentar lo que su padre había
ganado y ponerlo en más
subjeción. Este no tuvo hijo

Gutiérrez

Llocuco Yupanque Inga, del
cual dicen
que no ganó ni conquistó
pueblo
alguno, sino fué
sustentar lo
ganado, porque
fué muy pacífico,

97 López de Gómara (1552) 1852:232.

98 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. lvi; 1963 III:232.

alguno hasta que fué muy viejo.
Y siendo
ya
tan viejo que casi
les parecía a los indios

imposible tener hijos ni
virtud para engendrar,

un criado suyo,
hallándose muy corrido de que
su amo no hubiese
tenido hijos,
y viendo que

trataban dello, dicen que un
día le tomó en brazos y
le
llevó adonde estaba su
mujer, la cual se nombraba
Mama Anauarque, e ...⁹⁹

Este Yaguarguac
Inga Yupanque,
siendo de tres meses
fué hurtado en
el Cuzco, y
de ahí a dos meses
dicen que se pareció en
poder de un cacique
muy principal,
que tenía su tierra
en Xaquixaguana
y
por allí alrededor.
Asimismo afirman que

aunque justiciero,
y siendo de edad de noventa
años
y no teniendo hijo heredero
les pareció a sus vasallos
que era

imposible tenello, ni menos
virtud para engendrar. Y, por
tanto

un criado syo,
hallándose muy pesante por
su rey y señor natural no
tenía hijo,
y oyendo que todos sus
vasallos

trataban dello, dicen que un
día tomó al Inga en brazos y
lo

llevó adonde estaba su
mujer, llamada
Mama Caguapata, y ...¹⁰⁰

... Yaguarguac
Inga Yupanguí, el cual
siendo de edad tres meses
fué hurtado en
vida su padre, y
de ahí a dos meses
dicen que pareció en
poder de un curaca
gran señor
del pueblo
de Jaxaguana, en donde se
criaba
por ser quien era.
Asimismo afirman que

99 Fernández 1571: lib. iii, cap. v; 1963 II:80.

100 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. xlix; 1963 III:209–210.

en este tiempo que
le tuvieron hurtado
le quisieron
matar, y ...¹⁰¹

en el tiempo que
lo tuvieron hurtado
le quisieron
matar, y ...¹⁰²

From the first sample one can note that Gutiérrez had changed the name of Lloque Yupanque's wife from Mama Anauarque to Mama Caguapata. The latter he might have taken from "Repúblicas de Indias" of Jerónimo Román y Zamora, which he also used for his story:

Román y Zamora

Gutiérrez

Teníase por ley en estas
gentes que cada pueblo
anduviese señalado
para
que fuese conocido,
de
manera que si venian á la
presencia del Rey Inga por
la señal que cada provincia
traía, sabia de donde
era,
y con la otra señal de que
venia señalado otro, con
aquello entendia de qué
milenario era, y de que
centuria, que cierto era
cosa notable; unos ...¹⁰³

Mandó por ley que todos los
indios de cada provincia
anduviesen señalados, y por la
señal
que truxesen fuesen
conocidos, de
manera que si parecían en la
presencia del Inga, por
la señal que el indio
traía sabia de qué provincia
era,
y por otra señal de que
venía señalado en la ropa, por
aquella entendía de que
milenario era y de qué
centuria, que cierto fué
cosa notable. Unos ...¹⁰⁴

It is clear that Román y Zamora never went to Peru and that he copied almost everything from Las Casas' "Apologetiga." Neither did Las Casas visit Peru, but he used other sources such as Segovia

101 Fernández 1571: lib. iii, cap. v; 1963 II:81.

102 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. xlix; 1963 III:210.

103 Román y Zamora 1575: lib. ii, cap. xiii; 1897 II:39–40.

104 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. xlix; 1963 III:211.

("Cristóbal de Molina de Santiago" as some historians have said) and many others which have since been "lost."

As it is important to note that Morúa used Diego Fernández in his account of Inca social organization, it is also notable that Gutiérrez used in this part of his narration Román y Zamora – who again copied Las Casas. As one might guess, many historians who have written about the social organization of Cuzco have used Las Casas and Gutiérrez as independent sources, which they are not:

Román y Zamora

El barrio segundo,
que era la otra parte
de la ciudad, lo
repartió en otras
cinco calles, á la
primera llamo Vzcamayta,
y desta hizo capitán
a los descendientes
del segundo hijo del
primer Inga que reinase
después dél.
A la segunda nombró
Apomaytha, de la cual
constituyó capitán,
al hijo segundo
del segundo Inga, ...¹⁰⁵

Gutiérrez

El otro barrio segundo,
que era la otra parte
de la ciudad de abaxo,
repartió en otras
cinco partes: a la
primera llamó Uzcamayta,
y desta hizo capitán
a los descendientes
del segundo hijo del
primer Inga que reinase
después dél:
la segunda nombró
Appomayta, de la cual
constituyó por capitán
al hijo segundo
del segundo Inga ...¹⁰⁶

Las Casas

Asimismo la parte
y bando segundo
y principal
de la ciudad que
llamó de Rurincuzco,
barrio de abajo del Cuzco,

105 Román y Zamora 1575: lib. ii, cap. xii; 1897 II:26.

106 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. 1; 1963 III:214.

subdividió en otras
cinco partes
o parcialidades: a la
primera llamó Uzcamayta,
y de éste hizo capitanes
a los descendientes
del segundo hijo del
primer Rey Inga;
a la segunda nombró
Apomaytha, de la cual
constituyó capitán
y capitanes
al segundo hijo
y descendientes
del segundo Inga; ...¹⁰⁷

And lastly, since Gutiérrez repeatedly used the same written sources Morúa did, it is not amazing to find similarities between their chronicles. For example, when they speak of *kipus* and how the Incas deposited them, it is easy to find parallels:

Román y Zamora

Tenian grandes montones
destas cuentas, á manera de
registros, como los tienen
los escribanos, y allí tenían
sus archivos, y de tal manera,
que el que queria algo, no
tenia más que hacer de irse á
los que tenían este oficio
y preguntarles ...¹⁰⁸

107 Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:90.

108 Román y Zamora 1575:lib. ii, cap. xvi; 1897 II:68.

Gutiérrez

Ellos tenían grandes montones destas cuentas o nudos, en unos aposentos, a manera de registros, como los tienen los escribanos reales en sus archivos,

de manera que el que quería saber algo hacía más de irse a los que tenían este oficio y les preguntaban: ...¹⁰⁹

Morúa

antiguamente tenían grandes montones de estas cuerdas a maneras de registros, como los tienen los escribanos, y allí tenían sus archivos, como queda dicho en el prólogo, y de tal manera, que el no quería algo, no tenía más que hacer de irse a los que tenían este oficio y preguntarles ...¹¹⁰

I hope that these two case studies about the dependencies between classic chronicles would demonstrate how important it is to re-read and to continue the careful study of our classic sources.¹¹¹ On the other hand, we should also pay much more attention in searching for new sources such as *visitas*, *probanzas*, *títulos de la tierra*, etc., since without these more local and specific sources we cannot understand the principles of the administrative organization of the Inca state.

109 Gutiérrez (ca. 1600) lib. iii, cap. lxiii; 1963 III:251.

110 Morúa (ca. 1609) 1946:225.

111 The reader who would like to get more information about the classic chroniclers may consult, for example, PORRAS BARRENECHEA 1962, ARANIBAR 1963, WEDIN 1966 and PÄRSSINEN 1983:7–36.

2.5. *Visitas* and other Spanish administrative records

Originally the *visita* institution began in Medieval Spain but in the Spanish Indies it developed to the form as it is known among the Andeanists.¹¹² In general, *visita* or *visitación* means in Spanish Peru, an administrative survey and inquiry in order to facilitate administrative operations. For example, when Francisco Pizarro granted the Indians of Chimbo (Ecuador) to Fernando de Gamarra and Melchior de Valdes on March 15, 1537, it was said to be done "in accordance of the general *visita*" (*conforme a la visita general*) carried out in that specific area by Captain Pedro de Puelles.¹¹³ In practice, the first *visitas* were done rapidly and basically those inspections meant that *visitadores* collected census information from the local *kipu* registers after which the local *curacazgos* were granted to Spanish conquistadors.¹¹⁴ However, already in 1540 *visitadores* got specific instructions (*Instrucciones*) to ask and to make inquiries about the mines, about the productivity of agriculture, about the "tribute" given to Huayna Capac and so on.¹¹⁵

After the death of Francisco Pizarro, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro ordered some specific *visitas* to be made in order to allot some new *repartimientos* to *encomenderos*,¹¹⁶ and again at the end of 1540s, after the civil wars of Spanish Peru, Pedro de la Gasca ordered a new general *visita* (*visita general*) and *tasación* to be carried out in order to re-allot those *repartimientos* and to standardize the

112 For the various meanings of *visita*, see CESPEDES DEL CASTILLO 1946:984–1025.

113 "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Fernando de Gamarra, 15–III–1537," fol. 23r-v, Ramo 1, No. 1, Patronato 143, AGI.

114 Still in 1558 and 1562 *visitadores* such as Diego de Alvarez and Diego Ortiz de Zúñiga collected census information from the local *kipus*, see Alvarez (1558) 1978:90; Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:201; 1972:249–250.

115 See "Instrucción que el Marqués Francisco Pizarro dió a Diego Verdejo para la visita que había de hacer desde Chicama hasta Tucome, 4–VI–1540." In: LEVILLIER 1921 I:20–25.

116 See "Instrucción que Vaca de Castro dió a Alonso Pérez de Esquibel para la visita que había de hacer a Caquiaviri, Machaca y Caquingora, Cuzco 17–V–1543," fols. 28r–29v, Justicia 397, AGI.

amount of their taxes.¹¹⁷ Later on, specific *visitas* were carried out in order to get information about *repartimientos* for the need of judges or for other Spanish officials, and every now and then viceroys such as, Marqués de Cañete, Francisco de Toledo and Duque de la Palata also ordered general *visitas* to be carried out to get new information about the census and taxes of the whole viceroyalty.

In general, as MURRA, PEASE, SALOMON and many others have demonstrated, the minute details with which *visitas* describe local sociopolitical organization are extremely valuable for ethnohistorians since even their demographic information was often organized by using native sociopolitical categories and *kipu* records.

Although *visitas* undoubtedly belong to the most important documents about the indigenous matters of the Andean area, there are many other kinds of administrative sources which are seldom used but still valuable in Inca studies. Especially during the juridical processes, lawsuits (*Pleitos*), many kinds of important documents were copied and presented to Spanish judges. For example, the first titles of *encomienda* grants (*Títulos de las encomiendas*) were often copied during the lawsuits held between the 16th century *encomenderos*. Those titles are extremely important because they show how the native polities were initially broken by Spaniards. In particular those titles that include the summaries of *visitas* and Incaic *kipu* records are interesting because these *kipu*-based lists of local leaders and villages with census information also followed native classificatory logic and local administrative hierarchy. In fact, sometimes even the records about the tribute standards of each *encomienda* called *tasa* or *tasación* may clarify some points of that local sociopolitical hierarchy.

117 See, for example, "Visitación de los indios de Charcas encomendados a don Alonso de Montemayor que solian ser del repartimiento de Gonzalo Pizarro, por Gomez de Solis and Francisco de Tapia, año 1549," fols. 22v-30r, Ramo 3, No. 1, Justicia 434, AGI; see also PEASE 1978b:442.

Equally, *probanzas*, which refer to indigenous matters, are generally important in Inca studies.¹¹⁸ One may also search for information about indigenous local matters from *residencias*, which were specific juridical processes where the possible misdeeds of outgoing high Spanish officials were verified. Sometime ecclesiastical papers, personal and official letters, acts of *cabildos*, memoirs, etc. may also contain important local information.

118 *Probanzas* are testimonies of witnesses given in court in order to clarify specific questions presented initially in a document called *Interrogatorio*. *Probanzas de méritos y servicios*, on the other hand, are autobiographies (with the testimonies of witnesses) about individual persons and their fathers and forefathers in order to support petitions (*Peticiones*) presented in court.

II The Chronology and Area of the Inca Expansion

1. The General Problem

One of the basic problems in Inca studies has been the question of when the great Inca conquest began and how rapidly it extended up to the whole Andean area. In the 1920s and in the beginning of the 1930s Philip Ainsworth MEANS supposed that the conquest was gradual from the second Inca (Sinchi Roca) onward. He based his theory mainly on the chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega, which was written down in 1609.¹ However, John H. ROWE did not agree with his theory and argued that the conquest was rapid and it was probably started by the ninth Inca, Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. He based his arguments mainly on the chronicles of Cieza de León, Sarmiento de Gamboa and Cabello Balboa, but he also used other sources such as Betanzos, Polo de Ondegardo, Las Casas and Cobo.² However, he did not use many local sources.

At present, ROWE's chronology is widely accepted, but Åke WEDIN has disputed it in his dissertation.³ WEDIN has noted in his "critical studies" contradictions among the chronicles and even among local information when dealing with the chronology of the Inca conquest. The same places have been said to be conquered by different Inca rulers.⁴

1 MEANS 1921:214–226; MEANS 1931:222–283.

2 ROWE 1945:265–284; see also map 1.

3 WEDIN 1963:36–63; WEDIN 1966:135–136; cited also by MURRA 1986:49.

4 WEDIN 1963:49; see also PEASE 1978:39.

However, these different stories of conquest need not contain contradictions, because, as John V. MURRA has noted, rapid expansion, rebellions and reconquests might have been phases of the same process.⁵ Already Sarmiento noticed this phenomenon, when he wrote that Topa Inca had to renew the conquests made by his father, since after the death of Pachacuti almost the whole empire began to rebel.⁶ Similarly, a local informant of Chachapoya once mentioned to the *corregidor* of Cajamarquilla how Atahualpa came to Chachapoya and told his father that he had come to conquer this area, "even though the area was already conquered by his father Guaynacaba [Huayna Capac], and by his grandfather Topa Yupanqui."⁷

It seems that the death of the Inca king gave almost a legitimate way for the provinces to challenge the political leadership of Cuzco and therefore each new Inca needed to confirm his political authority among the provincial leaders.⁸

This phenomenon also makes it very clear that the provinces of Tawantinsuyu were not willingly attached to the Inca state, but that these ties between the provinces and Cuzco functioned on a personal level. When the Inca conquered a province, their leaders were attached personally to the ruler, not to the state. Furthermore, this personal attachment was confirmed by kinship ties, so that the Inca offered his sister, daughter or near relatives to be married to provincial leaders; and also the Inca took daughters or sisters of provincial leaders as his secondary wives.⁹ So the kinship organization of the Incas was strongly interconnected with the political organization of the Inca state.

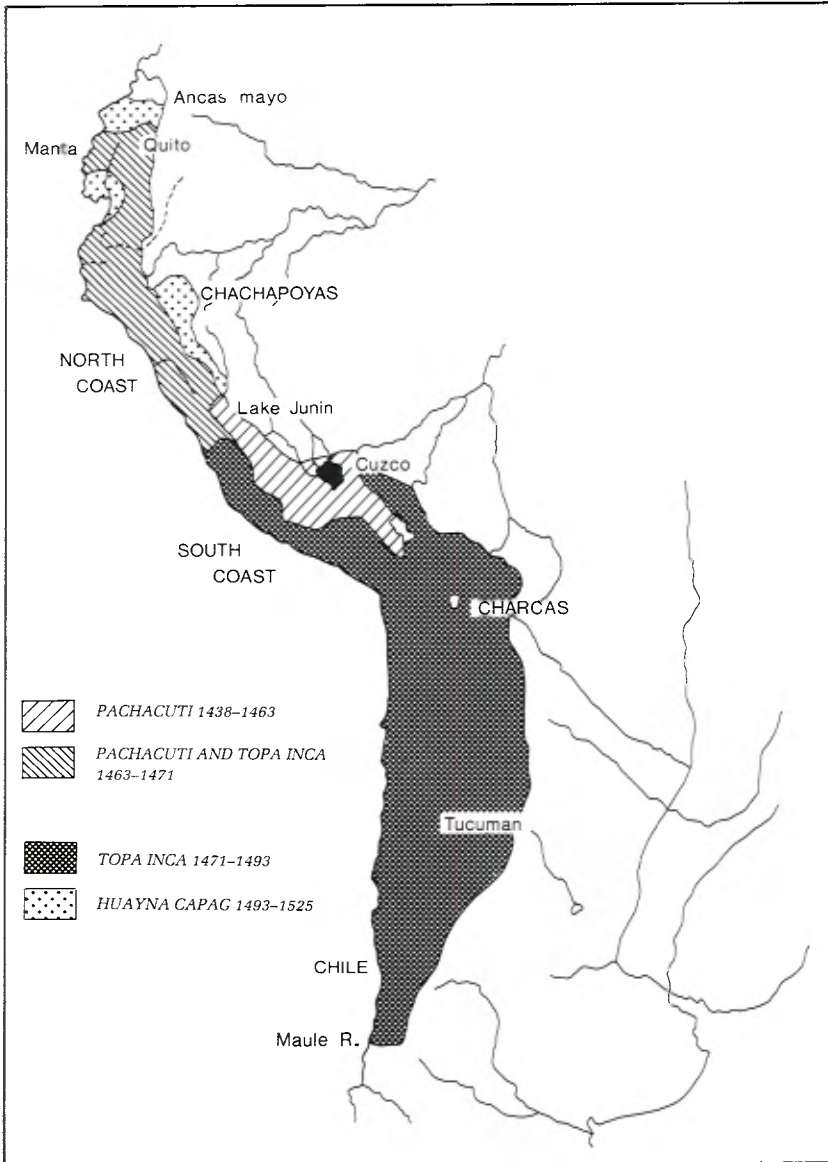
5 MURRA 1986:52.

6 Sarmiento 1572:cap.44; 1943:209; see also Betanzos 1551: cap.xxvi; 1987:128.

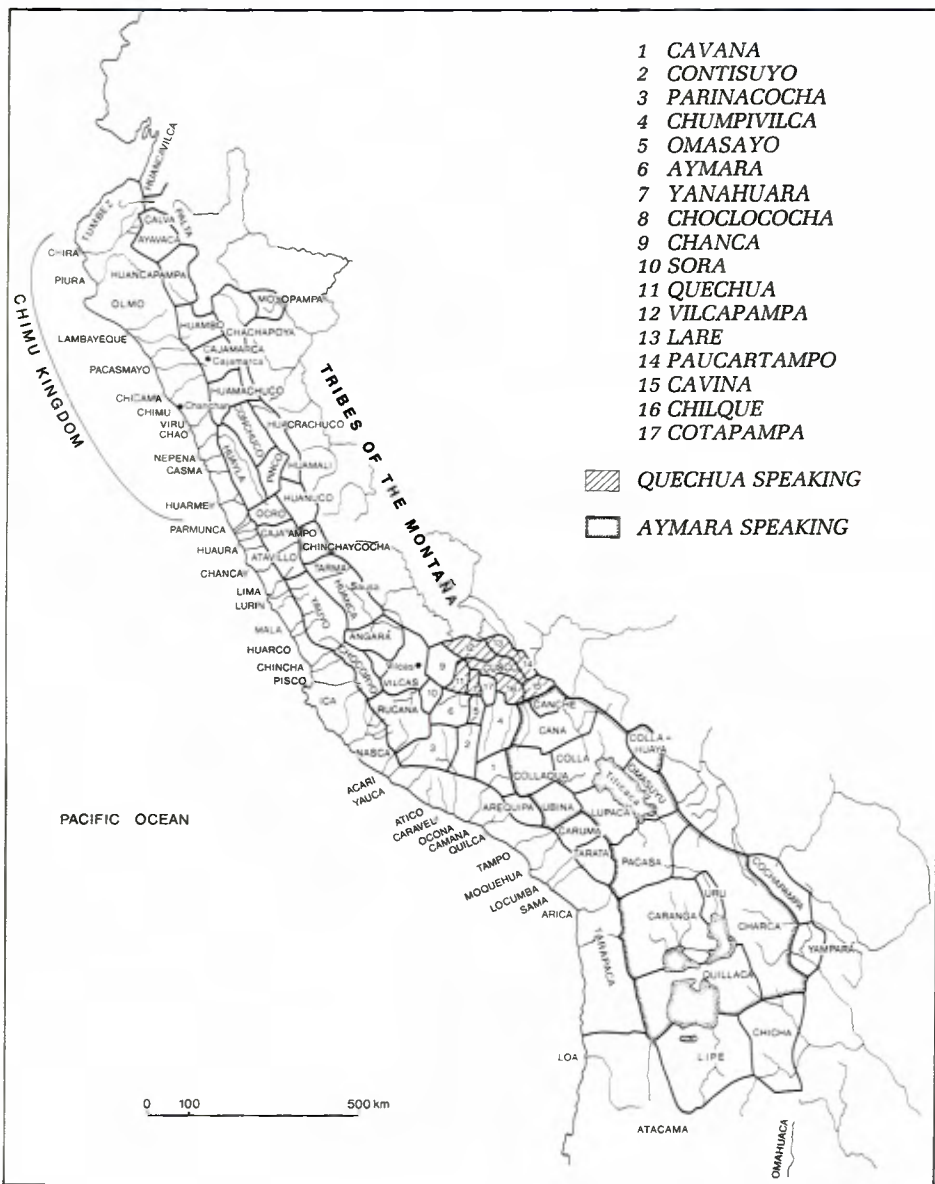
7 Vizcarra (1574) 1967:305; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:262.

8 MURRA (1986:51) has once compared this scenario for Rwanda and Ashanti where institutionalized wars of succession followed the death of each king.

9 For the case of Chimo, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1961:54; for the case of Chachapoya, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:276; for the two cases of Huayla, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976:247-298; for the case Canta, see Fuente & Fernandez (1553) 1978:236, 238; for the case of Copiapó, see HIDALGO 1985:99; for the case of Caracara, see "Ynformación de don Fernando Aria de Ariuto gobernador del pueblo de Copoatta sobre su



MAP 1. – The expansion of the Inca Empire between 1438 and 1525 after John H. Rowe.



MAP 2. – Tribes and provinces of the Inca Empire (Peru-Bolivia), circa 1530. (Drawn from data compiled on the Quechua by John H. Rowe and on the Aymara by Harry Tschopik, Jr.)

Personal attachment was also confirmed, as MURRA has already pointed out, by fine clothes and other objects, which each Inca gave to provincial leaders to get their obedience.¹⁰ For example, in Chachapoya, Atahualpa gave silver clothes to *hunucuracas*.¹¹ Similarly, from Quillaca-Asanaque we know that Topa Inca gave *hunucuraca*

"three shirts made of gold, silver and "stone" sheets and confirmed that he may use a litter as his father had done."¹²

One problem in determining conquest chronology lies in the Inca system to record history. As we have noted earlier, this system was created by Pachacuti and we do not have much information from his predecessors and what we know may well be extremely manipulated.¹³

Secondly, the conception of each Inca seems to have been different in each emperor's own *panaca* than in others'. Because of that, the value of a chronicler's information may vary considerably from Inca to Inca. We should also remember that the Inca history, presented in pictures, *kipus* and songs are mostly individual episodes. In that system, chronological order is not as important as in Western culture. For example, in a *kipu*-history of Topa Inca, presented by his descendants, the order follows that of political prestige. First the conquest of Chinchaysuyu is presented, and after that, Antisuyu, Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu.¹⁴ It is also noticeable that the same episode may have been presented in the

nobleza y servicios fecha en virtud de cedula del rey nro señor , "fols.14r,17v, Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI; for the case of Chicama, see "Aberiguación hecho por señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," fol.10r, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarios, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo. In the cases of Chimo, Chicama, Huayla and Canta the Inca took wives, and in the cases of Chachapoya and Caracara the Inca gave the wives.

10 MURRA (1958) 1975:145-170.

11 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:260.

12 "tres camisetas con chaperia de oro, plata y piedras y le confirmo que anduives en unas andas como su padre lo hauia fecho." In: Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:249.

13 See pp. 50-51.

14 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:224-226.

history of two or more rulers, if the future Inca participated in that episode as the command chief or "captain." Thus, some of the episodes presented by the descendants of Topa Inca might already have happened in the time of Pachacuti. For example, in the "Memoria de las provincias," which explains the conquests of Topa Inca and his two brothers, an episode of the Inca conquest is presented as follows:¹⁵

"And then [Topa Inca] conquered the province of the Cañar and Quito seizing Pizar Capac and Cañar Capac and Chinar Caya and other kings they had."

However, from the *kipu*-based text of Sarmiento we know that this episode probably happened in the time of Pachacuti, when Topa Inca was leading this northern campaign.¹⁶ Thus, both Topa Inca as the heir and a military leader and Pachacuti as the leader of the state seem to have credited the very same conquest to themselves.

Probably the best way to confirm the historical tradition of Cuzco is to check the local history of the provinces. What does their history tell about the Incas? Who were those Incas who supposedly conquered their territories? I think this information is very valuable especially when the informants remember genealogies of their own *curacas* down to the time of conquest. Let us first check this kind of information from "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" published by JIMENEZ DE LA ESPADA and from "Informaciones de Toledo."

In this local information Pachacuti is mentioned only as a conqueror of Alca in Chumbivilca and Sora.¹⁷ However, he was mentioned more often by his other name, Inca Yupanqui.¹⁸ Inca Yupanqui is said to have conquered Sora, Tomebamba,

15 "y luego [Topa Inca] conquisto la provincia de los cañares y quito prendiendo a pizar capac y a cañar capac y a chinar caya y otros rreyes que tenían." In: Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:224.

16 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210; see also Cabello 1586: cap. 16; 1951:320; Murúa 1616:cap. 21; 1987:81.

17 Acuña (1586) 1885:18; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:40, 44, 58.

18 Even chroniclers normally use Pachacuti's other name.

Pacaibamba (near Tomebamba) and Hatun Cañar.¹⁹

Topa Inca is mentioned more often in these sources. It is said that he visited (and conquered) Llusco, Colquemarca and Lipitaca (Chumbivilca); Viacha and Llallaqua (Pacasa); Potosí (Caracara); Vilcas, Rucana and Chachapoya.²⁰

On the other hand, Huayna Capac is mentioned as the first Inca conqueror only in the north of Quito and in San Luis de Paute near Cuenca.²¹ Furthermore, other Incas mentioned in these local sources are Amaro Topa, Guaina Inga, Guanca Auqui, Mayta Capac, Capac Yupanqui and Viracocha Inca.

Later I will deal with the conquests of Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac in more detail. However, in this connection I would like to mention something about these other Incas, whose existence is confirmed by our sources.

2. Specific Problems

2.1. Specific problems relating to Guaina Inga, Amaro Topa and Guanca Auqui

In our "unofficial" local sources, Guaina Inga is mentioned in Pacaibamba (near Cuenca), and Guanca Auqui in Quilca near Quito.²² Amaro Topa, on the other hand, is mentioned in connection with where he is said to have moved one of his servants from Collagua to Chinchapuquio.²³

19 Pablos (1582) 1965:264, 267; Gallegos (1582) 1965:275; Arias Dávila (1582) 1965:279. According to Toledo ([1570–1572] 1940:108) Inca Yupanqui brought *mitimaes* from Soras.

20 Acuña (1586) 1885:22, 29, 35; Mercado de Peñalosa (ca. 1585) 1885:57, 58; Rodríguez de Figueroa (1583) 1885:xxxiv; Carabajal & Soria (1586) 1965:218; Monzón et al. (1586a) 1965:221; Monzón et al. (1586b) 1965:227, 231; Monzón et al. (1586c) 1965:241; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:133. However, this information does not often mention the names of local *curacas* before the Inca time.

21 Pereira et al. (1582) 1965:272; Anónimo Quiteño (1573) 1965: 210, 227.

22 Arias Dávila (1582) 1965:279; Aguilar (1582) 1965:246. According to the "Informaciones de Toledo" ([1570–1572] 1940:133) Guanca Auqui also brought *mitimaes* from Chachapoya to Cuzco.

23 Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:113.

However, the traditional list of the Inca kings does not include the names of these three Incas. As a matter of fact, of the classic chroniclers only Pedro Pizarro mentions Guaina Inga and Amaro Topa as the real Inca kings.²⁴ On the other hand, other chroniclers state that Guaina Inga or actually Guaina Yupanqui was a brother of Pachacuti who participated in the Inca conquest with Capac Yupanqui and Topa Inca.²⁵ Cabello also mentions him as "visitador of huacas" together with Amaro Topa.²⁶ Amaro Topa, in turn, was a well known son of Pachacuti who, according to many independent sources, temporally governed Cuzco almost as a king.²⁷

Guanca Auqui, "the third unknown Inca," is said to have conquered Quilca together with a local *curaca* called Gualapiango from Lita. Because a son of this Gualapiango was still alive in 1582, it means that the mentioned conquest could not have happened before the time of Huayna Capac. Therefore, this Guanca Auqui seems to have been a son of Huayna Capac, who later became the famous "bad lucky captain" of Huascar in the civil war against Atahualpa.²⁸ Thus, we cannot consider him an Inca who made conquests before Pachacuti.

2.2. Mayta Capac

Mayta Capac is mentioned in "Informaciones de Toledo" as the conqueror of Alcabizas in Cuzco.²⁹ Furthermore, in the *kipu*-based account of the *ceques* and shrines of Cuzco, Mayta Capac is mentioned as a real historical person who constructed a prison

24 Pizarro 1571: cap. 10; 1986:46.

25 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxxiv; 1987:155; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 38; 1943:196; see also Cabello 1586:cap. 16; 1951:314; Murúa 1616:cap. xx; 1987:78.

26 Cabello 1586:cap. 15; 1951:311.

27 Betanzos 1551:caps. xxiii, xxxiii; 1987:119–120, 153; Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:136–141; Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:221–223; Sarmiento 1571:cap. 41–43, 1943:202–208; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:299–301; see also Cabello 1586:cap. 18; 1951:334–335.

28 See, for example, Betanzos 1551: lib. II, caps.vii–xi, xviii, xxiv; 1987:223–236, 257, 279; Sarmiento 1571:caps. 63–65; 1943:255–265.

29 Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:185.

house called Sancacancha³⁰ in the Collasuyu sector of Cuzco, and who spent some time in a place called Tampucancha before he started to fight against Alcabizas.³¹ He is also known in Collagua, as demonstrated by the local information of Luis Gerónimo de Oré. He is not mentioned as a great conqueror, but, according to Oré, Mayta Capac was married to Mama Yacchi, a daughter of the cacique from Collagua. For this reason the inhabitants of the area built them a big copper palace to accommodate them when they visited that province.³² The crucial question is now, who was this Mayta Capac who ruled mainly inside Cuzco, but who also was known in Collagua ?

If we check the history of the so-called fourth Inca king named Mayta Capac in the classic chronicles, we may notice that independent sources like Cieza, Sarmiento and Fernández (and Ramos Gavilán who copied Fernández) affirm that Mayta Capac did not make any conquest outside Cuzco Valley, but who, indeed, confirm that he subjugated Alcabizas in the Cuzco area.³³ On the other hand, Garcilaso (and Oliva who follows Garcilaso) gives us a list of enormous conquests attributed to Mayta Capac.³⁴ However, no independent source confirms Garcilaso's list. As a matter of fact, only Calancha and Guaman Poma give some support to the theory of Mayta Capac's enormous conquests when they argue that he subjugated Charcas and Potosí.³⁵ However, just from Charcas we have excellent local sources which confirm that Inka Yupanqui (Pachacuti) was the first Inca conqueror of that area, not Mayta

30 The name Sanca may in this case mean the same as Chanca. Chancas, in turn, were the famous enemies of the Incas.

31 Cobo 1653:lib. xiii, cap. xv; 1964:182.

32 Cited by GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1985:156. The same text was copied by Bernabe Cobo (1653:lib. xii, cap. vii; 1964:70; see also ROWE 1979b:ix). This information was collected when Oré was a priest in Coporaque in Collagua. Oré worked also as "guardian" of the convent of Concepción de San Francisco at the Valley of Jauja (in 1597) and later on, he was a professor of theology in the Convent of San Francisco of Cuzco in 1603 (see: "Probanza de Fray Luis Gerónimo de Oré, año 1603." Audiencia de Charcas 145, AGI).

33 Cieza 1553b:cap. xxxiii; 1986:100-101; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 17; 1943:138-142; Fernández (1571) 1963:80; see also Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1976:16.

34 Garcilaso 1609:lib. iii, caps.i-ix; 1976:123-139; see also Oliva (1631) 1895:42-44.

35 Calancha 1639:96; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:98-99.

Capac.³⁶ That means that Garcilaso, Guaman Poma, Calancha and Oliva credited Mayta Capac with the conquests which, in fact, seem to have happened during the time of Pachacuti. Furthermore, when Garcilaso also narrates that Mayta Capac constructed the famous bridge of Apurímac, independent sources like Betanzos and Cieza confirm that it was constructed by Pachacuti.³⁷

Also in the statement that Mayta Capac won Alcabizas or Allcavillcas (confirmed in the *kipu*-based *ceque* account, in many independent chronicles and by Alcabizas themselves in "Informaciones de Toledo") lies a semantic curiosity. According to the same sources, as pointed out by Tom ZUIDEMA, Pachacuti fought during the Chanca war against Uscovilca (the white villca) whereas Mayta Capac had fought against the Allcavillca (the black and white villca).³⁸ Even the details of these two wars follow the same syntax, as showed by Pierre DUVIOLS.³⁹ For that reason it is well possible that the both wars are myths, not parts of real history. However, taking into consideration that so many independent sources treat Mayta Capac as a historical person, one more alternative exists. That alternative would mean that Mayta Capac lived in the same time as Pachacuti did, and hence, some related descriptions about Mayta Capac and Pachacuti really refer to the same things. That would also mean that the inhabitants of Collagua may really have constructed a copper palace to Mayta Capac (if he really was the same person as the so-called fourth Inca of Cuzco), but we have no reason to believe that it would have happened before Pachacuti started the great Inca expansion.

36 Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:237, 245, 246, 249; Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582) 1969:24; "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fol. 20r, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI.

37 Garcilaso 1609:lib. iii, cap. vii; 1976:135; compare Betanzos 1551:cap. xviii; 1987:88; Cieza 1553b:xlvi; 1986:137.

38 ZUIDEMA 1962:137–138.

39 DUVIOLS 1979:363–371.

2.3. Capac Yupanqui

In "Relaciones Geográficas de Indias" and "Informaciones de Toledo" it is mentioned that Capac Yupanqui was the conqueror of Jauja and Vilca.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the local informants of Chinchá declared to Castro and Ortega Morejón that Capac Yupanqui also conquered Chinchá Valley on the Peruvian coast.⁴¹

Now, if we check from the classic chroniclers what they say about the so-called fifth Inca (Capac Yupanqui), we may notice that his conquest in the vicinity of Vilca and Jauja (including Aymará and Andahuayla) is confirmed by Quipocamayos, Cieza, Pachacuti Yamqui, Garcilaso and Guaman Poma.⁴² Murúa (copying Oré) even states that he went as far as Pachacamac.⁴³ In general, this information would correspond extraordinarily well to the information of local sources, if those local sources did not especially say that this conquest of Capac Yupanqui happened just before the reigning of Topa Inca.⁴⁴ A fact which makes it clear that those conquests attributed to the so-called fifth Inca happened, in reality, at the time of Pachacuti. This makes it also clear that the so-called fifth Inca in the classic chroniclers is the same person as the other Capac Yupanqui who was said to have been a "captain of the Inca army," who also conquered Vilca and Jauja for his "brother" Pachacuti, and whose history is well known by chroniclers such as Betanzos, Cieza, Sarmiento, Cabello, Murúa, Garcilaso and Cobo. Thus he was not an Inca king who ruled long before Pachacuti, but a military leader and "another Inca" from the time of Pachacuti.

40 Vega (1582) 1965:166; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:19, 24, 32, 40.

41 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:93. "Señores" ([ca. 1575] 1920:59), whose account is heavily based on the account of Castro & Ortega Morejón, add to this that Capac Yupanqui also conquered the Pisco Valley.

42 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:13; Cieza 1553b:cap. xxxiv; 1986:104; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:293; Garcilaso 1609:lib. iii, caps. x–xii; 1976:140–145; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:100.

43 Murúa 1616:lib. i, cap. xi; 1987:66–67. According to John H. ROWE Murúa's account about Capac Yupanqui is based on the text of Oré (personal communication).

44 Testimonies of Alonso Pomaguala, Diego Lucana and Hernando Apachin (Lurin Huanca); Antonio Guaman Cucho (Guamanga); Baltasar Guaman Llamoca (Sora); Juan Sona (Xaquixaguana) in: Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:19, 24, 32, 40, 41, 44, 62; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:93–94; see also Anónimo Yucay (1571) 1970:125.

2.4. Viracocha Inca

No local source mentions the so-called sixth or seventh Incas named Inca Roca and Yahuar Huacac. That is why all the conquests attributed to them in some chronicles are extremely doubtful.⁴⁵ We do not have much information in local sources about Viracocha Inca (the so-called eighth Inca) either. However, we do not have serious reason to doubt his existence, because local testimony confirms the information of Las Casas, Sarmiento and Pachacuti Yamqui that he had a wife from the village of Anta, situated near Cuzco.⁴⁶ Furthermore, in the *kipu*-based account of *ceques*, Viracocha is presented (like Mayta Capac, Pachacuti, Amaro Topa, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac) as a real person who ruled in Cuzco.⁴⁷

On the other hand, we do not have local evidence about any great conquests of Viracocha outside the surroundings of Cuzco. Nevertheless, we know that after Pachacuti Inca made the *coup d'état*, Viracocha lived in exile in Caquea Xaquixaguana for a long time. That would explain why, for example, Quipocamayos credited Viracocha with those conquests which were made by Pachacuti during the lifetime of Viracocha.⁴⁸ In other words, the descendants of Viracocha may well have credited him with all of these conquests that happened during his lifetime, just as the descendants of Pachacuti and Topa Inca seemingly took credit for the conquests that happened during the adulthood of Pachacuti

45 If some local documents will be found dealing with the conquest of Inca Roca I am quite sure that those will refer to the "brother" of Pachacuti who was also called Inca Roca and who made, according to Sarmiento (1572:cap. 36; 1943:184–187) some conquests in the frontier area of Cuntisuyu and Chinchaysuyu. See also Garcilaso 1609: lib.iii, cap.xviii; 1976 I:159–160.

46 Testimony of Pedro Pongo Xiue Paucar (a native from the village of Anta) in: Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:114; Las Casas (ca.1559) 1948:81; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 24; 1943:156; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:295.

47 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xiii; 1964:170, 173.

48 Betanzos (1551:cap. xvii; 1987:85) and Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1968:297–299) confirm independently that Viracocha Inca lived a long time in exile. Furthermore, those areas of Chinchaysuyu which were conquered, according to Quipocamayos ([1542–1544] 1920:15–17), by Viracocha Inca, were also conquered, according to Pachacuti Yamqui (*ibid.*), by Pachacuti Inca during the lifetime of Viracocha. As will be seen later, local sources support Pachacuti Yamqui when he attributes those conquests to Pachacuti.

and Topa Inca. Still, the fact seems to be that Viracocha had very little to do with those conquests.

In general, I think that Sarmiento was right when he supposed that Viracocha conquered only the area of some seven to eight leguas (35–40 kilometers) around Cuzco.⁴⁹ That would explain the lack of information about Viracocha Inca in local sources outside the surroundings of Cuzco. Furthermore, it is important to note that the supposition of Sarmiento seems to have been based on Incaic *kipu*, as the list of conquests attributed to Viracocha Inca follows the typical structural order of *kipu* text.

Sarmiento informs us how Viracocha appointed "his son" Inga Roca to the leadership of the Inca army whereas Apo Maita, Vicaquirao and Pachacuti (Inga Yupanqui) followed his forces as the secondary leaders. After that, Sarmiento writes about these conquests as follows (scores mine):

- [They] destroyed the village of Guaipamarca and the Ayarmacas; and killed its leader [sic.] called Tócaý Cápac, and Chíguay Cápac; who had their seats near Cuzco. And
- they subdued the village of Mollaca, and destroyed the village of Caito; [situated] four leguas from Cuzco; and killed its leader Cápac Chani.
- assaulted the villages called Socma and Chiraques; and killed their leaders called Poma Lloque and Illacumbe; [oral explication:] who were brave leaders in that time and who valiantly resisted the earlier Incas so that they would not leave Cuzco to assault.
- he also conquered Calca and Caquea Xaquixaguana; [situated] three leguas from Cuzco; and the village of Collocte; and Cámal.
- he subjected the villages situated from Cuzco up to Quiquixana; and their surroundings; and the Papres and other villages in its environment; all other areas up to seven to eight leguas around Cuzco."⁵⁰

49 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 25; 1943:160.

50 "[Inga Viracocha] destruyó al pueblo Guaipamarca y los ayarmacas, y mató a su cinche, llamado Tócaý Cápac, y a Chíguay Cápac, que tenían sus asientos cerca del Cuzco. Y sujetaron al pueblo de Mollaca, y arruinaron al pueblo Caito, cuatro leguas del Cuzco, y mataron a su cinche, llamado Cápac Chani. Asolaron a los pueblos llamados Socma y Chiraques, y mataron a sus cinches, llamados Poma Lloque e Illacumbe, que eran cinches belicosísimos en aquel tiempo y que resistían valerosísimamente a los ingas pasados, para que no saliesen del Cuzco a saltar. Conquistó

We can see from the text of Sarmiento that he did not copy all the information of the possible *kipu* read to him, but ends it with some kind of generalization. However, if we compare his text to the writings of Cabello and Murúa, who may also have had access to the transcriptions of the same *kipus*, there appear only slight differences.⁵¹ Thus, all of this evidence gives further confirmation to the view that Viracocha did not make important conquests except in the neighborhood of Cuzco.

In sum, local independent sources clearly demonstrate that ROWE's theory of rapid expansion is correct. We have no reason to support the theory which sees expansion as a gradual process from the time of Sinchi Roca onward. We may have only a little doubt with the history of Mayta Capac, but because we do not have any records of Inca Roca and Yahuar Huacac outside Cuzco, there is no scientific ground to believe that during Mayta Capac the Tawantinsuyu would have reached Collagua – long before Inca Pachacuti. If the so-called fourth Inca really visited in Collagua he must have lived near the time of Pachacuti.

Next we should take into consideration the details of ROWE's theory about the rapid Inca expansion, and compare it to the information of classic chroniclers and to the local sources we possess in 1992. For that purpose we will start our analysis from the Chinchaysuyu sector of the Inca state and after that we will concentrate on the details of the conquest in other quarters of Tawantinsuyu.

asimesmo a Calca y a Caquea Xaquixaguana, tres leguas del Cuzco, y al pueblo de Collocte y Cámal. Subjetó los pueblos que hay desde el Cuzco hasta Quiquixana, y sus alderredores, y los papres, y otros pueblos en su contorno, todos en siete y ocho leguas a lo más a la redonda del Cuzco.” In: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 25; 1943:159–160.

51 Cabello 1586:cap. 14; 1951:298–301; Murúa 1616:lib. 1, cap. xvii; 1987:73.

3. The Documented Inca Expansion

3.1. The Inca expansion in Chinchaysuyu

ROWE supposes that in Chinchaysuyu, Pachacuti personally occupied "the Chanca country, the Soras, Lucanas, Cotabambas, and other neighboring nations, getting as far as Vilca, near Cangallo."⁵² Because Betanzos, Cieza, Sarmiento and Fernández (and Ramos Gavilán who copied Fernández) independently and approximately confirm this information and because three local testimonies also confirm his conquest of Sora, I have nothing to add to it.⁵³

After Pachacuti retired to Cuzco, Capac Yupanqui took the command of the Inca army and together with Yanqui Yupanqui, Huaina Yupanqui and Lloque Yupanqui, he continued the conquests started by Pachacuti. They conquered, according to Betanzos, Sarmiento, Cabello, Murúa and Garcilaso, Chinchansuyu up to Cajamarca. However, Cieza states that Capac Yupanqui reached only up to Bonbón (Chinchaycocha, see map 3). Because of that, ROWE supposes that the conquest of Cajamarca was only a raid, not a real conquest, and that only the area from Cuzco up to Chinchaycocha was systematically occupied.⁵⁴

We do not possess any local documents from Cajamarca which would confirm these campaigns of Capac Yupanqui there. But because so many chroniclers mention these campaigns, we may accept ROWE's hypothesis. Probably Capac Yupanqui really raided the area of Conchuco, Huamachuco and Cajamarca, but did not make any permanent arrangements there. On the other hand, local sources, known already to ROWE, mention that Capac Yupanqui's conquest reached up to Jauja, at least.⁵⁵ Because Jauja is already near the area of Chinchaycocha, where ROWE fixed

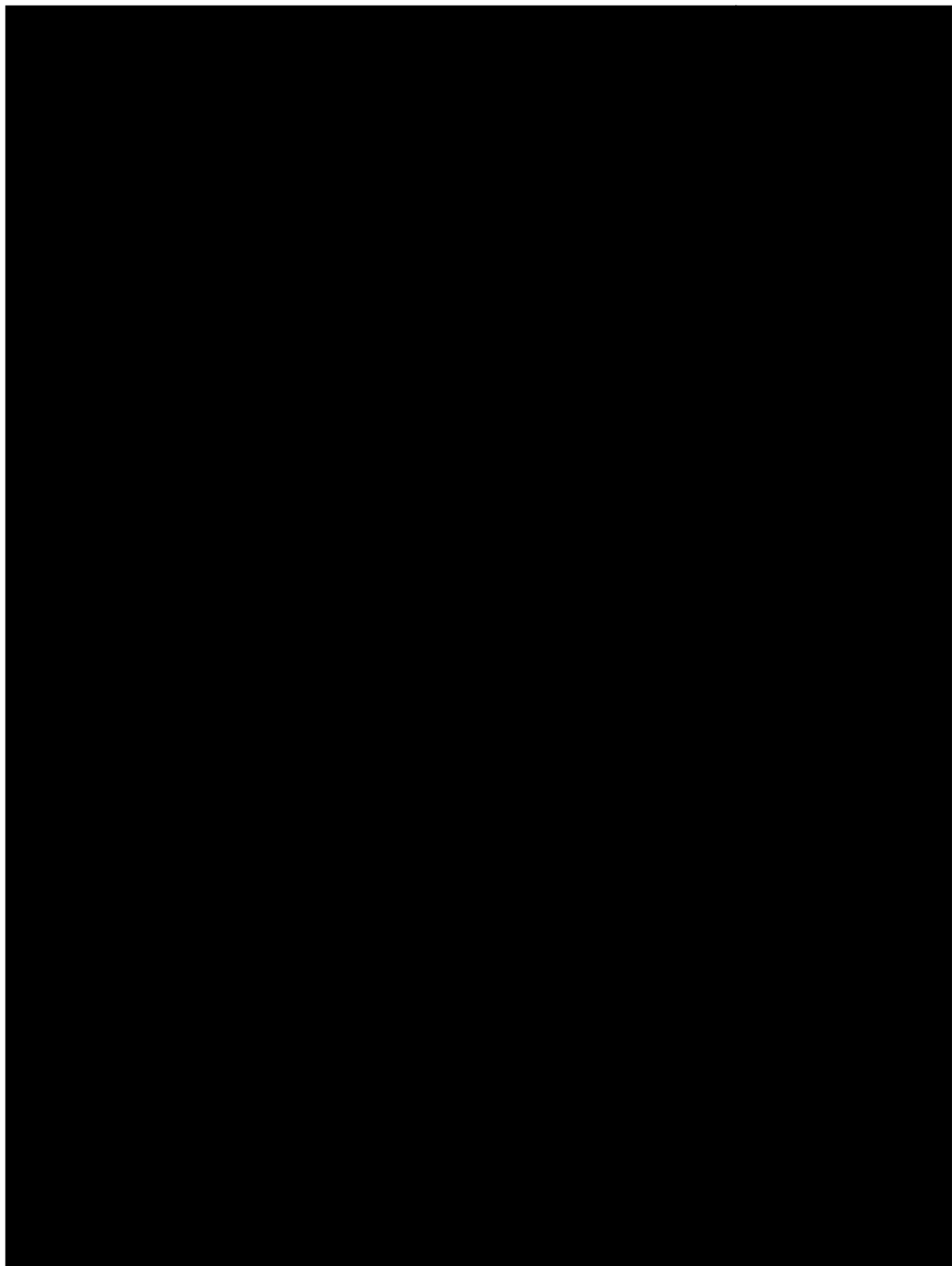
52 ROWE 1945:270.

53 Betanzos 1551:cap. xviii; 1987:90; Cieza 1553b:cap. xlvi; 1986:137-139; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 35; 1943:181-187; Fernández (1571) 1963:81; Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1976:16; Toledo (1570-1572) 1940:40, 44, 58.

54 ROWE 1945:271.

55 ROWE 1946:206.

Map 3. A detail of the map of Manuel Sobreviela (1790), conserved in the Archive of the Indies (AGI) in Seville.



Capac Yupanqui's conquest, we have no reason to make any changes to his theory. It is well enough.

However, to deal with the conquest of the south-central coast of the present Perú seems to be even more problematic. According to ROWE it was not conquered before Topa Inca, even though Capac Yupanqui may already have raided the valley of Chincha.⁵⁶ The Chincha and the neighbouring valleys are not often mentioned by the "classic" chroniclers. For example, Betanzos, Sarmiento and the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu do not mention them at all. However, according to Pachacuti Yamqui, Garcilaso and Cobo, those valleys were conquered in the time of Pachacuti.⁵⁷ On the other hand, according to Guaman Poma, Chincha was conquered by the captains called Ynga Maytac and Ynga Urcon "brothers of Vira Cocha Ynga" and according to Cieza, Capac Yupanqui (the brother of Pachacuti) tried to conquer Chincha but he could not occupy it. Only later, as also supposed by Cabello, the Incas completely managed to subjugate Chincha under the leadership of Topa Inca.⁵⁸

This means that two independent sources, Pachacuti Yamqui and Garcilaso (or Cobo who sometimes used Garcilaso) argue that Chincha was occupied in the time of Pachacuti whereas the other pair of independent sources, Cieza and Cabello, credit Topa Inca for that.⁵⁹ Fortunately, we have two local sources which give more light to the problem. One of them, "Aviso de el modo que havia en el gobierno de los indios ..." does not mention Capac Yupanqui at all, but explains the orders and laws of Topa Inca in Chincha and more generally in the whole Tawantinsuyu.⁶⁰ On the other hand, in a local report of Chincha, written by Castro and Ortega Morejón, both Capac Yupanqui and Topa Inca are mentioned. In that report, Castro and Ortega Morejón describe how Capac Yupanqui was the first Inca who conquered Chincha and in fact he did not make any

56 ROWE 1945:270-272.

57 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:298; Garcilaso 1609:lib. 6, cap. xvii-xix; 1976:40-46; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiii; 1964:81. Garcilaso specifies that the conquest was made by Capac Yupanqui for his brother Pachacuti.

58 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:156[158]; Cieza 1553b:cap. lx; 1986:172; Cabello 1586:cap. 18; 1951:338.

59 In this case Garcilaso's account carries more weight than in general, because he personally visited the valley of Chincha.

60 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca.1575) 1970.

raid but obeyed the *curacas* of Chinchá to recognize Capac Yupanqui's supreme power.⁶¹ In practice this obedience was confirmed in the Andean way so that Capac Yupanqui gave them fine clothes and gold pearls as "reciprocal gifts" for their obedience. Later he ordered them to build "hatuncancha," a main temple for which there were assigned women, *yanas* and *chacras*. Capac Yupanqui ordered these *yanas* and women to cultivate the mentioned lands (*chacras*) as well as to weave clothes and to make *chicha*.⁶² However, when Capac Yupanqui died, Topa Inca reorganized the administrative system, and he also made some new arrangements dealing with land tenure.⁶³

From the chronological perspective it is important to note that the description of Castro and Ortega Morej3n reaches up to the time before the Incas, since also the pre-Inca lord of the area, Guaviarucana, is mentioned.⁶⁴ That is why I consider its chronological information to be more valuable than the information presented in "Anonymous Aviso" or in the "classic" chroniclers. Also, the details in Castro and Ortega Morej3n's account seem to reflect so much genuine Andean tradition that it raises its scientific value. Hence, it is highly possible that Pachacuti Yamqui and Garcilaso were right when they argued that the valley of Chinchá was attached to Tawantinsuyu already in the time of Pachacuti (by Capac Yupanqui). As a matter of fact, the anonymous chronicle "Relacion del origen o gobierno que los ingas tuvieron.. (Se1ores)" also mentions that Capac Yupanqui conquered areas up to Pisco Valley situated next to Chinchá, which gives more support to our theory even though the chronicle of anonymous "Se1ores" and Castro and Ortega Morej3n are not completely independent sources.⁶⁵

61 The informants of Castro and Ortega Morej3n completely ignored Pachacuti. They even believed that Topa Inca was a son of Capac Yupanqui.

62 Castro & Ortega Morej3n (1558) 1974:93, 96.

63 Castro & Ortega Morej3n (1558) 1974:94-103.

64 Castro & Ortega Morej3n (1558) 1974:93.

65 The chronicle of "Se1ores" is compiled together from three different parts. The first part of it contains similar information as the relation of Castro and Ortega Morej3n (WEDIN 1966:57-73; LOHMANN VILLENA 1966:174-193). However, it is not a copy, rather the relation of Castro and Ortega Morej3n and "Se1ores" use the same structural model since all the same subject matter is presented, even though the details are different. Hence, it

However, even though we may accept that this early "conquest" was a real attachment, we must remember that the initial integration of Chinchá to Tawantinsuyu did not change Chinchá's internal organization as can also be seen in the description of Castro and Ortega Morejón. More important was that the *curacas* of Chinchá accepted the superior power of Capac Yupanqui or Pachacuti and let the Incas build the "hatuncancha" in the area.⁶⁶

Many chroniclers affirm that during the lifetime of Pachacuti, his heir Topa Inca took the command of the Inca army in a similar way as Capac Yupanqui did before. Because of that, ROWE states that

is also possible that both had used a common "third source."

The first part of the chronicle of "Señores," in the form as we know it, was written around 1575 by a priest of Chinchá, who may have been Cristóbal Castro, or as ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO (1970:141) has supposed, Fray Pablo de Castro. However, according to WEDIN (and LOHMANN VILLENA), the first part of "Señores" had to have existed as an earlier version, since Fernando Santillán had copied it heavily already in 1563. On the other hand, I would like to press one thing. Santillán, as a *oidor* of Lima (later the president of Audiencia de Quito), and as a person who had made many *tasaciones* of Perú, together with fray Domingo de Santo Tomas, fray Hierónimo de Loaiza, licentiate Cianca et al. (see, for example, "Tasa del repartimiento de Chayanta que tuvo en encomienda de Martín de Robles, 1-X-1550," fol.732, No.2, Justicia 651, AGI) was one of the best informed men on Indian matters in the sixteenth century Peru. That he copied just "Señores," Damian de la Bandera and also Polo de Ondegardo (see WEDIN 1966:67) means that he really appreciated their writings. Lastly, we can note that anonymous "Aviso," partially copied by Lizarraga (1605), follows the same structural model as Castro and Ortega Morejón and the first part of "Señores," but it is not a copy from any of those sources either.

The second part of the chronicle of "Señores" contains the relation of Bandera from the year 1557, published separately in RGI, and finally, the last part of it was written by an anonymous author around 1583. That part was published separately by Roberto LEVILLIER in Madrid in 1925. Also the Sevillan manuscript contains three separate parts with three different water stamps on the papers (Audiencia de Lima 30, AGI).

66 Murúa (1616:cap.xxvii; 1987:100) writes that Pachacuti's wife Mama Ana Huarque or Hipa Huaco was a native of Chinchá, which would tell how the integration was confirmed, by genealogical ties. Unfortunately this part of Murúa is based on his earlier chronicle, where he had copied, among others, López de Gomara's "Conquista de Mexico," which has nothing to do with Andes (ROWE 1987:754-760). Because we do not know his source (dealing with the origin of Mama Ana Huarque) his testimony does not have much scientific value.

Topa Inca conquered the whole northern highlands as far as Quito and Manta in the name of Pachacuti and after that he returned to Tumbes to conquer the Chimu empire from the north.⁶⁷

Among the classic chroniclers, Betanzos, Sarmiento and Pachacuti Yamqui independently mention that Topa Inca actually conquered Quito and the Chimu coast during the lifetime of Pachacuti.⁶⁸ However, others like Cieza, Fernández, Garcilaso and Cobo do not agree that he would have conquered Quito and Manta, but Garcilaso and Cobo accept, indeed, that the valley of Chimu was occupied in this time.⁶⁹

Because so many independent chronicles affirm Topa Inca's conquest (during the time of Pachacuti) on the North Coast of Peru, we have no serious reason to doubt it. Even Cabello, who had some extraordinary information from the North Coast, agrees with it.⁷⁰ Also, Fejóo de Sosa, who collected local tradition in that area in the 18th century, mentions that a son of the former Chimu ruler called Minchancaman got married to the daughter of Pachacuti.⁷¹

Further south, from the valley of Chillón River (near Lima), we have local information, partially published by Maria ROSTWOROWSKI, which tells that the area was conquered by "Ynga Yupanqui" or Topa Inca. In the "Probanza de Canta, 1559," Christobal Caxallaue testified that "the first Inca who came [to Canta] was Topa Ynga Yupanqui, grandfather of Guaynacaba." He

67 ROWE 1945:271. Later ROWE (1948:44) supposed that the first campaign against the Chimu started from Huamachuco, and the northern campaigns from Tumbes only finished the conquest of the Chimu empire.

68 Betanzos 1551:caps.xxv,xxvi,xxvii; 1987:125, 128, 132; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 44, 46; 1943:210, 213–214; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:298, 301.

69 Cieza 1553b:cap. lvii; 1986:163–165; Fernández (1571) 1963:81; Garcilaso 1609:lib. VI, caps. xxxii–xxxiii, lib. VIII, cap. vii; 1976:72–77, 165–167; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiii; 1964:81. From these Fernández, Garcilaso and Cobo are not completely independent. Garcilaso knew Fernández, but his chronicle did not influence the account of Garcilaso much. Cobo sometimes used Ramos y Gavilán who, in turn, copied Fernández in the part of his chronicle which deals with the conquests of the Incas. However, Ramos Gavilán's writing did not affect Cobo's chronicle as much as Garcilaso, whose description of the Inca conquest on the coast may have influenced Cobo's description. All three also knew the first part of Cieza's chronicle, published in 1553.

70 Cabello 1586:caps. 16, 18; 1951:319, 332.

71 Fejóo de Sosa 1763:85; cited also by ROSTWOROWSKI 1961: 54.

also declared that "Ynga Yupanqui" had settled Indians of Yauyos to the area of Quibi.⁷²

It is not perfectly clear if he meant by Ynga Yupanqui the same as Topa Inca or Pachacuti, but because he also called Huayna Capac as nephew of Topa Inca it may be an indication that the conquest of the area happened two generations earlier than Huayna Capac, in the time when Pachacuti still lived in Cuzco. However, other testimonies do not mention Ynga Yupanqui or Pachacuti at all, but confirm that it was Topa Inca, the father of Huayna Capac, who sent *mitimaes* to the area of Quibi on the upper Chillón, not Ynga Yupanqui.⁷³ This makes it very likely that Cristobal Caxallaupé's testimony is not reliable and, in practice, that this area was not conquered before Topa Inca had gotten the supreme power in Cuzco.

One of the most problematic cases is Quito and Manta in present Ecuador where no local source, as far as I know, mentions Pachacuti. On the other hand, Topa Inca's rule in Guayllabamba, in Quito basin, is mentioned once.⁷⁴ Further north in Quilca, only Guanca Auqui, a captain of Huayna Capac, is named.⁷⁵ However, because military leaders and ruling Incas of the state are sometimes confused in local sources, we cannot know whether Topa Inca visited in Guayllabamba as the Inca king or as the heir of Pachacuti.

Nevertheless, if we carefully check our sources, we can note that the information of Sarmiento, Cabello and Murúa seem to have been based on *kipu* text since their narrations follow the order of *kipu*. Because of that, we are able to know, at least, what the Incaic view about these conquests was. For example, Sarmiento writes about the episodes of Topa Inca's (and Yanqui Yupanqui's and Tilca Yupanqui's) first military expedition to Chinchaysuyu as follows (scores mine):⁷⁶

72 "Probanza de Canta, año 1559," fol. 200r, Justicia 413, AGI; ROSTWOROWSKI 1967-68:56-57.

73 "Relación de la probanza de los yndios de Chacalla sobre las tierras de Quibi, año 1559," fols. 220r, 226v, 234r, 283r, 287v, Justicia 413, AGI.

74 MONROY 1937:159; SALOMON 1986:144.

75 See pp. 77-78.

76 "en la provincia de los quicchuas conquistó y tomó la fortaleza de Tohara y Cayara y la fortaleza de Curamba; en los angaraes, la fortaleza de Urcocolla

- in the province of Quicchuas [he] conquered and took the fortress of Tohara and Cayra and the fortress of Curabamba;
- in [the province of] Angaraes, the fortress of Urcocollo and Guaillapucara, and seized their *curaca* called Chuquis Guaman;
- in the province of Xauxa [he conquered the fortress of] Siquilla Pucara and
- in the province of Guailas [the fortress of] Chungamarca [and] Pillaguamarca, and
- in [the province of] Chachapoyas the fortress of Piajajalca, and seized its very rich *curaca* called Chuqui Sota;
- and [he conquered] the province of Paltas and the valleys of Pacasmayo and Chimo, which is now Truxillo, [and] which he destroyed, making Chimo Cápac his subject, and
- [he conquered] the province of Cañares. And those who resisted he destroyed totally. And the Cañares capitulated even though with afraid. He seized their *curacas* called Písar Cápac and Cañar Cápac and Chica Cápac, and built an impregnable fortress in Quinchicaxa.
- And having a lot of treasures and prisoners, Topa Inga Yupanqui turned with all of them to Cuzco, where he was well received by his father ...”

After that Sarmiento explains how Pachacuti ordered Topa Inca to continue the conquest together with Tilca Yupanqui and Yanqui Yupanqui. Hence, they entered Tomebamba where Písar Cápac had now made an alliance with Pillaguaso, who was a *curaca* of the area of Quito, to defend themselves against the Inca army. However, during the following campaign Topa Inca subjugated both the Cañar and the Quito. Furthermore, after staying in Quito and Tomebamba for a while, he divided his army into three parts and conquered:

y Guaillapucara, y prendió a su cinche nombrado Chuquis Guaman; en la provincia de Xauxa a Siquilla Pucara, y en la provincia de Guailas a Chungamarca [y] Pillaguamarca, y en los Chachapoyas a la fortaleza de Piajajalca, y prendió a su cinche riquísimo llamado Chuqui Sota, y la provincia de los Paltas y los valles de Pacasmayo y Chimo, que es agora Truxillo, a la cual destruyó, con ser Chimo Cápac su súbdito, y la provincia de los cañares. Y a los que se le resistían los asolaba totalmente. Y los cañares, con dársele, aunque de miedo, les prendió sus cinches, nombrados Písar Cápac y Cañar Cápac y Chica Cápac, y edificó una fortaleza inexpugnable en Quinchicaxa.

Y habidos muchos tesoros y prisioneros, tornóse con todo ello al Cuzco Topa Inga Yupanqui, adonde fué bien recibido de su padre ...” In: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210; see also ROWE 1985b:207–211.

- "whole Guancabilicas, even though those were very warlike and
- fighting on land and at sea in balsas, from Tumbes to Guañapi and Guamo and Manta and Turuca and Quisin"⁷⁷

After that, Topa Inca discovered the islands of Aua Chumbi and Niñanchumbi and came back to Tomebamba. From there he went to Trujillo continuing his march back to Cajamarca and Cuzco.⁷⁸

Cabello and Murúa, who probably used written notes of Sarmiento and the missing chronicle of Cristóbal Molina, give almost the same story.⁷⁹ However, Murúa explains these last episodes of conquest twice. Once, in the connection of Pachacuti, he mentions that Pachacuti's heir Topa conquered "Huacapi Huamo and Manta Yucara and Quisiri; Huachumpi and Nina Chumpi."⁸⁰ But when he deals with the conquests that Topa Inca made later as the Inca king he writes again about these conquests and about the discovery of the islands of Aua Chumpi and Niña Chumpi with more detail.⁸¹ He even explains this contradiction by adding as follows:⁸²

"Others say that the conquest of these lands and islands was made by Tupa Ynga Yupanqui during the lifetime of his father Ynga Yupanqui, when he went to Quito and conquered it together with his brothers. Both opinions can be presented ..."

This contradiction noted by Murúa really seems to have been based on the original *panaca* differences, since in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu, published by John H. ROWE, the descendants of Topa Inca and his two brothers took all the credit for the episodes

77 "conquistó todos los guancabilicas, aunque eran muy guerreros y peleaban por tierra y por mar en balsas desde Tumbes hasta a Guañapi ya Guamo y Manta y a Turuca y a Quisin." In: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 46; 1943:214–215.

78 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 46; 1943:216, 217.

79 Cabello 1586:caps. 16, 17; 1951:318–327. Sarmiento (1572: cap. 9; 1943:115) writes that he had asked every *panaca* to explain their own as well as other *panacas'* history. He also mentions that all of these memorials were in his possession. If Cabello and Murúa had used these memorials it would explain the parallelism between these chronicles.

80 Murúa 1616:cap. xxii; 1987:82.

81 Murúa 1616:cap. xxv; 1987:92.

82 "Otros dicen que esta conquista de estas tierras y islas la hizo Tupa Ynga Yupanqui en vida de su padre Ynga Yupanqui, cuando fue a Quito y lo conquistó con con sus hermanos. Entrambas opiniones se pueden tener ..." In: Murúa 1616:cap. xxv; 1987:93.

of these conquests for their own *panaca*.⁸³ They do not even mention Pachacuti.⁸⁴ On the other hand, Betanzos, who was married to a descendant of Pachacuti, presents these conquests as if all of them would have happened in the lifetime of Pachacuti.⁸⁵

So, we cannot be absolutely sure which possibility is correct. However, one clue may be found in the information of Cabello, who supposes that Topa Inca was crowned the Inca king some years before Pachacuti died, and in practice, he had co-reigned with Pachacuti from the year 1561 onward.⁸⁶ This information makes it possible that the rebellion of Pizar Cápac was pacified and Quito conquered in the time when Topa Inca was already a real Inca king. However, the descendants of Pachacuti may have taken all the credit for the conquest which went on until the death of Pachacuti Inca; and the descendants of Topa Inca seem to have also taken the credit of all those conquests which happened even during the time when the state was under the leadership of Pachacuti.

It is also important that three local sources from the area of Cañar and Tomebamba confirm that there the first known Inca was the father of Topa Inca, [Pachacuti] Ynga Yupanqui.⁸⁷ This means that, at least, Tomebamba and Cañar, situated south of Quito, may have initially been conquered when Pachacuti was still in power. However, when dealing with Quito, the difference between the theory of ROWE and the theory presented here is very slight.

83 I speak here again about episodes, because in "Memoria de las provincias" the members of Capac Ayllu had added some more episodes in their text than are presented by Sarmiento. Also the episode of the building of the fortress of Quinchicaxa is presented in a different context (compare Capac Ayllu [1569] 1985:224; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210).

84 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:221-226.

85 According to Betanzos (1551:caps. xxv-xxvi; 1987:125-129) the last episode, the conquest of Quito and Huancavilca, happened just before Pachacuti died. Also the indigenous writer Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1968:298) relates in a *kipu*-like part of his text that these conquests up to Cañar and Huancavilca were carried out by Pachacuti Inca.

86 According to Cabello (1586:cap. 18; 1951:354) Pachacuti died in approximately 1473, two or three years after Topa Inca was crowned. The exact year is not so important here as the idea that Topa Inca was crowned to the leadership of the Inca state before Pachacuti died.

87 Pablos (1582) 1965:265; Arias Dávila (1582) 1965:279; Gallegos (1582) 1965:275. It is noteworthy that the informants of Gallegos also named the pre-Inca *curaca* who governed before Pachacuti.

Nevertheless, the area of southern Quito seems to have initially been conquered by Topa Inca just before old Pachacuti died in Cuzco.

On the other hand, the integration of northern Quito basin and Pasto into Tawantinsuyu seems to have been very late, as supposed by ROWE. John HYSLOP even states that the Incas never controlled the Pasto area in present Colombia. He refers to the lack of the linguistic and archaeological evidence of the Inca presence in that area.⁸⁸ However, one may wonder how the Incas could have left much linguistic and archaeological traces on their northern frontier when they did not leave much of those traces on the entire Peruvian Coast either, even though that area was occupied much earlier than Pasto.

When local sources written down in Quito, Cañar and even in Charcas confirm the Inca tradition that the Pasto area was subjugated by the Incas (in the time of Huayna Capac) I think that we have no reason to change ROWE's theory.⁸⁹ Further support to ROWE's theory can also be found in the information of Ramos Gavilán which demonstrates that many Pasto *mitimaes* were already moved by the Incas to live in Copacabana sanctuary complex situated in present Bolivia.⁹⁰ Even a Pasto Indian called Pedro Pasto testified, in 1554, in Cuzco that he served Atahualpa in Cajamarca as a *yana* because "he was a son of a *principal*" and because also "other sons of *señores*" served Atahualpa as "the *señor principal* of this whole empire."⁹¹ At least in that time Pastos recognized the Inca as their supreme leader.

Also the area between Guayaquil and Punta Santa Elena (Huancavilca, see map 4) on the coast of present Ecuador was so

88 HYSLOP 1988:40.

89 Anónimo Quiteño (1573) 1965:210; Arias Dávila (1582) 1965:279; Ayavire y Velasco et al.(1582) 1969:24. This last document refers to "Quillaycincas of Popayán" conquered by the soldiers of Charcas for the "Señores Ingas."

90 Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1976:43.

91 "... dixo que este t[estig]lo fue yanacona del dho Atabaliba e le servia porque este t[estig]lo hera hijo de un principal que se dezia Myra e que (...?) en Caxamarca sirviendo al d[ic]ho Atabaliba con otros hijos de señores que le servian como a su señor principal de todo este rreyno ..." In:"Probanza de don Francisco y don Diego, hijos de Atahualpa, años 1554-1556," sin fols., Ramo 21, Patronato 187, AGI.

poorly integrated into Tawantinsuyu in the time of the Spanish conquest that ROWE's view of its late integration may be correct.⁹² The reason why Topa Inca may have left this area without permanent occupation seems to be its poor political organization, which did not allow the attachment system to function between the Inca and the local *curacas*: the area did not have "local lords" with sufficient authority among the natives and that is why the permanent occupation would have needed a lot of military control.⁹³ Dora LEON BORJA DE SZASZDI and John HYSLOP have even supposed that the coastal area of present Ecuador was never integrated into Tawantinsuyu. As they say, we lack archaeological and other related evidence about the Inca presence in that area.⁹⁴ However, it is important to note that many independent sources like Cieza, Benzoni, Borregán, Sarmiento and the soldiers of Charcas testify that the Incas really subjugated the area after a long war in the time of Huayna Capac, but as Cieza explains, the Incas did not build any warehouses in that area, because they considered the area to be unhealthy.⁹⁵ Even one of the earliest European eyewitnesses of that area, Miguel de Estete, explains that the inhabitants of that coast paid "tribute" to the Incas although they were not "as pacific" as the inhabitants of Tumbes.⁹⁶ Furthermore, we know that the Incas controlled the sea traffic of *mullu* (Spondylus shell) collected from the coast of Huancavilca.⁹⁷ This kind of evidence strongly supports the view that the inhabitants of

92 See LEON BORJA DE SZASZDI 1966:154–155; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1981a:23–26.

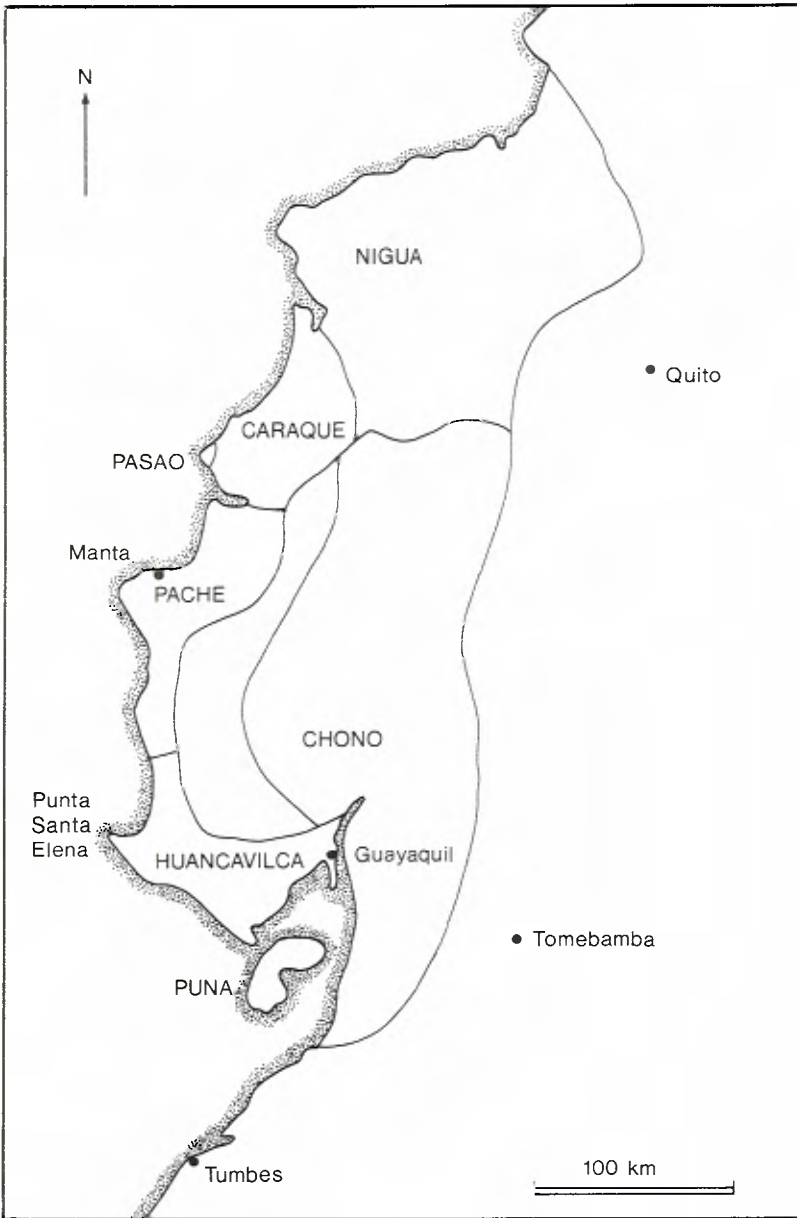
93 It is important to note that the ancient Chimú empire extended only up to Tumbes leaving the area of Guayaquil less organized (see RICHARDSON III et al. 1990:419–445; NETHERLY 1990:466, fig. 2). The Incas had similar problems among the Araucan as they had with the tribes of Guayaquil coast (see COOPER 1946:696).

94 LEON BORJA DE SZASZDI 1966:154–155; HYSLOP 1988:37–38.

95 Cieza 1553a:caps. xlvii–xlviii; 1986:156–157; Benzoni (1565) 1989:316–317; Borregán (1565) 1948:83; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 60, 62; 1943:241, 249; Ayavire y Velasco et al.(1582) 1969:24–25.

96 Estete (1535?) 1924:20. It is also noteworthy that according to Pedro Pizarro (1571:cap. 15; 1986:18) Puerto Viejo, Puna Island and Tumbes were under the same Inca governor; see and compare LEON BORJA DE SZASZDI 1966:154.

97 GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1977:67–69; see also Carvajal & Rodríguez de Huelva (1549) 1977:77.



Map 4. The tribes of the Ecuadorian Coast in the 16 century (after Dora León Borja de Szászdi)

Ecuadorian coast were also attached to the ruling Inca and were, indeed, indirectly controlled by the Inca state.⁹⁸

Furthermore, there even exists a possibility that the area of Guayaquil as well as the Island of Puna would have been initially incorporated into Tawantinsuyu before Huayna Capac, because Guayaquil is mentioned also in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu and the Island of Puna in the narration of Sarmiento and Murúa. However, Sarmiento presents the conquest of Puna in the connection of Pachacuti, and Murúa in the connection of Topa Inca.⁹⁹ Cieza, who knew well the history of the Island of Puna, explains that according to some informants the islanders accepted the *señorio* of [Pachacuti] Inga Yupangue but later they rebelled. Topa Inca also sent "ambassadors" to the Island, but they were not completely pacified before Huayna Capac.¹⁰⁰ We may interpret this so that the Island of Puna and possibly even the area of Guayaquil were conquered initially by Topa Inca in the time of Pachacuti, but later they rebelled. Afterwards, Huayna Capac made a new conquest and incorporated the area more keenly into Tawantinsuyu.¹⁰¹ In practice this would mean that the Incas, at least, considered Puna and Guayaquil to be the parts of Tawantinsuyu already in the time of Pachacuti, although the more keen incorporation was possible only after the new conquest was made by Huayna Capac.

According to the theory of ROWE, Chachapoya in the eastern forest area of present Peru was not annexed into Tawantinsuyu before the time of Huayna Capac.¹⁰² However, many classic chroniclers as well as local sources from Chachapoya disagree with this theory. According to *kipu*-like texts of Sarmiento, Cabello and Murúa, it was conquered by Topa Inca during the reign of Pachacuti; this

98 Even today many areas exist in Ecuador, Peru and Bolivia which are poorly controlled by state officials, but these areas are still treated as parts of these modern states.

99 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:224; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 46; 1943:215; Murúa 1616:cap. xxv; 1987:91; see also ROWE 1985b:210-211.

100 Cieza 1553a:cap. liv; 1986:174.

101 This view is also near to that what Rafael KARSTEN (1946:58) has presented.

102 ROWE 1946:208.

information is also presented in the chronicle of Pachacuti Yamqui.¹⁰³ Even Cieza, Capac Ayllu, Santillán, Garcilaso and Cobo accept that Chachapoya was conquered by Topa Inca, but according to them it happened after the death of Pachacuti.¹⁰⁴

Also the local information from Chachapoya, published by ESPINOZA SORIANO, confirms that Topa Inca conquered the area and gave a woman to a local lord to be his legitimate wife. Topa Inca also made some political arrangements in that area and among others, formed two *hunas* (groups of 10,000 households) which constituted the known Inca province of Chachapoya. Later, the province rebelled and Huayna Capac had to renew the conquest, but the fact is that the province was initially annexed to Tawantinsuyu by Topa Inca.¹⁰⁵

Because both the classic chronicles and the local sources confirm that the area was conquered and integrated into Tawantinsuyu by Topa Inca we have no reason to doubt it. The only problem which arises from that conquest is the question of whether it happened in the time of Pachacuti or not.

According to the *kipu*-like text of Sarmiento, Chachapoya was conquered before Chimo and Cañar, which would support the possibility that it was conquered already in the time of Pachacuti. However, according to another *kipu*-like text, that of Cabello, it was conquered after Chimo but before Cañar.¹⁰⁶ This shows that the conquest of Chachapoya was an episode which was not necessarily marked down on *kipu* according to actual chronological order.¹⁰⁷ The conquest may as well have happened at the end of the series of episodes described by Cabello and

103 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210; Cabello 1586:cap. 16; 1951:320; Murúa 1616:cap. xxi; 1987:81; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:302; see also ROWE 1985b:209.

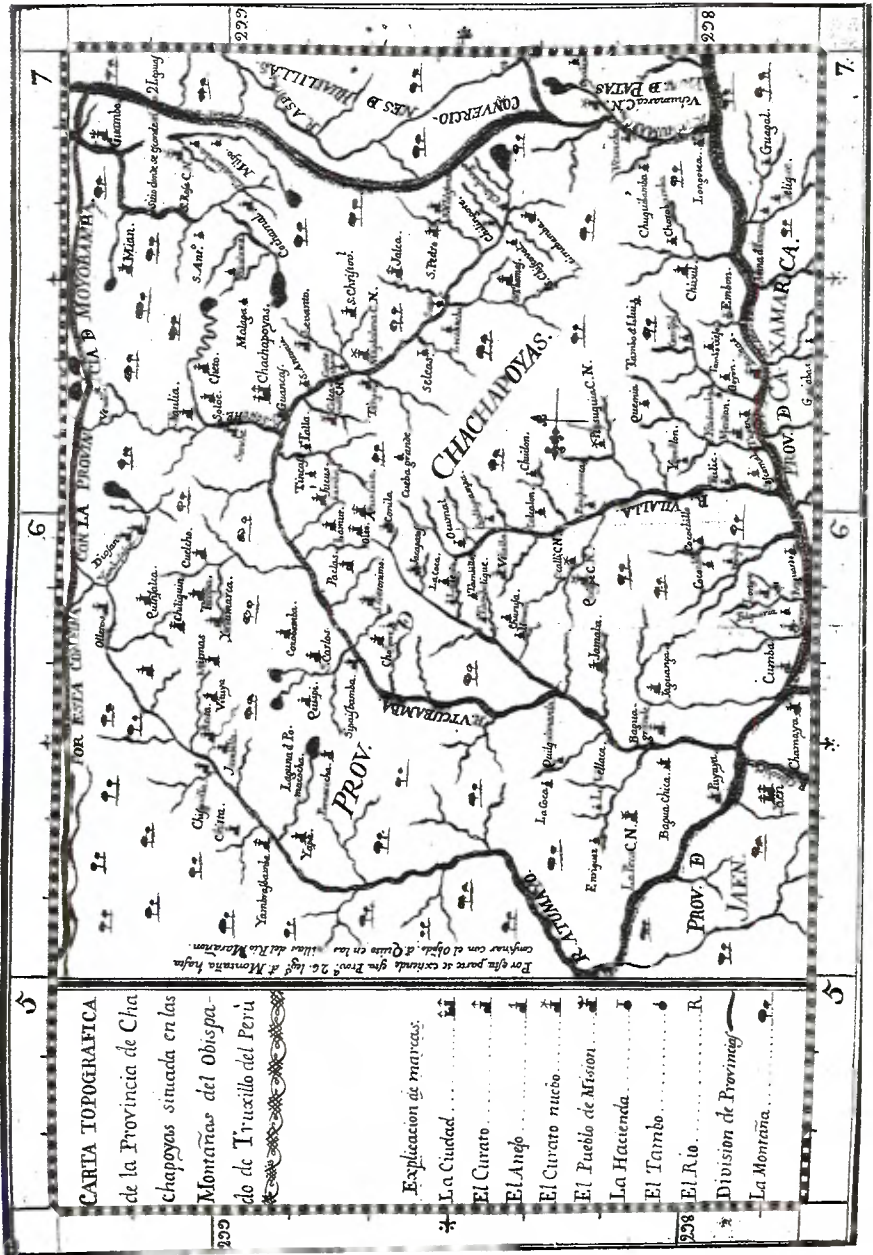
104 Cieza 1553b:cap. lvii; 1986:162; Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:224; Santillán (1563) 1968:104; Garcilaso 1609:lib. VIII, cap. ii; 1976:153–155; Cobo 1653: lib. 12, cap. xiv; 1964:84.

105 Chuillaxa (1572) 1967:290; Guaman (1572) 1967:291; Chuquimis (1572) 1967:302; Tomallaxa (1572) 1967:303; Vizcarra (1574) 1967:305, 307, 312, 313; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a: 233, 240.

106 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 44; 1943:210; Cabello 1586:cap. 16; 1951:320.

107 Sometimes provinces may have been arranged, for example, according to distance order. In this case, there is no difference between the distance from Chimu to Cuzco or from Chachapoya to Cuzco.

Map 5. The province of Chachapoya in 1780s after Martínez Compañón.



Sarmiento. And as we have noted before, the last of these episodes may have happened in the time when Topa Inca was already the Inca king.¹⁰⁸ So, both alternatives are possible. However, I support the latter alternative because the local sources we know do not mention Pachacuti at all. If the Incas had been in Chachapoya before that, it probably was a raid, not a keen attachment.

From Chachapoya the Inca occupation reached toward the east. At a minimum, the Incas conquered the area up to Pupos, situated halfway between the towns of San Juan de la Frontera and Moyobamba, since we know that Atahualpa personally visited (without resistance) that area during his stay in Chachapoya.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, the text of Vizcarra let us understand that Pupos was not the outmost frontier of the Inca realm, but that it was further east in the vicinity of Moyobamba.¹¹⁰ So it is very likely that the frontier of Tawantinsuyu was situated, indeed, somewhere in the area of Moyobamba. However, I do not possess any local source from that area which would confirm the Inca conquest there, but the classic chroniclers Garcilaso and "Anónimo Valera" do state that Moyobamba was conquered by Topa Inca.¹¹¹

On the other hand, the northern frontier of the Inca realm in Chachapoya seems to have already been nearer to the town of San Juan de la Frontera. According to Sarmiento and Cabello, the province of Pomacocha, situated about 50 km north from the town of Chachapoya, was not conquered before Huascar Inca.¹¹² This information is also confirmed in a local source written in Chachapoya.¹¹³

108 See pp. 92–95.

109 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:257–259; Vizcarra 1574:317.

110 Of Atahualpa's visit to Chachapoya don Juan Chuyllaxa testified that he did not conquer anything new; the area had already been conquered by Topa Inca and Huayna Capac (see Vizcarra 1574:305).

111 Garcilaso 1609:lib. VIII, cap. iii; 1976:155–156; Añonimo Valera (ca.1600) 1968:156.

112 Sarmiento 1572, cap. 63; 1943:255–256; Cabello 1586:cap. 25; 1951:399–405. See also map 5.

113 Diego Alvarez (1572) 1967:295. Licentiate Diego Alvarez was in 1556 *corregidor* and *justicia mayor* of Huamanga (LOHMANN VILLENA 1969:61). In 1558 he was *corregidor* and *visitador* in Huaylas (Huaraz) and in this post he made many *visitas* to the *repartimientos* of that province (fol.32, Ramo 1, No.4, Justicia 1088, AGI; fols.330r–355v, Justicia 405 A, AGI) by the mandate of viceroy Marqués de Cañete. After that he was

According to "Anónimo Valera," Topa Inca conquered Motilonos and "Ruparupa," situated in Huallaga Valley between Moyobamba and Huánuco in eastern Chinchaysuyu. However, other chroniclers do not specify how far away the Incas went into the *montaña* of Chinchaysuyu.¹¹⁴ That is why ROWE does not take into account these areas at all.

However, we have many local indications that the inhabitants of *sierra* had many economic enclaves in those *montaña* areas. For example, Francisco de la Guerra y Céspedes demonstrates that many of the enclaves of Huanca and Yauyo were situated more than a hundred kilometers east from Jauja.¹¹⁵

On the other hand, the area east from Chupaychu, on the upper Huallaga basin, has been badly known in spite of the fact that the history of Chupaychu, in itself, is well known, thanks to the basic works of John V. MURRA, Donald THOMPSON and Craig MORRIS. In fact, one of the best studies about that eastern area is Fernando SANTOS' "Crónica breve de un etnacidio o la génesis del mito del 'Gran vacío Amazonico' (1985)." Based on the visitas of Huánuco and on some other sources, SANTOS argues that the Incas never conquered the Panatahua, a native group which occupied the approximate area from Panao up to present Tingo Maria.¹¹⁶ According to SANTOS, the Incas had only some commercial contacts with that area and he argues that the most northeastern Inca sites were situated in the halfway between Huánuco and Sisinpar (near present Tingo Maria).¹¹⁷

corregidor in Trujillo and Potosi and finally in the years 1572–1574 he was *visitador* of Chachapoya and Moyobamba by the mandate of viceroy Francisco de Toledo; see LOHMANN VILLENA 1969:61–68.

114 Anónimo Valera (ca.1600) 1968:156; see also Pérez de Guevara (1545) 1965:168–170.

115 Guerra y Céspedes & Henestrosa (1580–1585) 1965:173–174. Still in the 1580s many Indians from the sierra cultivated coca-leaves in those enclaves. By using Manuel Sobrevelas map, dated February 12, 1790 (Mapas y Planos, Peru y Chile No.119, AGI) we can still locate many of those sites. For example, Monobamba and Uchubamba were situated on the Rio Marancocha (upstream of the present Perené River). Santiago de Comas and Santo Antonio de Andamayo [Andamarca?], on the other hand, seem to have been situated near the upper fork of the present Mantaro River. See map 3.

116 See map 6.

117 SANTOS 1985:9–23.

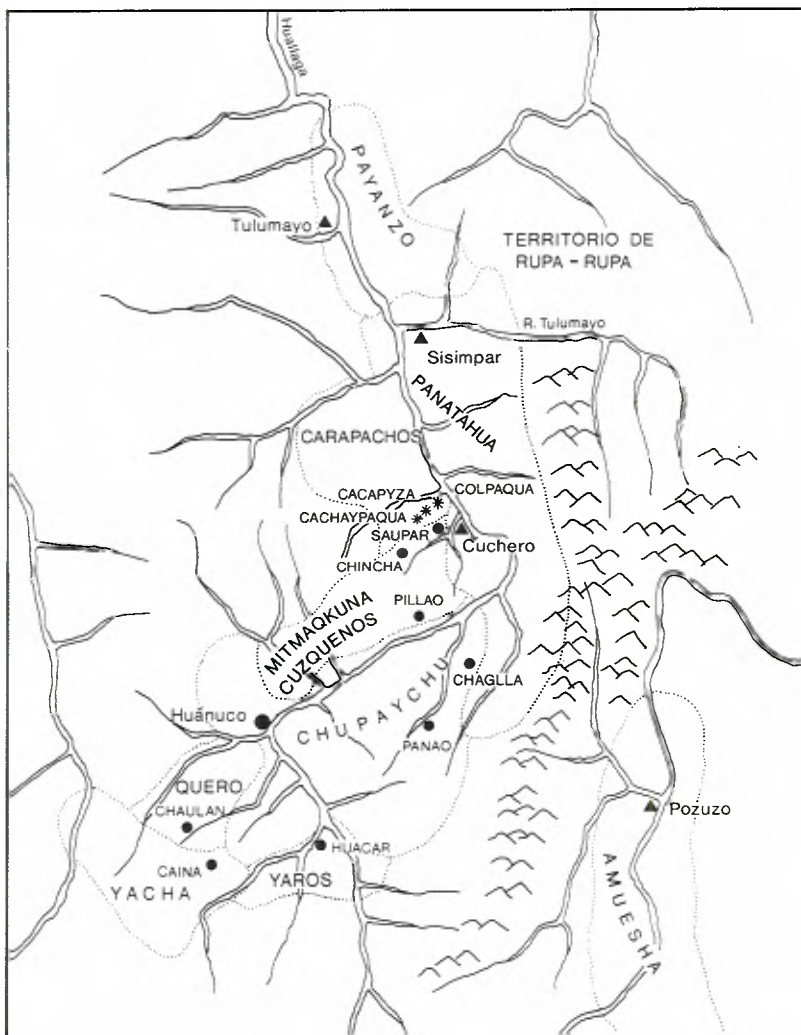
This view is reasonable, because we have not had many published sources which would have given much light to the early history of that area. As a matter of fact, the permanent Spanish conquest of *montaña* and *selva* did not begin before the 17th century. However, although Spaniards did not succeed in conquering that area immediately after the conquest of *sierra*, it does not necessarily mean that the Incas would not have had better success. On the contrary, some unpublished documents, conserved in the Archive of the Indies in Seville, suggest that Panatahua, at least, was keenly interconnected to Tawantinsuyu. This evidence can be found in the papers of a juridical process held between Juan Mori and Hernando Duran at the beginning of the 1560s.

The oldest document which was copied during the process is the title of the *encomienda* grant given to Rodrigo de Zuñiga by Vaca de Castro. It is dated in Cuzco September 12, 1543, and it includes the following information:¹¹⁸

"... you have given me a relation that in the area of this town of León [de Huánuco] in "Montes" exist two *principales* of Andes which adjoin with "yungalpos." The first is called Yanapoma and the other Guanbar with their Indians. And likewise you have given information about a valley called Pariachua which lies behind the backs of the Indians of Yaros, Chupachos and Paucartambo, in which valley, you say, exist Indians which are not discovered. It is not known who they are; they do not belong to any deposit ..."

Although this information is very short, it is one of the earliest references to the area situated east from Chupaychu. But that is not

118 "me aveis hecho relación que en la comarca de la d[ic]ha cibdad de León en los Montes ay dos principales andes que alindan con los yungalpos [?] que se dizen el uno Yanapoma y el otro Guanbar con sus yndios/ E asimysmo teneis noticia de un valle que se llama Pariachua [Panahua?] que dezis que esta a las espaldas de los de los yndios Yaros y Chupachos y Paucartambo el qual dho valle dezis que tiene yndios e que no estan descubiertos ny se sabe lo que son y que no pertenece a nyngun deposito ..." In: "Titulo de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro al Rodrico de Zuñiga, Cuzco 12-IX-1543," fols.4v-5r, Justicia 403, AGL. Chupacho or Chupaychu was the nominant group of eastern Huánuco. Yaro was situated more south, between Huánuco and Lake Junin. Paucartambo, in turn, was situated east from Lake Junin. So the Pariachua refers to the area which lies approximately between Huánuco and Pozuzu.



Map 6. The upper Huallaga in the 16th century after Fernando Santos.

all, since later in 1548 a part of this *encomienda* was granted to Hernando Alonso de Malpartida by president Pedro de la Gasca and on that occasion further information was marked down in a document called "Posesión" (where the title given by Gasca is asked to accomplish). It contains the following information about that area:¹¹⁹

"... He asked to be given a *principal* called Pomayana, native from the village of (A)tanbor and a *mitima* of Guaylas who was put there by Topa Ynga Yupangui. To fulfill those 800 Indians which mentioned *cédula* contains, he asked the *posesión* to be included the Indians of *cacique* Guanbara and his son called Mongoro, presented for his dignity, and a *principal* of mentioned *cacique*, called Xaylla. For them and in the name of the Indians [and] *caciques* of the villages of Giginbar and Panatao which are, together with the village of Tanbor, neighbors; and asked justice."

This passage makes it clear that Tanbor, situated near Giginbar and Panatao, belonged to Tawantinsuyu already in the time of Topa Inca. Although the exact site of Tanbor is obscure to me it seems to have left its toponym to the Tambor River situated on the upper Huallaga in the middle of the area of Panatahua (in front of ancient Cuchero).¹²⁰ Giginbar or Sisinbar, in turn, was situated on the Tulumayo River, near present Tingo Maria.¹²¹

We have known before that the Incas had fortresses on the west bank of upper Huallaga, but now these sources firmly indicate that

119 "... pidió ser le dada en un principal que se llama Pomayana natural del pueblo Atanbor y mitima de Guaylas que lo puso allí Topa Ynga Yupanqui para en cumplimiento de los 800 yndios contenidos en la dha cedula pidió ser metido en la posesion de los yndios del cacique Guanbara e de su hijo suyo que ante su merced presento que se llama Mongoro y un principal del dho cacique que se llama Xaylla por ellos y en nombre de los yndios caciques de los pueblos Giginbar y Panatao que con el dicho pueblo Tanbor estan comarcanos e pidió justicia ..." In: "La posesión en la cedula de encomienda de la Gasca a Hernando Alonso, 15-XI-1548," fols. 7r-v, Justicia 403, AGI.

120 "Mapa de Manuel Sobreviela, Febrero 12, 1790," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 119, AGI. The village of Tanbor is also mentioned in the "Posesión" of Captain Pedro de Puellas (1543) where the same Pomayana was deposited to him. There Pomayana was mentioned as "a *mitima* of the fortresses;" see Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:279.

121 See map 6.

those were not the most remote outposts of the Inca dominion.¹²² Already Topa Inca had sent *mitimaes* to the other side of the Huallaga river to control the Inca interests there. The area was important for coca, maize, hot pepper and cotton cultivation, as well as for its wood, wax, honey and exotic birds, whose feathers and plumes were used in prestigious clothes.¹²³

However, we still do not know exactly how far away the Incas reached their domain. Nevertheless, it may be significant that when some Franciscans explored the Huallaga river in 1643 further north they heard rumors dealing with the temple of the sun and moon situated on an unknown island. They also met Indians who had typical Inca habits and who knew stories about the Incas. As one of those Franciscans explained:¹²⁴

"The *cacique* ... asked a seat and an Indian gave him one made in the style of the Inga. And in seating he began to sing a sad song where he named the Incas of Peru and the death of the king Atahualpa Inga caused by Spaniards; he named Cuzco, Guanuco, Caxatanbo, Pampamarca, Pillao and other places of the outside world. [After that] he continued with other canticles of the Inga ..."

Of course, it is possible that those Incas on the Huallaga river had escaped from the *sierra* and settled down in the area during the colonial time since more than a hundred years had passed from the conquest of Peru in that time when these Franciscans entered into the area. On the other hand, if the Incas occupied the upper stream of Huallaga river already in the time of Topa Inca, why would they have not continued further north as the Spaniards did after they began serious missionary work there in the 17th century?

122 According to SANTOS (1985:12) the three fortresses Colpas, Cacaipaiza and Angar on the west bank of upper Huallaga "marked the utmost northeast of the Inca expansion and domination in the montaña area of Huánuco."

123 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:29, 31, 93; 1972:56–57; Mori & Malpartida (1549) 1967:298–304; see also MURRA (1972) 1975:59–71; SANTOS 1985:15–22.

124 El cacique ..., pidió un asiento y un indio le puso uno labrado al modo del Inga y asentado comenzó á entonar un canto triste, en que nombró los Ingas del Perú y la muerte que los españoles dieron al Rey Atahualpa Inga, nombró al Cuzco, Guanuco, Caxatambo, Pampamarca, Pillao y demás puestos de la tierra de fuera. Prosiguio con otros canticos del Inga." In: Cordova Salinas (1651) 1907:1–58.

Furthermore, we know that Pajaten, a settlement famous for its archaeological ruins, is situated on the tributary of middle Huallaga and it belonged to Chachapoya and to Tawantinsuyu.¹²⁵ Because Pajaten was, up to the end of the 18th century, keenly connected with Valle, Sión and Pampahermosa, villages situated on the Huallaga river, it is very possible that this connection had a pre-Spanish origin.¹²⁶ Taking all of these things into consideration, I suppose that "Anónimo Valera" is right when he states that the Incas conquered Huallaga Valley. The Incas really may have controlled Huallaga basin so much that we can say that it belonged to Tawantinsuyu from Panatahua up to Abiseo.¹²⁷ However, from Abiseo onward (up to north-east) I have not found any serious indications about the Inca presence there.¹²⁸

3.2. Antisuyu

According to John H. ROWE, Pachacuti Inca conquered Urubamba Valley up to Vilcapampa in Antisuyu; and it was only later when Topa Inca conquered the upper Madre de Dios River. However, according to his map, no more than 100–200 kilometers from Cuzco was occupied.¹²⁹ On the other hand, Rafael KARSTEN supposes that Topa Inca conquered not only the upper Madre de

125 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967:237; see also AMAT OLAZABAL 1978:622.

126 See "Informe de Pedro Gonzalez Agueros 25-X-1787," fol. 1v, Audiencia de Lima 1607, AGI. The old road (camino) from Pataz to Pajaten and further to Valle and Sión on the Huallaga River is marked down on an 18th century map of Manuel Sobreviela; see Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 119, AGI.

127 We must remember that the Inca control may only have reached into the vicinity of the main river routes. On the other hand, we may also note that even today Peruvian government control is not very effective in *montaña* and *selva*, but still those areas are considered to be parts of Peru.

128 Martín de la Riva Herrera writes about his own 17th century missionary activities in that area, but he does not describe anything which could be interpreted as Inca influence; see Riva Herrera (1655) 1907:256–344.

At the beginning of the 19th century, Quechua "the official Inca language" was spoken "between Pachiza and Chazuta" (Beltrán [1834] 1925:80), situated north from Abiseo. However, it is very likely that the spread of the Quechua language was a result of missionary work done in that area, since in that time the missionaries generally used Quechua.

129 ROWE 1945:270, 271, 273.

Dios but also the whole Urubamba Valley and Campa Indians on the upper Ucayali.¹³⁰

In fact, Pachacuti's campaigns up to Vilcapampa are confirmed by Cabello and Cobo.¹³¹ Because also Betanzos informs us that Pachacuti conquered Antisuyu up to 40 leguas (ca. 200 km) from Cuzco, ROWE's theory of Pachacuti's conquests in that quarter of Tawantinsuyu is acceptable.¹³² However, dealing with Topa Inca's conquests in Antisuyu we have reason to re-evaluate ROWE's view.

Many chroniclers agree that Topa Inca stayed in Antisuyu for a long time. Furthermore, according to Sarmiento, he divided his army into three parts so that more areas could be conquered. Even after Topa Inca himself returned to pacify a rebellion in Collao, he left a military leader there called Otorongo Achachi to continue the conquest.¹³³ In general, because a part of the Inca army was left for a long time in Antisuyu, they had a good possibility to go far away by using navigable rivers and so in fact, they seemingly did.

The episodes of these Inca conquests of Antisuyu were marked down on *kipus* and those *kipus* which were kept in the possession of Capac Ayllu up to the year 1569, deal especially with the area of Madre de Dios. Those episodes were briefly analyzed in 1985 by John H. ROWE in his excellent article "Probanza de Incas nietos de conquistadores." ROWE also edited and published the mentioned text.

In sum, the reference to Antisuyu in the *kipu*-based text of the descendants of Topa Inca is edited by ROWE as follows:

- Then three brothers entered into the province of Andes and into the conquest of the province of Paucarmayo and the road up to Yscayssingas.
- and then they passed forward and conquered the province of Opatari and Manari.
- and then they conquered the province of [Ca]yanpussi and then

130 KARSTEN 1946:57.

131 Cabello 1586:cap. 14; 1951:300; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xii; 1964:79.

132 Betanzos 1551:cap. xix; 1987:94.

133 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:224-225; see also Betanzos 1551:caps. xxxiii-xxxiv; 1987:151-156; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:154-155 [155-156].

the province of Paucarguambo and [they conquered] Aulapi and Manupampa and Chocoria where they seized in "battlefront" their kings called Santa Guancuiro Vinchincayna [Nutan]uari.¹³⁴

The whole first episode of the text was edited by ROWE as if it was "an introduction" probably because the next two episodes of the text deal with the areas, situated nearer to Cuzco than the areas of the first episode. However, the original text says:

"Then three brothers entered into the province of Andes and he conquered the province of Paucarmayo and Tomina up to Yscayssingas."¹³⁵

For me it does not matter if the most remote area was mentioned first. As we have noted before, the *kipu* text does not necessarily follow the chronological order.¹³⁶ The stories of different conquests were episodes, which might have been presented by using other logic. In this case the most remote area may have been presented first, probably because the Spaniards were searching these remote areas of "El Dorado and Paitite" said to be rich of gold. As ROWE notes on another occasion, it was important to the descendants of Topa Inca to demonstrate that their ancestors had managed where Spaniards had failed.¹³⁷ If so, only the sentence "Then three brothers entered into province of Andes" is an oral text or "an introduction" and the next sentence "he conquered the province of Paucarmayo and Tomina up to the Yscayssingas" is already an episode of the conquest. Furthermore, I believe that the word "Tomina" really is a place name and not an error in text as

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- 134 " - Luego entraron tres hermanos en la prouincia de los andes y conquista [de] la prouincia de paucarmayo e camino hasta los yscayssingas. - y luego pasaron delante y conquistaron la prouincia de opatari y manari. - y luego conquistaron la prouincia de [ca]yanpussi y luego la prouincia de paucarguambo y [conquistaron] a aulapi e manupampa y chicoria a donde prendieron en batalla campal a sus rreyes llamados santa guancuiro vinchincayna [nutan]uari." In: Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:225.
- 135 "Luego entraron tres hermanos en la provincia de los andes y conquisto la provincia de Paucarmayo e tomina hasta los yscayssingas." See ROWE 1985b:225, notes 10 and 11.
- 136 See pp. 75, 99.
- 137 ROWE 1985b:195.

suggested by ROWE.¹³⁸ However, according to ROWE it is a distortion from the word "camino,"¹³⁹ but even in that case, it has two meanings: as a subject it means a coarse and a road, but as a verb it has a meaning "he walked" or "he went" (caminó).¹⁴⁰ In that case the end of the episode would have had the meaning "he went up to Yscayssingas."

In every case, whether we accept the text of Capac Ayllu in its original form, as a brief episode of *kipu* text, or in edited version as an oral introduction, we may go further and ask: where was "the province of Paucarmayo" and "Yscayssingas" or better "Iscaycingas"?

ROWE notes that in the Andes, the Iscaycingas have always been considered the outmost people of the known world. And in fact, the Iscaycingas were also mentioned in Alvarez Maldonado's report of his discoveries made in Madre de Dios between 1567–69.¹⁴¹ However, Paucarmayo can be located better. It seems to be a tributary of "Paitite," probably the actual Mamoré or even Madeira River, which, in turn, begins from the present border between Bolivia and Brazil.¹⁴²

Furthermore, Sarmiento, who collected information from all the *panacas* of Cuzco, presents this conquest after the conquest of Opataries, Mañaries and some other provinces of Antisuyu as follows:

"And by using the road, which is now called Camata, he [Topa Inca] sent [to Antisuyu] another great captain called Apo Curimache, who advanced towards the sunrise and walked (caminó) up to the river called Paitite, of which one has now again got information, and where he set up the landmarks of Inga Topa. And during the campaign against these nations Topa

138 Toyama, at least, is a place name in Antisuyu (Marqués de Montes Claros [1614] 1906:69).

139 ROWE 1985b:211.

140 The text does not make a difference between the subjects and verbs by using accents.

141 ROWE 1985:211; Alvarez Maldonado (1570) 1906:63; see also Bolivar (1621) 1906:189.

142 ROWE 1985:211; SAIGNES 1985:48; Alvarez Maldonado (1570) 1906:62,63; see also Cabello (1602–1603) 1885:cxiv–cxv; Arriaga (1596) 1885:lxviii–lxxix; Toledo (1572) 1924:95.

Inga and his captains seized the following *curacas*: Uinchincaina, Cantaguancuru, Nutanguari.¹⁴³

The sentence "from which one has now again got information" seems to be a reference to Alvarez Maldonado's expedition on the Madre de Dios River. However, what is extremely interesting in Sarmiento's account is the fact that his informants had argued that the Incas went to "the Paitite River" (probably the present Mamoré or Madeira River) also from Camata. Camata, in turn, was situated in the frontier area between the Chuncho and Larecaja, in a "Pequeña Calavaya" in the north side of the present Mapiri River, which, in fact, is a tributary of Beni.¹⁴⁴ The Beni River really reaches Madre de Dios just before the Madeira River and Mamoré begins (see map 7).

Quipocamayos, who explain these conquests in the context of Pachacuti, also mention that the Incas built a fortress "junto al rio Patite," but they do not give specific account of the case, except they say that the domination was acquired by the means of gifts.¹⁴⁵ Other chroniclers did not give a very specific account of these conquests either, but according to Quipocamayos, Garcilaso and Cobo, the Incas also conquered the area of Mojo.¹⁴⁶ However, according to the 16th and 17th century documents the Mojo was an extremely huge area which began from the area of the middle Beni River, centered in Mamoré, and reached up to Guaporé and Mato Grosso in the present frontier between Bolivia and Brazil.¹⁴⁷ Because Quipocamayos and Cobo do not specify which part of

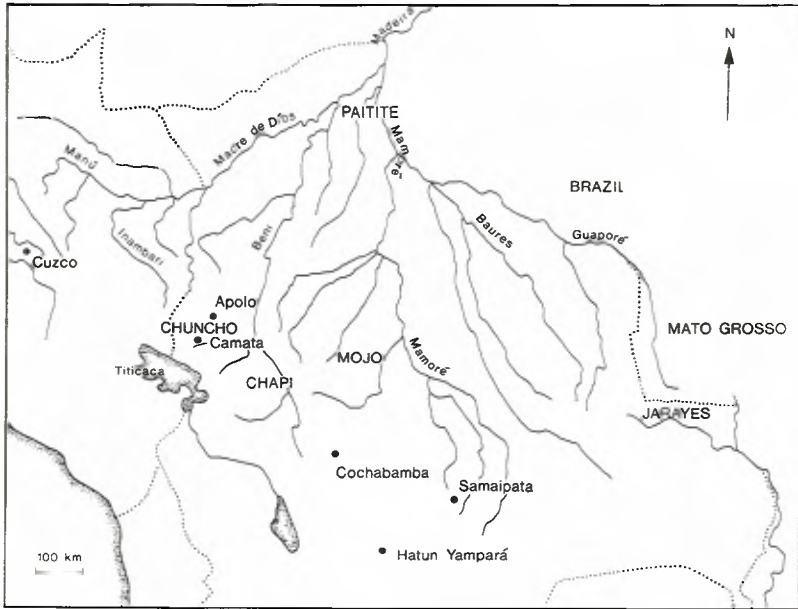
143 "Y por el camino que agora llaman de Camata envió otro grande capitán suyo llamado Apo Curimache, el cual fué la vuelta del nacimiento del sol y caminó hasta el rio de que agora nuevamente se ha tenido noticia, llamado el Paitite, adonde puso los mojonos del Inga Topa. Y en las conquistas destas naciones dichas prendieron Topa Inga y sus capitanes a los cinches siguientes: Uinchincaina, Cantaguancuru, Nutanguari." In: Sarmiento 1572: cap. 49; 1943:224–225.

144 Arriaga (1596) 1885:cv, cviii, cx; Bolivar (1621) 1906:178. In 1549 Gerónimo de Soria and Sancho Perero made a *visita* to Camata. At that time there were 126 houses of which 33 were depopulated. ("Visita de Gerónimo de Soria y Sancho Perero a Pequeña Calabaya, año 1549," fol. 102v, Justicia 405 B, AGI).

145 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:19–20.

146 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:19–20; Garcilaso 1609: lib. VII, caps. xiii–xvi; 1976:114–122; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiv; 1964:83.

147 METRAUX 1948:408; DENEVAN 1966:passim; CHAVEZ SUAREZ 1986:5–6; SAIGNES 1985:54.



Map 7. The area of eastern Antisuyu and a part of Collasuyu.

Mojo was occupied in this time we cannot give much attention to their information. For example, it is very doubtful that Guaporé would have ever been occupied by the Incas. On the other hand, Garcilaso specifies that "Ynga Yupanqui" conquered the area up to 200 leguas from Cuzco (1000 km).¹⁴⁸ This would be treated as imaginary, if the *kipu*-based texts of Capac Ayllu and Sarmiento did not confirm that information. As we have noted, in many other areas local sources have confirmed the information of Sarmiento and Capac Ayllu making them very reliable. Although we do not possess any local "Inca source" of the confluence of Beni and Madre de Dios, it seems that their references to that area are also

148 Garcilaso 1609:lib. VII, cap. xiv; 1976:117. Also an anonymous chronicler writes that the Incas conquered "los Chunchos, Mojos y Andes hasta el río Paytite, que son más de duzientos leguas de tierra ..." In: Anónimo Discurso (ca.1575) 1906:156.

reliable.¹⁴⁹ From Cuzco to the confluence of Beni and Madre de Dios is about 700 kilometers which is quite near Garcilaso's approximation. Indeed, the Incas may have controlled Madre de Dios up to the confluence of Beni or even up to the confluence of Madre de Dios, Mamoré and Madeira situated on the present border of Brazil.¹⁵⁰ Possibly the archaeologists will tell the ultimate truth about that in the future, but even now we possess information which demonstrates the Inca presence on the middle and lower Beni.¹⁵¹

Other place names mentioned in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu, such as Opatari and Manari, have been located on the upper Madre de Dios.¹⁵² Paucarguambo, on the other hand, seems to have been the Manú River. The sites of Aulapi and Chicoria are unknown to me, but Manopampa is mentioned as a settlement on the Madre de Dios situated east from the Manú.¹⁵³ Furthermore, Chunchu, the area situated between the Inampari (a tributary of Madre de Dios) and the upper Beni, is also said to have been a part of the Inca realm.¹⁵⁴

We know that the area of Antisuyu continued into the *montaña* area, north from Cuzco.¹⁵⁵ However, classic chroniclers do not normally specify how far away the Incas went there. The only exception is Pachacuti Yamqui who argues that Topa Inca's army, led by Otorongo Achachi, Kapacuari and Apoquibacta, conquered the provinces of Manaresuyo and Opatari up to the limits of Huancavilca.¹⁵⁶

Opatari, named by Pachacuti Yamqui, is the same as mentioned

149 However, we have local information which confirms that the Incas used the road of Camata to enter to the area of Beni (SAIGNES 1985:17-18).

150 According to the 17th century Guaraní informants, the Incas had a settlement there "at the point of the Cordilleras" which may refer to the Serra dos Parecis of Brazil which ends at the confluence of the Madre de Dios, Madeira and Mamoré (Solis [1635] 1906:183).

151 SAIGNES 1985:18.

152 ROWE 1985b:212; Opatari was a fortress near Tono, some 30 leguas(150 km) from Cuzco (Anónimo [1570] 1906:37, 38).

153 ROWE 1985b:212.

154 Quipocamayos (1542-1544) 1920:19, 21; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:224; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiv; 1964:83; see also Arriaga (1596) 1885:civ-cxi.

155 See pp. 254-256.

156 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:304.

by Capac Ayllu and Sarmiento on the upper Madre de Dios.¹⁵⁷ However, Manaresuyo seems to be another area from Manare mentioned earlier, because Pachacuti Yamqui also tells about Manare on the vicinity of Madre de Dios (and Caravaya), but differentiates it from Manaresuyo, as does Sarmiento, too.¹⁵⁸

In 1671, the tribe of "Manaries" is said to have lived on the upper and middle Urubamba River, and most likely Manaresuyo was situated there.¹⁵⁹ Furthermore, according to Alejandro CAMINO, those Manaries [of Manaresuyo] belonged to the same tribe which is known today as Machiguenga.¹⁶⁰ In fact, many Inca settlements have been located in that area and it is also known that an Inca road reaches there, at least up to Pongo de Mainique.¹⁶¹ In Pongo de Mainique William FARABEE has also collected oral traditions according to which "a fortress" called Tonquini was constructed there by the Incas together with the Piro and the Chontaquiرو.¹⁶² So, without doubt, up to that site Pachacuti Yamqui's testimony of the Inca conquest is acceptable. On the other hand, Pachacuti Yamqui's supposition that Topa Inca conquered Antisuyu up to the limits of Huancavilca (in present Ecuador) sounds sensational, although theoretically possible. There really exists a river route from Cuzco to Ecuador. By navigating the Urubamba, Ucayali and Marañon one can reach near Huancavilca even faster than by walking on the Inca road of the sierra. The route is even faster if one passes from the Ucayali to Huallaga via the Santa Catalina River as the Cunibo Indians and missionaries used to do in the 1680s.¹⁶³ Possibly this river route was sometimes used by the Incas, but still it does not necessarily mean that the Incas permanently occupied the area. Then the question is, how far away did the Incas reach their control out from the middle Urubamba?

157 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:223–224; Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:225.

158 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:304; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:224.

159 CAMINO 1989:117.

160 CAMINO 1989:117.

161 CAMINO 1989:116–117; see also map 8.

162 FARABEE 1922:53; see also CAMINO 1989:116.

163 Amich (1771) 1988:112; this route is also marked on the two maps of Sobreviela.

We know that the lower Urubamba was dominated by the Piro Indians;¹⁶⁴ the Tambo River was dominated mainly by the Campa, but also some Piro, Ruanahua, Mochubu and Simirinche lived along the Tambo and Perene Rivers, as well as on their tributaries.¹⁶⁵ Furthermore, the *varzea* area of the upper Ucayali was dominated in the 1680s by the Campa and Cunibo whereas other tribes like the Mochubu, Ruanahua, Amahuaca, Maspo and Remo lived along the tributaries of Ucayali.¹⁶⁶ On the other hand, the *varzea* of the middle Ucayali may have been poorly settled in the 16th century, but along the tributaries lived the Setebo and the Shipibo Indians. The *varzea* of the lower Ucayali was settled by the Cocama and the Omagua.¹⁶⁷

As noted, already KARSTEN proposed that Topa Inca conquered the Piro and Campa who controlled the area of the lower Urubamba, Tambo, Perené and a part of the upper Ucayali. As a matter of fact, we have a lot of evidence from the colonial period up to the 20th century about the commercial contacts of the Piro with Cuzco.¹⁶⁸ Of course, if the Piro practiced interchange with Cuzco during the colonial time, it does not necessarily prove anything about the earlier Inca conquest. However, when Tawantinsuyu collapsed in the 1530s, the interchange may have been the only way to continue contacts and to acquire prestigious

164 Biedma (1686) 1988:119–120; MYERS 1974:fig. 2; CAMINO 1989:111; see also the following maps: "Misiones del Ucayali y verdadero curso de este rio ... segun expediciones de los años 1811, 1815, 1816, 1817 y 1818," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 171, AGI; "Mapa de Manuel Sobreviela 1791," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 123, AGI; "Mapa de Joseph Amich 1767," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 50, AGI.

165 Biedma (1686) 1988:119–120; see also the maps: "Misiones del Ucayali ...," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 171, AGI; "Mapa de Manuel Sobreviela, año 1791," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 123, AGI. Ocampo ([1610] 1908:234–238) also mentions a group called Pilcozone. CAMINO (1989:117) supposes that the Pilcozone was the same as the Piro, but I do not consider it very likely. Arriaga ([1596] 1885:xcvi) mentions that the other name of the Pilcozone was Chiquiti; even their settlements seem to have been situated near the Ene River; see also Amich (1771) 1988:67.

166 Biedma (1686) 1988:115–118; Vital (1691) 1985:159–161; Rojas Guzmán (1691) 1989:206–207; Maroni (1738) 1988:112; see also PÄRSSINEN et al.: table 1.

167 MYERS 1974:135–157.

168 Chantre y Herrera (1776) 1901:282; STEWARD & METRAUX 1948:540,545, 547; GADE 1972:passim; CAMINO 1989:116–125.

objects from the *sierra* and vice versa, even if the mechanism had been based on a different organization during the Inca time.

We have noted earlier that according to oral tradition the Incas had built a "fortress" in Pongo de Mainique together with the Piro. This, at least, lets us suppose that the Incas really incorporated Piro into Tawantinsuyu. Other evidence can also be found in the early missionary information of that area. For example, when a German Jesuit Enrique (Heinrich) Richter did his missionary work on the upper Ucayali at the end of the 17th century, the Piro he met told him that they were descendants of the Incas. Even an "Inca *yana*" was presented to him.¹⁶⁹ That may mean that the Incas had given them women of Cuzco to strengthen the political attachment with kinship ties, similarly as in many other parts of the conquered areas.¹⁷⁰ Even the "Inca *yana*" may have been a descendant of *yanas* who had lived there during the Inca time. Furthermore, we also know that the inhabitants of that area were not naked, but that they used painted cotton clothes and the *curacas* distinguished themselves by gold and silver ornaments. In general, the chiefs were very much respected by the people, which made the conquest by attachment system possible.¹⁷¹ The Inca could give women, prestigious clothes and gold and silver objects to *curacas* to get their obedience. So Rafael KARSTEN may have been right when he supposed that the Piro gave their obedience to the Inca king.

Of the Campa I do not possess much of this kind of early information, but because they also were well organized like the Piro and because they even lived partially in the same area, it is very possible that they, too, obeyed the Incas.¹⁷²

169 Maroni (1738) 1988:281–282.

170 See p. 72.

171 One of the first Spanish contacts with the Piro on the mouth of the Ucayali was possibly taken by Juan Salinas de Loyola in 1557. He entered upstream of the Ucayali from the north and according to MYERS' (1974:143) analysis the last group he met was the Piro. Because the group was not named by Salinas de Loyola, those might also have been the Campa or even the Cunibo. However, what is important in his description is the fact that he tells that those Indians were well organized, they used clothes and admired gold and silver objects. (Salinas y Loyola [1571] 1965:196–204; for Salinas expedition, see also López de Velasco [1574] 1971: 231).

172 For the early missionary work among the Campa, see, for example, Amich (1771) 1988:53–91 and Arriaga (1596) 1885:xcii–xcvii. Most of the early

That is not all. We even have some indications that the Incas may have reached their domain further north up to the outlet of the Pachitea River, inhabited by the Cunibo Indians.

When the Jesuits and the Franciscans began their missionary work among the Cunibo in the 1680s it is said that the Cunibo dominated the main stream of the upper Ucayali, which they called by the Quechua name Apo Paru.¹⁷³ The bulk of the Cunibo population lived near the Inuria Lake (Laguna Imiria), where the missionaries founded a village called San Miguel de Cunibos, once a missionary limit between the Franciscans and the Jesuits.¹⁷⁴ A *parcialidad* of Cunibo lived further south between the present Tahunia and Cumaria Rivers where they had made an alliance with the Campa Indians.¹⁷⁵ They also used cotton clothes and were well organized.¹⁷⁶ When Father Biedma came to their village (San Miguel de Cunibos) in 1686, he noted that it was strictly administered by the three *curacas* called Cayábay, Sanaguami and Samampizo, the first of which seems to have been "cacique principal."¹⁷⁷

Later, in 1738, the *cacique principal* was Siabar, a son of Cayábay, and it is notable that he used "silleta" – also an Inca symbol of superiority – while talking with Christians, whereas other Cunibo were not allowed to use any chair.¹⁷⁸ But that is not all, for when César DIAZ CASTANEDA collected the oral tradition from the Cunibo at the beginning of the 20th century, he noticed that their myths of celestial bodies contained information about the Incas.

sources indicate that the Campa had powerful *curacas* and some of them spoke Quechua.

173 Amich (1771) 1988:104.

174 "Auto del Real Acuerdo decidiendo en el pleito de franciscanos y jesuitas sobre la posesión de los Conivos en el río Ucayali, 24-IV-1687." In: MAURTÚA 1907, VI:346. The name of the village was given by Franciscans. However, the village was founded by the Jesuits with a different name. The village was abandoned around 1767 when Ucayali changed its channel radically to the other side of Inuria Lake (PÄRSSINEN et al.).

175 Biedma (1686) 1988:117.

176 MYERS 1974:143,154–155. Amich ([1771] 1988:104) mentions that they used clothes especially during the "gala."

177 See Amich (1771) 1988:105.

178 Amich (1771) 1988:162; However, even among some pre-Inca cultures chair may have been a symbol of superiority.

Even the sun was a respected god which was called Bari Incá.¹⁷⁹ Furthermore, it may also be significant that when Juan Santos Atahuallpa, Apo Inca, who was born in Cuzco, began his rebellion in 1742 against the Spanish administration together with the Indians of Perené, Cerro del Sal and Ene, the Piro and the Cunibo also participated.¹⁸⁰

Probably these indications of the possible Inca occupation of the lower Urubamba, Tambo and the upper Ucayali are not yet sufficient to prove with certainty Pachacuti Yamqui's supposition about the Inca conquest of that area. However, we must also remember that Topa Inca ordered Otorongo Achachi and other Incas to continue the conquest in that area, which was rich in prestigious materials needed by the Incas;¹⁸¹ and, on the other hand, the tribes of that area were so well organized that the conquest and domination (on main river routes) was possible by the attachment system. That is why I see the commercial contacts of these tribes with the *sierra* mainly as a colonial (and possibly pre-Inca) phenomenon and regard, as KARSTEN, those relationships during the Inca time as attachment and domination. The conquest theory would also explain better why, for example, the Piro is said to have built the fortress of Pongo de Mainique (which fortress, in fact, may have been the foundation of an Inca bridge) together with the Incas or why some of them were said to have been descendants of the Incas.

North from Pachitea some Inca axes have been found by archaeologists, but as far as I know, no ethnohistorical evidence prove the Inca presence there.¹⁸²

179 DIAZ CASTANEDA 1922:316-320. For other "Inca tales," see also LATHRAP et al. 1987:232-235.

180 Amich (1771) 1988:166-169.

181 See p. 108.

182 See LATHRAP 1973:181; CAMINO 1989:114.

3.3. Collasuyu

According to ROWE, Pachacuti Inca did not conquer much in Collasuyu. In his time the frontier of Tawantinsuyu was in Desaguadero between Lupaca and Pacasa and the northeastern side of Lake Titicaca was not conquered even though it was raided. Only later did Topa Inca conquer the rest of Collasuyu up to the Maule River in the south.¹⁸³

There is no doubt that Pachacuti conquered the Colla and the Lupaca. However, we have a lot of evidence that during his lifetime the Incas conquered areas far more to the south than to Desaguadero only.¹⁸⁴

According to Sarmiento, Pachacuti Inca sent Amaro Topa Inga and Apo Páucar Usno to conquer Collao first. However, after the victory, the Incas continued their march against Charcas where "the natives of the provinces of Paria, Tapacari, Cotabamba [Cochabamba], Pocona and Charca withdrew to Chicha and Chui to fight together against the Incas." The Incas divided their army into three parts and after the final battle the Incas conquered the fortress of their enemies and subjugated the area under Inca domination.¹⁸⁵ The same version is confirmed independently by Betanzos who adds that Páucar Usno died during the battle.¹⁸⁶

It is worth mentioning that Quipocamayos also argue that Pachacuti conquered Charcas up to Chicha and Diaquita.¹⁸⁷ However, Quipocamayos also argue that Pacasa, Caranga and a part of Charca were already conquered in the time of Viracocha. This information is not confirmed by any reliable source.¹⁸⁸ Other sources, such as Cieza, Cabello (and Murúa) and Cobo, present the conquest of Charcas in the connection of Topa Inca, but even Cabello and Cobo accept the view that the northeastern shore of

183 ROWE 1945:270, 271; ROWE 1946:206.

184 The Desaguadero today forms the frontier of Peru and Bolivia on the shore of Lake Titicaca.

185 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 41; 1943:202–203.

186 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxiii; 1987:120.

187 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:19.

188 According to Garcilaso (1609:lib.V;cap.xxiii; 1976:262) Viracocha conquered the Caranca, Ullaca, Llipi and Chicha, but I do not consider that information reliable.

Lake Titicaca was conquered in the time of Pachacuti.¹⁸⁹

Sarmiento's and Betanzos' accounts about Pachacuti's conquests seem to have been based on the information of Hatun ayllu *panaca* formed by the descendants of Pachacuti Inca. In that sense those sources are not completely independent. However, it is important to note that the both of them explain that the Collas rebelled later and Topa Inca had to carry out a new conquest in order to pacify the whole area of Titicaca.¹⁹⁰ That would also explain why the credit for the conquest of Charcas is given by some chroniclers to Pachacuti and by some others to Topa Inca.

The same problem can be seen in local sources. For example, Mercado de Peñalosa does not mention Pachacuti Inca in his relation about Pacasa, but he speaks a lot about Topa Inca and about the campaigns he had in the area.¹⁹¹ However, from further south we have local sources which confirm the information of Betanzos and Sarmiento. In Quillaca, don Juan Colque, a son of *cacique principal* of the Quillaca and Asanaque, explained that his forefather, called Colque, gave his obedience to [Pachacuti] Yupanqui Inga, who was the first Inca conquerer of that province. After that Colque participated under [Pachacuti] Yupanqui Inga in the conquest of Chicha and [Di]jaquita, for which he got the title Inga Colque and the privilege to be carried on a litter by 50 Indians. Later, the son of Inga Colque, called Inga Guarache, succeeded him in the *curacazgo* and he got three shirts, made of silver, gold and *mullu*, respectively, from "Inga Tupa Yupanqui" as well as the privilege to use a similar litter as his father had had.¹⁹² In addition, in Charca Fernando Ayavire y Velasco explained in 1582 that it was his forefather Copacatiaraca who gave his obedience to the first Inca conqueror of the Charca named "[Pachacuti] Ynga Yupanqui," and later, the son Copacatiaraca called Cocoho

189 Cieza 1553b:caps. liii,lxi; 1986:155,177; Cabello 1586:cap. 15; 1951:306; Murúa 1616:cap. xx; 1987:76; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiii; 1964:82.

190 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxxiv; 1987:156-160; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 49-50; 1943:225-226; see also Cieza 1553b:caps. liv-lv; 1986:156-157.

191 Mercado de Peñalosa (ca.1585) 1885:55, 56, 57, 58.

192 In the *probanza* of Colque Guarache this information was confirmed by don Miguel Unciga, the *cacique* of Chuquicota and by don Martin Copaquira, the *cacique* of Aullaga (see Colque Guarache [1575] 1981:237, 245-246, 249).

obeyed "Topa Ynga Yupanqui."¹⁹³ Furthermore, the *caciques* of the conquered nations of the Charca, Caracara, Chui and Chicha declared together as follows:¹⁹⁴

"... we have been soldiers since the time of the Incas called Inga Yupangue and Topa Inga Yupangue and Guaynacana and Guascar Inga and when the Spaniards entered this land we were in that [same] possession ..."

In general, these local sources do not only confirm the texts of Sarmiento and Betanzos, but they also show that after the area of Quillaca was conquered, the local people participated, together with the Incas, in the conquest of the rest of Charcas.¹⁹⁵ Furthermore, it is also possible that Tarapacá in present Northern Chile was conquered in the time of Pachacuti since we know that it was connected by economic and kin ties to the Aymara kingdoms of Altiplano.¹⁹⁶ Of the classic chroniclers, Quipocamayos and Cobo give clear support to that theory but unfortunately I do not possess any local source which would confirm their information.¹⁹⁷ Because of that, we can not be sure whether the whole Tarapacá belonged to Tawantinsuyu at that time, or whether the Aymara enclaves were only indirectly annexed to it.

193 "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fol.20r, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI.

194 "... hemos sido soldados desde el tiempo de los ingas llamados Inga Yupangue y Topa Inga Yupangue y Guaynacana y Guascar Inga y cuando los españoles entraron en esta tierra los hallaron en esta posesión ..." In: Ayavire y Velasco et al.(1582) 1969:24.

195 Here local sources confirm the chronology of Quipocamayos ([1542–1544] 1920:19). We have noted earlier that the account of Quipocamayos may reflect the view of the Suczu *panaca*, and that everything that happened during the lifetime of Viracocha was recorded in his favor (even though he was retired from office). If that hypothesis is correct, it would mean that the Pacasa, Caranga and possibly Quillaca were conquered at the same time as Chimu and Cañar in the north. Then the rest of the Charcas would have been conquered just before Topa Inca was crowned to the leadership of the state.

196 See, for example, CUNEO VIDAL 1915?:143–150; SCHIAPPACASSE F. et al. 1989:181–220; MARTINEZ 1990:11–30.

197 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:19; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiii; 1964:81.

The rest of Collasuyu seems to have been conquered mainly by Topa Inca as supposed by ROWE.¹⁹⁸ For example, Betanzos, Cieza and Sarmiento confirm independently that the southern frontier of Tawantinsuyu was established by Topa Inca near the Maule River, about 250 km south from present Santiago de Chile.¹⁹⁹ Topa Inca's conquest in Chile is also mentioned by Quipocamayos, Santillán, Fernández, Cabello, Pachacuti Yamqui, Calancha and Cobo, among others.²⁰⁰ However, a recent study by Tom D. DILLEHAY and Américo GORDON has demonstrated that the exact site of the southern frontier of Tawantinsuyu is hard to establish. According to some local sources the real Inca domain reached only up to the Maipo Valley, situated near Santiago, but, on the other hand, other local sources indicate that the Inca influence reached even further south from the Maule River. Because also some archaeological studies have confirmed the Inca influence south from the Maule, they propose that there may have existed two different frontiers in that area. The other frontier was marked by permanent military occupation mainly in the Maipo Valley whereas the more southern frontier was established peacefully by means of social and economic transactions.²⁰¹

In fact, DILLEHAY's and GORDON's theory suits well to our general view about the Inca policy. The actual military conquest was done rapidly and only a few Inca settlements were founded. Still it seems that those actual Inca settlements were not founded to be as outmost frontiers. On the contrary, the Incas seem to have used those settlements as specific nuclei from where they intended to enlarge their domain peacefully by means of prestigious gifts. Because of that, it is almost impossible to determine the outmost frontiers of Tawantinsuyu exactly. However, the Incaic tradition, as presented by Sarmiento, lets us know that the Incas, at least, considered the southern frontier to have been the Maule River at

198 ROWE 1945:271.

199 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxxv; 1987:160; Cieza 1553b:cap. lxi; 1986:177; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 50; 1943:226.

200 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:20; Santillán (1563) 1968:104; Fernández (1571) 1963:81; Cabello 1586:cap. 18; 1951:336; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:305; Calancha 1638:99; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiv; 1964:85–86.

201 DILLEHAY & GORDON 1988:215–234. Concerning the problems of the Inca-influenced ceramic in Southern Chile, see also ALDUNATE 1989:334–335, 340–341.

the time of Topa Inca. And after that, as some archaeological and historical evidence demonstrates, they may even have attached some other areas between the Maule and Valdivia into their domain.

Moving northeast from Southern Chile, we may note that the conquest of Topa Inca in present Southern Bolivia and Northwestern Argentina is described in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu as follows:²⁰²

- and he entered the province of the Chichas and Moyomoyos and Amparais and Aquitas Copayapo Churomatas and Caracos and arrived in the Chiriguanas [and] in Tucuman and made there a fortress and settled many *mitima* Indians ...
- ...
- and so they went to Pocona and made many fortresses in the same Pocona and in Sabaypata which is in the Chiriguanas and in Cuzcotuiro; and in all the fortresses he settled many Indians from different parts [of Tawantinsuyu] to guard this [those] fortress[es] and frontier to which he left many *orejones*; and now their sons and descendants are populating those fortresses and frontiers.
- and then they discovered in the province of the Chuis and Chichas a fortress called Huruncuta and after razing that province he populated many *orejones* in it –.

The last episode mentioned by Capac Ayllu seems to be the same that happened already in the time of Pachacuti.²⁰³ Probably it is presented in this connection because this war against the Chui and the Chicha was led by Amaro Topa, whose descendants formed a

202 “– y entro en la prouincia de los chichas y moyomoyos y amparais y aquitas copayapo churomatas y caracos y lleugo hasta los chiriguanas hasta tucuman y alli hizo una fortaleza y pusso muchos yndios mitimaes.

– ...

– y asi salieron a pocona y hicieron muchas fortalezas en el mesmo pocona y en sabaypata que es en los chiriguanas y en cuzcotuiro y pusso en todas las fortale[za]s muchos yndios de diuerssas partes para guardasen la dha fortaleza y frontera a donde dexo muchos yndios orexones y al presente estan poblados sus hijos y descendientes en las dhas ffortale[za]s y fronteras.

– y luego hallaron vna ffortaleza en la prouincia de los chuis y chichas llamada huruncuta y asolando aquella prouincia la poblo de muchos yndios orexones.” In: Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:226.

203 See pp. 120–122.

subsector, Payan, in the Capac Ayllu *panaca*.²⁰⁴ Another possibility is that the mentioned fortress was conquered twice, but I do not consider it probable. On the other hand, the "earlier" episode where the Chicha is also mentioned may, indeed, have happened in the time of Topa Inca.

The province of the Chicha as well as the Moyomoyo and [Y]ampará, mentioned in the list of Capac Ayllu, were situated in present South Bolivia.²⁰⁵ Aquitas are probably the same as the Diaquita and Copayapo the same as Copiapó situated west from Diaquita in present Chile.²⁰⁶ On the other hand, the area of the Churumata is marked down on the map of Antonio Josef del Castillo (1774) on the east side of Bermejo River near the present borders of Bolivia, Paraguay and Argentina.²⁰⁷ Furthermore, this conquest of the Churumata is also confirmed by father Pedro Lozano in his "Descripción Chorográfica del terreno ... del Gran Chaco Gualamba (1733)" according to which 6,000 "Chichas orejones" lived in that area. He explains their origin there as follows:²⁰⁸

204 ROWE 1985b:194.

205 See map 17. For the location of Yampará, see GISBERT DE MESA 1987:235–236 and Vásquez de Espinosa (1629) 1969:423. In the 1560s the Moyomoyo formed a huge frontier area against the Chiriguano, which was divided between eight encomenderos (López de Velasco (1574) 1971:253; "Marqués de Cañete" (1561) 1979:82–84). Some of "the *mitimaes* of Juries, Lacaxas and Mamonas" who lived in the valley of Tarija were also erroneously called Moyomoyo in the colonial time (see "Pleito entre el capitán Cristóbal Barba y el adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zarate, sobre el derecho a los indios Moyos-Moyos, La Plata 1551," fols. 1–169, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI).

206 The Diaquita occupied the territory between Chile and Tucuman. For more details, see CANALS FRAU 1940:117–139 and LORANDI 1988:235–259. Of the Copayapo ROWE (1985b:215) notes only that it was a *mitima* group transplanted to Copacabana. However, because Garcilaso (1609:lib.VII,caps.xviii–xix; 1976:125–127) also mentions that "Ynga Yupanqui" conquered Atacama, Copayapu and Chile up to the Maule River, it is very probable that Copayapu is the same as Copiapó situated south of Atacama (see also Cieza 1553c: caps. xcv–xcvii; 1987:318–327 and SAYAGO 1973:5–20).

207 "Mapa de Chaco, 1774," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.110, AGI. See map 9.

208 "Algunos quiren que estos orejones se llaman así, por tener muy grandes las orejas; pero lo cierto es no ser ésta la causa, sino porque descenden de los orejones nobles del Cuzco, que eran los capitanes que los ingas

"Some people like to say that these *orejones* are called so because they have very big ears; yet it is sure that this is not the case, but because they descent from the noble *orejones* of Cuzco, who were captains dispatched by the Incas to their conquests."

The fact that those people were called *orejones* probably signify that they had the privilege to use Inca-type pendants, as proposed already by ESPINOZA SORIANO.²⁰⁹ Furthermore, the fact that those Chichas *orejones* considered themselves as descendants of the Incas probably signify that they have had a marriage alliance with the Incas of Cuzco.²¹⁰ However, the Chicha themselves were conquered by the Incas in the time of Pachacuti after which they served as *mitimaes* in various fortresses of the frontier areas.²¹¹

The Caraco, mentioned by Capac Ayllu, is unknown to me. Possibly it is an error in the copy of the original manuscript and it should refer to Mataco, situated next to Churumata. That area, in turn, is centered in the area between the Bermejo and Pilcomayo Rivers, and it is known that Mataco formed a kind of frontier against the Chiriguano or Guaraní expansion in the early colonial time.²¹² It may also be significant that on old missionary maps a village called Orejones is marked down in that area.²¹³ It is highly possible that it was one of those villages of *mitimaes* of Chicha

despachaban a sus conquistas." In: Lozano (1733) 1941:79; cited also by ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969a:7. The conquest of the Churumata is also confirmed by an anonymous author of "Discurso" (Anónimo Discurso [ca.1575] 1906:156).

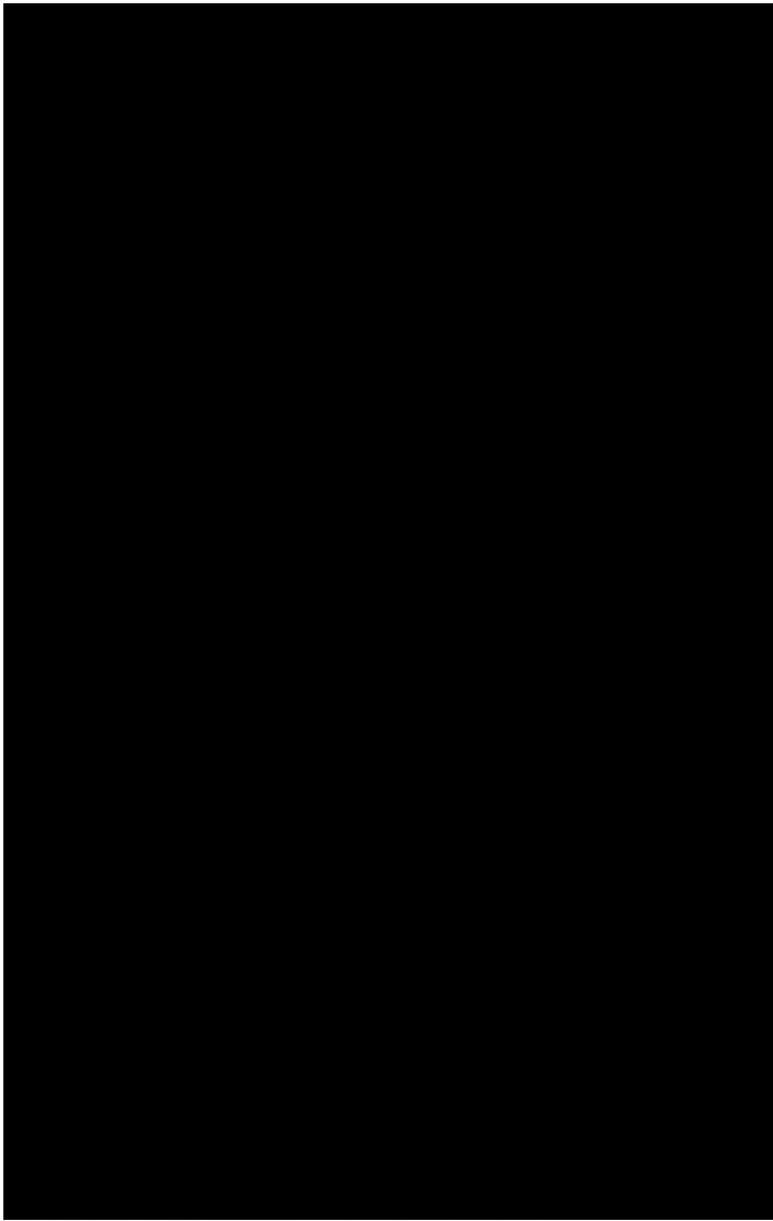
209 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969a:9.

210 Compare to the case of the Piro on p. 117.

211 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969a:6-9. On the other hand, also some Churumata were sent to live near Tarija. This can be seen in the title of the encomienda grant of Francisco Pizarro, dated October 14, 1540. By that title Pizarro gave "a village of Orocota of the *mitimaes* Churumatas and Yanparaes [Yamparaes] and Moyosmoyos" to Alonso de Camargo. See "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Alonso de Camargo, 14-X-1540," fol. 166r, Justicia 1125, AGI.

212 METRAUX 1946:198, map 4. As we have seen, the Chiriguano were also mentioned by Capac Ayllu.

213 Maps nos. XII (1722), XIII (1732) and XIV (1734) in the collection of Ricardo MUJIA (s.d); "Mapa de Chaco, 1774," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.110, AGI. I give my thanks to don Julio César Velazques A., Director of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología de Bolivia, for letting me borrow copies of the maps of the collection of Ricardo MUJIA.



Map 9. The Chaco area in 1774 after Antonio Josef del Castillo. The map is conserved in the Archive of the Indies (AGI) in Seville.

orejones mentioned by Lozano in the Great Chaco.²¹⁴ Precisely, this village was situated near the present village called El Chorro in northern Argentina, in the frontier area against present Paraguay. If this settlement really was under the domination of Tawantinsuyu, as seems to be the case, it means that the Incas occupied Chaco country far further east, as supposed earlier by ROWE. And in any case, there is no doubt that Incas occupied at least Churumata, which also lies east from the Inca frontier described by ROWE.

Tucuman, mentioned in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu, belonged to Tawantinsuyu, which is also indicated on ROWE's map. However, we have some reason to believe that the Incas went far more east even in that area, since Matienzo tells us that the Inca road reached up to Santiago de Estero, situated in the province of Juri.²¹⁵ In fact, Betanzos also states that the Juri were conquered by Topa Inca. Furthermore, he even argues that Topa Inca continued his journey further east up to the Rio de la Plata which was so wide that he could not cross it.²¹⁶ Because it is considerably easy to walk from Tucuman to the Paraná River (which flows to the Rio de la Plata) this story may well be true. Another thing is that we do not know whether he had met enough organized people there to conquer them by the attachment system. Probably not. However, he might have left a guard station there, because on a Jesuit map from the year 1722 a village of "Orechones" is marked down near the confluence of the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers.²¹⁷ In any case the province of the Juri may really have been incorporated into the Tawantinsuyu, because the Incas seem to have sent also many inhabitants of that province as well to the valley of Tarija under the status of *mitima*.²¹⁸ It is also notable that Quipocamayos mention

214 Lozano (1733) 1941:78–79. As a matter of fact, already in 1551 the Spaniards heard about an Inca "fortress" which was situated about one month's journey away from the valley of Tarija. See "Pleito entre el capitan Cristóbal Barba y el adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zarate, sobre el derecho a los indios Moyos-Moyos, La Plata 1551," fol. 91v, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI.

215 Matienzo (1566) 1885:xliv; see also López de Velazco (1574) 1971:258–259; but see HYSLOP 1988:43.

216 Betanzos 1551:xxxv; 1987:161.

217 Map no.XII in: MUJIA (s.d.).

218 "Pleito entre el capitan Cristóbal Barba y el adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zarate, sobre el derecho a los indios Moyos-Moyos, La Plata 1551," fols. 27v, 29v,

that Huayna Capac used soldiers of the Juri in his campaigns against some tribes in the north.²¹⁹

In general, it is probable that the Incas did not have any exact frontier on the east side of their empire, except at some strategic points. More likely it was a question of attachment policy which was confirmed by gifts and marriage alliances. If those "frontier people" moved somewhere else, so did the Inca frontier. However, if we approximate the eastern frontier of Tawantinsuyu in Northeastern Argentina, we may draw an imagined line from the village of Orejon near present El Chorro (or somewhat west of it), via the Rio Salado, to Great Salars situated north from the present Cordoba.²²⁰ From there the imagined lines may have run to the Maule River or near to it, in the same manner as ROWE has supposed before.²²¹

Before I will try to determine the eastern limit of Tawantinsuyu in the area which is now Bolivia, I will return to the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu and compare it with some local sources. As noted before, the members of Capac Ayllu declared that Topa Inca conquered Pocona, Sabaypata of Chiriguano and Cuzcotuiro where he also built "many fortresses."²²² Of these three sites Pocona is situated east from Cochabamba in the territory of an ancient native group called the Cota.²²³ Near Pocona the famous Inca "fortress" called Incallacta is also situated.²²⁴

Cuzcotuiro seems to have been situated near the conjunction of

50r, 66r, 76r, 79v, 81v, 83v, 86r, 90r, 92r, 93r, 101r, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI; see also LORANDI 1980:149,152.

219 Quipocamayos (1542-1544) 1920:21.

220 For the problem to establish the exact frontier in that area, see also LORANDI 1980:147-164; 1988:235-259; LORANDI et al. 1991:195-200.

221 In spite of that more or less keen area, the Incas may also have had some settlements outside "these frontiers" for some specific reason such as to exploit the gold mines or to control the traffic of important river routes and so on. It is also worth mentioning that Inca style potteries have been found in La Rioja, in San Juan and Barrealito in Argentina (see RYDEN 1947:328-338; LORANDI 1988:250).

222 See p. 124.

223 GIBERT DE MESA 1988:120-121.

224 IBARRA GRASSO & QUEREJAZU LEWIS 1986:322; LARA 1988: passim; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 59; 1943:240.

the present provinces of Tomina and Hernando Siles.²²⁵ According to Sarmiento, it was destroyed by the Chiriguano in the time of Huayna Capac. However, after the war against Chiriguano, led by an Inca captain called Yasca, some Chiriguano were imprisoned and the fortress was rebuilt.²²⁶

Sabaypata, in turn, is the same as present Samaipata near Santa Cruz de la Sierra.²²⁷ Like Pocona, Samaipata is famous for its Inca style buildings.²²⁸ Fortunately enough, of that area we have an important document dealing with the Inca occupation. It is a question of Father Diego Felipe de Alcaya's "Relación cierta ..." where he transmits the local tradition collected earlier by his father (after the year 1560).²²⁹ Alcaya tells that before the Spaniards conquered Peru, the Inca had sent one of his relatives to Samaipata to conquer new provinces. This person was Inca's descendant (Topa Inca's descendant in the time of Huayna Capac?) called Guacané who had the permission to use the title of king (probably *apo* or *capac apo*, sometimes translated as a king).²³⁰ When he came to Samaipata he spent some years in order to build a fortress near it. After the work was finished, he went to meet a great *cacique* called Grigota. During the meeting Guacané gave Grigota very fine clothes, as well as silver and copper objects, and soon Grigota promised his obedience to the Inca. Also three other *caciques* subject to Grigota gave their obedience to the Inca king in the name of "50,000 Indians." After that the Incas of Samaipata founded a gold mine called Caypuru in the area. To there they first sent 1,000 miners and later, some 5,000 *mitimaes* more were sent by the order of Cuzco to cultivate food for those miners.²³¹

But this is not all. According to Alcaya, Guacané continued his conquest from Samaipata further eastward by sending gifts and by

225 SAIGNES 1985:26 and map 2. According to GISBERT DE MESA (1988:85) and HYSLOP (1990:176) Cuzcotuiro is the same as Incallacta of Pocona, but I do not consider it likely.

226 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 61; 1943:248–249.

227 ROWE 1985b:215. See also map 7.

228 NORDENSKIÖLD 1911:5–11.

229 SAIGNES 1985:20.

230 For the term *apo*, see, for example, Fuente Sanct Angel & Hernández (1572) 1885:94.

231 Alcaya (ca. 1605) 1906:125–127. Zaypuru (Caypuru) is located by Thierry SAIGNES (1985:20), it is situated about 100 km southeast from Samaipata.

teaching how to cultivate maize and other agricultural products. By this method Guacané tried to incorporate under his "apocazgo" a great part of the territory of Chiquito up to the province of Jarayes and Itatin.²³² However, a group of Guaraní Indians from Paraguay used the river route of Paraguay River and conquered the Jarayes. There they heard more about the Incas and saw also some silver objects sent by Guacané "from Grigota" [from Samaipata]. From Jarayes the Guaraní turned against the inhabitants of Santa Cruz de la Sierra (the old), and from there against Grigota and Guacané. During the battles Guacané was killed, Grigota wounded and Guacané's brother, called Condori, was imprisoned together with two *Coyas*. However, when the Inca of Cuzco heard about these incidents he sent a captain called Turumayo to pacify the area. Finally, after hard campaigns, where Turumayo also died, the Guaraní were pacified.²³³

In general, Alcaya explains that all these events happened when Mango Ynga was the king of Cuzco.²³⁴ However, because he also explains that all these events happened before the Spanish conquest, it cannot be a question of "the same" Manco Inca who was crowned Inca king in the 1530s. Possibly the local informants have confused him with another Manco Inca,²³⁵ or simply all the past Inca kings were called by this name from the perspective of Samaipata.

Most likely these wars against the Guaraní happened around 1520, as proposed by Erland NORDENSKIÖLD, Alfred METRAUX and Alcides PAREJAS MORENO.²³⁶ In general, we know that these wars were a part of more general Guaraní migration from present Brazil that probably started in the time of Huayna Capac and after crossing the plains of the Chaco it reached up to the Andean area where its movements were observed still in the early colonial time.²³⁷ Furthermore, because the Guaraní were also called as the

232 Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:128–129. For the area of Chiquito, see METRAUX 1948:381–382.

233 Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:128–132.

234 Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:129.

235 For example, Guaman Poma (1615/1987:158[160]) mentions a captain called Manco Capac Ynga who belonged to the generation of Topa Inca.

236 NORDENSKIÖLD 1917:116–121; METRAUX 1948:465; PAREJAS MORENO 1979:60.

237 NORDENSKIÖLD 1917:103–121; see also METRAUX 1948:465–468.

Chiriguano, it may mean that the area of Chiriguano, mentioned by Capac Ayllu in the connection of Topa Inca, refers to the site, not to the tribe. Possibly some other nations have lived there.²³⁸ The same may also be true with the story of Garcilaso, who argues that the Chiriguano were partially conquered by "Inca Yupanqui."²³⁹ However, it is also possible that Grigota and other *curacas* subjugated by Guacané were, in fact, tribes of the Chiriguano but in that case they must have moved to the area before the known Guaraní migration.²⁴⁰

In any case, Sarmiento, Murúa, Pachacuti Yamqui and Cobo mention that Huayna Capac had to send a lot of soldiers against "the Chiriguano" who invaded the Inca territory.²⁴¹ This information fits well with the account of Alcaya who explains the war from the local perspective.

Furthermore, according to Sarmiento (and Murúa), Huayna Capac heard about the Chiriguano invasion when he was in Quito. From there he ordered a captain called Yasca to collect a new army against them and finally, after hard campaigns the Incas pacified the area and sent some Chiriguano prisoners to Quito to be shown to Huayna Capac – a detail which was also described by Alcaya.²⁴²

As a whole, it seems that these events occurred only some years before Huayna Capac died in Quito. This information is in accordance with NORDENSKIÖLD's, METRAUX's and PAREJAS MORENO's supposition that the described wave of Guaraní migration happened around 1520.²⁴³ However, what I consider to be most important in Alcaya's local description is the fact that it

238 We must remember that the provinces may have been marked on the *kipu* by numbers, not by their original names. See pp. 39, 45.

239 Garcilaso 1609:lib. VII, cap. xvii; 1976:122–124.

240 In fact, one *curaca* subject to Grigota was called Vitupue. It is a typical Chiriguano name (compare Alcaya [ca.1605] 1906:126 and "Anónimo de Santa Cruz de la Sierra" [ca.1570] 1885:155).

241 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 61; 1943:248–249; Murúa 1616:cap. xxxvi; 1987:130–131; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:310; Cobo 1653:lib. 11, cap. xi, lib. 12, cap. xvi; 1964:33, 89.

242 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 61; 1943:248–249; Murúa 1616:cap. xxxvi; 1987:130–131. Alcaya ([ca. 1605] 1906:132) says that the Chiriguano prisoners were sent to Cuzco; he did not know that the Inca was in Quito at that time.

243 According to METRAUX (1948:465) this migration happened between 1519–1523.

demonstrates that Samaipata was not the outermost frontier of the Inca state as supposed by ROWE. Rather it was a large provincial center from where the conquest was continued further eastward. Hence, we have no serious reason to doubt that the area of Grigota²⁴⁴ would not have been occupied by the Incas in the time of Huayna Capac. And, as a matter of fact, even an Inca road seems to have reached that area.²⁴⁵ On the other hand, even more surprising is Alcaya's testimony that also the Jarayes were loosely connected to the Inca province of Samaipata or Chiriguano, as it was also called. However, he does not mention any Inca guard stations or *mitimaes* there, which would mean that the area may have been incorporated into the Inca realm only by means of loose attachment ties – if attached at all. On the other hand, when Captain Nuflo de Chaves visited the Jarayes in 1541–1542 – less than ten years after the incidents in Cajamarca – he met some *orejones* there, but he does not explain more about the case.²⁴⁶ However, we know that the Incas had sent "Chichas orejones" to various parts of the Great Chaco area.²⁴⁷ Because of that, a theoretical possibility exists that the Incas had established a guard station in Jarayes against the Guaraní Indians of Paraguay after the Chiriguano war in the 1520s.²⁴⁸

According to Joan de Lizarazu, this "province of the Orejones" was situated near Itatin (a Spanish settlement on Río Iguaru) in the area of present Mato Grosso of Brazil.²⁴⁹ The villages of Orejones

244 The area is known today as "Llanos de Grigota"; see BUSTOS SANTELICES, Victor: Excavaciones arqueológicas en el Sitio Grigotá (8011011) Santa Cruz INAR, La Paz 1976.

245 HYSLOP 1984:fig. 1.1.; MURRA 1985:71; see also HYSLOP 1988:fig. 1.

246 "Probanza de Nuflo de Chaves 1561." In: Mautua 1906 IX:13, 24.

247 Lozano 1733:52, 59, 78–79; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969a: 6–7; SAIGNES 1985:72.

248 In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries Paraguay was located between the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers (the present Province of Mato Grosso in Brazil was a central part of Paraguay), see: "Carta Geographica de las provinciás de la gobernación del Río de la Plata, Tucuman y Paraguay ... por el Doctor D. Juan Ramon, año 1685," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.29, AGI.

249 Lizarazu (1638) 1906:213; see also the maps: "Mapa del Rio de la Plata," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.4, AGI; "Carta Geographica de las provinciás de la gobernación del Río de la Plata, Tucuman y Paraguay ... por el Doctor D. Juan Ramon, año 1685," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.29, AGI; and maps nos. XII, XIV in the collection of MUJIA.

("Pueblos de los orexones") can be located more exactly by using a map made around 1600 by an anonymous author.²⁵⁰

On the map these villages are marked on the west shore of Paraguay River a little south from the villages of "Xarayes." In fact, the villages seem to have been situated in the present province of Angel Sandoval of Bolivia near the Brazilian border. On later maps "Orejones" are marked in the middle of the island of Lake Xarayes.²⁵¹ This lake does not exist on present maps, but it seems to be a question of a lake which existed only during four months of every year, when annual flooding took place.²⁵² The island, which the flooding does not reach and which is marked on these 18th century maps, seems to be in present Brazil near the villages of Boa Vista and San Benito, opposite the Bolivian province of Angel Sandoval.²⁵³ So it is possible that the Incas had sent *mitimaes* near the present Bolivian and Brazilian frontier, between the provinces of Mato Grosso and Angel Sandoval just before the Spanish conquest. However, we would need much more information about those "orejon settlements" before we could really confirm whether those "big ears" had anything to do with the Incas. Thus we can

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- 250 "Mapa del Rio de la Plata," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No.4, AGI. The map is without a date, but it is significant that Santa Cruz de la Sierra is marked halfway between the Río Barranca (the present Río Grande, called also as Guapay) and Río Paraguay. Santa Cruz was situated there in the second half of the 16th century but was moved during the first years of the 1600s to the Barranca (Guapay) River. On the other hand, the Spanish settlement of San Lorenzo and Santiago de Xerez are also marked on the map. San Lorenzo was founded in 1590 and Santiago de Xerez in 1591 which gives the date *terminus post quem* 1591. See Suarez de Figueroa (1586) 1885:164; López de Caravantes (1614) 1907:357; PAREJAS MORENO 1979:76.
- 251 "Carte du Paraguay 1756," Mapas y Planos, Buenos Aires No. 254, AGI; Maps no. XII (1722-30) and no. XIV (1733) in MUJIA.
- 252 See the official letter of Portugal's *cancilleria* to Portugal's ambassador in Madrid on November 22, 1748 in: MAURTUA 1907 IV:133, and the letter of Alexandre de Gusmao to the ambassador of Portugal in Madrid in: MAURTUA 1907 IV:143. From the 18th century onward this lake formed a frontier between Spanish and Portuguese America (see, for example, Carvajal y Lancáster [1749] 1907:162).
- 253 "Mapa de la Republica de Bolivia 1:1,500,000." Mapa preliminar del Instituto Geografico Militar, 1974. Segunda edición 1980. However, the Guaraní migration from present Brazil to Great Chaco, which continued during the early colonial time, left these settlements far away from the center of the Viceroyalty of Peru and we have extremely little early information from that area.

only confirm that Llanos de Grigota near present Santa Cruz belonged to Tawantinsuyu. Probably the archaeologists will tell more about those more eastern *orejon* settlements in the future.

The area situated north of Llanos de Grigota has a water connection via Mamoré to Paitite and to Madre de Dios. This connection was known already in the Conquest period by don Carlos Inca, who explained about this route to Martín Sánchez de Acayaga, father of Diego Felipe de Alcaya.²⁵⁴ However, it seems that this connection was not discovered before the Spanish conquest. Diego de Alcaya, who must have known Carlos Inca's description to his father, explains that the Inca of Cuzco (Huascar?) sent one of his cousins also called as Manco Inca to conquer new areas in that direction. He began his voyage from the area of Grigota and came down more than 100 leguas (500 km) on the River Manatti (present Guaporé) where he established a mark of frontier. After that, he sent his son Guayna-apoc to inform the Inca of Cuzco about this conquest, but when the son came to Cuzco the Spaniards had already taken power and another Inca had retired to Vilcapampa.²⁵⁵ This other Inca was undoubtedly Huayna Capac's son Manco Inca who was crowned the Inca king in 1533 and who retired to Vilcapampa a few years after the Spanish conquest.

So it seems that this last conquest happened near the time of Pizarro and that the Incas did not realize (before the Spanish conquest) that there existed a water connection between Mamoré – Madre de Dios. As Alcaya tells, only after Guayna-apoc came back from Cuzco, did he discover the route from Manatti (Guaporé) to Paitite.²⁵⁶ This means that before Manco Inca (governed 1533–1545) only the Madre de Dios and the Beni routes to Paitite were known.²⁵⁷

If we sum up these facts, we may note that Samaipata and Cuzcotuiro were conquered in the time of Topa Inca. Later, in the

254 Caballero (1635) 1906:178, 181. Carlos Inca (1537–1582) was a grandson of Huayna Capac (see the chart "The families of Atahualpa and Paullu" in: HEMMING 1970).

255 Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:133–135.

256 Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:135.

257 See pp. 110–111.

time of Huayna Capac "Llanos de Grigota," in the area of present Santa Cruz de la Sierra was incorporated into Tawantinsuyu. The conquest continued peacefully further east and the Incas had contacts even up to the Jarayas which came to be a frontier area between Bolivia and Brazil. However, we have no information of how many of these eastern areas were really attached to Tawantinsuyu. The Incas also seem to have continued their conquest further north from Samaipata and "Llanos de Grigota," possibly up to the Guaporé River. Finally, in the time of Manco Inca the Incas probably discovered the connection between Mamoré and Madre de Dios Rivers, but by that time the Conquest period had already started.

3.4. Cuntisuyu

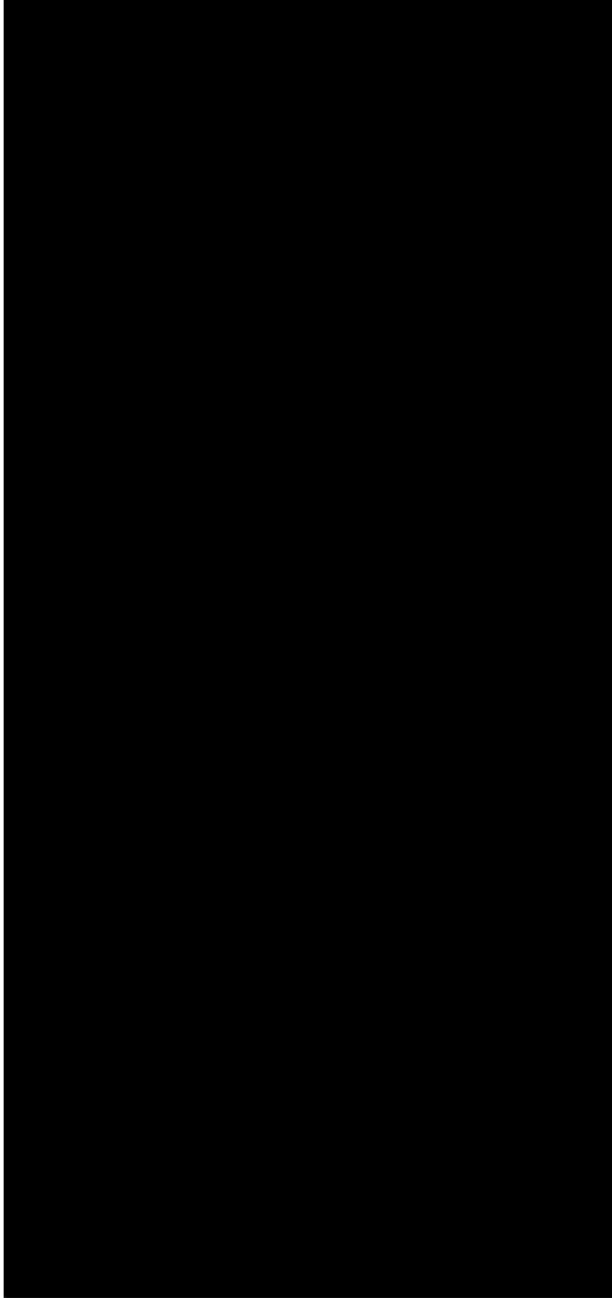
According to ROWE the coast of Cuntisuyu was conquered by Topa Inca, but the region of Arequipa was conquered either by Pachacuti or by Topa Inca.²⁵⁸ On the map he drew, he favored the last possibility.²⁵⁹ After ROWE determined his chronology, we do not have many new sources dealing with the area, except the last part of the chronicle of Betanzos, published in 1987, and the *kipu* account of Capac Ayllu published in 1985. However, it should be noted that ROWE omitted chronicler Pachacuti Yamqui, who states that Inca Pachacuti conquered Arequipa, Chacha, Atunconde, Chumpivilca, Parinacocha and Camana (see map 10).²⁶⁰ Furthermore, also Murúa tells, as noted earlier by ROWE, that in the time of Pachacuti an earthquake destroyed some Inca towns near Arequipa, implying that the area had already been conquered. Unfortunately, in this part of the text Murúa had mixed information which refers to Cumana (copied from López de Gómara's "Conquista de Mexico"), not to Arequipa. That is why we cannot use his testimony as a serious proof.²⁶¹ However, it is

258 ROWE 1944: 271–272.

259 See map 1.

260 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300.

261 Murúa 1616:lib. III, cap. xxi; 1987:535; see also ROWE 1945: 272; ROWE 1987:753–761; PÄRSSINEN 1989b:47–51.



Map 10. The area of Arequipa in 1789 after Antonio Alvarez y Ximenez. The map is conserved in AGI.

important to note that generally trustworthy Betanzos also confirms that Collagua and the area of Arequipa were conquered by Pachacuti Inca.²⁶² And finally, because two Indians also testified in Arequipa, in 1541, that "[Pachacuti] Ynga Yupanqui" had given some land to an Urco Indian called Llagualpa Limacho near Arequipa, we may, indeed, conclude that the region of Arequipa belonged to Tawantinsuyu already in the time of Pachacuti.²⁶³

The conquest chronology of the coastal zone of Cuntisuyu is more problematic than that of Arequipa, because we have only few referents to that area. According to Pachacuti Yamqui and Cobo the coast of Cuntisuyu was conquered in the time of Pachacuti, but, on the other hand, the members of Capac Ayllu give credit for its conquest to Topa Inca and his two brothers.²⁶⁴ Nevertheless, because the episode presented by Capac Ayllu is very similar to the description of Pachacuti Yamqui, it is possible that the conquest was made by Amaro Topa. If so, then the conquest may really have happened in the lifetime of Pachacuti Inca.²⁶⁵

However, because we do not possess any local description about the Inca conquest in Camana or in any other coastal area of Cuntisuyu, we cannot verify this information. That is why it seems to be more safer to leave the question open until we have more information about that area.

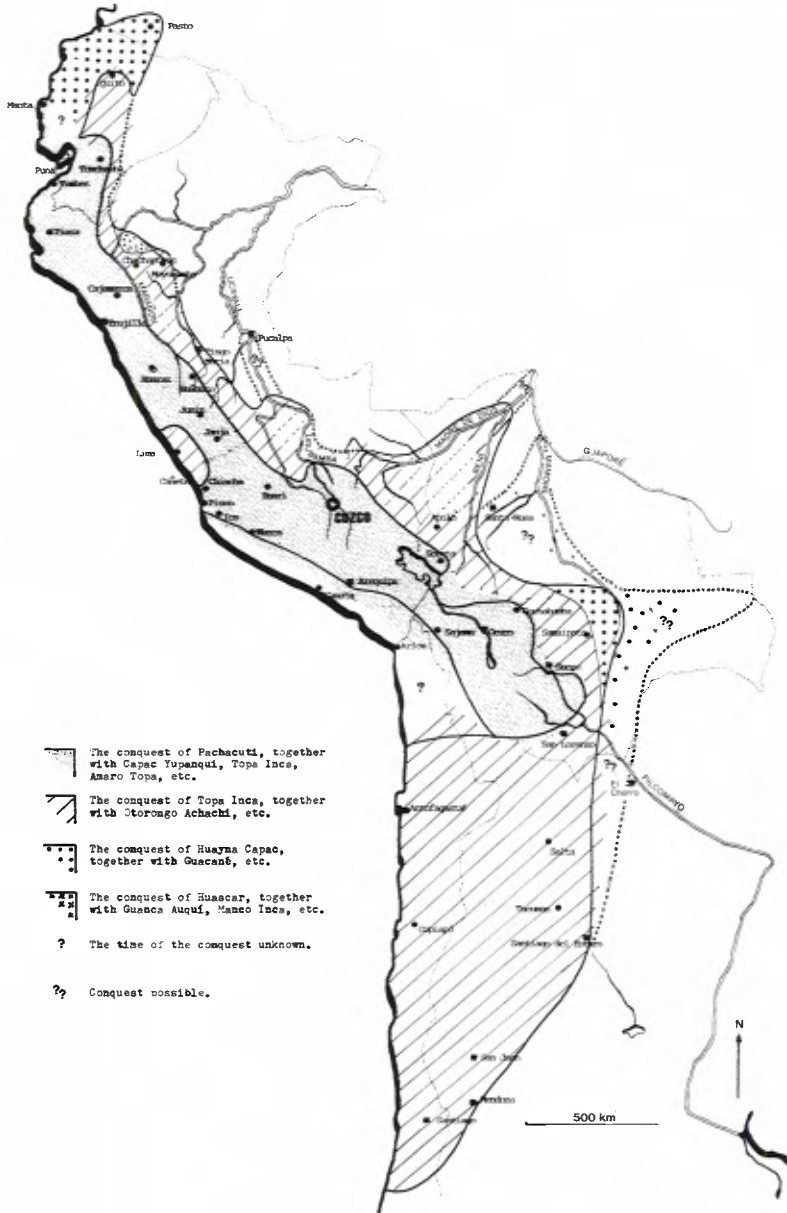
If we sum up our information about the Inca conquests we may conclude that the expansion was properly started by Pachacuti Inca as supposed earlier by John H. ROWE. However, Pachacuti personally conquered only the area situated considerably nearer Cuzco. After that, military leaders such as Capac Yupanqui and

262 Betanzos 1551:cap. xix; 1987:94.

263 For the testimonies of *cacique* Chasana and a guardian called Tito, see: "La Justicia y Regimiento de la ciudad de Arequipa concedieron a Pedro Pizarro en 1541 una chacra en Chilina y pide la hagan merced de la demasia por haber sacado la acequia a su costa." In: BARRIGA 1955 III:246; see also GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1977: 58.

264 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xiii; 1964:81; Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:226.

265 The war expeditions led by Amaro Topa belong mainly to the time of Pachacuti Inca (see Betanzos 1551:cap. xxiii; 1987:119–121).



Map 11. Approximation of the Inca expansion.

later Topa Inca and Amaro Topa continued the conquests while Pachacuti stayed in Cuzco. For example, Capac Yupanqui seems to have subjugated the Chíncha and Pisco Valleys on the coast and the central highlands up to Jauja, at least. Topa Inca continued the conquest of Chinchaysuyu up to Cañar (Tomebamba) and possibly the coast of Huancavilca, whereas Amaro Topa and some other military leaders conquered Collasuyu up to Chicha and Cuntisuyu up to Arequipa, at least. However, we do not know whether the coast from Ica down to Tarapacá was conquered at this time or later, after Topa Inca took the supreme command of the Inca state (see map 11).

During the time of Topa Inca many rebellions were pacified and now the northern frontier seems to have been established near Quito and the southern frontier, on the other hand, to the Maule River situated further south of present Santiago de Chile. Also the coast of Lima was subjugated. Equally we know that the Inca empire expanded eastward. For example, Chachapoya, Moyobamba and the central and upper Huallaga Valley seems to have been annexed; as well as the tribes of Ene, Tambo, Urubamba, Madre de Dios and Beni Rivers. Also the nations between Samaipata, Tucumán, Santiago de Estero and Mendoza were attached under the leadership of Topa Inca. Furthermore, there even exists a possibility that the Cunibo of the upper Ucayali would have been integrated into the Inca realm as well as the tribes of "Paytite" in the confluence of Mamoré and Madeira in the border of present Brazil and Bolivia.

At the time of Huayna Capac all the areas conquered earlier were attached somewhat more keenly under the Incas and new areas were conquered in present Ecuador and southern Colombia (Pasto). Also some new areas east of Samaipata were annexed thanks to the activity of an Inca chief called Guacané. However, the outermost Inca frontier in that direction is hard to establish.

Finally, in the time of Huascar the area of Pomacocha situated north of Chachapoya was conquered. It is also possible that the upper Mamoré, north of Samaipata, would have been explored during his time.

III The Total Population of Tawantinsuyu

Estimates of the total population of Tawantinsuyu vary from two to thirty-seven million.¹ Different methods have been used in these calculations, but from the basic work of John H. ROWE onward, the estimates have mainly been based on the colonial depopulation ratios.

ROWE made his estimate of five million by using five case studies: Rimac, Chíncha, Yauyo, Huanca and Sora.² COOK has already criticized ROWE's theory on the basis of a few errors in his calculations. COOK also states that five case studies from hundreds of possible ones do not provide "a solid footing for historical generalizations."³ To that criticism I would like to add a probable error that one of ROWE's case studies includes: in the case of Chíncha, ROWE seems to have made a mistake when he supposed that in that valley, there lived only one *hunucuraca* and 10,000 households. A local document confirms that the valley was composed of three *hunus*: 12,000 workers, 10,000 fishermen and 6,000 "merchants," which make a total of 28,000 households, not 10,000 as supposed by ROWE.⁴

1 According to von HAGEN (1961) the population of Tawantinsuyu was about two million. However, Henry DOBYNS (1966) suggests that the total population might have reached between 30 and 37 million; for various theories: see also SEMPAT ASSADOURIAN 1985:70.

2 ROWE 1946:184-185.

3 COOK 1981:42-43.

4 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:170-171. According to Lizarraga (1605:lib. i, cap. lix; 1987:136), Chíncha was divided into 10,000 workers,

However, although ROWE made some mistakes, he showed a possible way to calculate pre-Hispanic population of the Andes. By using the same method as ROWE, Nathan WACHTEL has calculated the population of Tawantinsuyu as 10 million people.⁵ On the other hand, Noble David COOK has combined many approaches, such as ecological factors, depopulation ratios, disease mortality models and census projections from 1561 onward, and supposes that the total population was around 9 million.⁶

Although these last estimates do have a scientific basis, no sufficient studies have been made on the first colonial census of Francisco Pizarro. According to a document conserved in the Archive of the Indies, Francisco Pizarro made a census of 1,550,000 taxpaying Indians and gave these Indians to Spanish conquistadors as grants.⁷ If we adopt the general ratio of five persons for each tributary,⁸ we end up, according to this information, with an estimated population of 7,750,000.

If we look at those "titles" by which Francisco Pizarro granted *repartimientos* to conquistadors, we can note that many of them include census information that seem to indicate the use of Incaic *kipus*. As a matter of fact, many of those early grants were given before the Spanish visited those areas,⁹ which makes it extremely probable that the census was taken from the Incan *kipu* register in Cuzco. Also, short *visitas* took place in important villages, at least from the year 1534 onward, to collect census information from local sources.¹⁰

10,000 fishermen and 10,000 "merchants." However, the information of "Aviso" seems to be more accurate. The same mistake as ROWE probably made, has also been made by SMITH (1967-1968:cuadro 4; and copied also by COOK 1981:table 7).

5 WACHTEL 1977:86-90; WACHTEL 1984:212.

6 COOK 1981:14-114.

7 "Perpetuedad en el Perú," fol. 88r, Ramo 1, Indiferente General 1624, AGI.

8 See, for example, WACHTEL 1977:88.

9 GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1977:59.

10 Francisco Pizarro himself made a visit to Guaraz on July 28, 1534, and gave a grant of 600 *purics* to Sebastian de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga; see "Pleito entre Hernando de Torres, vecino de la ciudad de León de Guanuco, y el licenciado Alvaro de Torres y Rui Barba Caveza de Baca, vecino de la ciudad de los Reyes, sobre, cierto repartimiento de indios de la provincia de

In 1540, after the death of Diego Almagro el Viejo, Francisco Pizarro made a new "repartimiento" for which he systematically collected information from Quito to Lipe. To the areas which were poorly known he sent "visitadores" to collect new census material with special "Instrucciones."¹¹ Diego Verdejo was sent to North Coast, Cristóbal Barrientos to Cajamarca, Diego de Rojas to Moyo Moyo, etc.¹² We also know that in Chachapoya, Alonso Alvarado ordered (during the lifetime of Francisco Pizarro) the local chief called Guaman to collect all the census information from local *kipus*, "which this Guaman did as Alonso de Alvarado ordered." After that, Chachapoya was granted to conquistadors "by using these *kipus* and information of Guaman."¹³

In general, many "titles" of grants given in 1540 show clearly that the census data of the years 1539–1540 was collected from local *kipus*, not only in Chachapoya. For example, the local census presented in the "title" given to Gonzalo Pizarro on March 7, 1540, presents 3,263 households in Chayanta and 2,123 households in Collagua in an order which is typical on *kipus*.¹⁴

However, not all information of the 1540 census was based on knotted cord records. For example, Cristóbal Barrientos' *visita* to Cajamarca was based on the questionnaires which he made in the mines of Chilite in August, 1540.¹⁵ Probably also some *kipus* were used, but in general, the information does not follow the clear order of a *kipu* text.

Guaraz y Chuquiracoay que fueron de Sebastian de Torres, difunto, Lima 1562," fols. 62r–64v, Justicia 405A, AGI.

- 11 Two of these "Instrucciones" of Pizarro have been published. One by Roberto LEVILLIER (1921, tomo I:20–25): "Instrucción que el Marqués Francisco Pizarro dió a Diego Verdejo para la visita que había de hacer desde Chicama hasta Tucome, Los Reyes 4–VI–1540," and another by ESPINOZA SORIANO (1967b:25–31): "Instrucción que el marqués don Francisco Pizarro dio a Cristóbal de Barrientos, para la visita que había de hacer de las provincias de Los Guambos, Caxamarca y Guamachuco, Los Reyes 4–VI–1540."
- 12 *Ibids.*; "Pleito entre el capitán Cristóbal Barba y el adelantado Juan Ortiz de Zarate, sobre el derecho a los indios Moyos-Moyos, La Plata 1551," fols. 25v, 66r, 75r, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI.
- 13 Alvarez (1572) 1967:299.
- 14 "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7–III–1540," Audiencia de Charcas, 56, AGI; I am grateful to John V. Murra for informing me of the existence of this document.
- 15 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967b:15.

Also if we compare the results of Barrientos' *visita* to later *visitas* and *padrones* of the area, we may wonder about the accuracy of it. Especially if we follow the demography of three *guarangas*, called Chondal, Bambamarca and Pomamarca, it seems that not all tributaries were calculated in Barrientos' *visita*.

According to Barrientos, in the year 1540 these three *guarangas* had 1,128 tributaries.¹⁶ When the next known *visita* was made to Cajamarca in 1567 by Gregorio Gonzales Cuenca, these three *guarangas* had 1,920 tributaries and still in 1571–1572, when Diego Velazquez de Acuña made a new *visita*, there were 1,742 tributaries.¹⁷ Only at the beginning of the 17th century the amount of tributaries of these *guarangas* fell below the calculations of Barrientos: in 1616 Chondal, Bambamarca and Pomamarca had 1,104 tributaries; in 1623 the amount of tributaries was summed up to 1,049 and in 1651 up to 760 tributaries.¹⁸

Part of "the enormous population growth" during the years 1540–1567 can be explained by the *mitimaes* groups which were integrated later to these *guarangas*.¹⁹ Gonzales Cuenca was also accused that he sometimes calculated eight- or ten-year-old boys as tribute payers during the *visitas* of 1567.²⁰ However, it is very

16 Barrientos (1540) 1967:35, 36, 37–38.

17 "Visita del doctor Gonzalez de Cuenca a Cajamarca, año 1567," a partial copy made in 1568 and conserved in AGI: Justicia 415, fols. 85v–122r; "Visita de Diego Velazquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571–1572," two copies conserved in AGI: one in Justicia 1063, fols. 15v–551v and another in Escribanía de Cámara 500 B, fols. 24r–526r.

18 "Numeración de los yndios de los doce repartimientos desta provincia de Caxamarca ... por Phelipe Carvarayco y Francisco Astopillcco, Caxamarca 19–V–1616," fol. 396r, Legajo No. 1, Corregimiento, Tributos, Año 1602–1651, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca; "Numeración hecha por don Francisco Tamtaguatay, gobernador desta provincia de Caxamarca ..., 18–XI–1623," Legajo No.1, Corregimiento, Hojas sueltas, Causas diversas, año 1600–1679, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca; "Numeración de los Yndios tributarios de los siete guarangas y demas estas villas desta provincia de Caxamarca hecha por don Gabriel Hastoquipan cacique ..., navidad del año 1651," Legajo No.1, Corregimiento, Tributos, Año 1602–1651, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca.

19 For example, ten *mitimaes* of Chepen were annexed by the *guaranga* of Chondal before the census of 1567 was made; see: "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fols. 1910r, 2034r, Justicia 458, AGI. For a similar example dealing with the case of the *guaranga* of Guzmango, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969–1970:20.

20 "Segundo legajo de la expresava residencia del doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, Audiencia de Lima 1570 á 1574," fol. 845r, Justicia 457, AGI.

difficult to explain almost 70 % population growth by these means during this period of time – especially when all other areas of Northern Peru were faced with drastic population decline.²¹ Most likely, Barrientos' *visita* is incomplete.

Another example of "inaccuracy" we have from Pacasa, which Francisco Pizarro took for himself. I do not know whether Pizarro's own repartimiento was ever inspected by any *visitador* before Pizarro's death in 1541. However, we know that when Cristóbal Vaca de Castro ordered a *visita* for three "cabeceras" of Pacajes, he had earlier information from the time of Francisco Pizarro, according to which the *cacique principal* of Caquiaviri had 1,200 tributaries; Machaca had, in total, 1,600 tributaries, and Caquingora 1,700.²² However, when the area was inspected in 1543 by Alonso Pérez de Esquibel, Machaca had about 1,500 tributaries; *cacique principal* of Caquiaviri 1,200 and the second person of Caquiaviri 1,000, or more exactly 972, but, Caquingora had only 910 tributaries.²³ In total, about 900 tributaries were missing from Caquingora and Machaca, although the *visita* of 1543 was seemingly based on local *kipus*. One possibility is that the 972 tributaries found under the leadership of the second person of Caquiaviri were confused earlier with the missing tributaries of Caquingora and Machaca, because Vaca de Castro did not know, before the *visita*, how many tributaries the mentioned second person had. If so, Pizarro's census was quite accurate, but if it was not a question of that kind of confusion, it may be interpreted as an error in the census collected by Pizarro.

In sum, although the census of Francisco Pizarro seems to contain some errors, it is the best that we have – information which many times was derived from the Inca *kipu* registers.

21 WACHTEL 1977:passim; COOK 1981:passim.

22 "Instrucción que Vaca de Castro dió a Alonso Pérez de Esquibel para la visita que había de hacer a Caquiaviri, Machaca y Caquingora, Cuzco 17-V-1543," fols. 28r-29v, Justicia 397, AGI.

23 "Titulo de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Alexos Rodriguez, 17-IX-1543," fols. 32r-35r, Justicia 397, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda del licenciado Vaca de Castro a Alonso de Barrionuevo, 13-IX-1543," sin fols., Pieza 2, Ramo 3, No. 1, Justicia 399, AGI; Rojas (1548) 1958:177-181.

I do not know whether Francisco Pizarro also collected information on the total population of Peru or only on tributaries. However, in 1551 Gerónimo de Loayza, Andrés Cianca and Domingo de Santo Tomás calculated that Peru had 8,285,000 inhabitants, excluding Chile and some other provinces.²⁴ Now the question is, from where did they get this information, which is very close to the census information of Pizarro.

Before the general "*tasación* of 1549–1550" was realized by archbishop Loayza, father Domingo de Santo Tomás, father Tomás de San Martín and by *oidores* Cianca and Santillán, some demographic investigation was also made by *visitadores*.²⁵ Because of that, we may ask whether the census of 8 million was calculated during these *visitas* ordered by president Pedro de la Gasca in 1548–1549 ?

We know that during those years Juan Mori and Hernando Alonso Malpartida inspected the area of Chupaychu, Diego Alvarez made a *visita* to Huayla, Gerónimo de Soria visited Camata and so on.²⁶ However, an anonymous author says that la Gasca's census contained only 243,000 tributaries,²⁷ which contradicts the possibility that Loayza et al. got their figure from that census. Also, if we study titles of grants given by la Gasca, we may note that a considerable amount of his census information was collected from earlier sources. For example, in the title given to Hernán Bueno, on November 20, 1549, la Gasca presents all the same 279 tributaries

24 This information was given by Feyjóo 1763:28–29. However, this information has received very little attention among Andeanists – probably because of the rareness of Feyjóo's book.

25 SEMPAT ASSADOURIAN 1985:71.

26 Mori & Malpartida (1549); concerning the *visitas* of Diego Alvarez to Huayla, see "Pleito entre Hernando de Torres, vecino de la ciudad de León de Guanucu, y el licenciado Alvaro de Torres y Rui Barba Caveza de Baca ..." fols. 291v–318v, Justicia 405 A, AGI; concerning the *visita* of Gerónimo de Soria to Camata, see "Visita de Gerónimo de Soria y Sancho Perero a Pequeña Calabaya, año 1549," fols. 100v–103r, Justicia 405 B, AGI.

27 "Perpetuedad en el Perú," fol. 88r, Ramo 1, Indiferente General 1624, AGI. This information was written around 1555 as can be seen in the following paragraph: "... Abra 15 años que el marquez don Francisco Pizarro hizo diligencia de contar los yndios para repartirlos a los conquistadores y hallo 1,550,000 yndios y despues al mando el de la Gasca a que ser saber los yndios que en su tyempo avia para dar su encomienda ... no tener ... no avia más que 243,000 yndios ..."

that Vaca de Castro had already presented in 1542 in the title given to Hernando de Silva.²⁸ The same is true with Chayanta, in which Francisco Pizarro gave 3,263 tributaries to Gonzalo Pizarro on the basis of *kipus* read to the *visitador*. Later, in 1548, la Gasca gave 2,163 tributaries to Pedro de Hinojosa from the same area and if we compare these two titles it becomes evident that in many cases the list of tributaries is identical.²⁹ Possibly the area was visited twice, but during both times, the same *kipus* were read.

Another example comes from Cajamarca, where a new *visita* was made during the time of la Gasca.³⁰ However, it is considerable that in 1557 when a new "tasa" was realized by marqués de Cañete, the census information was still based on the *visita* made by Cristóbal Barrientos in 1540.³¹

In sum, it seems highly probable that the information of archbishop of Loayza, Cianca and Domingo de Santo Tomás of 8,285, 000 inhabitants is mainly based on the Inca census collected during the years 1534–1540 by Francisco Pizarro. On the other hand, whether it was calculated on the basis of households, or whether it was known directly on the basis of *kipus*, cannot be answered with certainty. However, I suppose that it was calculated on the basis of 1,550,000 households, granted by Pizarro, and to that was added the census of some other areas discovered during

28 Compare "Título de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Hernando de Silva, Cuzco 24–XI–1542," fol. 22r, Ramo 4, No. 1, Justicia 1081, AGI, and "Provision del licenciado Pedro de la Gasca concediendo la encomienda del Valle de Catari a Hernán Bueno ..., Los Reyes 20–XI–1549" in: BARRIGA 1940 II:211–214.

29 Compare "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7–III–1540," Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI, and "Título de la encomienda de la Gasca a Pedro de Hinojosa, Cuzco 29–VIII–1548," Indiferente General 1260, AGI; I am grateful to John V. MURRA, who has kindly informed me of the existence of these two documents.

30 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967b:7. However, ESPINOZA SORIANO does not mention his source.

31 According to the *tasa* of 1557, three *guarangas* of Cajamarca called Pomamarca, Bambamarca and Chondal, had 1, 128 tributaries. The amount is exactly the same in the *visita* of Barrientos. Compare Barrientos (1540;1967:35, 36, 37–38) and "Sumario de la tasa de las tres parcialidades de Pomamarca, Bambamarca y el Chondal por el marqués de Cañete en 21 de agosto de 1557," fols. 134r–140r, Justicia 415, AGI.

the time of Vaca de Castro and la Gasca.³² In total, it is very likely that the information of 8,285,000 inhabitants mainly reflects the last Inca census, which possibly was made during the time of Huayna Capac or Huascar.³³ However, it is still true that in some minor areas the census may refer to the situation in the 1540s; and because of that it gives us only an approximation about the total population around 1530.

It is also clear that not all areas of Tawantinsuyu were included in the *repartimientos* of Francisco Pizarro and la Gasca. At least Santa Cruz de la Sierra, Tucumán, Chile and some areas in Antisuyu were excluded. Now the question is, how many inhabitants of Tawantinsuyu were excluded, in total, from the census of Pizarro and la Gasca?

According to Diego Felipe de Alcaya, about 50,000 *purics* gave the obedience to the Inca "king" (apo) called Guacané, who resided in Samaipata, near present Santa Cruz.³⁴ Because another source confirms that more than 40,000 Indians worked for the first Spaniards of the area,³⁵ we may accept some 200,000–250,000 inhabitants for that part of Tawantinsuyu.

Dealing with the area of Tucumán, we may use the unpublished "numeration" of Canelas Albarrán, presented originally in 1586 and cited by Gaston Gabriel DOUCET. According to that numeration, in the "gobernación de Tucumán" had 54,000 households and 270,000 inhabitants.³⁶ However, these numbers

32 For example, in the time of Vaca de Castro (1541–1544) about 800 households were found in Panatahua, on the upper Huallaga, which had belonged to Tawantinsuyu but had not been previously discovered. ("Título de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Rodrigo de Zuñiga, Cuzco 12–IX–1543," fols. 4r–5v, Justicia 403, AGI and "Título de la encomienda de la Gasca a Hernando Alonso Malpartida, Los Reyes 19–X–1548," fols. 5v–7v, Justicia 403, AGI). Also, about 20,000 households and approximately 100,000 inhabitants were found in Ján. These households were visited by the order of la Gasca. (CUESTA S.J. 1984 II:355, 462–463; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1973a:54).

33 The well known Inca census of Chucuito is proposed to have been from the time of Huayna Capac (SMITH 1967–1968:80).

34 Alcaya (ca. 1605) 1906:126.

35 "Expediente hecho en San Lorenzo de la Barranca," Audiencia de Charcas 32, AGI, cited by PAREJAS MORENO 1982.

36 Juan Canelas Albarrán: "Discripción de todos los reinos del Perú, Chile y Tierra Firme, con declaraciones de los pueblos, ciudades, naturales ..., 1586," conserved in Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid), MS 3178, fols. viii–15,

also include the 15,000 households and 75,000 inhabitants who lived in the area of Córdoba, which did not belong to Tawantinsuyu. Because the rest of the area was a part of the ancient Inca state, we will end up with 195,000 inhabitants.

The question of how much European epidemics had affected that area around 1580 is difficult. Taking into consideration the several problems of analogies, I suppose that the depopulation ratio was about the same as among the Lupaca in the Lake Titicaca area. According to the last Inca census, which was read from the ancient *kipu* in 1567, there were 20,080 households.³⁷ Later, during the *visita* of 1574, ordered by Francisco Toledo and carried out by Pedro Gutiérrez Flores,³⁸ it was calculated that in Chucuito there lived 17,779 tributaries.³⁹ This means that the depopulation ratio there was about 11,5 % between 1520/1530 and 1574.⁴⁰ If the ratio was the same in Tucumán, it would mean that in 1530 there lived about 44,000 households and approximately 220,000 inhabitants.

The part of colonial Chile which belonged to Tawantinsuyu and which was not granted by Pizarro and la Gasca belonged to Diocese of Santiago. According to López de Velasco, around the year 1570 there were 24,000 tributaries.⁴¹ To calculate the effect of depopulation, we cannot use Chucuito's ratio, because on the coast depopulation was much higher than in the highlands. However, it was probably not as high as on the hot valleys of Northern and Central Peru.⁴² That is why we could use the ratio of 50 %, which medium was observed in some semi-warm valleys of the Andean

and cited by DOUCET 1987:268. As we can note, Albarrán also used the ratio of five persons for each tributary.

37 MURRA (1968,1970) 1975:195, cuatro I. 200 *mitimaes* in Sana are not included in this number.

38 For more information about Gutiérrez de Flores, see PEASE 1978c:118–123.

39 "Visita y tasa hecha de orden y por comisión del Virrey del Perú don Francisco de Toledo de los Yndios de la Prouincia de Chucuito ..., por Petro Gutiérrez Flores, 1574," fols. 1–78v, Contaduría 1787, AGI.

40 I compare here the Inca census to the Toledanian census, because the 1580s census of Tucumán was propably made by Toledanian principles; compare WACHTEL 1977:89.

41 López de Velasco (1574) 1971:265. The total population of XVI century Chile reached 80,000 or 90,000 households (*ibid.*, pp. 261).

42 See SMITH 1968:77–91; WACHTEL 1977:86–96; COOK 1981:41–54.

mountains.⁴³ By using this ratio we would end up with 48,000 tributaries – more or less – and about 240,000 inhabitants.⁴⁴

The last area which was not completely included in Pizarro's and la Gasca's census was Antisuyu. It seems that Pizarro granted about 20,000 tributaries in that area to the first *encomenderos*. At least that amount of tributaries was suspected to be found in the colonial province of Andes, including the valleys of Pilcopata, Acomayos, Abisca and Toaimo, at the time when a clerical inspection in the area was started in 1559.⁴⁵ However, that area is situated on the upper Madre de Dios and did not include Urubamba Valley, where there may have lived another 20,000 households.⁴⁶ This would add some 100,000 more inhabitants to the total population of Tawantinsuyu.

Probably some other areas in Antisuyu did not belong to the repartimiento of Pizarro and la Gasca either, but I do not believe that these areas had any significant population to be added to our calculations.

In sum, if we add to archbishop Loayza's, Cianca's and Domingo de Santo Tomás' calculation the supposed inhabitants of Santa Cruz, Tucumán, Chile and a part of Antisuyu, we end up with 9,045, 000 to 9,095,000 inhabitants, or more loosely with 9 million. It is exactly the same number that COOK has supposed before – by using other methods. It is also near to WACHTEL's supposition of 10 million.

Of course, our calculations also include uncertainties, and, for example, I do not know how much the first European epidemics

43 According to ROWE (1946:184) the depopulation ratio of Yauyo was 3:2, Huanca 3:1 and Sora 4:3. These ratios contain some errors (see COOK 1981:42–43), but still the medium is near 2:1.

44 For the problem of these numbers, see also HIDALGO 1985:106, note 26.

45 See "Proceso que se ha tratado en la Audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes entre los Moradores de los Andes y con el Deán y cavildo de la yglesia del Cuzco, sobre poner curas en los Andes, Lima 1561," fol. 1r–v, Justicia 403, AGI.

46 Pachacuti Yamqui tells about 20,000 tributaries of "Capacuyos" who lived "toward Andes." Furthermore, Cabello and Murúa, who probably used Sarmiento's notes, let us understand that after "Cuyo Cápac" was defeated by Pachacuti, he annexed to "Cuyosuyo" the area of Vilcabamba which is situated just on Urubamba Valley (see Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300, 292; Cabello 1586:cap. 14; 1951:299–300; Murúa 1616:lib. I, cap. xix; 1987:74–75; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 34; 1943:183).

were seen in these numbers.⁴⁷ However, I believe that our numbers are not very far from the total population around 1530/1535. At least it means that we have no good reasons to believe suppositions which suggest the total population of Tawantinsuyu was 15 million or more, or suppositions, which consider the total population as 5 million or less.

47 The *visita* of Jauanca, carried out by Sebastián de la Gama in 1540, demonstrates that there existed already many depopulated houses on the Peruvian North Coast; see Gama (1540) 1975:260–272.

IV An Excursion to Some General Principles of Administration

1. Gifts, Kin and Politics

When we dealt with the Inca conquests we noted that the expansion was rapid and superficial based on personal attachment ties between the Inca and the provincial leaders. Furthermore, the members of individual kin groups, *ayllus*, were, in turn, attached to their own leaders, although it is also possible that every member of *ayllu* also had a direct allegiance to the king and to his personal representatives, as among the Lozi in Barotseland.⁴⁸ However, when the Inca died, provinces did not have direct attachment ties with Cuzco and they had, as said before, an almost legitimate opportunity to challenge their political freedom.⁴⁹

48 See GLUCKMAN 1961:36–38.

49 This personal attachment can also be seen in a story of the Colla rebellion which happened in the time of Topa Inca and which was written down by Sarmiento, among others. According to this story, Topa Inca was making a conquest in Antisuyu when an Indian from Collao escaped from his troops to the Lake Titicaca area. There he began to rebel by announcing: "Topa Inga Yupanqui is dead. Everybody should now rebel because there is no Inca any more ..." (Sarmiento 1572: cap. 49; 1943:225; see also Murúa 1616:cap. xxiv; 1987:88; Cieza 1553b: cap. liii; 1986:154). Similarly Betanzos (1551:cap. 33; 1987:151) mentions that after the death of Pachacuti the inhabitants of the "Andes" began to rebel "because they heard that Ynga Yupanqui was dead." These examples show that it was

Because this attachment system was crucial to the whole political organization it was important for the Incas to confirm and reconfirm these ties in many ways. One of these traditional ways was to give "reciprocal gifts" to ethnic leaders to get their obedience and their people's labor reserve to the full use for state purposes.

John V. MURRA has already pointed out that fine clothes and llamas with herders were gifts of high prestige and an important part of "institutionalized generosity" among the Incas.⁵⁰ Especially textiles constituted the major art form and one of the most important gift objects esteemed by the ethnic lords.⁵¹ MURRA seems to be right, since also from the chronological perspective textiles appear to have been among the most prestigious gifts. For example, Castro and Ortega Morejón mention that when the Inca troops arrived for the first time to Chíncha Valley, Capac Yupanqui, "the son of the Sun," said to the local lords that:

"he did not want their silver, nor gold, nor daughters, nor anything else because those things he had a lot ... he did not want anything but to accept him as (their) *señor* and so he gave them clothes brought from Cuzco and golden pearls and many other things ..."⁵²

Textiles, as well as metals, continued to be the most prestigious gift objects during the entire Inca time, for similar local information has also been related from the time of Topa Inca, Huayna Capac, Huascar and Atahualpa in various parts of the empire.⁵³

It is also important to note that slight local differences emerged

important to announce the death of an Inca and the ending of attachment ties before the provinces "normally" began to rebel.

50 MURRA (1955) 1980:54-55, 77, 122-123; (1958) 1975:145-170; (1964) 1975:117-144.

51 MURRA (1958) 1975:145-170.

52 "no queria su plata ni oro ni hijas ni todo lo dem[a]s que tenian porque d[e]sto el abundava ... m[a]s de que le reconociesen por señor y asy les dio ropa que traya del Cuzco y cocos de oro y otras cosas munchas ..." In: Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:93.

53 Vizcarra (1574) 1967:317; Alcaya (ca.1605) 1906:126; Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:237, 246, 249; "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fols. 20v-21r, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI.

concerning some gift objects. For example, llama gifts are more often mentioned in Chinchaysuyu than in Collasuyu and the other way round, objects of *mullu* (Spondylus shell) are more often mentioned in Collasuyu than in Chinchaysuyu.⁵⁴ Because Collasuyu was rich and northern Chinchaysuyu poor in camelids,⁵⁵ it was more advantageous to redistribute these animals to the northern part of the empire where those animals were considered to be more "exotic." On the other hand, Spondylus live in the warm waters of the Pacific in present Ecuador and were extremely exotic in Collasuyu.⁵⁶ That is why it was more advantageous to redistribute those objects to Collasuyu.

As a matter of fact this redistribution principle may have held true regarding many other objects, too. As Castro & Ortega Morejón explain:⁵⁷

"The Inca had this order ... that the tribute contributed to him from Collasuyu was distributed to Chinchaysuyu and the tribute given by Chinchaysuyu was distributed to Collasuyu because the one was in need of what the other had ..."

In the redistribution of Spondylus shell this system meant that a group of *mitt'ayocs* collected shells on the coast of present Ecuador. After that, *mullu* was sent to Cuzco where specialists, like those from Atico, worked with the raw material.⁵⁸ Finally, *mullu*-decorated shirts and other finished products of *mullu* were redistributed to the inhabitants of Cuzco and the rest were given as special gifts especially to the lords of Collasuyu.⁵⁹ And what was

54 See, for example, Bandera (1557) 1965:177; "Probanza de don Lorenzo Guamarica, cacique del pueblo de Chinbo, año 1565," fol. 76r, Justicia 669, AGI; Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:237, 246.

55 See GADÉ 1977:113–120; WING 1978:181.

56 MURRA (1971) 1975:258.

57 "Tenia esta orden ynga ... del tributo que Collasuyu le contribuya repartia a Chinchasuyu y del tributo que Chinchasuyo dava repartia con Collasuyo por[que] los unos carecian de lo q[ue] los otros tenian ..." In: Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:103.

58 According to GALDOS RODRIGUEZ the *curacazgo* of Atico gave 50 Indians to work in Cuzco with Huancavelican *mullu* (GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1977:68; see also Carvajal & Rodriguez de Huelva [1549] 1977:77).

59 Concerning the general redistributive system in Cuzco, see Betanzos (1551:caps. xiii, xix, xxi; 1987:63, 96–97, 109); concerning the

the most important aspect of this system: from the perspective of the provinces the gift always came from the Incas of Cuzco.⁶⁰ This redistributive system within the asymmetrical power relationship is also a good example of how the Incas converted "the economic capital" into "symbolic capital" which, as Pierre BOURDIEU puts it, "produces relations of dependence that have an economic basis but are disguised under a veil of moral relations."⁶¹

Although prestigious objects like clothes, metals, *mullu*, llamas, etc. were extremely respected, probably the most important gifts were noble women. As an anonymous chronicler explains:⁶²

"Among these Indians it was felt that the major poverty and misery was to be without a woman and the major happiness they had was to have many wives and many sons and a great family ... and because they could not have these wives if it was not of the favor of the Inca, it was felt as one of the greatest favors that the Inca added to the amount of their women ..."

Also Guaman Poma stresses that the more important the *curaca*, the more wives he had.⁶³ As a matter of fact, we have various examples of these "woman and servant gifts" given by the Incas to the local lords. For example, a *yana* of Atahualpa testified in a probanza that his master gave to Rodrigo Guamanrica (a leader of *mitimaes* in Chinbo, in present Ecuador): "women, *yanas*, clothes

redistribution of *mullu*-decorated clothes to Collasuyu, see Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:237, 246; and also Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:171.

60 It is interesting to note that also some exchanged gift objects of Trobriand, as described by MALINOWSKI (1932:81–83) and MAUSS (1967:21), had quite standardized routes. Polished white armshells passed from west to east, and red necklaces of the *Spondylus* shell from east to west. For some new aspects about this Trobriand gift exchange system, see KEESING 1990:139–163; LIEP 1990:164–183.

61 BOURDIEU 1990:123.

62 "Entre estos indios, la mayor pobreza y miseria que sienten es no tener mujer y la mayor felicidad que tenían hera tener muchas mugeres e muchos hijos y gran familia ... y como estas mujeres no las podran tener si el Inga no les hacía merced en darselas: era una de las mayores mercedes que ellos sentían que el Inga los fuese añadiendo mujeres ..." In: Anónimo (1583) 1925:294–295.

63 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:189[191]; see also ALBERTI MANZANARES 1985:573.

to dress, llamas and other things" in that order.⁶⁴ Equally we know that during an important act in Cajamarca a local paramount lord got "a hundred women" from Topa Inca, etc.⁶⁵ Furthermore, Betanzos and an anonymous chronicler write that every now and then the Incas sent special "visitadores" to provinces to give women and other gifts to local lords.⁶⁶

We also know that in the early colonial period, polygamy was extremely common among the *curaca* class. For example, in the polities of the north coast a *cacique* of Lambayeque had, in 1567, a principal wife and 27 other women "in personal service."⁶⁷ In Sora one *cacique* had, in 1571, 12 wives, in Rucana one *curaca* had 7, the other 5, the third 4 wives, and so on.⁶⁸

Furthermore, in the Inca time women were not only used as gifts but also in a more fundamental way by attaching the local lords to the leading Incas by kin ties. In accordance with that policy the Inca kings offered their sisters, daughters or near relatives to be married to the most important local paramount lords; and in turn, also the Inca kings took provincial leaders' daughters or sisters as their secondary wives. The evidence of this kind of policy is abundant in local sources,⁶⁹ which demonstrates that the kinship

64 "dandole muger y anaconas e ropas de vestir y obejas y otras cosas." Testimony of Juan Yupanque Ynga, native of Cuzco and a *yana* of don Francisco Atavalipa Ynga. In: "Probanza de don Lorenzo Guamarica, cacique del pueblo de Chinbo, año 1565," fol. 76r, Justicia 669, AGI.

65 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976:263; see also Sarmiento 1572:cap. 52; 1943:230, 232.

66 Betanzos 1551:caps. xl, xlii; 1987:179, 187; Anónimo Discurso (ca. 1575) 1906:153.

67 "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, oidor que fue de esta Audiencia al tiempo que fue visitador de la provincia de Truxillo por el licenciado Pedro Sanchez de Paredes tambien oidor de ella, Audiencia de Lima, 1570 á 1574," fol. 1951r, Justicia 458, AGI.

68 "Información de servicios y meritos de Xpoual de Albornoz, canonigo y provisor desta Santa Yglesia del Cuzco, (1571) 1584," fols. 32r, 47r, 50r, Audiencia de Lima 316, AGI.

69 For the case of Chimú, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1961:54; for the case of Chachapoya, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:276; for the two cases of Huayla, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976:247-298; for the case Canta, see Fuente & Fernández (1553) 1978:236, 238; for the case of Copiapó, see HIDALGO 1985:99; for the case of Caracara, see "Ynformación de don Fernando Aria de Ariuto governador del pueblo de Copoatta sobre su nobleza y servicios fecha en virtud de cedula del rey nro señor," fols. 14r,

organization of the Incas, indeed, was keenly interconnected with the political organization as it was in Medieval Europe, where courts used the marriage system to strengthen the political status of each kingdom.

2. Acllas and Yanas

To strengthen "the generosity administration" Inca Pachacuti ordered that special buildings, *acllahuasis*, should be built to "store" the chosen women.⁷⁰ Normally it was the responsibility of a special official called *apupanaca* or *guarmicoc* who collected these girls in the Inca provinces.⁷¹ Furthermore, the girls elected to be *acllas* were normally beautiful and they often belonged to the *curaca* class.⁷²

Pilar ALBERTI MANZANARES has demonstrated that there were many kinds of *acllas*. By using Guaman Poma's terminology *Guayrur acllas* served the sun and the moon; *Uayror aclla sumacs* served principal *huacas*; *Aclla chaupi catiquin sumac acllas* wove clothes and worked on *chacras*, etc.⁷³ However, ALBERTI MANZANARES shows that in general the *acllas* had two main functions: (1) to weave textiles for state purposes and (2) to be educated as wives for the *curacas* and soldiers.⁷⁴

17v, Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI; for the case of Chicama, see "Aberiguación hecho por señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," fol. 10r, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarios, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo. In the cases of Chimu, Chicama, Huayla and Canta the Inca took wives, and in the cases of Chachapoya and Caracara the Inca gave wives.

70 Betanzos 1551:cap. xi; 1987:50; see also Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:93 and SILVERBLATT 1987:81–108.

71 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:97; Polo (1571) 1917:82 (and copied by Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. XXXIV; 1964:134).

72 Anónimo (1583) 1925:295; see also BRAM 1941:35; MASON 1978:185 and SILVERBLATT 1987:81–108.

73 ALBERTI MANZANARES 1985:558–560; 1986:174–177, 181–186; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:299–300 [301–302].

74 Sometimes *acllas* were also sacrificed to strengthen the political allegiance between the Inca and the local lord on a religious level. ALBERTI MANZANARES 1985:568–576; 1986:187.

In that respect the both main functions attributed to *acllas* seem to have served as two favorable tools in the hospitality policy of the Inca state, since both the textiles as well as the *acllas* themselves belonged to the most prestigious class of the gifts.

According to the Incaic tradition *yanas* pardoned after rebellions were called *yanayacos* from the time of Topa Inca onward. Sometimes this information has even been interpreted to mean that the whole institution of *yanas* was created by Topa Inca.⁷⁵ However, the fact is that already this Incaic tradition tells that there were "criados" before Topa Inca named some retainers as *yanayacos*.⁷⁶ Also the anonymous chronicle of "Señores" states that the institution of retainers was a pre-Inca practice, and in fact this statement is also confirmed to be true in some local sources studied by John V. MURRA.⁷⁷

Like *acllas*, *yanas* were divided into many classes whose status and function varied considerably.⁷⁸ It is also stated that *yanas* were slaves in a classic sense.⁷⁹ However, that is actually a question of definition. It is true that *yanas* were mainly full time retainers, but as John H. ROWE has demonstrated, especially those *yanas* who were attached to the Inca rulers or to the supreme officials of the Inca state or the church possessed a high status. More than slaves those *yanas* were *criados* in the sense of the Medieval Spanish terminology, which meant that they were like "vassals educated in the house of their *señores*."⁸⁰

In practice, full time artisans and specialists like *kipu kamayoqs* seem to have generally belonged to the *yana* class.⁸¹ We

75 See, for example, KARSTEN 1946:131.

76 Sarmiento 1572:caps. 34, 37, 43, 51; 1943:183, 191 207, 228; see also Betanzos 1551:cap. xxi; 1987:108, 109.

77 Señores (ca. 1575) 1920:65; MURRA 1966:37.

78 VILLAR CORDOVA 1966:24-81.

79 NUNEZ ANAVITARTE (1954) 1985:15-87; VALDIVIA CARRASCO 1988: passim.

80 ROWE 1982:98; see also LE GOFF 1980:286. It is important to note that Viceroy Francisco de Toledo used to end his letter "Criado de Vuestra Magestad, D. Francisco de Toledo" when it was addressed to the Spanish king. See, for example, "Carta a S.M. del D. Francisco de Toledo, La Plata 26-XII-1573." In: LEVILLIER 1924 V:313.

81 For example, during a juridical process held in Lima between 1596 and 1598, it was testified that the potters of Cajamarca were "yndios mitimas y

also know that even some *curacas* and *orejones* were *yanas*. For example, in the *curacazgo* of Lima one of the two supreme *curacas* was a *yana* of Huayna Capac and the other was a *yana* of Mama Vilo, a wife of Huayna Capac.⁸² Equally in Chillón Valley, in Chachapoya and in the areas near Cuzco some *curacas* are known to have been *yanas* of Topa Inca or Huayna Capac.⁸³

On the other hand, *yanas* attached to local *curacas* (who, as said, may themselves have been *yanas*) probably possessed a lesser status than the *yanas* of the Inca and the church. Furthermore, we know that sometimes local *curacas* got *yanas* as special gifts from the Incas,⁸⁴ but, as MURRA has demonstrated, also many local communities gave retainers to their own *curacas*. Among the Lupaca, communities gave every now and then a certain amount of *yanas* to their *malkus*, and when a *yana* died the most able son took his place as retainer.⁸⁵

However, there seems to have been some local differences in this system. In the case of Lupaca, *yanas* were given only once ("de una vez") after which the communities did not have the responsibility to give new retainers for a long time, even if some of

anayacos yungas y serranos" and "yndios mitimas criados del ynga." Furthermore, in the same document Antonio de Neira testified as follows: "... que en t[iem]po del ynga topa yupanqui e quando señoreaua en este reino tuuo el d[ic]ho ynga en cada provincia del diputados y señalados para su seruicio cierto numero de y[ndi]os que eran oficiales de muchos y diversos oficios como eran cumbiqueros, ollereros, chacreros, ovejeros, alpargateros y finalmente de otros oficios los quales eran sacados de los repartim[en]tos de las guarangas y pachacas de cada provincia como mitimaes, a estos llamauan yanayacos q[ue] era como dezir yanaconas pues a estos yn[di]os oficiales q[ue] asy exercitauan sus oficios..."

In: "Pleito entre don Miguel Ramos, hijo de Domingo Ramos, y don Francisco de Mendoza y don Joan Astomalon, sobre el cacicazgo de los yndios de la pachaca de Xultín, reducidos la guaranga de Cuzcmango/Tercero don Sebastian Ninalingon, Lima 1598," fol. 62r, Escribanía de Cámara 501 A, AGI.

See other cases in: Sarmiento 1572:cap. 34; 1943:183; Vega (1582) 1965:195; "Probanza de Chacalla de 1559," in: ROSTWOROWSKI 1967-1968:46; Rincon & Horosco (1557) 1970:279.

82 ROSTWOROWSKI 1978:78-79.

83 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:241; ROSTWOROWSKI 1967-1968: 18, 27, 34; ROWE 1982:99-101.

84 See VILLAR CORDOVA 1966:80.

85 MURRA 1966:42-43.

the *yanas* did not leave any descendants.⁸⁶ On the other hand, in some north coast polities the local communities had a continuous responsibility to give a new *yana* to *cacique* when the former *yana* did not leave a son in his place. As Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca explains:⁸⁷

"In some of those provinces I have visited there was a custom (of the *caciques*) – and they say that so it was in the Inca time – that the *cacique* had a certain amount of Indian men and women for his service allotted [to him] by the *parcialidades* of the *repartimiento*; and these Indians (with the women) served the *cacique* in perpetuity up to their death; and when an Indian died his son entered to his place to serve [the *cacique*] and if he did not leave a son, the *parcialidad* provided another Indian to the place of the dead; and the *caciques* gave to these retainers and their women food and clothes, and the retainers [in turn] always worked for the *cacique* ..."

These cases where communities gave *yanas* to the service of *curacas* probably manifest the most extreme form of the reciprocity and corvée tradition.⁸⁸ However, in Tawantinsuyu there existed also retainers who were not directly given to *curacas* by communities or by the Incas but who were captured during the conquest. Those retainers were called by the Quechua name "piñas" translated sometimes as "a slave taken during the war."⁸⁹

Although *piñas* belonged to the Quechua vocabulary we have extremely little information about them.⁹⁰ Probably Betanzos is

86 Ibid.

87 "en algunas provincias de las que he visitado los caciques tenían costumbre y dicen que hera así en tiempo del ynga, que de todo el repartimiento tenía el cacique cierto número de yndios e yndias para su servicio repartidos entre las parcialidades del repartimiento, y estos yndios servían al cacique con las mugeres perpetuamente hasta que morían y en muriendo el yndio entraba a servir su hijo en su lugar y no dejando hijo la parcialidad proveía de otro yndio en lugar del muerto, a estos yndios de servicio y sus mugeres daban los caciques de comer y bestir y trabajaban siempre para el cacique ..." In: "Carta de doctor Cuenca a S.M., Los Reyes 12 de noviembre 1567," Audiencia de Lima 92, AGI.

88 For more about the reciprocity and corvée in an Andean context, see MURRA (1955) 1980:passim; WACHTEL 1981:38–50.

89 VILLAR CORDOVA 1966:15; MURRA 1966:38–39; ROSTWOROWSKI 1988:227.

90 According to the dictionary of Gonzales Holguin ([1608] 1952:286) *piñas* means simply "Captiuo en guerra."

the only chronicler who even mentions the word *piñas* when he refers to men and women prisoners captured from Hatun Colla, but not even he specifies their status, except that he says that they were not slaves.⁹¹ Because of that it is possible that the captured men and women were soon assimilated into *yana* and *aclla* classes; and so their real status may also have varied considerably.⁹²

3. The Education at the Court

According to Segovia (and Las Casas, who follows Segovia) the Incas required provincial leaders to send their sons and other relatives to Cuzco to learn Quechua and the Inca ideology.⁹³ This information is confirmed by many local sources which also state that many times the leaders themselves had to stay in Cuzco or with the Inca army during the various war expeditions.⁹⁴ Some authors have even supposed that the education was based on a four-year course,⁹⁵ but as John H. ROWE has pointed out "the idea of a curriculum organized by years is a little too reminiscent of European education planning to be convin-

91 Betanzos 1551:caps. xx, xxi; 1987:101, 107, 109.

92 See Betanzos 1551:cap. XXI; 1987:107; Diez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:fol. 52r; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:55–57.

93 Segovia (1552) 1943:33; Las Casas (ca.1559) 1948:111–112; see also Zárate 1555:cap. vi; 1853:467; BRAM 1941:35 and PATTERSON 1991:78.

It is also stated that the Incas ordered all the inhabitants of Tawantinsuyu to learn Quechua (Andagoya [1546] 1986:123; Cieza 1553b:cap. xxiv; 1986:72; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 39; 1943:198). However, it is more likely that only the *curacas* and other persons in any position of administration were obliged to know the general language of Cuzco (ROWE 1982:96). Furthermore, we know that in Collasuyu, Aymara and probably also Pukina were respected as the general languages on the side of Quechua (Quipocamayos [1542–1544] 1920:17; Vega [1582] 1965:168; Cabeza de Vaca [1586] 1885:69; Ulloa Mogollón [1586] 1885:43).

94 For the case of Chachapoya, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:249–251; for the case of Chimú and Lima, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1961:54; 1988:83; for the case of Jauanca, see NETHERLY 1988:121–122; for the case of Cajamarca, see VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:9–10; for the case of Chíncha, see Pizarro 1571:cap. 29; 1986:222; for the case of Huanca, see Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:298.

95 See, for example, KARSTEN 1946:126; MASON 1978:191.

cing.”⁹⁶ In fact, nor does any local source support the existence of this kind of curriculum or formal school.

However, although the education seems not to have been based on a curriculum, still the education given to nobles at the court was an important part of the Inca policy. We must also remember that already Polo de Ondegardo stressed the practice according to which the heirs of the provincial leaders who were educated in Cuzco had to succeed their fathers in the leadership of the local *curacazgos*.⁹⁷ Furthermore, at the same time when the Incas ordered many local lords and their heirs to learn Quechua and the basic ideas about the Inca administration they could keep them like hostages in Cuzco. It probably had a calming effect on the constant rebellions of the provinces.

Although we have extremely little information about the educational methods of the Incas, we may suppose that each heir of the provincial leader was attached to an older man who acted as his master and tutor. Every tutor, in turn, may have received various "pupils" who served him like servants and who learned by "hearing, watching and practicing."⁹⁸ However, when it was a question of the heirs of the Incas, they probably got a tutor (or tutors?) who followed his personal "pupil" by "watching and teaching." At least, we have local information from Cajamarca, which states that the lord of Cajamarca, who himself was educated in Cuzco, was appointed by Topa Inca to be that kind of tutor for Huayna Capac during his adolescence.⁹⁹

96 ROWE 1982:95. The theory of a formal school is based on the statements of Morúa (ca. 1609:lib. 3, cap. iv; 1946:169–170), Garcilaso (1609:lib. IV, cap. xix; 1976:203–204) and Vásquez de Espinosa (1629:1504, 1551, 1559; 1969: 372, 381, 384) who follows Garcilaso. On the other hand, Garcilaso follows, as he says, Valera. However, also Morúa seems to have copied Valera (or another related unknown source) since some details of the texts of Garcilaso (based on Valera) and Morúa follow the same structural order. This means that we do not have independent sources which would confirm the supposition about the formal Inca school in Cuzco.

97 "Relación hecha en Lima a 12 de diciembre de las cosas y gobierno del Perú por Juan Polo de Ondegardo, 1561," sin. fols., Ramo 22, Patronato 188, AGI; cited also by ROWE (1982:96).

98 According to Ortiz de Zúñiga ([1562] 1972:54), the sons of the *caciques* served one to two years for "the Inca, señor principal" before they could succeed their fathers.

99 VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:9–10.

Finally, it is important to note that also some daughters of the Inca kings seem to have been educated at the court. For example, we have information according to which the lord of Lupaca, Cariapassa (known also as Apo Cari)¹⁰⁰ was appointed to be the tutor of a Huayna Capac's daughter. As Joan Sierra, a nephew of Huayna Capac, asked witnesses to testify in 1559:¹⁰¹

”does this witness know that Guayna Cava Yupanque was the king and *señor* of these kingdoms of Peru on the *llanos* and *sierra* from Chile to Pasto; and that among his descendants he had a daughter [called] doña Beatriz Yupanque, the mother of mentioned Joan Sierra; and that at the time when she was born in Sura[m]palti in the seat of Tomepanpa he [Huayna Capac] gave the *cacique* and *señor principal* of Lupaca (Rupaca) named Cariapassa for her tutor and service ...”

And, in fact, in 1561 an old man called Diego Mazma confirms this information by explaining that Huayna Capac asked Cariapassa to be the tutor of doña Beatriz, because he was ”a great captain” and a great person respected by Huayna Capac.¹⁰²

4. The System of Mitimaes

One of the most effective ways to indirectly control the conquered territories was the colonization policy. In accordance with that policy some areas were partially depopulated and then resettled by *mitimaes*, colonist population. The system also facilitated the spread of the Quechua language and Incaic administrative ideas.

100 Near Arequipa Apo Cari was also known by the name Cariapa[s]sa; see ”Titulo de la encomienda de don Hurtado de Mendoza, 20–II–1557,” fol. 140r, Justicia 405 B, AGI.

101 ”sí saben este testigo que el dicho guayna cava yupanque fue Rey y señor destos Reynos del piru llanos y sierra desde chile hasta pasto y tuvo entre otros hijos por su hija a doña beatriz yupanque, madre del dho Joan Sierra. y anssi al tiempo que nascio en ssurapalti asiento de Tomepanpa le dio por su ayo y servisio al cacique y señor principal de rupaca que se dezia cariapassa ...” In: ”Información de servicios de Joan Sierra y doña Beatriz Yupanque, su madre, años 1559–1561,” sin fols., Audiencia de Lima 205, AGI.

102 Testimony of Diego Mazma in doc.cit.; see also similar testimony of Francisco Paucar Cusi in the same document.

Our sources confirm that this system was in Incaic use already in the time of Pachacuti.¹⁰³ However, the resettlement policy seems to have grown considerably during the time of Topa Inca and Huayna Capac, so that John H. ROWE estimates that in the time of Spanish conquest "the proportion of *mitimaes* in the population of different provinces varied between about 10 % and about 80 %."¹⁰⁴

4.1. Mitimaes with emphasis on the economic functions

The *mitima* system had many functions but probably its origin can be traced from the economic need to complement the productive access to different ecological enclaves, as supposed by John V. MURRA.¹⁰⁵ As a matter of fact, present archaeological studies have found evidence that already many pre-Inca cultures of the Andean *sierra* had controlled dispersed ecological tiers in the lowland valleys by establishing colonies several days away from their main territories.¹⁰⁶ This "archipelago or vertical pattern" was not the only way to complement polities' economic and material needs,¹⁰⁷ but undoubtedly it was so important that the Incas enlarged it considerably in the areas where it already was an old tradition. In general, it may be that this kind of *mitima* system was most important to the Aymara *señorios* of Collasuyu, but it is important to note that the system was also in full use in Central Andes up to Huamachuco and Cajamarca.¹⁰⁸

Probably this archipelago economy was sometimes even more important to the local *curacas* than to the Incas, but on the other

103 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxiv; 1987:123; Cieza 1553a:cap. xli; 1986:134–135; Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:94; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:108; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 39, 40; 1943:198, 199.

104 ROWE 1982:107.

105 MURRA (1972) 1975:59–115; 1985:70; 1985c:18–19.

106 See especially MUJICA 1985:103–140; SHIMADA 1985:380; DILLEHAY 1987:422–424.

107 SALOMON 1985:511–531; DILLEHAY 1987:419–421, 424–426.

108 MURRA (1972) 1975:59–115; MURRA 1985:65–68; MURRA 1985 b:3–13; MURRA 1985c:15–20; SAIGNES 1981:1160–1181; HARRIS 1985: 311–335; VILLAMOR MICHEL (1989); NETHERLY 1988:116–117; see also Morales (1541) 1943:78; Feyj6o 1763:104, 122.

hand, when the Incas decided to support the local lords' access to many different enclaves, that access was incorporated into the Incaic generosity policy.¹⁰⁹ That is not all, for at some undetermined point in history the Incas began to establish artisan and specialist villages in the provinces to take care of transporting and storing or to manufacture potteries, metal objects, sandals, clothes, etc. for feasting and for the *curacas*, soldiers and *mit'a* workers. For that purpose the Incas moved people from the Peruvian north coast to Cajamarca to serve on the roads and *tambos*.¹¹⁰ Equally the Incas moved metallurgists from the Pacific coast to Cuzco and to Cochabamba (Bolivia); they moved potters and weavers from Chucuito to Huanané and so on.¹¹¹

These kinds of artisan enclaves may sometimes have been subject directly to the Incas, but, for example, the potters of Caquiaviri and Caquingora of Pacasa were counted on local *hipu*-lists in the same manner as the other subjects of local lords.¹¹²

As a matter of fact, we do not exactly know when artisan and specialist *mitimaes* lost their ethnic ties but it seems that, at least, it happened in those cases where artisans and specialists were attached on a full time basis for the service of the Incas. In that moment their status probably moved to the category of *yana* and they were put directly under the jurisdiction of the Inca officials like similar native *yanas*.¹¹³ On the other hand, those specialists who worked only periodically for the state were not *yanas*, even

109 Many enclaves belonged directly under the jurisdiction of the provincial leaders, see tables 6, 7 on pp. 396, 398.

110 Barrientos (1540) 1967:38-39.

111 ROSTWOROWSKI 1975:325-327; MURRA 1978:415-423; PEASE 1979:101; PEREIRA HERRERA (1985):passim; WACHTEL 1982:203. According to WACHTEL, "plateros" of Cochabamba (Sipe Sipe) were brought there from Ica in Chinchaysuyu. More information about these "yungas plateros" and "yanaconas" can be found in the National Archives of Bolivia (Sucre) in section EC 1584, No.4 "Juicio seguido por Juan Duran contra los caciques de Sipesipe, sobre las tierras de Callanga (Yungas), 1584," 85 fols.; compare WACHTEL 1982, note 27.

112 See table 6 and "Titulo de la encomienda del licenciado Vaca de Castro a Alonso de Barrionuevo, 13-IX-1543," sin fols., Pieza 2, Ramo 3, No. 1, Justicia 399, AGI.

113 For *yanas* under the Inca officials, see Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:96. WACHTEL (1982:220-221) has also pointed out that both the natives and *mitimaes* of Yucay were *yanas*, because they were attached to Huayna Capac by concrete "personal dependence."

though they may sometimes have been *mitimaes*. The correct term for those people who worked on a temporal basis for the benefit of the state (mit'a) seems to be *mitt'ayoc*.¹¹⁴

For example, in the time of Huayna Capac some 14,000 workers were specialized in the large-scale maize production for state purposes in the Cochabamba Valley of present Bolivia.¹¹⁵ There, certain aborigines were permitted to remain in place, permanent *mitimaes* were resettled to the areas and thousands of *mitt'ayocs* from the other provinces were sent there to cultivate maize on the basis of rotation.¹¹⁶ Some of those *mitimaes* and aborigines probably were *yanas* (*chacaramayocs*, metallurgist, *kipu kamayoqs*, etc.) whereas the rest of the aborigines and *mitimaes* were *mitt'ayocs* as those foreigners who came there on rotation.¹¹⁷

Equally we know that the *mitima* potters of Cajamarca worked on a full-time basis and in fact, they were *yanas*. On the other hand, some potters of Canta and Chíncha made potteries on rotation and because of that they probably were *mitt'ayocs*.¹¹⁸

114 According to Gonzalez Holguin ([1608] 1952:243) *mitt'ayoc* signify "El que trabaja por su tanda o vez." For more about *mitt'ayocs*, see also MURRA 1985:89.

115 MORALES 1977:10; WACHTEL 1982:202. Before the Cochabamba documents were found, John V. MURRA (1960:393–407) had stressed the economic, political and symbolic importance of maize for the Incas. Present archaeological studies in the valley of Jauja have also confirmed that the consumption of maize grew during the Inca time (HASTORF 1990:285). Furthermore, archaeological studies in Huánuco have demonstrated the importance of maize beer, *chicha*, in the hospitality policy of the Incas (MORRIS 1982:165–166; MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985:83).

116 WACHTEL 1982:217–218. The aborigines and the *mitimaes* formed various *ayllus* in Cochabamba. Some of those are mentioned in the *visita* of Francisco de Lasarte y Molina carried out in the *repartimiento* of Orellana (Tiquipaya) in 1573. A copy of the *visita* is conserved in Archivo de Cochabamba (SCHRAMM 1990:196) and it will be published soon by José M. GORDILLO and Mercedes DEL RIO (personal communication).

117 In 1583 there were 19 metallurgists (plateros) left in Cochabamba and at that time they served as *yanas* to Hernando de Silva, see "Juicio seguido por Juan Duran contra los caciques de Sipesipe, sobre las tierras de Callanga (Yungas), 1584," fols. 6r, 68r, EC 1584, No.4., Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre.

118 For more about the potters of Cajamarca, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969–1970:9–11. For the potters of Canta and Chíncha, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1978:169 and Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:168.

4.2. Military mitimaes

One of the most direct ways to control conquered territories in Tawantinsuyu was to establish military garrisons. For that purpose the Incas built tens of fortresses especially in the frontier areas.¹¹⁹ However, it also seems that many garrisons were left in many strategic places although actual frontiers moved rapidly during Incaic expansion. In fact, many of the Inca-related settlements that were situated along the upper stream of coastal river valleys may have served military purposes. For example, on the upper Zaña near Nanchoc some settlements probably controlled traffic and the water sources of the coast. Equally, at the upper Viru Valley a settlement called V-179, as well as a settlement like Caballo Blanco at the upper Chillón, probably were founded for similar reasons.¹²⁰

Furthermore, it seems to have been a general habit that the leading *mitimaes* of fortresses and garrisons belonged to the Inca class or to the Incas by privilege. For example, on the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu it is mentioned that Topa Inca and his brothers sent to the fortresses of Pocona, Samaipata and Cuzcotuiro

"many Indians of different parts [of the empire] to guard the mentioned fortress [sic.] and frontier where he left many *orejones* ..." ¹²¹

Local sources also confirm that many *orejones* of Cuzco and Incas by privilege lived in those frontier areas. For example, in 1551

119 BRAM 1941:40–41. Some of those fortresses have been mapped by archaeologists, see especially HYSLOP 1990:146–190.

120 DILLEHAY & NETHERLY 1983:29–30; WILLEY 1953:324–331; COLLIER 1955:96–98; DILLEHAY 1977:402–403.

121 "y así salieron a pocona y hizieron muchas fortalezas en el mesmo pocona y en sabaypata que es en los chiriguanas y en cuzcotuiro y pusso en todas las fortalezas muchos yndios de diuersas partes para guardasen la dha fortaleza y frontera a donde dexo muchos yndios orexones ..." Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:226. According to HYSLOP (1990:176) Cuzcotuiro is the same as Incallacta near Pocona. However, I do not consider that possibility to be very likely. I believe that Cuzcotuiro is the same fortress as Cuzcotoro mentioned in "Probanza de los servicios que a hecho a su magestad don Francisco de Aymoro, gouernador de los yamparaes y cacique principal dellos, año 1586," (fols. 151r, 156r, 163, Audiencia de Charcas 44, AGI) and which seems to have been situated in Moyo Moyo (see also SAIGNES 1985:map 2).

some descendants of the Incas testified in La Plata (present Sucre, Bolivia) that they had lived in those garrisons in Tarija.¹²² ESPINOZA SORIANO, in turn, has reported about "mitimaes Chichas" who were sent to far away garrisons in Chaco and who got the title of *orejon* just for their important military duties.¹²³ Also in Chinchaysuyu Ortiz de Zúñiga reports that some hundreds of *mitimaes* from Quichua and Cuzco guarded Inca fortresses and bridges in the region of Huánuco.¹²⁴

In general, it seems that only the most trustworthy persons were elected as military *mitimaes* because of their important duties to guard "Pax Incaica" and to spy on local administration.

4.3. Mitimaes with emphasis on the sociopolitical functions

The third main *mitima* class was composed of those who were resettled in Inca provinces and who were integrated into the same administrative organization with aborigines. Examples of these kinds of *mitimaes* can be found in Huamachuco and Cajamarca.

In Huamachuco there existed two *guarangas* of *mitimaes*. One *guaranga* was called "mytimas serranos" and the other "mytimas yungas." Furthermore, the *guaranga* of "mytimas serranos" was composed of various *pachacas*, of which the most important belonged to the *orejones* of Cuzco. It also seems that the *curaca* of the *pachaca* of *orejones* was the leader of a *guaranga* and, at the same time, the lord of the whole province.¹²⁵

122 Testimonies of Atao ("ynga anacona de Espinossa"), Collasauai ("mytima y cacique orejon en el valle de Tarixa") and Asto ("yanacon de Retamozo, qinchua") in: "Probanza de Juan Ortiz de Zarate, 1551," fols. 74, 76r, 86v, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI.

123 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969a:6-7.

124 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1972:passim.

125 See "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ... 1570 á 1574," fols. 1473v, 1910v, 1996r, 1997v, Justicia 458, AGI; Anónimo de "Primeros Agustinos" ([ca.1560] 1865:38). However, we must also remember that Huamachuco was an important religious center, and the sociopolitical order of Huamachuco was embedded with religious functions.

In Cajamarca, on the other hand, only the *guaranga* of "mitimas serranos" was incorporated into the local system whereas "mitimas yungas" (who served in *tambos* and in different specialized works) were directly under the Inca officials and / or under the coastal *curacas*.¹²⁶ Another difference relating to Huamachuco lies also in the fact that the *guaranga* of *mitimaes* was subject to the local lord of Cajamarca, at least from the time of Huayna Capac onward, even though the Incas by privilege were present in the mentioned *guaranga*.¹²⁷

However, it is possible that in Cajamarca the subordinate status of noble or semi-noble *mitimaes* was an exception which can be explained on the ground of close relations that the lord of Cajamarca had with Huayna Capac.¹²⁸ On the other hand, it is still true that during the Incaic rituals the place of the *guaranga* of *mitimaes* was symbolically in *Hanansaya*.¹²⁹ As a matter of fact, the general rule seems to have been that when the newcomers were integrated into the local administration they formed a part of the upper moiety. At least, that kind of information we also have from Chonda near Limatambo of Cuzco, from Chicha in southern Collasuyu and from Machaca in Pacasa.¹³⁰

126 See also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967b:18–21; ROWE 1982:106.

127 The members of the *pachacas* of Quichua and Guaiacón probably belonged to the Incas by privilege, see "Visita de Diego Velázquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571–1572," fols. 469v, 494v, Justicia 1063, AGI; "Testimonio sobre la repartición de tierras de Sant Marcos hecho por Francisco Alvarez de Cueto en 1574, años 1594 y 1604," fols. 294r, 300r, Escribanos y Notarios, Protocolo 55, Pérez de Aguirre, Martín, I 1601–09, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca.

128 According to the documents analyzed by VILLANUEVA URTEAGA (1975:10) Chuptongo, the lord of Cajamarca was one of the closest men and advisers of Huayna Capac when the Inca was a young man.

129 See pp. 310–320.

130 "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Mazuelas, 1–VIII–1535," fol.16r, Ramo 1, No.2, Patronato 136, AGI; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Hernando Pizarro, 27–IV–1539," fol. 53r–v, Justicia 406, AGI; PAREDES 1955:155; URIOSTE DE AGUIRRE 1978:131–140; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987:321.

It is also stated that the Quillaca were "foreigners" (Ayavire y Velasco et al.(1582) 1969:23). I have not found independent clear support for that statement. On the other hand, we know that some *curacas* of Machaca (Aransaya) were descendants of Apo Guarache of Quillaca (BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987:321–322). Furthermore, Manuel del LUCCA who seems to be a descendant of Guaraches of Machaca, states that they are, according

However, only rarely *mitimaes orejones* were really incorporated into the local administration with a possible exception of the areas situated near Cuzco. On the other hand, ordinary *mitimaes* like those of Machaca were more often put under the jurisdiction of a local lord who, in turn, was related to the Incas by kin ties.

4.4. Mitimaes with emphasis on the religious functions

The fourth general class of *mitimaes* is those who were moved to the religious centers to serve the Inca cult and church. Cuzco itself was this kind of center, but also well known is the Copacabana complex on the islands and shores of Lake Titicaca. There, the Incas resettled *mitimaes* from different parts of the empire. Even some inhabitants of Pasto, situated some 2,500 km north of Lake Titicaca, were resettled to that area.¹³¹

In sum, this brief summary of *mitimaes* shows that in Tawantinsuyu there existed many kinds of colonists under the label of *mitimaes*. As we have seen, the main groups can be classified into ideal types, but still we must remember that, for example, "economic mitimaes" also had many political functions as well as "sociopolitical and military mitimaes" had many economic functions. As a matter of fact, sometimes so many functions were associated with the *mitima* groups that we cannot classify them easily into any of the main groups discussed before.¹³² In those cases we probably could speak about "mitimaes with various functions."

to oral tradition, Lupacas, not Pacasas or Quillacas (personal communication).

It is interesting to note that also in some societies of the Melanesian and Polynesian Islands newcomers formed (or were incorporated into?) the upper moiety whereas the aborigines belonged to the lower moiety (RIVERS 1914 II:557-558).

131 Ramos Gávilan (1621) 1976:43; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1972:1-15; RIVERA SUNDT 1984:91-101; REGALADO COSSIO (1975):101, 103.

132 See, for example, the case of Quivi in NETHERLY 1988: 267.

V The Sociopolitical Organization of Cuzco

1. Principles of the Dual and Quaternary Structures

It is a well known fact that the Inca state was a highly hierarchical class society where the differences between the lower and upper classes were enormous. As KARSTEN has said "Mikään ei ollut inkoille vieraampi kuin ajatus ihmisten ja kansalaisten yleisestä tasa-arvoisuudesta [Nothing was more strange to the Incas than the idea of general equality of human beings]."¹

It seems that the basic sociopolitical structure of the Incas was created at the time when Pachacuti Inca stayed at Cuzco to rebuild it, and when Capac Yupanqui, Amaro Topa, Topa Inca and others were conquering new territories. As the *curacas* of Sausiray and Ayar Uchu *ayllus* answered the questionnaires of Francisco Toledo: the social order of *ayllus* and lineages of Cuzco was created by "Pachacuti Ynga Yupangui because before him those did not exist."² However, the new social organization was based on the old Andean tradition and we can find in it a logic which is general among many other cultures, too.

1 KARSTEN 1946:146.

2 Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:185–187; see also Betanzos 1551:cap. xvi; 1987:77–78; "Relación hecha en Lima a 12 de diciembre de las cosas y gobierno del Perú por Juan Polo de Ondegardo, 1561," Ramo 22, Patronato 188, AGI; Sarmiento 1572: caps. 19,47; 1943:145,221; ROWE 1985a:44.

The upper class of the state was called Incas or "orejones del Cuzco" in Spanish. They had palaces and houses in the heart of Cuzco, between the two canalized rivers called Huatanay and Tullumayo. The center itself, which was built in the shape of a puma, was considered as sacral.³ AGURTO CALVO estimates that it housed from 15,000 to 20,000 inhabitants.⁴

Although the Incas had other houses outside Cuzco proper, they gathered in the center of Cuzco during important rites, ceremonies, etc. In general, only the highest nobility with their servants (*yanas* and *acllas*) could participate in these ceremonies and live permanently inside Cuzco. All Inca kings had their own palaces in the "town"; also the most sacred place of the Inca religion, Coricancha, the Temple of Sun, was situated there.⁵

Actually, this setting demonstrates a quite general dichotomy of humankind: the dichotomy between the sacred center and the profane periphery. Furthermore, LEVI-STRAUSS sees this kind of dichotomy as a manifestation of concentric dualism.⁶ On the other hand, this setting can also be seen as a manifestation of integration, where political power, in the form of the state, and religious power, in the form of the church, had monopolized, in LE GOFF's sense, the most sacred place of the Inca empire.⁷

Cuzco itself was divided into two moieties: one part was called *Hanan Cuzco* (Upper Cuzco) and the other *Hurin Cuzco* (Lower Cuzco). According to Juan de Betanzos, who was married to a descendant of Pachacuti Inca, the *Hanan* moiety was a much more important part of Cuzco than the *Hurin* moiety. People of *Hurin Cuzco* were considered as "poor Incas" and "bastard sons of the former lords." Also during the symbolic fights, which were

3 Betanzos 1551:cap. xvi; 1987:79; Garcilaso 1609:lib. vii, cap. viii; 1976 II:103. The conjunction of the two rivers of Cuzco was, and still is, called as "Puma chupa," the Puma's tail. The head, which was terminated by Topa Inca, was formed by the "fortress" of Sacsayhuaman (ROWE 1963:60).

4 AGURTO CALVO 1980:128.

5 Betanzos 1551:cap. xvi; 1987:77-79; Garcilaso 1609:lib. vii, caps. viii-xi; 1976 II:101-111; see also ROWE 1963:59-77.

6 LEVI-STRAUSS 1963:147; see also DURKHEIM 1926, 37, 40-41; DURKHEIM & MAUSS 1963:86.

7 See LE GOFF 1980:283.

organized during some religious ceremonies, *Hurin* Cuzcos had to be vanquished.⁸

On the other hand, Garcilaso de la Vega, whose mother was a descendant of Topa Inca, explains the dichotomy as follows:⁹

"In this way began to be populated our imperial city, divided into two parts called Hanan Cozco, which as you know means upper Cozco, and Hurin Cozco, which is lower Cozco. Those whom the king brought he wanted to settle in Hanan Cozco, and therefore it was called "upper"; and those whom the queen gathered he wanted to settle in Hurin Cozco, and therefore it was called "lower." This division of the city was not so that those of one half might have an advantage over those of the other half in privileges; rather, all were equal as brothers, sons of one father and one mother. The Inca simply wanted there to be this division of people and differences of names, "upper" and "lower," to preserve the memory that some had been gathered by the king and others by the queen, and he decreed that among them there would be only one difference and recognition of superiority, that those of upper Cozco would be respected and considered firstborn older brothers, those of lower Cozco second sons; and, in sum, that they be like the right arm and the left in any privilege of place and office because those of the upper half had been brought by the male and those of the lower by the female."

As we can note, Garcilaso tells us in a very sophisticated way how *Hanan* Cuzco was only a little more important part of the "city" than *Hurin* Cuzco. This attitude of Garcilaso is, in itself, an interesting thing,¹⁰ but what I consider to be more important in Garcilaso's account, is the symbolism that he expresses in it: the distinction between the king (Inca) and the queen (*Coya*); between a son and a daughter; between an elder brother and a younger one; between the right hand and the left hand, and so on.

8 Betanzos 1551: caps. xvi, xxxi; 1987:78, 147.

9 Garcilaso 1609: lib. i, cap. xvi; 1976 I:40; translation by SCHAEDEL 1988:770.

10 Many local sources demonstrate that in the area of Cuzco and more in the south, in the Lake Titicaca area, *Hanan* was always considered superior to *Hurin*. For example, during the Inca period "cacique principal" was always from the *Hanan* (Alasaya in Aymara) part of a village, and the second person from *Hurin* (Maasaya in Aymara). Even symbolic fightings, as presented by Betanzos, can today be observed, for example, in Caquiaviri (Pacasa).

This kind of dualism has been and still is extremely common in the Central and South Andean area and it must have had a long pre-Incaic mental history. In other words, it has had a long duration.

In the Inca ideology this basic dualism to which Garcilaso refers had many other symbols, too. It had been told, for example, that the king, Inca, was a son of the Sun and the queen, *Coya*, was a daughter of the Moon. Also gold was a symbol of the Inca and a noble man in general; silver was a symbol of the *Coya* and a noble woman in general, and so on.¹¹

However, this kind of ideological dualism between the right and left, the Upper and Lower, between the male and female and so on, is not unique to the Andean area. Similar ideological systems have been existed in Asia, Africa, Australia, Northern America and Melanesia. For example, the concept of "yin and yang" in China is well known, as well as the dual division of Archaic Egypt into Upper and Lower Egypt.¹² If we take another example from Africa, we may note that the Lozi of Barotseland was divided into two major parts, the (Upper) North and the (Lower) South. As among the Incas, the Upper part of the Lozi was outstandingly more important than the Lower part. According to Max GLUCKMAN, the chief-of-the-south, could also have been a woman, but the chief-of-the-north was always a man.¹³

Even the Western political ideology sometimes uses a similar dualistic classificatory system. Especially the distinction between the right and left, or between "the good and bad" are fairly common. However, we need not to search any common origin to that dichotomy as PERRY has done,¹⁴ rather it can be seen as an expression of those similarities on which human classificatory logic is based.

11 ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:147-148; see also Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:82, 121; Garcilaso 1609:lib. i, cap. xvii; 1976:41.

12 See PÄRSSINEN 1990:104-106.

13 GLUCKMAN 1961:23-24, 28.

14 W.J. PERRY (1924:211-212) searched for the origin of the dual organization from the Archaic Egypt, which was divided, as noted, into the Upper and Lower part.

Besides the basic dual division, the Incas splitted both halves of Cuzco into two parts which generated the basic quadripartition of the whole Tawantinsuyu.¹⁵ The Incas of *Hanan* Cuzco were divided into the sectors of Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu and the Incas of *Hurin* Cuzco into the sectors of Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu.¹⁶ However, at one time ZUIDEMA claimed that only Chinchaysuyu belonged to *Hanan* Cuzco and Collasuyu to *Hurin* Cuzco. According to ZUIDEMA, Antisuyu and Cuntisuyu were out of the main *Hanan* – *Hurin* division, making a reference to Gutiérrez chronicle, which states that Cuzco was divided into *Hanan* Cuzco, *Hurin* Cuzco and into Tambo Appo and Masca Payta.¹⁷

Later ZUIDEMA has corrected his earlier view,¹⁸ and to me it is also clear that Gutiérrez, in the first place, had copied these names from Diego Fernández' chronicle, and, in the second place, had confused the *ayllu* of Masca with the royal insignia called *macha paicha*.¹⁹ In the original text of Fernández, the terms Tambo and Masca seem to have been used as synonymous to *Hanan* and *Hurin* in the system of quadripartition.²⁰ In other words, Chinchaysuyu may have been *Hanan* to Antisuyu and Collasuyu (Tambo) may have been *Hanan* to Cuntisuyu (Masca), because from other sources we know that the Tambo Indians lived in Collasuyu and the Masca Indians in Cuntisuyu of Cuzco.²¹ To use an analogy: the system may have been similar as in Huayla, where *guamaní* (the province) was divided into two subprovinces called *Hanan* Huayla and *Hurin* Huayla. However, both subprovinces were also divided

15 WACHTEL 1973:180.

16 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, caps. xiii–xvi; 1964:169–186; ROWE 1979a:1–80; see also ROWE 1985a:35–73.

17 ZUIDEMA 1962:102; see also ZUIDEMA 1967:46.

18 ZUIDEMA 1990:74.

19 In the original text of Diego Fernández, the *parcialidades* of Cuzco were called Anan Cuzco, Hulin Cuzco, Tambo and Maxca "who were the real Incas," and according to Fernández, Maxca Paicha means the textile crown of the king. This meaning is also confirmed in the dictionary of Gonzales Holguin ([1608] 1952:232).

20 MURRA & WACHTEL 1986:6; ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:132.

21 Fernández (1571) 1963:84; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 11; 1943:118–120; Molina (1575) 1943:31–32; ROWE 1985a:tablas 7–9. According to the myth of origin, Tambos appeared from the window of Sútic-toco and a group called Maras from Maras-toco (Sarmiento 1572:cap. 11; 1943:118).

internally into other paired sectors generating the basic quaternary structure (see pp. 327–338).

A proof that Cuzco may really have been divided internally into another *Hanan* and *Hurin* can be found from an unpublished document, conserved in the Archive of the Indies, which mainly deals with some abuses that happened during the juridical process of Francisco Toledo against some Incas of Cuzco and Vilcabamba. This same document also deals with the preparation of a ceremonial meeting organized by the Incas of *Hanan* and *Hurin* Cuzco to baptize a son of Carlos Inca.

Referring to that a servant of Paulo Topa Inca testified that when he was in the house of doña Catalina (mother of Carlos Inca) Diego de Escobar had come in and said that Catalina's grandson will be baptized as Melchior Viracocha Inca. To this doña Catalina had answered:²²

"Do not give him this name, because Viracocha Ynga is the name of the Yncas of *Orincuzco* [*Hurin Cuzco*] which belongs to a different *parcialidad* ..."

Why would doña Catalina say that Viracocha Inca is a name of the Incas of *Hurin Cuzco*, even though we know that Viracocha was one of the Inca kings of *Hanan Cuzco*?²³ The possible answer can just be found from the internal sub-division of the Inca capital. As the *kipu*-based ceque list demonstrates, the descendants of Viracocha Inca (*Zuczu panaca ayllu*) lived in Antisuyu sector of *Hanan Cuzco*.²⁴ Now, if *Hanan Cuzco* was divided internally into another *Hanan* and *Hurin*, the talk of doña Catalina makes sense. Seen from the Chinchaysuyu point of view, Antisuyu might well have been the Lower (*Hurin*) part of the larger *Hanan Cuzco*

22 "... entro diego descobar y dixo a la dha doña Catalina señora doña Catalina todos los españoles tratan y son de parescer que vro nyeto se llame don Melchior Viracocha ynga y la dha doña Catalina dixo no le pongan ese nombre que Viracocha ynga es nombre de los yngas de Orincuzco que es de diferente parcialidad de donde de era my marido" In: "Tercer legajo de la nominada residencia tomada al doctor Gabriel de Loarte del tiempo que fue corregidor de la ciudad del Cuzco y visitador de las provincias del Perú, Audiencia de Lima 1575–1576," fol. 2588v, Justicia 465, AGI.

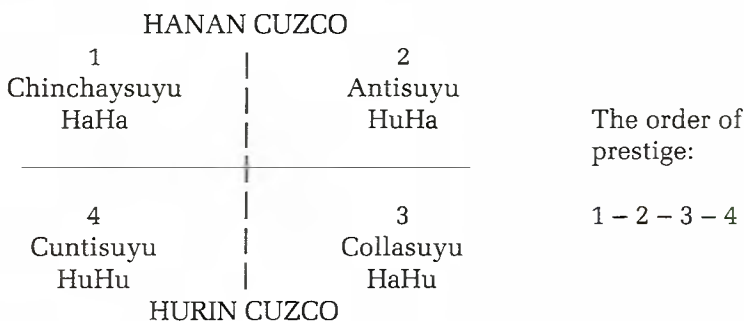
23 See pp. 201, 203.

24 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xiv; 1964:175.

moiety. And as a matter of fact, doña Catalina belonged to Vicaquiroa *ayllu* formed by the descendants of Inca Roca, which really belonged, according to the *ceque* list, to Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco.²⁵

Similarly, the moiety of *Hurin* Cuzco may have been divided internally into another *Hanan* and *Hurin* sectors. If so, it would be reasonable to think that in *Hurin* Cuzco, Collasuyu formed an internal *Hanan* sector, since it was much more important in the sociopolitical hierarchy of the Incas than *Cuntisuyu*.²⁶

In sum, we may call the Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco as the *Hanan* of *Hanan* (HaHa), the Antisuyu sector as the *Hurin* of *Hanan* (HuHa), Collasuyu as the *Hanan* of *Hurin* (HaHu) and *Cuntisuyu* as the *Hurin* of *Hurin* (HuHu). Spatially and schematically we can describe this quadripartition as follows:



Curiously enough, this model of quadripartition presents three basic oppositions:

1. The opposition between *Hanan* Cuzco and *Hurin* Cuzco (e.g. the opposition between the Upper and the Lower moiety). Internally Chinchaysuyu opposed Collasuyu and Antisuyu opposed *Cuntisuyu*.²⁷

25 According to Father Antonio ([1608] 1920:46) doña Catalina was "a descendant of sixth Inca, called Inga Roca, from the ayllu of Vicaquirao"; for his place in the *ceque* list, see Cobo 1653: lib. 13, cap. xiii; 1964:170.

26 See, for example, ROWE 1985a:46, 48.

27 For the internal opposition in this case, see Molina (1575) 1943:31-32.

2. The opposition between the two sectors of *Hanan* Cuzco (e.g. the opposition between HaHa and HuHa).

3. The opposition between the two sectors of *Hurin* Cuzco (e.g. the opposition between HaHu and HuHu).

This model of quadripartition also shows the internal sociopolitical prestige among the Incas of Cuzco. The most prestigious were Chinchaysuyus, the second were Antisuyus and the last Cuntisuyus. The hierarchical order of these *suyus* is the very same in the *kipu*-based *ceque* list and in the *kipu*-based conquest account of Capac Ayllu.²⁸ On the other hand, this model differs considerably from Waldemar ESPINOZA SORIANO's model of Cuzco. According to ESPINOZA SORIANO Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu belonged to *Hanan* Cuzco and Collasuyu and Antisuyu to *Hurin* Cuzco. Furthermore, he states that Chinchaysuyu was the first and Collasuyu the second in prestige. However, our sources do not give support to ESPINOZA SORIANO's theory.²⁹

28 It is interesting to note that the sibling vocabulary and grammar of Quechua follow a similar quadripartite order: men use the word *wawqe* for "brother" and *pana* for "sister," whereas women use the word *tura* for "brother" and *naña* for "sister" (see MONTAÑO ARAGON 1987:84–85). This demonstrates that the traditional male – female dichotomy has a deeply rooted quadripartite base in Andean thought. Because the sociopolitical Hanan – Hurin dichotomy is rooted in male – female ideology, I do not consider it as a coincidence that also the division of Cuzco had quadripartite manifestations.

29 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1977a:111.

2. The Importance of Tripartition in Inca Ideology

2.1. The myth of origin and the iconography of Guaman Poma: two ways to express ternary hierarchy

The Incas used three basic terms to express hierarchical tripartite division: *Qollana* (excellent, the first), *Payan* (the second, the middle) and *Kayaw* (the last).³⁰ This tripartition was also expressed by many other terms like *Allauca* (right), *Chaupi* (center), *Ychoc* (left) or in Aymara *Cupi* (right), *Taypi* (center) and *Checa* (left).

That the tripartite division really was an essential part of Inca ideology and a part of their mental classificatory structure can also be seen in their myth of origin. Sarmiento, who collected his material directly from the royal *panacas* of Cuzco, tells us the following story:

Originally there lived three nations or *parcialidades* in Cuzco. The first was called Sauaseras, the second Antasayas and the third Guallas. They lived in Cuzco many centuries before the Incas came into the valley. In the next stage, three foreign *curacas* with their people came into the Cuzco Valley. The first foreign *parcialidad* was called Alcabiza, the second Copalimaita and the third Culumchima. "And so these six *parcialidades* came to live a long time in peace, three natives and three newcomers."³¹ During the last epoch, three other foreign groups came to Cuzco. They came from Pacaritambo, where they had appeared from three windows. The first of these groups was called Maras and according to myth, they appeared from the window called Maras-toco. The second group was called Tambos and they appeared from the window called Sútic-toco. The last group was composed of Manco Capac, the first Inca, and of his brothers and sisters. They appeared from the central window which was called Cápac-toco (Cápac = rich, principal, royal).³²

30 ZUIDEMA 1962:42; 1977:266–269; WACHTEL 1977:77–78; ROWE 1985a:40–43; 1985b:195.

31 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 9; 1943:112–113.

32 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 11; 1943:117–118. This last epoch is told separately from epochs 1 and 2, but structurally it is the last and most important part of the same story.

From other sources we know that, for example, Sauaseras (the first native group in the first epoch) belonged to Sútic-toco *ayllu* (the second group of the third epoch), or that the Alcabizas (the first group of the second epoch) were considered as descendants of "a brother of Manco Capac" called Ayar Uchu (the third group of the third epoch) and so on.³³ So, it is clear that this myth does not contain much historical truth; rather, it had been created to explain some aspects of the sociopolitical structure of Cuzco. However, its value is just on that.

It is also significant that the myth, as recorded by Sarmiento, follows the same mode as the *kipu*-based *ceque* list of Cuzco, copied by Cobo. I suppose that the text of Sarmiento was based on the original *kipu* text, too. It is also possible that the use of *kipu* had systematized the expression of this myth, but, on the other hand, the Inca classificatory system can be seen best in *kipus*, because the whole system of recording was based on classificatory logic.

The numerical structure of the myth can be presented as follows:

		Qollana	Payan	Kayaw
t i m e	I QOLLANA first epoch	1 Sauaseras	2 Antasayas	3 Guallas
↓	II PAYAN second epoch -----	1 Alcabiza	2 Copalimaita	3 Culumchima
↓	III KAYAW third epoch	1 Maras-toco/ Maras	2 Sútic-toco/ Tambos	3 Cápac-toco/ Incas

This schematic chart demonstrates a peculiarity of this system: in the time perspective of the myth, the royal Incas (group III:3) were the last *Kayaw* group who conquered Cuzco. However, from the

33 ROWE 1985a:tabla 2; Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:186–187.

perspective of prestige, the Inca conquerors certainly were the first *Qollana* group. The same phenomenon has been noted earlier in genealogy and in the Inca kinship system by John H. ROWE and Tom ZUIDEMA. According to ROWE, the nearest relatives, parents and siblings were called *Kayaw*, grandparents and their descendants *Payan* and great-grandparents and their descendants *Qollana*.³⁴ However, when it was a question of prestige, the situation turns out to be the reverse: ego and his father were considered as *Qollana*, grandparents and their descendants as *Payan* and great-grandparents and their descendants as *Kayaw*.³⁵ In other words, the myth recorded by Sarmiento seems to explain in a peculiar way the prestige order of various subgroups who lived in Cuzco.³⁶

Because the time and prestige order of the myth is presented in a linear series I will call this structure a "linear triadism" which can be expressed as follows:³⁷

I – II – III

Guaman Poma presents this structure symbolically so that the Inca belongs to the right (pictorial left), the *Coya*, the queen, to the center, and their descendant, an *auqui*, to the left (pictorial right):³⁸

34 ROWE 1985a:42.

35 ROWE 1985a:40–60 and compare ZUIDEMA 1977:267.

36 According to Valerio VALERI the Polynesians also used a somewhat similar time hierarchy in their ideological systems as the Incas did. As VALERI (1990:48) writes: "... the further away in time (and thus genealogically) one is from the ultimate ancestor, the lower in status (and thus, ideologically, in fullness of life) one is ... This ideology is exemplified by the Tongan title system ..."

37 See also ZUIDEMA 1977:275.

38 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:264 [266]. WACHTEL (1973:177), OSSIO (1973:179) and ADORNO (1986:89–106) have pointed out that in Guaman Poma's iconography the right is pictorially on the left.

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In the same picture we can also see the respective symbols of this linear triadism: the Sun, the Moon and the Venus. This kind of tripartition had many other symbols, too, but here I will mention only the prestige order of the metals which were: the first (I), gold; the second (II), silver; and the third (III), copper.³⁹

However, the Inca tripartite system was not as simple as presented above, because the Incas had two different ways to express triadism of prestige. I will call that other way as "concentric triadism." In the concentric triadism, which seems to have been important in the religious thinking, the center is *Qollana*, the right side is *Payan* and the left side is *Kayaw*. A good example of concentric triadism is the Pacaritambo myth, which deals with the creation of Manco Capac and his siblings, and which belonged to the epoch III in the myth presented above. Sarmiento tells the Pacaritambo myth as follows:⁴⁰

About six leguas (30 km) to the south-southwest from Cuzco was situated a place called Pacaritambo ("the house of production") and there was a mountain called Tambotoco ("the house of the windows"). In this mountain existed three windows: one was called Maras-toco, the other Sútic-toco. Between these two windows was situated the major window which was called as Cápac-toco ("the rich window"). From the window of Maras-toco emerged first the nation of Maras. Other Indians called Tambos emerged from Sútic-toco and lastly, from the central window emerged four men and four women by the command of Ticci Viracocha (the Creator). The major and most prestigious (sic.) of these brothers and sisters was Manco Cápac, the second Ayar Auca, the third Ayar Cache and the fourth Ayar Ucho. Of the sisters the oldest was Mama Ocllo, the second, Mama Guaco, the third, Mama Ipacura and the fourth, Mama Rama. After the creation, these eight siblings moved, together with the other two nations, slowly toward Cuzco to search a good land to

39 ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:147–148. The symbolic order of metals was almost the same among the Incas as it is in the Olympics today, where the winner gets a gold medal, the second a silver medal, and the third, instead of pure copper, an alloy of copper and tin, which is a bronze medal. This only demonstrates that many cultures use similar classificatory structures and classificatory logic without "physical contacts"; see also PÁRSSINEN 1990:112–113.

40 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 11; 1943:117–119. After I wrote this chapter, Gary URTON (1990) published a book which deals with the Pacaritambo myth and local *curacas* of the Pacaritambo district. His account is very detailed and it complements the picture presented here.

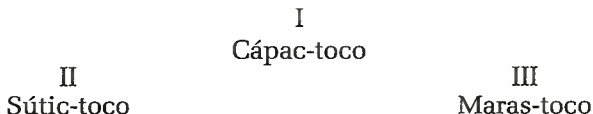
live on and cultivate. During the journey, Ayar Cache made himself greatly feared and his siblings decided to send him back into "the window or cave" of Cápac-toco. In plotting they managed to seal him back into the "origin window" and now, only three brothers were left from the original four brothers of Cápac-toco. After that, three brothers and four sisters continued their course up to Huanacauri. There they made a decision that Manco Cápac should be the leader of all others and Ayar Uchu should be left there as *huaca*, a sacred place, for the religion. Ayar Auca (Auca = soldier) should go "and take into their possession the land which should be populated." After that, Ayar Uchu turned himself into stone at Huanacauri and this stone became an important *huaca* for the Incas. A few years later, the group came into the Valley of Cuzco, and when it became clear that it was the place they should populate, Ayar Auca converted into stone and stayed there as a "heap stone" to demonstrate the Inca possession of the Valley. Now, only Manco Capac was left from the original four brothers. He stayed at Cuzco and became the ancestor of later Incas.

As we have noted earlier, according to the time order, first there emerged the people of Maras-toco, secondly the people of Sútic-toco and lastly eight siblings of Cápac-toco. Among the siblings, the most authoritative was Manco Capac, the major and also the last who remained alive. As we can see, among the family the prestige tended to follow time order: the elder brother was said to be more authoritative than younger, just as also described by Garcilaso. However, when moved out from the nuclear family, the time order seems to have been inverse to that of prestige. Because of that, it would be reasonable to think (as noted before) that the people of Sútic-toco were the second in prestige and the people of Maras-toco the third. A proof that this really may have been the case comes from the account of Pachacuti Yamqui, who says that Sútic-toco symbolized the paternal grandparents of Manco Capac and Maras-toco his maternal grandparents.⁴¹ As we have seen, and as also has been demonstrated by LOPEZ-BARALT, ADORNO and ROSTWOROWSKI, the femaleness, and in this case the maternal grandparets, represented not only complementarity but also inferiority, which fits well into our hypothesis.⁴²

41 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:286; see also ZUIDEMA 1977:272.

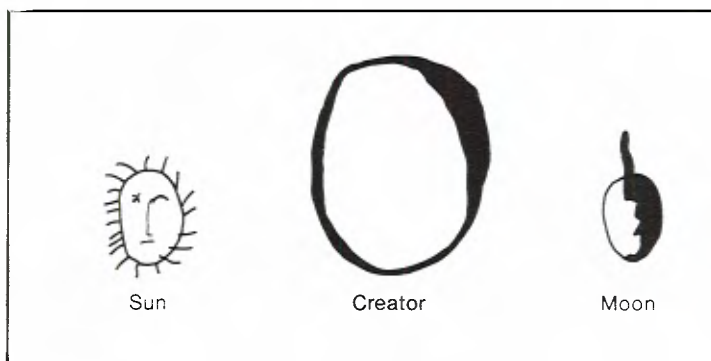
42 See pp. 173-174 and LOPEZ-BARALT 1979:88; ADORNO 1986:91; ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:132-133.

However, the thing that I consider to be important here is the fact that the most important window, Cápac-toco, was described to be at the middle of two other windows. Thence the symbolic order of prestige, as described in the myth, is as follows:⁴³



In this model Sútic-toco (II) is pictorially on the left, but from the point of view of Cápac-toco (I) it is on the right hand. I use this order, because, as WACHTEL, OSSIO and ADORNO have pointed out, also in Guaman Poma's iconography the right is pictorially on the left.⁴⁴ Actually, the symbolic order is here the same as in the prize platform of the Olympics. Similar to many Western cultures, the Incas considered the right to be more important than the left.⁴⁵

This symbolic structure of concentric triadism seems to have been common in religious thinking. For example, Pachacuti Yamqui tells us that in the Temple of Sun (in Coricancha) the idol of the Creator God, Viracocha, was situated between the idols of the Sun and the Moon as follows:

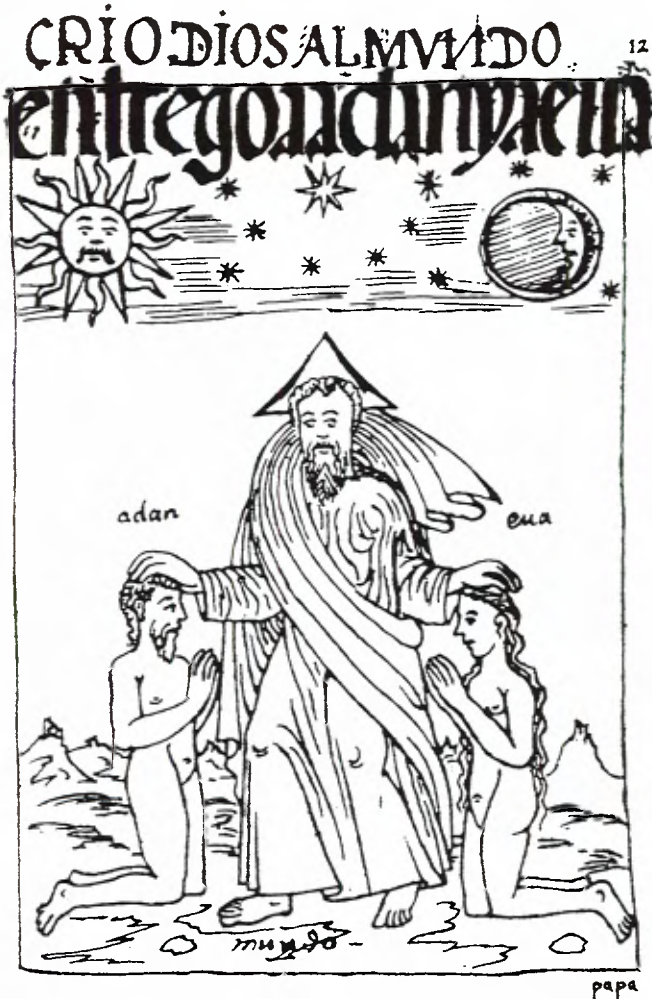


43 But see Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1950:218.

44 WACHTEL 1973:177; OSSIO 1973:179; ADORNO 1986:89-106.

45 In the Bible it is symbolically said that Jesus Christ is sitting on the right side of his father. Similarly, in many Western languages the term right is opposed to the terms left and wrong. That is the case, for example, in English, Spanish (*derecho*), German (*recht*), Finnish (*oikea*) and so on. For the right - left dichotomy of the Incas, see also WACHTEL 1973:177; OSSIO 1973; LOPEZ-BARALT 1979; ADORNO 1986, *passim*.

Similarly, Guaman Poma combines Christianity and Andean religious thinking in a drawing where the Christian father God and his Andean counterpart, Viracocha, symbolized by the sky, have been drawn in the center. To the right (pictorial left) Guaman Poma has drawn the first man of the Bible, Adam, and his Andean counterpart, the first Inca, symbolized by the Sun. On the left (pictorial right) we find the first woman of the Bible, Eve, and her Andean counterpart, the *Coya*, symbolized by the Moon:



It is also noticeable that in a Guaman Poma's picture where the Inca (Topa Inca) and the *Coya* (Mama Ocllo) were carried on a litter, the common dual symbols are shown – the Inca on the right (pictorial left) and the *Coya* on the left – but, when the dead Inca was carried on the litter, the triad appears again in a similar picture:



The body of the dead Inca (in this case, Huayna Capac) is in the center; the *Coya*, the second in prestige, is now on the right, and an *auqui*, a son of the Inca, on the left. In other words, when the Inca had died his symbolic status is presented as a part of religious ideology.

2.2. The triad structure of the *ceque* system of Cuzco

The *ceques* were invisible sacred lines, which started from the Temple of the Sun, Coricancha, and which radiated around Cuzco. On these lines there were hundreds of sacred places called *huacas*.

Some lines also pointed to the starting points of irrigation canals,⁴⁶ and as ZUIDEMA and AVENI have demonstrated, many of these lines had sociopolitical, astronomical and calendaric importance to the Incas.⁴⁷ Even though these lines were not as concrete as the famous pre-Incaic Nazca lines on the south coast of Peru, the ideology on which those were based might have been very similar.

The *ceque* lines are familiar to us, thanks to father Bernabe Cobo, who copied an account of those lines and shrines to his chronicle. John H. ROWE has already suggested that the original account was based on the Incaic *kipu*, or *kipus*, and undoubtedly this was the case, since it follows the numerical order so exactly.⁴⁸ According to ROWE, the original account had been written down between 1559–1572 by an unknown author.⁴⁹

We can summarize the list of the *ceques* as follows:⁵⁰

Chinchaysuyu

1. Kayaw – 5 huacas – ayllu Goacaytaqui
2. Payan – 8 huacas – ayllu Vicaquirao (Inca Roca)
3. Qollana – 10 huacas

4. Payan (sic.) – 8 huacas
5. Kayaw (sic.) – 10 huacas – ayllu Iñacapanaca (Pachacuti)
6. Qollana – 11 huacas

7. Kayaw – 8 huacas – ayllu Capac ayllu (Topa Inca)
8. Payan – 13 huacas
9. Capac – 12 huacas

46 SHERBONDY 1986:39–74; ZUIDEMA 1986:177–200.

47 ZUIDEMA 1962; 1979;1986;1990; AVENI 1980:passim.

48 ROWE 1979a:4; 1985a:49. It is generally believed that ROWE meant only that the account follows the structural order of *kipu*, so that each sacred line, *ceque*, was represented by a string and each shrine of the line by a knot (see, for example, ZUIDEMA 1982:207; see also ASCHER & ASCHER 1989:40). However, I am convinced that also the names of the 328 sacred places were "written down" on the original *kipu*-text – in the same manner as the names of the villages and leaders in ordinary census lists or in the lists of conquered territories.

49 ROWE 1979a:5–6.

50 Cobo 1653: lib.13, caps. xiii–xvii; 1964:169–186; for a better transcription, see ROWE 1979a:14–61; see also ZUIDEMA 1962: passim; ROWE 1985a:tabla 4; ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:cuatro 1, p.153.

Antisuyu

1. Qollana – 11 huacas – ayllu Zuczu pañaca ayllu (Viracocha)
2. Payan – 10 huacas
3. Kayan – 10 huacas

4. Qollana – 7 huacas – ayllu Aucailli panaca (Yahuar Huacac)
5. Payan – 10 huacas
6. Kayaw – 7 huacas

7. Yacanora – 7 huacas
8. Ayarmaca – 11 huacas
9. Kayaw – 5 huacas – ayllu Cari

Collasuyu

1. Kayaw – 9 huacas – ayllu Aguini ayllu
2. Payan – 8 huacas – ayllu Haguani (Lloque Yupanqui)
3. Qollana – 9 huacas

4. Kayaw – 10 huacas – ayllu Apu mayta (Capac Yupanqui)
5. Payan – 10 huacas
6. Qollana – 10 huacas

7. Kayaw – 8 huacas – ayllu Usca mayta (Mayta Capac)
8. Payan – 8 huacas
9. Qollana – 13 huacas

Cuntisuyu

1. Anahuarque – 15 huacas

2. Kayaw – 4 huacas – ayllu Quisco
3. Payan – 4 huacas
4. Qollana – 5 huacas

5. Kayaw – 5 huacas – ayllu Chima panaca (Manco Capac)
6. Payan – 5 huacas
7. Qollana – 5 huacas

8. Half Kayaw, half Qollana – 15 huacas

9. Kayaw – 3 huacas
10. Payan – 4 huacas
11. Qollana – 4 huacas

12. Kayaw – 3 huacas
13. Kayaw (sic) – 4 huacas
14. Qollana – 4 huacas

At first, we must note that the list of the 328 named *huacas* of given *kipu* text is not complete. We know on the basis of the account of Albornozy that the Incas had many other *huacas* in the Cuzco district which are not mentioned in this *ceque* list.⁵¹ However, it seems that the main *ceque* sectors and *ceque* lines are represented in that list.

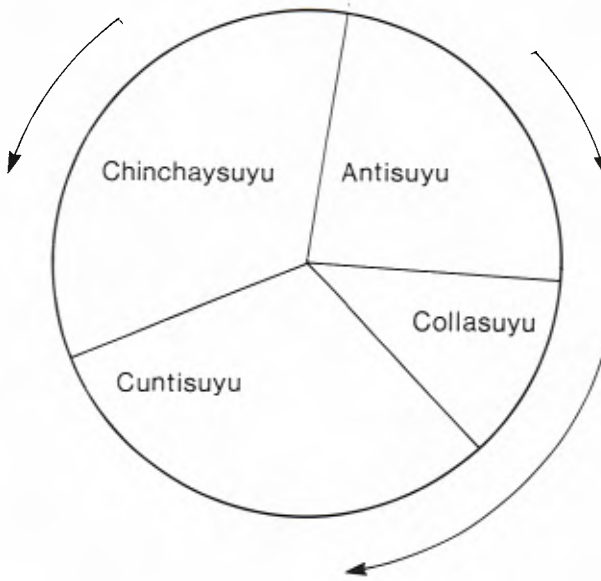
Of the list we can see that three *suyu* sectors, Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu and Collasuyu formed a triad where each *suyu* had nine *ceque* lines grouped into three *ceque* groups. Cuntisuyu alone had 14 *ceque* lines which can be grouped in four complete *ceque* groups, two *ceques* did not belong to any triad (1. Anahuarque and 8. Half *Kayaw*, half *Qollana*). ROWE has also pointed out that only the Antisuyu sector started from the first *Qollana ceque* and that the rest of the *suyu* sectors started from the last *Kayaw ceque*. That is why he thinks that the *kipu* was read from the end to the beginning.⁵² However, it is also possible that the *kipu(s)* was intentionally organized from the point of view of Antisuyu and religion (a concentric triadism).⁵³

Whatever the reason for this order, spatially the lines seem to run clockwise, except in Chinchaysuyu, as follows:

51 Albornozy (1585) 1967:25–26; see also ROWE 1979a:4.

52 ROWE 1985a:49.

53 According to ZUIDEMA (1962:112) the highest priest, Villac Uma, was always elected from Zuczu *panaca*, which belonged to the Antisuyu sector. This *panaca* is mentioned first in Antisuyu.



If we check the order in which the royal *panacas* are mentioned, we can note that in Chinchaysuyu the order follows genealogical time: 1. Vicaquirao *panaca* (Inca Roca, 6. Inca), 2. Ñaca *panaca* (Pachacuti, 9. Inca) and 3. Capac Ayllu *panaca* (Topa Inca, 10. Inca).⁵⁴ In Antisuyu the order is inverse (that is, the order of prestige), first is mentioned Zuczu *panaca* (Viracocha, 8. Inca) and the second is Aucailli *panaca* (Yahuar Huacac, 7. Inca). In Collasuyu, the order is: the first, Haguani *panaca* (Lloque Yupanqui, 3. Inca), the second Apu Mayta *panaca* (Capac Yupanqui, 5. Inca) and the third Usca Mayta *panaca* (Mayta Capac, 4. Inca).

As we can see, in Collasuyu the "official" genealogical time order is broken. It is possible that the real genealogical order had been this. However, it may be even more likely, as supposed by ROWE, that the place of fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui, was manipulated between "the third and fourth Inca" so that he had

54 For the official genealogy of the Incas, see p. 201.

less prestige than Mayta Capac.⁵⁵ As noted before, in the Inca ideology the genealogical time order was inverse to that of prestige. Anyhow, I do not consider Capac Yupanqui's position in the *ceque* list as an error, because both Betanzos and Las Casas, independently from each others, mention the Incas of Collasuyu in the very same order as the *ceque* list does.⁵⁶

In Cuntisuyu, only one *panaca* is mentioned. This *panaca* (Chima *panaca*) belonged to the descendants of Manco Capac, who was considered as a mythological founder of the Inca dynasty. ROWE has pointed out that possibly the descendants of Sinchi Roca (2. Inca) belonged to the Cuntisuyu sector, too.⁵⁷ However, in the *ceque* text it is said that Sinchi Roca's "body" was kept in the Collasuyu sector of Cuzco, which contradicts this hypothesis.⁵⁸ Still ROWE may be right.

According to ROWE, this organization of *ceques* was created mainly by Pachacuti Inca and at the time of Huayna Capac it was reorganized.⁵⁹ Another possibility is that the system was finished already at the time of Pachacuti and Topa Inca, and that in the original plan the Incas had left a place for the next generation.⁶⁰

ROWE has also shown that the *ceque* system incorporated not only ten royal *panacas*, but also ten non-royal *ayllus*: three in Chinchaysuyu, two in Antisuyu, three in Collasuyu and two in Cuntisuyu.⁶¹ In that respect royal *panacas* and non-royal *ayllus* were paired in each *suyu* sectors. The exact meaning of this dualism is not clear, but we know that sociopolitically the members of the royal *panacas*, "caballeros" as Pachacuti Yamqui calls them, were much more prestigious than "caballeros particulares" (Incas by privilege), who belonged to non-royal *ayllus*.⁶²

55 ROWE 1985a:45–46. We have some indications that the so-called fifth Inca, Capac Yupanqui, lived during the time of Pachacuti and that he was killed by the latter.

56 Betanzos 1551:cap. v; 1987:21–22; Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:90.

57 ROWE 1985a:47.

58 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xv; 1964:181.

59 ROWE 1985a:35–36.

60 See SHERBONDY 1986:46–50; HYSLOP 1990:68.

61 ROWE 1985a:tabla 8.

62 ROWE 1985a:35–36; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:315.

Here the terms *Qollana* – *Payan* – *Kayaw* refer to linear triadism, where Chinchaysuyu formed the most important sociopolitical group, because the most important Incas, descendants of Pachacuti and Topa Inca, belonged to that sector of Cuzco. In other words, the order refers to prestige before the time of the formation of Huayna Capac's descendant group.

Now it is time to look at how this system fits with the sociopolitical organization presented by the indigenous author Guaman Poma. As Rafael KARSTEN has pointed out, Guaman Poma's "letter to king" is probably the most important individual source about the Inca society.⁶⁴ This is especially true in the matters of social organization, because his mother was a relative of Topa Inca, and he had a good position from which to describe the social order to which he himself belonged. In fact, many authors like KARSTEN, BRUNDAGE, ZUIDEMA and ROWE have already used Guaman Poma's account, but very different interpretations have been presented.⁶⁵ However, the interpretation of ZUIDEMA (1977) is not very far away from the view that I will point out here.

According to Guaman Poma, at the top of the Inca hierarchy was the reigning king, Capac Apo Ynga, and his legitimate wife, the *Coya*, who was his sister.⁶⁶ Furthermore, he states that Huascar was the last legitimate Capac Apo Ynga and after Huascar the crown passed to the Spanish king, Charles V and to Philip II and Philip III.⁶⁷

However, Guaman Poma also speaks about the *Coyas* in plural. Many *Coyas* who lived in colonial time were considered as legitimate daughters of the former Incas, among them his own mother "doña Juana Curi Ocllo, *Coya*, legitimate younger daughter of Topa Ynga Yupanqui."⁶⁸ Certainly his mother was not Topa Inca's daughter, but by saying that she was the nearest possible relative of Topa Inca (*Qollana* in prestige) he gives her much more prestige than by calling her, for example, as a great-granddaughter

64 KARSTEN 1946:45.

65 On another occasion I have criticized the way BRUNDAGE has used the sociopolitical terms of Guaman Poma (PÄRSSINEN 1983:89–92).

66 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:118–119, 738 [752], 758 [772]; Topa Inca was the first Inca who took his full sister for his wife (ROSTWOROWSKI 1988:145).

67 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:738 [752].

68 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:757–758 [771–772].

(*Kayaw* in prestige). Another thing is, that in colonial time, indeed, many descendants of the former Inca lords were simultaneously called *Coyas*. For example, the daughters and wives of Manco Inca, Saire Topa Inca, Titu Cusi Yupanqui, Carlos Inca and Melchor Carlos Inca were called *Coyas*.⁶⁹ Also Pedro Pizarro confirms that the daughters of Inca sovereigns were called by this name. As he writes: "These daughters of these Sovereigns of this land, whom they called *Coyas*, which means beloved Ladies, were much courted."⁷⁰ All this supports ZUIDEMA's theory that all the daughters of the Inca king and the *Coya*, the queen, were called *Coyas*.⁷¹

According to Guaman Poma, next to Inca were the *auquiconas* or, more accurately, *auquis* (cona = plural in Quechua). He says that they were "the princes of this empire, the sons and grandsons and great-grandsons of the Inca kings of these empires ... They are the cast and generation and royal blood of this empire."⁷² On the female side, Guaman Poma mentions that next to *Coya* were princesses, *nustas*, "who are daughters of *auquis*, princes, grandsons and great-grandsons of the Yngas."⁷³

What I consider to be important here, is the genealogical order according to which *auquis* and *nustas* were classified from the point of view of the Inca. The center (ego) of this classificatory system was a living Inca and when viewed in reverse, as noted earlier, he and his father were the last (*Kayaw*) in genealogical time, but in order of prestige, he and his father are the first (*Qollana*). However, as Guaman Poma demonstrated, also the genealogical prestige of future generations was seen from the same point of view, since the mummified body of the Inca was treated as a living Inca. The *panaca* did not die.⁷⁴ In practice, this would mean that the real time order of future generations coincided with that of prestige. On the other hand, we must also take into consideration that after the Inca died the whole system must have

69 See, for example, the genealogical tables in HEMMING 1970.

70 Pizarro (1571) 1986:240.

71 ZUIDEMA 1977:278.

72 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:740 [754]. On another occasion he also includes in this group some nephews (1615/1987:288 [290]); see also ZUIDEMA 1977:276.

73 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:758 [772].

74 See also FORTES 1969.

been reclassified to the advantage of the new Inca king, otherwise the system would not work. As Tom ZUIDEMA has noted "the whole nobility was reclassified by way of kin terms for descendants in relation to the new king at the time of his election."⁷⁵ Because of that the described genealogical system can be presented numerically in the very same order as Guaman Poma has marked many textile symbols:⁷⁶

time -->	1	2	3	P	1	2	3		P =	Pachacuti	
	-->	1	2	3	T	1	2	3	T =	Topa Inca	
		-->	1	2	3	H	1	2	3	H =	Huayna Capac

However, in the terms of prestige the system was as follows:

						Pizarro				
3	2	1	P	1	2	3				
		3	2	1	T	1	2		3	
			3	2	1	H	1		2	3

In that classificatory system the sociopolitical prestige was calculated, in any given moment, according to the genealogical relationship to the ruling Inca. The ruling Inca, ego, could be associated together with his father and uncle, or as well, together with his brother and son, to *Qollana*. The rest of the nearest male relatives were *Payan* or *Kayaw*. In practice, this should have meant that at the time of Spanish conquest all *auquis* belonged to the Chinchaysuyu sector, since Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac belonged to that sector of Cuzco. The group that Guaman Poma calls as "bastard *auquis*,"⁷⁷ probably was sons of concubine women of the Incas, who belonged to other *suyus* of Cuzco. If so, the genealogical relationship was calculated both from the father's side and the mother's side.

75 ZUIDEMA 1977:277.

76 See, for example, Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:85, 115.

77 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:114.

What I consider to be important in Guaman Poma's account is the fact that the tripartite division includes four generations, because the father and sons could be grouped, as demonstrated also by ROWE, into the same classificatory group.⁷⁸

Garcilaso de la Vega also emphasizes the importance of four generations when he mentions that "everybody with the royal blood married with their relatives within four generations." This habit to try to keep the blood as pure as possible among the highest nobility is not so rare in human history. As we know, Egyptian and even many European dynasties, among others, have tried to do the same. Among the Incas, *auquis* of pure blood from the father and mother also had a privileged position to use two plumes in their headress to be distinguished from the others.⁷⁹

After the fourth generation had passed, the descendants of the former Inca kings were dropped into a lower category called "Yngas." As Guaman Poma says: "*Yngaconas, señores caballeros Hanan Cuzco, Lurin Cuzco* Yngas, great-great-grandsons and nephews, *nustas*, princesses, [they were the] royal cast of this Realm." So, the great-great-grandsons, together with "nephews," belonged to the category of "Yngas" and they were divided between *Hanan* and *Hurin Cuzco*. In practice that may mean that these "yngas" belonged, at the time of the Spanish conquest, mainly to the Antisuyu and Collasuyu sectors of Cuzco, and possibly only the legitimate descendants of Inca Roca in Chinchaysuyu belonged to that category. So, the main *Hanan* – *Hurin* division applied to these groups, as supposed also by Guaman Poma.

However, it is not perfectly clear why Guaman Poma also mentions *nustas* and nephews in this context. On another occasion he mentions them in the upper category. Here he may mean the illegitimate ("bastard") *nustas* and illegitimate nephews whose mothers did not belong to the Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco. *Nustas* may also mean wives who had moved (in the reciprocal woman exchange system) from Chinchaysuyu to other sectors of Cuzco. We also know that at least one of Huayna Capac's daughter from his secondary wife from the province of Huayla was called a

78 ROWE 1985a:42. This also explains why Guaman Poma states that the Inca could marry his "mother."

79 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxi; 1987:110.

nusta,⁸⁰ which means that the ideal classificatory system was not extremely restricted. By a special privilege one might have moved from one group into the other.

However, when Guaman Poma deals in particular with the social categories of daughters, he again gives us an idealized version of the Inca kinship system. He writes about the differences between the *nustas* and a category called *pallas* as follows: "The princesses, *nustas*, they are daughters of *auquis*, princes, grandsons and great-grandsons of the Incas ... the *señoras, pal(l)las*, they are daughters of the *yngas caballeros Hanan Cuzco, Lurin Cuzco ...*"⁸¹ Here he again speaks about the daughters of "yngas" (before marriage) but now he does not mention them as *nustas* but as *pallas*. So, Guaman Poma makes it clear that the same idealized tripartite social division applied both to the noblest men and women in Cuzco: Inca – *auqui* – *yngas* and *Coya* – *nusta* – *palla*, respectively.⁸²

What makes the system more complicated is the polygamy practiced by the Incas and the fact that genealogical prestige seems to have been viewed both from father's and mother's side. For

80 ROSTWOROWSKI 1989:16–18, 30.

81 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:758 [772].

82 Next to the "yngas," Guaman Poma (1615/1987:740 [754]) mentions the groups of "tribute payers," which belonged to those groups we are accustomed to call "Incas by privilege." He writes about these groups as follows:

"Haua ynga, Uacha ynga, Chinchay Suyo ynga, Anta ynga, Sacsu Uana ynga, Quillis Cachi ynga, Mayu ynga, Quichiua ynga, and their wives, palla, aui: They are tribute payers.

Anti Suyo ynga, Tanbo ynga, Lare ynga and their wives, palla, aui: They are tribute payers.

Colla Suyo ynga, Queuar ynga, Uaroc ynga, Cauina ynga, Masca ynga, Tanbo ynga, Acos ynga, Chillque ynga, Papri ynga and their wives, palla, aui: They are tribute payers

Conde Suyu ynga, Yana Uara ynga and their wives are called as ynaca aui and they are tribute payers ..."

ZUIDEMA (1977:277) is probably right, when he states that the Haua Yngas were the chiefs of the non-Inca population and the Uacha Yngas were their subjects. In another words, the Incas by privilege were divided internally mainly between the *curacas* and commoners. However, it is theoretically possible that the order according to which Guaman Poma presents these groups also signifies the order of prestige. First came the non-royal *ayllus* who lived in Hanan Cuzco (Chinchaysuyu Yngas and Antisuyu Yngas) and after that the non-royal *ayllus* of Hurin Cuzco (Collasuyu Yngas and Cuntisuyu Yncas).

example, a daughter of the Inca, which he had with his full sister, was called *Coya*. But a daughter which the Inca had with his cousin, was probably called *nusta*. Theoretically it is also possible that because there were many *Coyas* there may have been many Incas, too (sons of the Inca and his "full" sister). However, depending on a specific context, the main kinship hierarchy can be presented as follows:

1. Incas (Qollana) – auquis (Payan) – "yngas" (Kayaw)
or
2. Incas and auquis (Qollana) – "yngas" (Payan)

and respectively,

1. Coyas (Qollana) – nustas (Payan) – pallas (Kayaw)
or
2. Coyas and nustas (Qollana) – pallas (Payan)

Some authors have interpreted with the influence of Garcilaso, that *nusta* was a title of unmarried princesses and *palla* a title of married noble women.⁸³ However, as also ZUIDEMA has pointed out, Guaman Poma especially mentions both *nustas* and *pallas* as daughters of *auquis* and "yngas."⁸⁴ And if we check the titles of some noble women in 16th century Peru, we can notice the same thing. For example, the mentioned daughter of Huayna Capac, Ines Huayllas Nusta, was called *nusta* even in her old days. On the other hand, in Chachapoya it was told to Diego Alvarez that Atahualpa gave three *pallas* (not *nustas*) for local *curaca* to marry.⁸⁵ These and some other examples demonstrate that the

As to the question of women, Guaman Poma probably refers to *palla* as a possible wife of Hahua Ynga and to *auqui* (campesina, tribute payer) as the wife of Uacha Ynga. But again, when Guaman Poma (1615/1987:758 [772]) speaks about noble non-Inca women and their sisters, daughters and granddaughters, genealogically, he calls them *capac apo mamas*, not *pallas*.

According to John H. ROWE (1946:260–261) the group of Incas by privilege was formed by Pachacuti as an instrument for administrative purposes. Generally all the inhabitants who spoke Quechua were incorporated into this privileged group.

83 See, for example, KARSTEN 1946:125; ROWE 1946:258.

84 ZUIDEMA 1977:278.

85 Alvarez (1572) 1967:300.

terms *nusta* and *palla* did not form clear age categories, they merely formed two hierarchical social grades.⁸⁶

From the political point of view it was important that the ruling Inca had – in addition to his legitimate wife, sister – wives from the most important sociopolitical groups.⁸⁷ The descendants of these wives undoubtedly had their own hierarchy and in the succession of the *machapaicha* (the crown) a "legitimate" son probably had the best chance (that of the Inca and his full sister). After that came *auquis*, whose mothers were *nustas* and *pallas*.

When the system was created at the time of Pachacuti, it favored Pachacuti's own descendants and his and Topa Inca's *panacas*. However, when the time passed further on, it left Pachacuti's descendant group symbolically less prestigious than Topa Inca's descendants, although the situation was contrary at the time the system was created. In that sense, the system itself was quite conflictive. Probably it was not a coincidence that when the civil war broke out between the sons of Huayna Capac, between Huascar and Atahualpa, the descendants of Topa Inca favored Huascar and the members of the *panaca* of Pachacuti favored Atahualpa, whose mother, Palla Coca, was also a descendant of Pachacuti.⁸⁸

4. Theories of Simultaneous Inca Kings

4.1. Theories of Zuidema and Duviols

All the Incas who were considered to be legitimate descendants of former Inca kings belonged to the highest Inca nobility. Their internal sociopolitical hierarchy is described in the Chapter V.3.

86 See also Cieza 1553b:cap. xlvi; 1986:137; Murúa 1616: lib. 1, cap. lxxxix; 1987:326.

87 It has been told that the Incas had hundreds of wives (see KARSTEN 1946:168; MASON 1978:155).

88 Betanzos (1551:cap. xlvi; 1987:194) and Sarmiento (1572:cap. 63; 1943:252) confirm that Atahualpa's mother belonged to the descendant group of Pachacuti (to Hatun Ayllu which incorporated also Iñaqa panaca). After Atahualpa won the civil war, many members of Topa Inca's descendant group, Capac Ayllu, were killed (Sarmiento 1572:caps. 65–67; 1943:262–271; Capac Ayllu [1569] 1985:228–245).

According to the traditional view, Inca kings formed a long dynasty from Manco Capac onward and it has also been supposed that first reigned the Incas of *Hurin* Cuzco and after that the Incas of *Hanan* Cuzco. The traditional list is as follows:

HURIN CUZCO

1. Manco Capac
2. Sinchi Roca
3. Lloque Yupanqui
4. Mayta Capac
5. Capac Yupanqui

HANAN CUZCO

6. Inca Roca
7. Yahuar Huacac
8. Viracocha
9. Pachacuti (ca. 1438–1471)
10. Topa Inca (ca. 1471–1493)
11. Huayna Capac (ca. 1493–1528)
12. Huascar (ca. 1528–1532)
- Atahualpa (1532–1533)

No explication has been given as to why the Incas of *Hurin* Cuzco were the first in power and after that the Incas of *Hanan* Cuzco. However, we have noted earlier that Incas like Mayta Capac and Capac Yupanqui seem to have been real persons, but seemingly they have not lived long before Pachacuti. For example, when Quipocamayos, Cieza and Garcilaso speak about the conquest of Capac Yupanqui, they refer to the conquest that happened at the time of Pachacuti. Equally, when Garcilaso, Guaman Poma and Oliva tell about the enormous conquests of Sinchi Roca, they possibly refer to the half brother of Huayna Capac, who governed in Cuzco at the time the Huayna Capac was in Chachapoya.⁸⁹ These kind of things can be taken as evidence that the traditional list of a long Inca dynasty is not correct. It seems that the European

89 Garcilaso 1609:lib. II, cap. xvi; 1976:93–95; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:89 [89]; Oliva (1631) 1895:39. Compare Sarmiento 1572: cap. 58; 1943:239; Cabello 1586:cap. 21; 1951:361–362; Murúa 1616:cap. xxx; 1987:108. However, according to Fernández ([1571] 1963:81) a son of Pachacuti was also called Sinchi Roca.

chroniclers knew only the system of Western monarchies and it was hard for them to imagine the possibility that some of the supposed Inca kings probably were contemporaries with each other. Also Cieza de León, one of the most accurate European observers in XVI century Peru, writes:

"As by this time (at the time of Lloque Yupanqui) all were big ears (orejones), which is the same as saying nobles, and nearly all of them had had a part in founding of the new city, the people who lived in these two areas of the city, known as *Hanan* Cuzco and *Hurin* Cuzco, were always regarded as illustrious. Certain of the Indians even said that one Inca had to be one of these lineages, and the other of the other lineage; but I do not believe this is true, nor is it other than as the big ears relate, which I have already written.⁹⁰

On the other hand, the Incas had no reason to correct the view of a long Inca dynasty, even if it was wrong, because it legitimated and strengthened their position as local nobility with a long history and as a group which would not pay taxes for Spanish king. Partly for this, ZUIDEMA and lastly DUVIOLS have presented theories of two simultaneous dynasties. ZUIDEMA has even argued that there was no Inca history before Huayna Capac at all. According to him it is possible that *Hanan* and *Hurin* dynasties were only symbolic ones.⁹¹ On the other hand, IMBELLIONI and IBARRA GRASSO have supposed that the whole list of the Incas of *Hurin* Cuzco was invented by Pachacuti and that those Incas never existed; according to them, only the Incas of *Hanan* Cuzco were real ones.⁹²

Our study of Inca conquest has shown that the theory of gradual Inca expansion from the second Inca, from Sinchi Roca, onward is absolutely invalid and that local sources do not support the traditional view of a long Inca dynasty. On the other hand, our examination has also shown that some of the Incas of the traditional list may really have existed, but not long before the so-

90 "... y como ya todos heran orejones, ques tanto como dezir nobles, casi todos ellos oviesen sido en fundar la nueva cibdad, tuviéronse para sienpre por yllustres las jentes que bivían en los dos lugares de la cibdad llamados Hanancuzco y Orencuzco. Y aun algunos yndios quisieron dezir que el un Ynga avía de ser de uno destos linajes y otro del otro, mas no lo tengo por cierto, ni lo creo, ni ques más de lo que los orejones cuentan, ques lo que ya está escrito." (Cieza 1553b:cap. xxxii; 1986:97).

91 DUVIOLS 1979; ZUIDEMA 1962; 1978; 1986.

92 IMBELLIONI 1946; IBARRA GRASSO 1978.

called ninth Inca (Pachacuti). That is why we should also take into consideration the possibility that there really had existed more than one Inca at same time. We must also remember that during the last few years especially ZUIDEMA's and DUVIOL's theories of diarchy have been taken seriously.⁹³

According to Tom ZUIDEMA, every Inca of *Hanan Cuzco* and *Hurin Cuzco* represent symbolically the ancestor of different social classes and ranks of the members of Cuzco nobility. Manco Capac, the mythological founder of Inca dynasties, and Huayna Capac as a historical Inca king were out of this system. The rest of the Incas formed pairs as follows:⁹⁴

HURIN CUZCO	HANAN CUZCO
2. Sinchi Roca	6. Inca Roca
Tarco Huaman	7. Yahuar Huacac
3. Lloque Yupanqui	8. Inca Viracocha
4. Mayta Cápac	9. Inca Pachacuti
5. Cápac Yupanqui	10. Túpac Yupanqui

Pierre DUVIOLS supports the thesis of two simultaneous Inca kings, and more than ZUIDEMA he considers them as historical persons. However, only when he refers to Polo de Ondegardo and José de Acosta he gives the names of the supposed Inca kings as follows:⁹⁵

HANAN CUZCO			HURIN CUZCO
Sinchi Roca	1	1	Inca Roca
Yawar Huaca	2	2	Capac Yupanqui
Viracocha	3	3	Lloqui Yupanqui
Inca Yupanqui			
Pachacuti	4	4	Mayta Capac
Tupac Yupanqui	5	5	Tarco Huaman
Tupac Yupanqui II	6	6	Son
Huayna Capac	7	7 ?	Tambo Mayta, Don Juan
Huascar	8	8 ?	” ” ” ”

93 See, for example, LUMBRERAS, 1974:214-215; GIBERT DE MESA 1988:81; ALCINA FRANC 1990. Even John V. Murra has considered the system of diarchy among the Incas as "possible" (personal communication).

94 ZUIDEMA 1962:126-128; 1978:8; 1986:177-178.

95 DUVIOLS 1980:188.

We have no reason to believe that there is any chronological difference between the time of Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac as supposed by ZUIDEMA. However, we can take his list as DUVIOLS does: as the list of two successive dynasties.

Both in ZUIDEMA's and DUVIOL's list appears the name of Tarco Huaman, which is not presented in the traditional list of Inca kings. ZUIDEMA placed him as a pair of Yahuar Huacac and DUVIOLS' list presents him as a pair of Topa Inca. This is the first thing which needs to be commented.

The only sources, which mention Tarco Huaman as an Inca king are Polo de Ondegardo and José de Acosta.⁹⁶ From these, José Acosta mentions that he has used Polo as one of his main sources and it means that those sources are not independent.⁹⁷ On the other hand, independent sources like Quipocamayos, Sarmiento and Cobo mention Tarco Huaman as a "brother" of Capac Yupanqui which contrasts both ZUIDEMA's and DUVIOLS' lists.⁹⁸ No local source mentions him as an Inca king either. That is why Tarco Huaman's position in DUVIOLS' and in ZUIDEMA's lists as an Inca king can be questioned.

However, what seems to be correct in DUVIOLS' list is Tarco Huaman's position there after Mayta Capac. He really might have been a son of Mayta Capac, as confirmed by Quipocamayos, Sarmiento and Cobo.⁹⁹ Earlier we have also noted that if there ever has been an "Inca king" called Mayta Capac, he probably lived at the time of Pachacuti (see pp. 78–80). Now, if Tarco Huaman was successor of Mayta Capac, he may have lived, indeed, at the time of Topa Inca as presented by DUVIOLS. Another question is whether he was another king or not. I do not believe that possibility.¹⁰⁰

96 Polo de Ondegardo 1559:cap.iii; 1916:10; Acosta 1588–1590:lib. vi, cap. xxiii; 1987:426.

97 Acosta 1588–1590:lib. vi, cap. i; 1987:390.

98 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:13; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 17; 1943:141; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. vii, 1964:71.

99 *Ibid.*

100 Quipocamayos call Tarco Huaman as Apo Tarco Huaman. The term "apo," the lord, was widely used by the Incas from the time of Pachacuti onward. Many important military leaders, local lords and governors of provinces and *suyus* got this title from the Incas (Apo Cari, Apo Guarachi, Apo Conde Maita, etc.). According to Cobo, Tarco Huaman was in charge of the government of the province of Cuyos in "Andes" (Cobo 1653:cap. viii;

Mayta Capac's position in both lists can be accepted, because his name has been presented in some local sources.¹⁰¹ Also the conquests attributed to Mayta Capac by some chroniclers suit best to that time.¹⁰² On the other hand, the position of Capac Yupanqui as a pair of Topa Inca, or as a pair of Yahuar Huacac can be questioned. In particular, it is very difficult to see Capac Yupanqui as a simultaneous king with Yahuar Huacac, who is supposed to have lived long before Pachacuti. As we have noted earlier, no local source mentions Yahuar Huacac or any Capac Yupanqui, who ruled long before Pachacuti. Those belong to mythical history. On the other hand, we have local information dealing with Capac Yupanqui, who acted in Jauja, Vilca and Chíncha as an Inca king,¹⁰³ but all these sources confirm that he lived just before Topa Inca. For example, don Antonio Guaman Cucho testified on December 14, 1570 in Guamanga, that "Pachacuti Ynga Yupanqui conquered the area from Cuzco to Soras" and after that he ordered Capac Yupanqui "who was his brother" to continue the conquest. But because Capac Yupanqui went too far away without permission, he was killed and after that, Topa Ynga Yupanqui continued the Inca conquest up to Quito.¹⁰⁴ Because some independent classic chronicles confirm this local information,¹⁰⁵ it is hard to consider him a co-king of Topa Inca, either. Rather

1964:71). His title may derive from that. However, Cuyos was not conquered before Viracocha or Pachacuti (Sarmiento 1572:cap. 34; 1943:183).

101 According to Luis Gerónimo de Oré (1598), Mayta Capac was married to Mama Yacchi, a native from Collagua. Because of that, the inhabitants of that area built a big copper palace (cited by GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1985:156) for them. Other information about Mayta Capac derives from Pacasa, where the descendants of Apo Guarachi declared that Mayta Capac gave a fine shirt to one their grandparents, which was kept as treasure in their lineage (transcription in: URIOSTE DE AGUIRRE 1978:133). Although this information is late (1805), it may be based on real historical acts; we should also remember that the account of *ceques*, presents Mayta Capac as a historical person (see pp. 78–79).

102 See pp. 79–80.

103 Vega (1582) 1965:166; Toledo (1570–72) 1940:40,44,58; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:93.

104 Toledo (1570–72) 1940:40.

105 Cieza 1553b:cap. lvii; 1986:161; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 38; 1943:196. According to Cieza, Capac Yupanqui hanged himself. On the other hand, Murúa (1616:lib. 1, cap. xi; 1987:67) says that Capac Yupanqui's sister killed him by poison.

he was a competitor, a military leader and a "co-king" of Pachacuti.¹⁰⁶

Dealing with DUVIOLS' list which presents two successive emperors called Tupac Yupanqui, we must note that local sources deny this. We have a lot of information of the Inca kings in local sources after Pachacuti, and in these sources only one Topa Inca (Tupac Yupanqui) is presented as an Inca king between Pachacuti (Inga Yupanqui) and Huayna Capac, not two.¹⁰⁷ On the other hand, other sources confirm that Topa Inca had a brother with the same name.¹⁰⁸ John H. ROWE has demonstrated that the descendant of this other Tupac Yupanqui formed, together with the descendant of Topa Inca and Amaro Topa, a common *panaca*, Capac Ayllu, which was divided into three sub-sections called *Qollana*, *Payan* and *Kayaw*.¹⁰⁹ This shows that rather than successive kings, these two Topa Incas might have been simultaneous leaders of the internal organization of Cuzco. Only the other was the Inca king of the state.

Lastly, the appearance of don Juan Tambo Mayta as a simultaneous king of Huayna Capac in DUVIOLS' list also needs a comment. DUVIOLS has gotten this name from the chronicle of José de Acosta, who mentions don Juan Tambo Maytapanaca as a descendant of Mayta Capac and Tarco Huaman.¹¹⁰ Polo de Ondegardo does not mention him at all.

As we can see, Tambo Mayta had already got the Christian name Juan and most likely it is a question of the very same don Juan Tambo Usca Maita who really was a descendant of Mayta Capac and who was one of the informants for Sarmiento de Gamboa in 1572.¹¹¹ At that time he was about 60 years old and he was the

106 According to Betanzos (1551:caps. xxiv, xxv; 1987:123,125) and Anónimo Yucay ([1571] 1970:125), Capac Yupanqui was a brother of Topa Inca, which would give some support to DUVIOLS' theory. However, even they confirm that Capac Yupanqui made his northern conquest during the time of Pachacuti, before Topa Inca was crowned the Inca king.

107 See, for example, Pablos (1582) 1965:267; "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fols. 20r-21v, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI; Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582) 1969:24; Colque Guarache (1575) 1981:236, 245-246, 249.

108 Quipocamayos (1542-1544) 1920:20; Cabello 1586:parte iii, cap. 18, 1951:334; Murúa 1616:lib. i, cap. xxi; 1987:80.

109 ROWE 1985b:193-220.

110 Acosta 1588-1590:lib. 5, cap. xxiii; 1987:426.

111 Sarmiento (1572): Fee de la probanza; 1943:282.

leader of Usca Maita Panaca Aillo (the *panaca* of Mayta Capac). However, I cannot see him as "a king" who co-reigned at the time of Huayna Capac. If he was 60 years old in 1572, he was only about 16 years old at the time of Huayna Capac's death (1528).

This brief examination has shown that even though the traditional list of a long Inca dynasty cannot be historical, the theories of ZUIDEMA and DUVIOLS do not stand criticism either. Also the theory of four simultaneous Inca kings has been presented by María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO,¹¹² but it has not received much support among the Andeanists. However, one more alternative exists which could explain the existence of some *Hurin Cuzco's* Inca kings during the time of Pachacuti and Topa Inca. That alternative is the triad organization which may have worked in the inner organization of Cuzco.¹¹³

4.2. Three Incas of Cuzco?

If we look at the traditional long list of the Inca kings, we can note that the first Inca, Manco Capac, is the mythological founder of the whole Inca dynasty or dynasties (see p.201). When we analyzed the Inca myth of origin, we noted that it has nothing to do with the real history, rather it was invented to explain the social order of Cuzco. So, the historicity of Manco Capac is very doubtful. The same may be true with Sinchi Roca, who was born, according to this myth of origin, before the Incas came to Cuzco.¹¹⁴

Among the Incas of *Hurin Cuzco*, the existence of Capac Yupanqui and Mayta Capac has been proven by some local sources outside Cuzco. Also, the *kipu*-based account of *ceques* confirms their existence as real persons (see pp). Furthermore, if we look at the genealogy of the descendant of these two Incas of *Hurin Cuzco*,

112 ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:169.

113 Also when Acosta (1588–1590:lib. v, cap. xxviii; 1987:375) explains that in the Inca religion three idols of the Sun existed – Father Sun, Son Sun and Brother Sun – it may signify that this triad symbolized the real sociopolitical order of Cuzco. As we know, the Sun was a symbol of the Inca king. If in a fact there existed three Suns, it may signify that also three simultaneous Incas existed.

114 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 12; 1943:121.

we can note the same phenomenon: Capac Yupanqui and Mayta Capac lived only a few generations before the Spanish conquest.

Some genealogical information of the descendants of Capac Yupanqui has been published by Roberto SANTOS ESCOBAR. In a document dealing with the descendants of Capac Yupanqui in Cobacabana, don Onofre Maskapongo Illatarco and his brothers present the following genealogy of their ancestors in 1675:¹¹⁵

Onobe, Felipe and Lucas Mascapongo Illatarco; Pedro Illatarco

Vicente Illatarco	– Magdalena Poco
Agustín Guamán Illatarco	– Magdalena Lupo
Alonso Mascapongo Illatarco	– Isabel Cusimay
Pedro Mascapongo Illatarco	– Lucía Paico Chimbo
father of Pedro Mascapongo	
grandfather of Pedro Mascapongo	
Capac Yupanqui	

The genealogy of Juan Tambo Maytapanaca, a descendant of Mayta Capac, was published by José de Acosta in 1590 when Juan Tambo Maytapanaca was about 75–80 years old if he was alive. This genealogy is the same that DUVIOLS has used:¹¹⁶

Juan Tambo Maytapanaca
father of Juan Tambo Maytap.
Tarco Huaman
Mayta Capac

115 Mascapongo et al. (1675) 1990:18.

116 Acosta 1588–1590:lib. v, cap. xxiii; 1987:426; DUVIOLS 1980:188. The age of don Juan is taken from Sarmiento (1572) 1943:285.

These two genealogies show that both Mayta Capac and Capac Yupanqui lived about three generations before the Spanish conquest; after the conquest their descendants took Christian names.¹¹⁷

On the other hand, the historicity of Inca Roca, Yahuar Huacac and Lloque Yupanqui can be questioned, since no local source, as far as I know, confirms their existence. However, if they have lived in Cuzco before the time of Inca expansion, or during the initiation of it, they might really have been the "ancestors," or relatives of the later Incas.¹¹⁸

In Andean cultures it seems to have been a general habit that among a nation all the most important *curacas* were near relatives: brothers, fathers and sons, cousins, uncles and brothers' sons, etc.

It has also been noted that the succession of *curacazgo* did not always pass from father to son. Rather it was more common that brothers governed before the "crown" passed to the next generation.¹¹⁹ On the other hand, some local informants let us understand that the Incas began to favor succession from father to

117 Equally the descendants of the *caciques* Guarache of Jesús de Machaca (Pacasa, Bolivia) declared that the mother of Joseph F. Guarache was a descendant of Capac Yupanqui and when we take a look at her genealogy, analyzed by Marta URIOSTE DE AGUIRRE (1981:31), it appears that even in her genealogical tree Capac Yupanqui was the great-grandfather of Gabriel Uscamaita, the first Christianized ancestor of that descendant line of Joseph F. Guarache.

118 It may be significant that when Cieza and Garcilaso tell about Inca Roca's (the so-called 6th Inca) conquest of the area of Pomatambo and its neighborhood (in the frontier of Cuntisuyu and Chinchaysuyu) Sarmiento argues, in the text which contains *kipu*-like parts, that this conquest was made, in reality, by a "brother" of Pachacuti called also as Inca Roca. Compare Cieza 1553b: cap. xxxv; 1986:108; Garcilaso 1609:lib. iii, cap. xviii; 1976 I:159-160 and Sarmiento 1572:cap. 35; 1943:184-187. Note also that according to the original text of Cieza (1553b:cap. xxxvi; 1986:108) the successor of Inca Roca (as well as the successor of Inca Viracocha) was called "Ynga Yupangue" - not Yahuar Huacac, as presented in some English translations of Cieza.

119 ROSTWOROWSKI 1960:419, 421; 1961:61; 1977b:271; 1986:115, 154-157; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1963:52-56; BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1987:307; see also Acosta 1588-1590:lib. vi, cap. xii; 1987:406 and "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557," fols. 184r, 197v-198r, Justicia 405A, AGI.

son.¹²⁰ We can see many reasons for that. One reason is that the most capable sons of important *curacas* were sent to Cuzco to be educated in the Inca customs of administration. After the education, they were probably considered to be more valuable for the Inca purposes than brothers of the old *curacas*. Other reasons may lie in the fact that many of these sons had Inca blood via their mother, and they probably were supposed to be more loyal to the ruling Inca.

However, no rigid rules existed, since – as many testimonies confirm – the norm was that the most suitable and able candidate was elected as the successor of the previous *curaca*.¹²¹ Among the Incas themselves the election was normally very difficult and it led many times to open quarrels and rebellions. We know that Huayna Capac had to eliminate some of his "brothers" and uncles, before he seized power.¹²² Equally, after Huayna Capac died in Quito the whole empire drifted into a civil war between two of his sons. However, we have good reasons to believe that also the candidates for the next Inca had a certain order which was based on genealogy.

In Tawantinsuyu many important *curacazgos* were divided into two halves. Each of them had their own leader, but the *curaca* of lower section, *Hurin*, was subordinated to the *curaca* of *Hanan*.¹²³ Spaniards used to call these two chiefs as *cacique principal* (principal chief) and *segunda persona* (the second person). This dual system was so universal in the Andes that its roots can be derived from pre-Inca time. However, this system was not the only one in the Andes.

For example, in the province of Collagua, Jauja and Rucana we may reconstruct an old division which was based on three subsections. The Inca province of Collagua was divided into

120 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967,1972: passim; see also COCK 1967–1977:103–104.

121 See, for example, ROWE 1946:257; Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967, 1972: passim.

122 Sarmiento 1572: caps. 54–57; 1943:234–239; Cabello 1586: parte iii, cap. 20; 1951:357–358; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:113 [113].

123 See, for example, VALCARCEL 1964: passim; MURRA 1975: passim; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987: passim.

124 ZUIDEMA 1962:115–118; COCK 1976–77:95–118; PEASE 1977: Introduction, pages 9–10.

Yanque Collagua, Lari Collagua and Cabana Conde.¹²⁴ Equally Jauja was divided into Hatun Jauja, *Hanan* Huanca and *Hurin* Huanca and Rucana into Hatun Rucana, Laramati and Antamarca.¹²⁵ Some kind of tripartite division may also have existed in Motupe and in Jequetepeque which were parts of the ancient Chimu empire. When the *oidor* of Lima, Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, made an inspection and *visita* in 1567 to the coast of Trujillo, both in Motupe and Jequetepeque there was the *cacique principal*, the *segunda persona* and a *curaca* with the title of *tercera persona* (third person).¹²⁶

The tripartite division seems to have been extremely important for the Incas, too. We have noted this earlier when we studied the sociopolitical hierarchy of Cuzco. For example, the *ceque* list of Cuzco which is one of the most original Incaic documents, demonstrates well the tripartite social order of the Incas.

Now, if the most important sectors of Cuzco were Chinchaysuyu (*Qollana*), Antisuyu (Payay) and Collasuyu (*Kayaw*), it is possible that the political leaders of these three sectors were all called Incas.¹²⁷ In Cuntisuyu sector lived "poor people," according to Betanzos, and probably their historical leaders were not recognized as royal Incas at all.

If we compare the traditional list of the Inca kings to the *ceque* list, we can note that the Incas who were recognized as leaders of the Inca state in many local sources, belong to Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco (Pachacuti and Topa Inca; see pp. 188, 201). Other sources let us understand that also Huayna Capac belonged to that sector, but his descendant group did not have time to be organized

125 ROWE 1946:188; Vega (1582) 1965:165; see also Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxxiv; 1986:242; for more about the division of Rucana, see pp. 346–349.

126 The *tercera persona* of the *repartimiento* of Motupe was called don Joan, and the *tercera persona* of the *repartimiento* of Jequetepeque was called don Cristoval Paico ("Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fols. 1845v, 1938r, Justicia 458, AGI).

127 The origin myth indicates that those nations which emerged from Sútico and Maras-toco belonged to the Collasuyu sector whereas the descendants of the Auar-brothers, who emerged from the central window of Tambotoco, belonged to the Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco. Still, the *ceque* list demonstrates that the leaders of these subsectors were recognized as Incas.

properly.¹²⁸ To the Antisuyu sector belonged the descendant groups of Yahuar Huacac and Viracocha; and also the palace of Amaro Topa belonged spatially to this same section.¹²⁹

According to the same list, the *panacas* of Lloque Yupanque, Capac Yupanqui and Mayta Capac belonged to Collasuyu; and only the supposed descendants of the mythological Manco Capac were placed in the most inferior sector of Cuntisuyu. However, according to Molina, also the descendants of Sinchi Roca belonged to that section, although in the *ceque* list his name is mentioned only in the connection of Collasuyu.¹³⁰ Whatever was the position of his *panaca* in the social hierarchy, Sinchi Roca himself seems to have belonged to the mythical time as well as Manco Capac did (see p. 207).

This grouping of royal *panacas* in Cuzco shows clearly that all the Inca kings whose existence can be proven, belonged to the three most important sections of Cuzco. Huayna Capac, Pachacuti and Topa Inca belonged to Chinchaysuyu; Viracocha (and Amaro Topa) to Antisuyu, and Capac Yupanqui and Mayta Capac to Collasuyu.

That the *ceque* list mentions the palace of Amaro Topa in the connection of Antisuyu (Payaw) is extremely interesting. Amaro Topa's name does not belong to traditional list of the Inca emperors, but, Pedro Pizarro mentions him as one of the Inca kings.¹³¹ Also, the indigenous writer Pachacuti Yamqui writes a lot about him, but he states that Amaro Topa refused to take the leadership of the state for the advantage of Topa Inca.¹³² However, when he writes about the act where the leadership was given to Topa Inca, he gives an interesting description which might have been based on an Inca painting. He says that Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Amaro Topa were sitting on equal golden chairs, all with *mascapaicha* on their heads. The difference of prestige between

128 See ROWE 1985a:35-73.

129 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xiv; 1964:175.

130 Molina ([1575] 1943:32) declares that "Yauri panaca ayllu" belonged to Cuntisuyu. According to ROWE (1985a:tabla 2, p. 65), it is the same as Raura panaca ayllu, formed by descendants of Sinchi Roca.

131 Pizarro 1571:cap. 10; 1986:46.

132 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300.

these men was seen only in their *septros*.¹³³ The question is now, why would they all have *mascapaicha*, the royal insignia of the Inca king? Could it be true that before Topa Inca was crowned as the leader of the state, they all co-reigned in Cuzco with the royal insignia? And after Pachacuti died, could Amaro Topa continue as the second co-king of Topa Inca?

I think the best evidence to support this hypothesis of three co-reigning Incas comes from "Probanza de los Incas nietos conquistadores," published by John H. ROWE. This *probanza*, which was made voluntarily by some descendants of royal Incas, shows that the descendants of Topa Inca, Amaro Topa and a third Inca called Topa Yupanqui all belonged to the same royal *panaca*. Like the *ceque* system, this *panaca* was divided into three sections and *ayllus* called *Qollana*, *Payan*, *Kayaw*. *Qollana* was *ayllu* of Topa Inca, *Payan* was *ayllu* of Amaro Topa and *Kayaw ayllu* of Topa Yupanqui.¹³⁴ This is very surprising, because many European chroniclers have stated that all sons and daughters of dead Inca who were not elected as a new Inca kings formed Inca's descendant group called *panaca*.¹³⁵ However, here we have a real Incaic document which denies this rule. Rather it shows that, in reality, three Incas together formed a common *panaca* from the time of Pachacuti onward.

I suppose that of the three Incas which formed the aforementioned common *panaca*, Topa Inca was the political leader of Chinchaysuyu (*Qollana*) as well as the leader of the whole Tawantinsuyu, Amaro Topa was the leader of Antisuyu (*Payan*) and Topa Yupanqui governed Collasuyu sector of Cuzco (*Kayaw*). Probably the leader of the Cuntisuyu sector of Cuzco was not, as noted before, a member of these royal Inca families at all.

It is also possible that before the death of Pachacuti, Topa Inca was the second person of him and Amaro Topa held the third, *Kayaw* position, as the description of Pachacuti Yamqui indicates. However, some chroniclers state that before the final decision of Pachacuti, Amaro Topa was in a position to become the next Inca

133 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:302. *Septro* refers to the sceptre.

134 ROWE 1985b:194-195.

135 See, for example, Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. 4; 1964:66. For more about *panacas*, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:138-145; 1988:35-41.

king of the state.¹³⁶ Possibly this means that their prestige order changed after the very successful conquest of Chinchaysuyu, which was led by Topa Inca or simply, mother of Topa Inca may have been a nearer relative of Pachacuti than Amaro's mother. Whatever was the reason for this change, we know that during the time of Topa Inca, Amaro Topa was second in order of prestige and another brother called Topa Yupanqui was raised to the third position.¹³⁷ Some European chroniclers even confirm that during the absence of Topa Inca, Amaro Topa ruled in Cuzco.¹³⁸ And if both of them were absent, Topa Yupanqui probably had a turn to govern in Cuzco. At least that seems to be what don Martin, the son of Topa Yupanqui declared to the inspectors of Francisco Toledo in 1572. He said that his "father Topa governed this empire for Topa Inca and also Huayna Capac let him to govern."¹³⁹

To reconstruct the political situation before the time of Topa Inca, we may use the declaration of Quipocamayos. They seem to have been one of those rare informants, who knew the importance of the three specific sons of Pachacuti. According to them, Pachacuti had three sons with Mama Anahuarque: "the oldest and successor was Topa Inga Yupangue; minors were Topa Yupanque and Amaro Topa Inga."¹⁴⁰ Now, if we see who were "the brothers" of Pachacuti in their information, a triad appears again. According to Quipocamayos, Viracocha Inga had three "sons" with Mama Rondo Cayan: "the mayor or first-born was Inga

136 Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:136; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 42, 43; 1943:204, 206; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300.

137 ROWE 1985b:194–195.

138 Cabello 1586:parte iii, cap. 18; 1951:334, 335; Murúa 1616:cap. xxiv; 1987:88. However, these sources are not independent. For more about Amaro Topa and his association to Antisuyu sector of Cuzco, see ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:163; ZUIDEMA 1990:37–39.

139 Toledo (1570–72) 1940:159; but see ROWE 1985b:195, 201.

140 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:20. Also Quipocamayos had confusion. They let us understand, as the majority of European chroniclers, that Amaro Topa and Topa Yupanqui belonged, together, to the *panaca* of Pachacuti, that of Iñacapanaca. On the other hand, they also say that Capac Ayllu, the *panaca* of Topa Inca were formed by "his son," an auqui called Topa Inca and by two other "natural sons" (Quipocamayos [1542–1544] 1920:20, 21). However, what I consider to be important in their declaration is the fact that they seem to have had an idea of tripartite division of these *ayllus*. They also give correct names of the sons of Pachacuti.

Yupanque (that is Pachacuti); minors were Inga Urcun and Inga Maita."¹⁴¹

Who were Inca Urco and Inca Maita? Inca Maita probably was the very same Mayta Capac, whose historicity has been proven before. Also his position as "a brother" of Pachacuti suits well with the genealogical information that we possess of Inca Mayta Capac.¹⁴² Also the history of Inca Urco is well known. According to Betanzos and Sarmiento, Inca Urco was a son of Viracocha and the elder brother of Pachacuti to whom Viracocha wanted to give the leadership of the state.¹⁴³ Cieza de León also collected information about Inca Urco, and he seems to have been assured about his importance in royal Inca history. Cieza writes as follows:¹⁴⁴

"All the natives of these provinces, as well as the Big ears (*orejones*), laughed at the acts of this Inca Urco. Because of his pusillanimity they did not wish him to enjoy the reputation of having attained the dignity of the Inca realm, and so we see that when in their *kipus* and ballads they tell of the Incas who ruled in Cuzco, they do not mention his name. But I will do this for, after all, well or badly, with vices or virtues, he governed and ruled the kingdom for some days."

That he really may have governed the state for some time is very possible. However, it seems that he was soon killed after he got the *machapaicha*. According to Cabello he was killed in Canche by the order of his competitor Pachacuti. Although chronicler Pachacuti Yamqui says only that he was killed by a *curaca* of Guayua Canchez called Yamque Pachacuti, it is probable that the information of Cabello is correct.¹⁴⁵

Because the *ceque* system seems to have been organized by Pachacuti himself, we cannot be sure which was the real prestige order of these "three brothers" before the death of Inca Urco.

141 Quipocamayos (1542–1544) 1920:19.

142 See p. 208.

143 Betanzos 1551:caps. vi, viii, ix, xvii; 1987:26, 31, 32, 37, 38, 82; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 25, 28; 1943:160, 172.

144 Cieza 1553b:cap. xlv; 1986:129.

145 Cabello 1586: cap.14; 1951:301; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:296; see also Murúa 1616:lib. i, cap. lxxxvii; 1987:316.

Anyhow, in the *ceque* system, Inca Mayta Capac was placed in *Kayaw* position in Collasuyu and Pachacuti himself was placed in Chinchaysuyu (*Qollana*). This means that Inca Urco would have belonged either to Antisuyu and *Payan* or, as the Inca king, to Chinchaysuyu and *Qollana* in that hierarchy.

It may be significant that in the portraits of Inca kings which Herrera published in 1615, Inca Urco has a similar *machapaicha*, as Pachacuti, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac have.¹⁴⁶ From other sources we know that these portraits were copies of paintings sent by the members of royal Inca *panacas* to Spain in 1603,¹⁴⁷ a fact which gives them a lot of value. The portrait of Urco with all of the royal insignias, also supports Cieza de León's account, which stated that Inca Urco really was an Inca king although his name was abolished from *kipus* and ballads of the Incas. In practice it would mean that Inca Urco belonged to the Chinchaysuyu (*Qollana*) section of Cuzco, not the *Payan*, and that he co-reigned with Viracocha before he was killed. If so, it would also explain why a *kipu*-like text copied by Murúa gives credit to Inca Urco for some conquests of Viracocha. As he writes:¹⁴⁸

"[Viracocha] conquered Calca Marca Piña Ocapa and Caquia Marca, subjugated Tocay Capa and Huaypor Marca, Maras and Mullaca, although this [conquest] was attributed to Inga Urco, his son, during the life of his father [Viracocha]."

If we move further backward in genealogy, we will find on the *ceque* list the names of Inca Roca, Viracocha and Capac Yupanqui. Of these, Capac Yupanqui seems to have been the very same Capac Yupanqui who conquered Jauja, Vilca and Chinchu and who was also killed by Pachacuti.¹⁴⁹ Also his genealogy presented before fits better in the time of Pachacuti, and because of that we must think

146 Herrera 1615: "Title of Decada Quinta"; 1952:tomo X. See also fig.3.

147 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1985:381.

148 "[Viracocha] conquistó a Calca do llaman Marca Piña Ocapa y Caqui Marca, sujetó a Tocay Capa y a Huaypor Marca, a Maras y a Mullaca. Aunque esto atribuyen a Inga Urco, su hijo, en vida de su padre." In: Murúa 1616:cap. xvii; 1987:73. For almost a parallel *kipu*-text, see Cabello 1586:p. iii, cap. 14; 1951:298.

149 See pp. 188–189; 81, 205.



Fig. 3. The royal portrays of the Inca kings after Herrera.

that his place in the *ceque* list is manipulated. This manipulation of Capac Yupanqui's place in the *ceque* list is what ROWE already has supposed in his article "La constitución Inca del Cuzco."¹⁵⁰ Also if we look at the portrait and the headdress of Capac Yupanqui as copied by Herrera, we can note that he has a similar headdress as Yahuar Huacac and Viracocha did.¹⁵¹ Because Capac Yupanqui was another royal person who was killed by Pachacuti, it could well be, indeed, that his position in the *ceque* list was intentionally changed to give him less prestige in the sociopolitical hierarchy of Cuzco. As we have noted earlier, the genealogical time and prestige were keenly interconnected in Inca sociopolitical hierarchy: the more remote relative of the living Inca king, the less prestige one had.¹⁵² If this planning were correct, Capac Yupanqui's original place, before he was killed, would have been *Payan*, between Pachacuti and Mayta Capac.¹⁵³ This leaves Viracocha as the co-king of Inca Urco. However, we must remember that when Pachacuti made the *coup d'état*, he did not kill Viracocha as he killed Inca Urco. Although Viracocha lost his power in Cuzco, he seems to have lived a long time in exile, and from his descendants' point of view he probably was a kind of co-king of Pachacuti, too.¹⁵⁴

150 ROWE 1985a:44–46.

151 Herrera, ob. cited.

152 See p. 196.

153 Garcilaso de la Vega (1609: lib. VI, cap. xxxii; 1976:72) says that Capac Yupanqui was the second person of Pachacuti, which would also support this theory. However, the possibility also exists that at the time when the system was created, the leader of the Collasuyu sector stayed in the *Payan* position of the (external) sociopolitical hierarchy.

154 The chronicles of Betanzos (1551:cap. xvii; 1987:85) and Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1968:299) show that Viracocha lived a long time after Pachacuti was crowned the leader of the state. For example, Pachacuti Yamqui writes about his death only after the Inca conquest of Chimu empire in North Peru. This would also explain why Quipocamayos ([1542–1544] 1920:16–17) credited Viracocha as the conqueror of Chimu empire; why Murúa (1616:cap. xvii; 1987:72) tells about "some opinions" according to which Pachacuti was a brother of Viracocha, or why informants of Oliva (1631:lib. 1, cap. 2/8; 1895:50) state that Pachacuti and Viracocha are the names of the very same Inca. We must also remember that Sarmiento (1572:caps. 25, 34; 1943:159, 183) explains the conquest of Ayarmaca and the death of Tocay Capac in the connection of Viracocha and later on, in the connection of Pachacuti.

Finally, the *ceque* list leaves Inca Roca in Chinchaysuyu, Yahuar Huacac in Antisuyu and Lloque Yupanque in Collasuyu. Whether they were real historical persons or not cannot be answered by the information we possess so far. However, their historicity is a possibility.

If we sum up our hypothesis we can formulate the following list of simultaneous "Inca kings," who "reigned" inside Cuzco:

QOLLANA	PAYAN	KAYAW
Inca Roca?	Yahuar Huacac?	
Inca Urco, killed	Viracocha	Lloque Yupanqui?
Pachacuti	Capac Yupanqui, killed	Mayta Capac
Pachacuti	Amaro Topa?	Mayta Capac
Pachacuti	Topa Inca	Amaro Topa
Topa Inca	Amaro Topa	Topa Yupanqui
(Huayna Capac)		

If my hypothesis is correct, only the Incas of *Qollana* were the Inca kings of Tawantinsuyu, at least after the death of Capac Yupanqui and Inca Urco. However, the main problem in our list lies in the fact that the whole *ceque* system we know and what I have used as the main source in the formulation of this model, was created by Pachacuti.¹⁵⁵ When he killed two of his so-called "brothers" Inca Urco and Capac Yupanqui, he probably manipulated the position of their descendants in sociopolitical hierarchy. The same may be true with some other Incas, too. As Pierre BOURDIEU has pointed out: many societies have used ideological lineage models and genealogical representations "in order to justify and legitimate the established order."¹⁵⁶ This phenomenon has also been noted by John H. ROWE, when he studied the *ceque* system and, for example, the case of Capac Yupanqui.¹⁵⁷ However, it is important to note that even though the position of some Incas in the *ceque* list seems not to be in their original place, *the ceque list was probably used as a real one for the sociopolitical purposes of the Incas.*

Even though my theory may be wrong, it is important that the

155 ROWE 1985a:35.

156 BOURDIEU 1982:19.

157 ROWE 1985a:44.

portraits which Herrera had copied for his own purposes, demonstrated similar triadism as the *ceque* system. The Incas, whose historicity can be proven, had three kinds of *machapaichas*.¹⁵⁸ The first group of similar headdresses are: Huascar, Huayna Capac, Topa Inca, Pachacuti and Urco. The second group are formed by Viracocha, Yahuar Huacac and Capac Yupanqui,¹⁵⁹ and the third by Mayta Capac, Lloque Yupanqui and Sinchi Roca. The headdress of Inca Roca cannot be seen clearly; we can only say that it does not belong to the first group.¹⁶⁰ We should also remember that according to Las Casas the royal Incas had three kinds of "heads" (*tres diferencias de cabezas*) which differentiated them from others. This may be another proof to support the theory of tripartite division among the royal Incas.¹⁶¹

We do not possess any *kipu*-based text which would describe the inside organization of Cuzco during the time of Huayna Capac and Huascar. Neither did chroniclers pay much attention to the sociopolitical hierarchy of Cuzco, simply because they were not interested in that topic. However, we may get some possible hints about the names of the second and third persons of ruling Inca in the sociopolitical organization of Cuzco, if we look at the names of the persons who were allowed to govern Cuzco during the absence of Huayna Capac and Huascar.¹⁶² Let us take a short look at the accounts of chroniclers.

158 In Herrera, the mythological founder of the Inca dynasty, Manco Capac, has a different *machapaicha* (royal headdress) than the others. The rest of the Incas can be grouped in three "lineages."

159 The inside order of the Incas of this second group is not important, since their portraits were arranged by Herrera for his own purposes.

160 Herrera 1615:"Title of Decada Quinta"; 1952:tomo X. See also fig. 3.

161 Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:109.

162 In this study I will not deal with the religious organization of the Incas. It seems that the leaders of the Inca church were elected from the Antisuyu sector of Cuzco and the leaders of the Inca state were elected from the Chinchaysuyu sector. The leader of the church, Villac Umo "mayordomo de Sol," also had a lot of power, and in religious matters he was the second person of Inca. He, for example, gave the *machapaicha* to the new Inca king (Sarmiento 1572:caps. 62, 66; 1943:250-251, 267-268. See also Betanzos 1551:parte ii, cap. xxix; 1987:291; Segovia [1552] 1968:75-76; Anónimo Valera [ca. 1600] 1968:161-174; Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xxxiii; 1964:223). For more about Villac Umo, see ZUIDEMA 1962:177; ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:160-162.

After the death of Topa Inca, two candidates rivaled (by the help of their nearest relatives) for sovereignty: Capac Guari and Tito Cusi Hualpa.¹⁶³ The campaign was won by Tito Cusi Hualpa who got the *machapaicha* and during the same time he, as a new Inca king, changed his name to Huayna Capac. However, Huayna Capac seems to have been very young, and because of that, the "governorship" of Tawantinsuyu was given temporarily to another person called Hualpaya, who, in turn, is said to have been a son of Capac Yupanqui.¹⁶⁴ After a while, Hualpaya tried to establish power on his own lineage, but his planning was figured out and he was condemned to death with his son and other nearest relatives.¹⁶⁵

Also Guaman Poma confirms the difficulties of Huayna Capac to establish his sovereignty. According to Guaman Poma, Huayna Capac had to go four times to the temple of Sun to be elected as Inca king. During the last time "his father, the Sun" called him and he was elected. To this Guaman Poma adds that after he got the *machapaicha* he "ordered two of his brothers to be killed."¹⁶⁶

Independent chroniclers like Sarmiento and Cobo affirm that after these inside rivalries, Huayna Capac went to Chachapoya to pacify a local rebellion. The person he let to govern Cuzco was called Sinchi Roca.¹⁶⁷ It is not very likely that it was a question of the same Sinchi Roca who was mentioned as the second Inca in the long list of Inca dynasty, because that Inca belonged already to the myth of origin. On the other hand, it may well be that this Sinchi Roca was some kind of co-king of Huayna Capac. It is also possible that when Garcilaso and Oliva speak about the enormous

163 Sarmiento 1572:caps. 54–55; 1943:235–236; Cabello 1586: p. iii, cap. 20; 1951:357–358.

164 Sarmiento 1572:caps. 56–57; 1943:238; Cabello 1586:p. iii, cap. 20; 1951:358. See also Betanzos 1551:cap. xxxix; 1987:176; Cieza 1553b:cap. lxii; 1986:179; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:305–307; Cobo 1653:lib. 11, cap. xvi; 1964:88; PATTERSON 1991:93.

165 *Ibid.* We have noted earlier that the descendants of Capac Yupanqui might have moved intentionally from the *Payan* position to the *Kayaw* position in the social hierarchy. If it did not happen during the time of Pachacuti it might have happened during the time of Huayna Capac, after the descendants of Capac Yupanqui had attempted the coup.

166 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:113 [113].

167 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 58; 1943:239; Cobo 1653:lib. 11, cap. xvi; 1964:89. See also Cabello 1586:cap. 21; 1951:361.

conquests of the second Inca, they tell, in reality, about the campaigns that happened during the lifetime of this other Sinchi Roca.¹⁶⁸

The next names, which independent chroniclers Betanzos and Sarmiento accept as governors of Cuzco were Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inca.¹⁶⁹ Betanzos also mentions his wife's relative, a grandson of Pachacuti, Yamqui Yupanqui, as the governor of Huayna Capac, and Sarmiento once mentions a son of Pachacuti called Guaman Achachi as a governor, but other sources do not confirm this information.¹⁷⁰ Neither does Sarmiento mention Guaman Achachi's name as the governor of Cuzco on other occasions.¹⁷¹ Probably they were some of those military and *suyu* leaders called *capac apos* or the leaders of royal *panacas*, but not the second or third persons of Huayna Capac.

Of these two persons which both sources accepted as governors, Auqui Topa Inca is said to have been a brother of Huayna Capac and Apo Hilaquita as a son of Pachacuti, that is, the uncle of Huayna Capac.¹⁷² In our genealogical model of prestige both uncles and brothers, as well as sons, belong to the first category,¹⁷³ but because brothers are one generation nearer than uncles in that system, the probable order between these two are:(1) Auqui Topa Inca and (2) Apo Hilaquita.

168 Oliva tells about Sinchi Roca's campaigns in the areas of Quito and Charcas. Garcilaso tells about Sinchi Roca's campaigns in Collao.

169 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlv; 1987:190; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 61; 1943:248.

170 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlv; 1987:190; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 60; 1943:241. Betanzos was married to an Indian woman, who was a descendant of Pachacuti Inca (see MARTIN RUBIO 1987:xv).

171 On other occasions only Apo Hilaquita and Auqui Topa Inca are mentioned as governors of Cuzco (Sarmiento 1572:caps. 61, 62; 1943:248, 250). On the other hand, Sarmiento also says that Guaman Achachi was *apo*, governor of the Chinchaysuyu section of the state (Sarmiento 1572:cap. 57; 1943:238). That probably was different than the second person of Inca.

172 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlv, xlv; 1987:190, 191; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 62; 1943:250; Cabello 1586:cap. 24; 1951:393. Auqui Topa as a brother of Huayna Capac is also mentioned by Quipocamayos, Fray Antonio ([1542-1544/1608] 1920:21, 26) and Fernández (1571: lib. iii, cap. v; 1963:82). Fernández also mentions a second brother of Huayna Capac called Auqui Toma (*ibid.*). From other sources we know that this second brother of Huayna Capac was killed by Cayambis during the northern campaigns of the Incas led by Huayna Capac and Auqui Toma (Sarmiento 1572:cap. 60; 1943:244; Cabello 1586:cap. 22; 1951:377).

173 See p. 196.

That Auqui Topa Inca may really have been the second person of Huyana Capac can also be seen in the texts of "Señores" and Santillán. According to them, all the important matters of administration were consulted first with "the secretary of Inca" before the matter went to the Inca king. During the lifetime of Huayna Capac the name of this "secretary," who held the second position in the political hierarchy, was just Auqui Topa Inca.¹⁷⁴

According to Sarmiento and Cabello, Auqui Topa Inca and Apo Hilaquita died before Huayna Capac.¹⁷⁵ It is possible that in that moment Huascar, a son of Huayna Capac, took the second position in the hierarchy of the state. At least, according to Castro & Ortega Morejón Huayna Capac left Huascar to govern Cuzco when he went for his last journey to Popayan. In fact, also ROSTWOROWSKI has supposed that Huascar was in charge in Cuzco, after Huayna Capac had left Cuzco to undertake his Ecuadorean campaign. However, the account of Sarmiento and Cabello indicate that although Huascar was left to Cuzco, he did not govern before the death of Auqui Topa Inca and Apo Hilaquita.¹⁷⁶

Nevertheless, Huascar was not in the position to become the next Inca king of the state, since before Huyana Capac died in Quito of a European disease, he named one of his sons called Ninan Cuyuchi as his successor.¹⁷⁷ According to Betanzos, Ninan Cuyuchi was only a month old when he was named as the next

174 Santillán (1563) 1968:105; "Señores" (ca. 1575) 1920:60. However, these sources are not independent.

175 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 62; 1943:250; Cabello (using the same sources) 1586:cap. 24; 1951:393.

176 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:96; ROSTWOROWSKI 1960:424. According to Quipocamayos ([1542-1544] 1920:5) Huascar reigned only two years and four months as the Inca king. This is the only exact date known by those *kipu kamayoqs* questioned by Vaca de Castro, and it is probably correct. However, because Huayna Capac probably died in 1528 (ROWE 1978:83-88; 1985a:35; PÄRSSINEN 1983:2-3), some time must have passed before Huascar was officially crowned as Huayna Capac's successor. On the other hand, in 1532, when the Spaniards captured Atahualpa in Cajamarca, Huascar had already lost his *machapaicha*.

177 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlviii; 1987:200; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 62; 1943:250-251; Cobo 1653:lib. 11, cap. xvii; 1964:93. See also Cabello 1586:p. iii, cap. 24; 1951:394; Murúa 1616:lib. I, cap. xxxix; 1987:140; see also PATTERSON 1991:95.

Inca, but that information seems to be "exaggerated."¹⁷⁸ However, he really seems to have been very young, since also in a *probanza* of Diego Ylaquita and his brothers (sons of Atahualpa) it is stated that Ninan Cuyuchi was only a 10 to 12-year-old boy at the time when Huayna Capac died.¹⁷⁹

Why was a twelve-year-old boy named as the successor of Huayna Capac? Possibly the best explanation was given by Bernabé Cobo, who says that Ninan Cuyuchi was the only son that Huayna Capac had with his own sister Mama Cusirimay.¹⁸⁰ If that information is correct, it would mean that Ninan Cuyuchi was genealogically the nearest possible relative of Huayna Capac, and this may have been the main reason for his election.

Unfortunately, Ninan Cuyuchi died about 10 or 11 days after the death of Huayna Capac of the same disease as his father, and the *machapaicha* was given to the next in order who was Topa Cusi Hualpa, best known as Huascar.¹⁸¹ Huascar was also a son of Huayna Capac but his mother was called Rahua Ocllo.

According to Betanzos, Rahua Ocllo belonged to *Hurin Cuzco*, but because his informants did not favor Huascar, we can think of it only as despising.¹⁸² The majority of our evidence supports the view that Rahua Ocllo belonged to the same *panaca* where Huayna Capac was born: to the Capac Ayllu, the *panaca* of the descendants of Topa Inca and his two brothers.¹⁸³ However, because Capac Ayllu was divided internally into three sections – *Qollana* (descendants of Topa Inca), *Payan* (descendants of Amaro Topa) and *Kayaw* (descendants of Topa Yupanqui) – Rahua Ocllo need not to have been a full sister of Huayna Capac, as possibly was the

178 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlvi; 1987:200.

179 Testimony given on April 28, 1555, sin fols. In: "Dos probanzas hechas, la una en Lima, y la otra en el Cuzco, a pedimiento de don Diego Ylaquita, don Francisco Atabalipa et al, hijos que se dize ser del emperador Atabalipa. Consejo de Indias 1557," Ramo 6, Patronato 188, AGI.

180 Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xvii; 1964:93.

181 "Dos probanzas hechas, la una en Lima, y la otra en el Cuzco, a pedimiento de don Diego Ylaquita, don Francisco Atabalipa et al, hijos que se dize ser del emperador Atabalipa. Consejo de Indias 1557," Ramo 6, Patronato 188, AGI. This information is also confirmed by Cabello 1586:cap. 24; 1951:394.

182 Betanzos 1551:cap. xlvi; 1987:194. Betanzos wife, a descendant of Pachacuti, favored Atahualpa in the Inca civil war.

183 See, for example, Murúa 1616:lib.1, cap. lviii; 1987:203.

case with Mama Cusirimay, the first woman of Huayna Capac.¹⁸⁴ Because Huascar was the second in the order to be selected as the Inca king of the state, possibly his mother also belonged to the second group of the sociopolitical hierarchy among the royal *panacas*, that is, *Payan* of Capac Ayllu.

After Huascar got the *machapaicha*, one of his brothers called Cusi Atauchi tried to kill Huascar but without success.¹⁸⁵ But the problems of Huascar did not end with this. Descendants of Pachacuti did not like his policy and they began to favor Atahualpa as a possible new Inca king. Atahualpa, whose mother belonged to Ñaca *panaca*,¹⁸⁶ was at that moment in Quito with the army of his father. Finally, Atahualpa got so much support among his father's army that the conflict intensified to a bloody civil war which terminated just before the Spanish invasion in the victory of Atahualpa.¹⁸⁷

During the time of the civil war, the sociopolitical hierarchy probably did not function normally. However, we know that Huascar himself stayed in Cuzco while sending his brothers to the battlefields. During that time his second person was said to have been Tito Atauchi, his brother.¹⁸⁸ Also the descendants of Tito Atauchi declared to Francisco Toledo that he "governed temporarily this empire" which supports his position as the second person of Huascar.¹⁸⁹ Because Huascar was surrounded by many important "governors" and military leaders at that time, the third person is not easily found. One possibility is another brother called Guanca Auqui, who led the defence of Huascar's army

184 For the internal division of Capac Ayllu, see ROWE 1985b: 193–245; For Mama Cusirimay as the first woman of the state, see also Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:307.

185 Murúa 1616 lib. 1, cap. xl; 1987:143.

186 Cieza de León (1553b:cap. lxiii; 1986:184) believed that Atahualpa's mother was a non-Inca princess. However, Betanzos (1551:cap. xlvi; 1987:194) confirms the information of Sarmiento (1572:cap. 63; 1943:252), according to which Atahualpa's mother belonged to Ñaca *panaca* (which was incorporated into Hatun Ayllu), formed by the descendants of Pachacuti. Thus, the conflict which led to civil war originated from the dispute between two of the most powerful *panacas* of Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco.

187 VEGA 1969:9–37.

188 Murúa 1616:lib. 1, cap. xl; 1987:144; see also Cabello 1586:cap. 25; 1951:397.

189 Toledo (1570–72) 1940:167.

against the troops of Atahualpa, Chalcochima and Quisquis, and who is mentioned as an Inca king in Quilca, near Quito.¹⁹⁰ However, the final answer, who was the third person of Huascar, if there was any third person, is a task of future research.

In summary, this study has shown that the theory of a long Inca dynasty seems not to be valid and we must seek other alternative models to understand the complexity of Inca society. IMBELLIONI, ZUIDEMA, IBARRA GRASSO, DUVIOLS and ROSTWOROWSKI, all important ethnohistorians, have tried to find their own solutions to explain the contradictions which the old long list had caused. However, their models are also open to criticism, and because of that I have created this triad model to explain better, if possible, the internal sociopolitical organization of Cuzco. My thesis is that although Cuzco was divided into the *Hanan* and *Hurin* and into the four *suyu*'s, in terms of sociopolitical order the triad seems to have been extremely important, as also proven by the *kipu*-based *ceque* list. In another words, it is very possible that the royal Incas governed three sections of four possible ones in Cuzco; the fourth section of Cuzco did not belong to the direct leadership of royal Incas, rather, that section of Cuzco (Cuntisuyu) was governed by non-Inca people, or more accurately, Incas by privilege.¹⁹¹ And further, among the leaders of the three sections which were governed by royal Incas, only one, the leader of Chinchaysuyu (*Qollana*), had supreme power over the political

190 See Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:133; Aguilar (1582) 1965:246 and, for example, Betanzos 1551:parte ii, caps. vii–xi; 1987:234–236; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 63–65; 1943:252–265. Another possibility is Manco Inca who stayed in Cuzco during these campaigns (see Tito Cusi Yupanqui [1570] 1988:127).

191 When Betanzos (1551:cap. xvi; 1987:77) speaks about "the poor people of Cuzco" called Guacha Concha, he probably refers to the Uacha Yngas [tribute payers, the Incas by privilege] of Guaman Poma (see p. 198 note 82). What I consider to be important is the fact that, according to Betanzos, those Guachas lived in Pumachupa which situated to the south of the Temple of the Sun. As I will demonstrate later this site belonged to the Cuntisuyu sector of Cuzco. Hence, the major bulk of the non-Inca population, who lived inside of the sacred center, belonged to that *suyu* sector of Cuzco.

matters of the state. Others were only co-kings who mainly governed inside Cuzco.

In general, we can also note that the evidence presented before gives some support to the theory of Claude LEVI-STRAUSS. According to him, all dual organizations (in this case the *Hanan – Hurin* organization) contain elements which make them triad rather than dual.¹⁹² For example, LEVI-STRAUSS has noted that among the Bororo a village of eight clans is separated into two moieties which, furthermore, are split internally into two other groups. However, these manifestations of dualism exist side by side with a triadic structure, since those eight clans are divided internally into three classes of which he uses terms Upper, Middle and Lower. LEVI-STRAUSS continues as follows:¹⁹³

“... the rule which requires an Upper of one moiety to marry an Upper of the other moiety, a Middle a Middle, and a Lower a Lower, converts the apparently dual exogamous system of Bororo society into what is in reality a triadic endogamous system, since we are dealing with three sub-societies, each made up of individuals who have no kinship ties with the members of the other two.”

When LEVI-STRAUSS studied other dual organizations among the Winnebago, Indonesians and Omarakana in Trobriand Islands, he makes the same conclusion. All the so-called dual organizations contain ternary structure for which he advised us to reject the whole theory of dual organizations as such.¹⁹⁴ Our study of the sociopolitical organisation of Incaic Cuzco has also shown that the so-called dual organization of the Incas discloses many anomalies and contradictions. Although Cuzco was divided into two big moieties (*Hanan – Hurin*) and those again into two sub-moieties (Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu; Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu), the most important sociopolitical division may have been triad. Probably all the royal Incas belonged to the three hierarchically arranged sections of Cuzco: to *Qollana* (Chinchaysuyu), *Payan* (Antisuyu) and *Kayaw* (Collasuyu).

192 LEVI-STRAUSS 1956:99–128. For more about LEVI-STRAUSS' theory, see PÄRSSINEN 1989a:44–46; 1990:104–115.

193 LEVI-STRAUSS 1963:143.

194 LEVI-STRAUSS 1963:161.

5. Spatial Division and the Sociopolitical Organization of Cuzco

We have a lot of evidence that shows how the Incas used landmarks, *mojones*, to demonstrate the limits of the land of different interest groups.¹⁹⁵ Guaman Poma even mentions that it was a task of "Cona Raqui, Hanan Cuzco yngas and Una Caucho, Lurin Cuzco yngas" to mark and watch these limits and boundaries.¹⁹⁶

In general, it is very likely that the spatial division was not only important in economic matters, but also in sociopolitical organization. As RIVIERS and URTON have shown, even today the sociopolitical organizations of Andean villages have spatial manifestations.¹⁹⁷ I have also observed in Caquiaviri (Pacasa) that the village, the central plaza and the main church are still divided into two main sociopolitical sectors, called by Quechua terms *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*. Furthermore, both these two main sectors were divided internally, before the agrarian reform of 1952, into six subsectors, between principal *ayllus*,¹⁹⁸ and it is said that each of these *ayllus* had their own area to take care of in the plaza and in the church.

Because we also know that the Cuzco proper, the center of town, was considered to be sacral in order to separate it from semi-sacral and profane surrounding,¹⁹⁹ it is highly probable that the Incaic sociopolitical organization described before had certain spatial manifestations inside Cuzco, too.

According to many scholars, the Antisuyu road divided Cuzco into two main moieties: into *Hanan Cuzco* and *Hurin Cuzco*. Generally it is also thought that the Antisuyu road started from the central

195 See, for example, "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca . . .," fols. 2041v–2043r, Justicia 458, AGI; "Relación del padre Gaspar de Carvajal sobre los límites de las tierras de Canta y Chacalla en Quibi, (sin fecha, ca.1565)," fols. 414r–v, Justicia 413, AGI.

196 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:352–353 [354–355].

197 RIVIERE 1986:3–27; URTON 1984:7–43.

198 In Caquiaviri people use many Quechua terms like Hanan – Hurin, ayllus, etc. although they speak Aymara.

199 ROWE 1967:59–77.

plaza of Cuzco, from *Hanan* Haucaypata, and that it ran across Cuzco on a southwest – northeast axis.²⁰⁰ However, this general theory does not explain why the palaces of Topa Inca and Huayna Capac were situated in *Hurin* Cuzco even though these kings certainly were the rulers of *Hanan* Cuzco. Or similarly, why was Capac Yupanqui's palace situated in *Hanan* Cuzco even though he was a ruler of *Hurin* Cuzco?²⁰¹ This can be taken as proof that the sociopolitical organization of Cuzco and its spatial division were not interconnected.²⁰² However, it can also be proof that the general view of the internal spatial division of Cuzco is wrong. As Fernand BRAUDEL once said: "Spatial models are the charts upon which social reality is projected."²⁰³ That is why we should check our main sources again and see what they tell us about the spatial division of that "town"?

Many chroniclers have dealt with some important buildings of Cuzco,²⁰⁴ but one of the most detailed accounts of all of Cuzco is that of Garcilaso de la Vega. Because Garcilaso was born there, he, indeed, had a good possibility to describe its buildings and internal spatial division even though he moved to Spain already when he was a young man. On the other hand, we must also remember that Cuzco was burned down during the siege of Cuzco, in 1536 – before Garcilaso was born. Also the fact that many Spanish conquistadors moved to that "city" must have affected the early spatial order. Still, I think, we can find traces of the original spatial setting by using the sources written down during the early colonial time.

Before I shall concentrate on Garcilaso's account I would like to deal with Juan Betanzos' chronicle, because it is one of the oldest sources which deals with the spatial *Hanan* – *Hurin* division of Cuzco. During his lifetime Betanzos was well known for his ability in Quechua.²⁰⁵ He lived most of his life in Cuzco and he was

200 ROWE 1967; CHAVEZ BALLON 1970; GASPARINI & MARGOLIES 1980; AGURTO CALVO 1980; HYSLOP 1990.

201 The best descriptions of the sites of individual houses and palaces of Cuzco are in AGURTO CALVO 1980 and CHAVEZ BALLON 1970.

202 HYSLOP 1990:66.

203 BRAUDEL (1958) 1980:52.

204 CHAVES BALLON (1970:1-2) has listed these chroniclers in his article "Cuzco, Capital del Imperio."

205 Quipocamayos (1542-1544) 1920:5; Fernández (1571) 1963:77.

married to Angelica Yupanqui, a descendant of Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui. That is why I consider his account of Cuzco to be as important as that of Garcilaso's, at least.

According to Betanzos, Coricancha, the Temple of the Sun, was the center of the main *Hanan-Hurin* division. As he writes:²⁰⁶

"Ynga Yupanqui [Pachacuti] ordered that all the nobles of Cuzco and other "vecinos" and residents of it should assemble; he ordered to bring the map and picture of the city which he had ordered to make of clay, and when it was in front of him he gave and allotted the houses and "solares" – which were already constructed and made as you have heard [before] – to the "señores" of Cuzco and to all other "vecinos" and residents who were "orejones," descendants of his lineage and of the other "señores" who had succeeded him from the beginning of Manco Capac; he settled them and ordered them to populate [the city] in the way that the three "señores," his friends, settled the area from the Houses of the Sun down to the confluence of the two rivers; of that space of houses, situated between the two rivers down from the Houses of the Sun, he ordered that it should be called *Hurin* Cuzco, which means the lower Cuzco; and it is the outmost edge at the end [of this city] which he ordered to be called Pumapchupa, which means tail of the lion, in which place these three "señores" settled down together with their lineages; of these and of each of them it began and descended the three lineages of *Hurin* Cuzco; these "señores"

206 "mandó Ynga Yupanqui que todos los principales del Cuzco e los demás vecinos e moradores del fuesen juntos mando traer allí la traza de la ciudad e pintura que así había mandado hacer de barro e teniendo delante de sí dió e repartió las casas e solares ya edificados y hechos como oído habeis a los señores del Cuzco y a los demás vecinos e moradores del todos los cuales eran orejones descendientes de su linaje e de los demás señores que hasta el habían sucedido desde el principio de Manco Capac poblándolos e mandándolos poblar en esta manera que los tres señores sus amigos poblasen desde las casas del sol para abajo hacia la junta de los dos ríos en aquel espacio de casas que entre los dos ríos se hicieron y desde las casas del sol para abajo al cual sitio mandó que se llamase *Hurin* Cuzco que dice lo bajo del Cuzco y es remate postrero de la punta desto mandó que se nombrase Pumapchupa que dice cola de león en el cual sitio poblaron estos tres señores ellos e los de su linaje de los cuales y de cada uno por sí comenzaron e descendieron los tres linajes de los de *Hurin* Cuzco los cuales señores se llamaron Vicaquiroa y el otro Apomayta y el otro Quilis Cache Urco Guaranga e de las casas del sol para arriba todo lo que tomaban los dos arroyos hasta el cerro do[nde] agora es la fortaleza dió e repartió a los señores más propincuos deudos suyos e descendientes de su linaje por línea recta ..."

In: Betanzos 1551:cap. xvi; 1987:77.

were called Vicaquiroa, (and the other) Apomayta and (the other) Quilis Cache Urcó Guaranga; and up from the Houses of the Sun, all which was between the two rivulets up to the hill, where now stands the fortress, he gave and allotted to the "señores" who were his nearest relatives and the descendants of his lineage by direct descent line ..."

And later on Betanzos refers again to the same division.²⁰⁷

"... in that time [Pachacuti] took up as his wives another twenty *señoras*, daughters of these principals of the town, as well from *Hurin* Cuzco as from *Hanan* Cuzco which means Lower Cuzco and Upper Cuzco, and that Upper Cuzco, which was divided and limited by Houses of the Sun and those two streams as it was told for you in history, ..."

We can consider this information as "a point of view of Chinchaysuyu," because Betanzos seemingly explains what his wife and her relatives, who belonged to Pachacuti's lineage and the Chinchaysuyu sector of Cuzco, told him. In other words, seen from the angle of Chinchaysuyu, Coricancha separated *Hanan* Cuzco from *Hurin* Cuzco so that the inhabitants who lived in the northwest of Coricancha were *Hanan* Cuzcos and the inhabitants who lived in Puma Chupa, in "the tail of Puma," were considered *Hurin* Cuzcos. It is significant that also the *kipu*-based *ceque* account sees Coricancha as the centre of *ceque* lines, which separates Antisuyu from Chinchaysuyu, Collasuyu from Antisuyu and Cuntisuyu from Collasuyu.²⁰⁸ Why, then, it is believed that the *Hanan* – *Hurin* division started from *Hanan* Haucaypata, and not from Coricancha?

Probably, because Garcilaso says that Antisuyu road divided Cuzco so that "the northern part was called *Hanan* Cuzco and the southern part was called *Hurin* Cuzco."²⁰⁹ However, in the very same passage he mentions Sacsayhuaman, the great "fortress" of

207 "... en este tiempo tomó por mujeres otras veinte señoras hijas aquellos principales de la ciudad así de los de Hurin Cuzco como los de Hanan Cuzco que dice el Cuzco abajo y el Cuzco arriba lo cual partía e limitaba las casas del sol y los dos arroyos como la historia os ha contado ..." In: Betanzos 1551:cap. xx; 1987:99–100.

208 Cobo 1653:lib.13, caps. xiii–xvi; 1964:169–186.

209 Garcilaso 1609:lib.7, cap. viii; 1976 II:101.

Cuzco, to be situated, not in the northern part, but in the northeastern part of the town.²¹⁰ So, it is possible that the northern part of Garcilaso may be the actual northwestern part or even the western part, and if so, the Antisuyu road of Garcilaso might also have started from the Coricancha district as seems to be the case in the *ceque* account.²¹¹ We must remember that also Cieza states that *Hanan Cuzco* was situated on the western side of Cuzco, not the northern side.²¹²

Whatever Garcilaso had meant when he presented his model of Cuzco, I do not consider his account to be more important than the *kipu*-based *ceque* list, copied by Cobo. When Betanzos' account also supports more the alternative presented in the *ceque* list, I advise to give up the whole theory which sees the main *Hanan – Hurin* line to have started from *Hanan Haycaypata*.

To me it is also clear that the Collasuyu road did not run directly from *Hanan Haycaypata* to the southeast, as presented by CHAVEZ BALLON and AGURTO CALVO, but more to the east as presented by SQUIER, ROWE and GASPARINI & MARGOLIES.²¹³ We can be quite sure about this, because in the earliest *tambo* list of the Collasuyu road (1543), *tambos* like Mohina, Quispicanchi, Urcos, Quiquijana and Cangalla are all mentioned on the very same Collasuyu road as proposed in the model of SQUIER and ROWE.²¹⁴ Also, Cieza de León used this road when he went to Collasuyu,²¹⁵ and as a matter of fact, both the *ceque* account and Garcilaso mention the area of Coricancha as the starting point of Collasuyu road, not *Hanan Haycaypata* as presented by CHAVES BALLON et al.²¹⁶

That is why I prefer the interpretation which sees the most sacred place of the Incas, that of Coricancha, as the center of all

210 Ibid.

211 Cobo 1653:lib.13, cap. xiv; 1964:175.

212 Cieza 1553b:cap. xxxii; 1986:97.

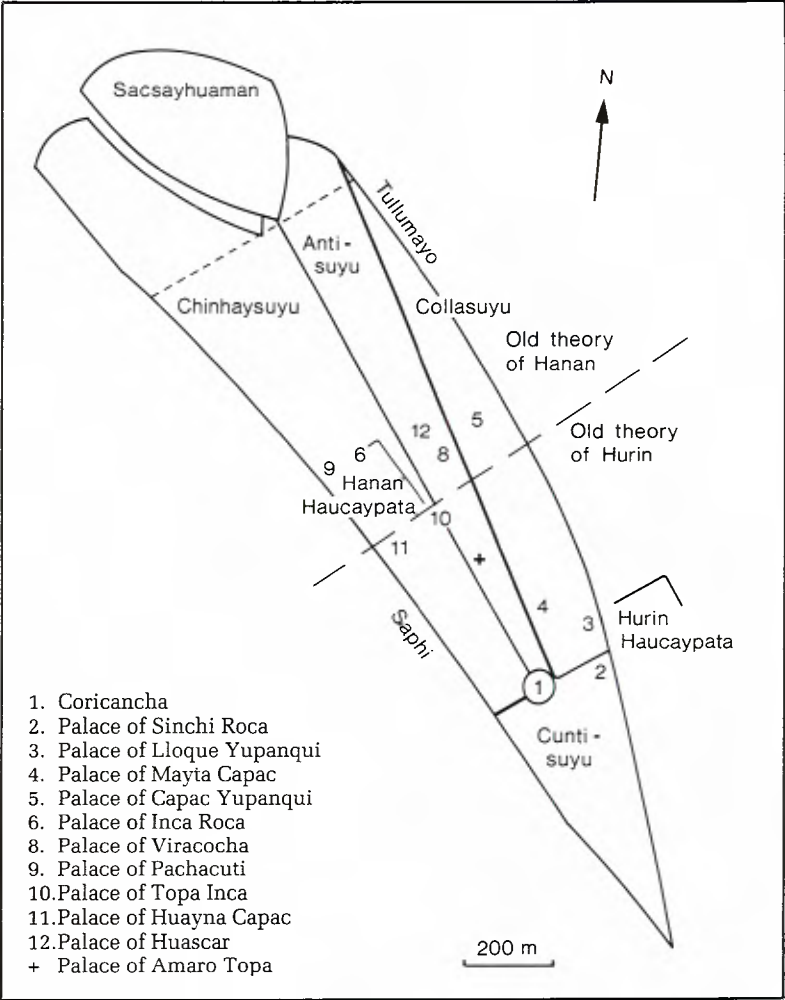
213 CHAVEZ BALLON 1970:10–11; AGURTO GALVO 1980:128; SQUIER 1877:428; ROWE 1967:plate xxxiv; GASPARINI & MARGOLIES 1980: fig. 46.

214 Vaca de Castro (1543) 1919:430–431; SQUIER 1877:428; ROWE 1967:plate XXXIV; see also HYSLOP 1990:33.

215 Cieza 1553a:cap. xcvi; 1986:267–269.

216 Cobo 1653:lib. 13, cap. xv; 1964:181. According to Garcilaso (1609:lib. 7, cap. viii; 1976:102), the Collasuyu road started from Rimacpampa (Limacpampa), which is situated near Coricancha.

main spatial divisions of Cuzco. Not only *huacas*, but also four *suyu* sectors, as well as the main *Hanan* – *Hurin* division was originally seen from there. If this interpretation is correct, the lines may have run as follows:



The main division of Cuzco

In this model the canalized Huatanay (Saphi) River belonged to *Hanan* Cuzco and Tullumayo River belonged to *Hurin* Cuzco.²¹⁷

On the other hand, the whole area of Puma Chupa, the tail of Puma, belonged to the Cuntisuyu sector of *Hurin* Cuzco. This model would also explain why Betanzos saw Puma Chupa as *Hurin* Cuzco, since seen from the angle of Chinchaysuyu, the demarcation line of the main *Hanan* – *Hurin* division would really have been there, if this model is correct. In other words, the adjacent sector of Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, belonged to *Hanan* Cuzco, too.

However, the most important thing is that in this model both Huayna Capac's and Topa Inca's palaces are in *Hanan* Cuzco and Capac Yupanqui's palace is in *Hurin* Cuzco. This is different from the earlier models. It is also important to notice that the first and the second *ceque* lines of Collasuyu (*Hurin* Cuzco) run directly to the house of Mansio Sierra, which was next to the palace of Capac Yupanqui.²¹⁸ This is another proof that "Puma's back" really belonged to *Hurin* Cuzco.

The only problem in this model lies in the fact that it seems to leave the palace of Huascar in Antisuyu. Maybe Antisuyu was more narrow than the other sectors of Cuzco or more likely, maybe Huascar had built his palace before he was elected as the Inca king of the state. Whatever the reason for the position of the palace of Huascar in Antisuyu, we have good reasons to believe that the sociopolitical organization and the spatial division were, indeed, interconnected also inside Cuzco.²¹⁹

Yet the account of *ceque* lines demonstrates a peculiarity: those lines seem to have been quite direct rays inside Cuzco, but after the sacred Puma shaped center was passed the lines turned to another direction and sometimes even took a new starting point from the

217 It is also possible that the Huaytanay (Saphi) River is the same one that Sarmiento called Hananchacan and Tullumayo the same as *Hurin*chacan, see Sarmiento 1572:cap. 19; 1943:144.

218 See the map of AGURTO CALVO (1980) and compare to Cobo (1653:lib. 13, cap. xv; 1964:179).

219 Because the internal *suyu* division of Cuzco seems to have been also a territorial division, it means that the relations between the inhabitants of those segments were political relations in the sense defined by EVANS-PRITCHARD ([1940] 1969:261–265).

"back or stomach of the Puma." This phenomenon is the most clear in Collasuyu, where, for example, the first three *ceques* ran to the direction of the house of Mansio Sierra, but after that, these *ceques* continued to Angostura and Sano (near present San Sebastian) which were situated on the Collasuyu road. Probably the new directions were seen, in these cases, from the "usnu" of *Hurin* Haucaypata, similarly as AVENI and ZUIDEMA have noted that some Chinchaysuyu *ceques* got a new sight from *Hanan* Haucaypata.²²⁰ In practice, this would mean that the internal *suyu* divisions and the *ceque* lines of the sacred center of Cuzco did not directly coincide with the division of "semi-sacral and profane periphery" of the state.

220 AVENI 1980:302-305; ZUIDEMA 1982:207.

VI The Division of the Inca State into Four Suyus

Many chroniclers affirm that the Inca state, Tawantinsuyu, was divided into four main sectors: Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu. The center of the entire division was Cuzco. Chinchaysuyu was situated in the northwestern quarter, and Collasuyu in the southern quarter. Cuntisuyu was situated in the vicinity of Arequipa and finally, Antisuyu in the *montaña* area in the northeast of Cuzco.¹ Possibly this division was made by Pachacuti at the same time when the *ceque* system and a new sociopolitical organization and arrangement was created.²

However, classic chroniclers do not specify the limits of the *suyu* sectors of Tawantinsuyu, and hence, different theories of demarcation lines have been presented. For example, according to John H. ROWE (1946), the boundaries of Cuntisuyu "cut the coast roughly at Ica and Moquegua." All of the eastern slopes of the Andes belonged to Antisuyu, and rest of the state belonged to Chinchaysuyu (northwest) and Collasuyu (south). Later, ROWE (1979) changed his theory and assumed that the frontiers of

1 Cieza 1553b:cap. xviii; 1986:49–50; Cieza 1553a:cap. xcii; 1986:257; Cordoua & Melo (1582) 1925:271; Ramirez (1597) 1936:38–42.

2 The *ceque* system, as created by Pachacuti, follows the same classificatory order as the main division of the Inca state, and because of that it is possible that the state division was created at the same time as the *ceque* system (see Betanzos 1551:cap. xvi; 1987:75–79; "Relación hecha en Lima a 12 de diciembre de las cosas y gobierno del Perú por Juan Polo de Ondegardo, 1561," Ramo 22, Patronato 188, AGI; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 45, 47; 1943:211, 221; Toledo (1570–72) 1940:185; see also ROWE 1946:262).

Cuntisuyu ran from Cuzco to Acari, and in the south from Cuzco to Arica.³ On the other hand, Michael E. MOSELEY has presented a theory according to which the Antisuyu sector covered only the Cordilleras of Urubamba and Vilcanota near Cuzco. The rest of the *suyus* MOSELEY presents almost as ROWE did in 1946, although he includes a few more provinces in Cuntisuyu.⁴ In yet another theory, von HAGEN believes that the border of Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu reached up to Lima and in the south the border of Cuntisuyu and Collasuyu reached up to the present Peruvian-Chilean border (see map 12).⁵

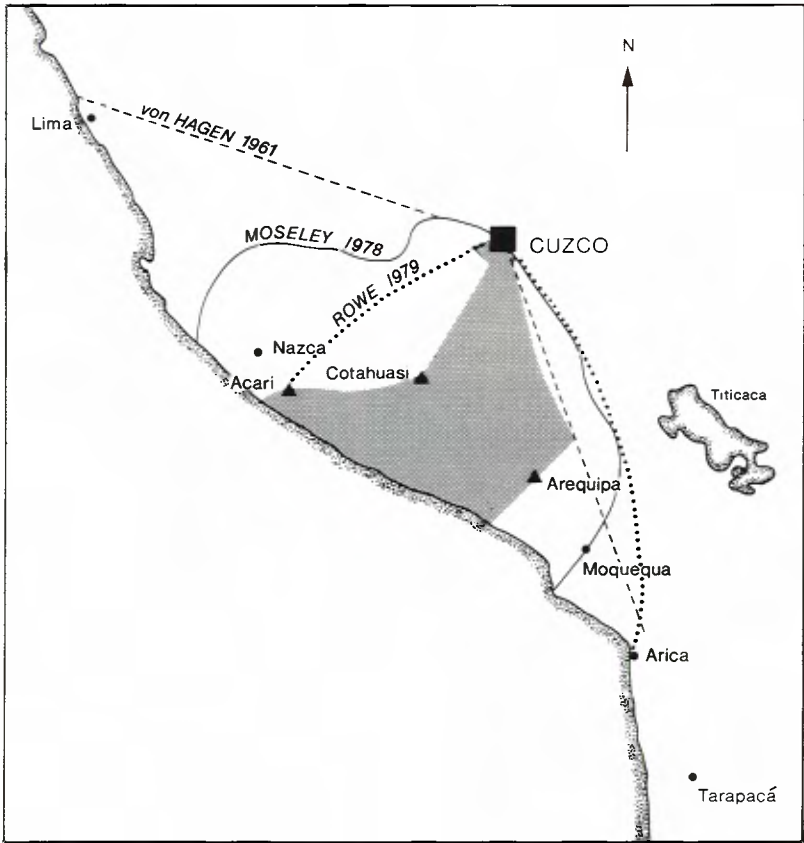
1. The Four Suyus in the Semi-sacral Area of Cuzco

To determine the limits of these four *suyus*, we may begin with the *ceque* list, based on Incaic *kipu*, since it includes the demarcation lines of each *suyu* in the area of Cuzco. The basic study of these *ceque* lines has already been done by ZUIDEMA and AVENI. However, even among their interpretations we can note differences. For example, when AVENI sees the limit of Antisuyu and Collasuyu as well as the limit of Cuntisuyu and Chinchaysuyu to have been a direct line on the east – west axis, ZUIDEMA sees that line differently. In 1978 he presented the Antisuyu – Collasuyu limit on a west–northwest – east–southeast axis and left the boundary between Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu on an east–west axis. Later (1990), he presented this last line so that it runs from Cuzco to the direction of west–southwest. However, both authors agree, with little difference, that the limit between Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu lay near the south–north axis and the

3 ROWE 1946:262; ROWE 1979b:maps 1 and 2.

4 MOSELEY 1978:496–502, fig. 11.3; 1992:26, fig. 10. MOSELEY includes the present provinces of Cotabambas, Grau and Antabamba in the Department of Apurímac in Cuntisuyu.

5 Von HAGEN 1961:155.



Map 12. Demarcation lines of Cuntisuyu after von Hagen, Moseley and Rowe.

limit between Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu on the north–northwest – south–southeast axis (see map 13).⁶

Fortunately we have the document “Petición de todos los indios de la jurisdicción del Cuzco a fauor de Pedro Xuarez, protector” from the year 1577, which sheds more light on the problem. In that

6 AVENI 1980:302, 299, fig. 113; ZUIDEMA 1986:182, fig. 11.2; 1990:70–71, fig. 16.

document, published by ESPINOZA SORIANO in 1977, 66 villages are named around Cuzco and all these villages have been arranged in different *suyu*-sectors.⁷ Because ZUIDEMA and AVENI have not used this document it gives us a possibility to verify their theories, which are, as said, based on the *ceque* list.

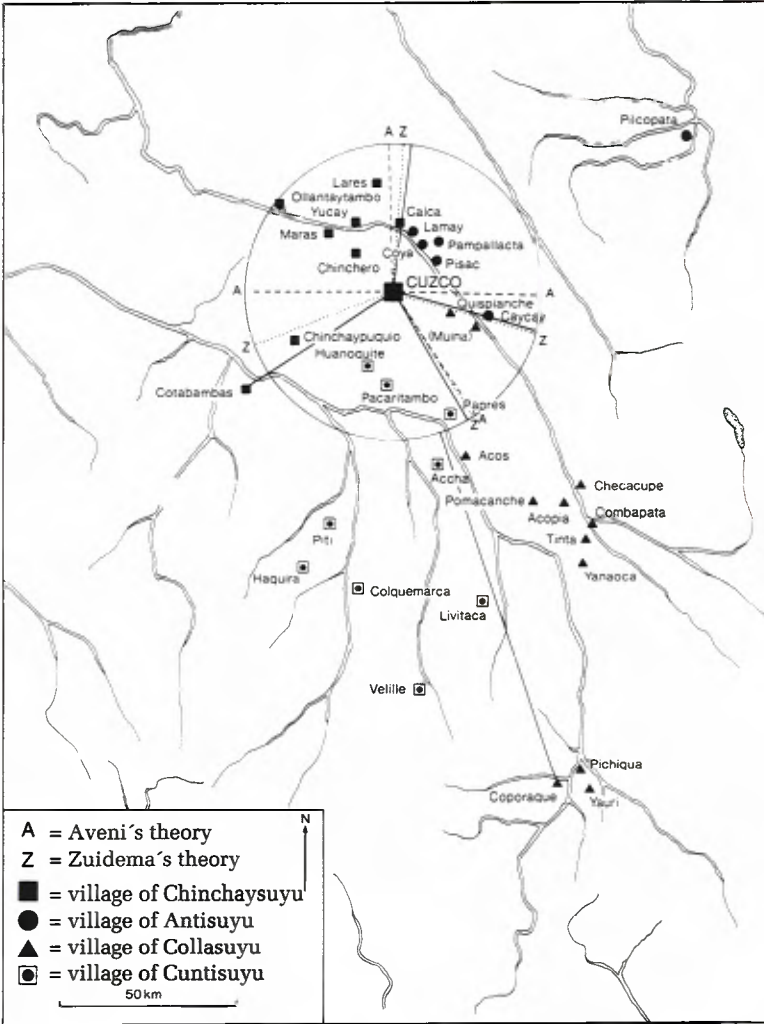
By using XVIII century and modern maps we can still locate many of those villages mentioned in 1577.⁸ For example, Calca, Lare, Tambo (Ollantaytambo), Chinchero, Yucay, Mara, Chinchaypugio and Cotabamba belonged to Chinchaysuyu. Lamay, Coya, Pampallacta, Pisac and Caycay belonged to Antisuyu. Quispecanche, Muyna, Acos, Pomacanche, Acopia, Checacupe, Combapata, Tinta, Yanaoca, Pichigua, Yauri and Coporaque belonged to Collasuyu and finally, Huanquite, Pacaritambo, Papre, Accha, Livitaca, Velille, Colquemarca and Haquira and Piti belonged to Cuntisuyu (see maps 13 and 14).⁹

If we draw a direct line which separates the villages of Chinchaysuyu from Antisuyu, we can note that it is almost identical with the line marked by ZUIDEMA in 1990. Also the line between Antisuyu and Collasuyu is identical with ZUIDEMA's model. On the other hand, the line between Collasuyu and Cuntisuyu, which both AVENI and ZUIDEMA agree, is the same up to Papres but after that the line continues in another direction. Also the demarcation between Cuntisuyu and Chinchaysuyu is

7 "Petición de todos los indios de la jurisdicción del Cuzco a fauor de Pedro X Suarez, protector, año 1577," Ramo 11, Patronato 122, AGI; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1977a:114-121.

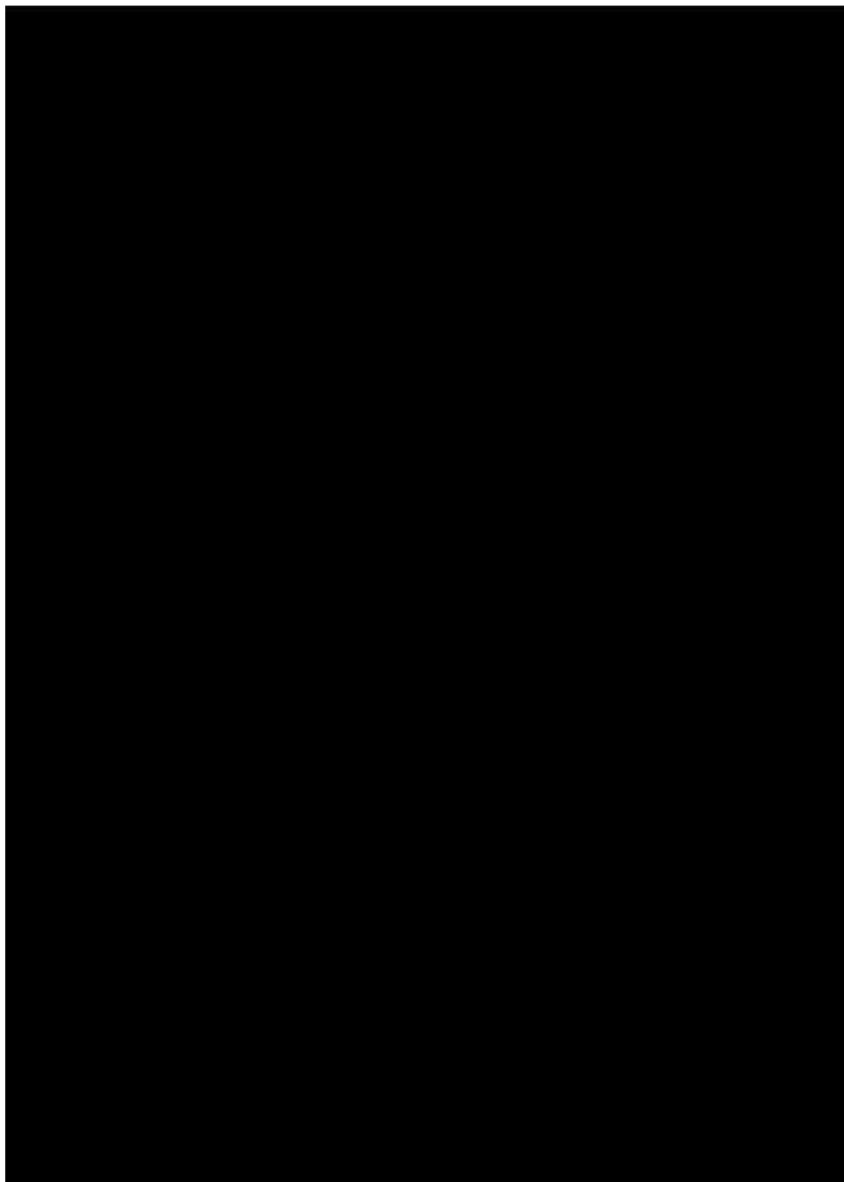
8 I have used, among others, the following maps: (1) "Intendencia General del Cuzco, 1786," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile No.99, AGI; (2) "El partido de Abancai, siglo XVIII," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile No. 91, AGI; (3) "Descripción de Canas y Canches, ó Tinta, siglo XVIII," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile No. 94, AGI; (4) "El partido de Chumvibilcas y Condesuios del Cuzco, siglo XVIII." Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile No. 92, AGI; (5) "Descripción de Urubamba y Calca, siglo XVIII," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile No. 98, AGI; (6) "Mapa vial del Perú 1:2,200,000." Editorial Lima 2000 S.A.; (7) "Departamento de Cuzco. Mapa fisico politico 1:747,000." Instituto Geografico Nacional 1986; (8) "Departamento de Apurimac. Mapa fisico politico 1:350,000." Instituto Geografico Militar 1973; (9) "Cuzco, carta nacional 1:100,000." Departamento de Cuzco, hoja 28-s, El Instituto Geografico Militar 1973.

9 "Petición de Todos los indios ... 1577." In: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1977a:114-120.

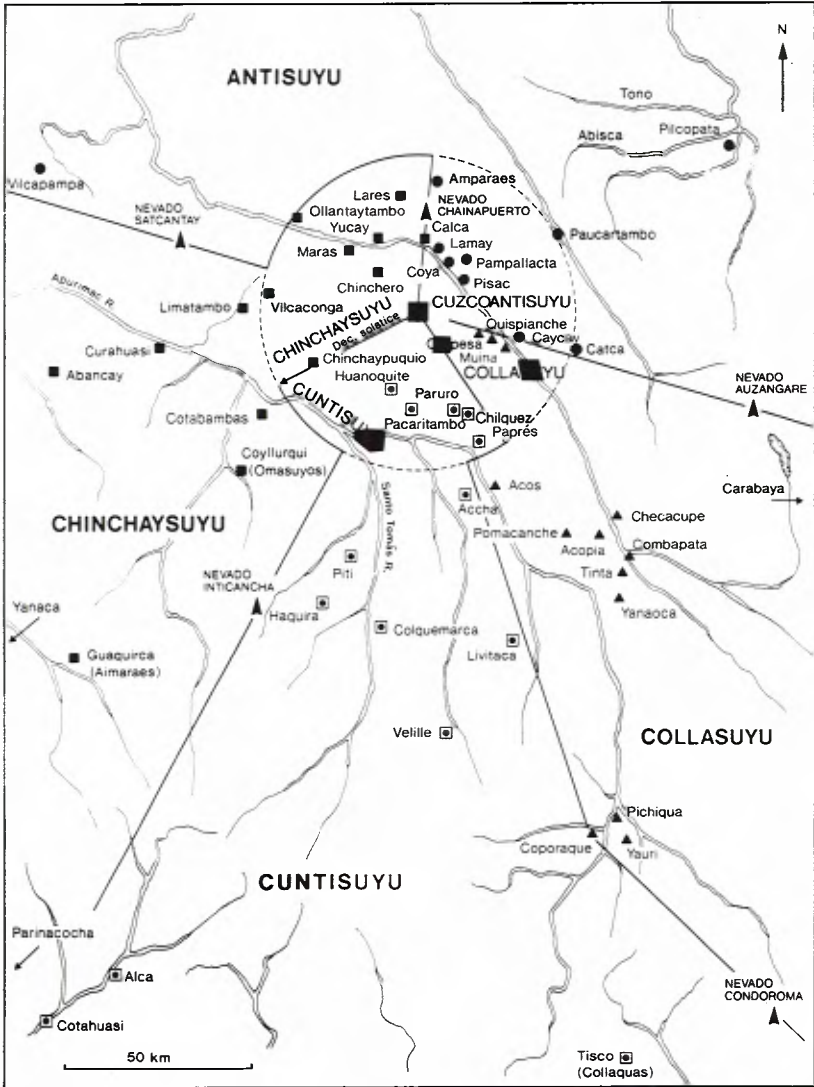


Map 13. The four quarters of Cuzco after Aveni and Zuidema

more to the north in AVENI's and ZUIDEMA's models. Especially AVENI's line seems to be too far away from Chinchaypuquio and Cotabamba to be correct, but the difference between our and ZUIDEMA's lines is very little. If the Incas had used astronomy in the determination of some of these lines, as supposed by AVENI



Map 14. The area of Cuzco in 1786. The map, drawn by Pablo José Oricayn, is conserved in AGI.



Map 15. The main suyu division around Cuzco

and ZUIDEMA, it is possible that the original line runs directly from Cuzco to Chinchaypugio, because that line would show the sunrise at the December solstice.¹⁰ In that case Cotabamba's position, which is more in south, should be explained, which, as a matter of fact, I will do later.

If we move farther away from Cuzco, new problems arise which have not been solved yet. For example, when all of our sources agree that Chinchero, Yucay and Mara belong to Chinchaysuyu, how can we explain that Vilcapampa, the last Inca refuge, is said to have been in Antisuyu,¹¹ although it is in the very same direction as Chinchero, Yucay and Mara? A possibility is that Spaniards had confused the concept of the Andes, which means the whole *moñtana* area (on the eastern slopes of the Andean mountains) up to Venezuela,¹² with the concept of Antisuyu. However, in this case I do not believe in this kind of error, because also Pachacuti Yamqui, an indigenous writer, tells about the Inca conquest of Vilcabamba – Urubamba area in the connection of the "Antisuyu conquest."¹³

Actually it is a question of the same problem we are faced with in Cuzco proper. In the sacral puma-shaped center some *ceque* lines of Antisuyu and Collasuyu ended at the "puma's back" and took a new starting point, possibly from Hurin Haucaypata, to continue in another direction.¹⁴ The same may be true for the "semisacral" surrounding area of Cuzco, which housed more than 200,000 inhabitants at the time of the Spanish invasion.¹⁵ As

10 AVENI 1980:299 fig. 113; ZUIDEMA 1979:318–321; Chroniclers Betanzos (1551:cap. xv; 1987:74), Sarmiento (1572:cap. 30; 1943:175–176) and an anonymous author (Anónimo Discurso [ca.1575] 1906: 150–151) explain how the Incas used certain pillars at the tops of hills to observe the movements of the sun.

11 López de Velasco (1574) 1971:247.

12 See especially Ramirez (1597) 1936:19.

13 Pachacuti Yamqui ([1613] 1968:304) tells how the Incas conquered Manaresuyo, Opatari and the area up to the frontiers of Huancavilca, and in another direction the conquest went from Manare up to Iscayolla, Dorado and Escayoya. Opatari, Manari and Yscayssinga are also mentioned in connection with Antisuyu in the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu ([1569] 1985:225). Within these groups, the Opatari and Manaresuyo lived to the north and northwest of Cuzco (see also CAMINO 1989:117). Huancavilca, mentioned by Pachacuti Yamqui, is situated in the present Ecuador.

14 See pp. 234–235.

15 AGURTO CALVO 1980:128.

Betanzos and Sarmiento explain, the surrounding area of Cuzco was first (partially) depopulated by Pachacuti and the area was given to the *ayllus* and *panacas* of Cuzco, and according to Sarmiento, Pachacuti took the area of Tambo (Ollantaytambo) for himself.¹⁶ This could mean that in this semisacral area of the Incas they used another criterion to determine *suyu* lines, as was the case in the "profane periphery." As a matter of fact, Santillán and "Señores" (who used the same source) affirm that at the state level the Collasuyu began from Urcos, Antisuyu from Abisca and Chinchaysuyu from Vilcaconga – not from Cuzco proper.¹⁷ If we take a look at the map, we find that both Vilcaconga and Urcos are situated within about a 40 km radius from Cuzco, and the valley of Abisca is situated about 55 km to the northeast of Cuzco.¹⁸ If other starting points were taken, let us say, about a 40 km radius from Cuzco, as proposed by Santillán and "Señores," we can solve the problem. But how did those demarcation lines continue after the "semisacral zone of Cuzco" had passed?

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- 16 Betanzos 1551: caps. xvi, xvii; 1987:79, 86; Sarmiento 1572: cap. 32; 1943:179–180; see also Sancho de la Hoz (1534) 1938:158–159 and Cieza 1553b: cap. xx; 1986:57. After the Inca expansion started, thousands of *mitimaes* were brought to the area, too.
- 17 Santillán (1563) 1968:105; "Señores" (ca. 1575) 1920:59–60. According to Horacio H. Urteaga's edition of "Señores," Collasuyu begins from Vitcos. However, in the Sevillan manuscript of "Señores," conserved in the Archive of the Indies, the correct place name is Urcos (Audiencia de Lima 30, AGI).
- 18 Both Vilcaconga and Urcos are well known places. Also Abisca is mentioned by Garcilaso (1616: lib. iv, cap. xvi; 1976 I:199) and Vazquez de Espinosa (1629: lib. iv, cap. xciv; 1969:381), and it seems to me that it was situated in present Kosñipata Valley (see "Proceso que se ha tratado en la Audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes entre los Moradores de los Andes y con el Deán y cavildo de la yglesia del Cuzco, sobre poner curas en los Andes, Lima 1561," fols. 142r, 151v, Justicia 403, AGI).

2. Early Colonial Ecclesiastic Division and Tawantinsuyu

2.1. Dating of two important documents

As I will show later, we have good reasons to believe that in some early ecclesiastic documents the villages of the Diocese of Cuzco have been grouped according to the Incaic *suyu* division. Especially two anonymous documents are very important in this respect. The first of these is "Informe del Obispo de Charcas sobre la manera de demarcar su diócesis y la del Cuzco" published by Victor M. MAURTUA, and the other is "Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata" conserved in the Archive of the Indies and published partially by MAURTUA.¹⁹

As the title of the first document indicates, it was written by a bishop of Charcas. Furthermore, MAURTUA maintains that its author was Tomás de San Martín, the first bishop of that diocese, and that the document was written in 1552.²⁰ He does not explain his identification and dating but he seems to be right. At first, if we look at the content of that "Information," we can note that it was written in Spain:²¹

"And now in this Court there are persons who have been in Charcas and Collao: Antonio de Villalpando and Gómez de Rojas and Gerónimo de Soria who is a "vecino" of La Paz. They know, although I have not spoken with them, that the diocese of Cuzco and that of Charcas was divided as follows: ..."

19 MAURTUA 1906 XI:9–13, 26–38; "Instrucción de las doctrinas de los Obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata," Audiencia de Lima 305, AGI.

20 MAURTUA 1906 XI:9, note 1.

21 "E agora en esta Corte hay personas que han estado en Charcas e Collao, que son Antonio de Villalpando y Gómez de Rojas y Gerónimo de Soria, que es vecino de La Paz. Saben éstos, aunque yo en ello no les ha hablado, que allá dividen el Obispado del Cuzco del de los Charcas en la forma siguiente: ..." In: doc.cit.; MAURTUA 1906 XI:11.

Secondly, this paragraph is extremely important because it also shows that the *encomendero* of Machaca and the *vecino* of La Paz, Gerónimo de Soria, was in the Spanish Court at the time when the document was written.

Now, if we look at the "acts" of the *cabildo* of La Paz, we can note that Gerónimo de Soria, as the *regidor* of the town, participated for the last time in the assembly of *cabildo* on July 20, 1551.²² After that he seems to have moved to Spain, because the next information which I have found about him comes from the Spanish Court where he was asked to testify in a "Probanza" of Vaca de Castro on July 26, 1553. In the very same "Probanza," Tomás de San Martín, the bishop of Charcas, testified in favor of Vaca de Castro already on October 18, 1552.²³ Because Tomás de San Martín got the royal "Cédula" to get the "posesión" of bishopship of Charcas in Madrid on February 11, 1553,²⁴ after which he went to Peru, it is likely that MAURTUA's dating is correct: "Información del Obispo de Charcas" was written by Tomás de San Martín before he went to Peru – and as most likely in autumn, 1552, when Gerónimo de Soria probably was already in Spain.²⁵

According to MAURTUA, "Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata" had possibly been written at the end of the XVI century.²⁶ However, although the manuscript of Seville seems to be a copy which was written after the year 1572,²⁷ we have good reasons to believe that

22 "Actas Capitulares de la Ciudad de la Paz," in: FEYLES 1965 I:313.

23 "Probanza de licenciado Vaca de Castro con el licenciado Rodrigo Niño, 1552–1553," Justicia 1127, AGI.

24 "Real Cédula á la Audiencia de Los Reyes y Cabildo de La Plata para que pongan en posesión de su diócesis al nuevo Obispo de los Charcas, fray Tomás de San Martín, 11–II–1553" published by MAURTUA 1906 XI:14–16. In sixteenth century Spanish bureaucracy the appointment (the title) was confirmed by a document called "posesión."

25 In any case, the document had been written before August 16, 1563, when Gerónimo de Soria was buried in the Church of San Martín, in Toledo [Spain] (see "Pleito entre los herederos de Gerónimo de Soria y el fiscal de S.M. sobre ciertos pesos, año 1565," Pieza 1, Ramo 4, No.1, Justicia 656, AGI).

26 MAURTUA 1906 XI:26, note 1.

27 At the end of the Sevillian manuscript information has been added about the town of Guamanga and the six parishes of Cuzco, including San Sebastián.

the time when the original version was composed is nearer the mid XVI century than the end of it. As a matter of fact, the *terminus ante quem* of the original document, or at least, the latest possible date when the information of the document had been collected, can be fixed to the year 1561 by using the following paragraph of the document:²⁸

"Another village of Diego Almendras, a cleric with 600 pesos, it is [situated] eight leguas [from La Plata]."

This paragraph refers to the village of Tarabuco, which belonged to Diego and Martín Almendras. However, Diego Almendras had been dead for some time already in 1561, because in that year another half of Tarabuco was in the possession of Pedro de Castro – who had married the widow of Diego de Almendras.²⁹ Equally, Hernando de Silva, whose name is mentioned in our document, was dead in the year 1561.³⁰ This means that the information of the document in question refers to the time before 1561.

On the other hand, the *terminus post quem* of that document can be fixed to the year 1556 by using the following information presented in the document:³¹

"A village of Don Juan de Belasco. A cleric with the salary of 800 pesos, situated thirty leguas [from La Plata]."

San Sebastian's original name was San Fabian and it was renamed San Sebastián not later than 1572 (see ROWE 1979a:5). I do not know if MAURTUA has used the same manuscript as I have, but in his published version of "Instrucción" that part of the text is missing. Possibly many copies of the original manuscript exist.

28 "Otro pueblo de Diego de Almendras, un clérigo con seiscientos pesos, está ocho leguas." In: "Instrucción de las doctrinas de los Obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata," fol. 5r, Audiencia de Lima 305, AGI; MAURTUA 1906 XI:34.

29 "Relación de los vezinos encomenderos que hay en estos Reynos del Perú en los pueblos poblados de españoles, 1561," Audiencia de Lima 120, AGI. Another copy of that document, with many orthographic errors, has been published by Teodoro HAMPE (1979:81–117).

30 Ibid.

31 "Vn pueblo de Don Juan de Belasco. Un clérigo con ochocientos pesos de salario, está treinta leguas." In: doc. cit., fol. 5r; MAURTUA 1906 XI:34.

This paragraph refers to the village of Sacaca which belonged, after the year 1548, to Alonso Montemayor. However, he died in 1556, and the *repartimiento* passed to Juan de Velasco whose name is mentioned in that document.³² This means that the document cannot be written before the death of Montemayor.

In sum, we can say that the original version of "Instrucción de las Doctrinas ..." had been written between the years 1556 and 1561, and as most likely, around 1559. The date is important, because it shows that the original document was composed before the reductions made by virrey Francisco de Toledo in 1570s.

2.2. The information of Tomás de San Martín

Tomás de San Martín explains in his "Informe" that the Diocese of Cuzco was divided between four main sectors. The area of Chinchasuyo, which ran to the direction of Los Reyes (present Lima) and Jauja, reached about 95 leguas (ca.475 km) out from Cuzco. On the other hand, the area of Andesuyo reached up to 40 leguas (ca.200 km) from Cuzco. He also states that in this sector of Cuzco "reside the Inca who has begun to rebel," which undoubtedly refers to the last Inca refuge in Vilcapampa.³³

In Condesuyo, which ran to the direction of the Seacoast and Arequipa district, Diocese of Cuzco extended about 70 leguas (ca. 350 km). In the last sector, that of Collasuyo, the Diocese reached up to Charcas about 190 leguas (ca.950 km).³⁴

As we can note, the early Diocese division seems to have followed quite keenly with the directions of the original Incaic *suyus* of Tawantinsuyu. That is why we can also use the other document "Informe del Obispo de Charcas sobre la manera de demarcar su diócesis y la del Cuzco," because it gives a detailed account of each Diocese district of Cuzco before the reduction of Francisco Toledo.

32 See "Pleito de los indios del repartimiento de Sacaca con los herederos de don Alonso de Montemayor ... , La Plata 1579," fols. 12r, 146r, Pieza 1, No. 2, Justicia 653, AGI; and "Relación de los vezinos encomenderos ...,1561," Audiencia de Lima 120, AGI.

33 San Martín (1552) 1906:9.

34 San Martín (1552) 1906:9-10.

2.3. The demarcation line between Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu

"Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispos de la ciudad del Cuzco y ciudad de La Plata" begins from the area which San Martín calls as Chinchasuyo and which seemingly refers to ancient Chinchaysuyu.³⁵ The first village mentioned in that sector is Puguira or, more correctly, Yaguira, situated five kilometers from Cuzco. The place is marked down on ZUIDEMA's map, because it was situated on the first *ceque* line of Chinchaysuyu.³⁶ In the same direction are named villages such as Limatambo, Curahuasi and Abancay (see map 15). More south, villages such as Yanaca and Guaquilgua or, more correctly, Guaquirca of Aymará, as well as the area of Parinacocha, are also mentioned. And finally, the "Instrucción" notes that "Cotavanvas and Omasuios" as well as the village of Piti in Yanahuara belonged to that Diocese section of Cuzco.³⁷

This setting of villages shows that the demarcation line between Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu possibly followed in the early colonial time the Valleys of Apurímac and the Santo Tomás River, turning to the direction of Parinacocha. This means that Cotabamba, Omasuio and Aymar, at least, did not belong to Cuntisuyu as, for example, von HAGEN and MOSELEY have presented.³⁸ This is also confirmed by Sarmiento, who explains how Pachacuti, together with Inca Roca, conquered and let pay tribute "Cotabambas, Cotaneras, Omasayos and Aimaraes, the most principal provinces of Chinchaysuyu."³⁹ However, it seems that

35 Doc. cit., fol. 1r-v, Audiencia de Lima 305, AGI; MAURTUA 1906 XI:26-27.

36 ZUIDEMA 1990:fig. 16.

37 "Instrucción de las doctrinas ...,1556-1561," fol. 1r-v, Audiencia de Lima 305, AGI; MAURTUA 1906 XI:26-27. Concerning the territory of Omasuyo and Yanahuara, see also Vazquez de Espinosa (1629:1487; 1969:368).

38 Von HAGEN 1961:155; MOSELEY 1978:496-502, fig. 11.3; 1992:26, fig. 10.

39 Sarmiento 1572:cap.35; 1943:185. In the English translation of Sarmiento, MARKHAM has changed the name of Chinchaysuyu to Cuntisuyu in this part of the text. He does not give any explication, but probably he changed the names on the basis of Garcilaso's (1609:lib. 3, cap. xii; 1976 II:144) account which sees that area as a part of Cuntisuyu. However, the sources of the 16th century do not support Garcilaso.

the Spanish annexed the area of Yanahuara to Chinchasuyo, because it belonged politically, during the colonial time, to the district of Cotabamba.⁴⁰ We have noted earlier that according to "Petición de todos los indios de la jurisdicción del Cuzco" Piti of Yanahuara belonged to Cuntisuyu.⁴¹ Also Cieza de León mentions Yanahuara in the connection of Cuntisuyu as follows:⁴²

"And when he [Pachacuti] had called up an army again, he went with all people to what is known as Condesuyo and subdued the Yanaguaras and the Chunbibilcas and in certain provinces of this region of Condesuyo he fought fierce battles ..."

This would mean that the original demarcation line between Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu went somewhere in the unpopulated high plateau between Omasuio and Yanahuara. Hypothetically it is possible that the imagined line started from the confluence of Apurimac and Santo Tomás Rivers and ran towards the snow-covered mountain called Inticancha, a landmark which can be seen at a great distance (see map 15).

2.4 Cuntisuyu

"Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispados ..." divides the area which corresponds to Cuntisuyu into two main groups. The first is called "Condesuyo" and the second is presented under the title "Jurisdicción de la ciudad de Arequipa: Comienza la sierra." Another part of Arequipa district is grouped under the title "Collesuyo," and that part seems to have belonged to Collasuyo.⁴³

According to that document, villages such as Paruro, Chilque, Papre, Velille, Livitaca, Alca, and Cotahuasi belonged to Condesuyo. All of these can be located (see map 15), and the

40 López de Caravantes (1614) 1907:284.

41 See p. 239.

42 "Y como oviese tornado a hazer llamamiento de jente, salió con toda ella a lo que llaman Condesuyo y sujetó a los yanaguaras y a los chunbibilcas y con algunas provincias desta comarca de Condesuyo tuvo rezias vatallas; ..." In: Cieza 1553b: cap. liiii; 1986:153.

43 Doc. cit., fols. 1v-2r, 3v-4r.

setting of these villages confirms AVENI's and ZUIDEMA's earlier proposition of Collasuyu – Cuntisuyu demarcation line near Cuzco.⁴⁴ Also Pomatambo is mentioned as part of the Condesuyo district, but its exact place is obscure to me. However, we know that the *repartimiento* of Pomatambo belonged to the colonial province of Parinacocha and that it was also called Guaxaconde.⁴⁵ Probably it was situated near the present village of Pausa near Lake Parinacochas. Whatever its exact place in the Parinacocha area was, it is important that also the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu confirms that Pomatambo belonged to Cuntisuyu.⁴⁶ However, the rest of Parinacocha belonged to Chinchaysuyu, as presented in "Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispados ..." and confirmed also in a "Interrogatorio" which was added to a "Probanza" of Martín García de Loyola.⁴⁷

The southern villages of Cuntisuyu are grouped in our document under the town of Arequipa. First in that group are mentioned the villages of Collagua and Cavana.⁴⁸ From other sources we know that one of the most northern villages of Collagua province was Tisco, situated on the upper Colca River (see map 15).⁴⁹ This possibly means that the border of Cuntisuyu against Collasuyu lay on the upper Colca.⁵⁰

More to the south and southwest are mentioned villages such as Andagua, Machaguay, Chuquibamba, Caraveli, Ocoña, Atico and Acari,⁵¹ all which can be located on XVIII century and modern maps.⁵² This would mean that Acari was the westernmost frontier area of Cuntisuyu Coast and makes it very likely that the

44 AVENI 1980; ZUIDEMA 1990.

45 López de Caravantes (1614) 1907:286.

46 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:226; see also Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:275.

47 García de Loyola (1585) 1970: 258; "Memorial del Pleito ..., año 1585," fol. 886, Escribanía de Cámara 506 A, AGI; cited also by ROSTWOROWSKI 1966:32; 1970b:83.

48 Doc. cit., fol. 3v; MAURTUA 1906 XI:33.

49 Ulloa Mogollón (1586) 1885:43.

50 A local document written by Ulloa Mogollón ([1586] 1885: 46) confirms that Collagua belonged to Cuntisuyu.

51 "Instrucción de las doctrinas de los Obispados ...,1556–1561," fols. 3v–4r, Audiencia de Lima 305, AGI; MAURTUA 1906 XI:33.

52 "Plan de los siete Partidos sugetos al Obispado e Yntendencia de Arequipa mandado lebantar por su gobernador yntendente don Antonio Albarez y Ximenez ..., año 1789," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 115, AGI;

demarcation line between Chinchaysuyu and Cuntisuyu lay there between Acari and Nazca Valleys (see map 12). In another words, ROWE's correction which sees Nazca and Ica as a part of Chinchaysuyu seems to be correct.⁵³

On the other hand, the demarcation line of Cuntisuyu against Collasuyu seems to have gone from Cuzco to Arequipa turning there to the direction of southwest, since villages such as Chiguata, Pocsi, Ubina, Moquegua, Arica and Tarapacá are mentioned as part of "Collesuio" in "Instrucción de las Doctrinas de los Obispos." ⁵⁴ As a matter of fact, many local sources also confirm that the area east of Arequipa did not belong to Cuntisuyu but to Collasuyu, also called as Colesuyo in some later documents.⁵⁵ Because of that, we do not have good reasons to believe that, for example, Moquegua would ever have been part of Cuntisuyu as supposed by many scholars.⁵⁶

"Departamento de Arequipa. Mapa físico político 1:576,000." Instituto Geográfico Nacional 1986.

53 ROWE 1979b:map 2; compare ROWE 1946:262; von HAGEN 1961:155; MOSELEY 1978:fig. 11.3; 1992:26, fig. 10.

54 Doc. cit., fol. 3v; MAURTUA 1906 XI:32.

55 See, for example, "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Lúcas Martínez Vegaso, Cuzco 11-VIII-1535," fols. 26r-27r, Justicia 405 B, AGI; "Provisión del Adelantado Don Francisco Pizarro del nuevo título de Encomienda que dió a Pedro Pizarro en 1538 de Tacna y otros pueblos, Cuzco 22-XI-1538," in: BARRIGA 1955:116; Palacio Alvarado (1649) 1885 Apéndice II:xvii; see also CUNEO VIDAL 1915?:145.

56 In 1535 Francisco Pizarro granted many villages of the Moquegua – Tarapacá area to Lúcas Martínez which were said to be "in the province of Collasuyo" (doc. cit., fol. 26r). The grant was made before the Spaniards knew exactly what was granted by using Inca *quipus*. In fact, it is also possible that Arequipa was founded by Spaniards to the Collasuyu side of Chili River as proposed once by CUNEO VIDAL (1914:187; see also the testimonies of *cacique* Chasana and a guardian called Tito in "La Justicia y Regimiento de la ciudad de Arequipa concedieron a Pedro Pizarro en 1541 una chacra en Chilina y pide la hagan merced de la demasía por haber sacado la acequia a su costa." In: BARRIGA 1955:246).

2.5. Demarcation between Antisuyu and Collasuyu

If we attempt to determine the demarcation line between Antisuyu and Collasuyu, we can see that the same line which started from Cuzco as a *ceque* division seems to have continued directly to the snow-covered mountain called Auzangare (see map 15). Our document states that the villages of Paucartambo, Pilcopata and Catca are situated in Antisuyu. Our document also states that the villages of Oropesa, Carabaya, Combapata, Tinta, Yanaoca, Yauri and many others are situated in Collasuyu.⁵⁷ The fact that Carabaya actually belonged to Collasuyu and not to Antisuyu is also confirmed by the *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu, which mentions the Inca conquest of Carabaya in connection with Collasuyu.⁵⁸

After Carabaya, our document states that the villages of Cochabamba, Pocona and Chicha are situated in Collasuyu.⁵⁹ The *kipu* text of Capac Ayllu also demonstrates that the demarcation line went towards the direction of Cochabamba and Pocona up to Samaipata, situated near the present Santa Cruz of Bolivia, leaving the entire Cochabamba-Santa Cruz area as part of Collasuyu.⁶⁰ In other words, that area did not belong to Antisuyu as has been occasionally interpreted.⁶¹

However, the exact position of the ancient Antisuyu – Collasuyu border in present Bolivia, especially to the northwest of Lake Titicaca, is somewhat obscure. Although "Instrucción de las Doctrinas" mentions the village of Camata in the same group with other villages of La Paz district, we have reasons to believe that Camata may have been annexed to that group during early colonial time.

Sarmiento tells that the Inca conquest of Chuncho and other provinces of Antisuyu was started from three villages: from Aguatono, Amaro and Pilcopata. The fourth entrance, in the south, started from Camata. This information is also confirmed by a local

57 "Instrucción ..." doc. cit., fols. 2r-3v.

58 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:225; see also GISBERT et al. 1987:99.

59 "Instrucción ..." doc. cit., fol. 5r; MAURTUA 1906 XI:34.

60 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:226.

61 See, for example, GISBERT et al. 1987:99; ROWE 1979b: map.2.

source found by Thierry SAIGNES.⁶² Because Aguatono, Amaro and Pilcopata are all villages of Antisuyu,⁶³ it would mean that Camata also belonged to that *suyu* sector of the Inca state. Furthermore, it may also be significant that Carlos Kolla Tupaj, one of the Inca descendants in Copacabana, declared that one of his grandparents called Orco Guaranga Acostopa Inga, was the governor of "Indios Chunchus Yungas and Larecaja."⁶⁴ Because Camata belonged to Larecaja in early colonial times, it could mean that this part of Larecaja, together with Chunchu, really was a part of Antisuyu. At least, Chunchu, as confirmed by Sarmiento, seems to have belonged to Antisuyu. If this hypothesis is correct, it would mean that the demarcation line followed the cordillier across the snow-covered mountains, turning to the east near Illimani. However, we must remember that this is only a hypothesis.

2.6. Demarcation between Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu

The fourth demarcation line, that of Chinchaysuyu-Antisuyu, cannot be determined accurately by using the diocese division of Cuzco, because no other Antisuyu villages than Vilcapampa are mentioned in that district.⁶⁵ Theoretically it is possible that near Cuzco the line was determined by using some astronomical points or, for example, a landmark like a snow-covered mountain.⁶⁶ Because in that direction the snow-covered mountain of Satcantay is situated between Vilcapampa of Antisuyu and Vilcacongá of Chinchaysuyu (see map 15) and, at the same time, it points from Cuzco to the direction of sunset at the June solstice,⁶⁷ I will

62 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:223–224; SAIGNES 1985:17–18.

63 Marqués de Montes Claros (1614) 1906:69.

64 Kolla Tupaj (1614) 1990:16.

65 San Martín (1552) 1906:9.

66 Present astroarchaeological studies in Mexico City have demonstrated that also the Aztecs used landmarks like mountains and astronomical points, like sunset and sunrise directions, to determine street lines, orientation of public buildings, etc. (AVENI 1980:218–249; AVENI et al. 1988:287–309; Edward E. CALNEK [personal communication]).

67 See ZUIDEMA 1979:318–321.

suppose that it was used to determine the border between Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu from Vilcaconga onward.⁶⁸

However, the question of how the line continued to the northwest is very obscure to me. The whole *montaña* area in the eastern Andes was called "Andes" by the Spanish,⁶⁹ but it does not necessarily mean that the Andes of the Spanish was Antisuyu of the Incas. At least Chachapoya, east of Marañon River, belonged to Chinchaysuyu.⁷⁰ Because of that I suppose that the Valley of Apurimac, as well as the Valleys of Marañon and even the upper Huallaga belonged administratively to Chinchaysuyu.⁷¹ Urubamba and possibly part of the upper Ucayali might have been part of Antisuyu, as also Pachacuti Yamqui let us understand.⁷²

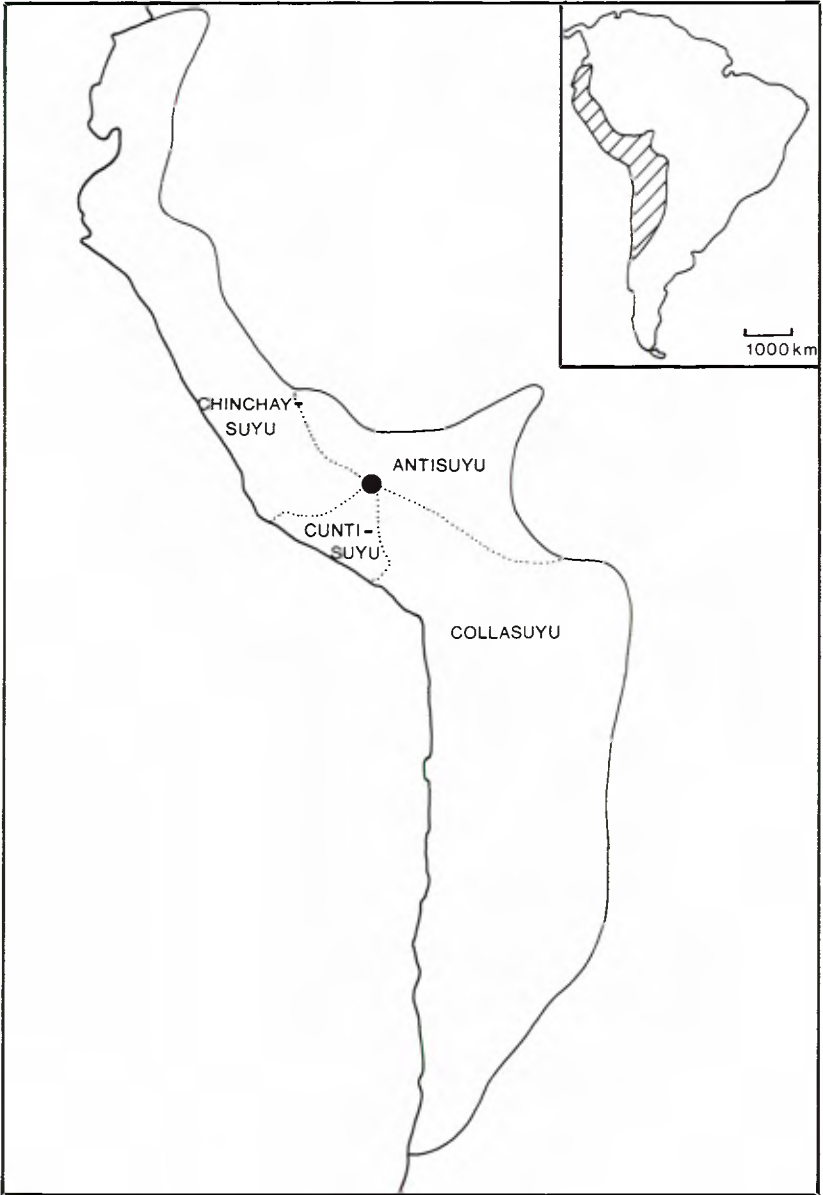
68 As noted earlier, Chinchaysuyu of the state is supposed to have begun from Vilcaconga (Santillán [1563] 1968:105 and by using the same source: "Señores" [ca.1575] 1920:59).

69 Ramírez (1597) 1936:19.

70 Capac Ayllu (1569) 1985:224. If Antisuyu reached to the latitude of Chachapoya, as supposed by "Señores" ([ca. 1575] 1920:59) and ROWE (1979b:xvii, map 2.) its frontier against Chinchaysuyu should have been situated east of Chachapoya, which can be doubted.

71 For the Inca occupation in Huallaga, see pp. 102–107.

72 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:304.



Map 16. The four quarters of Tawantinsuyu.

VII Administrative Structures of the Inca Suyus down to Provinces

1. The Myth of the Inca Council

The Inca king of the state was undoubtedly the supreme leader of the whole empire. On the other hand, according to many scholars, the Inca had appointed four *apos* (*apocuna* in plural) to the leadership of four *suyus* of the Inca realm who, together with the Inca king, formed the Supreme Council of Tawantinsuyu.⁷³ However, we know extremely little about these supreme *apos* or more correctly, *capac apos*. Also, the information about the Supreme Council is extremely contradictory, and what the chroniclers tell about it sounds like the Supreme Council of Spanish Indies which resided in 16th century Spain.

Some early sources like Quipocamayos, Las Casas, Cieza, Betanzos or Sarmiento, do not mention the Supreme Council as a special fixed institution although some of them actually speak about the Inca's advisors and even about "governors" of the *suyus*. The most common sources which mention the Council of four *capac apos* are Falcón, Murúa, Garcilaso and Cobo.⁷⁴ Among these,

73 KARSTEN 1946:122,123–124; ROWE 1946:263; MOORE 1958:66,111–112; MASON 1978:178.

74 Falcón (1567) 1918:146; Murúa 1616:lib. ii, caps. ii, vii; 1987:346, 360; Garcilaso 1609:lib. ii, cap. xv; 1976:93; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xxv; 1964:114.

Cobo seems to have used both Falcón's and Garcilaso's accounts. Murúa, on the other hand, had possibly used the same source as Falcón.⁷⁵ However, when Murúa uses another unknown source he states that during the absence of the Inca king, two *orejones* of the lineage of Inca (the second and third person of the Inca?), and sometimes even the Coya, participated in the meeting of the Council.⁷⁶

Also "Señores," Santillán (using the same source as "Señores") and Damián de la Bandera mention the four *capac apos*, but they do not suggest that those formed any fixed Council.⁷⁷ On the other hand, Pachacuti Yamqui tells about the Council of 12 "big men," but does not explain who were the members of it.⁷⁸ Probably he refers to the "elders" of the 12 most important *ayllus* of Cuzco, who assembled during the religious rites and during the internal juridical affairs.⁷⁹ Furthermore, Betanzos tells about three "governors" of Chinchaysuyu, two governors of Cuntisuyu and one governor of Antisuyu, and, Guaman Poma writes about the Supreme Council of Tawantinsuyu which had 16 members: two were elected from *Hanan* Cuzco, two from *Hurin* Cuzco, four from Chinchaysuyu, two from Antisuyu, four from Collasuyu and two from Cuntisuyu.⁸⁰

As we can see, our sources are extremely contradictory. Local sources do not mention the Supreme Council either, which is amazing if it was an important institution of the Inca realm. We do have information about important *apos*, especially in Collasuyu. For example, descendants of Apu Chalco Yupanqui in Copacabana, and descendants of Inga Achacata in Tapacari all declared that their grandfather was a "governador" or *apo* of Collasuyu at the time of Huayna Capac.⁸¹ However, they do not

75 MURRA (1955) 1980:72.

76 Murúa 1616:lib. ii, cap. xxii; 1987:405.

77 "Señores" (ca. 1575) 1920:60; Santillán (1563) 1968:105; Damián de la Bandera (1582) in LEVILLIER 1925 IX:278.

78 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:306.

79 See Molina (1575) 1943:26–38; Anónimo Discurso (ca. 1575) 1906:150, 157; Cordoua Mesia et al. (1582) 1925:284, 285.

80 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:365 [367].

81 SANTOS ESCOBAR 1987:9–32 and personal communication; DEL RIO 1990 and personal communication; see also Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:107.

declare that their grandfathers would ever have been members of an Inca Council.

In general, it seems that the idea of a Supreme Council is too European to have been a real one. Probably MURRA is correct when he advised us to leave the whole idea as a invention of some chroniclers.⁸²

We have a little more evidence about the persons who were said to have been "governors" or *capac apos* of each *suyu*, although we do not know whether there existed four or more *capac apos* in Cuzco. Santillán and "Señores," copying the same source, give us four names from the time of Huayna Capac while Betanzos gives six names (from tree *suyus*) from the time of Topa Inca. None of these names coincide with the names mentioned in Collasuyu by local sources, and to that question I will return later.

However, if we study, for example, the names given by Santillán and "Señores" (using the same source), we can find out that some of them are possibly mentioned in other sources, too. The names are as follows:⁸³

Santillán:	"Señores":
Capac Achachic	Capac Anchachic
Capac Larico	Larico
Capac Yochi	Coyoche
Capac Gualcaya	Gualepaya

Sarmiento and Cobo, probably independently, mention Guaman Achachi or Apo Achache, a brother of Topa Inca, as the governor of Chinchaysuyu, who also participated, according to Sarmiento, in some military campaigns in Chinchaysuyu.⁸⁴ Possibly it is a

82 John V. MURRA (personal communication).

83 Santillán (1563) 1968:105; in the published version of "Señores" ([ca. 1575] 1920:60) the names of *capac apos* are: Capac Ancha, Chularico, Coyoche and Gualepaya. However, in the Sevillen manuscript of "Señores," conserved in the Archive of the Indies, the first two names can be read as "Capac Anchachic, Larico" (Audiencia de Lima 30, AGI).

84 Sarmiento 1572:caps. 46, 55–57; 1943:215, 236–238; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xv; 1964:87.

question of the same person that is mentioned by Santillán and "Señores" as Capac Achachic. Another possibility is Otorongo Achachi, also known by the name Ynga Achache, who is mentioned as the governor and military leader of Antisuyu by Betanzos and whose military actions in Antisuyu are also confirmed by Sarmiento and Guaman Poma.⁸⁵

Capac Larico's and Yochi's (or Coyoche's of "Señores") names do not often appear in the chronicles. However, Cabello mentions (A)larico, a son of Capac Yupanqui, as well as "Cuyuchi, Gualpac and Achache" as captains of a military campaign of Topa Inca in Collasuyu.⁸⁶ Probably they all are the same persons as mentioned by Santillán and "Señores" as *capac apos* of Huyana Capac.

Capac Gualcaya could also be the same as Gualpaya (Hualpaya), a son of Capac Yupanqui, mentioned by many chroniclers as the governor of Huayna Capac when he was too young to govern.⁸⁷ However, he was not said to have been attached, according to these chroniclers, to any *suyu* sector of Tawantinsuyu. Furthermore, he was killed, according to Sarmiento and Cobo, by Apo Achachi, the governor of Chinchaysuyu.⁸⁸

This brief examination shows that also among these names of *capac apos* exist many uncertainties. However, if we do not completely deny the existence of these officials, we can note that most of them were, above all, associated with military affairs. Sarmiento and Cobo mention Apo Achachi also as *visitador* of Chinchaysuyu, which would indicate that *capac apos* of Cuzco had both military and administrative functions.⁸⁹

Furthermore, according to Santillán, *capac apos* communicated with the Inca via "secretary." However, we have seen before that possibly this "secretary" was "the second person of Inca" who governed in Cuzco during the absence of the king of the state.⁹⁰ In

85 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxxiv; 1987:156; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 49; 1943:223–225; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:155–156; see also Murúa 1616:lib. i, cap. xxiv; 1987:89.

86 Cabello 1586:lib. iii, cap. 18; 1951:336; see also Murúa 1616:lib. i, cap. xxiv; 1987:89.

87 See p. 221.

88 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 57; 1943:238; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xvi; 1964:88.

89 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 52, 59; 1943:230, 240; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xv; 1964:87; see also Betanzos 1551:cap. xl; 1987:179.

90 See p. 223.

practice, this would also mean that the Incas had a communication system where all the messages sent from the provinces to Cuzco first went to a "secretary," who sent them forward to *capac apos*, or, if necessary, to the Inca king of the state, wherever they were.

In spite of the fact that four *capac apos* or more may have lived in Cuzco, we have evidence that *apos*, who were said to have been governors of one *suyu*, also lived outside Cuzco. Their role also seems to have been a military one, as will be seen soon.

2. Hatun Apocazgos: Possible Interprovincial Formations

We have some evidence that political (and military) units larger than provinces but smaller than *suyus* existed in Tawantinsuyu. Classic chroniclers do not specify those units and we do not even know what they were called. But to simplify my description I will call such units *hatun apocazgos* (*hatun* = the great; *apo* = the king, the lord in Quechua).

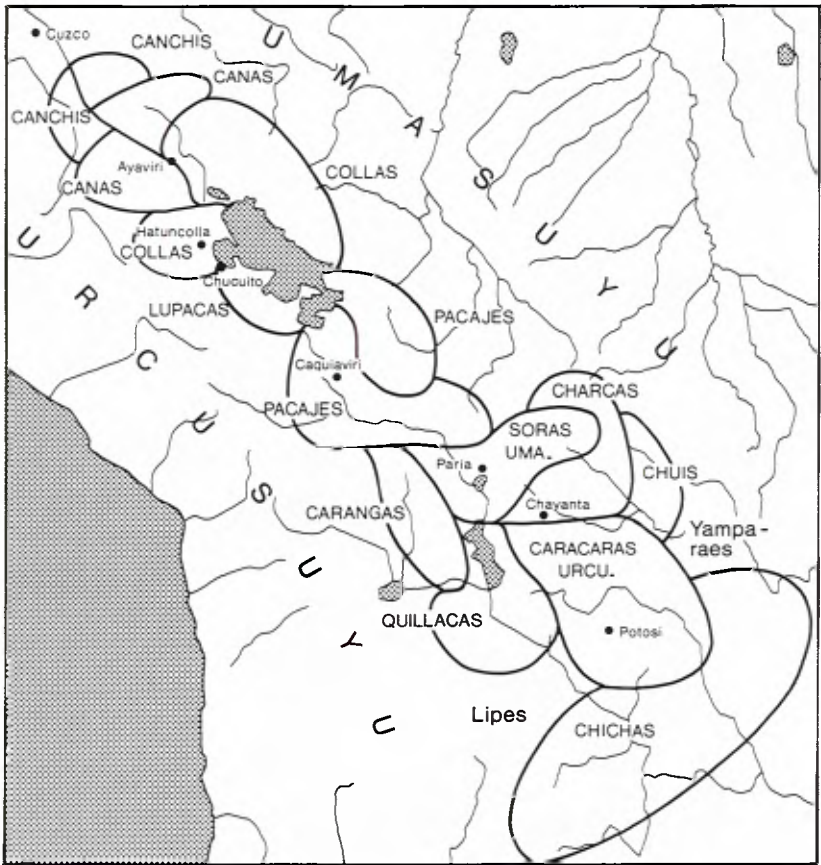
In fact, Collao seems to have been this kind of *hatun apocazgo* in the Lake Titicaca area. According to Cieza de León, the territory of Collao began from Ayaviri in the north and it reached down to Caracollo or Sicasica in the south.⁹¹ This statement of Cieza is important because the studies of Thérèse BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE and Catherine JULIEN have demonstrated that Cieza's description about Collao corresponds quite exactly to the ancient area of three separate provinces called Colla, Lupaca and Pacasa (see map 17).⁹²

Catherine JULIEN has also pointed out that the inhabitants of these three provinces used special hats, and with the exception of the neighboring province of Collagua their headdress symbols correspond "rather neatly to the area Cieza identified as Qolla [Collao]."⁹³ Furthermore, Nathan WACHTEL has demonstrated that in Cochabamba Huayna Capac allotted land to the Colla, the

91 Cieza 1553a: caps. xcix, cvi; 1986:271, 286.

92 BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1986: fig. 12.1; JULIEN 1983:42.

93 JULIEN 1983:42–45.



Map 17. The Aymara señorios after Thérèse Bouysse-Cassagne.

Lupaca and the Pacasa as if they had been "one major political unit."⁹⁴

Finally, more support to our theory about the native territorial and political unity of these three provinces can be found in the texts of early *encomienda* grants. In those texts the common term Collao was used to refer to all of these different provinces. For

94 WACHTEL 1982:210.

example, the titles of *encomienda* grants written by Francisco Pizarro, Vaca de Castro and la Gasca mention villages like Puno (Colla), Pucarani (Pacasa or Colla), Llaxa (Pacasa) and Caquingora (Pacasa) as "the pueblos" of "the province of Collao."⁹⁵

I consider this information extremely valuable because those titles were written before the Spaniards founded new administrative settlements in that area; and additionally, when the Spaniards founded the first European town, La Paz in Pacasa, it was said to have been founded in "the province of Collao."⁹⁶ Because of that, the term Collao must refer to the unit which was in common use at the time of Spanish conquest – and at the time of the Incas.

Another *hatun apocazgo* similar to Collao may have been Charcas because it is also mentioned as a territorial and political unit in the early titles of *encomienda* grants dealing with the area situated south of Collao.⁹⁷

However, the possible territory of *hatun apocazgo* of Charcas is difficult to determine exactly because the area itself contained various subdivisions. For example, when Huayna Capac allotted land in Cochabamba to the nations of Charcas, five nations were included into that unit: the Charca, the Caracara, the Sora, the Quillaca and the Caranga.⁹⁸ On the other hand, when it was a question of military organization, the Charca, the Caracara, the

95 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Mazuelas, 29-VI-1539," fol. 16r, Ramo 1, No. 2, Patronato 136, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7-III-1540," fol. 44v, Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Joan de Espinosa, 11-IV-1544," fols. 82r-83, Pieza 8a, Escribania de Cámara 843-A, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda de la Gasca a Francisco de Barrionuevo y a Alonso de Barrionuevo, 4-IX-1548," fol. 12r-v, Pieza 2, Ramo 1, No.1, Justicia 656, AGI.

96 See "Primer cabildo en Llaxa, 20-X-1548" and "Real orden de poblar la ciudad de Nuestra Señora de La Paz" in: FEYLES 1965:23-31.

97 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7-III-1540," fol. 44v, Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Martín Monge, 17-IX-1540," fol. 13v, Justicia 655, AGI. Although the first Spanish town (La Plata) was founded in "Charcas" already in 1539 its actual place was in the province of Yampará, not in the Inca *guamaní* of Charca (ARZE QUIROGA 1969: 186-187; Ramirez del Aguila (1639) 1978:63-64). This supports the view that Charcas in the titles of the early *encomienda* grants actually refers to a larger pre-Spanish unit.

98 Ayavire y Velasco et al.(1582) 1969:21; see also WACHTEL 1982:203.

Chui and the Chicha belonged to a common unit. As the descendants of those soldiers declared:⁹⁹

"We are the four nations, the Charcas and Caracaras and Chuis and Chichas, distinguishable according to clothing. We have been soldiers since the time of the Ingas, called Inga Yupangui [Pachacuti], and Topa Inga and Guaina Capac."

Furthermore, according to the same source, a kind of military capital of all of Charcas was situated in Paria in the territory of the Sora, whereas Macha and Sacaca were secondary capitals in the provinces of Caracara and Charca. As it was testified:¹⁰⁰

[when it was time to march to war]
"the Inca señores, Caracaras and Chichas gathered in the town of Macha, which is the *cabecera* of the Caracara Indians, and equally the nation of the Charcas and Chuis gathered in the town of Sacaca, which is the *cabecera* of the Charca Indians. And after leaving those two towns the mentioned captains and soldiers of those four nations used to unite in the town and *tambo* of Paria of the Soras, toward the road of Cuzco."

It should also be noted that this testimony may integrate the area of Yampará within the same military unit, because "the Inca señores" mentioned by our witnesses probably refer to "Ingas Gualparocas" who were *mitimaes* resettled to the area of Yampará.¹⁰¹ Furthermore, it is possible that the northern provinces of Charcas, that is Sora, Quillaca and Caranga, were also a part of the same large military unit, although our source does not specify the role of

99 Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582), cited and translated by MURRA 1986:54.

100 "los señores ingas, los caracaras y los chichas se juntaban en el pueblo de Macha, que es caucera de los indios caracaras, y lo mismo la nación de los Charcas y los Chuis se juntauan en el pueblo de Sacaca, que es caucera de los indios Charcas. Y así partiendo de estos dichos dos pueblos los dichos capitanes y soldados de las dichas cuatro naciones se solían juntarse [sic] en el pueblo y tambo de Paria, que es de Los Soras, hacia el camino del Cuzco." In: Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582) 1969:25.

101 See "Pleito fiscal con don Bernardino de Meneses y Juan Ortiz de Zarate, vecinos de la ciudad de La Plata, sobre la encomienda de indios yamparaes, Charcas, Moyos e ingas Gualparoca, La Plata 1563," Piezas 1a-8a, Escribanía de Cámara 843-A, AGI.

those nations in that context, except by mentioning Paria as the capital of Charcas.¹⁰²

In general, although we have no means to analyze the implication of the possible differences in internal economic, military or political divisions, we may suppose that all the eight mentioned subareas were united in the same formation known as Charcas.¹⁰³ In other words, *hatun apocazgo* of Charcas seems to have included the areas of the Charca, Caracara, Chicha, Chui, Quillaca, Caranga, Sora and Yampará.

Now, if we accept that Collao and Charcas really were large entities with political, economic and military functions, we may go further and ask who were their leaders. A hint to solve this problem can be found in the chronicle of Cabello de Balboa who occasionally speaks about the infantry of Chile, Charcas and Collao when he relates the military campaigns of the Incas.¹⁰⁴

When Cabello narrates about the Pasto war of Huayna Capac he specifically mentions the infantry of Collao and one of its leaders called Apo Cari for the great services they did for the Incas. When the campaigns were temporarily stopped, Huayna Capac returned to Tomebamba where he merited Apo Cari for his service and made him "Captain General" of "the Collao," since "before that he only was a specific captain of the Chucuito."¹⁰⁵

From other sources we know that Apo Cari actually was the principal lord of the Chucuito and the paramount lord of Lupaca province. The old *mallku* of Ilave (who himself had taken part in those northern campaigns of Huayna Capac) even testified to Díez de San Miguel that Apo Cari

"was a great *señor* as a *segunda persona* of the Inca, and he commanded the area from Cuzco up to Chile ..."¹⁰⁶

102 It is possible that those three capitals were connected with the typical triad military organizations observed by María ROSTWOROWSKI (1986:107–113).

103 In another context it is stated that the Caracara, Quillaca, Sora, Caranga and Chui formed a unit under a common governor called Tata Paria, see PLATT 1988:385; DEL RIO 1989:40–46.

104 See especially Cabello 1586:cap.31; 1951:455.

105 Cabello 1586:cap. 21; 1951:368.

106 "era gran señor como segunda persona del ynca y mandaba desde el Cuzco hasta Chile ..." In: Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:107.

We need not take that statement too literally, but still it is very possible that at some moment of history Apo Cari was one of the most authoritative military leaders in all of Collasuyu. Furthermore, John V. MURRA has once cited an important document, conserved in the National Archive of Bolivia in Sucre, which casts a new light on Apo Cari's authority among the provinces of Collao. The document refers to the *mitima* settlement of Millerea situated near Huanacán in the province of Colla (Umasuyu). In that document Pedro Condori, *señor de Mojo* testifies in 1583 as follows:¹⁰⁷

"... when don Francisco Pizarro arrived in Cuzco, there came [here to Mojo] a *cacique principal* of the province of Chucuito, called Care, a very old Indian and governor of this province; and he arrived in the village of Millerea and he said to those Indian *mitimaes* who were there: 'brothers, it is no more the time of the Inca and each of you can return to your native land' ..."

As a matter of fact, that testimony gives us further support that Apo Cari, an ethnic leader of Lupaca, was also the governor of Colla (Umasuyu) and probably of the whole *hatun apocazgo* of Collao. Furthermore, the testimony demonstrates that Apo Cari was not only a military leader of that area, but also a man with high political authority.

At the same time when Apo Cari probably was in charge of all of Collao (with his *segunda persona*?) the leadership of all of Charcas may have been appointed to the ethnic leaders of Yampará. In fact, four Inca *mitimaes* who resided in La Plata (present Sucre, Bolivia) testified separately in 1586 that a local lord called Aymoro:

"was appointed by the Inca [Huayna Capac] the governor of the whole province of the Charcas and *cacique principal* of the *repartimiento* of Yamparaes."¹⁰⁸

-
- 107 "... quando don Francisco Pizarro llegó al Cuzco vino un cacique principal de la provincia de Chucuito que se llamaua Care yndio muy biejo y gobernador desta provincia y llegó al pueblo de Millerea y les dijo a los yndios mitimaes que allí estauan 'hermanos ya no es tiempo del ynga agora y os podeis boluer a vuestra tierra cada uno' ..." In: MURRA 1978:418-419.
- 108 "Ayamoro estava nombrado por el ynga por governador de toda esta provincia de los Charcas e por cacique principal del repartimiento de los

Another great lord of Charcas who may have governed this *hatun apocazgo* was Ynga Achacata, an ethnic lord of Tapacarí (Sora). He seems to have been a "captain general" like Apo Cari, and he also assisted Huayna Capac during the Pasto war.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, according to local testimonies analyzed by Mercedes DEL RIO, Ynga Achacata was

"the *cacique principal* of Tapacary and a governor, by the favor of the Inca Huayna Capac, of the area from Vilcanota and Omasuyo and Urcosuyo up to the provinces of Chile."¹¹⁰

It is difficult to say to what extent this statement refers to the military arrangements and to what extent to the ordinary political administration. However, I suppose that the reference to Ynga Achacata's position as the leader of Collao, Charcas and Chile means only temporary military arrangements such as in the case of "captain general Apo Cari." On the other hand, his position as the other administrative leader of Charcas, together with Aymoro, is a possibility which would need an independent verification from other sources.

When we move from Collao and Charcas to the other areas of Tawantinsuyu our evidence about other *hatun apocazgos* are far more hypothetical. However, I think that Guaman Poma's statement about "many Cuzcos" is related to our hypothesis. As MURRA, MORRIS & THOMPSON and HYSLOP have already paid attention to, Guaman Poma wrote that there were other Cuzcos in Quito, Tomebamba, Huánuco, Hatuncolla and Charcas [Paria].¹¹¹

Although this list was probably not complete, it can be noted

yamparaes." Testimony of Gaspar Topa in: "Probanza de los servicios que a hecho a su magestad don Francisco Aymoro, gouernador de los yamparaes y cacique dellos, año 1586," fol. 155r, Audiencia de Charcas 44, AGI; see also similar testimonies of Francisco Rimache, Simon Lapaca and Martin Topay, fols. 150r, 151r, 159v, 163v in the same document.

109 See DEL RIO 1990:80.

110 "... ynga achacata fue el cacique principal de tapacary e gouernador que fue por el ynga guayna capa desde vilcanota e omasuyo y urcosuyo e hasta las provincias de chile ..." Testimony of Francisco Tanquire, *cacique principal* of Paso, cited by DEL RIO 1990:80.

111 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:185 [187]; MURRA (personal communication); MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985:32; HYSLOP 1990:303-304.

that one of those "other Cuzcos" was situated in Charcas and the other in Collao (Hatun Colla). This information indicates that Guaman Poma may refer to the same formations we have reconstructed earlier by using local sources.

It is also important to note that Guaman Poma argues that one of his grandparents from Huánuco, Capac apo Guaman Chava, was "a captain general" of Chinchaysuyu and "the *segunda persona* of the Inca."¹¹² This reminds us of the fact that also Apo Cari of Collao was said to have been "a *segunda persona* of the Inca" and "a captain general" who commanded Collasuyu. Indeed, this may well mean that Huánuco, as well as Tomebamba and even Quito, were districts of *hatun apocazgos* similar to Collao and Charcas in Collasuyu.

Furthermore, also some other sources, like Cieza de León, mention the interprovincial role of Huánuco, Tomebamba and Quito. For example, Cieza wrote about Huánuco [Pampa] as follows:¹¹³

"In what is known as Guánuco there was an admirably built royal palace, made of very large stones artfully joined. This palace or lodging was the capital of the provinces bordering on the Andes, and beside it there was a temple to sun with many virgins and priests. It was so important in the time of the Incas that there were always over thirty thousand Indians to serve it."

In other words, Huánuco [Pampa] was not only the capital of the province of Huánuco, but it also served as a capital for many other provinces situated east of that area.

Finally, we have information about some other centers with interprovincial functions like Cajamarca, Jauja and Vilcashuamán (called also as Vilcasuzco by López de Velazco). Some of those towns may well have served as capitals for similar *hatun apocazgos* we know from Collasuyu.¹¹⁴ However, many of those

112 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:75 [75],166 [168].

113 Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxx; 1986:233; 1976:109. Concerning the importance of Tomebamba and Quito, see Cieza 1553a:cap. xlv; 1986:140–149; 1976:68–78; see also Betanzos 1551:cap. xxvii; 1987:132.

114 According to Cieza (1553a:cap. LXXVII; 1986:226) Cajamarca "was the capital of the neighboring provinces and of many of the valleys of the plains." Furthermore, some early 1530s sources indicate that, for example,

centers with hundreds of warehouses had important religious and economic functions, and the fact is that we do not know much about the role of those centers for the Incaic military and political administration.

3. State Officials

3.1.1. Tocricoc, the leader of guamaní

According to many chroniclers, the leadership of each Inca province, *guamaní*, was appointed by the Inca king to his near relative or, at least, to a person who was an Inca by privilege. Guaman Poma specifies that some of these officials, called *tocricocs* and *michics*, were illegitimate *auquis* or nephews or great nephews of the former Inca kings of Hanan and Hurin Cuzco. Some were *auquis* who had a physical defect in the ears, feet or hands; some were Incas by privilege, like the Anta, Mayo, Acos and Cavina Indians.¹¹⁵

The *tocricoc*'s duty was to administer justice and punish offenses against the Inca law. In Huánuco this happened once a year when the *tocricoc* visited all important villages of that area. All the cases were heard in the public plaza in the presence of local *curacas* and offenses were punished in accordance to their

Jauja and Vilcas may have belonged to the same territorial unit simply called by the name Chinchasuyo. It may signify that some of those areas had more than one capital with different religious, economic, military and political importance. However, the sources we possess now in 1992 are not sufficient to make any general analysis about those centers and about their administrative roles in Inca policy. It is also possible that Spaniards confused this Chinchasuyo with the main quarter of Tawantinsuyu. See, Polo de Ondegardo (1559?) 1906:58; "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Mazuelas, 1-VIII-1535," fol. 15r, Ramo 1, No. 2, Patronato 136, AGI. For more about the Jauja and Vilcas, see especially SPALDING 1984:91; D'ALTROY & HASTORF 1984:334-349; GASPARINI & MARGOLIES 1980:112-116, 271-280; HYSLOP 1990:74-75; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:101; López de Velasco (1574) 1971:241; Las Casas (ca.1559) 1948:44; Betanzos 1551:cap. xliiii; 1987:187; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 52; 1943:232; Vizcarra (1574) 1967:323; Cieza 1553a: caps. lxxxiv, lxxxvi-lxxxix; 1986:242-244, 247-254.

115 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:347 [349].

seriousness. For grave offenses the death penalty was given and in the cases where the *cacique principal* had revolted against the Inca, the whole lineage of the culpable was condemned to death. The *tocticoc* also had the authority to elect the successors of former *curacas* in accordance with the local custom and the Inca law.¹¹⁶

Furthermore, many local informants of Huánuco said that every year when the *tocticoc* visited a village, he gathered in the plaza all the young men and women who had reached the age to marry, organized them into two rows and gave every young man a spouse. However, it was not only the *tocticoc*'s decision who was given to whom. As some informants declared to Ortiz de Zúñiga: sometimes the brothers of a family changed their sisters between the brothers of another family.¹¹⁷ Rather it was more important that the *tocticoc* confirmed these marriages every year so that after rites of passage the Inca state had more "tribute payers," *purics*, to do *corvéé* for the state and for the church. Even for the *curaca* class this rite was extremely important since the successor of the former *curaca* had to be a son of a legitimate wife confirmed by the *tocticoc* or other representative of the Inca king. In other words, those descendants the *curacas* had with their concubines were not considered to be legitimate.

Other sources demonstrate that there may have been local differences among these marriage ceremonies. According to Damián de la Bandera and Las Casas these ceremonies were held, in some areas, every three years, and according to Castro & Ortega Morejón, Chíncha marriage ceremonies were organized every two years.¹¹⁸ It is also significant that this rite of passage was sometimes organized by other state officials than the *tocticoc*. In Chíncha it was done by *guarmicoc*¹¹⁹ who also elected *yanas* and *acllas* for the service of the Inca (state) and for the Sun (church). In Pacasa in Collasuyu, the marriage is said to have been confirmed by "the Inca, governor or *cacique principal*."¹²⁰ In Cajamarca the marriage

116 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:45–46; (1562) 1972:26.

117 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:31.

118 Bandera (1557) 1965:178; Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1548:130; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:97.

119 In Quechua "guarmi" or, better, "huarmi" means woman.

120 Mercado de Peñalosa (ca. 1585) 1885:60.

of an important local *curaca* was once confirmed by a "captain" of Atahualpa and in Hurin Huanca the confirmation was once done, according to some local informants, by Huascar Inca himself.¹²¹ Common to all these cases is the fact that the ceremonies were always held in the sociopolitical center of the main village, in the public plaza. Another common phenomenon is that the confirmation of marriage was often done by the representative of the Inca. If he was not a *tocricoc*, he was another military or political official of the state. Only in Pacasa of Collasuyu it is said that also *cacique principal* could have confirmed marriages. In other words, the Inca as the political leader of Tawantinsuyu had "monopolized" to the state the right to confirm marriage.¹²² As Hernando Turucache noted in Hurin Huanca: "Huascar Inca gave the wife for whichever *cacique* by the similar manner as the priest does it today."¹²³

Although the confirmation of marriages was not always the duty of the *tocricoc*, often it was. Other duties which our sources assign to the *tocricoc* are summarized by Cobo (using mainly the information of Polo de Ondegardo) as follows:¹²⁴

"He also had the authority to raise men and form an army if there was a war or uprising against the king. He went out to visit his district at certain times; he had the tributes and royal revenues collected and placed them in the warehouses, replenished the

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- 121 "Información hecha por don Sebastian Ninalingon, cacique principal de una pachaca de la guaranga de Guzmango en la prouincia de Caxamarca, Truxillo 20-VIII-1592," Audiencia de Lima 128, AGI; "Probanza de don Felipe Guacrapaucar, cacique del pueblo de Tuna en Luringuancas, año 1570," fols. 246r, 254r, Justicia 463, AGI.
- 122 In Medieval Europe the Church had tendency to monopolize the right to confirm marriage, see LE GOFF (1980:154-155, 283).
- 123 "Guascar ynga daua [mujer] de su mano a gualquier cacique que la tenyan como agora tienen a las que se cassan por mano de sacerdote el día de oy." In: "Probanza de don Felipe Guacrapaucar, cacique del pueblo de Tuna en Luringuancas, año 1570," fol. 254r, Justicia 463, AGI. The only clear exception to this rule was the confirmation of the marriage of the Inca king. When the Inca could not confirm his own marriage, it was done by the supreme priest of the Inca church, the Villac Umo, at the same time when the Inca was crowned king (see Sarmiento 1572:cap. 66; 1943:268; Pachacuti Yamqui [1613] 1968:307).
- 124 Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xxv; 1964:114-115; 1979:200; Polo de Ondegardo (1571) 1917:51.

supplies at the *tambos*, took a census of the children that were born each year and those who reached the age to pay tribute, and listed those who no longer had this obligation. All of this information was given to him in great detail by the *caciques*, and he took it to the king when he went to court, which was once a year for the *fiesta* of Raymi; at this time he also took the tribute that the Inca ordered him to bring from his district, and then he informed the Inca about the state of affairs there. In short, this viceroy [*tocricoc*] kept vigil over lesser lords and *caciques*, and he restrained them when they would go beyond their limits, particularly for treating their subjects badly and for any other excesses, and he endeavored to find out about everything that went on in his province in order to provide a remedy when it was necessary.”

Of the duties mentioned by Cobo probably the most important was to organize the collection of “tribute,” which in practice meant the organization of corvée labor as well as collecting revenues to the state warehouses. This duty of *tocricoc* is also confirmed by Sarmiento, Castro & Ortega Morejón, Bandera and Carabajal & Soria, among others.¹²⁵

3.1.2. Tocricocs and the question of their residences in Chinchaysuyu

Many chroniclers and scholars have presupposed that *tocricocs* were in residence in the provincial capitals of Tawantinsuyu.¹²⁶ However, present studies have pointed that we have extremely little evidence of Inca governors who really would have resided outside the area of Cuzco.¹²⁷ Especially this is true when dealing with the coast since, as DILLEHAY and NETHERLY have demonstrated, there we have the poorest archaeological evidence of Inca settlements. In the Chillón Valley Tom D. DILLEHAY has

125 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 50; 1943:227; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:96–97; Bandera (1557) 1965:178; Carabajal & Soria (1586) 1965:207; see also Xérez (1534) 1985:85; Andagoya (1546) 1986:123; Fernández de Oviedo y Valdés (1549) 1851–1855 IV:226.

126 See, for example, Cieza 1553b:cap. xx; 1986:56–57; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xxv; 1964:114; MOORE 1958:30; MACIEREWICZ 1976:49, 55; PATTERSON 1991:75–76.

127 MORRIS 1982:162–163; HYSLOP 1990:294–296.

noted that "the lower coastal valley, which potentially can yield the widest range and greatest volume of food produce, also contains the least evidence of Inca occupation" whereas "the poorer ecological zone, the lower *sierra* or upper valley, shows a more intensive and extensive Inca settlement."¹²⁸ And still it seems that even these lower *sierra* Inca settlements were not provincial capitals where the *tocricoc* could have lived. Rather those were *mitima* settlements which controlled traffic and water sources of the coast.

This same phenomenon has also been noted by Patricia J. NETHERLY in the Central and North coast of Peru. There only Pachacamac and possibly Tumbes were the major centers with considerable Inca influence; the rest of the major Inca settlements were situated on the low and high *sierra*.¹²⁹ Some historical sources also explain the lack of archaeological evidence of major Inca settlements on the coast. Castro & Ortega Morejón were told that the *tocricoc* or "*sayapaya* or *micho* which all are the same thing" did not have a house in the Chincha Valley "because they were *yungas* and he was afraid to die."¹³⁰ In other words, the *tocricoc* of Chincha did not live there, partly because the climate of the hot *yungas* was considered to be unhealthy for the people of the *sierra*. That is one of those reasons why the political control of the area was managed from the *sierra* and the number of state officials was minimized by using local *curacas* in local administration.

Concerning those rare Inca settlements known to have been on the coast, we still lack evidence that any *tocricoc* would have lived there permanently. Pachacamac, mentioned by NETHERLY, was the most important religious center of the central coast and it was there that the Incas built the important Sun Temple and a big *acllahuasi*.¹³¹ However, no source mentions that any house of a *tocricoc* would have been situated there. The same is true with Tumbes, one of the first Inca settlements seen by Spanish conquerors. When the Spaniards came to Tumbes it had

128 DILLEHAY 1977:398.

129 NETHERLY 1988:114-123.

130 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:102; see also Anónimo (1583) 1925:294.

131 Cieza 1553a: caps. liv, lxxii; 1986:169, 213-215.

just been burned down by the people of Puna Island. However, Spaniards saw a huge Inca building there with a big *patio* constructed by Huayna Capac, as they were told, but they did not hear anything about an Inca governor who would have lived there before.¹³² Actually, the only information of an Inca governor comes from Pedro Pizarro, who says that an Inca governor disappeared from Puna Island before the Spaniards met him. As he writes:¹³³

”Also there was on this island an Inga, one of those of Cuzco, who governed Puerto Viejo and the island [of Puna] and Tumbes for the Ynga, and as soon as the Spaniards arrived he disappeared and went away without informing himself of anything.”

Unfortunately, no other conqueror mentions this governor and we cannot know whether he was visiting the area or whether he resided there.¹³⁴

In the *sierra* of Chinchaysuyu, one of the best known Inca centers was Huánuco which, in fact, may have served as a capital of *hatun apocazgo* and in the same time as a capital of the province. Cieza de León, who saw it in the 1540s, describes it as follows:¹³⁵

”In what is known as Guánuco there was an admirably built royal palace, made of very large stones artfully joined. This palace or lodging was the capital of the provinces bordering on the Andes, and beside it there was a temple to the sun with many vestals and priests. It was so important in the times of the Incas that there were always over thirty thousand Indians to serve it. The stewards (mayordomos) of the Incas were in charge of collecting the regular tributes, and the region served this palace. When the Inca kings ordered the señores of these provinces to appear at the court of

132 Estete (1535?) 1924:20; Ruiz de Arce (1543) 1964:86–87.

133 Pizarro 1571:cap. v; 1986:18; 1921:154.

134 It is also reported that Ica, Humay and Pisco Valleys had a common *tocricoc* (Cabello 1586:caps. 21, 26; 1951:364, 409; compare MENZEL 1967:217). At the Ica – Pisco province also had a large Inca settlement called Tambo Colorado near present Humay. However, we know the site only on the ground of some archaeological investigations (KROEBER 1944:41; GASPARINI & MARGOLIES 1980:124–126; HYSLOP 1984:108–111), and we do not know whether the Inca governor lived there or only made visits as was the case in Chincha.

135 Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxx; 1986:233; 1976:109.

Cuzco, they did so. They tell that many of these tribes were brave and strong ... and that in most places the villages were scattered and so remote that there were no relations between them except when they assembled to their congregations and feasts [in Huánuco]"

One would suggest that from this kind of administrative center we could find archaeological evidence of residential sites where state administrators, like *tocticocs*, would have lived and operated. However, in this respect most of our evidence is negative. Craig MORRIS, who has done archaeological excavations in Huánuco, states that "we have not been able to pinpoint a concentrated bureaucratic and administrative core at Huánuco Pampa (largely because most building group appear to have served other functions)."¹³⁶ In Huánuco all evidence of permanent bureaucratic and decision-making activities is lacking because the most elaborate Inca-style residential enclave seems to have normally been unoccupied. However, what archaeologists have found in Huánuco are tons of large *chicha* jars associated with drinking and feasting – a phenomenon also mentioned by Cieza.¹³⁷ This means that more than a bureaucratic center, Huánuco seems to have been a "generosity center" where the Inca redistributed, in MURRA's sense, food and beverages to local people to support labor service and political loyalty for the Inca king.¹³⁸

As a matter of fact, even local historical sources deny the possibility that the Inca governor, the *tocticoc*, would have lived permanently in Huánuco. As don Juan Chuchuyaure, *cacique principal* of Yachas declared to Ortiz de Zúñiga in 1562:¹³⁹

"Every year an Ynga came from Cuzco to their land [Huánuco] to give and to allot women, and those which this Ynga gave were legitimate."

136 MORRIS 1982:162.

137 MORRIS 1982:162–166; MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985:83–96; HYSLOP 1990:294–295.

138 MURRA (1955) 1980:121–134; see also MORRIS 1982:166–168.

139 "... del Cuzco venía a su tierra de éstos en cada año un ynga ha darles y repartirles las mujeres y aquéllas que este ynga les daba eran las legítimas." In: Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1972:59.

On another occasion the same don Juan Chuchuyaure mentioned that this Inca governor was called a *tocricoc* ["tucuyrico"] and that under the jurisdiction of this governor were 10,000 Indians.¹⁴⁰ This means that the *tocricoc* of Huánuco did not live permanently in that area, rather he seems to have lived in Cuzco from where he made annual visits to Huánuco.

All the evidence that we have about Cajamarca, the next big Inca center north of Huánuco, is very similar to those presented before. Although some local informants mentioned the *tocricoc* of Cajamarca as the supreme governor of local *mitimaes*, they do not give any indication that he would have resided there.¹⁴¹ Nor do the first Spaniards mention the house of the Inca governor in Cajamarca at the time when Atahualpa was captured. We only know that Pizarro met there, before the capture of Atahualpa, the local governor, the *cacique principal* of Guzmango and *señor* of Cajamarca called Carhuatongo.¹⁴² Also the house in which the ransom of Atahualpa was collected is said to have belonged to this same local governor who died during the Spanish attack against the guards of Atahualpa.¹⁴³

On the other hand, near Cajamarca, in Huamachuco, lived some royal Inca descendants and it was said that their leader, "an important Inca captain called Condor," was *señor* of Huamachuco. He may have been a *tocricoc*, but we cannot be sure about this because Huamachuco also was, after Pachacamac, one of the most

140 Ibid., 54.

141 "Pleito entre don Miguel Ramos, hijo de Domingo Ramos, y don Francisco de Mendoza y don Joan Astomalon, sobre el cacicazgo de los yndios de la pachaca de Xultín, reducidos la guaranga de Cuzmango/ Tercero don Sebastian Ninalingo, Lima 1598," Escribanía de Cámara 501 A, AGI; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969-1970:16.

142 Cabello 1586:cap. 32; 1951:469; VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:10-11. Murúa (1616:lib. 1, cap. lviii; 1987:206), who used the same source as Cabello, has written Carhuatongos' name as Caro Atoneo. However, in some local sources, cited by VILLANUEVA URTEAGA, the name is written as "Carhuatongo."

143 Martínez Compañón (1780s) 1978: tomo I, sin fols.; VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:10,11. However, it is also possible that the house of rescate went to the possession of the local governor only after the death of Atahualpa.

important religious centers of Chinchaysuyu.¹⁴⁴ This is a fact which makes it very possible that Condor may have had a special religious authority among the Incas, and, after all, his status may have been very different from that of a *tocticoc*.

3.1.2.1. *Tocticoc and the case of Chachapoya*

We have a lot of evidence from Chachapoya about the actions of various Inca "captains," possibly believed to have been *tocticocs* of the Incas.¹⁴⁵ However, when studied more closely it appears that all of the Inca officials mentioned by local sources in Chachapoya were mainly military leaders accompanied by the Inca army.

According to local sources, Chachapoya was first conquered by Topa Inca. After that, Huayna Capac renewed the conquest and made some new arrangements among the local *curacas*. Among others, he gave the leadership of the *hunu* of Leimebamba and Cochabamba to a *yana* called Chuquimís. At the same time the title of *apo* was given to this *yana* by Huayna Capac. After the death of Apo Chuquimís, the next Inca official who came to Chachapoya was Colla Topa. He was accompanying, with the imperial image of the Sun, the dead body of Huayna Capac from Quito to Cuzco when he heard about the death of Apo Chuquimís. He turned from Cajamarca to Chachapoya where he captured two sons of Chuquimís, accusing their (dead) father for causing the death of Huayna Capac by some herbs that he had sent to the king. After that, Colla Topa gave the leadership of the above mentioned *hunu* to a *curaca* called Tomallaxa. Further on, a "captain" of Huascar called Auqui Yalli confirmed this *señorío* of "Apo" Tomallaxa. However, soon Apo Tomallaxa died and the *hunu* was without a common *curaca* until the next Inca "captain," a brother of Huascar called Chuquisguaman, came to Chachapoya with a large army and with another Inca "captain" called Tambo Uscamaita. Before they continued their march to conquer new areas in Pomacocha, they

144 Anónimo de "Primeros Agustinos" (ca. 1560) 1865:34–38; Albornoz (1585) 1967:31; Arriaga (1621) 1968:203; see also SILVA SANTISTEBAN 1982:302–303.

145 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:237, 239, 240.

appointed a *curaca* called Puiluana to the leadership of the *hunu* of Leimebamba and Cochabamba. Unfortunately this *curaca* died during the civil war between Huascar and Atahualpa and the *hunu* was again without a leader until Atahualpa personally came to Chachapoya.¹⁴⁶

As we can note, this local information let's us understand that all the most important political decisions in Chachapoya were done by visiting Inca kings and their "captains." Besides Topa Inca, Huayna Capac and Atahualpa, local sources mention Colla Topa, Auqui Yalli, Chuquisguaman and Tambo Uscamaita as important "captains" who made political arrangements in Chachapoya and if we check other sources, we can get more information about these military leaders.

According to the chronicle of Cabello, Colla Topa was a descendant of an illegitimate son of Viracocha Inca and a man who accompanied Huayna Capac to Quito. He was also one of those persons who knew Huayna Capac's last wish and afterwards he actually attended the body of Huayna Capac from Quito to Cuzco, as confirmed by some local testimonies, before he was killed by Huascar Inca in Cuzco.¹⁴⁷ But what is new in those local testimonies is the fact that he was said to have marched with the imperial image of the Sun, which attaches him to the priestly class among many other descendants of Viracocha Inca.¹⁴⁸

The name of Auqui Yalli was ignored by classic chroniclers and we can only say that his name, Auqui, supposes that he was a descendant of Huayna Capac.¹⁴⁹ However, Chuquisguaman and Tambo Uscamaita are mentioned by some chroniclers. Cabello confirms the local information that Huascar sent "captain" Chuquisguaman, together with Tito Atauchi, from Cuzco to Chachapoya to conquer the area of Pomacocha. Sarmiento, on the

146 Chuillaxa (1572) 1967:290; Guaman (1572) 1967:291–292; Alvarez (1572) 1967:294–295; Tomallaxa (1572) 1967:303; Vizcarra (1574) 1967:305, 312–315, 320–321, 323.

147 Cabello 1586:caps. 21, 24; 1951:366, 369, 393, 398; see also Cieza 1553b:lxix; 1986:200; Murúa 1616:lib. 1, caps. xxxix, xl; 1987:140, 145 and Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. 16; 1964:90.

148 ZUIDEMA 1962:177; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:245; SANTOS ESCOBAR 1987:11; 1990:6.

149 See the genealogical model on pp. 195–197.

other hand, says that Huascar sent a "captain" called Tambo Uscamaita, together with Tito Atauchi, to Pomacocha, but he ignores the name of Chuquisguaman.¹⁵⁰ Only Murúa, who used the same sources as Sarmiento and Cabello, gives a more detailed account of this conquest. According to him, both Chuquisguaman and Tambo Uscamaita participated with Tito Atauchi, "the second person of Huascar," in this expedition, but he says that Chuquisguaman, a brother of Huascar, was killed and Tito Atauchi and Tambo Uscamaita, a "captain of Hurin Cuzcos" had to call more men from Cuzco to pacify the area. As a matter of fact, this statement of Murúa confirms the local information according to which Chuquisguaman would have been a brother of Huascar. We can also add to this Justo Sahuaraura's statement that Tambo Uscamaita was a member of Usca Mayta *panaca* formed by the descendants of Mayta Capac in Hurin Cuzco. This, in turn, seems to confirm the supposition of Murúa that Tambo Uscamaita, indeed, was a "captain of Hurin Cuzcos."¹⁵¹

In sum, this brief examination shows that the Inca captains mentioned in Chachapoya were descendants of royal Incas who were in charge of Inca troops and who were only visiting that area. The only Inca who could have been some kind of governor was Auqui Yalli, but we do not have evidence that he or any other Inca governor would have stayed permanently in that area either.

3.1.2.2. *The cases of Tomebamba and Quito*

Tomebamba, the birthplace of Huayna Capac, was the second Inca capital, where Topa Inca and Huayna Capac resided for a considerable time. Equally Quito (of which the last Inca governor was Atahualpa) was going to be one of the most important Inca centers just before the Spanish conquest.¹⁵² As Cieza de León relates about these two Inca centers:¹⁵³

150 Cabello 1586:cap. 25; 1951:400, 404–405; Sarmiento 1571:cap. 63; 1943:255.

151 Murúa 1616:lib. 1, caps. xliv–xlv; 1987:155–161; Sahuaraura Ynca 1850:30.

152 UHLE 1923:3; MEYERS 1976:179–181; SALOMON 1986:143–186; HYSLOP 1990:96,140.

153 Cieza 1553a:cap. xlv; 1986:148; see also Betanzos 1551: cap. xxvii; 1987:132; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xvi; 1964:90.

"Great events took place in the time of the reign of two Ingas in these palaces of Thomebamba; and many armies assembled there for weighty matters. When the [Inca] king died, the first thing his heir did, after assuming the royal fringe, or crown of the kingdom, was to send governors to Quito and to this Thomebamba, to take possession in his name, ordering that golden and very rich palaces should be built immediately for him, such as his forebears had had."

Because a part of the royal court resided for long periods especially in Tomebamba, it is very likely that many Inca administrative officials and military leaders resided there, too. When the Inca expansion was continuing further north from Quito and when the whole area was far away from Cuzco, the Incas had many military and administrative advantages that allowed them to establish a permanent administrative center in Tomebamba and it seems that the same process was already going on further north in Quito. However, we do not possess any information about the *tocricocs* of these areas,¹⁵⁴ but we may suppose that if those existed they lived in Tomebamba and possibly in Quito from where they may have done annual inspections to neighboring provinces simply because those northern provinces of Tawantinsuyu were too far away to make annual visits from Cuzco.

3.1.2.3. *The case of Vilca*

Our last example from Chinchaysuyu deals with Guamanga. From there we have local information according to which the *tocricoc* of the area had "his seat in Vilca."¹⁵⁵ No other source confirms this information, but I do not know any good reasons to doubt this local statement. Vilca is situated near Cuzco, many royal Incas had their palaces there and in general, it was one of the most important religious centers of the Incas, together with Pachacamac and Huamachuco in Chinchaysuyu and Copacabana in Collasuyu.¹⁵⁶

154 Almost certainly the governor of Quito had more power than an ordinary *tocricoc*; see also Cieza 1553c: caps. lvii, lviii; 1987:179, 182.

155 Bandera (1557) 1965:178.

156 Betanzos 1551: caps. xli, xliii; 1987:183, 187; Cieza 1553b: cap. lxxxix; 1986:252–253; see also HYSLOP 1990:74–77.

3.1.3. Tocricocs in Antisuyu

Father Bernabe Cobo mentions that a descendant of Mayta Capac called Tarco Huaman was in charge of the government of Cuyos in Antisuyu. Also Carlos Kolla Tupaj declared in Cobacabana that his grandparent, called Orco Guaranga Acostopa Inga, was in charge of the government of "Chunchos Yungas and Larecaja" (possibly situated in Antisuyu). However, both of these sources ignore the residence of these governors (*tocricocs?*).¹⁵⁷

3.1.4. Tocricocs in Collasuyu

3.1.4.1. *The case of Copacabana*

In Collasuyu the most important Inca center was the sanctuary complex of Copacabana to which the sacred Sun and Moon Islands, situated in Lake Titicaca, were connected. The whole area was populated by colonists, *mitimaes*, from more than 40 different parts of Tawantinsuyu. The northernmost colonist group originated from Pasto, situated in present Colombia, whereas the southernmost group, the Copiapó, originated from present Chile. Besides these non-Inca groups, many royal Inca lineages of Cuzco were also represented in the Copacabana area.¹⁵⁸

According to Ramos Gavilán, the first Inca governor of this sanctuary was Apu Inga Sucso, a grandson of Viracocha. He governed in Copacabana during the time of Topa Inca but as far as Ramos Gavilán let us understand, his function was purely associated with the administration of the Inca religion.¹⁵⁹ However, from other sources we know that Apu Inga Sucso's descendant, Apo Chalco Yupanqui, was appointed by Huyana Capac as the governor of the whole Aymara-speaking Collasuyu including the provinces of Colla, Lupaca, Pacasa, Caranga, Paria, Charca, Chui, Yampará and Chicha up to Copiapó.¹⁶⁰ On the other hand, we do

157 Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. viii; 1964:71; Kolla Tupaj (1614) 1990:16.

158 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1972:1–15; RIVERA SUNDT 1984:91–101; SANTOS ESCOBAR 1984:3–16; 1986:1–29; 1987:6–32; 1990:3–19.

159 Ramos Gavilán (1621) 1976:44.

160 Cáceres Chalco Yupanqui Inga (1599) 1987:27–29; see also SANTOS ESCOBAR 1987:13.

not know how much his status as a governor of Collasuyu was directly associated with the state administration, because, at least, Sarmiento and Pachacuti Yamqui independently mention that Apo Chalco Yupanqui was a high priest and in general, one of the most important leaders of the church. Furthermore, he seems to have lived more in Cuzco than in Copacabana.¹⁶¹ However, it is still very possible that he possessed a lot of political power, as did Colla Topa in Chachapoya, or Condor, in a minor scale, in Huamachuco.

3.1.4.2. Samaipata

The other important Inca center in Collasuyu was Samaipata, situated near present Santa Cruz of Bolivia. This site is famous for its archaeological ruins studied, although superficially, by NORDENSKIÖLD, TRIMBORN, RIVERA SUNDT and TAPIA PINEDA, among others.¹⁶² According to Sarmiento and Capac Ayllu, Samaipata was conquered by Topa Inca. Unfortunately, we do not possess any details of this conquest. However, a local source, written down by Father Diego Felipe de Alcaya, mentions that an Inca king of Cuzco sent one of his descendants, called Guacané, to construct a provincial Inca center in the area. Later, Guacané got the title of "king," which probably means that he got the title of *apo* or *capac apo*, after which he settled down to Samaipata with his brother "captain Condori" and with two *coyas*. From there he continued the Inca conquest further eastward by sending fine clothes and silver objects to local *curacas*. This method was favorable for the Incas but the process was broken by the Guaraní invasion against the Inca territory. During these turbulences Guacané died and the Incas had to send new men to Samaipata to protect Inca territories there.¹⁶³

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- 161 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 66; 1943:267–268; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:307; see also Cabello 1586:lib. 1, cap. 24; 1951:395; Murúa 1616:lib. 1, cap. xxxix; 1987:141.
- 162 NORDENSKIÖLD 1911:5–11; TRIMBORN 1959:40–74; RIVERA SUNDT 1979:41–144; TAPIA PINEDA 1984:49–66.
- 163 Alcaya (ca. 1605) 1906:125–134; see also MESA & GISBERT 1973:29–34; RIVERA SUNDT 1979:57–65; GISBERT 1988:84. NORDENSKIÖLD (1917:121) has demonstrated that those Guaraní movements, mentioned by Alcaya, happened during the reign of Huayna Capac in the XVI century.

What is important in this account is the fact that Guacanés was said to have lived with his court in Samaipata. However, we do not know whether his status, or his brother Condori's status, would have been comparable to that of a *tocricoc*. More likely this permanent Inca bureaucratic settlement was founded for similar military purposes as Quito, which was situated in a remote "frontier area."

3.1.4.3. Other areas of Collasuyu

We know that some Inca *mitimaes* of Cuzco lived in Chuquiapo (present La Paz), Caquiaviri (Pacasa), Moyo Moyo (Tarija), Yampará and Yumina (Arequipa), but we do not have evidence that among them would have lived state officials such as *tocricocs*.¹⁶⁴ It is also significant that among the Lupaca, Pacasa, Sora and Yampará, at least, the governors of provinces seem to have been elected from the local *curacas*.¹⁶⁵ We do not know for

164 "Yngas" of Chuquiapo are mentioned in the following documents: "Petición del protector de los naturales en nombre de Tereza Yupanqui de la Parroquia de San Sebastian, ayllu Ynga, año 1688," Cajón 32, EC 15 1687, Archivo de La Paz, and "Expediente sobre don Salvador Paxci, casique gobernador de la Parroquia de San Sebastian de esta ciudad del ayllu Ynga, año 1697," Cajón 38, EC 5 1697, Archivo de La Paz.

For the "Yngas" of Caquiaviri, see: "Expediente de Diego Ortuño con los indios de Caquincora sobre derecho a la estancia y tierras de Guallani en Pacajes, años 1684-1689," fol. 78r-v, EC 1689 No. 35, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre; for the "Yngas" of Moyo Moyo and Yampará, see: "Pleito fiscal con don Bernardino de Meneses y Juan Ortiz de Zarate, vecinos de la ciudad de La Plata, sobre la encomienda de indios yamparaes, Charcas, Moyos e ingas Gualparoca, La Plata 1563," fols. 88r, 128r, 133r, 161r, Pieza 6a, Escribanía de Cámara 843-A, AGI.

For the "Yngas" of Yumina, see: "Pleito entre Lucas Martinez Vegaso, vecino de la ciudad de Arequipa, y Juan de Castro, de la misma vecindad, sobre, los indios de Cochuna, Lima 1563," fol. 66v, Justicia 405 B, AGI, and "Juicio de Recidencia que toma don Pedro Sanchez de Vos, al corregidor Francisco Arce de Sevilla," fols. 15r-v, 37r, serie Corregimiento, Administrativo (14 de Marzo 1639), Archivo Departamental de Arequipa. During the Conquest period Yumina was under the jurisdiction of Isabel Yupanqui, who was said to have been *palla* and sister of Tito [Cusi Yupanqui?] ("Pleito entre Lucas Martinez Vegaso ...," fols. 66v, 75v, 110r, 118r, 140r, Justicia 405B, AGI). When I visited Yumina in 1987 I observed some pieces of Inca ceramic and other possible marks of ancient Inca colonists there.

165 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:107; Cabeza de Vaca (1586) 1885:72; DEL RIO 1990:80; "Probanza de los servicios que a hecho a su magestad don

certain whether they were *tocricocs* or not, but as far as I know, those local sources which tell about these local governors and important *apos* never refer to them by the name *tocricoc*. Neither do those sources mention any Inca governors of Cuzco, who would have lived among them. On the contrary, the Incas respected these local lords so much that many of them got special privileges. As noted before, the lord of Lupaca, Apo Cari, as well as a local lord of Sora, Inga Achacata, were appointed as [military] governors of whole Collasuyu with the privilege to use the titles "apo" and "Inga."¹⁶⁶ It is also significant that when the Incas organized a southern defense against the Spaniards by the Desaguadero River, they elected the *curaca* of Caquiaviri and the governor of Pacasa, named Quinti Laura – not any of those *mitimaes* of Cuzco who lived in Pacasa – to lead this campaign against the troops of Hernando Pizarro.¹⁶⁷

3.1.5. Tocricocs in Cuntisuyu

As far as I know, the only source where a *tocricoc* of Cuntisuyu is mentioned is in a document dealing with a juridical process between Damián de la Bandera and Antonio Vaca de Castro. During this process, which was held in Cuzco, la Bandera twice mentioned the name of *tocricoc* ("tucuirico"), who was said to have governed (in 1559) "Papres and Achanbi of Condesuyo." However, also la Bandera does not say whether this *tocricoc*,

Francisco Aymoro, *gouernador de los yamparaes y cacique principal dellos, año 1586*," fols. 150r, 151r, 155v, 159v, 163v, Audiencia de Charcas 44, AGI.

166 MURRA 1978:418–419; DEL RIO 1990:80.

167 Murúa 1616:cap. lxxi; 1987:251; see also Anónimo (ca. 1548) 1958:209; Mercado Peñalosa (ca. 1585) 1885:53. In the anonymous text (doc.cit.), written around the year 1548 and published by Rafael LOREDO, Caquiaviri is written in the form "Cataiache." However, other details of the text such as the names of *encomenderos*, amount of tribute payers, etc., shows that it is a question of Caquiaviri without doubt. The name of *cacique principal*, "Quintalabra," is almost correct in the same text. On the other hand, Murúa writes the name of this *curaca* in the Quechuanized form "Quinti Raura" (see also VEGA 1969:144). However, Caquiavirensians themselves speak about Lauras, not about Rauras.

called Pedro Limache, lived in Cuzco or in its neighborhood in Papre or Achanbi.¹⁶⁸

3.1.6. Summary

This study has demonstrated that although we do have local information about *tocticocs* and other Inca governors who had ruled in local provinces, we still have extremely little evidence about those supreme Inca state officials who would have lived there permanently. On the contrary, most of our evidence we have up to this point, supports the view that *tocticocs* of all four *suyus*, as well as many other supreme state officials, lived in, or at least near the area of Cuzco from where they made ordinary inspections in the provinces they were assigned. As Cieza de León noted already in the 1540s, most of these governors "had their holdings, or *chacras*, in the neighborhood of Cuzco, and their homes and kinfolk."¹⁶⁹

However, we may point out two kinds of exceptions to this general "rule." First, some royal Incas lived in religious centers such as Vilca, Huamachuco, Pachacamac (?) and Copacabana, centers dedicated entirely to the practice of the state religion and the Inca church. At least once it is also mentioned that a *tocticoc* lived in this kind of center. This information is from Vilca, which is situated near Cuzco.

The second exception to the "rule" are the Inca settlements like Tomebamba, Quito and Samaipata, all situated a great distance from Cuzco. Those state settlements had an important military function when the Inca troops continued their expansion further northward and eastward. At the same time, those settlements may have substituted some of those political and administrative functions that Cuzco had in the central part of Tawantinsuyu. It is clear that from Cuzco it would have been difficult to make annual

168 "Pleito entre Damian de la Vandera y don Antonio Vaca de Castro, sobre dos mil pesos de situación, Lima 1564," fols. 41r, 103v, Justicia 406, AGI.

169 Cieza 1553b:cap. xx; 1986:57; see also Baños & López de Izturizaga (1575) 1973:278.

inspections to the provinces situated some 2,000 kilometers from the capital.¹⁷⁰

In general, all this evidence indicates that the Incas had minimized the state bureaucracy in the provinces. Everyday decisions were probably made by local *curacas*. Thus, state control was largely indirect, based on regular but considerably rare inspections. In addition, the resettlement of the population by the *mitima system* was an important part of state control, but after all, it was also based mainly on indirect control since the majority of the *mitimaes* belonged to the conquered non-Inca population.

3.2. Tokoyrikoqs and other visiting Inca officials

John H. ROWE supposes that the chroniclers have confused the Quechua words for governor (*tocticoc*) and inspector (*tokoyrikoq*). At the same time he presupposed that governors stayed in their provinces and inspectors made more general inspections in those areas.¹⁷¹ However, our study about Inca governors has shown that those cases when Inca governors actually resided in provinces were also extremely rare. In this respect there did not exist a big difference between an Inca governor and an Inca inspector. On the other hand, we have, indeed, evidence that *tocticocs* and *tokoyrikoqs* may have been different state officials as ROWE has supposed.

Betanzos, Sarmiento, Pachacuti Yamqui and Cobo sometimes speak about Inca *visitadores* who made general inspections in larger areas than only individual provinces. Probably these inspectors were just those "tokoyrikoqs" spoken by ROWE.¹⁷²

170 It is interesting to note that Topa Inca founded "a new Cuzco" also to Huarco at the Cañete Valley to help the conquest of the Pacific coast. However, when the conquest was finally over and the whole area was pacified, the settlement was also abandoned, see HYSLOP 1985:8-13.

171 ROWE 1946:264.

172 Betanzos 1551:caps. xxii, xl, xlvii; 1987:116, 179, 197; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 37, 45; 1943:191-192, 211-212; Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:103; Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xv; 1964:87.

Both Betanzos and Sarmiento confirm that the first general inspection was organized by Pachacuti Inca and afterwards the inspections were renewed. According to them, these general inspections dealt with administration, religion, division of land, water and animals, etc. These *visitadores* were invested with the full authority of the Inca king and they seem to have made, among other things, some of those reductions where some old settlements – especially in the *sierra* – were moved from fortified “pucarás” and other sites down to open sites situated near Inca roads.¹⁷³

Archaeological excavations have demonstrated that provincial capitals like Huánuco Viejo, Pumpu, Hatuncolla, Chucuito and Caquiaviri were moved to the present sites at the time of the Incas, since no pre-Inca ceramic is found in those sites.¹⁷⁴

It is also told that *visitadores* made maps of provinces they had visited on textiles, after which they gave a detailed account to the Inca about the results of their inspection and reforms they had made.¹⁷⁵

Probably these *tokoyrikoqs* always belonged to the highest Inca nobility. Sometimes they even may have been the same officials as the *capac apos* of Cuzco.¹⁷⁶ However, the fact is that we do not know much about them because not even local sources differentiate them from *tocricocs*, military leaders and other visiting Inca nobles.

Some evidence supports the view that the Incas also had many other kinds of inspecting officials besides *tocricocs* and *tokoyrikoqs* although their function is still poorly understood. However, it seems that the number of different specialized state officials was growing at the same time when the Inca expansion was continuing further onward.

For example, Sarmiento tells that the Incas had inspectors,

173 Betanzos 1551:caps. xxii, xl, xlvii; 1987:116, 179, 197; Sarmiento 1572:caps. 37, 45; 1943:191–192, 211–212.

174 MORRIS 1972:395; JULIEN 1983:3; HYSLOP 1977:218–225; PÄRSSINEN 1990b:3–4, 9, 12. In the case of Chucuito the main pre-Inca settlement was situated 18 kilometers southwest of the present town and in Caquiaviri the old settlement was situated only some hundred meters up from the present village.

175 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxii; 1987:116; Sarmiento 1572:cap. 45; 1943:212.

176 See pp. 259–261.

"proveedores," whose duty was to build roads and *tambos* in the conquered areas.¹⁷⁷ This is confirmed by Guaman Poma who says that these officials were called *Capac nan tocticocs*, "governors of royal road." But that is not all, for Guaman Poma tells that also bridges and post runners, *chasques*, had their own supreme inspectors. He also adds that the governors of royal road and bridges were elected from the Incas by privilege: from "Anta yngas" and from "Acos yngas," respectively. The governor of post runners even had to be an Inca prince, an *auqui*.¹⁷⁸ However, in Guaman Poma's statement that the governors of royal roads and bridges were always elected from the Anta and Acos Indians seems to lie also limitations. In fact, especially when it was a question of other *suyus* than Chinchaysuyu, the governors were probably elected from other privileged groups. We know, for example, that the governorship of bridges in Cuntisuyu still belonged to the *cacique principal* of Papre in the Conquest period, not to the *caciques* of Anta.¹⁷⁹ On the other hand, the Anta Indians may still have been in charge of bridges in Chinchaysuyu just as Guaman Poma says.

Other supreme state officials mentioned by Guaman Poma were the following:¹⁸⁰

1. *Incap Rantin Capac Apo*, "viceroy." He was the second person, lieutenant general and the major captain of the Inca. According to Guaman Poma this post belonged to his own grandfather Capac Apo Guaman Chaua, a native from Allauca Huánuco.¹⁸¹

2. *Capac apo uatacs*. They were Judges of the Court, whose duty was to capture big lords who had rebelled against the Incas. They were normally elected from the Incas of *Hanan Cuzco*, but

177 Sarmiento 1572:cap. 45; 1943:212.

178 Guaman Poma (1615) 1987: 350 [352], 354 [356], 357 [359].

179 In 1562 don Francisco Toro y Gualpa was said to be "alcalde de las puentes de Condesuyo, cacique principal de Papre," see: "Proceso hecho por el doctor Cuenca, oidor de la Audiencia Real de los Reyes, contra, Antonio Ruiz Meztizo y Lengua ó interprete, vezino del Cuzco, sobre, La contradicción de la perpetuidad y lo que dio a entender a los Yndios, Lima 1563," fol. 19r, pieza 1a, Ramo 1, No. 2, Justicia 434, AGI.

180 Before me Tom ZUIDEMA (1978:16–17) has made a reference to this list of the Inca officials.

181 Guaman Poma 340/342–341/343.

sometimes also *Hurin* Cuzcos and even some loyal ethnic lords could have been elected to this post.

3. *Uatay camayocs*, "captors," and *chacnay camayocs*, "torturers." They were "judges" who captured and tortured lesser *curacas* in the cases of offenses against the Inca law. These officials were normally "bastard sons and nephews" of the Inca kings in *Hurin* Cuzco, but also some Incas by privilege and even an important local lord could have had this post.¹⁸²

4. *Sayua checta suyoyocs*. They were surveyors, who surveyed the limits of provinces, villages and the lands and pastures of the state, church, *curacas* and even individual households. These officials were "Yncas" of *Hanan* and *Hurin* Cuzco.¹⁸³

5. *Yncap cimin quipococ* and *Tauantin Suyo capac apocona Yncaconap cimin camachicuynin quipoc*. They were some kind of secretaries of the Inca and "his council." According to Guaman Poma those secretaries were his own relatives from Huánuco.¹⁸⁴

6. *Tawantin Suyo runa quipoc Yncap*, "mayor treasurer," *hatun hucha quipoc*, "main accountant" and *huchuy hucha quipoc* "minor accountant." They were officials who kept account of the census and other important matters of Tawantinsuyu. The main treasurer was "a son of apo," but the rank of accountants was ignored by Guaman Poma.¹⁸⁵

7. *Taripacocs*. They were inspectors who made visits to warehouses and *acllahuasis*. They also inspected local *huacas* and in general made inspections in provinces to inform the Inca king, captains and judges of the situation of these areas. These officials were elected from the Papre, Chilque, Quillas Cachi and Equeco, who are considered to have been Incas by privilege.¹⁸⁶

As Tom ZUIDEMA has noted, it is difficult to analyze in detail the real role of these officials "because there is not enough comparative data from other chroniclers."¹⁸⁷ In general, the same is true with many local sources. Only rarely do we have some

182 Guaman Poma 344/346–345/347.

183 Guaman Poma 352/354–353/355.

184 Guaman Poma 358/360–359/361.

185 Guaman Poma 360/362–361/363.

186 Guaman Poma 362/364–363/365.

187 ZUIDEMA 1978:17. An English translation in: ZUIDEMA 1983:69.

information about Inca officials comparable with those mentioned by Guaman Poma.

One of these comparable officials is the viceroy, who is said to have been the second person, lieutenant general and mayor captain of the Inca, but who was not a native of Cuzco. His status seems to have been very similar with those military leaders of Lupaca and Sora mentioned earlier in Collasuyu. They did have a lot of military and political power in war and in *hatun apocazgos* they were assigned, but still it is hard to believe that these native lords would have had comparable power and prestige with the nearest relatives of Inca kings in Cuzco. Most likely Guaman Poma had exaggerated the status of these officials because his own grandfather was one of these military leaders. On the other hand, Betanzos refers to *Apo Ynga Randirimaric* and Buenaventura de Salinas to *Incap Rantin Rimac* who was like the *segunda persona* of the Inca and "viceroy" in Cuzco. However, it is possible that the question about this person is related to problems discussed earlier in the Chapter "Theories of simultaneous Inca kings."¹⁸⁸

Concerning *chacnay camayoc*, mentioned by Guaman Poma, it may have been the same as *Ocha camayo* and *Ocha manchay (camayoc)* mentioned by Castro & Ortega Morejón in Chíncha Valley. Those feared torturers visited Chíncha every other year and when necessary they used divination to obtain information of crimes. The death penalty was common in cases where the interest of Incas was gravely violated. Also the punishment by means of torture and prison was in use.¹⁸⁹

However, it is important to note that in some other areas than Chíncha similar crimes were punished by other officials than *ochacamayoc* or *chacnay camayoc*. For example, in Huánuco it was the *tocricoc* who was in charge of these kind of juridical matters.¹⁹⁰

Another visiting official, *taripaco*, was mentioned by Santillán and anonymous chronicle of "Señores" (using the same source as

188 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxi; 1987:111; Salinas y Córdoba 1630: cap. i; 1957:19; see also RAMOS 1987:lxiv.

189 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:98–100; see also MOORE 1958:112–113.

190 See pp. 269–270.

Santillán). They confirm the supposition of Guaman Poma that more than punishing judges they were visiting inspectors who clarified whether offenses against Inca laws had happened or not, and who informed the Inca or the Inca "captains" and judges about these cases.¹⁹¹

Concerning judges such as *Capac apo uatacs* and *Utay camayocs*, no other source confirms or denies whether those have existed or not. The same is true with surveyors (*Sayua checta suyoyocs*). It is, however, important to note that in some local areas the agricultural land and settlement sites were also surveyed (and assigned) by *tocticocs* (Huánuco), a local *curaca* (Huara on the coast of Chinchaysuyu) and a local governor (Yampará in Collasuyu).¹⁹²

On the other hand, Betanzos confirms that many kinds of supreme accountants existed in Inca realm. According to him, account of census, accounts of llamas and alpacas, etc. were under the charge of specialized state officials.¹⁹³ Also in Chíncha Valley the visiting census keeper was known to have been a different person than the *tocticoc*, the *ochacamayoc* or the *guarmicoc* (a person who elected *acllas*). In Chíncha the census keeper was called *runa quipo* and he may have been the same as *Tawantin suyo runa quipoc Yncap* mentioned by Guaman Poma.¹⁹⁴

In general, Guaman Poma's list of various state officials seems to be trustworthy wherever it can be verified.¹⁹⁵ It may also be significant that most often those officials were mentioned on the coastal area of Chíncha. In some other places the duties of special judges and accountants were assigned to *tocticocs* and even to trustworthy local *curacas*. Because highly populated coastal valleys were not settled by colonists from the more loyal areas of the *sierra*, it is possible that the area needed, in general, more

191 Señores (ca. 1575) 1920:69; Santillán (1563) 1968:108.

192 Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1967:141; ROSTWOROWSKI 1978:129; "Probanza de los servicios que a hecho a su magestad don Francisco Aymoro, gouernador de los yamparaes y cacique principal dellos, año 1586," fol. 163v, Audiencia de Charcas 44, AGI.

193 Betanzos 1551:caps. xxii, xxxix; 1987:115, 176; see also Salinas y Córdoba 1630:cap. i; 1957:19.

194 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:97-98.

195 See also ZUIDEMA 1978:17.

visiting officials than other areas to compensate the lack of continuous control of loyal *mitimaes*.

4. The Size of Inca Provinces

Based on the chronicles of Santillán and Señores, some authors have supposed that a normal Inca province was composed of 40,000 households.¹⁹⁶ However, Santillán and Señores are not independent sources and, as a matter of fact, it is very difficult to find independent support for this statement. On the contrary, we may refer to studies of ROWE which demonstrate that the provinces of Rimac (Pachacamac) and Huancas may have had ca. 25,000–30,000 households and the province of Yauyo only ca. 10,000 families, which contradicts the idea of an Inca province of 40,000 households.¹⁹⁷

Before we try to get a wider picture of Inca provinces we must clarify some basic problems we are faced with when dealing with the size of individual *guamanies*. First, I have not found support for the theory of Åke WEDIN according to which the area of a typical Inca province was determined only on the basis of natural territory such as a valley or on the basis of a tribe which inhabited a certain area and spoke the same language.¹⁹⁸ On the contrary, on the coast where individual valleys supported a considerable population, Inca provinces were often formed by combining two or more valleys together. For example, the population of Rimac Valley reached up to 20,000 households,¹⁹⁹ but still the Inca province to which Rimac belonged included other valleys such as Pachacamac and so the total population reached up to ca. 25,000–30,000 households.²⁰⁰

196 MOORE 1958:63, 64, 99; WACHTEL 1977:79; ZUIDEMA 1990:67–68. According to Las Casas ([ca. 1559] 1948:108, 129) every Inca province had 10,000 households.

197 ROWE 1946:184.

198 WEDIN 1965:46, 50.

199 Santo Tomás (ca. 1550) 1867:371.

200 Cobo 1639:lib. 1, cap. vii; 1964:301; Segovia (1552) 1943:17; see also ROWE 1946:184.

Similar combinations of individual valleys can also be found in the provinces of Tumbes, Ica and Acari.²⁰¹ Equally, wherever we have information on the composition of the Inca province, almost always it is said that there lived different ethnic groups, not only one tribe. For example, when Spaniards inspected Huánuco, Huanca, Vilca, Sora and Rucana, Collagua, etc. in the second half of the 16th century they noticed that those provinces were composed of multiethnic "native groups" who spoke different languages.²⁰² Present studies have demonstrated that even in Aymara-speaking *altiplano* other ethnic groups existed who spoke Pukina and Uruquilla at the time of Spanish conquest.²⁰³ Furthermore, the Incas themselves added diversity to these multiethnic groups by sending new *mitimaes* (colonists) to live among these natives.

I am not saying that "natural territories," different ethnic groups, etc. would have not affected the formation of Inca provinces. What I am saying is that the Inca system was not so simple that every valley or every tribe would have formed a province. More likely, it seems that the Incas divided the old conquered kingdoms and empires into many individual provinces and when the native chiefdoms were too small, they combined them into bigger entities.²⁰⁴ For example, the Incas seem to have divided Chimú empire into many provinces but, in the same epoch, they combined many little *curacazgos* in Chachapoya to form a province of ca. 20,000 households.²⁰⁵ Also, the *mitima* system, where hundreds and even thousands of households were moved from one province to another, affected the size of the population in individual provinces. Furthermore, it seems to have been important for the Incas that as many provincial capitals as

201 Pizarro 1571:cap. v; 1986:18; Cabello 1586:caps. 21, 26; 1951:364, 409; Garcilaso 1609:lib. iii, cap. xviii; 1976 I:160.

202 Ortiz de Zúñiga 1562 I-II: passim; Vega (1582) 1965:167; Rivera & Chaves y Guevara (1586) 1965:188; Monzón et al. (1586a) 1965:221; Monzón et al. (1586c) 1965:239.

203 BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1975:312-328; MURRA 1985:76; TORERO 1987:329-372d; WACHTEL 1990:passim; see also Toledo (1573) 1924:50.

204 See ROWE 1982:110.

205 For the case of Chimú, see ROWE 1945:45; NETHERLY 1984:230; 1988:120-121. For the case of Chachapoya, see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:233-240.

possible were settled along the royal roads. If those could not be settled on the main road of the *sierra* or coast, new lateral or vertical roads were constructed in the areas. This communication system was vital for Inca administration in general, but especially the roads with warehouses on them helped Inca troops to rapidly pacify the almost constant rebellions of the provinces.²⁰⁶

It also seems that the biggest system of warehouses was constructed near provincial capitals and this maintenance organization may too have affected the size of some individual *guamanías*. As Betanzos says, Pachacuti ordered that great warehouses with food supplies should be built at the distance of every 40 leguas (ca.200 km), which distance was called "Xuco Guaman," the flight of a falcon.²⁰⁷

Especially on the *sierra* of Chinchaysuyu many provincial capitals were situated at quite regular intervals. On the other hand, in Collasuyu, as noted by John HYSLOP, the distance between administrative centers varied from 35 to 400 kilometers, which shows that the distance between provincial capitals was not a main factor either when the size of each Inca province was determined.²⁰⁸

However, it is significant that in those areas where the provincial capitals were near each other, the population density was also very high. All this could mean that the size of a normal province was a compromise of various factors, such as natural boundaries (valleys, etc.), the number of tribes and languages, the distance between other provinces, the sites of pre-Inca capitals, the quality of the former political organization, and – the size of population.

Other problems we are faced with when determining the size of provinces lies in the fact that Francisco Pizarro divided Inca *guamanías* into *encomienda* grants before he or any other Spaniard knew the exact sites of those provinces. It was possible on the grounds of the Inca census where the inhabitants of provinces were listed on the *kipus* under the name of local

206 MURRA 1989:214.

207 Betanzos 1551:cap. xxii; 1987:114; see also Cobo 1653:lib. 12, cap. xxxii; 1964:129.

208 HYSLOP 1990:278, 279.

curacas. As a matter of fact, only some of those provinces which Pizarro granted to the Spanish king and to himself (or to his nearest men) were allowed to be political entities. Other provinces and smaller political units such as *hunas* were divided between two or three *encomenderos*. This allotment is expressed in the *probanza* of Alonso Pizarro de la Rúa as follows:

"[Francisco Pizarro] used to give and grant *cacique principal* and some other *principales* to one *vecino*; and the *principal* who appeared major behind *cacique principal* was granted as *segunda persona*, together with other *principales*, to other *vecino* on purpose that everyone of those *vecinos* should have had the half of the *repartimiento* if he alloted it to two [vecinos]. And if he alloted it to three [vecinos] should everyone have had third part [of repartimientos] because this marquis [Pizarro] did not like to offend either one or the other."²⁰⁹

After the Viceroyalty of Peru was more keenly established, the demand was growing to create similar provinces as the Incas had had, but now to serve the rural administration under the Spanish regime. Because of that, there were various efforts to renew rural administration, especially after the civil war of Spanish Peru. However, it took more than 30 years from the conquest before such units were systematically established, in 1565, under the name of *corregimientos*.²¹⁰

Colonial *corregimientos* were established on the territories defined earlier by *encomienda* grants and the diocese division of the Catholic church, of which the last – as noted before – followed the earlier *suyu* division of Tawantinsuyu. Because *encomienda*

209 "[Francisco Pizarro] tenía por costumbre de dar y encomendar al cacique principal e algunos de los dichos principales a un vezino y el principal q[ue] parecia mayor tras el cacique principal lo encomendaba por segunda persona con los demas principales a otro vezino tenyendo fin q[ue] cada uno de los dichos v[e]z[in]os tubiese la mitad del dicho rrepartimiento si lo repartía en dos y si lo rreparta en tres tubiese cada uno la t[e]r[zi]a parte por que no queria el dicho marquez agraviar mas a uno que a otros." In: "Probanza de Alonso Pizarro de la Rúa, 1570," fol. 114, Justicia 418, AGI; see also similar testimonies in MURRA (1972) 1975:74 and RAMIREZ 1987:593.

210 LOHMANN VILLENA 1957:3–93, 187–200. Before 1565 there existed only some huge *corregimientos* such as Cuzco, La Plata and La Paz (see, for example, BARNADAS 1973:416; CRESPO 1972:80–84).

grants were also based on earlier local political division, we can then say that *corregimientos* were, quoting Catherine JULIEN, "indirectly based on native political organization."²¹¹

In practice, the nucleus and capitals of *corregimientos* were many times the same as the old capitals of the Inca provinces. However, the lack of clear boundaries during the lapse of 30 years affected the limits of new *corregimientos*. Sometimes the limits may have been near the earlier boundaries of Inca provinces, but sometimes new *corregimientos* may have been larger, sometimes smaller. Even though some new arrangements were later organized by Francisco Toledo to make the areas of *corregimientos* more uniform, still those may have stayed very different from the former Inca provinces. For example, we may wonder whether the Inca province of Cajamarca also included Huamachuco, as was the case with the colonial *corregimiento* of Cajamarca.²¹²

Viceroy Francisco Toledo and the Spanish regime succeeded more at following the Inca territorial boundaries in the *capitania* division of Potosí. The *capitanias* were created to facilitate labor recruitment in the silver mines at Potosí and it seems that this *capitania* organization was copied from the Inca system to recruit labor for the corn fields at Cochabamba (during the reign of

211 JULIEN 1983:10–11.

212 See López de Caravantes (1614) 1907:309; "Exhorto librado por el capitan Juan de Hermosilla, corregidor y Justicia Mayor de las Provincias de Cacamarca, Guamachuco y Guambos ... 1625," 10 fols., Cabildo 2370, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo. It may be significant that when Cajamarca was granted to Melchior Verdugo it was thought that there were about 12,000 households ("Cédula del Rey a Melchior Verdugo, 8–VII–1548," Ramo 1, No. 1, Patronato 97-A, AGI). However, later it appeared that this area which bore the name of Cajamarca contained only seven *guarangas* and probably less than 7,000 households. We may guess whether this confusion could be explained by the fact that in Huamachuco there existed just those "missing" households in the form of six *guarangas* ("Residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, oidor ...," fols. 152r–153v, Justicia 456 and "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fols. 1473v–1475r, Justicia 458, AGI). Also Murúa narrates that before the Inca conquest both Cajamarca and Huamachuco, as well as Conchucos, were under the rule of Guzmango Capac, the *curaca* of Cajamarca, but still it is probable that the Incas divided the *señorio* into more than one province as Cieza de León, among others, let us understand (Murúa 1616:lib. 1, cap. xx; 1987:78; Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxxi; 1986:235; see also SILVA SANTISTEBAN 1982:299).

Huayna Capac).²¹³ Thus, each *capitania*, headed by a *capitan*, formed a territory which resembled Inca provinces or as often seems to have been the case – the political moiety, which belonged to the Inca province. However, this *capitania* division worked only in a limited area of Cuntisuyu and Collasuyu and it never extended, for example, to Chinchaysuyu and Antisuyu.

The third problem in the determination of the size of each province lies in the fact that in the Inca system some *mitimaes* who resided in the territories of other provinces for economic reasons were under the jurisdiction of their former lords who resided in other provinces. In other words, more than to territory these *mitimaes* were attached to lords from where they originated. They were also counted on *kipus* of their native area. As John V. MURRA has said, "although physically absent from their native area, they continued to be knotted onto its *kipu* records."²¹⁴

In this sense, the Inca provinces were "people" more than fixed territories, although the Incas seem to have also had a growing interest in definite territorial limits of conquered provinces. This was also the main reason why Pizarro allotted *curacas*, not areas, to the first *encomenderos*. However, when many *mitimaes* were also granted to different *encomenderos* in the early colonial time, it is often difficult to say into which provinces those should be calculated. Did they belong to their province of origin (economic *mitimaes*) or were they permanently resettled and attached to new lords (sociopolitical *mitimaes*)? Many times some of these *mitimaes* also escaped from the resettled areas to their provinces of origin, but many times they simply stayed in the area to where they were assigned by the Incas.²¹⁵

Lastly, the Incas used to express the number of households in each province in *hunas*, in full "ten thousands." This, too, makes it difficult to determine the exact amount of population in many provinces. For example, the province of "thirty thousand taxpayers" of Chincha was composed of three *hunas*, of which just one had about 10,000 households. One had about 6,000 and the

213 WACHTEL 1982:221–222; JULIEN 1983:10–13; BOUYSSSE-CASSAGNE 1986:201–221.

214 MURRA 1985:65.

215 PEASE 1979:97–120.

other 12,000 households.²¹⁶ Equally in Huanca (Jauja), the province was composed of three *hunas*: one had 6,000 "soldiers," the second 12,000 and the last 9,000 "soldiers,"²¹⁷ which in practice means that there were about 27,000 households in total. However, Cieza, Señores and Garcilaso speak about Huanca as a province of more than 30,000 households.²¹⁸

When it was a question of a large province, this does not make a very big difference, but when it was a question of a little province the errors may have been bigger. For example, it does not matter whether there were 6,000 or 12,000 households in Cajamarca, still it would have been a province of one *hunu*, a province of 10,000 households. It is also clear that these decimal units were rather approximate than real ones. But still we must remember that those numbers give us a loose approximation of the size of each province.

However, wherever we have had a possibility to verify the numbers of the classic chroniclers by independent local sources, they appear, in general, to be quite trustworthy. For example, when Matienzo tells us that there were 20,000 taxpayers in Chucuito, the *kipu*-text read to Garcilaso confirms that the exact amount was 20,280 households.²¹⁹ Also the approximate numbers of the households of Chíncha and Huanca, presented before, have been found both in the classic chronicles as well as in local sources.

That is why we have some justification to use those numbers as loose approximations of the size of provinces. Because of that I have collected the following data on the population size of some Inca provinces by using both classic chroniclers and local sources. I have also used some census reflections from the 1570s in the areas where the population decline ratio from 1530 to 1575 is expected to have been considerably low.

216 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:170–171.

217 Vega (1582) 1965:167.

218 Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxxiv; 1986:242; Señores (ca. 1575) 1920: 66; Garcilaso 1609:lib. vi, cap. x; 1976 II:28.

219 Matienzo (1567) 1967:275; Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964: 64.

TABLE 1

Approximation of the population size of some Inca provinces

Province	households	source
Chinchaysuyu		
Huamachuco	5,000–6,000	Justicia 458, AGI ²²⁰
Cajamarca	5,000–7,000	Barrientos:31 ²²¹
Yauyo	10,000	Dávila Brizeño:155
"Huánuco"	10,000	Ortiz de Zúñ.I:45,II:40,45,54 ²²²
Huayla	10,000–12,000	Justicia 405 A/ Lima 204,AGI ²²³
Sora & Lucana	8,000–10,000	Monzón:221& census reflection ²²⁴
Jaén de Brac.	16,000–20,000	CUESTA:463, ESPINOZA 1973:54
Chachapoya	20,000	Alvarez 1572:299;Vizcarra:305
Jauja	27,000	Vega:167; Cieza a:lxxxiv; "Señores":66; Garcilaso VI:x
Chincha	28,000	"Aviso":170–171; "Señores":66; Garcilaso VI:xix ²²⁵
Cotabamba	30,000 ?	"Señores":66 ²²⁶
Huarco	30,000	"Señores":66;Garcilaso VI:xxix
Pachacamac	25,000 –	"Señores":66; Cobo 1639 I:vii;
	30,000	Segovia:17;(Santo Tomás ca.1550:371) ²²⁷
Vilca	30,000	Carabajal & Soria:205,218 ²²⁸
Cañar	50,000	Pablos:267
Antisuyu		
"Andes of Chuncho"	20,000	Justicia 403, AGI ²²⁹
Capacuyo	20,000	Pachacuti Yamqui:300
Collasuyu		
Lipe	5,000	Lozano Machuca:xxiii
Quillaca & Asan	5,000–10,000	Colque Guarache:252,258,263
Caranga	7,000	Capoche & census reflection ²³⁰
Tacna	10,000	CUNEO VIDAL 1920:309
Pocona	10,000	Charcas 139, AGI ²³¹
Cana and Canche	11,000	Capoche & census reflection ²³²

Province	households	source
Pacasa	18,000–20,000	Capoche and census reflection; Rojas ²³³
Lupaca	20,000	Díez de San Miguel:64; Matienzo:275
Colla	20,000	Capoche and census reflection
Cuntisuyu		
Collagua & Cavana	7,000	Charcas 56/Justicia 397, AGI and census reflection ²³⁴
Conde	10,000	Capoche and census reflection
Acari & Camana	20,000	Garcilaso III:xviii

As we can see, many of our numbers are based only on one independent source and therefore it is well possible that some approximations in this data are totally wrong. We must also be aware of all those problems presented before when dealing with these numbers. The province of 10,000 households may have been, in reality, the province of 6,000 households or, as well, the province of 14,000 households, etc. Only when more specific approximation is possible it is presented in our table, but even those numbers include some uncertainties. However, it is probable that the general picture of our table is not far away from "passed reality."

In general, this data demonstrates that the population size of individual Inca provinces may have varied considerably between about 5,000 up to 50,000 households. In that sense our data does not give any support to the theories which argue that the size of Inca provinces was fixed to 40,000 households. On the contrary, provinces of that size seem to have been extremely rare.

On the other hand, our table demonstrates that the provinces of 30,000 households, that is the provinces of three *hunas*, seem to have belonged predominantly to Chinchaysuyu, whereas in other *suyus* the size of normal provinces may have reached only up to 20,000 households.

- 220 Huamachuco was composed of 6 *guarangas* which would mean about 5,000–6,000 households. Also Calancha (1639:lib. III, cap. ii) tells about 6,000 tributaries of the *sierra* who payed tribute to Chimu before the Incas, but I do not know whether he refers to Huamachuco or to Cajamarca.
- 221 Cajamarca was composed of 7 *guarangas*.
- 222 According to Cieza (1553a:cap. lxxx; 1986:233 and copied by Garcilaso 1609:lib. VIII, cap. iv; 1976:159, Vásquez de Espinosa 1629:1565; 1969:385 and Calancha 1639:890) there were always over 30,000 Indians in Huánuco to serve it. However, it is probable that those Indians came to Huánuco from various provinces (see the Chapter about "Hatun Apocazgos").
- 223 Hanan Huayla was composed of 6 *guarangas* and Hurin Huayla of other 6 *guarangas*. The amount of households is known more exactly only in three *guarangas*: two had 750 and one 900 households at the time of the Incas (see: "Pleito entre Hernando de Torres, vecino de la ciudad de León de Guanuco, y el lisenciado Alvaro de Torres, y Rui Barba Caveza de Baca, vecino de la ciudad de los Reyes, sobre, cierto repartimiento de indios de la provincia de Guaraz y Chuquiracoay que fueron de Sebastian de Torres, difunto, Lima 1562," fol. 185r, Justicia 405 A, AGI).
- 224 I deal with Sora, Rucana and Antamarca as one Inca province, but see ROWE 1946:188. In the 1570s Sora had 2,459 taxpayers and Rucana and Antamarca together 4,892 tributaries. In Sora it was stated that there were two-thirds more Indians during the Inca time (see ROWE 1946:184). However, in Antamarca it was stated that at the time of Huayna Capac there were barely fewer Indians than in the 1570s (Monzón et al. [1586c] 1965:238).
- 225 According to "Señores," Chinchá, Huarco and Pachacamac had 150, 000 Indians each. Seemingly the anonymous writer of the mentioned chronicle had multiplied the amount of taxpayers by 5, referring to the total population. However, when he deals with Huanca, Andahuayla and Cotabamba he seems to refer to taxpayers; according to Lizarraga (1605:lib. I, cap. lix;1987:136) and Garcilaso (1609:lib. VI, cap. xix; 1976 II:46) there had been more than 30,000 taxpayers in Chinchá. Segovia ([1552] 1943:17) even states that there had been 40,000 tributaries, but it seems that, in this case, the statement "more than 30,000 Indians" had become "40,000 Indians." Anyhow, the exact amount for Chinchá seems to have been 28,000 households given by the anonymous writer of "Aviso" based on local information.
- 226 In the 1570s census Cotabambas had about 7,000 taxpayers together with Omasuyus and Yanaguaras (COOK 1975:xxxvi). If the number of 30,000 households for Cotabamba is correct, the province may have included many other "nations" such as Aymará during the Inca time, since Yanaguaras did not belong to Cotabamba at that time (see pp. 249–250). Another possibility is that 30,000 households means here the total population.
- 227 According to Domingo de Santo Tomás ([ca. 1550] 1867:371) there were 20,000 households in Lima ("Luna") Valley. Because Lima Valley was the most densely populated part of the Inca province of Pachacamac, his statement supports Cobo who writes that the whole province included three *hunas*.
- 228 According to Cieza (1553a:cap. lxxxix; 1986:253) and Las Casas ([ca. 1559] 1948:44) Vilcas was a center for 40,000 taxpayers.
- 229 20,000 Indians was the sum what was supposed to have been in the "province of Andes" when a clerical inspection was started in 1559 in that area. However, only a few permanently settled Indians were found (see:

- "Proceso que se ha tratado en la Audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes entre los Moradores de los Andes y con el Deán y cavildo de la yglesia del Cuzco, sobre poner curas en los Andes, Lima 1561," Justicia 403, AGI).
- 230 In the definition of the size of the provinces of Caranga, Cana and Canche, Pacasa, Colla, and Conde, I have used the *capitania* division as defined by Capoche (1585; 1959:136–139). Furthermore, I have assumed that Cana and Canche formed a single Inca province, not two, because those two "nations" are often mentioned in pairs. I have also assumed that the division of Cana and Canche, as well as Colla, and Pacasa, into Urco and Umasuyu were a part of the internal division of former provinces (see also BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1986:220). Finally, the amount of households has been calculated on the ground of the Toledan census of the 1570s in respected *capitanias* so that a 11,5 per cent population decline ratio, observed in Lupaca, was taken in consideration into all of those altiplano provinces. This population decline ratio (from the year 1530 to 1575) is the only one which can scientifically be tied to this area. It can also be confirmed in one case: by using this ratio the province of Quillaga & Asanaque would have had about 6,000 households which is near enough the respective approximation of 5,000 to 10,000 households given by another source (Colque Guarche 1576–77; 1981:252, 258, 259, 261, 263, 265).
- 231 Pocona was a province of *mitimaes*. Because of that, many of them may have been knotted to other provinces in the Inca *kipu* register.
- 232 See note 230.
- 233 Grabiél Rojas estimated in 1548 that the villages of Chuquiapo Achacache, Guarina, Pucarane, Viacha and Calamarca had about 7,000 households. Furthermore, according to his information the villages of Machaca, Caquiaviri, Caquingora, Guaqui, Tiahuanaco, Ayoayo and Sicasica had about 8,800 households, which would make some 15,800 "fires" to Pacasa. However, because he ignores the households of Llaja and Callapa, at least, the final estimation could have reached to 18,000 adult men; since those two villages had, in the 1570s, 1,980 tax-payers. (Rojas [1548] 1958:177–188; Toledo [1570–75] 1975:43, 61).
- 234 The province of Collagua was composed of three parts: Yanque Collaguas, Lari Collaguas and Cavana (PEASE 1977:149–151; MALAGA MEDINA 1977:94–96, 119). According to the *kipu*-census read to the Spaniards in 1540, Yanque had 2,163 and Cavana 1,461 households ("Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7–III–1540," Audiencia de Charcas 56 and "Título de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Juan de Arbes e Myguel de Vergara, 6–XI–1543," Justicia 397, AGI). Because in 1561, Laris payed one-fourth more tribute than Yanques and Cavanans, there possibly were about 2,000–2,500 households in the Inca time (HAMPE 1979:93–94). In the 1570s Collagua had 7,922 tributaries (MALAGA MEDINA 1977:108), which would be more than during the time of the Incas, but as a matter of fact that is just what they themselves declared to Spanish officials in 1586 (Ulloa Mogollón [1586] 1885:42).

VIII The Internal Divisions of Provinces

1. The Problem

According to the traditional view, most Inca provinces were divided, like Cuzco, into two halves, into *Hanan* and *Hurin*; into *Allauca* and *Ichoc*, etc.¹ Furthermore, present studies have also pointed out that in many cases the local political division was based on the principle of quadripartition where the mayor moieties were further subdivided into other halves. Thus, the basic structure of many provinces was, in fact, quaternary.² Furthermore, Tristan PLATT argues that this principle may also have governed the organizations of a lower hierarchy down to the household level. In his article "Mirrors and maize: the concept of *yanantin* among the Macha of Bolivia" PLATT compared the principle of double dual to a mirror which duplicates each sociopolitical pair. Especially among the Macha there existed many manifestations of this rule. For example, in the ritual battle (*tinku*) that takes place in a public plaza during important local festivities both *Hanansaya* (Aransaya) and *Hurinsaya* (Urinsaya) were divided into groups of men and women, and during the final confrontation the disposition of the four groups would be as follows:

1 See, for example, ROSTWOROWSKI 1986:114-129.

2 MURRA & WACHTEL 1986:6; PLATT 1986:228-259; GISBERT et al. 1987:255-261; NETHERLY 1984:229-234; see also BOUYSSSE-CASSAGNE 1986:201-227; 1987:205-256.

	MEN		WOMEN
ARANSAYA	X		X
URINSAYA	X		X

As PLATT explains: "Each moiety occupies one side of the square, with the women in each group uniting to confront the women of the other group, and the men uniting to face the opposing group of men."³

The evidence of quadripartition among the Macha was so overwhelming that PLATT believes that it was not merely a limited case in the Andes. On the contrary, he put forward an idea that the fundamental principles of the Macha society apply to all of Tawantinsuyu. As PLATT writes:⁴

"It has been argued (...⁵) that the Inka organized their empire by invoking the same principles that governed community organization at the level of the state. We can therefore assume that before the arrival of the Spanish the ideal pattern of organizational nesting that have been described here for the Macha continued, through several intermediary stages (...⁶), up to the final social quadripartition that was the Tawantinsuyu, and thence to the macrocosmic level of religion and cosmology."

However, we may wonder how well one case study could explain provincial organizations of all the other areas of Tawantinsuyu, because already in Laymi, situated close to Macha, Olivia HARRIS has found evidence of fundamental ternary principles in the local sociopolitical hierarchy.⁷ Our study about the internal organization of Cuzco has also demonstrated that in the heart of the empire not only dual and quaternary principles but also a fundamental ternary structure was functioning. On this basis we can also argue that if Cuzco really was a microcosm of the whole

3 PLATT 1986:239.

4 PLATT 1986:255.

5 In this place PLATT refers to MURRA.

6 In this place PLATT refers to CERECEDA (1986).

7 HARRIS 1986:260-279.

empire, we should also find other than purely dual and four-part structures in Inca provinces.

I would also like to point out that already Åke WEDIN has warned us not to enlarge individual local information to include the whole empire.⁸ For these reasons I will analyze the various provinces of Tawantinsuyu more thoroughly to draw a wider picture of the local political divisions and hierarchy in different parts of the Inca empire. At the same time I will check whether or not the main political divisions followed any systematic orientation.

2. Chinchaysuyu

2.1.1. The case of Cajamarca: Interaction between monism and dualism

It cannot be determined with certainty whether or not the seven *guarangas* of Cajamarca formed a single Inca province, *guamaní*, but as noted before, Cieza de León, one of our most trustworthy informants,⁹ speaks about Cajamarca as a province of its own, and thus I will also deal with Cajamarca as a single *guamaní*.

According to the local tradition Concacax was the first local lord of Cajamarca who was subjugated by the Incas. By traditional chroniclers he was called Guzmanco Capac, and this name seems to have been derived from the name of the pre-Inca capital of that province. Concacax was an important *curaca* who may also have ruled some nearby provinces such as Huamachuco before the Incas reduced his power to include only the area of Cajamarca. After the death of Concacax the leadership of the province was given to the charge of his brother. Meanwhile, the son of Concacax was taken to Cuzco by Topa Inca to be educated there. Later, this son, called Chuptongo, returned to Cajamarca where he established his court

8 WEDIN 1966:73.

9 For more about the value of the chronicle of Cieza, see WEDIN 1966:50–52, 135–136 and MURRA & MORRIS 1976:271–274.

in Guzmango "where he lived and governed quietly and peacefully."¹⁰

Chuptongo had two legitimate heirs, Caruatongo and Carhuarayco, of which the first supported Atahualpa and the second Huascar during the Inca civil war. When Caruatongo died in the Spanish attack against the guards of Atahualpa, Carhuarayco was left as the supreme *curaca* of Cajamarca. Later, when Carhuarayco died (around 1550), the leadership was given to two men, Diego Zublian and Pedro Angasnapón, "because" the legitimate son of Carhuarayco, Melchor Carhuarayco, was too young to govern.¹¹ In 1552, Diego Zublian was said to have been *cacique principal* of the [province] of Cajamarca and Pedro Angasnapón *cacique* of [the *guaranga* of] Guzmango.¹² However, it seems that at the end of the 1550s Angasnapón alone governed the whole province till the end of his life and only after the death of Angasnapón, around 1562, the *señorío* was given to the son of Carhuarayco, Melchior Carhuarayco.¹³

This brief history of the *curacas* of Cajamarca demonstrates that Cajamarca had sometimes one supreme local *curaca*, but sometimes two *curacas* together governed the province. It is also important to note that although Diego Zublian was referred to by the Spanish as *cacique principal* of Cajamarca and Pedro Angasnapón as *cacique* of Guzmango, both of them seem to have been *curacas* of Guzmango who co-ruled for a considerable time.¹⁴

10 This information is based on documents cited and analyzed by VILLANUEVA URTEAGA (1975:9–10); see also Sarmiento 1572:cap. 38; 1943:195–196; Cabello 1586:cap. 16; 1951:316–320; Murúa 1616:lib. I, cap. xx; 1987:78.

11 VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:10–11.

12 "Pleito entre el comendador Melchor Verdugo, vecino en la ciudad de Truxillo, y Rodrigo Lozano, regidor de dicha ciudad, sobre posesión de una encomienda de Indios en el valle de Chimo, Lima 1552," fols. 203v, 208v, 210v, No. 3, Justicia 398, AGI.

13 VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975:11; see also "Auto de don Pedro de los Rios para que se haga información de la muerte que Gonzalo Culquichicón principal de Guzmango dio a un indio nombrado Chuquipoma, 27–III – 12–XII–1565," fol. 1v, Legajo 274, Corregimiento, Juez Residencia, Expediente 3426, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo.

14 Angasnapón was a descendant of Chuptongo (ROSTWOROWSKI 1977b:272). From Diego Zublian we know that Carhuarayco was his uncle (doc.cit., fol. 210r, Justicia 398, AGI).

It also seems that after the *cacique principal* died, the co-*curaca*, his second person, attained the supreme power and the title of *cacique principal*. This local habit seems to have been a reason why a descendant of Pedro Angasnapón, Sebastian Ninalingón, later asked the Spanish officials for the title of the second person of Guzmango: after the death of *cacique principal* he was elected to be the new governor of the province.¹⁵

However, although we have evidence of a sporadic occurrence of the dual leadership in Cajamarca, we do not have evidence of the system where one *curaca* would have been the leader of *Hanan* Guzmango and the other the leader of *Hurin* Guzmango, or more generally, leaders of *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*. On the other hand, we do have some evidence that the division into *Hanan* and *Hurinsaya* may still have been known in Incaic Cajamarca. ESPINOZA SORIANO has published an article "Los mitmas yungas de Collique en Cajamarca," where he demonstrates that some pottery maker *mitimaes*, called Yanayacos and who lived in Shultín near the "town" of Cajamarca, belonged to the *Hurinsaya* group of that province.¹⁶ However, Yanayacos were *mitimaes* from the coast and it is possible that they were originally under the jurisdiction of their local coastal *curacas* and later under the leadership of the Inca *tocricoc* but not any *curacas* of Cajamarca. Also Cristóbal de Barrientos noticed in 1540 that *mitimaes yungas* served for their *curacas* on the coast and only *mitimaes serranos* were considered to be under the jurisdiction of the *curacas* of Cajamarca.¹⁷ That is why we cannot be sure whether the statement about *Hurinsaya* refers here to the coastal division or to the division of Cajamarca.

In the "Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca" a document dated 1602 is conserved where the same "Urinsaya Yanayaco" is mentioned, but what I consider to be more important is that in the

15 "Testimonio sobre la repartición de tierras de Sant Marcos hecho por Francisco Alvarez de Cueto en 1574, años 1594 y 1604," fol. 291v, Legajo 31, Escribanos y Notarios, Protocolo 55, Pérez de Aguirre, Martín, I 1601-09, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca; see also ROSTWOROWSKI 1977b:272, 279.

16 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1969-1970:15.

17 Barrientos (1540) 1967:38-39.

same document a group called "Urinsaya Namogora" is also named.¹⁸ From the unpublished *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña we learn that Namogora was a *pachaca* which belonged, in 1571, to the *guaranga* of Cajamarca and, after the reduction of 1565, the members of this *pachaca* lived in the villages of Nepos and San Pablo.¹⁹ Because the *guaranga* of Cajamarca was a part of a province with the same name, the existence of the group "Urinsaya Namogora" may signify that *Hanan – Hurin* concepts actually were known in Incaic Cajamarca.

In the 17th century documents the *Hanan – Hurin* division appears in religious ceremonies organized during the celebration of Corpus Christi.²⁰ According to John H. ROWE, an unpublished *visita* of Cajamarca, written in 1642, was also organized so that *Hanansaya* was separated from *Hurinsaya*.²¹ Although these documents are considerably late those may well reflect an ancient Incaic division of that province. That is why we should take a look at how the province was divided and what significance this division may have had to the local political organization.

According to the *visitas* of Cristóbal de Barrientos and Diego Velazquez de Acuña, Cajamarca was divided into seven *guarangas*: into Guzmango, Chuquimango, Chondal, Bambamarca, Cajamarca, Pomamarca and Mitimaes. Furthermore, the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña demonstrates that two *parcialidades* called Malcadan and Colquemarca also existed which were both composed of four *pachacas* but which were not categorized as *guarangas*.²²

In the *visita* of Barrientos those two *parcialidades* are not mentioned. On the contrary, the village of Colquemarca was

18 "Expediente seguido por el protector de los naturales Pedro de Chavez en la causa que sigue contra Alonso Pérez de Balenzuela por 1043 pataques 20-V-1602," fol. 17, Legajo No. 1, Corregimiento, Protector de los Naturales, Mitas y Obrajes, Año 1603-1637, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca.

19 "Visita de Diego Velazquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571-1572," fols. 209v, 244r-v, Justicia 1063, AGI.

20 ZEVALLOS QUINONEZ 1978:621-635.

21 ROWE 1982:106. However, he does not mention his source.

22 Barrientos (1540) 1967:passim; "Visita de Diego Velazquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571-1572," passim, Justicia 1063, AGI.

categorized under the *guaranga* of Guzmango and the village of Malcadan under the *guaranga* of Chuquimango. However, the names of these two *parcialidades* appeared already in the documents of the 1560s and continued in use up to the 18th century,²³ and hence we cannot be sure whether those two *parcialidades* were colonial or earlier formations. It is also possible that those two *parcialidades* existed as subgroups of the *guarangas* of Guzmango and Chuquimango already at the time of the Incas and later, in the colonial time, those were treated as separate political units. In any case, whether Malcadan and Colquemarca existed in Inca time or not, those *parcialidades* were clearly associated with the aforementioned two *guarangas* in the early colonial time and, according to ROWE those two *guarangas*, as well as Chondal and the *guaranga* of Mitimaes, belonged to *Hanansaya* whereas the *guarangas* of Bambamarca, Cajamarca and Pomamarca formed *Hurinsaya* of the province of Cajamarca.²⁴ In that system four *guarangas* belonged to *Hanansaya* and three *guarangas* to *Hurinsaya*. However, it is important to note that the *guaranga* of Pomamarca was not created before Huayna Capac.²⁵ The earlier division, then, may have been even more unbalanced: four *guarangas* of *Hanansaya* opposing two *guarangas* of *Hurinsaya*.

2.1.2. The spatial division of Cajamarca

To locate the spatial setting of these *guarangas* we may use the *visitas* made under the charge of Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca (1567), Diego Velazquez de Acuña (1571–1572) and Diego Salazar (1578). Of these the most important for our purposes is the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña. The *visita* was composed of ca.500 folios of

23 "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fols. 1777r–v, 1814r, Justicia 458, AGI; "Certificados y otros papeles de Ramon Pérez, años 1739 y 1749," sin fols., Corregimiento, Documentación Diversa, Años 1607–1783, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca.

24 ROWE 1982:106

25 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976–1977:138–140; see also Condorpoma et al. (1565) 1976–1977:157–176.

text (ca.1,000 pages). Two copies of it has been conserved in the Archive of the Indies in Seville.²⁶ That *visita* contains the names of all inhabitants of the 40 inspected villages of Cajamarca grouped in *pachacas*, *guarangas* and *parcialidades*. Circa 150 folios (300 pages) of text about the *visita* of Diego Salazar, carried out in 1578, has been added to both copies of the *visita* at Seville, because it completed the earlier *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña. The pages were added since they include information about the southeast sector of the province that was omitted to inspect in 1571 and 1572.²⁷

During the *visita* of the year 1567, Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, *oidor* of Lima, made an inspection in the *guarangas* of Chondal, Bambamarca and Pomamarca, at least. The original *visita* is lost, but I have found a partial copy of that *visita*, written in 1568, where the tributePAYERS, *pachacas* and *guarangas* are mentioned.²⁸ It is stated that Gonzalez de Cuenca also inspected Guzmango, Chuquimango, Cajamarca and Mitimaes at the same time, but only a few pages of the original 597 folios of that *visita* are known to me.²⁹

María ROSTWOROWSKI DE DIEZ CANSECO has once used a copy of the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña, believing that all the villages mentioned in it were in their original place. She thought that reductions organized by Francisco Toledo had not affected Cajamarca yet.³⁰ Unfortunately, her reasoning is not valid, because the Spaniards made in Cajamarca one of the most complete pre-Toledan reductions already in 1565. On that occasion more than

26 "Visita de Diego Velazquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571-1572," fols. 15v-527v, Justicia 1063, AGI and Escribanía de Cámara 500 B, pieza 4a, fols. 24r-526r, AGI.

27 "Visita de Diego Salazar a Cajamarca, 1578," fols. 534v-690r, Justicia 1063, AGI and Escribanía de Cámara 500 B, Pieza 4a, fols. 526r-722v.

28 "Visita del doctor Gonzalez de Cuenca a Cajamarca, año 1567," fols. 85v-122r, Justicia 415, AGI.

29 "Tercer legajo de la recidencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fol. 1544v, Justicia 458, AGI. A part of this *visita*, dealing with the *pachaca* of Ayamla of Guzmango, is conserved in the Archive of the Indies in the section of Escribanía de Cámara 501 A, fols. 37v-38r and 107. In the same document it is mentioned that Alvarez de Cueto also made a *visita* to Cajamarca in November, 1572.

30 ROSTWOROWSKI 1985:401.

500 villages were abandoned and the inhabitants of those villages were concentrated in less than 50 new villages and at the time of Francisco Toledo, only a few additional reductions were realized.³¹

During the pre-Toledoan Spanish reductions new villages were founded near the most important pre-Pizarroan villages and even the names of nearby old villages were conserved in the names of the new Spanish foundations. For example, the Incaic capital of the province got the name Sant Antonio de Cajamarca whereas the pre-Incaic capital got the name Sant Francisco de Guzmango, etc. In the case of Sant Antonio, the old village was situated on the same site as the old Cajamarca. However, in 1987 I observed that villages like San Luis de Tanboden were situated half a kilometer north of the original Tanboden, San Salvador de Mollebamba a few kilometers southeast of the original Mollebamba, San Marcos de Ichocan more than five kilometers northwest of the original *tambo* of Ichocan, etc. We also know that for specific reasons members of two or three *guarangas* may sometimes have lived in the very same village.³² Still I believe that the original territories of these *guarangas* can be located by seeing where the members of them were concentrated during the reductions of the 1560s and 1570s. To make the task easier, I have made a chart of the villages of Cajamarca and marked down those cases where particular

31 According to Susan RAMIREZ, the Spaniards reduced, in 1565, 553 villages to 45 (personal communication, based on a document which she will publish soon). Around the year 1570 a new village called San Gregorio de Mezique was founded and it is also mentioned in the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña. In 1574 some new reductions were made by Alvarez de Cueto, a *corregidor* of Cajamarca, but those reductions were not as important as the reductions of the year 1565 ("Testimonio sobre la repartición de tierras de Sant Marcos hecho por Francisco Alvarez de Cueto en 1574, años 1594 y 1604," fol. 294r, Escribanos y Notarios, Protocolo 55, Pérez de Aguirre, Martín I 1601–09, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca).

32 For example, a village called Guacuto, situated ca. 30 kilometers from San Marcos, belonged to two *guarangas*, to Cajamarca and to Guzmango, before it was depopulated and its people moved to San Marcos (see: "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fol. 2126r, Justicia 458, AGI). Noble David COOK (1976–1977:28; see also Ponce de León [1543] 1976–1977:38–43) has demonstrated that in Conchucos there were also some villages which belonged to two or three different *guarangas*.

guarangas and *parcialidades* had more than five taxpayers in the village. If we compare that chart to the map no.19, drawn by using 18th century and present maps as well as by doing field research, we may clarify the central areas of each *guarangas* and *parcialidades*.³³ The chart is as follows:

33 Most of the sites can be located by using old and present maps. In addition, I have located San Salvador, San Luis and San Bernaldino by doing field research. In San Jose(f), near present Nanchoc, the ancient name "Chanchan" was unknown in 1987, but I observed Inca-Chimu ceramics excavated by local people on the top of the hill, situated in the front of the present village of San José. I also saw a low stone wall which may have been a part of an ancient Inca road used by Francisco Pizarro in 1532. On the other hand, I could not find the toponym San Joan nor Pingamarca, which were visited by Velazquez de Acuña in 1571, on his route from San Rafael de Nepos to San Josef de Chanchan. Probably the site was situated near present Nanchoc and its Incaic settlement studied by DILLEHAY and NETHERLY (1983:29–30). Also, the exact sites of San Matias, San Gerónimo and San Buenabentura are unknown to me.

The maps I have used are the following: "Carta Topografica de la provincia de Caxamarca situada en las serranias del Obispado de Truxillo del Perú," in: Martínez Compañón, tomo I; "Mapa que comprehende los pueblos de la provincia de Caxamarca donde se hallan alistados los Regimientos de Milicias ..., 2–IV–1785," in: Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 85, AGI; "Plano de Intendencia de Truxillo, el partido de Cajamarca, año 1792," in: VILLANUEVA URTEAGA 1975; Carta Nacional 1:100,000 levantado por el Instituto Geografico Militar, Perú, hojas: Chongoyape (14-e), Chota (14-f), Celendin (14-g), Chepén (15-e), Cajamarca (15-f), San Marcos (15-g), Chocope (16-e), Otuzco (16-f) and Cajabamba (16-g); Cajamarca 1:25,000 levantado por la oficina General de Catastro Rural, Ministerio de Agricultura, Perú, hojas: Niepos, Miraflores, Llallan, Tantachual, Chilete, El Brete, Chungal, San Miguel de Pallaques, Blanca Florida, Monte Seco and Carahuasi; La Libertad 1:25,000 levantado por la oficina General de Catastro Rural, Ministerio de Agricultura, Perú, hojas: Livis, Carahuasi and Pongo.

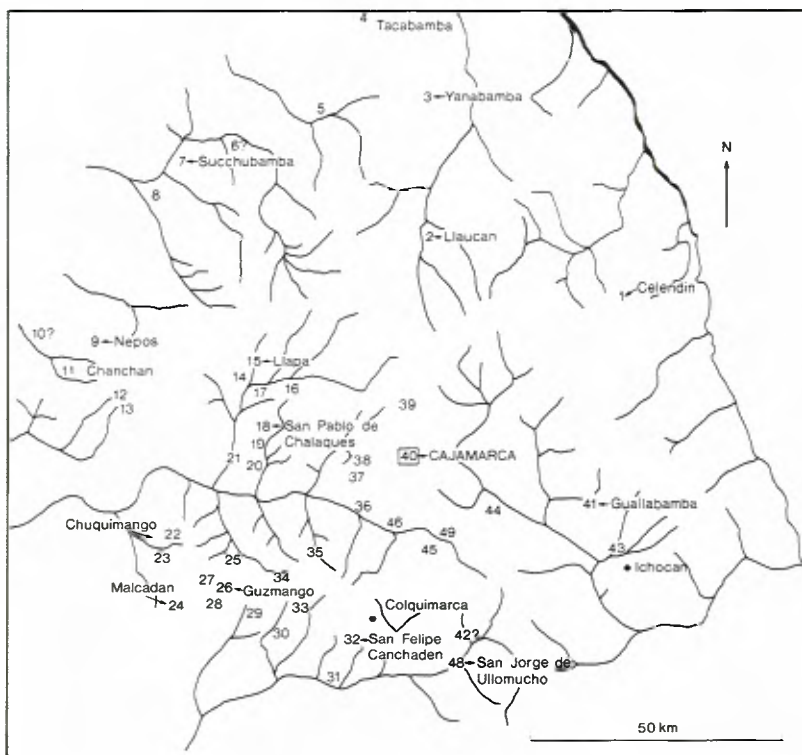
N	B	C	C	M	G	C	P	C	M
u	a	h	h	a	u	o	o	a	i
m	m	o	u	l	z	l	m	j	t
	b	n	q	c	m	q	a	a	i
o	a	d	u	a	a	u	m	m	m
n	m	a	i	d	n	i	a	a	a
	a	l	m	a	g	m	r	r	e
m	r		a	n	o	a	c	c	s
a	c		n			r	a	a	
p	a		g			c			
			o			a			

1	San Lucas de Celendin	x							
2	Todos Santos de Llaucan	x							
3	Santa Clara de Yanabamba	x							
4	San Bartolome de Tacabamba	x	x	x	x	x			x
5	Estancia de Chota								
6	(?) San Matias de Payac	x	x						x
7	Santa Cruz de Suchubamba		x						
8	San Agustin de Catans		x						
9	San Rafael de Nepos		x						
10	(?) San Joan de Pingomarca		x						
11	San Josef de Chanchan		x						
12	San Gregorio de Mezique		x						
13	San Pedro de Lipes		x	x					
14	San Miguel de Catamucho		x						
15	San Andres de Llapa		x						
16	San Bernando de Chunbil		x						
17	Nra Sra de la Concepción de Llamaden				x	x	x		
18	San Pablo de Chalaques	x	x		x	x		x	x
19	San Salvador de Mollebamba		x		x	x			
20	San Bernaldino de Neazia			x		x			
21	San Luis de Tamboden			x	x				
22	Espiritu Santo de Chuquimango			x					
23	Santa Catalina de los Angeles			x	x				
24	San Lorenzo de Malcadan				x				
25	San Nicolas de Yasan						x		
26	San Francisco de Guzmango						x		
27	Santiago Catazabolán						x		

	B	C	C	M	G	C	P	C	M
28 San Benito Cadachon					x				
29 Santana de Cimba					x				
30 San Gabriel de Cascas					x	x			
31 San Joachin Poquio						x			
32 San Felipe Canchaden						x			
33 San Martín de Agomarca						x			
34 San Mateo de Contumasa					x				
35 San Ylefonso Chauta					x	x			
36 Santa Maria Magdalena de Lachan						x			
37 San Sebastian de Cacaden		x	x	x					x
38 San Esteban de Chitilla		x	x				x		x
39 San Cristóbal de Chumara				x	x	x	x		
40 San Antonio de Cajamarca	x	x				x	x	x	x
41 San Gil de Guailabamba									
42 (?) San Gerónimo de Bambamarca							x		
43 San Marcos de Ychocan							x		
44 Jesús de Yanamango							x	x	x
45 La Asunción de Chiquieto							x		
46 La Conceción de Yamaden							x		
(?) San Buenabentura de Pomamarca							x		
48 San Jorge de Ullomuncho							x		
49 San Juan de Yanac							x		

This chart demonstrates that villages like San Lucas de Celendin, Todos Santos de Llaucan and Santa Clara de Yanabamba belonged predominantly to the *guaranga* of Bambamarca; villages like Santa Cruz de Suchubamba, San Rafael de Nepos and San Josef de Chanchan belonged to the *guaranga* of Chondal, etc. As a matter of fact, only the *guarangas* of Cajamarca and Mitimaes did not have their own villages where other *guarangas* did not have five taxpayers. On the other hand, *visitas* of Velazquez de Acuña and Diego de Salazar demonstrate that most of the inhabitants of the *guaranga* of Cajamarca lived just in the capital of the province with the same name, whereas the Mitimaes lived equally in the capital as well as in the nearby villages around San Antonio de Cajamarca.³⁴

34 "Visita de Diego Velazquez de Acuña a Cajamarca, años 1571-1572," fols. 461v, 469r-v, 482v-527v, Justicia 1063, AGI; "Visita de Diego Salazar a

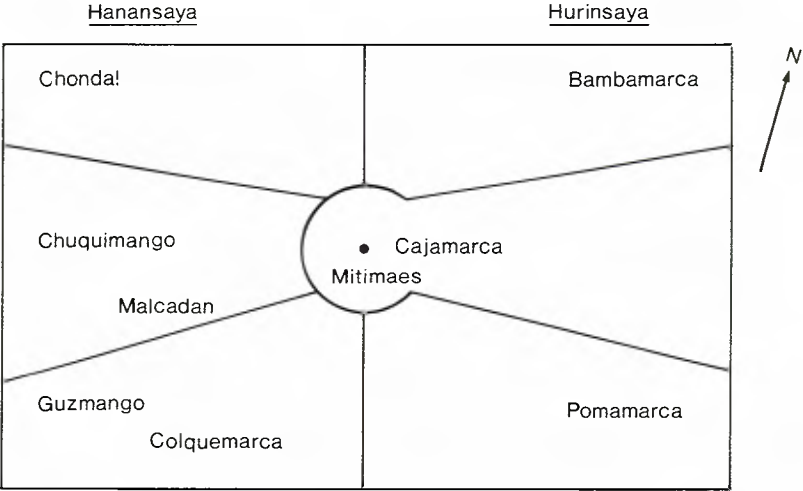


Map 19. The villages of Cajamarca, circa 1570

For some specific reasons, such as labor service in *tambos*, villages like San Antonio de Cajamarca, San Pablo de Chalaques and San Bartolome de Tacabamba were populated by members of most *guarangas* and *parcialidades*, but still the picture of the general setting is clear: villages which were settled by people of *Hurinsaya* (Bambamarca, Cajamarca and Pomamarca) were

Cajamarca, 1578," fols. 585r-596r, Justicia 1063, AGI. The *visita* of Barrientos ([1540] 1967:36-37, 41) shows that also the *guaranga* of Cajamarca had villages of their own before Spanish reductions. According to the same *visita*, the *señor* of the *guaranga* of *mitimaes* lived in "Ichocan" [San Marcos].

situated in the east and villages of *Hanansaya* were situated in the west side of the province. Only members of the *guaranga* of Mitimaes, brought by the Incas to the province, escaped this rule. Although they lived in both spatial areas in the central part of the province, between Jesús de Yanamango and San Pablo de Chalaques, they belonged ideologically to *Hanansaya*. In sum, the spatial setting can be described schematically as follows:



This setting also demonstrated a peculiarity that the capital, Cajamarca, was constructed in the geographic center of the province, but ideologically the majority of its permanently settled people, members of the *guaranga* of Cajamarca, belonged to *Hurinsaya*. Possibly this arrangement was based on the idea that of the two groups who lived predominantly in the central sector, the colonists (Mitimaes) had a higher status (*Hanan*) than the natives (Cajamarca, *Hurin*) even though the colonists seem to have formed a minority.

Furthermore, this same setting shows that the province was divided by two different dualistic ways. At first, the province was divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* in a way which resembles the diametric structure of Winnebago villages as described by

RADIN and LEVI-STRAUSS: one moiety was considered to be the Upper and the other the Lower.³⁵ However, at the same time, the province was divided into the central sector and the periphery in the way which resembles the concentric structure of the Winnebago villages.³⁶ In the case of Cajamarca, the leading *guaranga*, Guzmango, belonged to *Hanansaya*, but in the respect of new Inca capital, Cajamarca, it was situated in the periphery. The old capital, Guzmango, still existed and local governors even lived there. However, when the Inca or his representatives came to the province they stayed in the new capital, which was the place where all the most important rituals were held. For example, when the marriage of Pedro Angasnapón, a 16th century governor of the province, was confirmed by a captain of Atahualpa, the ceremony was held in the plaza of Cajamarca, not in Guzmango.³⁷ Additionally, the major road of the *sierra* from Quito to Cuzco ran via Cajamarca, but, on the other hand, Guzmango was also connected to this road by a lateral road which ran from Chimú Valley via Guzmango, Cajamarca and Celendin to Chachapoya.³⁸

35 RADIN 1923:fig. 33; LEVI-STRAUSS 1963:fig. 6.

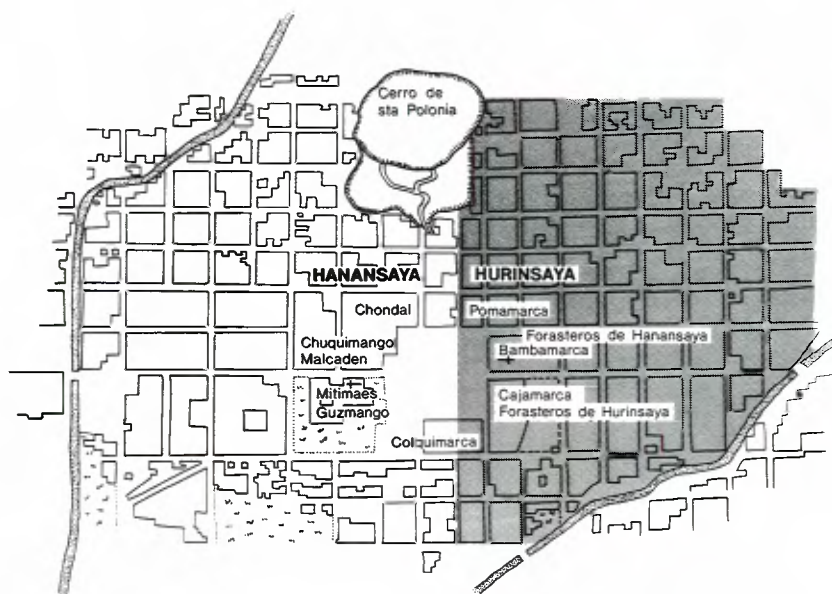
36 RADIN 1923:fig. 34; LEVI-STRAUSS 1963:fig. 7.

37 Nalingon (1573) 1977:456, 457, 461; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1977b:421–423.

38 The existence of this lateral road is ignored by the authors such as REGAL (1936), HAGEN (1955), STRUBE ERDMANN (1963) and HYSLOP (1984), although Cobo (1653:lib. 12, cap. 31; 1964:127) mentions it as one of the most important Inca roads (see also "Aberiguación hecho por señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol, etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," fol. 4v, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo). It is also marked down on the map of Josef Garcia de León y Pizarro drawn in 1779 ("Mapa que comprende todo el distrito de la Audiencia de Quito ...," Mapas y Planos, Panamá 249, AGI). One of the most important *tambos* of this road was called Zumba, possibly situated in Upper Chicama near the present Shimba. Originally the *tambo* was maintained by *mitimaes yungas*, who were settled by the Incas in the area, but in the Conquest period, *curacas* of Guzmango annexed that area for their holdings ("Probanza e ynformación y aberiguación de las tierras nombradas Cullpon en pleito litigado entre parte de don Alonso Noto y don Gabriel Cosalimon y don Juan Astomalon por comission del capitan Diego Arze Alvarado, teniente de corregidor de la villa de Caxamarca, años 1607–1608," fols. 1r–10v, Legajo 4:42, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarias, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca). *Tambo* of Zumba is also mentioned in "Tasa de tributos del marquez de Cañete, 1557" published by Pilar REMY [1983:78]).

Dealing with the Incaic capital of the province, we may note that it seems to have been divided internally in a similar way as the whole province. Although most of the permanent settlers of Cajamarca belonged to the *guarangas* of Cajamarca and Mitimaes, during the rituals of the Incas and later, during the rituals of Catholic church, most of the inhabitants of the province were concentrated to this "town." During these occasions Cajamarca was like a microcosm of the whole province.

Thanks to the article of Jorge ZEVALLOS QUINONES we know that Cajamarca was divided, during the celebration of Corpus Christi of the year 1684, into districts where *guarangas* and *parcialidades* had their altars and it was from these districts that each group started their procession. By comparing this description to the 18th century map of Cajamarca drawn by bishop Martínez Compañón, we may find how the "town" was divided: the *guarangas* of *Hurinsaya* had their "town-districts" to the west and the *guarangas* of *Hanansaya* to the east of the central plaza of Cajamarca. This division can be marked down as follows:



Map 20. Colonial Cajamarca.

If we compare this setting with the earlier map of the whole province we may note that the only clear difference is on the site of Pomamarca. On both maps Pomamarca belongs to *Hurinsaya* but its spatial area has moved from the site between Colquemarca and Cajamarca to the site situated between Bambamarca and Chondal. Its old site was taken a colonial formation called "forasteros de hurinsaya" in 1684 while another new group, "forasteros de hanansaya," had taken a place between Bambamarca and Pomamarca. The rest of the setting reflects the earlier division, the roots of which most likely can be derived from the Inca time.³⁹

However, what surprises me is that those voluminous *visitas* which deal with 16th century Cajamarca do not even mention this *Hanan – Hurin* division while it is a basic sociopolitical concept in similar documents dealing with the Collasuyu area.⁴⁰ This may signify that this division was never rooted to the political organization of Cajamarca and possibly it was significant only in Inca rituals. No source mentions, as far as I know, that *Hurinsaya* of the province of Cajamarca would have had a common political leader either. On the contrary, when the province had sporadically two leaders, both of them were elected from the *guaranga* of Guzmango which belonged to *Hanansaya*. Next, significant political units were *guarangas* and related *parcialidades* which, in turn, were divided into various *pachacas*. The phenomenon may have been somewhat similar among the ethnic groups of the upper Huallaga studied by John V. MURRA, but even on the upper Huallaga, a local sociopolitical division into groups called *Allauca* and *Ichoc* (the right – the left) took place, which may reflect a similar dualism as the division into *Hanan* and *Hurin* groups among the Incas.⁴¹

39 Also the fact that the Incaic capital, Cajamarca, was the center of the main spatial divisions in the province, can be seen as proof that the system had had Incaic influence.

40 See pp. 351–362.

41 MURRA 1967:397–398.

2.2. Chachapoya and Chicama: combination of the dual and four-part organizations

2.2.1. Chachapoya

According to the documents published by ESPINOZA SORIANO, the province of Chachapoya was created by Topa Inca. Before him, only small *curacazgos* existed in the area.⁴²

After the Inca conquest, Topa Inca divided the province into two *hunas*, each containing nearly 10,000 households. It is also possible that *guarangas* and *pachacas* were created at the same time, although ESPINOZA SORIANO suggests that these existed already before the Inca conquest.⁴³ Anyhow, the leadership of each *hunu* was given to a *hunucuraca* who received a privilege to use the title of *apo*. Furthermore, according to Diego de Vizcarra, each *hunucuraca* also had a *segunda persona* with lower prestige – at the time of Atahualpa, at least.⁴⁴ However, it is well possible that this dual division between the *cacique principal* and *segunda persona* was created already at the time of Topa Inca, although we do not possess any information about that.

It may also be significant that the terms *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* were never used, as far as I know, for this dual and quadripartite division. Only the terms of *hunu*, *guarangas*, *pachacas*, *parcialidades* and *ayllus* occur in the documents dealing with Chachapoya.⁴⁵ Furthermore, Vizcarra states that the two *hunucuracas* of Chachapoya were not subordinate to each other. On the contrary, both governed their own *hunu* with equal

42 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a.

43 According to Diego Vizcarra ([1574] 1967:312) all the Indians and *ayllus* of Chachapoya formed different villages and *parcialidades* before the conquest of Topa Inca. Every village and *parcialidad* had a *señor* of its own without being subject to any other leader. This statement does not support the theory of pre-existing *pachacas* and *guarangas*, because in other areas where the system existed, *pachacas* and their leaders formed the subgroups of *guarangas*; but see ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:238.

44 Vizcarra (1574) 1967:317.

45 Chuillaxa (1572) 1967; Guaman (1572) 1967; Alvarez (1572) 1967; Tomallaxa (1572) 1967; Vizcarra (1574) 1967, *passim*.

rights. As he writes about the situation at the time of Atahualpa:⁴⁶

"[Atahualpa] elected and named the mentioned Guaman to be *cacique* and *señor principal* of these provinces and of Chachapoyas, from the valley of Yuracyacu up to the province of Los Pacallas, to where these provinces of Leymebamba and Cochabamba reach; and to his company and equal *señor* in the command and *señorío* he "gave" [elected] Zuta, [who governed] the *repartimiento* of La Jalca, granted [later] to Alonso de Chávez. And *segundas personas* for these two he appointed Chuquimis Longuin and Lucana Pachaca, from the *repartimiento* of Caxamarquilla. And he gave presents to Guaman and Zuta, such as shirts of silver and other things, and women."

This probably means, as suggested also by ESPINOZA SORIANO, that the concepts of *Hanan* and *Hurin* were not used in the local political organization of Chachapoya, at all.⁴⁷ And if the political power of the two aforementioned *hunucuracas* really were equal, then those two *hunas* worked as separated subprovinces which were only united under the leadership of a visiting Inca officials.

Spatially, the demarcation line between the two *hunas* of Chachapoya ran in the middle of the province from west to east, so that one *hunu* had a common border with Cajamarca and the other *hunu* had a common border with Huamachuco and Conchuco.⁴⁸ However, we do not know whether the second person of each *hunu* governed separated territories as their lords, or *hunucuracas (caciques principales)*. At least, it is a possibility because the *cacique principal* of the southern *hunu* of Chachapoya lived in another village than his *segunda persona*.⁴⁹

46 "[Atahualpa] eligió e nombró a dicho Guaman por cacique y señor principal de estas provincias y de Chachapoyas, desde el Valle de Yuracyacu hasta la provincia de Los Pacallas, en que entran las dichas provincias de Leymebamba y Cochabamba; y le dió por su acompañado y señor igual con él en el dicho mando y señorío a Zuta, de La Jalca, repartimiento encomendado en Alonso de Chávez. Y por segundas personas de estos dos nombró al dicho Chuquimis Longuin y a Lucana Pachaca, del repartimiento de Caxamarquilla. Y les dio preseas a los dicho Guaman y Zuta, camisetas de plata y otras cosas e mujeres." In: Vizcarra [1574] 1967:317.

47 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967:232.

48 See map in: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a.

49 Vizcarra (1574) 1967:317, 318.

2.2.2. Chicama

Patricia NETHERLY writes about the political organizations of the Peruvian North Coast as follows:⁵⁰

“... the North Coast polities at all levels were characterized by what may be called a dual corporate organization in which bounded, named, social groups at lower levels of organization were integrated into higher levels by means of a series of ranked moieties, headed by personages we may term headmen, lords, or paramount rulers according to their hierarchical position. At every level in this organizational structure, each unit can ideally be subdivided into two unequal, subordinate groups. All other social and economic systems, including that of religion, were integrated within this framework. I do not mean to suggest here that there are no common functions characteristic of all preindustrial states, but simply to emphasize the uniqueness of the systematic use of dual opposition at all hierarchical levels as a principle of *state* organization. This organizational structure was particularly efficient for the mobilization of human energy, which was the primary source of wealth and power. The principles of duality and hierarchy completely dominated the regional political organizations ...”

More specifically, she argues that polities like Chicama were divided into two moieties, which in turn, were subdivided by dual principle. Furthermore, the basic quadripartition of Chicama was further subdivided, “ideally making a total of eight subsections.” So, the sociopolitical organization of the polity of Chicama can be represented schematically as follows:⁵¹

	FIRST MOIETY		SECOND MOIETY
Hypothesized moiety a	I:1		II:1
Hypothesized moiety b	I:2		II:2

⁵⁰ NETHERLY 1984:230.

⁵¹ NETHERLY 1984:231–234, table 1.

Although the principle of duality really seems to have dominated the local sociopolitical organizations in the North Coast, I would like to note that traces of even other kinds of principles existed there. For example, in 1567, *repartimientos* of Motupe and Jequetepeque did not only have *caciques principales* and *segunda personas*, but also *caciques* with the title of "tercera persona."⁵² That title may indicate that in those two specific areas of the North Coast the local sociopolitical system was based on a tripartite structure. Furthermore, even the political organization of Chicama seems to have been more complicated than presented by NETHERLY, although her supposition of basic dualistic principles probably stands criticism.

First of all, according to my knowledge, Licapa and a *parcialidad* of fishermen belonged, before 1560, to the *señorío* of Chicama, and the situation to which NETHERLY refers was a colonial formation where Chicama, Licapa and the *parcialidad* of fishermen were already separate polities.⁵³

More information about these two *parcialidades* can be found in a document, conserved in Archivo Departamental de la Libertad in Trujillo, which deals with lands and *chacras* of an ethnic leader called Guaman Pingo, of the Inca and the Sol, etc. in Chicama valley. In that document, written in 1565, a man called Juan Borres, who "knew well Chicama valley and the *parcialidad* of Licapa" mentions that an ancient *curaca* called don Alonso was "cacique and *señor principal* of this Chicama valley and Licapa."⁵⁴ Furthermore, this information of a common polity of Licapa and Chicama is confirmed by many other witnesses, who stated that the *parcialidad* of fishermen used to be subject, in the Inca time, both to the *curaca* of Licapa and to the *cacique principal* of Chicama.⁵⁵ Because of these local statements, it seems to me that

52 "Segundo legajo de la expresava residencia del doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, Audiencia de Lima 1570 á 1574," fols. 898v, 901v, 1010v, 1752r, 1808r, 1835v, 1938r, Justicia 457, AGI.

53 NETHERLY 1984:232; see also map 21.

54 "Aberiguación hecho por el señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol, etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," fol. 10r-v, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarios, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo.

55 Doc.cit. Testimonies of Francisco Mixar, Diego Guachat, Hernando Yfisacanamo and Chonlo Onamo, fols. 21v, 26r-v, 30r, 30v.



Map 21. The province of Trujillo in 1780s after Martínez Compañón.

the two, four and eight partite division to which NETHERLY refers, was only one half of the larger Inca province or sub-province.⁵⁶

Now, if we do these additions to the information of NETHERLY, we can notice that Licapa, situated in the northern valley, seems to have formed "the lower moiety" of the larger Chicama polity. Secondly, it seems that the fishermen were a part of the same Licapa moiety, because their leaders were said to have been subject, before Huayna Capac, both to Licapa and to Chicama. In that position they probably formed the lower sector of the larger Licapa moiety.

Furthermore, it seems that the fishermen formed one fourth of the whole population of the valley, because once it was testified by

56 According to Richard P. SCHAEDEL (1985:453) Chicama, Moche and Virú formed a single Inca province.

Baltasar Rodriguez that in Chicama and Licapa there used to be "more than" 4,000 households and on another occasion it was said by Hernando Yfisacanamo that 1,000 Indians were subject to the *cacique principal* of fishermen.⁵⁷ Because it is also said that the *repartimiento* of Licapa, granted to Francisco Fuentes, was one-half of the site of Chicama (granted to Diego Mora), we may assume that Licapa also was a *parcialidad* of some 1,000 households.⁵⁸ If so, the lower moiety of the Chicama polity (northern valley) was divided into two sectors, both of which were composed of some 1,000 households. Because the upper moiety (Chicama, southern valley) was also divided into two main sectors, as demonstrated by NETHERLY, the basic organization of the valley seems, indeed, to have followed the four-part principle.

Unfortunately, we do not have information about the inner division of the *parcialidad* of fishermen. However, some indications let us assume that even there the basic division was dual. There were two *curacas*, *cacique principal*, Mynchonamo, and his brother Guaman Pingo, who were "brave" and did not obey, from the time of Huayna Capac forward, their former *curacas* in Licapa and Chicama.⁵⁹ On the other hand, in Licapa it is clearly mentioned that there was a *cacique principal* and three other *principales* (= 4).⁶⁰ That information supports NETHERLY's theory that dual, quadripartite, etc. divisions were in ordinary use in that part of Tawantinsuyu although the system was more complex than previously believed.

57 Doc.cit., fols. 20r, 29v.

58 Mora et al. (1548) 1958:256.

59 "Aberiguación hecho por el señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol, etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," passim, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarios, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo.

60 Doc.cit., fols. 15r, 21v, 22r, 23r, 27v, 28r, 28v.

2.3. Huayla: a combination of dual, four-part and triad principles

The earliest description of Huayla can be found in the "relation" of Miguel de Estete, written down in 1533 and copied by Francisco de Xérez (1534) and Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo (1548). Estete's report is based on the expedition made by horsemen and infantry from Cajamarca to Pachacamac under the leadership of Hernando Pizarro. The expedition, in which he himself took part, was made at the time when Atahualpa was captured but not yet killed.

In his account, Estete explains how they passed the *señorío* of Huamachuco to the *señorío* of Huayla via Corongo, one of the last villages subject to the *curaca* of Huamachuco.⁶¹ From Corongo they rode further south and passed the present Santa River by using two parallel Inca bridges. After that, they stayed two days in a village whose *curaca* was called Pumapacha. He does not mention the name of the village, but probably it was a question of the capital of that province, called Hatun Huayla.⁶² From there Hernando Pizarro continued with his troops⁶³ further south, passing many important villages of Huayla, turning finally to the coast of Paramonga and Pachacamac.⁶⁴

Although some other documents dealing with Huayla can be located in the Archive of the Indies, some of which have even been published, still our knowledge about the Inca administration of that province has been quite poor.⁶⁵

61 Corongo is situated some 30 kilometers south of the present village of Conchucos.

62 Pumapacha was a brother of Contarguacho, a secondary wife of Huayna Capac (see the testimony of Antonio Poma in: Ampuero & Yupanqui [1557] 1976:282). At the time of the Spanish conquest he was probably the supreme *curaca* of *Hanan Huayla*.

63 According to Estete ([1535?] 1924:36) there were fifteen horsemen and ten "arcabuceros" in the troops of Hernando Pizarro.

64 Estete (1533) 1985:130–134.

65 One of the most important documents in Seville is "Probanza de Francisco de Ampuero" from the year 1557. There are two copies of that document in the sections "Audiencia de Lima 204" and "Justicia 1088." The latter copy was also published in 1976 by ESPINOZA SORIANO (see: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976 and Ampuero & Yupanqui [1557]). The *visitas* of Diego Alvarez to the two *guarangas* of *Hurin Huayla* are also known to specialists (ESPINOZA SORIANO 1978; VARON GABAI 1980). On the other hand, documents in the section of "Justicia 405A," such as "Probanza de Alvaro y

However, we know that the province of Huayla (also known as Guaraz, Huaraz and Guayllas) was divided, like Chachapoya, into two major parts with their own leaders, but unlike in Chachapoya, the concepts of *Hanan* and *Hurinsaya* were in ordinary use. One part of the province was called *Hanan* Huayla and the other *Hurin* Huayla.⁶⁶ As the use of *Hanan* – *Hurin* concepts let us presuppose, the leader of *Hurin* Huayla may have had a lower prestige than the supreme *curaca* of *Hanan* Huayla. However, we do not possess, as far as I know, any document which would confirm that this presupposition would be correct.⁶⁷ Nevertheless, it seems that the supreme *curaca* of *Hurin* Huayla possessed almost equal authority as the leader of *Hanansaya*. He also was an *apo*.⁶⁸ Furthermore, his important status was also recognized by Huayna Capac: the Inca king did not only marry a daughter of the leader of *Hanan* Huayla but also a daughter of the *curaca* of *Hurin* Huayla in order to confirm the political allegiance of that province.⁶⁹

Francisco Torres" from the year 1557 and "Resumen de la probanza de Hernando de Torres" from the year 1562 and "Resumenes de visitas que por orden del presidente Gasca hizieron Sebastian de Merlo y Gomez de Caravantes ..." from the year 1549, etc., are seldom used, although those undoubtedly are almost as important as the former documents.

- 66 "Probanza de Francisco de Ampuero, año 1557" and "Probanza que hazen Martin de Ampuero, vezino y regidor de esta ciudad y Francisco de Ampuero, su hermano, para ynformar a Su magestad, año 1572," Audiencia de Lima 204, AGI; "Información hecha por Francisco de Ampuero y doña Ines Yupangue, su muger ..., año 1557," Ramo 1, No. 4, Justicia 1088, AGI. Various documents in: "Pleito entre Hernando de Torres, vecino de la ciudad de León de Guanuco, y el lisenciado Alvaro de Torres y Rui Barba Caveza de Baca, vecino de la ciudad de los Reyes, sobre, cierto repartimiento de indios de la provincia de Guaraz y Chuquiracoay que fueron de Sebastian de Torres, difunto, Lima 1562," Justicia 405 A, AGI.
- 67 In "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557," (fol. 181v) a testimony of "don xpoual vylcarima," *cacique principal* of "ruringuaylas," is presented. Because Cristóbal Vilca Rimac was the *cacique principal* of *Hanan* Huayla (Ampuero & Yupanqui [1557] 1976:283), one could interpret this to mean that he was also the *cacique principal* of *Hurin* Huayla ("ruringuaylas"). However, in this case, that interpretation is extremely unlikely, because that testimony was dated January 21, [1557] in Santo Domingo de Yungay in the province of "ruringuaylas." In both cases the reference to *Hurin* Huayla must be an error of Spanish *escribano*, because in reality Santo Domingo de Yungay undoubtedly was a village of *Hanan* Huayla (see, for example, VARON GABAI 1980:map 1).
- 68 Testimony of Martín Unyaparia in: "Resumen de la probanza de Hernando de Torres, año 1562," fol. 2r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.
- 69 For more about these two secondary wives, see: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976:247–297; ROSTWOROWSKI 1989:16–17.

Soon after the Spanish conquest the province of Huayla was divided into two *repartimientos*. In 1534, *Hurinsaya* was given to Sebastian de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga, whereas *Hanansaya* went first to Francisco Pizarro and after that to his daughter Francisca Pizarro.⁷⁰

After the first grant was given to Sebastian de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga, the *repartimiento* was divided between these two *encomenderos* into two halves. Torres took the northern section and Aliaga the southern section of *Hurin* Huayla.⁷¹ Later, in 1544, this same *repartimiento* division was confirmed by Vaca de Castro (governor of Peru) when he gave the other half of *Hurin* Huayla to the widow of Sebastian de Torres.⁷²

Although this inner *repartimiento* division of *Hurin* Huayla belonged to the Conquest period, we have reasons to believe that it

70 LOCKHARD 1972:154, 244–245; Anónimo "Boceto" [1549?] 1958:237. The mother of doña Francisca Pizarro was Ines Yupanqui Huaylas Nusta who, in turn, was a daughter of Huayna Capac and Contarguacho, a native noble woman from *Hanan* Huayla.

ESPINOZA SORIANO (1976:247–271; 1985:329–356) has argued that Huayna Capac had given the area of *Hanan* Huayla as a *repartimiento* with feudal rights to Contarguacho. This statement is based on the documents where Ines Yupanqui Huaylas Nusta and Francisco de Ampuero (spouse of doña Ines after the death of Francisco Pizarro) tried to "get back" this *repartimiento* to the daughter of Contarguacho, to doña Ines (and to Ampuero). However, the evidence is not very conclusive. Probanzas they presented in Court demonstrate that Contarguacho was the daughter of the leader of *Hanan* Huayla, married to Huayna Capac, but she did not return to Huayla before the death of Huayna Capac (see especially the testimony of Diego Paulo in "Probanza que hazen Martin de Ampuero ..., año 1572," doc.cit., fol. 35r–v). When Contarguacho finally returned to her village she was highly respected as a woman of Huayna Capac. She also helped – together with Cristóbal Vilca Rimac, the *cacique principal* of *Hanan* Huayla – Spaniards in the pacification of Peru, but still, in my opinion, it was poorly testified that she would have been the "owner of the province" in any European or feudal sense.

71 According to VARON GABAI (1980:48) Torres got the area of Huaraz and Aliaga the area of Recuay. However, VARON GABAI is wrong when he says that this division was based on the first title of the grant. On the contrary, the copy of the title (1534) demonstrates that Torres and Aliaga shared the common *repartimiento* at that time (see: "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Sebastian de Torres y Gerónimo de Aliaga, 4–VIII–1534," fol. 64v, Justicia 405 A, AGI).

72 "Titulo de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Francisca Ximenez, muger de Sebastian de Torres, Tambo de Picoy 11–IV–1544," fol. 37r–38r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

was based on earlier indigenous subdivision. Local testimonies did not call these subsectors only as *repartimientos* either, but as "provinces" with their own leaders.

The other subsector ("province") was sometimes called Collanas and sometimes Guaraz and it was composed of three *guarangas* named Collana (by another name Marca), Allauca Guaraz and Ichoc Guaraz. Another subsector was called Chucaracoays and it also contained three *guarangas*: Chucaracoay (called also as Ichoc Chontas), Allauca Poma and Ichoc Poma.⁷³ Summaries of the *visitas* to *Hurin Huayla*, made in 1549 under the charge of Sebastian de Merlo and Gómez de Caravantes, show that in *Hurin Huayla* a *parcialidad* of *mitimaes*, called Limange, also existed. However, its members were incorporated into the six aforementioned *guarangas* soon after the collapse of Tawantinsuyu and (because of that) we know very little about it.⁷⁴ All the same, originally they were not under the jurisdiction of local *curacas* of *Huayla*. We can be quite sure about that because they were left aside from the first *repartimientos* of Pizarro and Vaca de Castro, and because many testimonies confirm that only six *guarangas* were under the leadership of *cacique principal* of *Hurin Huayla*.⁷⁵

Furthermore, at the time of European contact every *guaranga* of *Hurin Huayla* had its own *curaca*. According to the testimonies of Diego de Ynchacaque, Hernando de Torres Guaman and Felipe Yaropariag the six men in charge of these *guarangas* were as follows:⁷⁶

73 "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557," fols. 185r-v, 193r, 198r, Justicia 405 A, AGI; see also "Visitas de Diego Alvarez a Guaraz y Llaguaraz (1558)," fols. 330r, 344r, 345r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

74 "Resumenes de visitas que por orden del presidente Gasca hizieron Sebastian de Merlo y Gomez de Caravantes por el mes de mayo de quarenta y nueve años al repartimiento de Guaylas encomendado en Her[nan]do de Torres; Ruy Barba; Xpoual de Torres; y el cap[i]t[an] Ger[on]imo de Aliaga, 1549," fols. 292v, 303v, 310r, 318v, Justicia 405 A, AGI; see also VARON GABAI 1980:61-62.

75 See the titles of the grants given by Pizarro and Vaca de Castro to Sebastian Torres, Gerónimo de Aliaga and Francisca Ximenez; and "Probanzas" of Ampuero and Torres cited before.

76 "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco de Torres, 1557," fols. 190v, 193r, 198r, Justicia 405 A, AGI; compare ESPINOZA SORIANO 1978:20.

Carualimanga	<i>guaranga</i> of Chucaracoay
Marcaoma	<i>guaranga</i> of Allauca Poma
Collas	<i>guaranga</i> of Ichoc Poma
Pariona	<i>guaranga</i> of Collana (Marca)
Lima Collas	<i>guaranga</i> of Allauca Guaraz
Vycacochache [Vilca Cochache]	<i>guaranga</i> of Ichoc Guaraz

According to the title of the *encomienda* grant, given in 1534 by Francisco Pizarro, the two most important *curacas* of "the province of Chucaracoay" (that is: *Hurin Huayla*) were men called Collax and Chuchay, in that order. It is also mentioned that Collax was "señor of the province and village of Chuquiracoay."⁷⁷ Now, if we compare the names of these *curacas* to the names mentioned by Diego de Ynchacaque et al., we can notice that Collax probably was the *cacique principal* of the *guaranga* of Ichoc Poma. Another possibility would have been the *curaca* of Allauca Guaraz, Lima Collas, but because Fernández Oviedo (using the report of Estete) specifically writes that the two *señores* of the village of "Sucaracoay" were "Ma[r]coama and Collas," that possibility is very unlikely.⁷⁸ The village of Chucaracoay belonged to the *guarangas* of Pomas, not to Guaraz. On the other hand, the name of the other *curaca*, Chuchay, seems to have been misspelled or copied wrong from the original title. However, technically it is closest to the name "Vycacochache," written also as "Huyhca Cuchache" in a *probanza* of Hernando Torres.⁷⁹ Thus the name Chuchay (= Huyhca) seems to have referred to the *curaca* of Ichoc Guaraz, although the name is badly written.⁸⁰ If that supposition is

77 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Sebastian de Torres y Gerónimo de Aliaga, 4-VIII-1534," fol.64v, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

78 Fernández de Oviedo (1548): parte tercera, libro IX, cap. xi; cited by BRAVO GUERREIRA 1985:134, note 193.

79 "Resumen de la probanza de Hernando de Torres, año 1562," fol. 2r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

80 The names of those *caciques*, given to Torres and Aliaga by title of Francisco Pizarro, were verified many times in the aforementioned *probanzas*. There was not any other *cacique* than "Huyhca Cuchache" whose name would have been orthographically nearer the name of Chuchay. Because the names Huyhca, Vyca and Vilca all refer to the same *cacique*, I suppose that so does Chuchay. Also the fact that the descendants of Vilca Cochache continued to be *caciques principales* of the whole subprovince of Collana & Guaraz, supports that possibility.

correct, then the first *curaca* of *Hurin* Huayla belonged to the subprovince of Chucaracoay and the second *curaca* belonged to the subprovince of Collana.

Although this hierarchy supports the idea of Incaic subdivision of *Hurin* Huayla, it also evokes new problems. Firstly, it is generally known that in Andean sociopolitical thinking Ichoc groups are inferior to Allauga groups. Why, then, were the two Ichoc groups of *Hurin* Huayla in the leading position in that province? This order can not be an error in the title of the *encomienda* grant either, because we know that *curacas* of Ichoc Guaraz continued to be *caciques principales* of all three *guarangas* of Collanas.⁸¹

Secondly, when the first Spaniards visited the village of Chucaracoay in 1533 (before the death of Atahualpa), the *cacique principal* of that village was Marcaoma [from Allauga Poma] and his *segunda persona* was Collas [from Ichoc Poma].⁸² If so, how can we explain that only a year later the situation had changed into the opposite: Collas was the *caciques principal*, and Marcaoma was the *segunda persona* of the Pomas?

One possible explanation to both of these questions may lie in the statements of Cabello Balboa. According to Cabello, the Huayla rebelled at the time of Topa Inca and for this reason they were severely punished.⁸³ He does not explain how they were punished, but we know that the province was partially depopulated by sending a considerable amount of its people to different areas of Tawantinsuyu. We can find traces of them in Copacabana in the present Bolivia, in the tropical forest of Panatagua (near the present town of Tingo María), in Chimpo in the present Ecuador, etc.⁸⁴ Topa Inca probably reorganized the local administration as

81 "Titulo de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Francisca Ximenez, muger de Sebastian de Torres, Tambo de Picoy 11-IV-1544," fols. 37r-38r, Justicia 405 A, AGI; "Traslado de tasas de Hernando de Torres, Rui Barba y Xpoual de Torres, (1549) 1551," fol. 292v, Justicia 405 A, AGI; Alvarez (1558a) 1978:115; Anónimo "Boceto" (1548?) 1958:220; compare ESPINOZA SORIANO 1978:22.

82 See note 78.

83 Cabello 1586:cap. 16; 1951:319.

84 Ramos Gavilán 1621:cap. xii; 1976:43; "La posesión en la cedula de encomienda de la Gasca a Hernando Alonso, 15-XI-1548," fol. 7r-v, Justicia 403, AGI; "Probanza de don Santiago, principal del pueblo de San Rafael Cunbibamba, año 1566," fol. 80r, Justicia 669, AGI.

well, and gave a new Quechua name to each *guaranga*.⁸⁵ Hence, one may suppose that the names of the *guarangas* of Huayla refer to the sociopolitical situation as it was at the time of Topa Inca. However, after the collapse of Tawantinsuyu, the old families may have taken their ancient power back, changing the political hierarchy created by force only two or three generations earlier. As a matter of fact, Huayla would not have been the only case where the established order changed rapidly. For example, from Chicama valley, noted before, we know that there lived two "brave fishermen" who did not obey their former *curacas* from the time of Huayna Capac onward. Because of that, they both were killed soon after the Spanish conquest, in order to re-establish the older local hierarchy.⁸⁶ Also archaeologists tell us that soon after the Spanish conquest, some Inca settlements were abandoned and the Indians returned to their former villages.⁸⁷ Furthermore, from Chachapoya we know that there Huayna Capac and Atahualpa themselves changed, after rebellions, the established order of their predecessors.⁸⁸ Indeed, a similar change may have happened in Huayla, too, although there the old vocabulary probably survived, masking the actual rapid transformation of the political order.⁸⁹

Theoretically one may assume that at the time when Quechua names were given to the individual *guarangas* of *Hurin* Huayla, the most important one was the *guaranga* called Collana ("the first" in Quechua). Also some of the 16th century testimonies give support to this theory by stating that the *curaca* of Collana was not subject to any other *curaca* of *Hurin* Huayla. Especially relating to the *cacique* called Pariona, who was the last pre-Hispanic leader of

85 For example, Poma means "puma," Collana means "the first," Guara means "one kind of breeches," etc. (see the dictionaries of Domingo de Santo Tomás (1560) 1951, and Gonzalez Holguin (1608) 1952). According to "Informaciones" of Francisco de Toledo ([1570-1572] 1940:passim), among others, the decimal organization with *pachacas* and *guarangas* was "created" by Topa Inca.

86 "Aberiguación hecho por señor corregidor Diego de Porres, sobre tierras de Guaman Pingo, el ynga, el sol, etc. en el valle de Chicama, año 1565," fols. 21v-31v, Legajo 148:46, Corregimiento, Causas Ordinarios, Archivo Departamental de la Libertad, Trujillo.

87 MÓRRIS & THOMPSON 1974:198; LUMBRERAS 1974:224; see also MURRA 1978:418-419.

88 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1967a:passim.

89 Compare DUBY 1985:158.

that *guaranga*, it was testified as follows:⁹⁰

“... *cacique* Pariona was always a *cacique* of his own from a distinct *parcialidad*. He was not subject to other *caciques* granted to the mentioned Sebastian de Torres, father of mentioned Hernando de Torres, and Gerónimo de Aliaga;⁹¹ nor was he subject to any other *cacique* either.”

However, as noted, other sources demonstrate that Pariona was not the *cacique principal* of *Hurin Huayla* after the Spanish conquest. The political practice had overcome the vocabulary order. On the other hand, if the vocabulary order had really been a reflection of the time of Topa Inca, one may further assume that originally the whole subsector of Collanas may have been superior to that of Chucaracoays. If so, that would also explain why some testimonies called Chucaracoays as Ichoc Chontas.⁹² As we have noted earlier, in Andean sociopolitical ideology Ichoc (the left) signified inferiority and when compared to Collanas, the term Ichoc Chontas was probably used to demonstrate their lower status in local sociopolitical hierarchy. In practice, that hierarchy may refer to the system where the leader of Chuquiracoays was originally the *segunda persona* of the *curaca* of Collanas, although this was not said directly in the aforementioned *probanzas*.

Like *Hurin Huayla*, *Hanan Huayla* is also said to have contained six *guarangas*.⁹³ However, in various *probanzas* only five *guarangas*, called Tocas, Guambos, Lupas, Hicas and Marcara are named, but the group of Guambos seems to have formed, in fact, two distinct *guarangas* called Ichoc Guambo and Allauca

90 “... cacique Pariona siempre fue cacique por sy e de parcialidad distinta y no sujeto a los otros caciques que se encomendaron en el dho Sebastian de Torres padre del dho Hernando de Torres y Grmo de Aliaga ny a otro ninguno cacique/.” Testimony of Antonio Annychumbi in: “Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557,” fol. 200v, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

91 The six *guarangas* of *Hurin Huayla* were granted to Sebastian de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga on August 4, 1534 by Francisco Pizarro. See “Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco de Pizarro a Sebastian de Torres and Gerónimo de Aliaga, 1534,” fol. 64v, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

92 “Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557,” fols. 182v, 185r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

93 Ampuero & Yupanqui (1557) 1976:283.

Guambo.⁹⁴ So, the information of the six *guarangas* seems to have been correct.⁹⁵

Among these *guarangas*, the most important is said to have been Tocas, whose *curaca* let his own daughter, Contarguacho, marry Huayna Capac.⁹⁶ From other *guarangas* we only know that Lupas and Hicas formed a pair similar to Allauca Guambo – Ichoc Guambo, because Lupas and Hicas had a common *curaca*.⁹⁷ However, it is quite possible that all of *Hanan* Huayla was divided into subsectors similar to *Hurin* Huayla, because sometimes local witnesses told about the subprovince of Tocas.⁹⁸ If that supposition is correct, the entire Inca province of Huayla was divided, in the first place, into two main halves: into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*. These again, in the second place, were divided into other halves in the way which reminds us of the system of quadripartition discussed earlier in the connection of Cuzco.

Although this theory still includes some uncertainties (due to the lack of written sources) the schematic structure of the sociopolitical system of the province may have looked as follows:

HANANSAYA		HURINSAYA
Tocas		Collana
Allauca Guambo		Allauca Guaraz
Ichoc Guambo		Ichoc Guaraz
-----		-----
Marcara		Chuquyracoay
Lupas (Allauca ?)		Allauca Poma
Hicas (Ichoc ?)		Ichoc Poma

94 The names of the five *guarangas* of *Hanan* Huayla are collected from the following sources: "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557," fols. 181v, 188r, Justicia 405 A, AGI; "Resumen de la probanza de Hernando de Torres, año 1562," fols. 390r, 391r, 391v, Justicia 405 A, AGI; "Probanza de Francisco Ampuero, año 1557," fol.18v, Audiencia de Lima 204, AGI.

SORIANO INFANTE mentions Ichoc Guambo and Allauca Guambo as "*guarangas* of the village of Yungay" in the article "Yungay en la dominación española" published in "Libro de Oro de Yungay" (1962:50–55). This information is cited by ESPINOZA SORIANO 1978:note 29.

95 Compare ROSTWOROWSKI 1989:17.

96 Ampuero & Yupanque (1557) 1976:286; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976:250; ROSTWOROWSKI 1989:17.

97 "Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557," fol. 188r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

98 Ampuero & Yupanqui (1557) 1976:281.

Unfortunately, I have not had the possibility to locate the geographic areas of all these *guarangas* as I have done in Cajamarca. Nevertheless, we know that *Hurin* Huayla formed the southern and *Hanan* Huayla the northern part of the province.⁹⁹ Furthermore, Tocas and two Guambos seem to have occupied the northern *Hanansaya* and Marcara, at least, the southern *Hanansaya*. Equally in *Hurinsaya*, Collanas inhabited the northern *saya* and Chucaracoays the southern *saya*.¹⁰⁰

It is also important to note that the province may have got its name from the group Guaraz (= Huaylas), which belonged ideologically to *Hurinsaya*.¹⁰¹ In that respect the province seems to resemble Cajamarca. It also appears from our schematic picture that the two subsectors of *Hurinsaya* and one subsector of *Hanansaya*, at least, formed a peculiar triad where the second and the third *guaranga* formed, at the same time, an Allauca – Ichoc (right – left) pair. But as often is the case, our local sources do not shed light on the exact ideological meaning of this system.

One may also wonder why the leading *guarangas* were called Tocas and Guambo. What had these groups to do with the province of Guambo and with one of its *parcialidad*, also called Tocas?¹⁰² Were they *mitimaes* sent by Topa Inca to govern the whole province? Unfortunately we cannot answer these questions now in 1992.

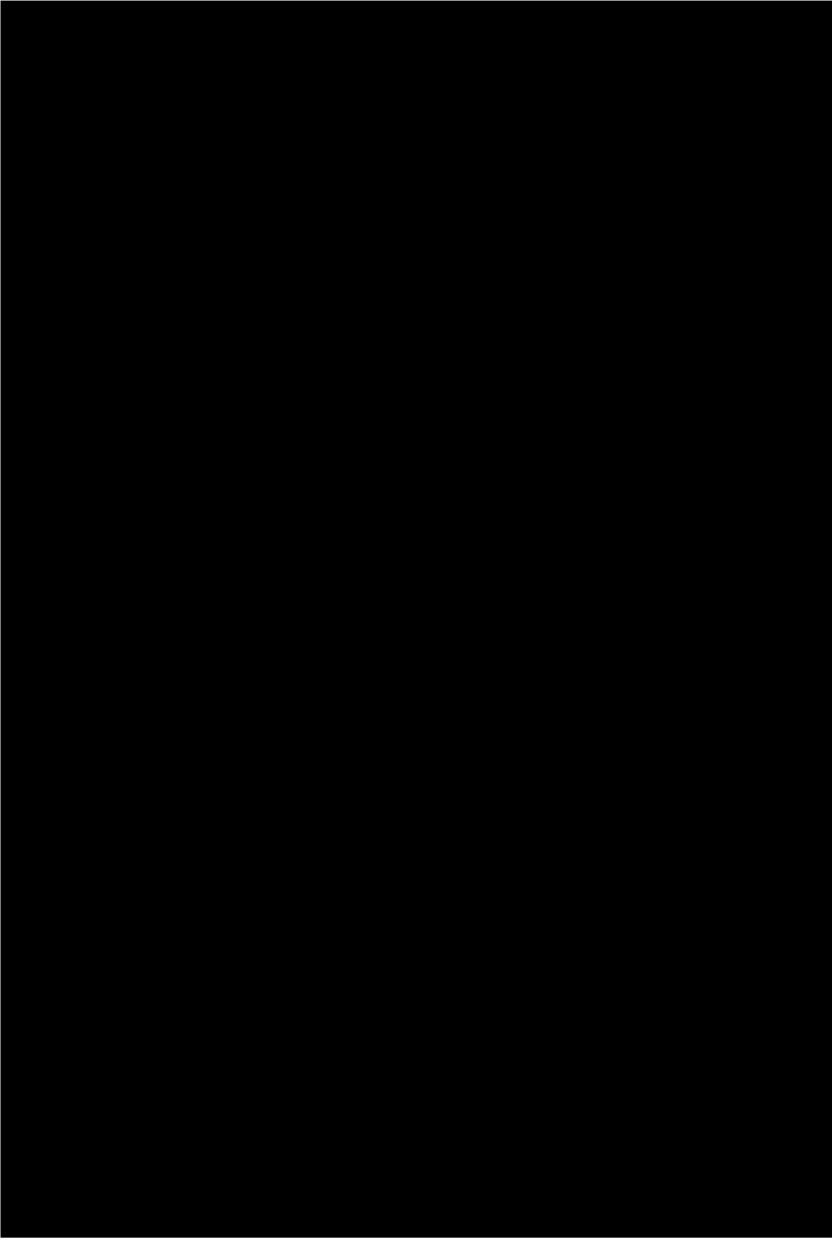
Nevertheless, in the more general sociopolitical hierarchy the most important group seems to have been *Hanansaya* with its two subsectors, which both were under the jurisdiction of the *curaca* of Tocas. *Hurinsaya*, in turn, may have possessed less prestige than

99 See also map 22.

100 See VARON GABAI 1980:33–42; ESPINOZA SORIANO 1978:map 1 and the map: "Departamento de Ancash. Mapa fisico politico 1:400,000." Instituto Geografico Nacional 1985.

101 In 16th century Spanish orthography, the combination "gua" can be written as "hua." Furthermore, in some Quechua dialects the letter "r" is spelled as "l." Because of that, Lima is the same as Rima, Rucana the same as Lucana, etc. Thus, there is no real phonetic difference between the words Huaylas (in Spanish plural) and Guaraz.

102 Guambo was situated near Cajamarca. According to a "Posesión" of an *encomienda* grant, given in 1559 to Lorenzo de Ulloa, there was a group of Indians called Tocas. See: "Pleito de Lorenzo de Ulloa, vecino de Truxillo, con el fiscal de S.M., sobre ciertos yndios, Lima 1559," fol. 85r, Justicia 430, AGI.



Map 22. River routes in Colonial Peru after Joseph Amich (1767). The map is conserved in AGI.

Hanansaya, and it is possible, although not sure, that it was under the political leadership of *Hanan* Huayla. Because of that, the political organization of Huayla does not necessarily resemble the dual and quadripartite system of Chachapoya, although those two provinces probably shared many common organizational principles. Also the sociopolitical structure of Yauyo, studied by María ROSTWOROWSKI, may have been somewhat similar to the provincial organization of Huayla.¹⁰³

2.4. Huanca, Pachacamac and Chincha: interaction between triad and dual structures

2.4.1. Huanca

At the time of the Spanish conquest the Inca province of Huanca was divided into three *parcialidades*. Cieza de León (and followed by Garcilaso de la Vega) called these groups as Xauxa, Laxapalanga and Maricabilca. However, he seems to have referred to the names of *tambos* and villages situated on the Inca road, because local documents, as well as native chronicler Guaman Poma, call these *parcialidades* as Hatun Jauja, *Hanan* Huanca and *Hurin* Huanca (called also as Lurin Huanca), respectively.¹⁰⁴ As the names of these groups demonstrate, the Huancas were paired into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* whereas Jauja stayed without pair. In that respect the main division of the whole province followed the same order as the internal divisions of the quarters of Huayla. However, when the tripartite structures of Huayla were secondary, in Huanca the ternary structure was primary.

This tripartite formation seems to have been created by Topa Inca, since before him, according to local testimonies, a fourth

103 ROSTWOROWSKI 1967–1968:7–31; 1978:109–122.

104 Cieza 1553a:cap. lxxxiv; 1986:242; Garcilaso 1609:lib. VI, cap. x; 1976:29; Vega (1582) 1965:166–172; Guacrapáucar (1558) 1971:201; "Probanza de don Felipe Guacrapáucar, cacique del pueblo de Tuna en Luringuancas, año 1570," fols. 217r–284r, Justicia 463, AGI; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:435[437]; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1971:20.

major group, Chongo, also existed. It is also said that before Topa Inca (during the reign of Pachacuti) Hatun Jauja had two *curacas*, *Hurin* Huanca had three leaders, *Hanan* Huanca two, and Chongo only one *curaca*.¹⁰⁵ Later, probably when Topa Inca made some new arrangements in the local administration, the Chongo were incorporated into *Hanan* Huanca.¹⁰⁶ At the same time many *mitima* groups from *Hanan* and *Hurin* Huayla, Yauyo, Chachapoya, Cajamarca, Huamachuco, Cañar and Cuzco, at least, were resettled in the area, and during the same process the local inhabitants were grouped so that the *hunu* of Hatun Jauja finally had ca. 6,000, *Hanan* Huanca 9,000 and *Hurin* Huanca 12,000 households.¹⁰⁷ However, we cannot be sure whether these *hunos* were grouped into other subsectors such as "guarangas" and *pachacas*, but, at least, it is possible.

It may be significant that when Andres de Vega collected, in 1582, information from Huanca, he mentioned three *caciques principales* and four men with the title of *segunda persona*. Furthermore, his local interpreter, Felipe Guacrapáucar, is also known to have been an important *cacique*. He was a brother of the *cacique principal* of Lurin Huanca and in general, as many documents demonstrate, a very important man in that *parcialidad*. Possibly he also was a "segunda persona" of the *cacique principal*. However, we may only guess whether Hatun Jauja still had two major *curacas*, Lurin Huanca three and *Hanan* Huanca with Chongo three major *curacas* as would be the case if the original major division had been respected (on the level of chiefdoms) by the Incas and the Spaniards.

Anyhow, it is important to note that *mitimaes* seem to have been apart from these major *curacazgos*. First of all, it would have been rare if "Ynga mitimaes from Cuzco" had been under the

105 Vega (1582) 1965:169. In a letter of Felipe Yarochongos, written in 1566, the group of Chongos is mentioned as a separate nation among the Huancas, see: "Una carta a SM. de don Felipe Yarochongos y otros caciques de la nacion llamada Chongos, 6-I-1566," Audiencia de Lima 121, AGI.

106 Guerra y Céspedes & Henestrosa (ca.1580) 1965:174; see also ESPINOZA SORIANO 1963:12.

107 Silva (1571) 1969:54; Guerra y Céspedes & Henestrosa (ca. 1580) 1965:173-174; Vega (1582) 1965:167; Paitan Misari (1598) 1969:66; "Probanza de don Felipe Guacrapaucar, cacique del pueblo de Tuna en Luringuancas, año 1570," fols. 243v, 259v, Justicia 463, AGI.

jurisdiction of any local *curaca*. And as a matter of fact, still in 1570 some Inca *mitimaes* in Huanca, who testified in favor of Felipe Guacrapáucar, were said to be natives of Cuzco and only residents of their villages in Lurin Huanca. Unlike other witnesses they were not mentioned to be under the jurisdiction of any local *cacique principal* which may mean that they were originally under the leadership of the officials (tocricocs) of Cuzco, not under the *curacas* of Huanca. Further support to the theory that *mitimaes* who lived in Huanca were not under the authority of the local lords can be found in "Probanza de Chacalla de 1559" where an Indian called Juan Chauca testified that:¹⁰⁸

"An Ynga took Indians of Guadacheri [Huarochirí in Yauyo] and put them as *mitimaes* to Xauxa [Jauja] and even today [1559] those are there and pay their tribute to their *cacique* in Guadacheri."

In other words, *mitimaes* in Huanca really continued to be under the authority of their former *curacas* in their original homeland.

In general, ESPINOZA SORIANO assumes that all three *hunas* of Huanca were independent from each other.¹⁰⁹ However, a contrary view can also be presented on the basis of the statement of the indigenous writer Pachacuti Yamqui. According to Pachacuti Yamqui, the three *curacas* of Huanca received the title of *apo* from Inca Pachacuti, but only one of them was taken to Cuzco with special privileges of "caballero" which included, among others, the right to use golden sandals.¹¹⁰ Because the first known leader of Hatun Jauja was called Auqui Zapari, it may well be that he had received his honorable name of Auqui from Inca Pachacuti.¹¹¹

108 "Ynga sacó yndios de Guadacheri y los puso por Mitimaes en Xauxa, e que hoy día están allí. y tributan dende allí a su cacique de Guadacheri ..." In: "Probanza de Chacalla de 1559" 1967-1968:47.

109 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1971:45.

110 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:298. According to Guaman Poma (1615/1987:435[437]), at the time of Spanish conquest the leaders of *Hanan* and *Hurin* Huanca still carried the title of *apo*.

111 According to Andres de Vega ([1582] 1965:169) the names of the "pre-Inca" leaders of Hatun Jauja were Auqui Zapari and Yaloparin. The names of *curacas* of *Hurin* Huanca were Canchac Huyca, Tacuri and Añana. *Curacas* of *Hanan* Huanca were Patan Llocllachin and Chavin, and finally, the name of the leader of Chongo was Patan Cochache.

Actually, he even may have been the very same "caballero" mentioned by Pachacuti Yamqui. If so, Hatun Jauja would have been the most prestigious group of Huanca, as also the name, Hatun ("the great" in Quechua), lets us suppose. Furthermore, according to the vocabulary order, the second in this triad would have been *Hanan* Huanca and the last *Hurin* Huanca. However, as the inner organization of *Hurin* Huayla already demonstrated, the vocabulary order and the practice did not always coincide, and the fact is that we do not know whether Hatun Jauja had kept its possible superiority up to the time of the Spanish conquest. To clarify this situation would be one of the tasks of future research.

Of the territorial order we know that Hatun Jauja formed the northernmost sector of the province and also the provincial capital, Jauja, was situated there.¹¹² Next to the south was *Hurin* Huanca and finally, the southernmost part of the province was formed by *Hanan* Huanca. If we compare this setting to Cajamarca or to Huayla where *Hanansayas* were situated in the west and north, respectively, we can see that the cardinal points had not been important factors in determining the (prestige) order of *sayas* in these parts of Chinchaysuyu.

2.4.2. Pachacamac

María ROSTWOROWSKI, to whom we are increasingly indebted for the information on the native society of the Peruvian coast, writes that the present Rimac and Lurin Valleys were united, forming the province of Ychma, also called the province of Pachacamac.¹¹³

According to Domingo de Santo Tomás, Rimac valley alone contained ca. 20,000 households. Cobo, in turn, explains that Rimac was divided into three *hunas*, but he included in that number the area of Caraguayllo (present Chillón) and Surco the

112 See the map of Huanca in: ESPINOZA SORIANO 1963 and 1971.

113 ROSTWOROWSKI (1972b) 1977:197–199; 1978:50–51.

area facing Pachacamac.¹¹⁴ Because the valley of Pachacamac belonged, as mentioned also by Cobo, to the same province as Rimac, it may well be that it was already included in these *hunas*, too. So the information of these three *hunas* probably refers, as supposed also by SMITH, to the entire province.¹¹⁵ If so, the tripartite division of the Inca province of Pachacamac resembles the organization of the province of Huanca.

As ROSTWOROWSKI has demonstrated, the most important part of the province was the valley of Pachacamac, where the sanctuary with the same name was situated. In the political hierarchy this meant that the valley of Rimac (and Chillón?) was subordinated to Pachacamac. Furthermore, the evidence presented by ROSTWOROWSKI lets us suppose that Pachacamac itself was divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* (Lurinsaya).¹¹⁶

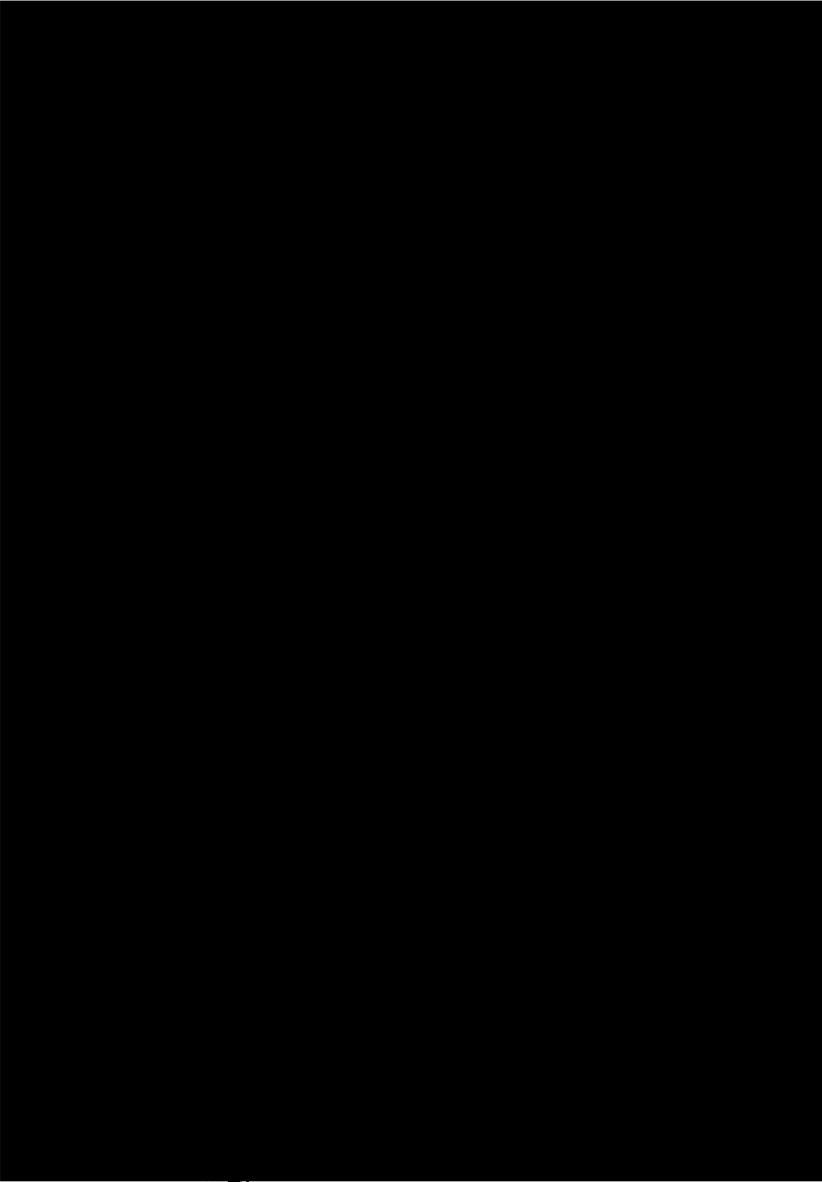
We do not know for certain which *parcialidad* or sector stood in the leading position in Rimac Valley. We do not know either how many *parcialidades* there were in total. However, the information we have from individual *parcialidades* (*guarangas*?) shows that those were often divided dualistically into two unequal sociopolitical parts. For example, according to a title of grant and "tasa" given by Vaca de Castro and la Gasca, respectively, a subvalley of Rimac, called Luringancho, had two *señores*.¹¹⁷

114 Santo Tomás (ca. 1550) 1867:371; Cobo 1639:lib. i, cap. vii; 1964:301; see also the map: "Lima con sus contornos, siglo XVIII," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 33, AGI.

115 SMITH 1967–1968:88. According to "Señores" ([ca. 1575] 1920:66) there lived more than 150,000 Indians in Pachacamac. If this number refers to the total population of that province, it would give further support to the theory that in the Inca province of Pachacamac there were three *hunas* and ca. 30,000 households.

116 ROSTWOROWSKI 1978:49–107. The present name of the valley, Lurin, is derived from the town with the same name, situated on the southern bank of the river near the ocean. However, it may well be that the town of Lurin was originally situated on the "Lurinsaya" side of the valley, because Pachacamac itself was situated more to the east on the northern bank of the ancient Pachacamac River. (See "Lima con sus contornos, siglo XVIII," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 33, AGI; map 23). However, ROSTWOROWSKI believes that on the coast, *Hurinsaya* was more important than *Hanansaya*.

117 "Título de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Maria de Escobar, 1544," fols. 87r–89v, Justicia 397, AGI; "Tasa de yndios yungas de Luringancho y Tautacaxa por Pedro de la Gasca, 1549," fols. 94v–95r, Justicia 397, AGI; see also "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro al capitán Francisco de Chaves, 1536," fol. 19, Justicia 426, AGI.



Map 23. The area of Lima in the 18th century. The map is conserved in AGL.

Equally the *señorío* of Lima, probably the leading *parcialidad* of the whole valley, had two *señores*. At the time of Huayna Capac, the other *curaca* of Lima was called Taulichusco, and it is said that he was a *yana* of Mama Vilo, a wife of Huayna Capac. The other *curaca*, probably the principal one, was called Caxapaxa. He, in turn, was a brother or cousin of Taulichusco, and a *yana* of Huayna Capac. Furthermore, we know that Caxapaxa did not live in Lima like Taulichusco, but resided a long time in Cuzco like some important *curacas* of Cajamarca and Hatun Jauja.¹¹⁸

It is not completely certain how far away the Inca province of Pachacamac reached in the north. However, if the definition of Cobo was correct, the Chillón Valley would also have been a part of the third *hunu* of Pachacamac.¹¹⁹

Although we do not possess much information about the inner political organization of Chillón either, we do know something. According to *probanzas* of Indians of Canta and Chacalla, Chillón was a part of the ancient *señorío* of Collique, conquered in the 15th century by Topa Inca. During the battle against the Inca troops, the chief of Collique, called Colli Capac, was killed and the area was incorporated into Tawantinsuyu.¹²⁰ During the same process the leadership of the valley was given, like in Lima, to a *yana*,¹²¹ who, in turn, may have been placed under the jurisdiction of the lord of Pachacamac.

We also know that the valley of Chillón was divided into *guarangas* and *pachacas*, but unfortunately we do not know whether those *guarangas* were grouped into other subsectors or not.¹²²

118 See ROSTWOROWSKI 1978:78–79; 1988:183; see also "Probanza hecha en la audiencia Real por don Gonzalo cacique deste valle, año 1559," fols. 6r, 56v, Audiencia de Lima 205, AGI.

119 But see ROSTWOROWSKI (1972a) 1977:27–28.

120 "Probanza de Canta, año 1559," fols. 35r–42v, 183r–246v, Justicia 413, AGI and "Relación de la probanza de los yndios de Chacalla sobre las tierras de Quibi, año 1559," fols. 50r–98r, 281r–293r, Justicia 413, AGI; see also ROSTWOROWSKI 1977:26, 33; 1967–1968:7–91.

121 ROSTWOROWSKI 1967–1968:18, 27; 1988:196.

122 Carvajal & Pedraza (1559) 1967–68:37; Martínez de Rengifo (1571) 1977:270–271.

In sum, the province of Pachacamac seems to have been divided hierarchically into three *hunas* which, in turn, were divided into various subsectors. Furthermore, the dualistic principles seem to have been in ordinary use in Pachacamac and Rimac Valleys, but unfortunately we do not possess sufficient sources to form a more detailed model of this combination of triad and dual structures in the inner organization of that province.

2.4.3. Chincha

Another example of the combination of tripartition and dualism we have from the valley of Chincha. According to Castro & Ortega Morejón the valley was divided into *Hanan* and *Hurinsaya* ["Lorin"] by Topa Inca.¹²³ This division can also be seen in the text of an anonymous writer who calls the other (southern) part of the valley "Lurinchnincha."¹²⁴ However, we know that the inhabitants of the valley were also divided into three *hunas*, of which 12,000 households [12 *guarangas*?] were farmers, 10,000 were fishermen and 6,000 were "traders" ("mercaderes").¹²⁵ It is not perfectly clear how these two divisions were combined. One possibility is that the division resembles that of Huanca where two *hunas* formed a *Hanan – Hurin* pair and one *hunu* (Hatun) stayed alone in the leading position. Another possibility is that the members of all three *hunas* were divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*. Especially, if the territorial border of the main *saya* division was formed by the Chincha River, then this last possibility would be more likely, because fishermen, at least, seem to have lived on both sides of the river and on the coast of the Pacific.¹²⁶ However, this is only a hypothesis.

On the other hand, we have reason to believe that the leading *curaca* of the entire Chincha belonged to the "*hunu* of traders." We

123 Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:94.

124 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:170, 172.

125 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:170–171; see also Lizárraga 1605:lib. i, cap. lix; 1987:136 and ROSTWOROWSKI 1970a:135–177.

126 Anónimo "Aviso" (ca. 1575) 1970:170–171.

can reach this conclusion on the basis of the statements of Pedro Pizarro, where he explains why the Lord of Chincha was carried in a litter similar to Atahualpa's, just before the massacre of Cajamarca. He writes as follows:¹²⁷

"... when the Marquis asked him [Atahualpa] how it was that the Lord of Chincha was carried in a litter whereas all the other Lords of realm appeared before him bearing a burden and barefooted, [he said that] this Lord of Chincha was anciently the greatest Lord of the plains (llanos), and he used to send out from his village alone one hundred thousand balsas [to ride upon] the sea and because he [the lord of Chincha] was his [Atahualpa's] great friend ..."

Fishermen's boats were small and probably too insignificant to be valued so highly by Atahualpa. Because of that it is extremely likely that those balsas mentioned by Atahualpa were those seen by the first Spaniards on the north coast of Peru, and which were used in carrying all kinds of goods by Chincha "traders."¹²⁸

2.5. Sora and Rucana: triad organizations with dual and quaternary subsystems

We do not know for certain whether the Sora and the Rucana formed a single Inca province or not. However, because chroniclers, such as Cieza, often mention these two groups and "provinces" together, it may well be that they were united similarly in the Inca time as they were in the colonial time.¹²⁹ Anyhow, according to the traditional view, based on the

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- 127 Pizarro 1571:cap. 29; 1986:222. Pedro Pizarro was himself a witness of the capture of Atahualpa. It is also significant that in Cajamarca the Spaniards had three or four interpreters who were taken to Spain after the first expedition of Francisco Pizarro in 1527. (See Pizarro 1571:cap. 1; 1986:5). According to Miguel de Estete ([1535?] 1924:23–24) those interpreters understood Spanish and Quechua very well.
- 128 ROSTWOROWSKI 1970a:150; see also Sámano Xerez (1527) 1937: 65–66; Benzoni (1565) 1989:314 and Pizarro 1571:cap. 1; 1986:5.
- 129 See Cieza 1553a:caps. lxxiv, lxxxix; 1986:219, 251; López de Caravantes (1614) 1907:265.

information collected under the charge of *corregidor* Luis de Monzón (1586a, b, c), both Sora and Rucana were divided, like Jauja, into three sections. The three sections of Sora were called *Hanan* Sora, Lurin Sora and Chalco, and the three sections of Rucana were called *Hanan* Rucana, Lurin Rucana and Antamarca, respectively.¹³⁰

Dealing with Sora, this theory does not include any problems, because the same division is confirmed in the documents originally written during an *ecclesiastical visita* in Sora and Rucana. That *visita* was made in 1570 under the charge of Cristóbal Albornoz.¹³¹

However, the inner division of the province of Rucana is more problematic, because Albornoz deals separately with a group called Laramati, whereas Monzón included it into *Hanan* and Lurin Rucana. On the other hand, Albornoz confirms the information of Monzón according to which *Hanan* and Lurin Rucana together formed a bigger group called Hatun Rucana. He also confirms that the section of Antamarca was composed of four distinct *parcialidades* or *ayllus* called Antamarca, Omapacha, Apcara and Uchucayllo.¹³² So the inner division of Rucana and Sora can be described by a triad: *Hanan* Rucana – Lurin Rucana – Antamarca; and *Hanan* Sora – Lurin Sora – Chalco. However, it is possible to describe this division in the following way as well:

130 ROWE 1946:188.

131 "Información de servicios y meritos de Xpoual de Albornoz, canónigo y provisor desta Santa Yglesia del Cuzco, (1571) 1584," fols. 32r–45r, Audiencia de Lima 316, AGI. In 1570 Albornoz was named by vicerey Francisco Toledo as "visitador general eclesiástico del partido de Parinacochas e Andahuayla la grande en Chinchaysuyu," see DUVIOLS 1989:147.

132 "Información de servicios y meritos de Xpoual de Albornoz ...," fols. 49v–52v; Monzón et al. (1586b) 1965:226–236; (1586c) 1965:237–248.

RUCANA		SORA	
Hatun Rucana ¹³³	{ Hanan Rucana Lurin Rucana	Hanan Sora	} Hatun Sora ¹³⁴
Laramati	{ Laramati	Lurin Sora	
Antamarca ¹³⁵	{ Antamarca Apcara Omapacha Uchucayllo	Chalco	} Chalco

Which ever of these possible alternative models is correct it is clear that in Rucana and Sora, whether united or not, the local sociopolitical organization was predominantly based on the tripartition but it also included an element of typical dualism and even some elements of quadripartition.

Furthermore, it seems that tripartition had long roots in that area because in Rucana it was stated that the *señorío* of Rucana was divided between three leaders already before the Inca conquest. The most principal *curaca* was called Condor Curi and the other two as Yanquilla and Caxa Angasi.¹³⁶ Thus, the tripartite sociopolitical division of Rucana seems to have been based on the old local tradition.

Further, it is said that in the whole area of Rucana and Sora there existed three leading "towns," *cabeceras* called Hatun Rucana, Apcara and Hatun Sora.¹³⁷ Among the whole Rucana the most important *cabecera* was Hatun Rucana where the *cacique principal* of Hanan Rucana and his *segunda persona* from Hurin

133 According to the census of Francisco de Toledo, Hatun Rucana and Laramati, together, had 2,811 taxpayers and "Rucanas Antamarca" 2,081 tributaries. According to the same census, Hatun Sora and Chalco, together, had 2,459 tributaries (see ESCOBEDO MANSILLA 1979:254).

134 According to Alborno (doc.cit., fols. 38v-45r) Hanan Sora and Lurin Sora together formed "Hatun Sora."

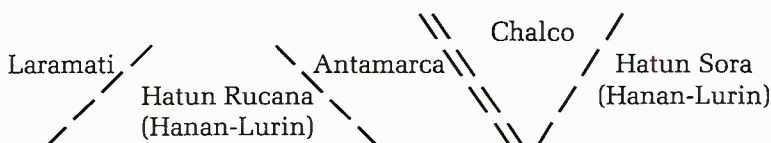
135 According to Alborno (doc.cit., fol. 49v): Apcara.

136 Monzón et al. (1586b) 1965:231.

137 Monzón et al. (1586a) 1965:220; (1586b) 1965:226; (1586c) 1965:239.

Rucana met at the Inca time to treat important political matters.¹³⁸ However, because we do not know for certain whether Rucana and Sora were united into the same Inca province, we do not know either, whether there was any political hierarchy between Hatun Rucana and Hatun Sora.

Geographically the area of Hatun Rucana was situated between the area of Larimati and Antamarca (or Abcara) in the center of Rucana. Chalco, on the other hand, was situated to the northeast of Antamarca, and, finally, Hatunsora was situated on the most eastern side of the whole area as seen in the following schematic map:¹³⁹



3. Antisuyu

Antisuyu was an area where thousands of *mitimaes* cultivated coca leaves, maize, hot pepper and other products for state and local (*señorios* of highlands) purposes.¹⁴⁰ We also know that the Incas built many roads in Antisuyu to govern that area. According to SAIGNES one road was built at the time of Topa Inca and Huayna Capac from Camata to Apolo and from Apolo toward Madre de Dios.¹⁴¹ Also the Taquesi road from Chuquiabo (present La Paz) to the Yungas is well known.¹⁴² The archaeological project of Caquiaviri, sponsored by the Finnish Academy, also studied another Inca road in 1990 which started from Chuquiabo and went

138 Monzón et al. (1586b) 1965:226.

139 "Departamento de Ayacucho. Mapa físico político 1:520,000." Instituto Geográfico Nacional 1985.

140 MURRA (1972) 1975:101–109; SAIGNES 1985:passim; "Proceso que se ha tratado en la Audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes entre los Moradores de los Andes y con el Deán y cavildo de la yglesia del Cuzco, sobre poner curas en los Andes, Lima 1561," fols. 1r–202v, Justicia 403, AGI.

141 SAIGNES 1985:17–18.

142 STOTHERT STOCKMAN 1967:11–51.

in the direction of Huancané via Unduavi (an enclave of Caquiaviri). Equally, in another direction of Antisuyu the Incas probably built a road from Cuzco to Pongo de Mainique, situated on the middle Urubamba.¹⁴³

However, although the Incas had many economic and political activities in Antisuyu, we know extremely little about its internal political organization. We only know that, according to Pachacuti Yamqui, the province of Capacuyos was divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*, each containing ca. 10,000 households.¹⁴⁴ Also in Chongo, Chulumani, Huancané and other important villages of Yungas, situated in the northeast of the present La Paz, the division into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* was fairly common during the Colonial period, which probably means that it was divided this way during the Inca time, too.¹⁴⁵

On the other hand, Grabiél de Rojas mentions that Yungas of the La Paz district was divided into three main *parcialidades*.¹⁴⁶ Equally the first exact missionary reports from the upper Ucayali mention that the Cunibo had three *caciques*, which can be seen as an indication of something other than a pure dual sociopolitical system.¹⁴⁷ Yet it is true that we do not know for certain whether the Cunibo ever belonged to Tawantinsuyu or not. It is not sure either, whether Chongo, Chulumani, Huancané and other villages of Yungas in the La Paz district belonged to Antisuyu or to Collasuyu.¹⁴⁸

So, a more detailed analysis about the political divisions in Antisuyu would need a greater number of sources than we possess now in 1992.

143 CAMINO 1989:117.

144 Pachacuti Yamqui (1613) 1968:300.

145 "Padrones de los pueblos de Chulumani, año 1727," fols. 160r–214r, Padrones 1727, Ms. 2, Archivo de La Paz; "Visita del pueblo de Songo y sus sujetos yndios yungas encomendados en don García de Alvarado vecino de la ciudad de La Paz por Diego Dávila de Cangas y Bartolomé de Otazu, años 1568–1570," fols. 1r–642v, Justicia 651, AGI.

I'm indebted to John V. Murra, who kindly informed me about the existence of this last document. It will be published soon by him.

146 Rojas (1548) 1958:189.

147 Amich (1771) 1988:105.

148 See pp. 140, 254; see also LOZA 1984:591–606.

4. Collasuyu

4.1. The division into Urcosuyu and Umasuyu

The basic study about the political and spatial subdivisions of Aymara-speaking Collasuyu has been done by Thérèse BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE. In her article "Aymara concepts of Space" she demonstrates that the whole altiplano was spatially and politically divided into two sectors called Urcosuyu and Umasuyu. Like the *Hanan – Hurin* division, the Urco – Uma division also reflects a deeply rooted dual ideology. In Aymara thought, Urcosuyu refers to the inhabitants of mountain peaks, to warlike people, to masculinity, etc. On the other hand, Umasuyu refers to "water people," to lowland and to femininity. In the hierarchy of political practice this meant that the inhabitants of Umasuyu were considered to be subordinated to Urcosuyus.¹⁴⁹ As Luis Capoche explains:¹⁵⁰

"The Urcosuyus have always had a higher reputation, and the Inca placed them at his right hand in public places; they were preferred to the Umasuyus and were better thought of than them."

Spatially the division is most clear around Lake Titicaca. As BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE explains, Lake Titicaca itself was the spatial center (*taypi* in Aymara) of the whole division. The areas situated to the northeast of the lake belonged to Umasuyu and the opposite site belonged to Urcosuyu.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, both *suyus* were divided into two different sub-areas. The Pacific valleys of Urcosuyu were considered to be "upper valleys" (*alaa yungas*) and the Amazonian valleys of Umasuyu as "lower valleys" (*mancas yungas*). As BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE writes:¹⁵²

"The *alaa yungas* appear ambiguously as "low," from a topographical point of view, and as "high" insofar as they share frontiers with the Urcosuyu. The *mancas yungas*, on the other hand, are double "low" – both topographically and symbolically."

149 BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1986:201–207.

150 Capoche (1586) 1959:140; cited by BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1986: 202.

151 See map 17.

152 BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1986:210.

So, the systems of dual and quadripartition seem to have been an essential part of spatial and ideological divisions of the Lake Titicaca area of Collasuyu. BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE also notes that there may have existed a linguistic substratum behind this main Urco – Uma division, because the Pukina-speaking population was most densely concentrated in the Umasuyu region.¹⁵³ However, the linguistic distinction between these two *suyus* seems not to have been extremely sharp in the Inca or in the colonial period.¹⁵⁴

On the provincial level this Aymara dichotomy sometimes meant that one half of the province belonged to Urcosuyu and the other to Umasuyu. For example, in the Lake Titicaca area only the province of Lupaca seems to have been without an Umasuyu counterpart, whereas Colla and Pacasa were divided into both *suyus*.¹⁵⁵ Furthermore, in spite of the fact that some Aymara provinces were divided into Urco and Umasuyu, many provinces were also divided into various *cabecera* districts and those, in turn, were divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*.¹⁵⁶ To more specifically analyze these divisions I will concentrate on two case studies – Pacasa and Lupaca.

4.2. The case of Pacasa: dual and quadripartite divisions

The provincial capital of Pacasa was Caquiaviri.¹⁵⁷ It was situated in the geographic center of the Urcosuyu sector of the province and its leader, the *cacique principal* of *Hanan* Caquiaviri, was the supreme leader of the entire province up to the 17th century.¹⁵⁸ However, when we try to define the limits of Urcosuyu and

153 BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1986:208; see also MURRA 1985:76.

154 See TORERO 1987:329–372; BOUYASSE-CASSAGNE 1987:111–128.

155 Capoche (1585) 1959:136–139.

156 In Caracara the whole province was divided into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* and those *sayas*, in turn, were subdivided into *cabecera* districts (PLATT 1988:365–443).

157 Mercado de Peñalosa (ca. 1585) 1885:53.

158 Mercado de Peñalosa (ca. 1585) 1885:53; "Probanza de don Juan Bautista de Quispisala, capitán de los yndios Pacajes, 1600," sin fols., Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI.

Umasuyu in Pacasa we are faced with some contradictions in our sources.

According to the *capitania* division, as defined by Capoche,¹⁵⁹ the *cabeceras* (*markas* in Aymara) of Urcosuyu and Umasuyu were as follows:

URCOSUYU	UMASUYU
Caracollo	Hayohayo
Sicasica	Calamarca
Callapa	Viacha
Tiahuanaco	Llaja
Caquiaviri	Guarina
Guaqui	Pucarani
Caquingora	Achacachi
Machaca (la Chica & Grande) ¹⁶⁰	Chuquiapo (San Pedro y Santiago)

Almost the same division is mentioned in some of the 17th century documents,¹⁶¹ and after all, it is generally believed that the same division applies to the Inca time.¹⁶²

However, an anonymous author wrote already in 1548 – before the creation of colonial *capitanias* – that of these *cabeceras* Guaqui and Tiahuanaco belonged to Umasuyu, not to Urcosuyu.¹⁶³ Additionally, documents in the Archive of the Indies describe a juridical process dealing with the 16th century *tambo* services on the roads of Umasuyu and Urcosuyu of Pacasa. The lawsuit which

159 Capoche (1586) 1959:136,137.

160 Machaca la Grande was founded by the Spanish officials. Its inhabitants belonged to *Hurinsaya* of the ancient Machaca whereas Machaca la Chica (the ancient Machaca, the present Jesús de Machaca) was populated by the inhabitants of *Hanansaya*. See "Tasas y otros papeles sobre la encomienda de Juan Remon, 1577," fols. 20v, 99v,123r, Escribanía de Cámara 844-A, AGI.

161 "Expediente sobre los yndios que faltan de cada pueblo en Potosi: Pacaxes Omasuyo y Pacaxas Orcusuyu, año 1617," sin fols., Audiencia de Charcas 51, AGI; "Expediente de Joan Samayo, protector de los naturales, sobre los indios de Pacajes sobre que se les admite en el remate por el tanto de las especies, año 1606," fol. 2r, EC 1606, No. 2, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre.

162 See, for example, CHOQUE CANQUI 1987:7–8.

163 Anónimo (ca. 1548) 1958:208.

started in 1562 and continued up to the 17th century is said to have been held between:

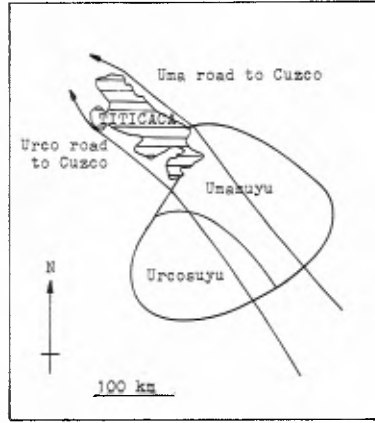
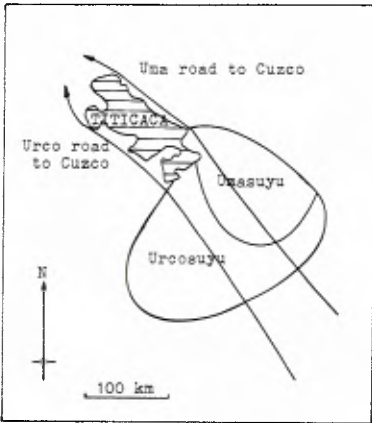
“... the *caciques* and Indians of the *repartimientos* of Sicasica, Hayohayo, Calamarca, Viacha, Llaxa, Tiaguanaco, Guaqui of the province of Umasuyu, in one part, and the *caciques* and Indians of the *repartimientos* of Machaca, Cacayavire, Caquingora and Callapa of the province of Orcossuyo and other villages of Orcossuyo in another part ...”¹⁶⁴

Also, in one specific case, Roberto CHOQUE CANQUI mentions that Guaqui is sometimes associated with Umasuyu and sometimes with Urcosuyu.¹⁶⁵ So, by using our primary sources we can draw two different maps about the Urco – Uma division of Pacasa. According to some sources, Urcosuyu reached the Umasuyu road of the Incas in the area of Sicasica. However, according to other sources Umasuyu reached the Urcosuyu road in the area of Guaqui (see maps 24 and 25).¹⁶⁶

164 “El fiscal de S.M. y los caciques del repartimiento de Calamarca y otros con los caciques del repartimiento de Callapa, sobre el servicio de los tambos, La Plata 1583,” fol. 127v, Escribanía de Cámara 844-A, AGI; see also “Don Luis de Quinoñes ... por lo que toca y bien y conserbacion de los yndios del distrito de la Real Audiencia de La Plata particularmente los que ban a la labor y benefins de las minas e yngenios de Potossi y ... al servicio de los tambos, años 1596–1601,” fols. 1r–38r, Audiencia de Charcas 47, AGI.

165 CHOQUE CANQUI 1987:8.

166 For the division of the royal road into Urcosuyu and Umasuyu sectors in the Lake Titicaca district, see Vaca de Castro (1543) 1919:436; and Felipe II: “Ley XIV, título XV, libro II, Madrid 26–X–1573;” 1906:81.



Maps 24 and 25. Two versions of the Urco – Uma division in Pacasa.

Which one of these two alternatives better reflects the political division of the Inca province of Pacasa or could both alternatives be seen as reflections of the same reality? For me this last possibility is the most likely. I suppose that the Inca division of Pacasa was based on quadripartition and in that system the relative Urco – Uma status of two subsectors varied according to situation. In other words, if both Urcosuyu and Umasuyu were divided internally into other Urco and Umasectors, the Uma half of Urcosuyu and the Urco half of Umasuyu changed their status depending on to which part of Pacasa they were compared. For example, if Guaqui and Tiahuanaco belonged to the Uma half of the Urcosuyu, those *cabeceras* had Uma status when compared to the other half of Urcosuyu, but when compared to Umasuyu those still had Urco status. Indeed, the system in Pacasa may have been very similar to that in Cuzco where the main *Hanan – Hurin* division probably was divided into other two *Hanan – Hurin* halves. As noted before, in Cuzco the members of *Hanan* of *Hanansaya* could say that Viracocha was the name of the Incas of *Hurin* Cuzco although from the perspective of *Hurinsaya*, Viracocha was a name of the Incas of *Hanan* Cuzco (*Hurin* of *Hanansaya*).

In Pacasa, the Quechua names of *Hanan* and *Hurin* were not used when referring to the main provincial division but still the sociopolitical ideology behind these and Aymara Urco – Uma concepts seems to have been very similar. If our theory is correct, then the main Urcosuyu – Umasuyu division of Pacasa probably followed the main road division. *Cabeceras* (also called "parcialidades" and "provinces") situated on the Urcosuyu road, belonged to Urcosuyu and equally, *cabeceras* situated on the Umasuyu road belonged to the main Umasuyu sector of the province. Internally those two quarters of Pacasa situated near Lake Titicaca were considered to be the Uma (water) sectors of each moiety and those two other quarters situated more in the south were considered to be the Urco (mountain) sectors, respectively.

However, our sources show that asymmetry between these internal sectors existed. By following our theory, four *cabeceras* of Urcosuyu belonged to the Upper category (Urco of Urcosuyu) and only two (Guaqui and Tiahuanaco) belonged to the Lower category (Uma of Urcosuyu). Also in Umasuyu the grouping is asymmetrical, but the Lower sector (Uma of Umasuyu) seems to have been bigger than the Upper sector (Urco of Umasuyu). Furthermore, Nathan WACHTEL is probably right when he supposes that Caracollo did not belong to Pacasa but to Sora.¹⁶⁷ On the other hand, around 1540, Ayoayo and Sicasica belonged to the same *repartimiento*, which associates them with the same political subsector.¹⁶⁸ Hence, I suppose that the probable pre-Spanish quadripartition of Pacasa can schematically be presented in the following way:

167 WACHTEL 1982: 213; see also "Tasa de yndios de Yaye Quina quitara, 15–VII–1550," fol. 7r, Ramo I, No. 7, Justicia 1064, AGI.

168 Vaca de Castro (1543) 1919:434; Rojas (1548) 1958:188. The rest of Umasuyu belonged to Francisco Pizarro; see also JULIEN 1983:19.

	URCOSUYU	UMASUYU		
Uma	{ Guaqui Tiahuanaco -----	 Achacache Guarina Pucarani -----	} Uma	
Urco	{ Machaca Caquiaviri, capital Caquingora Callapa	 Chuquiapo Llaja Viacha Calamarca -----		
		 Hayohayo Sicasica		} Urco

If this model is correct, the inner division of Pacasa followed two and four-part principles except in the Uma sector of Umasuyu which included seven *cabecera* districts. I would also like to repeat that the *cacique principal* of Caquiaviri was the local governor of the whole province. Nevertheless, we do not know whether the *segunda persona* of Caquiaviri stayed in the second position of the hierarchy when it was a question about the entire province. Theoretically it is also possible that the Umasuyu as a whole or even the Uma sector of Urcosuyu had another leader who was respected as the *segunda persona* in the external political affairs of Pacasa. However, the solution to this question would require more archival sources than we possess now.

Besides these main Urco – Uma divisions every *cabecera* district of Pacasa was divided into two sectors: into *Aransaya* and *Urinsaya*. This division was equivalent to the Quechua division of *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*, and because of that, both terms are used. For example, in the ancient Inca capital of Pacasa, in Caquiaviri, the Quechua terms, *Hanan – Hurin*, are still in every day use in 1992.

As in many other areas of early colonial Peru, the Spaniards called the leader of *Hanansaya* as *cacique principal* and the *curaca* of *Hurinsaya* as *segunda persona*.¹⁶⁹ The total population of

169 "Instrucción que Vaca de Castro dió a Alonso Pérez de Esquibel para la visita que había de hacer a Caquiaviri, Machaca y Caquingora, Cuzco 17-V-1543," fols. 28r-29v, Justicia 397, AGI.

cabecera districts varied, but for example, Machaca had ca. 1,600 households of which some 900 belonged to *Hanansaya*. Caquiaviri, on the other hand, had about 2,200 households of which some 1,200 belonged to *Hanansaya*, etc.¹⁷⁰

The territorial areas of all *cabeceras* have not been mapped out, but in the case of Caquiaviri I have observed that the *Hurinsaya* was, and still is, situated on the western side of the Inca road.¹⁷¹ In Caquiaviri itself the line runs from the spatial center (taypi) of the central plaza and continues to the north and south leaving most villages of the *Hurinsaya*, listed in the *visita* of Pérez de Esquivel (1543), on the side of Desaguadero River.¹⁷² In Machaca the division may have been somewhat similar, because in the 1560s the Spaniards founded the village of Santiago (Machaca la Grande) on the western side of the Desaguadero River and populated it with the members of the *Hurinsaya* of Machaca.¹⁷³ However, it is possible that *Hanan – Hurin* division did not systematically follow the same spatial division, because the *Hanansaya* of Caquingora was also concentrated in the 1570s to Calacoto, situated on the same western side of the Desaguadero River as *Hurinsaya* of Machaca.¹⁷⁴

Additionally, we know that all those *Hanan* and *Hurinsayas* which contained an Uru population were further subdivided into Aymaras and Urus. Thus, in those *cabeceras* the system was based on the quadripartition: Aymaras formed the higher category and Urus the lower category of each *saya*.¹⁷⁵

170 Doc.cit., fols. 28v–29r; Rojas (1548) 1958:177–179.

171 Gary URTON (1984:20) has also noticed in Pacaritambo that the Inca road divided the area into *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya*. However, in Quito the *Hanan-Hurin* line ran across the Inca road (SALOMON 1988:fig. 1).

172 A part of the *visita* to Caquiaviri, written by Pérez de Esquivel, is copied in a title of an *encomienda* grant: "Título de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Alexos Rodriquez, 17–IX–1543," fols. 33v–35r, Justicia 397, AGI. For the importance of center (taypi) in the spatial organization, see HARRIS 1985:322–331; MONTES RUIZ (s.d.):120–125.

173 "Tasas y otros papeles sobre la encomienda de Juan Remon, 1577," fols. 117v, 123r, Escribanía de Cámara 844-A, AGI.

174 "Petitiones presentados por don Gabriel Fernandez Guarache gouernador y cacique principal del pueblo de Jesús de Machaca, año 1660," fol. 78r, Pieza 1a, Escribanía de Cámara, 868-A, AGI.

175 For the subordinate position of Urus, see especially WACHTEL 1990.

According to Thérèse BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE and Nathan WACHTEL, Guaqui, Tiahuanaco and Machaca had an Uru population in Urcosuyu, and Achacachi, Guarina and Pucarani in Umasuyu.¹⁷⁶ This would mean that in the Inca time more than one third of the *cabeceras* were divided by the four-part principles.

Also, if we look at the distribution of the people who spoke Puquina and the Uruquilla languages, we can note that those were concentrated in the same areas of Pacasa than the so-called Uru population. This shows very fundamental differences between "the Uru" and "the Aymara" subsectors.¹⁷⁷ The division was ethnic, linguistic and political (the Uru and the Puquina vs. the Aymara).

In the case of Guaqui about half of the population belonged to the two subsectors of the Urus,¹⁷⁸ and if we take Guaqui into a more detailed analysis we can note that the schema of dual and four-part division really governed the sociopolitical system of that *cabecera*.

According to a copy of the *visita* of Diego García de Paredes (1594), conserved in the National Archive of Bolivia in Sucre, Guaqui was divided into four quarters: into "Hanansaya serranos" [the Aymara]; "Urus of Hanansaya"; "Hurinsaya serranos" and into "Urus of Hurinsaya," all of which had their own leaders. Furthermore, the *parcialidad* of Hanansaya serranos [the Aymara] was composed of four *ayllus* called Nacoca, Pitoca, Sulca Zapana and Arcato. The *parcialidad* of the Uru of Hanansaya was composed of *ayllus* called Collana, Huchacara, Aucha and Sulcata. The *parcialidad* of Hurinsaya serranos [the Aymara] had also four *ayllus* called Nachoca, Charapataca, Hilazapana and Hilapaquiri; and finally, the last *parcialidad*, the Uru of Hurinsaya, also had four *ayllus* called Collana, Taypiata, Horuro and Pecima.¹⁷⁹ Schematically the quaternary structure of Guaqui in 1594 was as follows:

176 BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1975:cuadro 1; WACHTEL 1986:fig. 15.4.

177 TORERO 1987:329–372; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987:111–128.

178 According to the "visita general" of Toledo, there were 654 Aymaras and 632 Urus in Guaqui (Toledo [1570–1575] 1975:54).

179 "La visita que el capitán Diego García de Paredes hizo en el pueblo de Guaqui 1594," fols. 168r–175r, Minas 122:1078, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre.

	HANANSAYA	HURINSAYA
SERRANOS	Nacoca	Nachoca
	Pitoca	Charapataca
	Sulca Zapana	Hilazapana
	Arcato	Hilapaquiri
URUS	Collana	Collana
	Huchacara	Taypiata
	Aucha	Horuro
	Sulcata	Pecima

It may be that Guaqui is a special case because the population of the Uru and the Aymara was in balance. For example, in Machaca there may have been only two *ayllus* of the Uru; one in *Hanansaya* and the other in *Hurinsaya*, whereas already in *Hanansaya* there were ca. 12 Aymara *ayllus*.¹⁸⁰ Still it is clear that in Machaca the dual and four-part divisions existed although in a more asymmetric way than in Guaqui.

4.3. The case of Lupaca

The basic study of the political organization of the province of Lupaca has already been completed by John V. MURRA. Referring to the *visita*, made in 1567 under the charge of Garci Díez de San

180 WACHTEL 1990:516–518; "Patron de indios de Jesus de Machaca en Potosí, 16–VII-1661," fols. 10v–15r, Pieza 2a, Escribanía de Cámara 868-A, AGI.

In Aymara culture, the number 12 is "an ideal" because it is a symbol of the full year of twelve months. That number is also mentioned in the case of Jesús de Machaca [*Hanansaya*]. However, when the *ayllus* are named, it appears that some *ayllus* are combined to get the ideal group of 12 *ayllus*. It may also be significant that once the "origin ayllu" of Machaca, Khonco, was placed as a pair with the *ayllu* of the Uru, called Ancohaque, and in this system there were 12 "Aymara ayllus" and 2 "Uru [&Puquina] ayllus" ("Memoria de lo que enteran los hilacatas y contadores de los tributos Reales a Don Joseph Fernandez Guarachi gobernador y cacique principal del pueblo de Jesus de Machaca, 1690," fol. 2r–v, EC 1690, No. 42, Archivo Nacional de Bolivia, Sucre; see also PAREDES 1955:154–155; ALBO 1972:773–816).

Miguel, he notes that among the Lupaca there were two simultaneous "kings" or local political leaders. One was the leader of *Alasaya* Chucuito (*Hanan*) and the other the leader of *Maasaya* Chucuito (*Hurin*). Furthermore, both *malkus* (*curacas*) had almost identical access to local resources and labor although the political status of the leader of *Alasaya* was somewhat higher.¹⁸¹

Unlike Pacasa, Lupaca was probably not divided into Urcosuyu and Umasuyu, because the whole province was situated on the southwestern side of the Lake Titicaca area, separated only by the Urcosuyu road of the Incas. However, like Pacasa, Lupaca was also divided into various districts of *cabeceras*. In Lupaca there were, in total, seven *cabeceras* of which Chucuito was the capital of the entire province. The rest of the main villages or "towns" were Acora, Ilave, Juli, Pomata, Yunguyo and Zepita, all situated on the main Inca road.¹⁸²

Furthermore, all the *cabeceras* of Lupaca were divided into *Alasaya* and *Maasaya* sectors and those, in turn, were divided into distinct Uru and Aymara subsectors, like some *cabeceras* in Pacasa.¹⁸³ Also, in Lupaca the population size of each *cabecera* district varied.

For example, the last Inca *kipu* census of Lupaca, copied by Díez de San Miguel, demonstrates that in Chucuito there were 3,464 households, of which 2,617 were Aymaras and 847 were Urus; in Zepita there were 2,284 households, of which 1,978 were Aymaras and 306 were Urus, etc. When divided into *sayas* and subsectors we can note that 500 Urus and 1,233 Aymaras lived in *Alasaya* Chucuito, and 347 Urus and 1,384 Aymaras lived in *Maasaya* Chucuito. Respectively, 186 Urus lived in Zepita, and 1,112 Aymaras lived in *Alasaya*, 120 Urus and 866 Aymaras in *Maasaya*, etc.¹⁸⁴

It is also important to note that all the leaders of these sectors and subsectors seem to have obeyed both lords of Chucuito because in Ilave and Juli it was stated that both the *Alasaya* and

181 MURRA (1968,1970) 1975:208–209.

182 MURRA (1968,1970) 1975:195; see also HYSLOP 1979:53–80.

183 MURRA (1968,1970) 1975:195, 209–211.

184 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:64–66; see also MURRA (1968, 1970) 1975:195.

Maasaya sectors of those *cabeceras* did *corvée* to both *malkus* in the capital.¹⁸⁵ In that respect *Maasaya* of Chucuito seems to have been superior to all the other *Alasaya* sectors of Lupaca except in Chucuito itself.¹⁸⁶

In sum, it seems that the dual and four-part principles governed the political organization of Lupaca as it did in Pacasa. However, we must remember that there were also many differences between these two provinces. First of all, Lupaca seems to have been without an *Umasuyu* pair and hence the main quaternary structure was also missing. Instead of such structures, the main division directly included seven *cabecera* districts. Furthermore, a more detailed analysis demonstrates that one *cabecera* of Lupaca, Juli, was divided into three *sayas* – *Alasaya* (*Hanansaya*), *Maasaya* (*Hurinsaya*) and *Ayauca* (a part of *Hurinsaya*) – which shows that the three-part division was not totally ignored among the Lupaca either.¹⁸⁷ Still it seems that Juli formed only an exception.

5. Cuntisuyu and the Case of Collagua: Ternary Structure Dominated

In the area of Cuntisuyu one of the best known Inca provinces is Collagua. It was composed, as Alejandro MALAGA MEDINA, Franklin PEASE, Guillermo COCK and Nathan WACHTEL have noted, of three subprovinces called Yanque Collagua, Lari Collagua and Cavana Conde.¹⁸⁸ The geographic area of these subprovinces can be seen in the following map:¹⁸⁹

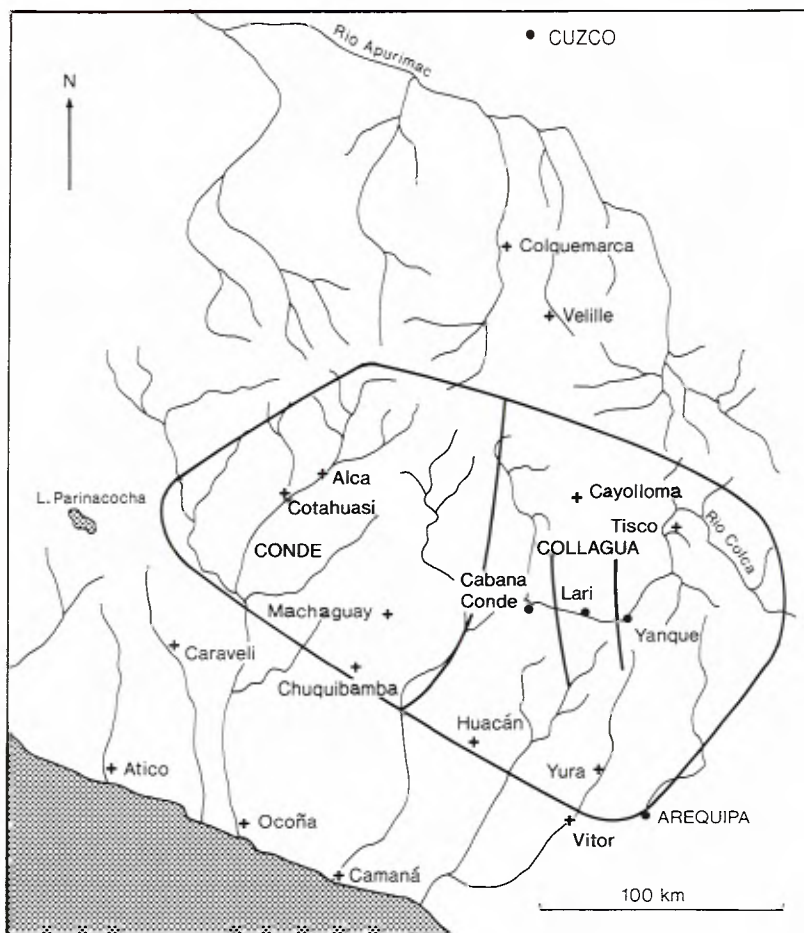
185 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:107, 111, 118, 122.

186 But compare WACHTEL 1977:77; JULIEN 1982:128.

187 MURRA 1964:427; MURRA (1968,1970) 1975:209 note 21; see also Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:119–123; Gutiérrez Flores (1574) 1964:368.

188 MALAGA MEDINA 1977:95–96; PEASE 1977:141–143, 148–152; COCK 1976–1977:97, 106–109; WACHTEL 1977:77.

189 I have determined the approximate area of these three subprovinces on the basis of *kipu* census, copied in 1540. In that census individual villages of Yanque Collagua and Cavana Conde are named (“Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7–III–1540,” Audiencia de Charcas



Map 26. The señorios of Collagua and Conde in 1530s.

56, AGI; "Titulo de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Juan de Arbes e Myguel de Vergara, 6-XI-1543," Justicia 397, AGI). Because Lari Collagua situated between these two subprovinces, the exact border between Yanque Collagua and Lari, on the one hand, and between Lari and Cavana Conde, on the other hand, is unknown to me. The maps I have used are: "Plan de los siete Partidos sugetos al Obispado e Yntendencia de Arequipa, mandado levantar por su gobernador yntendente don Antonio Alvarez y Ximenez ..., año 1789," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 115, AGI; "Departamento de Arequipa. Mapa físico político 1:576,000." Instituto

MALAGA MEDINA believes that in the Inca period Lari Collagua and Cavana Conde together formed *Hurinsaya*, while Yanque Collagua alone formed *Hanansaya*.¹⁹⁰ However, I do not consider that supposition very likely because no source presented by MALAGA MEDINA refers to the unity of Lari and Cavana. On the contrary, we know that the inhabitants of Cavana spoke Quechua and the inhabitants of Lari and Yanque spoke Aymara. Furthermore, the oral tradition among the Cavana also refers to a different origin than the myths of Lari and Yanque Collagua. While the Cavana believed that their ancestors came to their living area from snow-covered Gualcagualca mountain, both the Lari and Yanque believed that their ancestors emerged from the volcano Collaguata, situated near Velille.¹⁹¹ It was even said that the ancestors of the Lari and Yanque were "brothers" and relatives. Ulloa Mogollón explains this unity by using genealogical terminology: the most respected *señores* lived in Yanque and other *señores* who were their "uncles and nephews" lived in Lari.¹⁹² However, the Cavana Conde were always treated as a separate group from others. Because of that, it is more probable that Lari and Yanque Collagua was itself one kind of pair and Cavana Conde stayed as a separate unit. As a matter of fact that idea seems to be close to the point that Franklin PEASE has presented.¹⁹³

Among the "two Collaguas" Yanque was the leading sector whereas Lari was the sector of "uncles and nephews,"¹⁹⁴ which in our genealogical model means that it was only slightly less prestigious [*Qollana* and *Payan* in prestige].¹⁹⁵

During the early colonial period Cavana Conde stayed in the third position in the local sociopolitical hierarchy and possibly it

Geografico Nacional 1986; "Mapa vial del Perú 1:2,200,000," Editorial Lima 2000 S.A., 1987.

The area of Conde is determined on the basis of the *capitania* division (Capoche [1585] 1959:139).

190 MALAGA MEDINA 1977:119.

191 Ulloa Mogollón (1586) 1885:40–43.

192 Ulloa Mogollón (1586) 1885:44.

193 PEASE 1977:141.

194 In Aymara, Lari means "maternal uncle," see Bertonio (1612) 1879:171; LUCCA 1987:98.

195 See p. 196.

was in the same place during the Inca time.¹⁹⁶ However, some myths, collected by PEASE in the 1970s, mention the Yanque as rebellious and the Cavana Conde as prestigious during the Inca time; thus, the other order is also a possibility.¹⁹⁷

Although the entire Inca province of Collagua seems to have been divided into three subprovinces, the Andean dualism functioned in the next stage of the sociopolitical hierarchy: all three subprovinces were divided into *Hanansayas* and *Hurinsayas*. However, when we move downward in this hierarchy, the tripartite division re-emerges again. It appears that two of the three *Hanansayas* and all three *Hurinsayas* had, in 1586 at least, three *caciques* each.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, this system is attributed to the Inca order. As Ulloa Mogollón writes:¹⁹⁹

"They governed in agreement with what the Inca ordered ..., there were three ayillos, called Collana, Pasana, Cayao; each of these *ayillos* had three hundred Indians and a *principal* they obeyed; and these three *principales* obeyed the *cacique principal* who was above all.."

It is important to note that although Ulloa Mogollón speaks about the groups of three hundred households (Indian = *puric*), he seemingly refers to three *pachacas* or to three *patacas* (*pataca* means a hundred in Aymara) which are vocabulary units, not the exact units of 100 households.²⁰⁰

However, we can take this three-part system as an ideal model which governed the major local political organization of Collagua. Furthermore, if we read the text of the *visita* of Gaspar Verdugo

196 COCK 1976–1977:109–111.

197 PEASE 1977:148–152.

198 Ulloa Mogollón (1586) 1885: 38–39; see also COCK 1976–1977: 108–109; but compare WACHTEL 1977:76.

199 "Gobernábanse conforme á lo quel inga tenia puesto.., eran tres ayillos, llamados Collona, Pasana, Cayao; cada ayillo destos tenia trescientos indios y un principal á quien obedecian, y estos tres principales obedecian al cacique principal, que era sobre todos ..." In: Ulloa Mogollón (1586) 1885:45.

200 According to the early *kipu* records, the Cavana Conde had 1,461 households and Yanque Collagua 2,163 households (see note 234 on p. 303). In an ideal model both the Cavana Conde and Yanque Collagua should have had 1,800 households.

(1591) that was carried out in *Hurinsaya* of Yanque Collagua, we can note that the tripartite division even dominated the hierarchy between the individual *patacas* (*pachacas*).

When Gaspar Verdugo made his *visita*, some time had already passed from the reduction of Francisco Toledo where many old villages were abandoned and new administrative centers were founded. During these reductions the old sociopolitical order was partially destroyed and the members of the individual *patacas* were distributed to different parts of the province. However, from the village of Tisco, Gaspar Verdugo still found members of two large groups in 1591 which both remind us of the group of "300 households" mentioned earlier by Ulloa Mogollón. Those two groups were as follows:²⁰¹

[QOLLANA]	[PAYAN]	[?]
Ayllo Collana [Collana Pataca]	Ayllo Pahana Collana Pataca	?
Ayllo Collana Taype Pataca	Ayllo Pahana Taípi Pataca	?
Ayllo Collana Ca[ya]o Pataca	Ayllo Pahana Cayao Pataca	?

Although there were only two groups of "300 households" in Tisco, we do not have a serious reason to doubt the testimony of Ulloa Mogollón, according to which the "Inca system" of Collagua was based on the three groups of 300 households. Furthermore, because *taypi* and *pahana* in Aymara mean the same as *payan* in Quechua, this inside order of the *patacas* of Tisco actually demonstrates that the tripartite division, *Qollana – Payan – Kayaw*, governed even the lowest level of hierarchy in Collagua.

6. Preliminary Summary

This brief study of the various Inca provinces has confirmed our earlier supposition that the dual principle, indeed, governed the organizational structures of many provinces. However, it seems that in Cajamarca the dual division of the province was important

201 Verdugo (1591) 1977:264–288.

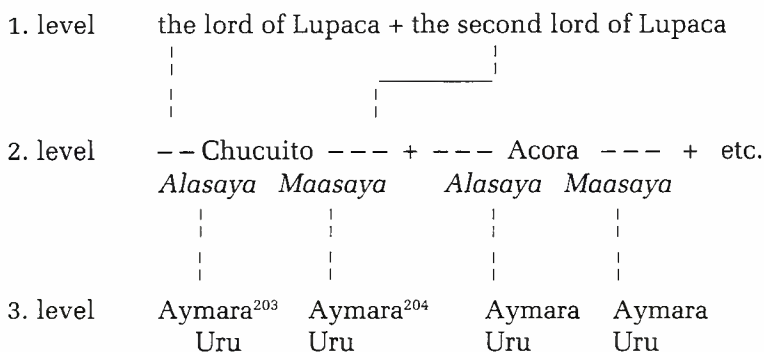
in Incaic rituals, but not an extremely important part of the political hierarchy. Politically more important was the division of Cajamarca into seven *guarangas* and into various *pachacas*. In that system the political leadership was concentrated to the *guaranga* of Guzmango whose leaders, sometimes one, sometimes two, governed the entire province. Schematically the basic political hierarchy of Cajamarca was the following:

- | | | |
|----------|--|---|
| 1. level | The lord of Cajamarca (+ <i>segunda persona</i> of Guzmango) | |
| | | |
| 2. level | Guaranga of Guzmango – + – 6 other <i>guarangas</i> (+2 parc.) | |
| | | |
| 3. level | Pachacas of Guzmango | <i>pachacas</i> of other <i>guarangas</i> |

The province of Lupaca constituted some kind of exception, for it was divided, first of all, into seven districts of *cabeceras* (*markas*). This system resembles the political organization of Cajamarca. However, in the next stage of hierarchy Lupaca already differed from Cajamarca: of seven *cabeceras*, six were systematically divided into two hierarchical subgroups, into *Alasaya* and *Maasaya*, and these, in turn, into sections of Aymaras and Urus. In other words, on that level of hierarchy the dual and quaternary principles seem to have been in ordinary use. Furthermore, the political leadership of Lupaca was more keenly embedded into the dual principles than it was in Cajamarca. In a normal situation two *mallkus* of Chucuito together governed the whole province whereas in Cajamarca the dual principle was not so self evident.²⁰²

Schematically the upper level hierarchy of Lupaca polity can be summarized as follows:

202 The rule of the double leadership was not extremely strict among the Lupaca either, because in the Conquest period Lupacas had temporarily (ca.16 years) only one "governor" called Pedro Cutimpu. However, he retired from power after the two successors of the earlier two *mallkus* reached the age to govern (MURRA [1968,1970] 1975:199; see also Díez de San Miguel [1567] 1964:37 and "Tasa de Chucuito por don Hurtado de Mendoza marqués de Cañete, 15–XII–1559," fols.113v–114r, Cajas Reales, Libro de las tasas 1555, Archivo Histórico de Potosí).



In general, our study has demonstrated that in four cases out of eleven, the province was divided, in the first place, into two halves, and after that, in the second place, into other halves generating the basic quaternary structure. As a matter of fact, these cases (Chachapoya, Chicama, Huayla and Pacasa) followed the same principles as PLATT describes among the Macha. Furthermore, in Chicama and in Pacasa the same dual and quaternary principles continued further down in the local hierarchy.

On the other hand, the middle and the lower level hierarchy of Chachapoya and Huayla seem to have already escaped the rule of these principles. For example, all four quarters of Huayla, reconstructed earlier, seem to have been divided into three *guarangas* and those, in turn, into various *pachacas*. Thus the political hierarchy of Huayla can be described by the following scheme:

203 The leader of the Aymara of the *Alasaya* of Chucuito was also the leader of the whole province.

204 The leader of the Aymara of the *Maasaya* of Chucuito was the second lord of Lupaca.

1. level	the lord of Hanan Huayla +	the lord of Hurin Huayla
2. level	Tocas – + – 2nd subprovince	Collana – + – Chucaracoay
3. level	1+1+1 1+1+1 <i>guarangas</i>	1+1+1 1+1+1 <i>guar.</i>
4. level	<i>pachacas pachacas</i>	<i>pachacas pachacas</i>

As the chart demonstrates, the polity of Huayla had two supreme leaders – one in Hanan Huayla and the other in Hurin Huayla. In the external political relations the lord of *Hanansaya* probably was the so-called *cacique principal* of the province, and the lord of *Hurinsaya* was his *segunda persona*. Furthermore, each *saya* had another leader who also may have been the so-called *segunda persona*, but now was in the internal political relations of moieties.

As noted, the political organization of Chachapoya seems to have been somewhat similar, but the amount of individual *guarangas* may have varied more than among the Huayla. It is also significant that some witnesses of Chachapoya stated that the two lords of the province governed with equal rights. If that statement is true, it would be a very specific case, because in other Andean areas principles of hierarchy seem to have dominated at all levels of sociopolitical organizations.

Although the dual and quadripartite structures are common in our case studies, a considerable amount of the studied provinces followed another principle: in five cases of eleven we noticed that the main political division was based on the ternary structure. Those cases are Huanca, Pachacamac, Chincha, Sora & Rucana and Collagua. Furthermore, most of those analyzed ternary structures followed similar peculiar features: two subprovinces formed a pair whereas one subprovince was a *chhulla* by using a common Aymara and Quechua term for a

thing which has missed its complement.²⁰⁵

One of the peculiarities of this Andean ternary structure is that it manifests the double opposition: one half of the pair opposes its complement, and those two, together, oppose *chhulla*. For example, in the political hierarchy of Collagua, the Aymara-speaking Yanque Collagua opposed the Aymara-speaking Lari Collagua, whereas those two groups together opposed the Quechua-speaking Cavana Conde. Equally in Huanca, Hanan Huanca opposed Hurin Huanca and those together seem to have opposed Hatun Jauja and so on. Furthermore, our study indicates that the sector of *chhulla* may stay in the first as well as in the last position of the local political hierarchy. For example, among the Huanca and among the four subsectors of Huayla, the *chhulla* group seems to have been superior to the opposing paired sector whereas the order may have been the contrary among the Collagua and the Sora. As a matter of fact, similar hierarchical orders (*Qollana + Payan / Kayaw and Qollana / Payan + Kayaw*) have been found by structural anthropologists in the kinship organization of the Incas.²⁰⁶

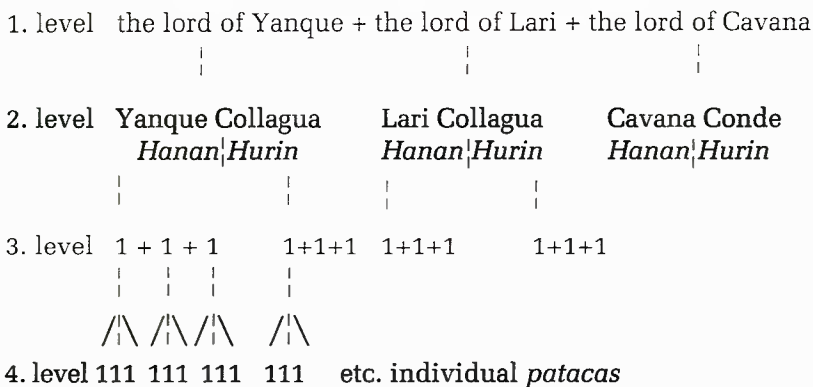
The middle and lower level structures of these provinces may have varied considerably. However, our study has demonstrated that the dual principle was fairly common in that level of hierarchy, too. Furthermore, *guarangas* and *pachacas* are also mentioned in some of these provinces.

In general, the most complete picture we have of the political hierarchy of Collagua indicates that it was organized by ternary principles. Furthermore, we know that each of the three subprovinces of Collagua was divided dualistically into two moieties and those, in turn, were further subdivided by ternary principles into three groups of three *patacas* (*pachacas*). Schematically the external political hierarchy may have been as follows (a case of linear triadism):²⁰⁷

205 *Chhulla* refers to half of a pair, see CERECEDA 1986:156; PLATT 1986:249. According to Gonzalez Holguin ([1608] 1952:119) "chhulla" means "vna cosa sin compañera entre cosas pareadas" and according to Bertonio ([1612] 1879:96) "Lo que esta sin su compañero que auia de tener."

206 See ZUIDEMA 1962:43, 65-70; WACHTEL 1973:32-34.

207 At the colonial time, at least, Yanque Collagua was the leading sector of province. However, it is not absolutely sure whether the situation was the same in the Inca time.



In sum, our study confirms our supposition that the quadripartite system presented by PLATT does not apply to all provinces of Tawantinsuyu. On the contrary, our study has shown that in many cases the organizational structures combined various principles. It also shows that the main division was as often triad as quaternary, at least. Furthermore, our study demonstrates that in Chichaysuyu, from where our cases mainly derive, dual, quaternary and triadic structures were in full use. Therefore it is very unlikely that a certain provincial structure could be associated with any specific administrative quarter of Tawantinsuyu. However, it may be significant that most of those provinces which were organized by ternary principles were situated considerably near Cuzco and furthermore, those were mainly conquered by Pachacuti and his "brother" Capac Yupanqui. Because of that I suppose that more than association to any of the main quarters of Tawantinsuyu, the local pre-Inca tradition (and in some cases possibly also the time when they were annexed to the Inca state) explains the inner organization of those Inca provinces.

We can also note that the spatial pattern of the Inca provinces did not follow any systematic orientation. The leading subprovince may have been situated in any site of the province. This also confirms our supposition that the pre-existing political conditions affected the local hierarchy much more than any "master plan of the Incas."²⁰⁸

208 See and compare SALOMON 1988:59-85.

IX Decimal Organization: Theory and Practice

1. Theory and Its Problems

A standard account of the Inca administration gives a list of a decimal hierarchy from 10 to 10,000, often with intermediate levels. When the decimal units and the intermediate units are tied together the following hierarchy can be drawn:¹

Hunu	10,000	households
Pisca guaranga	5,000	”
Guaranga	1,000	”
Pisca pachaca	500	”
Pachaca	100	”
Pisca chungu	50	”
Chungu	10	”

As a matter of fact, many scholars have believed that the political practice of the Inca state administration actually followed these principles.² As von HAGEN crystallizes:³

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- 1 Bandera (1557) 1965:177; Castro & Ortega Morejón (1558) 1974:94, 96; Las Casas (ca. 1559) 1948:95; Falcón (1567) 1918:146; Polo de Ondegardo (1571) 1917:51; Guaman Poma (1615) 1987:313 [315], 361 [363]; see also JULIEN 1988:257–258.
 - 2 See, for example, BAUDIN 1928:119; KARSTEN 1946:120–121; VALCARCEL 1964:105–107; LUMBRERAS 1974:230–231; JULIEN 1982:119–151; 1983:64–78; ZUIDEMA 1990:67–78; see also WACHTEL 1977:79.
 - 3 HAGEN 1961:158.

"Since we do not have [in 1959] any exact figures of the number of Indians in the Inca realm at the time of the Spanish conquest, we do not know how many people each governor of a given *suyu* [a quarter of Tawantinsuyu] controlled. Various population figures have been given – six million, one of the "accepted" numbers, seems far too large; two million is perhaps more in line. With this as a hypothetical figure then, each governor would control 500,000 people. The next chieftain was *hono-curaca*, who controlled 10,000 people; under him, a *pica-waranka-curaca*, who controlled 5,000 Indians, and so it went down the line until the very last, the "straw boss," a *cancha-camayoc*, responsible for ten Indians. For every 10,000 Indians there were 1,331 officials. Everything was based on head count; all was decimally organized."

In 1965 Åke WEDIN began to doubt the existence of that kind of administrative system. Although he found the evidence of *pachacas* and *guarangas* in Huánuco and Huancayo, he denied the existence of a decimal hierarchy in the Inca civil organization, because those groups were not exact groups of a hundred and a thousand households. However, he supposes that probably a more exact decimal hierarchy worked in Inca military practice.⁴

John V. MURRA, on the other hand, has doubted the overall importance of the exact decimal grouping in the military context, because decimal hierarchy seems to have been extremely rare among the Aymara, the most famous warriors of the Inca army. However, he noticed that we actually do have a lot of evidence about the decimal administrative vocabulary among the ethnic groups on the upper Huallaga and among some other northern groups of Tawantinsuyu.⁵

MURRA, John H. ROWE, and Catherine J. JULIEN have also pointed out that the decimal vocabulary was the most frequent in the Inca census and *mit'a* (*corvée*) enumerating.⁶ Furthermore, according to the present studies of JULIEN even the early colonial *mita* obligation of the Lupaca was based on the earlier Inca decimal organization. She states that in an Incaic *kipu* census, used by the Spaniards, the seven *cabecera* districts of that province were divided into several Aymara *guarangas*. After that,

4 WEDIN 1965:17–46; WEDIN 1966:136.

5 MURRA 1967:393–396; MURRA 1985:81.

6 MURRA 1958:34; 1985:80–81; ROWE 1958:499–522; JULIEN 1988:257–279.

the total Aymara population was calculated (15,778 households) and, for example, the obligation to send 500 miners to the mines at Potosí was shared between the accounting units by a percentage principle. In that case the share would have been 7.6 % from the total population.

To support her theory JULIEN compares the list of tribute obligations to send miners to Potosí in 1567 and the last Inca census (1520s) in the Lupaca province. As a result, the correspondence between the accounting units and the amount of miners is as follows:⁷

<i>Category</i>	<i>Aymara households</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Miners</i>	<i>%</i>
Chucuito/Alas.	1,233	7.81	41	8.2
Chucuito/Maas.	1,384	8.77	41	8.2
Acora/Alasaya	1,221	7.74	39	7.8
Acora/Maasaya	1,207	7.65	38	7.6
Ilave/Ala&Maas.	1,470	9.32	46	9.2
Juli/Ala&Chanbil.	1,438	9.11	48	9.6
Juli/Maasaya	1,804	11.43	57	11.4
Pomata/Alas.	1,663	10.54	53	10.6
Pomata/Maas.	1,341	8.50	42	8.4
Yunguyo/Ala&Maas.	1,039	6.59	33	6.6
Zepita/Alasaya	1,112	7.05	35	7.0
Zepita/Maasaya	866	5.49	27	5.4
Totals	15,778	100.00	500	100.0

However, it is very unlikely that those accounting units mentioned on both lists would have been real *guarangas*.⁸ On the other hand, it seems to be clear that the *Alasaya* and *Maasaya* moieties of Ilave and Yunguyo, as well as the *Alasaya* and Chanbilla (Ayanca?) sectors of Juli were clumped together for calculative purposes. Furthermore, it is also clear that, as proposed by JULIEN, a correspondence existed between the Inca census of the Lupaca province and the colonial *mita* obligation. However, I have not found any documentary support for her theory that the obligation

7 JULIEN 1982:127-131; JULIEN 1988:261-263.

8 MURRA 1967:393.

was shared by a percentage principle: 7.65 percent of the total population to the mines; 15.3 % to cultivate the land of the Inca, etc.

Probably John V. MURRA is nearer the historical truth when he writes, for example, that each of 17 *hathas* (*ayllus*) of the *Maasaya* of Chucuito annually gave one pastor to guide the camelids of their lord.⁹ In other words, the ordinary *corvée* share was based on a more simple calculative division: one from each *ayllu* to pastor llamas, two from each *ayllu* to cultivate potatoes, etc.

However, I would like to make a little correction even to the theory of MURRA, because it seems that in *Maasaya* Chucuito 17 true *hathas*, which would have given 17 pastors to their lord, did not in fact exist. Rather it seems that the existence of 17 *hathas* would have been only an ideal.¹⁰ As a matter of fact, that number of *hathas* is only mentioned in the context where *visitador* Díez de San Miguel asked (in 1567) Martín Cusi to inform him how many "guarangas, [pachacas] and ayllós" were subject to the lord of *Maasaya* Chucuito.¹¹ However, no independent source, as far as I know, confirms this information about 17 *hathas*. On the other hand, a few years later (1574) when more accurate inquiries were made among the Lupaca, *hatha* by *hatha*, it appeared that in *Maasaya* Chucuito only 13 *hathas* existed in reality.¹² Equally, it appears that the other 17 *hathas* of *Alasaya* Chucuito, mentioned in 1567 by Martín Cari, were, in fact, 11 units.¹³

Taking this into consideration it becomes evident that those two

9 MURRA (1968–1970) 1975:218.

10 We have noted earlier that in Jesús de Machaca, for example, it was stated that there were 12 *ayllus*, but when those were especially named, the result appeared to be something else. Equally we have noted that one group of 10,000 households of Chincha Valley was, in reality, ca. 6,000 households, etc. During my fieldwork in Caquiaviri (Pacasa), carried out during the years 1987, 1989 and 1990, I noticed the same phenomenon: it was generally stated that before the agrarian reform (1952) the village was composed of 12 *ayllus*. However, when my best informant don Emilio Maldonado gave me a list of those *ayllus*, it became clear that there were more than 12. This means that the information of 12 *ayllus* was based on an ideal model.

Concerning the problem of juxtaposing the real and the ideal, see also DUBY 1985:15.

11 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:27.

12 Gutiérrez Flores (1574) 1964:306–312.

13 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:14; Gutiérrez Flores (1574) 1964:306–312.

groups of 17 *hathas* that are mentioned in specific contexts refer to an ideal, purely calculative decimal grouping. Because of that, I propose that the number 17 was connected to the amount of households in *Alasaya* and *Maasaya* Chucuito. As the Incaic *kipu* census (read to the Spaniards in 1567) demonstrates, *Alasaya* Chucuito was composed of a total of 1,733 Aymara and Uru households, and *Maasaya* Chucuito of 1,731 households.¹⁴ In other words, the inhabitants of both *sayas* were divided into theoretical groups of one hundred households ($17 \times 100 = 1,700$), but the actual amount of *hathas* was completely another thing.¹⁵

If we make this correction to the theory of MURRA, it would mean that the Incaic *corvée* obligation was shared by a simple calculative decimal principle: one from one hundred; two from one hundred, etc. That this kind of system may really have worked among the Lupaca can also be seen in a testimony of Martín Cari, given in 1567:¹⁶

"the Inca ordered that each hundred taxpayers of this province should give an Indian man and each hundred Indian women should give an Indian woman to serve *cacique principal* of this *parcialidad* of Anansaya"

Now, if we compare the calculative units of the Lupaca census and the mentioned list of *mita* miners, we can note that the amount of the Aymara households in each calculative unit were rounded to the next full hundred and after that, each theoretical group of one hundred taxpayers had an obligation to send three miners to Potosí. The difference between our theory and the documented practice is extremely slight:

14 Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:64.

15 See and compare JULIEN 1982:129–131.

16 "hacía dar el dicho ynga al cacique principal de esta dicha parcialidad de Anansaya de cada cien indios tributarios de esta dicha provincia un indio y cada cien indias una india para que sirviesen al dicho cacique ..." In: Díez de San Miguel (1567) 1964:23.

<i>Category</i>	<i>Aymara taxpayers</i>	<i>3/100(theory)</i>	<i>Miners(practice)</i>	
Chucuito/Alas.	1,233	1,300	39	41
Chucuito/Maas.	1,384	1,400	42	41
Acora/Alasaya	1,221	1,300	39	39
Acora/Maasaya	1,207	1,300	39	38
Ilave/Ala&Maas.	1,470	1,500	45	46
Juli/Ala&Chanbil.	1,438	1,500	45	48
Juli/Maasaya	1,804	1,900	57	57
Pomata/Alas.	1,663	1,700	51	53
Pomata/Maas.	1,341	1,400	42	42
Yunguyo/Ala&Maas.	1,039	1,100	33	33
Zepita/Alasaya	1,112	1,200	36	35
Zepita/Maasaya	866	900	27	27
<hr/>				
Totals	15,778	16,500	495	500

We have evidence that the Incas used a similar *mit'a* sharing system in many other areas, too. For example, in the area of Huallaga, Juan Chuchuyaure, *cacique principal* of Yacha, testified in 1562:¹⁷

“... in Cuzco they had many Indians in the service of the Inca taken to him from the villages; of each hundred Indians three; and they gave Indians ...”

Furthermore, Juan Chuchuyaure declared that the same system applied also to the minor groups. As he explains:¹⁸

“... in the Inca time they allotted these Indians for all those things [to make potteries, sandals, to farm, etc.], [so] that all the married and the young men who were of age to work made groups of ten Indians and from each ten they took two or three or one or what they had to give in agreement with what the Inca had sent to demand ...”

17 “en el Cuzco tenían puestos para el servicio del ynga mucho indios que sacaban para éste de los pueblos de cada cien indios tres y les daban indios ...” In: Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1972:55.

18 “en tiempo del ynga los repartían estos indios para todas estas cosas que de todos los casados y mancebos que eran de edad para trabajar hacían

MURRA has also noted that among the Chupaychu three men and three women from each 100 households were " 'thrown' into the gold mines." One household from each *pachaca* guarded the maize fields of the Inca, etc.¹⁹ In fact, also in Cajamarca the *mita* sharing system seems to have followed similar decimal lines, because six *cumbicocs* testified there that the *guarangas* of Mitima, Pomamarca, Cajamarca and Bambamarca gave 15 Indians each to serve as *cumbicocs* and to make fine clothes.²⁰ In Hurin Huayla 326 households, counted on the *kipu* of the year 1558, supported 32 carpenters, halter- and pottery makers;²¹ and so on.

Similar cases could also be found, but I think that these examples already demonstrate quite well how the decimal system worked in the Incaic *mit'a* organization.

In general, it could be said that because the system was based on the calculative groups of one hundred (or sometimes the groups of ten or one thousand households) the system was quite exact. That seems to be the reason why Bartolomé de Segovia also praised the Inca *mit'a* system in the following way:²²

"about the tribute of the Inca they had such a great account that each village of these provinces had counters [*kipu kamayoqs*] who accounted the tribute and the amount how much each Indian tributed and served; the *corvée* was distributed in a manner that no one would have served more than the other; and [even] today [1552] they continue this laudable custom ..."

números de diez indios y de cada diez sacaban dos o tres o uno a como les cabía de dar conforme a como el dicho ynga se lo enviaba a pedir ..." In: Ortiz de Zúñiga (1562) 1972:55.

- 19 MURRA 1985:83, 85; see also Mori & Malpartida (1549) 1967: 305–310.
20 "Residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca ...," fols. 331r–332r, Justicia 456, AGI.
21 Alvarez (1558) 1978:108.
22 "en los tributos del Inca [tenían] tan gran cuenta que había en cada pueblo de estas provincias contadores que tenían cuenta con los tributos y con lo que cada indio tributaba y servía, de manera que se repartiase el trabajo y no sirviese uno más que otro; y hoy día dura entre ellos esta loable costumbre ..." In: Segovia (1552) 1943:21; see also Anónimo de Loja (1571–72) 1965:305 and PÄRSSINEN 1983:132–138.

On the other hand, it is still uncertain to what extent this decimal system really went beyond *mit'a* and census practice into ordinary local administration. It is clear that the nearer the ordinary administrative organization and the *mit'a* organization, the easier the allotment of *corvée* was. However, it is also clear that if there did not exist any comparable organizations in local polities it was much easier to organize the *corvée* by purely calculative principles than to change concretely the local administrative systems. This, as a matter of fact, makes it very possible that even in those areas where *pachacas* and *guarangas* belonged to an ordinary administration, the calculative *pachacas* and *guarangas* of *mit'a* were often two different things. Whereas the *mit'a* administration used quite exact calculative units, ordinary *pachacas*, *guarangas* and *hunu*s may have been only loose approximations introduced into political administrative vocabulary.

2. Hunu, a Group of Ten Thousand Households ?

When we dealt with the size and the internal division of the provinces we noted that in some areas *hunu*s, *guarangas* and *pachacas* were an ordinary part of those provinces. The widest distribution probably had the concept of *hunu* which was used to approximate the household amount of each province. However, as noted, if 6,000 households formed a political unit it was classified into the category "*hunu*" as well as units which had 12,000 households. In that system 12 *guarangas* of Huayla, for example, may have been divided between two *hunucuracas* (Hanan Huayla and Hurin Huayla), whereas the 12 *guarangas* of Hurin Huanca in the province of Huanca were probably governed only by one *hunucuraca*. Furthermore, the lord of Hurin Huanca seems to have been subject to the *hunucuraca* of Hatun Jauja who had only 6,000 households under his direct rule. This also demonstrates that the exact size of the households was not an extremely important matter in the Incaic hierarchy.

On the other hand, some kind of standardization was needed to differentiate *hunucuracas* from the lesser lords, since in the Inca reciprocity system women and gifts were certainly changed by

taking into consideration the rank of each lord. In that hierarchy *hunucuracas* seemingly belonged to the upper *curaca* class. As the descendants of the lords of 6,000, 8,000 and 10,000 households in Charca said, *hunumallkus (hunucuracas)* were "dukes, counts and marquis" of the Inca realm.²³ We know that *hunucuracas* could give their daughters to marry to the Inca and in return they got a noble woman from Cuzco as well as many concubines. Equally they got many servants, fine clothes and the privilege to use a litter. A descendant of the *hunumallku* of Charca informed about these things in the following way:²⁴

"he [hunumallku] was the *señor principal* of the whole nation of the Charca; señor of 10,000 vassals by the direct descent line ... he also was a señor of *lanpa* which is one kind of litter; and he used the parasol made from feathers; and wherever he wanted to go 100 Indians carried this Coocho [hunumallku] by that litter and *lanpa* not used others than equal *señores*. Mentioned Incas [Topa Inca and Huayna Capac] also gave him as the insignia of *caballero* two shirts, one made of golden plates and the other made of silver; and many fine clothes of *cunbe*; and silver and golden pearls; and he had more than 50 Indians in personal service or equally Indian women in his house ..."

It is also significant that when some lords of the area of the *hatun apocazgo* of Charcas speak about the Inca decimal organization and about the *hunumallkus* of 5,000–10,000 households, they refer, as a matter of fact, more to the rank of the leaders than to decimally organized exact political units.²⁵ This may signify that

23 Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582) 1969:16; Colque Guarache (1576–1577) 1981:252.

24 "hera señor principal de toda la nación de los Charcas por la linea recta señor de 10,000 vasallos ..., ansi mismo fue señor de lanpa que es a manera de litera y traia quitasol de plumerías y a donde quiera q yva el dho Coocho le llevaban cien yndios con la dha litera y lanpa en los quales no caminavan sino heran los semexantes señores los quales dchos yngas le dieron ansimismo ynsinias de cavallero dos camisetas la una de chapería de oro y la otra chapería de plata y mucha ropa fina de cunbe y cocos de plata y oro y tenía mas de cincuenta yndios de servicios personales o yndias ansi para el sevicio de su casa ..." In: "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fol. 20v, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI.

25 See "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fols. 20v, 21v, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI; Colque Guarache (1576–1577) 1981:252.

more than a political unit a *hunu* was a calculative unit used to express the approximate population size of the provinces and – the status of some great lords.

3. Guarangas and Pachacas

In colonial local sources *pachacas* and *guarangas* are extremely rarely mentioned as political units in the area around Cuzco, in Antisuyu, on the coast of Cuntisuyu and in the whole Collasuyu.²⁶ However, when *pachacas* and *guarangas* are sporadically mentioned almost always it happens in the connection which refers to the rank of *curacas*. For example, when Fernando Ayavire y Velasco complained that the Spaniards had divided the *señorio* of his predecessors in Charca, he does not say that he had lost *guarangas* and *pachacas*, but "*caciques* of *guarangas* and *piscapachacas*" who used to be under the domain of his predecessors.²⁷ Equally, when the descendants of the various lords of different nations in the Charca confederation refer to the Incaic decimal organization, it happens in a similar connection:²⁸

"We were accustomed to have great native *señores* of ten thousand vassals, and other [*señores*] of eight thousand and others of six thousand Indians and vassals; those *señores* and *caballeros* were superiors of the other *caciques* and *señores* there existed among each nation. And so one was from Charca and the other from

26 See, for example, Mollinedo y Angulo (1689) 1982; Rodríguez de los Ríos (1593) 1973:131–209; Díez de San Miguel (1567); see also MURRA 1967:383–406; ROSTWOROWSKI 1982:227–254; BALLESTEROS GAIBROIS & MARTIN RUBIO 1978:431–460.

27 "Interrogatorio para la probanza de don Fernando Ayavire y Velasco, (1584) 1598," fol. 21v, Audiencia de Charcas 45, AGI; see also a testimony in the *probanza* of don Francisco Gonzales, cited by PLATT 1988:376.

28 "solía hauer señores naturales mayores de a diez mil vasallos y otros de de ocho mil indios y otros de a seis mil indios y vasallos otros dichos señores y caulleros eran superiores de los demás caciques y señores que hauía en cada nación. Y así el uno fue de Los Charcas y el otro de Los Caracaras y el otro de Los Soras y el otro ... Y así cada uno de estos señores solian tener ocho segundas personal y diez también de a mil indios y cuatro principales de cada ayllu de a quinientos y de cient indios y cuatro mandones en cada ayllu ..." In: Ayavire y Velasco et al. (1582) 1969:18.

Caracara and the other from Sora and the other ... And so each of these *señores* used to have eight *segunda personas*; and also ten [segunda personas] of a thousand Indians; and [there used to have] four *principales* of each *ayllu* of five hundred – and of one hundred Indians; and four *mandones* in each *ayllu* ...”

Now, reading carefully this paragraph, we may note that the organization to which it refers follows a quaternary structure and the basic political unit mentioned in the text is *ayllu*, not *pachaca* or *pataca*.²⁹ However, when the text refers to the amounts such as one hundred, five hundred and one thousand, it happens in the connection of *curacas* and in the hierarchy of ranks: the four leaders of the *ayllus* of 100–500 Indians were inferior to the eight leaders of “about a thousand Indians” and so on. If that interpretation is correct, then the Incaic decimal organization reached in that area only the vocabulary of ranks, not the concrete political organization which would have included ten *mandones* in each group of a hundred households and ten *principales* in each group of a thousand households. In other words, *guaranga* and *pachacas* in Collasuyu were like *hunas*, used at the Inca time to calculate the approximate size of population and to express the rank of individual *curacas*.

Those voluminous documents which deal with the area of the Peruvian North Coast do not even mention the terms like *pachaca* or *guaranga*.³⁰ Still we have noted earlier that in Chicama there were four *parcialidades*, each containing about 1,000 households.³¹ That may signify that the decimal unit “thousand” was known there even though the term *guaranga* may have been unknown. Additionally, in an important study entitled “The Inca Conquest of the North Coast: An Historian’s View” Susan RAMIREZ has also pointed out that the title of rank “*conoseque*,” common in some polities of the North Coast, can be translated as

29 In the same document references to the quaternary structure are frequent; see especially pages 17 and 21 of the “Memorial.”

30 See, for example, “Residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, oidor que fue de esta audiencia al tiempo que fue visitador de la provincia de Truxillo por el licenciado Pedro Sanchez de Paredes tambien oidor de ella, Audiencia de Lima 1570 á 1574,” fols. 1r–2248v, Justicia 456, 457 y 458, AGI.

31 See pp. 325–326.

guaranga curaca.³² That information gives us further support to the theory that the approximate unit of a thousand households may really have been known in that area. On the other hand, the typical dual and quadripartite organization found below *conoseques* does not support the possibility that the entire lower level hierarchy would have followed the decimal order. Nor do we have linguistic or demographic evidence, as demonstrated by RAMIREZ, of the adaptation of a complete decimal system in that area.³³

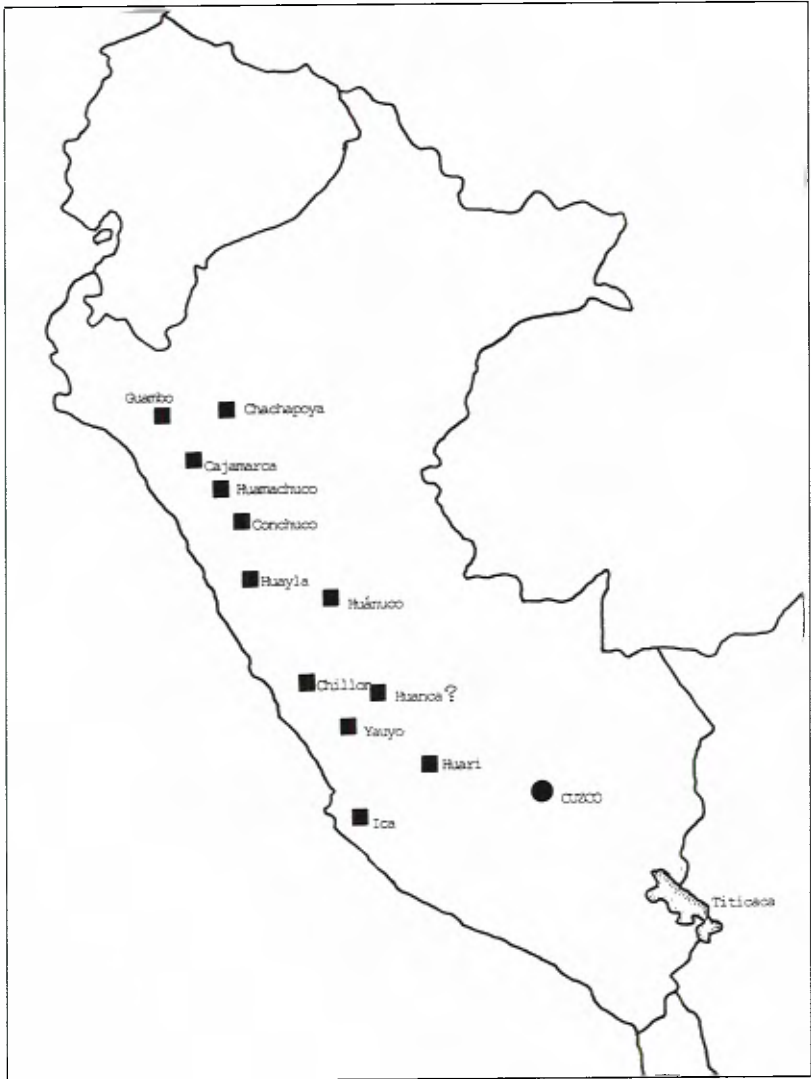
As a matter of fact, the words *pachaca* and *guaranga* exist most often in the documents dealing with the polities of central Chinchaysuyu. As noted before, *pachacas* and *guarangas* were ordinary sociopolitical units in Cajamarca, Chachapoya, Huayla and in Chillón Valley. We also know that the local sociopolitical systems of Chupaychu (Huánuco), Ica, Yauyo, Huamachuco, Guambo and Huari, at least, were organized around these decimal units (see map 27).³⁴ On the other hand, we have also noted that the quadri and tripartite provincial divisions were extremely common in those areas. Because of that we may wonder how often the lower level hierarchy of those provinces followed the exact decimal theory according to which a *guaranga* was composed of ten *pachacas*.

One case where this principle really seems to have worked is the *parcialidad* of Collique and Oma in Chillón Valley visited by Juan Martínez de Rengifo in 1571. In the *visita* it appears that under the jurisdiction of the villages of Collique and Oma there were exactly ten *pachacas*.³⁵ Although the *visita* does not mention the word

32 RAMIREZ 1990:509–512; see also RAMIREZ 1987:579. It may be significant, as demonstrated by RAMIREZ, that also in the North Coast the term "thousand" was more common in a title of rank than in a political unit.

33 RAMIREZ 1990:509–519.

34 MURRA 1967:383–406; 1985:81; HADDEN 1967:371–380; ROSTWOROWSKI 1977b:254–272; SPALDING 1984:47–54; "Pleito de Lorenzo de Ulloa, vecino de Truxillo, con el fiscal de S.M., sobre ciertos yndios, Lima 1559," fol.85r, Justicia 430, AGI; "Tercer legajo de la residencia tomada al doctor Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca, oidor que fue de esta Audiencia al tiempo que fue visitador de la provincia de Truxillo por el licenciado Pedro Sanchez de Paredes tambien oidor de ella, Audiencia de Lima, 1570 á 1574," fols. 1473v–1476r, 1789v, 1997v, Justicia 458, AGI; "Patron y lista de los yndios del pueblo de Santo Domingo de Guari, rerartimiento de Allaucaguari del cargo de don Juan Guaman Guanca, cacique principal del ayllu y pachaca de Curacachuri, año 1683," sin fols., Sala 13, 17–3–1, Legajo 6, Archivo General de la Nación, Buenos Aires.



Map 27. Areas with decimal organization (squares).

guaranga in the connection of the composition of these ten *pachacas*, we know from other sources that Collique, indeed, was a *guaranga*.³⁶

However, the case of Collique seems to have been an exception, because already in Huancayo, situated on the upper Chillón, it was stated that the local *guaranga* was divided between five *pachaca curacas*:³⁷

"... At the time of the Inca this *repartimiento* of Guancayo had 900 Indians divided into five *pachacas*. The *principales* of those *pachacas* were called Mongoy, *cacique* of all the others who had two [calculative] *pachacas* of his own; and Cancay [who] had one [calculative] *pachaca*; and Chuquitunga who had two [calculative] *pachacas*; and Chumbillan [who] had two [calculative] *pachacas*; and Antachunbi had 200 Indians which are two [calculative] *pachacas*; and these mentioned Indians belonged to the *guaranga* of Guancayo whose *cacique* was the mentioned Mongoy ..."

In Hurin Huayla the calculative *pachaca* and the real *pachaca* (as a political unit) may have been nearer to each other than in Huancayo. However, even there it appears that the *guaranga* was not exactly the same as 10 *pachacas* and 1,000 households. As Alonso Caruaynche, major *cacique* of the *guaranga* of Guanbo (Hanan Huayla) testified:³⁸

"...At the time when licentiate Vaca de Castro reformed these Indians [of Sebastian de Torres] this *repartimiento* had three

35 Martínez de Rengifo (1571) 1977:267–271; ROSTWOROWSKI (1972a) 1977:44–45.

36 ROSTWOROWSKI (1972a) 1977:44–46; Carvajal & Pedraza (1559) 1967–1968:37. Because the Oma part belonged under the same *curacazgo*, it probably was a moiety of the same unit.

37 "en el tiempo del inga había en este repartimiento de Guancayo novecientos indios repartidos en cinco pachacas y los principales de ellas se llamaban Mongoy que era cacique de todos y tenía dos pachacas de por sí y Cancay tenía una pachaca y Chuquitunga el cual tenía dos pachacas y Chumbillan tenía dos pachacas y Antachunbi tenía doscientos indios que son dos pachacas y que estos dichos indios pertenecían a la Guaranga de Guancayo cuyo cacique era el dicho Mongoy ..." In: Martínez de Rengifo (1571b) 1963:52–53; see also ROSTWOROWSKI (1972a) 1977: 60–75.

38 "al tienpo que el dho licen.do Vaca de Castro rreformato estos yndios avia en el dho repartimiento tres mill yndios o tres guarangas que en lengua castellana quere dezir tres myll yndios cada una guaranga mill yndios

thousand Indians; or three *guarangas* which means in Spanish three thousand Indians, each *guaranga* containing a thousand Indians; although this witness says that those are not full *guarangas* because each of those two [*guarangas*] of Guaraz [Allauca; Ichoc] had no more than 750 Indians at the Inca time; and the [*guaranga*] of Collana, called Marca, had 950 Indians ...”

From another source we know that Ichoc Guaraz had, in the Inca time and in the early colonial epoch, seven and a half *pachacas* and Allauca Guaraz eight *pachacas*, and this information confirms the approximation of 750 Indians both to Ichoc Guaraz and to Allauca Guaraz.³⁹ It also confirms our supposition that *guarangas* were only rarely compositions of ten *pachacas*.

To complete our general picture of the *guarangas* and *pachacas* we may analyze the composition of three *guarangas* of Cajamarca granted to doña Beatriz de Ysasaga. One of those *guarangas*, Chondal, symbolically belonged to *Hanansaya* and the two others, Bambamarca and Pomamarca, to *Hurinsaya*.⁴⁰

The *visitas* of Gregorio Gonzalez de Cuenca (1567) and Diego Velazquez de Acuña (1571–1572) demonstrate that Chondal had four *pachacas*, Bambamarca nine and Pomamarca eight *pachacas*. In the case of Pomamarca a slight change may have occurred since the Inca time, because it is stated that one more ethnic group called Pariamarca [*pachaca* or a part of *pachaca*?] originally belonged to that *guaranga*.⁴¹ Otherwise we do not have a serious reason to believe that the amount of *pachacas* would have changed much during the ca.35 years of the Spanish regime. A bigger change, on the other hand, may have happened in the amount of households

aunque este testigo dixo que no son guarangas enteras por que las dos de guaraz no tenya sino a sietecientos y cinquenta yndios cada una en tiempo de ynga / y en la collana que se dize marca avia nuebecientos e cinq.ta yndios ...” In: “Probanza de Alvaro y Francisco Torres, 1557,” fols. 186v–187r, Justicia 405 A, AGI.

39 Alvarez (1558) 1978:89–90,116.

40 See p. 310.

41 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976–77:137–138; Condorpoma et al. (1565) 1976–77:157–177. Pomamarca itself was created by Huayna Capac. Its inhabitants were taken from the pre-existing *guarangas* of Chuquimango and Cajamarca. However, when the Inca state collapsed, a *parcialidad* called Pariamarca was annexed back to Cajamarca.

in each *pachaca*, but still the relative size of each *guaranga* can probably be seen in the following list of tributaries:

TABLE 2. *The amount of the taxpayers in Chondal, Bambamarca and Pomamarca (After the visita of Gonzalez de Cuenca, 1567).*

CHONDAL, cacique principal Melchior Caxacas

Pachaca:	principal	taxpayers
Pingomarca	Melchior Caxacas	336
Nepus	Francisco Tantaxaxas	142
Polloques	Martín Guacchapaico	144
Payac	Gomez Chuquinchanchas	331
		953

BAMBAMARCA, cacique principal Francisco Tantaguatay

Ychican	Francisco Tantaguatay	104
Bambamarca	Pablo Guamantongo	75
Tacabamba	Sebastian Quispeguaman	78
Tingomayo	Mingomall	68
Quiden	Felipe Asnasap	49
Guangamarca	Lorenzo Tantaxulca	75
Curocchuc	Francisco Llatas	67
Anbagay	Andres Llanca	30
Pisso	Alonso Simay	27
		573

POMAMARCA, cacique principal Antonio Condorpoma

Pomamarca	Antonio Condorpoma	72
Collana	Domingo Biguietongo	61
Chuquiral	Diego Myaypoma	31
Callad	Diego Cayde	102
Guambo	Pablo Tantariquirá	80
Yanamango	Pedro Corall	49
Ascape ⁴²	—	—
Yayros ⁴³	—	—

42 Ascape is mentioned in the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña, carried out between 1571 and 1572 (fols. 85v, 89r, Justicia 1063, AGI).

43 Yayros is mentioned in the *visita* of Velazquez de Acuña (fols. 89r, 90r, 98r, Justicia 1063, AGI).

The data is incomplete in the case of Pomamarca, but if we add about 1/4–1/3 more to its population we may note that its size was near to that of Bambamarca. On the other hand, the list demonstrates that Chondal was in 1567, as it was in 1540,⁴⁴ the biggest *guaranga* of those three. Still it had a lesser amount of *pachacas*. The reason for this big difference may be that the spatial area of Chondal was situated near the coastal area of *yungas* and because it was much more related to the ancient Chimu empire than Bambamarca and Pomamarca. This difference became more evident to me when I mapped the 16th century villages of Cajamarca in 1987. For example, most of the pre-Hispanic ceramics that I observed near Nanchoc (Cerro de Pato) and near San José ("de Chanchan") belonged stylistically to Chimu – Lambayeque groups. Furthermore, some pottery found by the natives and which I had an opportunity to photograph, were typical examples of the so-called Chimu – Inca style.⁴⁵

In addition, Maria ROSTWOROWSKI has noticed that the distribution of the letter "f" was the most common among the names of the inhabitants of Chondal. Because the letter "f" was almost unknown among the languages of *sierra*, but, on the other hand, extremely typical among the Muchic (people who spoke a coastal Chimu language), it can be taken as additional evidence in relating that *guaranga* to the coast.⁴⁶ Hence, we may suppose that the *guaranga* of Chondal was divided into four *pachacas* since that division more correctly reflected the coastal mentality. On the other hand, the system of Bambamarca and Pomamarca was probably nearer the local pre-Inca tradition of Cajamarca.⁴⁷ Although there was no reason to use the exact amount of 10

44 Barrientos (1540) 1967:35–38.

45 Concerning the Chimu-Inca style see, for example, LARCO HOYLE 1948:55.

46 ROSTWOROWSKI 1985:402–406.

47 *Pachacas* and *guarangas* existed in that area up to the 18th century. This information supports the theory of a strong local tradition (see, for example, "Certificados y otros papeles de Ramon Pérez, años 1739 y 1749," Corregimiento, Documentación Diversa, Años 1607–1783, Archivo Departamental de Cajamarca).

It may also be significant that some of the most important Wari settlement sites, such as Cajamarquilla (Rimac), Willkawain (Huayla), Wiraqocha Pampa (Huamachuco) and Otuzco (Cajamarca) were situated in the same distribution area as *pachacas* and *guarangas* of the Inca and the colonial period (see, for example, ROWE 1963:14–15; MENZEL 1964:70–73;

pachacas in each *guaranga*, still it is true that the theory was not very far away from practice.

As a whole, it seems that the *pachacas* and *guarangas* were basic sociopolitical units mainly in the area of central Chinchaysuyu. Although the system probably belonged to the pre-Inca practice, we must note that also the Incas affected that system by creating new *guarangas* such as Pomamarca and the *guaranga* of Mitimaes in Cajamarca.⁴⁸ However, still the fact is that even there the *pachacas* and *guarangas* were only rarely exact sociopolitical units. More than that, decimal vocabulary seems to have normally referred (like *hunas*) to the approximation of population size and to the rank of the *curacas*. This would also explain why Huascar Inca once took 300 Indians away from a group of a 1,000 Indians in Yacha. For some reason the Inca needed to incorporate those 300 Indians to another *curacazgo*, but still the group of Yacha was big enough to be a *guaranga*.⁴⁹

We must also remember that an equivalent unit of *pachaca*, *pataca*, was a part of local sociopolitical practice in Collagua. However, this system followed the typical local tripartite division: $100,100,100 + 100,100,100 + 100,100,100 = 900$. Although that system includes vocabulary units of *pachacas* (*patacas*, 100) as well, the fact is that it was something else than a purely decimal organization.

Now when we have noticed that *hunas*, *guarangas* and *pachacas* were only rarely exact political units of 10,000, 1,000 and 100 households, we should analyze the size of the ordinary villages and hamlets and their correspondence to the decimal theory.⁵⁰

THATSCHER 1975: 19; LUMBRERAS 1974:150–177; ISBELL & McEWAN 1991:2, fig. 1; SCHREIBER 1991:200, fig. 1). Possibly those areas inherited the system of *guarangas* and *pachacas* from the ancient Wari empire (ca. 600–900). Furthermore, Martha ANDERS (personal communication) studied in 1990, just before her death in a tragic accident, an important Wari settlement in the Ica Valley. Also in that area the *pachacas* and *guarangas* were in ordinary use in the 16th century records.

48 ESPINOZA SORIANO 1976–1977:136.

49 For more about the case of Yacha, see MURRA 1967:395; MORRIS & THOMPSON 1985:50–51.

50 MURRA 1985:81.

How many individual hamlets or villages were normally needed to form a hundred *mit'a* paying households?

In the case of the upper Huallaga, John V. MURRA and Gordon J. HADDEN have noticed that five hamlets once formed a *pachaca*. As MURRA writes:⁵¹

“When the Huallaga material became available, it was possible to use the house-by-house figures to show that one *pachaca* corresponded to a cluster of five neighbouring hamlets. Even in 1549, after a ten-year resistance to the Europeans, the five reported a population of 59 households. Thirteen years later they had recovered up to 75.”

However, one may ask to what extent this kind of case can be generalized to Chinchaysuyu or to the whole empire? Probably one of the best ways to analyze that question is to use the census information collected by the Spaniards at the time of the conquest.

4. The Size of Hamlets and Villages

4.1. Hamlets and villages of Chinchaysuyu

The aforementioned case where five hamlets formed a *pachaca* already belongs to Chinchaysuyu. Other examples can be taken from the area of the present province of Cangallo, Departamento de Ayacucho and the other from the present province of Anta, Departamento de Cuzco.

The area of Cangallo was granted in the 1530s to Alonso Martín Escazena by Francisco Pizarro. Around the year 1540 Cristóbal Rodríguez made a short *visita* to that area, and when one reads about the results of that short inspection, copied in the title of the *encomienda* grant given to Francisco Balboa in 1544, it becomes evident that the *visitador* had collected his information from an Incaic *khipu* census.⁵² The list which also includes the houses of old people and widows can be summarized as follows:

51 MURRA 1985:81; HADDEN 1967:374–375.

52 “Titulo de la encomienda de Vaca de Castro a Francisco de Balboa, 4–IV–1544,” fol. 19r–v, Justicia 405 B, AGI; “Relación sacada de la probanza

TABLE 3 *Hamlets and villages of cacique principal Asto Cacas.*

Village	principal	taxpayers	other	houses
Lilcay	Asto Cacas	35	30	
Vcuchuraca	"	32	9	
Quinoagua	"	32	15	
		[99]		[54]
Yspas	Sagasamisa	22	12	
Angomacar	"	36	14	
Pongos	"	16	10	
Paucamarca	"	8	7	
		[82]		[43]
Guayllay	Guanache	15	13	
Sulmay	"	20	13	
Quyulloay	"	41	11	
Calcos	"	22	19	
Gualay	"	5	3	
Ycana	"	19	9	
		[122]		[68]
Siqulla	Asto Cacas	14	5	
Olalla	"	17	2	
Hachaguachi	"	40	32	
Alas	"	22	8	
Vhococha	"	2	1	
Chaupis	"	7	5	
Chupas ⁵³	"	52	28	
Anchonga	"	7	3	
Totos (/Anos)	"	[?..3]6	11	
Chucara	"	41	15	
Vchuga[?]	"	5	4	
Piscas (shoemakers)	"	7	4	
Paras	"	18	—	
Mysa	"	16		
		[284]		[118]
Total		586	[587]	[283]

hecha por parte de don Luis de Toledo en el pleito que con el trata los menores hijos de Alonso Garcia sobre los yndios Angaraes, año 1562," Justicia 405 B, AGI.

53 After the *visita* of Rodríguez, Chupas was divided into two hamlets called Porco and Pomabamba (doc.cit.).

That list demonstrates that the *cacique principal* Asto Cacas had 587 households with adult men (taxpayers) and 283 households with old men and widowed women.⁵⁴ Because of that, the *curacazgo* was big enough to be categorized as a *guaranga* for census purposes. It also demonstrates that the "*guaranga curaca*" Asto Cacas had two subordinate *curacas* (note a ternary structure) called Sagasamisa and Guanache. Of these Sagasamisa had four hamlets and villages and 82 adult men under his jurisdiction whereas Guanache seems to have had 122 *purics* and six *llactas*. The rest of the villages belonged directly to Asto Cacas although those were presented in two groups on the *kipu*. The first group was composed of 99 *purics* and the another group of 284 *purics* making four calculative *pachacas* altogether. Furthermore, the first *pachaca* was divided into three villages and the other three calculative *pachacas* were divided into 11 hamlets and villages.

If we sum up that information it appears that a normal administrative and calculative unit of *pachaca* of that area contained three to six hamlets and villages, with the medium size of about five to 40 *mit'a* paying households per *llacta*.

Our second census list is marked down in the title of the *encomienda* grant of Francisco Pizarro, given on August 1, 1535 to Gómez de Mazuelas.⁵⁵ This *repartimiento* of Mazuelas and *curacazgo* of the Inca Coco (or Zoco) was situated near Limatambo, some 50 kilometers west of Cuzco in the area called (in 1534–1535) "the province of Chinchasuyu."⁵⁶ The list is one of the earliest and it is probable that the *kipu* census on which it was based was read

54 According to the *visita* the sum was 586 households, but according to my calculation the exact sum should have been 587.

55 In the Archive of the Indies there are three copies of that document with some orthographic differences. The title is copied twice in "Probanzas de los meritos y servicios del capitán Martín Dolmos, años 1561–1572," fols. 15r–v and 16r–v, in section Patronato 136, No. 2, Ramo 1. One copy is included into "Proceso que se a tratado en la audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes de los reynos e provincias del Piru entre el licenciado de Monzon fiscal de S.M. y Pedro de Olmos de Ayala, vecino de Trugillo, sobre los yndios de Zaña, año 1574," fols. 76v–77r, Justicia 420, AGI.

56 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Mazuelas, 1–VIII–1535," fol. 16r, Ramo 1, No. 2, Patronato 136, AGI; Polo de Ondegardo (1559?) 1906:58; see also Vaca de Castro (1543) 1919:443.

in Cuzco without any concrete *visita*.⁵⁷ Of this kind of list and grant Francisco Pizarro mentioned once in 1540 that it was granted even though

“the land was not visited; nor did I know what it was.”⁵⁸

The list in question mentions the hamlets and villages, *principales* and “taxpayers” in full tens, and it can be summarized as follows:

TABLE 4. *Hamlets and villages of cacique principal Coco (orejon).*

Village	principal	purics
Chonda (mitimaes)	Coco (Zoco)	250
Guamanrro	Pisco	100
Tocoyoco	Chiriba	20
Tocayaco	Ancapongo	10
Vxaca	Corco	70
Tarapa (yungas)	—	10
Matara	Puiqui and Uratari	200
Chupaico (herders)	—	40
Yachibamba (yungas)	Xalinga	30
Total		720 [730]

As we can see of the table, *curaca* Coco had under his jurisdiction seven subordinate leaders and 720 to 730 adult men in nine hamlets and villages (or in eight hamlets and villages if Tocoyoco and Tocayaco is the same). Of these a village formed a calculative *pachaca* (Guamanrro) whereas another village was composed of two calculative *pachacas* divided between two *curacas* (Matara).⁵⁹

57 Carlos SEMPAT ASSADOURIAN has pointed out that the first “Instrucciones” to make *visitas* were given to *visitadores* in (1539–)1540 (personal communication).

58 “Revoco qualesquier cédula que de todo este dicho valle yo di a vos el dicho Juan Crespo, por quanto al tiempo que os la di *no estaba bisitada la tierra, ni sabía lo que era ...*” In: “Libro de Cédulas y Provisiones,” tomo II, fol. 540, Archivo Municipal de Arequipa; cited by GALDOS RODRIGUEZ 1977:59.

59 Concerning Matara and its other leader called Puiqui, see also ROWE 1982:99; Vaca de Castro (1543) 1919:443.

On the other hand, the main village was composed of 250 *mit'a* paying households whereas the rest of the *llactas* were hamlets of 10 to 70 households and this information demonstrates that no systematic approach was taken to equalize the size of hamlets and villages near Cuzco. Sometimes a village was bigger than a calculative *pachaca*, and sometimes many hamlets were needed to form a group of a hundred *mit'a* paying households.

4.2. Hamlets and villages of Antisuyu

I have not found any copies of the 1530s *kipu* census which would deal with the Antisuyu area. However, during the clerical inspection of "the province of Andes," made in 1561, it was estimated that the normal size of a village in Pilco Pata, Acomaio, Abisca and Toaimo Valleys was about 30–50 households, but according to Bernaldino de Aquilar, some villages may even have been composed of 90 to 100 houses.⁶⁰ Furthermore, it seems that this information applies to a wider area of tropical *yungas*, since *visitadores* Diego Dávila de Cangas and Martín de Arebalo were informed in 1567–1568 that the villages of the area of the present Chulumani, situated some 70 kilometers east of Chuquiapo (present La Paz), were composed of 30 to 70 households in the Inca time (see table 5).⁶¹

60 Testimonies of Pedro Gonzalez, Juan López, Juan Maldonado and Bernaldino de Aquilar in: "Proceso que se ha tratado en la Audiencia Real de la ciudad de los Reyes entre los Moradores de los Andes, y con el Deán y cavildo de la yglesia del Cuzco, sobre poner curas en los Andes, Lima 1561," fols. 146v–154v, Justicia 403, AGI.

61 "Visita a la encomienda del capitan Juan Remon en los yungas de coca de La Paz por Diego Dávila de Cangas y Martín de Arebalo, años 1567–1568," fols. 33r–95r, Justicia 1064, AGI.

TABLE 5. *The size of some villages in the yungas of Chuquiapo in the Inca time (after Dávila de Cangas and Arebaló).*

Yquirongo	70	households
Chaurina	40	"
Lasa	?	
Yrupana	30	"

4.3. Hamlets and villages of Collasuyu

In the Archive of the Indies there are many unpublished *kipu*-based census lists dealing with the area of Collasuyu. Of those I will present two typical examples, one from Pacasa and the other from Aullaga (Quillaca).

Our first list deals with the lower half of Caquiaviri (the capital of Pacasa) which belonged in the 1530s to Francisco Pizarro. After the death of Pizarro, Cristóbal Vaca de Castro ordered Alonso Pérez de Esquibel to make a short *visita* to Caquiaviri which he did in 1543.⁶² After the *visita* was made and the *kipu*-based census information was collected, the upper half of Caquiaviri was granted by Vaca de Castro to Alonso Alvarez del Carrera and the lower half was granted to Alexos Rodríguez.⁶³

A part of the census information of the *visita* of Pérez de Esquibel is marked down into the title of the *encomienda* grant of Vaca de Castro given to Alexos Rodríguez. It includes information about the hamlets and villages, *principales*, married men, old men and widowed women, and about empty houses. As a whole, the information can be summarized in the following way:⁶⁴

62 "Instrucción que Vaca de Castro dió a Alonso Pérez de Esquibel para la visita que había de hacer a Caquiaviri, Machaca y Caquingora, Cuzco 17-V-1543," fols. 28r-29v, Justicia 397, AGI.

63 "Titulo de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Alexos Rodriquez, 17-IX-1543," fol. 33r-33v, Justicia 397, AGI.

64 Doc.cit., fols. 33v-35r.

TABLE 6. *Hamlets and villages of Huayba, segunda persona of Caquiaviri.*

Village	principal	purics	others	empty houses	
Cacayavire (Urinsaya)	Huayba	230	57		
Cacayavire (Aransaya)	"	40			
Alaroma (estancia)	"	3			
Cuturripa	Condori	68	22	6	
Ocopata	Laquitinta	10	2		
Chi(n)cha	Tinto	26	15	2	
Llallava	Cocoyba	54	4	14	
Pocosane	Pocolayme	41	3	1	
Chipanañe	Capia	13	1		
Chucanaque	Yguacuti	23	3	3	
Brachaqui	Tarcaca	85	14	9	
Omaocollo	Pasaguaman	24	4	8	
Guancarama	Cutisaca	8	4		
Chuño Chuño	"	25			
Calacala	"	39			
Sicocollo	Pacsacata	11	4		
Ancocoto	Quicacha	71	13	7	
Potoroma	Puna	32	2		
Asiromarca	Quispe [107?]	77	18	18	
Samaca	Ticona	11	4	3	
Sacsa	Condori	7	4	3	
Guarota	Tacalarica	14	4	1	
Ysquirica	Alany	24	5	8	
Hontavi	"	25	5	5	
Copi (potters?)	Huayba	10			
Coapaca (mitimaes)	"	9			
Cañavire (mitimaes)	"	7			
Capinata	"	2			
Capinata	"	10			
Total		1,000	(972)	[188]	[88]

This *kipu*-based census of the lower half (Urinsaya) of Caquiaviri demonstrates that the *curacazgo* of Huayba was composed of 972 adult men of which 311 were directly under Huayba's jurisdiction. Most of his men lived in *Urin* Caquiaviri, but 40 of them were on the side of *Aransaya* (*Hanansaya*). It is also noticeable that some of

Huayba's men lived outside the district of Caquiaviri in the villages such as Hontavi (Unduavi in the Yungas of La Paz), Cañavire (near Sica Sica) and Capiñata (near Inquisivi).⁶⁵

Of the other *principales* we may note that Cutisaca was the leader of three *llactas* and of 72 married men. Alany had two hamlets and 49 men under his jurisdiction whereas the others had only one *llacta* with seven to 85 adult men. As a matter of fact, all this information shows that no effort was made to equalize the size of a normal village or the size of a normal lower level political unit in Caquiaviri district. However, if the groups of a hundred *purics* were formed for calculative purposes, we may say that the composition needed normally two to five *llactas*.

Our second example of Collasuyu is from the province of Aullaga, also called as the province of Quillaca for its leading *parcialidad*.⁶⁶

Francisco Pizarro divided the province of Aullaga between many *encomenderos*, but the specific area in question was granted to Hernando de Aldana on January 22, 1540.⁶⁷ At that time Aldana was given a part of the *parcialidad* of Aullaga and probably the entire *parcialidad* of Quillaca.⁶⁸

As we can see from the summary of the *kipu*-based census list, the size of the hamlets and villages seems to have followed in Aullaga and Quillaca, like in Caquiaviri, the natural pattern without any efforts to equalize the size of individual hamlets (see table 7). Furthermore, similar sizes of hamlets and villages as well as lower level political units existed in Caranga, Sora, Caracara and in the area of "Colesuyu" situated between Arequipa and Tarapacá.⁶⁹

65 Many of those settlements, such as Copi, Coapaca, Cañavire and Capiñata were shared between the people of various *cabeceras* of the Pacasa or the Lupaca (see, for example, Díez de San Miquel [1567] 1964:14; "Titulo de la encomienda del licenciado Vaca de Castro a Alonso de Barrionuevo, 13-IX-1543," sin fols., Pieza 2, Ramo 3, No. 1, Justicia 399, AGI).

66 See ESPINOZA SORIANO 1981b:175-272; GIBBERT et al. 1987:177-179; BOUYSSÉ-CASSAGNE 1987:321-327.

67 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Hernando de Aldana, 22-I-1540," sin fols., Audiencia de Charcas 53, AGI.

68 The major part of the *parcialidad* of Aullaga was given to Pedro de Hinojosa, see "Titulo de la encomienda de Pedro de la Gasca a Hernan Vela, 30-VIII-1548," fol. 39v, Pieza 4, Escribanía de Cámara 497 B, AGI.

69 "Titulo de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gomez de Luna, 22-I-

TABLE 7. *Hamlets and villages of caciques Acho and Guarache.*

AULLAGA, cacique Acho		
Village	principal	purics
Acalvo	Gualca	38
Berenguela	Acho	18
Millme	Colque	53
Pisquero	Acho	9
Yana	Acho	29
Callapa	"	17
Taparo	"	37
Yanaque	"	21
Pucuro chacara	"	3
Yanaqui chacara	"	21
Sacina (mitim. in Chuquisaca)	"	14
		260
QUILLACA, cacique Guarache		
Quillaca	Guarache	174
- (fishermen)	-	30
Sacari	Talare	33
Guamanaca	Condor	21
Sacachapi	Caya	19
Caya	"	33
Liocari	Mollo	12
Quilla	Uroro	26
Sinago	Copavilca	14
-	-	14
2 <i>estancias</i> called Pachacayo and Andaraque		11
Guacarapapi	Toma	28
Sogara	Caquia	20
Caracara	Salcacho	9
Llallava (estancia)	-	5
Suco (estancia)	-	6
Huvzca		49
Aparo		47
Samancha (chacara)		5
Huvzca (mitimaes)		10
Xigona (in Paria)	Chinchina	13
Molo (est. in Caracara)	Acho	8
Urca	-	25

Village	principal	purics
Conacona (aldea in Chuquisaca)	pr.Chilaca	– [18?]
Tuisamo (in Chuquisaca)	Guarache	3
Pivisera (aldea in Chuquisaca)	Guarache	9
Ahe (aldea)	Guarache	6
Sacasaca (mitimaes Aullagas)	Copagallo/Guarache	39
Suere (in Moyos Moyos)	Tirique (?)	62
– (aldea)		32
Viroviro	cacique Ylla	42
		823
Total	260 + 823	[1,083]

4.4. Hamlets and villages of Cuntisuyu

Concerning the fourth quarter of Tawantinsuyu I will present summaries of three unpublished *kipu*-based census lists.

The first of those lists deals with Cavana Conde granted on August 1, 1535 to Cristóbal Pérez and to his son Juan de Arbes.⁷⁰

1540," fols. 143r–v, 119r–v, 233r–v, Pieza 2, No. 2, Justicia 658, AGI; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Lope de Mendieta, 28–V–1540," fols. 201r–202v, 373r–374r, Pieza 2, No. 2, Justicia 658, AGI; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Alonso Manjarrez, 22–I–1540," fols. 12v–14v, Pieza 2, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Gonzalo Pizarro, 7–III–1540," sin fols., Audiencia de Charcas 56, AGI; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Lúcas Martínez, 22–I–1540." In: MEDINA 1896 VIII:428–430; "Provision del Marqués Francisco Pizarro concediendo la Encomienda de Tacna, Curana y sus parcialidades, al conquistador Pedro Pizarro, y parte a Hernando de Torres, 22–I–1540." In: BARRIGA 1939 I:40–41; "Provision del Marqués Francisco Pizarro concediendo la encomienda de la provincia de Omate y sus pueblos a Martín López, 22–I–1540." In: BARRIGA 1939 I:42–43; "Provision del Marqués Francisco Pizarro concediendo Encomienda de Socabaya, Tilumbaya, Capoata, Yumina y Puquina y otros pueblos a Diego Hernández, 22–I–1540." In: BARRIGA 1939 I:46–47; "Provision del Marqués Francisco Pizarro concediendo a Francisco Nogurol de Ulloa varios pueblos con sus indios en la Provincia de Ubinas con el cacique principal Sisquicha, 22–I–1540." In: BARRIGA 1955 III:21–22; see also TRELLES ARESTEGUI 1982:cuadros VI, VII, VIII.

70 MALAGA MEDINA 1977:94, 111.

The list, seen on table 8, seems to have included all villages of *Hanansaya* and *Hurinsaya* of that sub-province of Collagua, since it was only later, at the time of Vaca de Castro, when the area was divided into two *repartimientos* following the traditional *Hanan – Hurin* division.⁷¹ However, it is possible that at the time of the Spanish conquest the *segunda persona* of Cavana Conde also lived in the same *cabecera* as the *cacique principal*, but the Spanish *escribano* had no interest in copying his name on the list. Another possibility is that a *curaca* such as Changa, the *principal* of Oyamarca, was the leader of all of *Hurinsaya*.⁷²

TABLE 8. *Hamlets and villages of cacique Yanquicha in Cavana Conde.*

Village	principal	purics
Caguana [Cavana]	Yanquicha	610
Oyamarca	Changa	100
Tapa	Chaxi	23
Pacalla	Guamane	30
Api	Ayaure	20
Ayamar	Coperay	30
Quigua	Xaxa	117
Quirque	Guamanliquilla	46
Talla	Ozcollo	56
Mataya	–	50
Guanca	Yanga	72
Morco	Capo	27
Llocalla	Atoca	20
Yura	Yanzo	100
Turco	Guamanllaque	20
Guacar	Xeque	53
Pituo	Orcoaman	40
Gualliquiman	Paon	17
Total	1,500	[1,461]

71 "Titulo de la encomienda de Cristóbal Vaca de Castro a Juan de Arbes e Myguel de Vergara, 6–XI–1543," fol. 76r–v, Pieza 4a, Justicia 397, AGI.

72 According to the information collected by GALDOS RODRIGUEZ (1985:148) "Uiomarca" was known in 1645 as an *ayllu* of *Hurinsaya*.

Anyhow, the list demonstrates that the town of Cavana was composed of 610 *mit'a* paying households whereas the next biggest *llacta* was composed only of 117 households. Two villages (Oyamarca and Yura) also existed, with 100 households each, and this information lets us infer that the size of those villages was kept standard for some specific reasons. Possibly those were centers of some specialists like soldiers (*pucara* or *aucacamayocs*) or fruit cultivators, because also in other areas of Tawantinsuyu settlements of these kinds of specialists were every now and then composed of some exact size of households.⁷³ It is also important to note that the village of Yura was situated in the subtropical valley at the altitude of 2,500 meters near Arequipa and that the name Yura itself means (in Quechua) orchard and fruit plantation.⁷⁴ Otherwise we may note that the size of other *llactas* and lower level political units was not standardized.

Our second case (in Cuntisuyu) is from Yanque Collagua. That sub-province belonged to the same *guamaní* as Cavana Conde. Originally it was granted to the brother of Francisco Pizarro, Gonzalo Pizarro. After that the grant was given to Francisco Noguero de Ulloa and finally, in the 1560s the *repartimiento* passed to the ownership of the Spanish king.⁷⁵

The *kipu*-based census list of the entire Yanque Collagua

73 For example, exactly a hundred *pucaracamayocs* lived in the fortress of Catapayza (Chupaychu) and Quicha (Tarija) (Ortiz de Zúñiga [1562] 1972:227; "Título de la encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Francisco Retamoso, 22-I-1540," fol. 32v, Pieza 2, Ramo 1, No. 5, Justicia 1125, AGI). In the coca fields of Chacalla and Quivi, Topa Inca and Huayna Capac founded settlements of 100, 150 and 200 households to cultivate coca ("Probanza de Canta, año 1559," fol. 220, Justicia 413, AGI; "Relación de la probanza de los yndios de Chacalla sobre las tierras de Quibi, año 1559," fol. 283r, Justicia 413, AGI). In Guancané (Millerca) Huayna Capac founded a settlement of a thousand weavers and another settlement (Hupi or Cupi) of a hundred potters (MURRA 1978:418), etc.

74 Gonzalez Holguin (1608) 1952:372. For the location of Yura (el Viejo) see, "Plan de los siete Partidos sugetos al Obispado e Yntendencia de Arequipa mandado lebanantar por su gobernador yntendente don Antonio Albarez y Ximenez ..., año 1789," Mapas y Planos, Perú y Chile 115, AGI; "Arequipa, carta nacional 1:100,000." Departamento de Arequipa, hoja 33-s, segunda edición, El Instituto Geografico Militar, 1987.

75 MALAGA MEDINA 1977:96-97.

(*Hanan* and *Hurinsaya*) was transcribed during the *visita* that was carried out under the charge of Gomez de Léon. After that the list was copied into the title of the *encomienda* grant given to Gonzalo Pizarro. However, the names of *principales* were left out in the copy and only the name and the amount of households of each village is presented.

The list seen on table 9 , demonstrates that the normal size of the villages of Yanque Collagua was much bigger than in Cavana Conde or in any other area studied before. When the medium size of an ordinary village in many other provinces of Tawantinsuyu was normally less than 50 households, in Yanque Collagua the medium size was more than a hundred households. Still it seems that no effort was made to equalize the size of a normal village to full hundreds in Collagua either.

TABLE 9. *Hamlets and villages of Yanque Collagua.*

Village	households
Condori	10
Tuti	172
Canacoto	80
Capa	60
Chivara	170
Chapica	150
Canqui	280
Malco	108
Yumasca	126
Cuparqui	267
Cupas	143
Yanqui	234
Tula	32
Coymo	138
Vchuma	133
Soro	60
+ estancias of herders, dyers and mitimaes	
<hr/>	
Total 2,200	[2,163]

Possibly the best explanation for the big size of the villages of Collagua can be found in the local triadic tradition. As noted before, the Collaguas systematically combined three *patacas* (*pachacas* and *ayllus* ?) in the same political units. That may explain why the size of an ordinary village was also about three times bigger than in many other areas.⁷⁶

Our last "example" in Cuntisuyu deals with the *curacazgo* of *cacique* Chaupi situated in the Ocoña Valley. That *curacazgo* was granted by Francisco Pizarro to Francisco de Salzedo in 1540, but I am not sure whether it included one or two *sayas* of that valley.⁷⁷ However, because the valley was divided in 1548 and again in 1561 between two *encomenderos* it is possible that the *repartimiento* of Salzedo already formed the higher or lower moiety of the same *señorio* in 1540.⁷⁸

The list on the table 10 shows that the size of an ordinary *llacta* and a lower level political unit was about 20 to 40 households in Ocoña and only rarely did two hamlets have a common *principal*. In that respect the lower level organization of Ocoña followed a pattern similar to many other lower level organizations in Collasuyu as well as in some areas of Cuntisuyu.⁷⁹

76 On the other hand, this does not explain why the normal size of a *llacta* of Cavana Conde was less, even though Cavana Conde belonged to the same Inca province.

77 "Titulo de la Encomienda de Francisco Pizarro a Francisco de Salzedo, 22-I-1540," fols. 18v-19v, Justicia 428, AGI.

78 Cáceres et al. (1548) 1958:197; HAMPE 1979:92; see also Rivera (1556) 1955:274-298.

79 For another example of Cuntisuyu, see "Provision del Marqués Francisco Pizarro concendiendo a Juan Crespo, la Encomienda del Valle de Itagua, y la mitad de los indios de Chuquibamba, y la otra mitad a Pedro Fuentes, 22-I-1540." In: BARRIGA 1939 I:44-45.

TABLE 10. *Hamlets and villages of cacique Chaupi in Ocoña.*

Village	principal	purics
Siocha	Chaupi	30
Hancha	"	10
Chaca	Caquia	12
Chococa	"	20
Cayoay	Calpa	18
Colloyme	Oyome	30
Vquixaca	Chacay	8
Avayco	"	6
Palpa	Camachico	34
Corita	Viqui	36
Guachacana	Chiquiguota	66
Sicocha	Anache	34
Choa	Sulica	20
Cocha	Conchaguaman	25
Chocata	Yzcay [109??]	—
Achaca (fishermen)	Yamonoco	40
Total		498 [?]

If we sum up the information about the hamlets and villages of the four quarters Tawantinsuyu, we may notice that only rarely a *llacta* was artificially reduced or enlarged to an exact size. Sometimes more than five hamlets was needed to form a calculative *pachaca* but sometimes (especially in Collagua) a normal village was much bigger than a hundred households. Our study of the *llactas* also confirms our earlier results, that political units which were composed of a group of hamlets with approximately 100 *mit'a* paying households (the case of the *curacazgo* of Asto Cacas) only existed in some areas of Chinchaysuyu. But as noted before, even in those cases the real political units were often much bigger than a calculative *pachaca*.

In other areas the occasional groups of a hundred households were probably associated to settlements especially founded by the Incas for military, political or economic purposes.

X Summarry and Final Consideration

At the beginning of this study we noticed that some Inca texts were recorded by the system which seems to have combined painted scenes, oral components, as well as non-phonetic and phonetic *kipu* "writing." By using those most original Inca sources (copied by Spaniards) as well as local administrative records written outside Cuzco we were able to demonstrate that John H. ROWE's theory of rapid Inca expansion is correct. By using those same sources we were even able to create a more detailed and accurate chronology of the Inca expansion than was possible for ROWE to do almost 50 years ago. For example, the conquest of Charcas in present Bolivia seems to have happened somewhat earlier than presented in ROWE's chronology. It also seems that the frontier of the Inca state may have been situated more to the east than supposed before. It is important to note, too, that our "new" archival sources firmly indicate that the total population of Tawantinsuyu around 1530 may have been near 9 million as proposed earlier by Noble David COOK.

Furthermore, our study has shown that the theory about the long Inca dynasty with twelve succeeding rulers does not stand criticism but neither do present theories about diarchy. On the other hand, by following the information of *kipu*-based ceque list and other most original Inca sources we must take into serious consideration a possibility that in the internal sociopolitical organization of Cuzco there were three simultaneous Inca kings. However, even if that hypothesis is correct it would probably mean that only one Inca king of Cuzco was the supreme leader, *Sapa Inca*, of the entire state. Nevertheless, when the Inca king of the

state went out from Cuzco the second Inca king (as viceroy) or sometimes even the third Inca king may have administered some ordinary state affairs from their seat in Cuzco.

By using some "new" ecclesiastical and administrative sources, as well as by using a theoretical model about sacred, semi-sacral and profane space, we have also managed to solve the problem of spatial "discontinuity" of the main demarcation lines of the four political *suyus* of Tawantinsuyu. At the same time we probably have been able to draw a more accurate map of the spatial areas of these main *suyus* than has been presented in various theories before.

When we analyzed the theory of the Supreme Council of the Inca state we noticed that the evidence of that institution is extremely contradictory. Hence, John V. MURRA may be right when he advised us to leave the whole theory as too European and as an invention of some late chroniclers. On the other hand, we have evidence that some kind of leaders (*Capac apos*) associated with the main *suyus* may have existed in Cuzco, but even their role seems mainly to have been a military one. Equally we found evidence that in Tawantinsuyu there existed military, economic and political formations larger than provinces but smaller than *suyus*. In this study those administrative units (such as Collao and Charcas) are called *hatun apocazgos*, but we also noticed that Guaman Poma's list of "other Cuzcos" probably refers to the same formations.

We concluded that the population size of the Inca provinces varied considerably from about 5,000 to 50,000 households. We also noted that there was no real attempt at homogeneity relating to the main political or spatial divisions of the Inca *guamanies*. It is confirmed that the dual principle governed the organizational structures of many provinces, but the fact is that it was not the only one. For example, in the province of Cajamarca the division into seven *guarangas* was politically far more important than the dual division into *Hanan* and *Hurinsaya*. Furthermore, many of those provinces where the dual structure dominated the main division was, in fact, also divided into other sociopolitical halves generating the basic quaternary structure. In some cases the same dual and quaternary principles continued further down in the local hierarchy, but in some polities as among the Huayla the third level of the local hierarchy was already based on the ternary structures.

Although the dual and quadripartite structures were pretty common in our case studies, still more than one third of the analyzed provinces followed ternary principle in the upper level of local hierarchy. Furthermore, our study clearly demonstrated that a typical Andean political triad manifests the double opposition: when two subprovinces formed a pair (where the moieties themselves opposed each other) those two moieties together opposed the third subprovince (*chhulla*) which missed its complement. We also noticed that the *chhulla* sector may have stayed in the leading as well as in the last position of the local political hierarchy. Equal hierarchical orders (*Qollana + Payan/Kayaw* and *Qollana/Payan + Kayaw*) were found earlier by structural anthropologists Tom ZUIDEMA and Nathan WACHTEL in the kinship organization of the Incas.

I cannot say, after all, whether LEVI-STRAUSS is right when he seems to suppose that true duality can simply be understood as the limiting case of a more universal triadic structure.⁸⁰ In every case our study has shown that pure dual organizations (without quaternary, ternary or other structures) were rare among the local Andean polities, and in many cases dual, quadripartite and triadic principles were combined in different ways. Especially in the areas situated near Cuzco ternary structures seem to have been in the dominant role.

It is also significant that in the Andean political thinking the typical triad seems to have been organized linearly (I–II–III) whereas in religious and ceremonial thinking the triad may generally have followed a concentric structure:



LEVI-STRAUSS himself seems to have failed to deal with the differences between these two kinds of ternary structures, although it may well be that only in the Andes these two forms of triadic structures were clearly distinguished as a result of a specific Andean cultural history.

80 For more about LEVI-STRAUSS' theory, see PÄRSSINEN 1990: 104–115.

In dealing with the Incaic decimal organization we noticed that basically it was a *mit'a* (*corvée*) sharing system where each calculative group of ten, one hundred or one thousand households gave a certain amount (one, two, three, etc.) of men to do specific work for the state or for the church on the basis of rotation. Only in the Chinchaysuyu sector of the Inca state which had belonged to the ancient Huari empire, *pachacas* (groups of 100 adult men) and *guarangas* (groups of 1,000 adult men) also formed general sociopolitical units,⁸¹ but even there the system only rarely followed an exact decimal hierarchy. In general, the decimal vocabulary (*pachaca* – *guaranga* – *hunu*) seems to have referred to an approximate population size of provinces and local sociopolitical groups but first of all it was used to distinguish the rank of each local leader in Incaic sociopolitical hierarchy. Furthermore, our study of the size of individual hamlets and villages confirmed that political units composed of a group of hamlets which together united approximately a hundred or several "full" hundreds *mit'a* paying households only existed in some areas of Chinchaysuyu. On the other hand, the general result was that only rarely was the size of hamlets and villages artificially reduced or enlarged to any exact size. Sometimes a normal village was much bigger than a hundred households, but in some areas more than five hamlets were needed to form a theoretical *pachaca* for purely calculative purposes. In those occasional cases where the population size of a village was exactly a hundred households it probably was a question of the settlement especially founded for military, political, economic or other specific purposes.

In general, the Incas seem to have interfered considerably little with the local administrative patterns. Sometimes they changed local *curacas*, confirmed the authorship of the successors of the local leaders, added new *parcialidades* such as *guarangas*, *cabeceras* and so on, but after all, the ethnic lords could normally maintain their rule in accordance with local principles and customs. Furthermore, we noticed that the state officials such as *tocricocs* did not live in ordinary Inca provinces. That the high

81 Compare maps 27 and 28 .



Map 28. Major Huari (Wari) sites in Peru after K. J. Schreiber (1991).

"federal" officials did not normally reside in the provinces is a fact supposed earlier by archaeologists such as MORRIS and HYSLOP. These archaeological results (now confirmed by historical records) also have methodological implications since they demonstrate the important role archaeology can play in the Inca studies.

As a whole, the control of provinces was maintained by regular, but considerably rare inspections. Furthermore, the indirect control was maintained by moving colonists, *mitimaes*, from other provinces, who were ordered "to spy" and sometimes even to lead the local polities (when incorporated into local sociopolitical hierarchy). The multiethnic army under Inca control, with its excellent storage and road system (reaching more than 25,000 km in its length) also seems to have played crucial role.⁸² Thanks to the roads the movement of *mitt'ayocs*, revenues and *kipu* messages was also easy to maintain between the provinces and the capital.

However, probably one of the most important parts of the ordinary Inca administration was the institutionalized "generosity policy" as proposed already a long time ago by MURRA. By giving prestigious gifts, such as fine textiles and women, and creating new genealogical ties between the Incas and the local lords, the Inca king could maintain his authority. That is not all. The gift giving ceremonies held in the centers like Huánuco were public festivities in which also the local people, especially *mit'a* workers, could participate. As an anonymous chronicler explains:⁸³

"The Incas used to win the benevolence of their vassals by organizing every now and then festivities which many neighboring inhabitants attended; these were the [occasions of] happiness for all these barbarians and there the Inca offered with his own hands *mates* or drinking vases of *chicha* to the *caciques* to drink, which

82 For the Inca storage and road system, see especially HYSLOP 1984:passim; and also KARSTEN 1946:98-109; MURRA 1989: 211-213.

83 "tenian costumbre los yngas para ganar las voluntades a sus vasallos hazer fiestas algunas vezes a las quales acudian muchas gentes donde biuian que es la felicidad de todos estos barbaros y alli con su mano el ynga a los caciques les daua mates o vasos de chicha que beuiessen que hera gran fauor y dauales asimesmo ropa de la propia suya para vestir y vasos de plata y algunas otras cosas porque heran tan subditos que no podian comer carne si no fuese de vn cuy y en aquellas fiestas les dava carne de ouejas y carneros que es muy buena carne y esto tenian por gran fauor e rregalo." In: Anónimo (1583) 1925:292

was a great favor; equally he gave them clothes to wear from his proper [deposit], and silver vases and some other things; they were such the subjects that they could not [normally] eat other meat than guinea pig, but during those festivities they were given the meat of alpaca and llama, which is very good meat; and this they took as a great favor and gift.”

By redistributing prestigious things and objects as special gifts, the Incas converted economic capital into symbolic capital (as defined by BOURDIEU) which created personal and moral ties between the Incas and their subjects. By following the reciprocity rule the local leaders also gave their daughters, gold objects⁸⁴ and other gifts to the Incas, but first of all, they gave their obedience and their people’s labor reserve for the use by the Incas of Cuzco. In fact, the obvious variability in the local political structures could flourish under these conditions, and although the unification of the political organization reached the administrative vocabulary, it mainly referred, as noted, to the loose approximation of the population size and to the ranks of the local leaders. In that system the different levels of political hierarchy can be presented as the following model:

84 Concerning the gold objects given by the local lords to the Incas, see Toledo (1570–1572) 1940:148.

Rank in
decimal vocabulary:

Inca king (Sapa Inca) + 2nd Inca (Rantin Rimac ?) + 3rd Inca	
– <i>Capac apos, tokoyrikoqs, auquis</i> and other important persons of Cuzco	
<i>Tocricoc</i> and other ordinary visiting officials	
– Leaders of <i>hatun apocazgos</i>	
Local governor and his <i>segunda</i> (and <i>tercera persona</i>) and the like (<i>hunucuracas</i> of ca. 5,000–30,000 <i>purics</i>)	10,000
– Leaders of secondary divisions (secondary halves and the like)	5,000
Leaders of <i>guarangas</i> , "parcialidades," <i>cabeceras</i> , etc. (<i>guaranga curacas</i> of ca. 500–3,000 <i>purics</i>)	1,000
– Leaders of halves, etc.	500
Leaders of <i>ayllus, hathas, pachacas, patacas</i> , etc. (<i>pachaca curacas</i> of ca. 50–300 <i>purics</i>)	100
– Leaders of halves, small villages, etc.	50
Leaders of hamlets, etc. (<i>chunga kamachikuqs</i> of ca. 5–30 <i>purics</i>)	10
– Leaders of <i>estancias, aldeas</i> , etc.	5
The heads of households	1

In that model the decimal vocabulary of ranks (10–100–1,000–10,000) was quite general, but depending on the local administrative divisions the vocabulary of halves (5–50–500–5,000) was also introduced. Nevertheless, no provinces where all the intermediate levels were present were found during this study.

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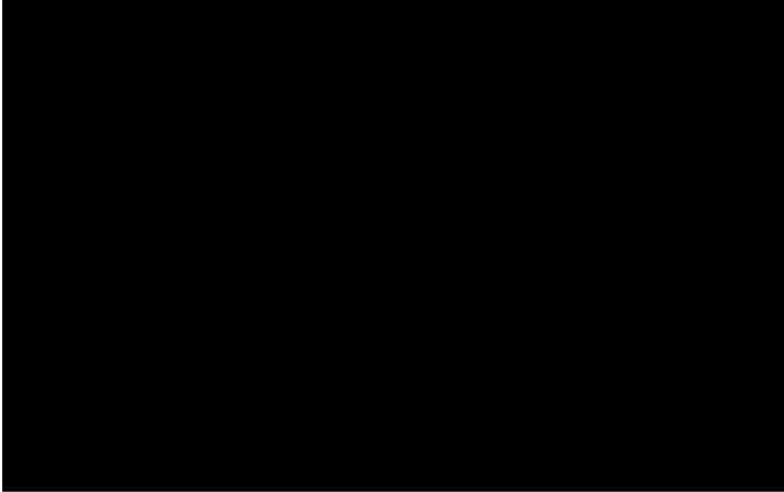
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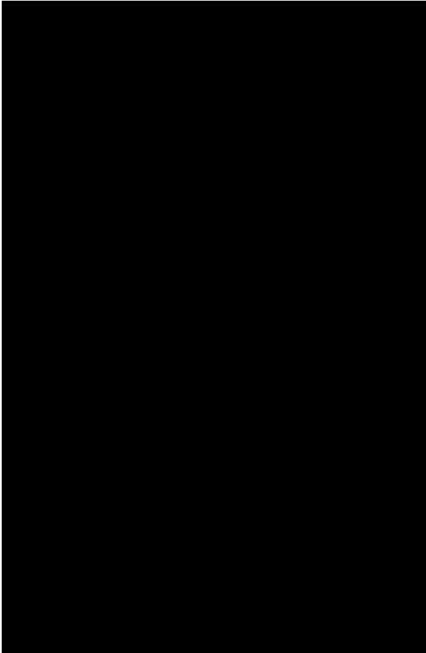
An Inca khipu (Courtesy Museo Chileno de Arte Precolombino, Santiago).



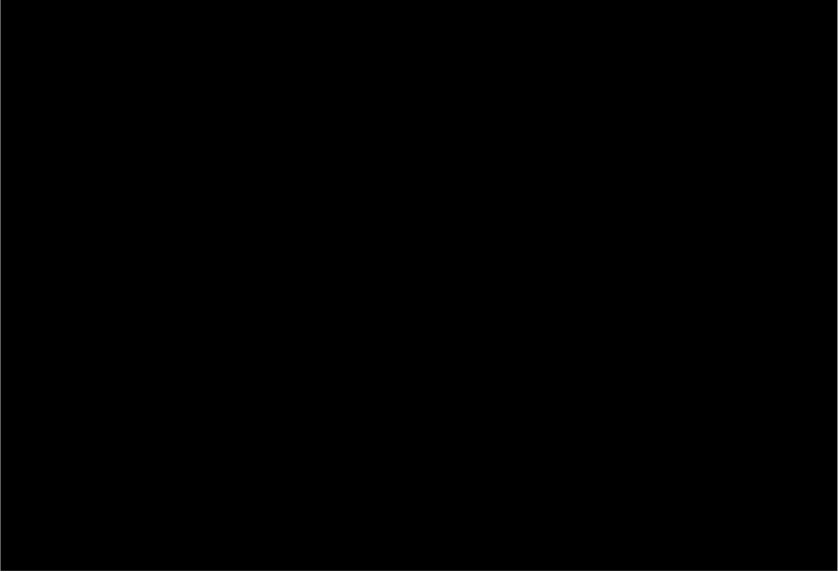
View of the ancient Chimu capital, Chanchan, near the present town of Trujillo. Chanchan was conquered by the Incas at the time when Inca Pachacuti ruled in Cuzco.



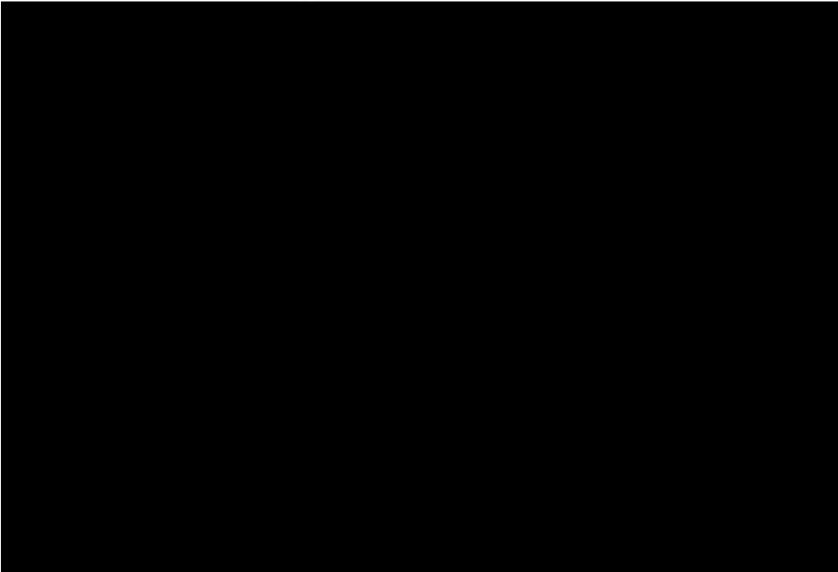
Ruined buildings at Lasana. These ruins are situated on an oasis of Atacama in Chile. Lasana was founded before the Inca conquest, but it continued to be inhabited till the Spanish invasion.



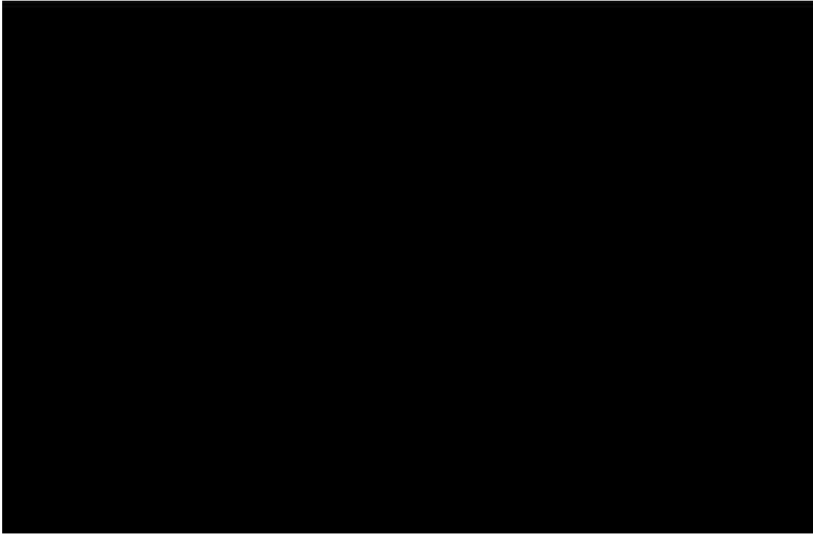
View of the so-called Acllahuasi at Pachacamac, near the present town of Lima.



Inca architecture at Inka Rakay, near the present town of Cochabamba in Bolivia.



Polygonal masonry walls at Sacsayhuaman built on a hill to the northwest of Cuzco.



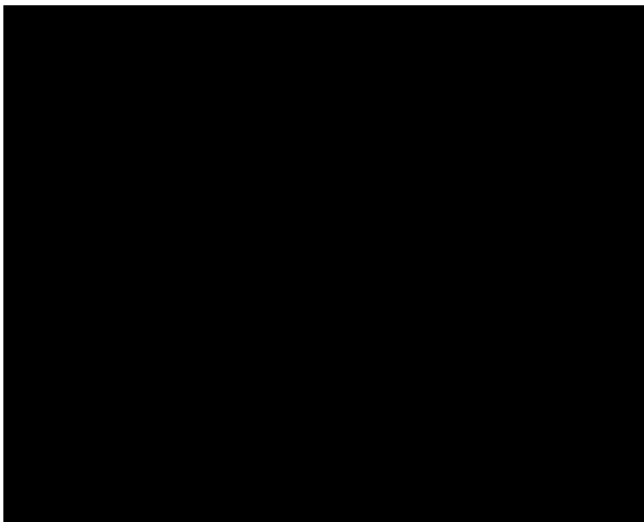
View of Cuzco.



"A sacred shrine of Tambo Machay" in Antisuyu, near Cuzco.



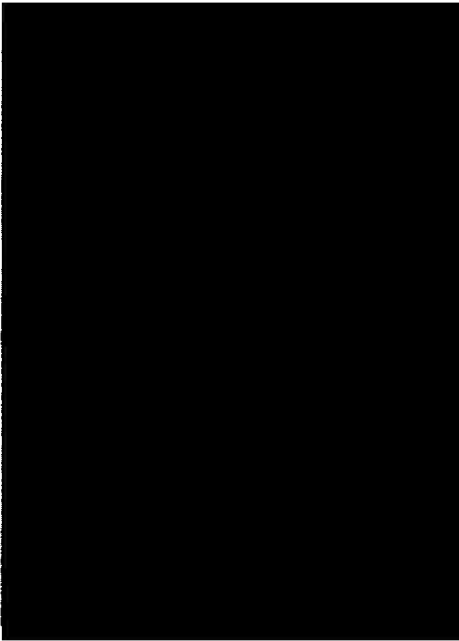
An Inca-style plate photographed in Jumina, near Arequipa.



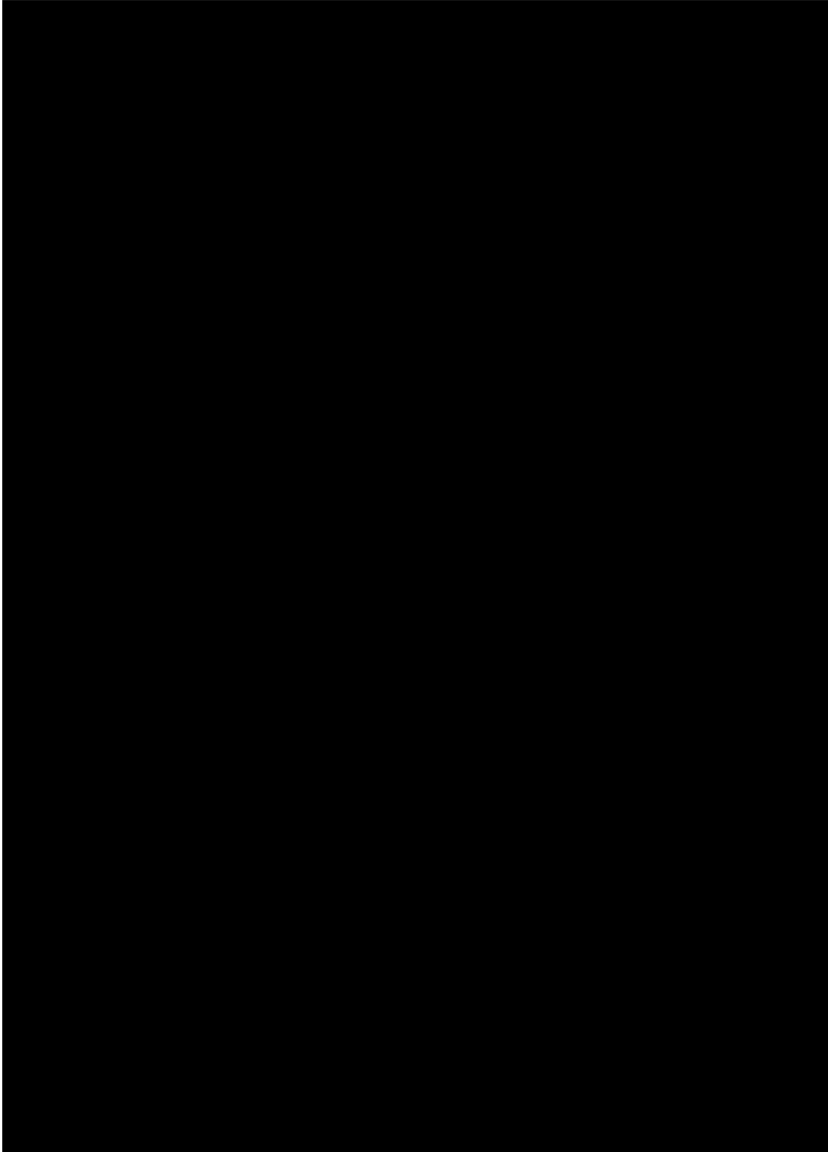
Araballoid jar and two Inca-style plates from Caquiaviri, Pacasa (Courtesy Moises Zavaleta).



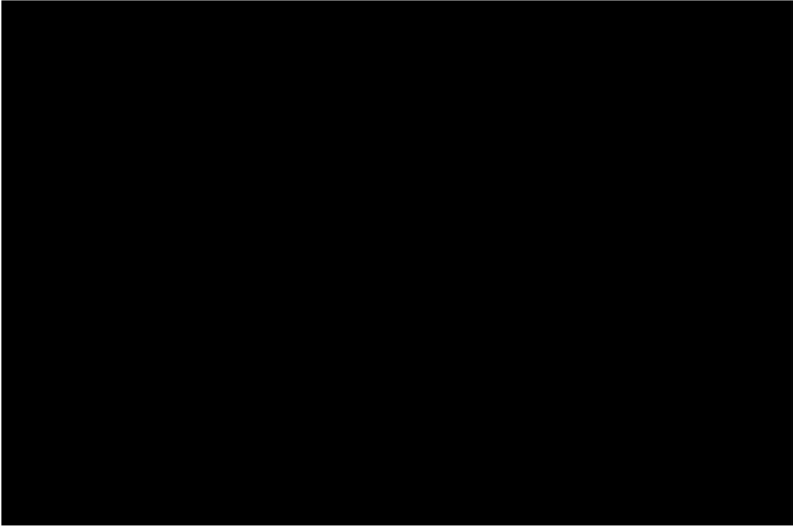
Two Chimu-Inca jars photographed in San José, near the present village of Nanchoc in Cajamarca.



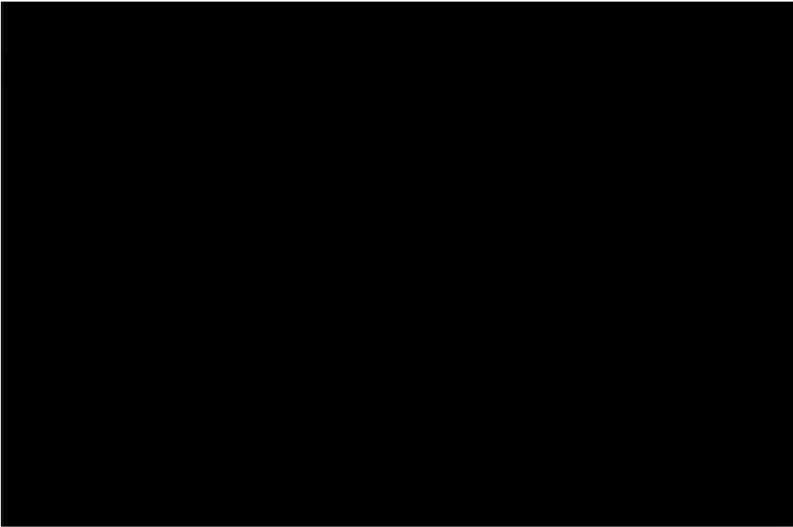
An Inca road toward the warm valleys of Yungas at Unduavi, Bolivia.



Agricultural terraces at Jumina, near Arequipa.



A totora-boat under construction on a floating "Uru-island" of Lake Titicaca.



An Inca-style chullpa, or burial tower at Achiri, Pacasa.

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