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978-0-521-63759-6 - History of the Inca Realm: Maria Rostworowski de Diez Canseco

Harry B. Iceland

Excerpt

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PART ONE

Rise and Apogee of the State

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Primitive Cusco

What is called the Inca state was a late development among the high cultures of pre-Hispanic America; millennia separate it from the onset of Andean civilization. To understand better the timing of the appearance of Inca civilization within the Andean cultural sequence, we can view the chronological chart on page 4. Archaeologists begin the sequence of the rise of the Andean cultures with a Lithic Period of hunters and gatherers. They continue with the introduction of agriculture during the Archaic Period, after which, during the Formative Period, appear theocratic chiefdoms and societies that persist until after the Christian Era, giving way to an Early Regional Developmental Period, followed in turn by a final stage, that of the Militaristic States.

The first hegemonic state to appear during this final stage was that of the Wari, which lasted from the seventh to the tenth century A.D. Its collapse led to a resurgence of the Regional States, the Late Regional Developmental Period, from the tenth to the fifteenth century. The northern chiefdom of Chimor stands out during this transitional period between Wari and Inca hegemonies. The Inca state began to reach its apogee early in the fifteenth century, when its development was truncated by the appearance of the Spanish forces.

Previous to the chronology depicted in the chart on page 4, John Rowe had proposed an Andean chronological division by “horizons,” characterized by territorial expansion by certain cultures, alternating with “intermediate periods” marked by local florescences. Thus, an Early Intermediate Period preceded an Early Horizon (Chavín), which was followed by a Middle Intermediate Period (Mochica, Nasca, among others) and a Middle Horizon (Tiahuanaco-Wari), which in turn gave rise to a Late Intermediate Period (Chanca, Chimu, Chinchu, and others), finally followed by the expansion of the Inca, or the Late Horizon.

The ethnic groups that occupied the region of Cusco before the arrival of the groups of Manco Capac, the mythical earliest Incas, belong to the

Year	Periods	North Coast	Northern Highlands	Central Coast	South Coast	Central Highlands	Altiplano of Titicaca
1500	Inca State	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca	Inca
	Militaristic States	Chimu	Local Kingdoms	Chanéay	Ica-Chincha	Chancas	Aymara Kingdoms
1000	Wari State	Northern Wari	Wari	Pachacamac	Southern Wari	Wari	
500							
A.D. -0- B.C.	Despotic urban societies	Mochica and Gallinazo	Cajamarca and Recuay	Lima	Nasca	Huarpa	Tiwanaku and Pucara
1000	Regional Developmental Period	Salinar	Huaras	Ancon	Paracas	Rancha Chupas Wichqana	Kalasasaya Chiripa Wankarani
	Formative Period	Cupisnique	Chavin				
5000	Village agriculturalists	Huaca Prieta	?	Paraiso Encanto	Otuma Chilca	Cachi Piki	?
10000	Hunter-gatherers	Pajnan	Lauricocha	Canario	Jaywa	Ayacucho	Viscachani
20000	Lithic Period		Guitarrero	Arenal		Pacatcasa	

Chronological framework for Andean society, with some examples of regional developments.

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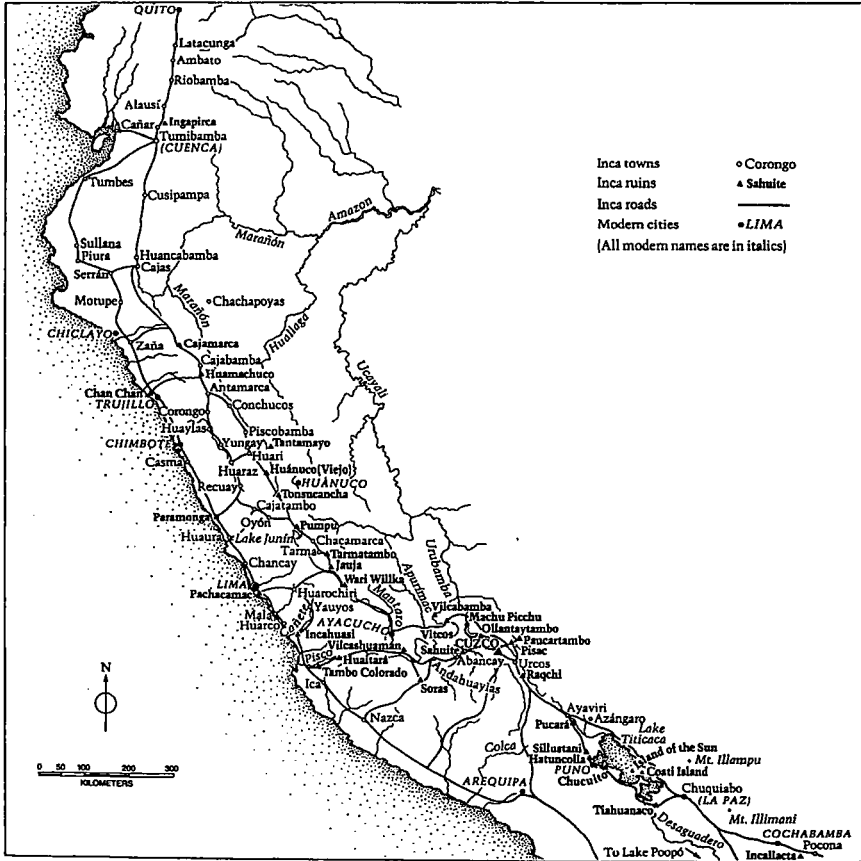
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Primitive Cusco

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Tahuantinsuyu, the Inca realm.

Late Intermediate or Late Regional Developmental Period. The ceramic assemblages of this period contain considerable amounts of a style of poorly finished pottery known as *Kilke* that has been tentatively associated with Ayarmaca ethnic groups, whose chiefs had the generic names of Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac.

Although relics of earlier archaeological periods have been found in Cusco, further research on earlier occupations is required to clarify several points. During the Middle Horizon, there was a city to the south of Cusco called Pikillaqta, which served as the Wari administrative center for the region. This Wari presence must have influenced many aspects of Inca development, including models of organization and of the exercise of power. In addition, it appears likely that myths and accounts from that period

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persisted until Inca times; a few centuries are not a barrier to the preservation of oral accounts.

These primitive stages of the history of Cusco belong to archaeology rather than to ethnohistory, which relies on sixteenth-century manuscripts and other documents. In this brief summary, I have tried only to place Inca culture within the broader chronological framework of the Andean cultures. At the close of the Middle Horizon, or period of Wari hegemony, a favorable moment for migratory movements appeared in the Andes. At that time, no central power controlled the various ethnic groups that roamed the land for unknown reasons. We do not know if these movements were a consequence of the decline of the centralizing power of the Wari, of invasions, fighting, wars, or prolonged natural disasters, such as droughts or heavy rains producing floods that destroyed villages and fields.

In the native myths, one can perceive movements of entire peoples throughout the mountains in search of fertile lands on which to establish themselves. Culture heroes, such as Manco Capac, Pariacaca, or Tutayquire (Avila, 1966; Salomon and Urioste, 1991), possessed divining and founding rods that, driven into the ground, indicated the places where the groups should establish themselves. Other groups, such as the Llacuaces, carried with them handfuls of earth and sought permanent places to settle whose soil matched that of their original homeland as closely as possible (AAL – *Idolatrias* leg. VI, exp. 18, folios 11r and 11v).

Legends tell of the presence of a number of minor chiefs, or *sinchi*, simple leaders of ethnic groups of diverse origins who inhabited the region of the future Cusco. In these myths, the first ancestors had been transformed into stones, and in their stony state watched over their descendants, a concept common to the entire Andean area.

The chroniclers have transmitted to us in a confused narrative the names of those primitive chiefs whose deeds were lost in the *purunpacha*, or deserted and depopulated time. Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943:45) mentions that in that first period three ethnic groups – the Sauaseray, the Antasayacs, and the Guallas – were established in the valley of the future Cusco. With time appeared newcomers who called themselves Alcavizas, Copalimaytas, and Culumchimas, and all together they cohabited the region. Other ancient residents were the Lares and the Poques. It is difficult to pinpoint the zone inhabited by each group because the Incas later, when they acquired supremacy, proceeded to relocate them and redistribute their lands. Only a careful archaeological survey could perhaps shed more light on this early period.

The primitive village of Acamama was located on the future site of Cusco (Guaman Poma, 1936, fol. 84; Murúa, 1962:62), between the two rivers of

that valley. The chroniclers tell of how in those early times the structures were of humble construction, and a marsh covered with rushes, originating in two free-flowing springs, was found at the foot of the place where later would be built the impressive structures of Sacsayhuaman (Betanzos, 1968).

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1943:59) heard directly from the lips of the high nobles of Cusco concerning the division of physical space in force during this early period. We are told that it consisted of districts with strong local affinities, quite different from the later divisions that developed during the apogee of the Incas. The village of Acamama comprised four sections: Quinti Cancha, or the District of the Humming Bird; Chumbi Cancha, or the District of the Weavers; Sairi Cancha, or the District of Tobacco; and the fourth district, Yarambuy Cancha, which is an Aymara rather than Quechua term, and which was probably a mestizo district inhabited by Aymara and Quechua speakers (from *yaruntatha*, to be mixed [Bertonio]).

Later on, other divisions, reflecting the increasing importance of the Manco group, replaced the four original districts. The division of space in four parts, however, was maintained as necessary to the organizational system.

Another Andean way of drawing boundaries was based on the principles of opposition and complementarity. In fact, the opposition of halves, whether of *hanan* and *hurin*, upper and lower, or *ichoc* and *allauca*, left and right, formed a dual division throughout the Andean world. *Ayllus*, towns, and valleys were all partitioned into dual opposites. The element of gender also enters into these divisions of physical space. Later, we will see how in Cusco the upper moiety relates to the masculine gender and the lower to the feminine.

In addition to these differences between the moieties, the concept of complementarity was fundamental to the sociopolitical-economic system. This concept had its roots in the complexity of Andean geography. The need for access to the different resources found at each ecological level led to the creation of various interaction mechanisms. It is interesting to note, however, that opposition as well as complementarity is present in other spheres of the natives' thought, as if their worldview revolved around these two concepts.

Both Acamama, which was a small primitive village, and Cusco, the later Inca capital, contained these dual and quadripartite divisions, which were fundamental to the entire Andean system. It is necessary to understand these underlying principles of division in order to understand the spatial divisions of that remote period, which were based on concepts that were retained after the settlement of the valley of Cusco by the first Incas. The subsequent rapid increase in the importance of the Incas required the later creation of

new spatial divisions consistent with political developments, but the fundamental principles remained the same.

THE AYARMACAS

The region of Acamama was originally inhabited by, among others, a powerful chiefdom called Ayarmaca. Guaman Poma (1936, fol. 80), after referring to the four ages of the world, says that “some first Incas” called Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac began to govern the region. Murúa refers to them as “kings,” prior to the Incas, whose territory extended from Vilcanota to the Angaraes (1962), whereas Garcilaso assures us that they inhabited eighteen towns south of Cusco, stretching for three leagues from Salinas (1943, book 1, chap. XX). Tocay Capac and Pinahua Capac were the generic names of the rulers of Ayarmaca and Pinahua, according to the testimony of the chroniclers and the sixteenth-century documents. (See Rostworowski, 1969–70.)

It has been confirmed that the Ayarmacas played an important role in the founding of Cusco. They carried out prolonged campaigns against the Incas, and only with the expansion of the Inca state were the Ayarmacas definitively crushed and relegated to the category of simple local lords, chiefs of some few groups. They are not, then, another mythical group, as we have been able to trace them back to their beginnings, from the arrival of the people of Manco Capac at Cusco and then through the period of Inca rule, in the accounts of the chroniclers. The Ayarmacas continued to appear as such in the viceregal administrative testimonies and documents until finally they became, in the twentieth century, officially recognized peasant communities. Documents kept by these communities can be linked with colonial testimonies that confirm their descent from the Ayarmaca ethnic group. This long historical trajectory, confirmed by documentation, is rare in ethnohistory and deserves these few lines dedicated to it.

The name “Ayar” is shared by the mythical brothers who, with their respective sisters, left the cave of Pacaritambo and by an early ethnic group established in Acamama. The etymology of the name is significant. In the Quechua dictionary of González Holguín, *ayar* is the name of the wild quinoa plant. There was a *huaca*, or sacred place, called Capi (“quinoa root”), located on the hill of Quisco, which, according to one myth, represented the origin of the name “Cusco.” According to Sauer (1950), the quinoa (*Chenopodium quinoa*) was an important food plant in the Andes that replaced corn in the high-altitude zones and was cultivated in parts of the Inca territory. It may also be that the name “Ayar” was applied retroactively, after the Incas had achieved domination over the Ayarmacas, in

order to establish a continuity between the two groups and further justify Inca rule.

The four Ayar brothers also possessed second names, which distinguished among them. The etymology of “Ayar Cachi” does not present difficulties, since *cachi* is the Quechua word for salt, the preeminent condiment required by humans. *Uchu* can refer to the wild quinoa, but more importantly to chile or *aji*, the term used by the Spanish for the species *Capsicum*, whose varieties were the principal spices of the New World. The name of the third Ayar, called Mango or Manco by the chroniclers, may refer to an edible plant, *mango* (*Bromus mango*), an ancient cereal now practically extinct but which in 1837 was still cultivated in Chiloé and used especially in the preparation of a beverage (Sauer, 1950). The name of Auca, the fourth brother, is related to a military term and not, like those of his brothers, to a plant or spice.

In this analysis of the derivation of the name “Ayarmaca,” we must still examine the meaning of the word *maca*. This term refers to an edible root (*Lepidium meyenii*) whose habitat was the *puna* of the central region of Peru. This cultigen was formerly found throughout the high plateau, but today it is planted and used only in the towns near Jauja. According to popular belief, the *maca* has fertility properties, and for this reason a magical origin is attributed to it. The *maca* also represents an ancient agricultural tradition in the highlands, dating from long before the acclimatization of the potato to the *puna*. If this hypothesis is correct, the Ayarmacas, their name derived from two plants, represent an ethnic group adapted to the high mountain regions.

Two of the principal seats of the Ayarmacas were Tambo Cunga, or the Inn of the Gorge, and Amaro Cancha, or the Temple of the Serpent, situated near Pucyura. Another town frequently mentioned by the chroniclers is Aguayro Cancha, whose etymology may derive from the term *ahuani*, to weave. A document in the Archivo General de Indias in Seville, dated 1557, mentions that Aquillay, the principal *huaca* of the Ayarmacas, was in a ravine leading down from the lagoon of Guaypón toward the Yucay River. A fortress considered to belong to the Ayarmacas, now called Andinchayoc, is in the region of Chinchero (Rostworowski, 1969–70).

The importance of the Ayarmacas in times past is evidenced by the fact that at the height of Inca rule they retained a *ceque* of their own in the religious system of Cusco. The *ceques*, according to Polo de Ondegardo, and later Cobo, were imaginary lines that radiated from the plaza of the Temple of the Sun, surrounding the city and resembling a gigantic *quipu*. Although the Ayarmacas had lost all of their ancient power, the Incas could not take that privilege away from them. For this reason, the eighth *ceque* of Antisuyu,

with eleven *huacas* along its length, instead of bearing the traditional names of Collana, Payan, and Cayao, was known as Ayarmaca. Also, the fifth *ceque* of Chinchaysuyu, on the road to Yucay, on the hill of Cinca, contained a rock that was an Ayarmaca shrine, which the Ayarmacas considered their *pacarina*, or place of origin.

The *ceques* were of profound religious significance. They were divided into four sections, and followed the *suyu* (divisions) of Tahuantinsuyu – that is, Chinchaysuyu, Antisuyu, Cuntisuyu, and Collasuyu – with a total of forty-two lines. Each *ceque* contained a number of *huacas*, or shrines, maintained by a specific *ayllu* or by a royal *panaca*. These *huacas* were served by many priests, women, and servants dedicated to the cult (Rowe, 1979).

Another prerogative preserved by the Ayarmacas was the celebration of the initiation rites of their youths during a different month from that of the Inca group. They celebrated the coming of age of their young men during the ceremonies of the *huarachicuy*, in the month of Oma Raimi, with the Omas, the Quivios, and the Tampus.

When they arrived in primitive Acamama, the Inca *ayllus* of Ayar Manco had to confront the existing inhabitants to make a place for themselves in the valley. They fought not only the neighboring minor chiefs but also their principal enemies, the Ayarmacas, at that time the most powerful and important group in the region. The chroniclers recount the wars initiated between the Ayarmacas and the Incas during several regimes; each new ruler had to maintain the struggle, with neither side achieving definitive conquest. In the narratives of Sarmiento de Gamboa, Guaman Poma, Santa Cruz Pachacuti, and others, we can glimpse the effort required for the Incas to survive in Cusco and retain their possessions.

The constant fighting between the two ethnic groups helped keep alive the oral tradition of the events. From generation to generation, they repeated their respective versions of long wars, defeats suffered, fleeting triumphs, and the destruction of their sacred places. The latent rancor between them prompted the abduction of the young prince Yahuar Huacac, son of the ruling Inca, whose unexpected tears of blood saved him from certain death. In attempts to diminish or put an end to the conflict, the two sides resorted to the exchange of women. This situation continued until the beginnings of the Inca state, when the final confrontation took place at Guaman Cancha, where the great Ayarmaca chief Tocay Capac was defeated. The Ayarmacas were broken, and are not mentioned again in the chronicles. Their towns were ruined and their proud chief taken as a prisoner to Cusco.

The Incas wisely divided the various Ayarmaca *ayllus* into three groups, separating them in order to prevent their rebelling and regaining their for-

mer strength. In viceregal times, after the reductions of Viceroy Toledo, the Ayarmacas inhabited Pucyura, Chinchero, and San Sebastián, where they appear in the colonial documents. At the present time, their ancient power long forgotten, they form peasant communities that were officially recognized by the Peruvian government in 1923.

The chronicles mention along with Tocay Capac another chief, called Pinahua Capac. The Pinahua *ayllus* were closely related to the Ayarmacas within the Andean dual system. During the colonial period there were two Pinahua *ayllus*, one in the district of Oropesa, Quispicanchis province, and the other in the Guailabamba, near the valley of Yucay. The Pinahuas of Quispicanchis also continue to exist as a peasant community, which was officially recognized in 1965. Espinoza (1974) has published some documents from 1539–71 in which reference is made to various lands that belonged to the Pinahuas. Their territories extended south of San Jerónimo, from Angostura to the Vilcanota River and the Muyna Lagoon.

This account of events concerning Tocay and Pinahua Capac, which indicates the antiquity and importance of the Ayarmacas as a sovereign macroethnic group in the region, brings us to the arrival and settlement in Cusco of the group of Manco, the earliest Incas. It is necessary to clarify the sociopolitical situation in the Cusco region at the time of the appearance of the Incas, not only from an archaeological perspective but also from an ethnohistoric one.

This Andean version of the settlement of the site of primitive Cusco by groups that arrived and established themselves long before the arrival of the Incas is in agreement with the archaeological data. According to Rowe (1960, 1966), this replacement of one culture by another is reflected in the ceramics of the Late Intermediate Period at Cusco. Rowe emphasizes this phenomenon because it confirms that Inca culture has more important roots in the traditions of Ayacucho, Nasca, and Tiahuanaco than in the older cultures of the valley of Cusco.