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Dead Bones Dancing: The Taki Onqoy, Archaism,
and Crisis In Sixteenth Century Peru

A thesis
presented to
the faculty of the Department of History
East Tennessee State University

In partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree
Master of Arts in History

by
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May 2002

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Keywords: Taki Onqoy, Archaism, Millenarian Movements, Sixteenth Century Peru

ABSTRACT

Dead Bones Dancing: The Taki Onqoy, Archaism, and Crisis In Sixteenth Century Peru

by

Sändra Lee Allen Henson

In 1532, a group of Spanish *conquistadores* defeated the armies of the Inca Empire and moved from plundering the treasure of the region to establishing an imperial reign based on the *encomienda* system. The increasing demand for native labor and material goods forced fragmentation and restructuring of indigenous communities. The failure of evangelization efforts by the Spanish, the breakdown of their bureaucratic apparatus, and the threat of the Neo-Inca State in exile generated a crisis among the Spanish in the 1560s. Concomitantly, indigenous Andeans experienced psychological and spiritual pressures that found an outlet in the millenarian movement known as *Taki Onqoy*. This thesis discusses the Taki Onqoy in the context of the decade of crisis, and its role as a mechanism of archaism by which the Andean people endeavored to restructure their post-conquest world.

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To Chuck
who persevered with me
and my children who always believed I could

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Many years ago I lived in Bolivia and, curious about the Andean world around me, I began to read its history. This present work has been fueled by that original curiosity and helped my many people. I am much indebted to Kelly Hensley and the entire Inter-Library Loan staff for their willing help over many months. It is impossible to research a Latin American topic without their services. I am grateful to Dr. Jim Odom for his enthusiasm for my topic and his always helpful suggestions; to Dr. Sandra Palmer for her special perspective; and to Dr. Dale Schmitt for his patient guidance as my mentor and his willingness to be my best honest critic. I also owe a debt of gratitude to my parents, to my father who taught me to think for myself, and my mother who taught me to pursue excellence.

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GLOSSARY

Ayllu. the basic kin group of Andean social order whose members regard themselves as brothers owing one another mutual support; a land holding collective.

Cacique. Spanish equivalent of kuraka.

Corregidor. Spanish colonial appointed to control the kurakas.

Curaca. Spanish form of Kuraka.

Doctrinero. Catholic priest sent by encomenderos to evangelize and teach doctrine to the Indians of his encomienda.

Encomendero. a Spanish colonist to whom the Crown “entrusted” indigenous people from whom he could collect tribute and labor and for whom he provided spiritual and material welfare.

Encomienda. a grant of indigenous people (Indians) held by an encomendero.

Huaca. Andean deities or spirits inhabiting hills, waters, stones, and ancestor mummies.

Kuraka. A chief, or Andean lord, whether at a community level or higher.

Mit’a. Literally “turn” in the Andean system of rotating turns of service in the performance of community (ayllu) labor.

Mita. The forced labor drafts instituted by Spaniards to provide native labor to the state or its selected beneficiaries.

Panaqa. Landholding company formed by each Inca to provide for his progeny and a cult to honor his mummy after death.

Visita. A tour of inspection on behalf of the government or the church.

Wak’as. Quechua word for huacas, the Andean deities.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The Andean encounter with Spain that began in 1532 was born in blood and treachery. The Inca Atahualpa, despite paying as ransom a room full of gold, was garroted. A generation later the last Inca, Tupac Amaru, was publicly beheaded. Don Francisco de Toledo had arrived to find Peru in a time of great crisis. An attempted revolt of the Neo-Inca state at Vilcabamba and the concomitant outbreak of a religious revival known as the *Taki Onqoy* demonstrated that the indigenous masses were struggling against Spanish hegemony. This thesis will examine the initial colonial period and the ways indigenous people resisted and/or accommodated to a cultural collision.

In the pre-contact era, Andean society was a complex system tied together by kin groups that regulated all aspects of life: economic, social, political, and spiritual. The arrival of the Spaniards initiated a process of fragmentation and deconstruction and a subsequent replacement and reconfiguration of relationships and processes that effectively limited internal solidarity of the indigenous communities and bound them to their conquerors.

From the conquest in 1532 through mid-century, the Andean economy under Spanish rule was based on plunder. While reaping the material benefits of plunder the Spaniards also established an *encomienda* system to extract labor and tribute from the newly subjugated people. Andeans under Spanish domination initially dealt with their conquerors in ways that allowed them to reap some profit, or achieve a better position

within their new world. When colonial dominance continued to breakdown their culture, as well as reducing them materially, the accumulated pressures forced reconsiderations of their worldview and belief systems. The long-term goals of Spaniards and Indians were contradictory, and in time the Indians realized that the colonial experience they had willingly embraced had turned deadly.¹

In due time, spiritual and cultural deprivation, and the threat of increased hegemony produced a revitalization movement known among the Andeans as *Taki Onqoy*, “dance of disease.” Its adherents for the most part were Indians who had accepted Christianity but now sought escape from the Christian God who favored only the Spaniards. This revitalization movement, millenarian in nature, is an example of archaism. Archaism is a mechanism by which threatened societies attempt to reconnect with past beliefs and rituals and reconfigure them to make them work in the troubled present. It is an attempt to reacquire spiritual power that can successfully confront the present pressures. Movements such as the *Taki Onqoy* are expressions of archaism on a grand scale.

The Andean world that initially welcomed Francisco Pizarro and his men had a long history that pre-dated the ruling Inca Empire. The first chapter traces the complex social and economic systems that evolved over the centuries to allow the people of the Andes to manage well in a precarious environment. Additionally, it addresses their world view in which religion was intrinsically linked with all of life. The impact of European diseases and the horrific depopulation they caused are examined in the second chapter. The third chapter deals with the development of the early colonial model and the

¹ Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 40.

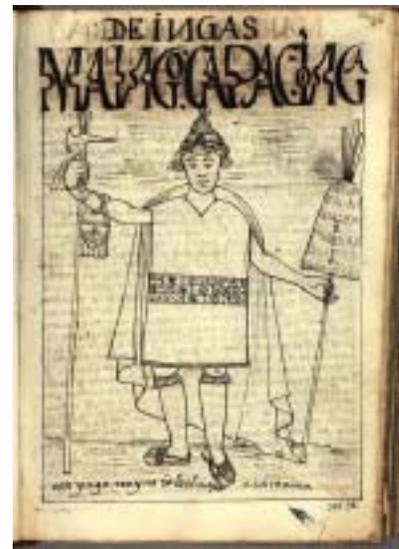
struggles between the rulers and the ruled. The *Taki Onqoy*, which occurred at a time of pan-Peruvian crisis in the 1560s, serves as a lens for examining the effects of the conquest on the Andean people and how their responses enabled them to survive with some measure of identity and connection to their history. This event and its significance as an example of archaism are the focus of the final chapter.

CHAPTER 2

TAWANTINSUYU--- LAND OF THE FOUR QUARTERS

“As in the New World of the Indies no writing has been discovered, we must guess at many things.”¹

The Inca Empire has held great fascination for historians, anthropologists, archaeologists, and all people interested in the unique and outstanding accomplishments of earlier civilizations since European chroniclers first published their accounts of the Conquest. Fascinated by this land spread throughout a four thousand kilometer stretch that hugged the Pacific coast, the early historians described the variety of its landscape, the exotic plant life, the strange animals, the multiethnic people groups, and its treasures of silver and gold.



This region takes its name from the Andes Mountains that extend from Venezuela on the northern coast of South America to Chile and Argentina at the southern end of the continent. The central portion of this mountain belt is comprised of two ranges that run in tandem along the western profile of the continent. The first and westernmost, the Cordillera² Occidental, faces the Pacific Ocean and overlooks a narrow band of lowlands, primarily desert, that is only one hundred miles at its widest point. The second, the

¹ Pedro de Cieza de León, *The Incas*, trans. Harriet de Onis, ed. Victor Wolfgang von Hagen (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1959), 284.

² *Cordillera* is a Spanish word meaning rope and commonly refers to mountain ranges in many parts of the world. Microsoft Encarta Online Encyclopedia 201. <http://encarta.msn.com> (23 Jan. 2002).

Cordillera Oriental, rises to elevations second only to those of the Himalayans and guards the tropical lowlands to the east. Between these two ranges extends the *Altiplano*, a vast plateau where the altitude varies between 12,000 and 14,000 feet above sea level. This *altiplano* is home to both Lake Titicaca and Cuzco, locations of great historic importance to Andean culture both pre- and post-Incaic.

In spite of the colorful descriptions of Andean geography that have continued to appear from the first days of European exploration and conquest, it was not until astronauts orbiting and photographing the earth from space in the 1960s that the “fantastic juxtaposition of major physiographic divisions” could be appreciated.³ And it is this juxtaposition of geographic and environmental extremes that fashioned the civilizations that ascended and declined through time as they developed vertical agricultural and economic systems controlled by kin-based social groups of various sizes and complexities.

The Inca Empire represented, among many things, a transition from a collection of simple, kin-based societies to a class-based, highly controlled, and standardized state. A core group of people, indigenous to the area in and around what is now Cuzco in Peru, established control over various people groups that filled the mountain valleys and the lowland plains. It was not the first civilization to meet the definition of an organized state that exerted hegemony over multiple groups inhabiting a wide area, but it was the grandest by far and the expanse of its influence was remarkable. An examination of the Andean world that the Inca dynasties conquered and the empire they established before the fateful arrival of the Spaniards in 1532 reveals a state still in an expansionist mode,

³ Henry F. Dobyns and Paul L. Doughty, *Peru: A Cultural History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976). 3.

and momentarily divided by the struggle over succession to the throne. The Incas had within a short period of time gained control of social, economic, political, and religious structures that ultimately the Spaniards would endeavor to appropriate, or eliminate, but which they never fully understood. Andean cyclical concepts of time and space did not correspond to those of the Western world where the Augustinian model of a linear history prevailed. Andean concepts of community, reciprocity, and dualism also proved to be stumbling blocks to Spaniards intent on both subjugating and evangelizing the indigenous people groups. These admixtures of indigenous concepts were impacted by the encounter with Europeans, as can be seen in the millenarian revival, the *Taki Onqoy*, that broke out in the Peruvian highlands during the decade preceding the regime of Francisco Toledo and his reforms. The *Taki Onqoy*, represented a last gasp attempt of Andeans to use both Western and native ideas in their effort to reacquire spiritual and political power.

The time before the Incas is the province of archaeologists rather than ethnohistorians because the pre-literate Andean civilizations left no written documents. Archaeologists mark the rise of Andean cultures from the hunters and gatherers of the Lithic Period (20000-5000 BC) followed by village agriculturalists in the Archaic Period (5000-1000 BC). Theocratic kingdoms and chiefdoms appeared in what archaeologists call the Formative Period (1000-0 BC) and lasted through the Regional Developmental Period (0-600 AD) that corresponds with the early part of the Christian era. The final period is that of the Militaristic States (600-1500 AD).⁴

Historian John Rowe proposed an Andean chronology whose divisions are termed “horizons” to designate territorial expansions by certain cultures alternating with

⁴ María Rostworowski de Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, trans. Harry B. Iceland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 3-17.

“intermediate periods” during which the cultures flourished then declined.⁵ Rowe’s schema begins with the Early Pre-ceramic Period (10,000? to 6000 BC) when the first people migrated to the Central Andes and over several thousand years developed a series of adaptations first to coastal regions, then to the intermontane valleys and the high grasslands. During the Middle Pre-ceramic Period (6000 to 3000 B.C.), the first sedentary communities appeared as the climate moderated. These groups domesticated plants and developed a llama-herding economy.⁶ During the Late Pre-ceramic Period (3000 to 1800 B.C.) temple centers were built on the coast and in the Andes. The Initial Period (1800 to 800 B.C.) ushered in many developments that were foundational for all subsequent Andean civilizations. The limited floodwater planting gave way to the control of water and the development of irrigation techniques to nourish crops. Consequently, a variety of plant foods were cultivated in addition to cotton and gourds. Increased use of pottery containers with regional artistic designs became cultural markers that allowed later scholars to trace cultural boundaries, trade networks, and interaction between neighboring and far-flung societies. Households were linked to community-level economic activities that established specialized farming hamlets in order to produce particular crops. These groups also constructed platform mounds where rituals, predictions, and offerings were made to insure good harvests.⁷ The center of production and consumption continued at the household level, although over time the composition of the household shifted beyond the nuclear family. “While there were economically specialized settlements . . . there is no evidence for a social division of labor in which the

⁵ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 3.

⁶ James B. Richardson, *People of the Andes*, Smithsonian Exploring the Ancient World, Jeremy A. Sabloff, ed, (Washington: Smithsonian Books, 1994) 27.

⁷ Thomas C. Patterson, *The Inca Empire: The Formation and Disintegration of a Pre-Capitalist State* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1992), 18-26.

members of one social class exploited those of another by permanently appropriating either their labor or products. Nor is there any archaeological evidence for the resistance of one group against another.”⁸

In addition to economic and labor specialization, evidence of the presence of more than fifty platform mounds indicates the growth of theocratic societies dominated by religion that served as “the ideological glue that cemented together the various economically specialized villages in each region.”⁹ Religious specialists assumed supervision of production and distribution of food among the separate communities and were in turn supported by the surplus production of these groups. According to Patterson, they became the nascent ruling class as social division of labor emerged marking a transition from a kin community to a state society. These early societies, or civilizations, remained kin-based even as social classes developed. The kin-based model was transformed and became more politicized.

The shift from community-based society was marked by other changes, especially the building of fortifications along the seven hundred miles of Peruvian coastline. Burial sites reveal headless individuals and people entombed with trophy heads and stone-headed maces at their sides. Such evidence indicates that raiding and warfare acquired prominence. Later tombs contained grave goods with skillfully made pottery and the remains of individuals interred with retainers, an indication of class-based social differences.

The Early Horizon (800 B.C. to 200 B.C) was marked by the spread of religious cults whose influence integrated the Central Andes. The most notable was the Chavín

⁸ Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 19.

⁹ *ibid.*, 21.

whose center was the multi-storied temple, Chavín de Huántar. This magnificent temple had a labyrinth of galleries, drainage and air-flow systems, courtyards, and stone sculptures of demonized jaguars, caymans, birds, and snakes.¹⁰ During the following Early Intermediate Period (200 B.C. to A.D. 600), populations increased significantly resulting in expanding urban centers that in turn sparked growth in technology and culture. The Moche culture of the northern coast of Peru, the Nasca peoples of the plateau south of Lima, and the Tiwanaku civilizations of the altiplano produced the finest ceramics, textiles, and metalwork of any period. Massive irrigation systems and public works grew as did militarism.

Scholars continue to debate the question of what constitutes a state and when the first recognizable states emerged. Patterson describes the process of state formation as rooted in the transformation from classless to class-based societies in which the collective efforts of the group, for the group, give way to a society controlled by an exploiting class able to extract their own leisured existence.¹¹ On this basis state formation began in the late Initial Period or in the first centuries of the Early Horizon. Other scholars argue that state formation requires the incorporation of large territories, a strong ruling class, and a bureaucracy capable of managing the production, storage, and distribution of commodities produced by a specialized society. William Isbell proposes four principle attributes that define a state. First of all a state requires a hierarchical and specialized administration that can process information, make decisions, and oversee their execution. Secondly, a state must collect tribute, or taxes, to support public works such as the construction of storage facilities and living quarters for the full-time bureaucrats required

¹⁰ John H. Rowe in James B. Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 27.

¹¹ Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 27.

by the state. A third characteristic of a state is the presence of social classes “each of which possesses distinct access to the means of production and to its products.”¹² The fourth evidence of a state relates to the requirement that it can exercise power and support a class system marked by inequalities because the inequalities are accepted by the citizens. This acceptance comes by means of an ideology that “predicates inequality in the world as natural and inevitable.”¹³ Origin myths of the Incas and other Andean groups as well as their art forms indicate acceptance of such ideologies.

Using this definition, evidence indicates that this type of state appeared in the Early Intermediate period. By the end of the Early Intermediate period, the Andean region had witnessed recurring cycles of state formation and disintegration that form the rough outline of Andean life that preceded the powerful civilizations that culminated with the formation of the Inca State in the Late Horizon.

The militarism that marked the latter part of the Early Intermediate period continued to grow. Empires, as distinguished from states, control extensive territory and incorporate conquered foreign states. The Middle Horizon (A.D. 600 to 1000) marked the apogee of the Tiwanaku and Wari Empires in the Southern Andes both of which used military might to extend influence and hegemony over neighboring groups. The Tiwanaku capital in Bolivia near Lake Titicaca and the Huari (Wari) capital in southern Andean Peru near the city of Cuzco emerged as the power centers of their respective expansionist states.

The Tiwanaku civilization was marked by three periods of growth and decline with the final and greatest reach of influence occurring in the late Middle Horizon. The

¹² William H. Isbell, “El origen del Estado en el valle de Ayacucho,” *Revista Andina* 1(julio 1985): 60.

¹³ *Ibid.*

most mysterious and imposing evidence of the civilization is found on a barren plain at an altitude of 13,000 feet south of Lake Titikaka where stand the remains of megalithic monuments unequaled in all of pre-Columbian America. No one has yet done more than speculate how people living in this desolate area at such an altitude could move blocks of sandstone and basalt weighing as much as one hundred tons each from distant quarries. Pedro de Cieza de León commented on the fact as he passed through the region in the 1550s. “Another strange thing is that in much of this region neither rocks, quarries, nor stones are to be seen from which they could have brought the many we see, and no small number of people must have been needed to transport them.”¹⁴ The temple ruins are only part of the remains of a planned urban center extending over an area of more than four square kilometers (1.5 square miles) that served as the civic and ceremonial core of one of the great cities of the Americas.¹⁵ The civilization was sustained by raised-field agriculture made possible by land reclamation techniques. “Tiwanaku engineers developed an ingenious system to bring wetlands into agricultural production” by excavating a series of canals that supported fish and aquatic plants for food and fertilizer. The excavated soil was piled between the canals to create planting beds that yielded two crops a year and between harvests llamas grazed on the beds and left their contribution to future crops.¹⁶ Tiwanaku society was self-sustaining and able to support a complex civic and religious infrastructure. Surplus production was used to develop an extensive commerce with outlying provinces under its influence.¹⁷ When the Incas took over this region some five centuries later, the city and the temples were in ruins but still awe-

¹⁴ Cieza de León, *The Incas*, 284.

¹⁵ Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 122.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 127.

¹⁷ Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 127

inspiring, and it was in this place that according to some of their creation myths the supreme god Viracocha “created men after statues he had already created in stone.” Undoubtedly, it was the huge, now unadorned, stone statues standing among the ruins that inspired this ancient Andean myth.¹⁸

In 1896, archeologist Max Uhle discovered ceramics and textiles in the Ayacucho Basin of the southern Peruvian Andes that link the Wari (Huari) civilization with that of Tiwanaku, a link that could have been established when the Tiwanaku Empire expanded out of its heartland. “In some unknown manner, the Tiwanaku religion was introduced to Ayacucho, sparking the rise of an independent state—Huari—that quickly consolidated the surrounding valley and began its own rapid expansion.”¹⁹ The center of the Wari Empire was close to the site where the Incas would later establish their Empire -- the ancient city of Cuzco. From this center they rapidly expanded throughout the highlands, using step-terracing of the steep hillsides that could be irrigated from water sources at higher altitudes. They developed a series of roads along the backbone of the Andes that connected their administrative sites terminating in the second largest Wari city of Viracochapampa. Although they did not establish administrative centers in the coastal areas, they expanded their influence through trade and religion. However, by A.D. 800 their Empire was in decline “possibly having overstretched its ability to dominate local tribes, chiefdoms, and states.”²⁰

Andean peoples were moving into fortified villages and towns as result of shrinking resources in the wake of the Great Drought (A.D. 100-1100) and increased strife following the demise of first the Wari and then the Tiwanaku Empires. During this

¹⁸ Alfred Métraux, *The History of the Incas*, trans. George Ordish (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 31.

¹⁹ Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 132.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 135.

Late Intermediate Period (A.D. 1000 to 1470) there was a renewed growth of regional states. As the influence of the Wari declined, the Chimú Kingdom on the north coast of Peru expanded. Its center was the city of Chan Chan that grew into an imperial capital with pyramids, estates of the noble class, system of roads to connect the coastal valleys, and thousands of residences for the artisans who produced textiles and metals for the state. The expanding Chimú Kingdom subordinated surrounding territories using armies and a naval force that used large rafts to mount invasions from the sea.

While the Chimú Kingdom was flowering along the northern coast of Peru, the Cuzco Basin witnessed events that would influence all of the Central Andes. Among the Aymara people of the Titicaca Basin two groups, the Lupaca and the Colla, were approaching a state level of organization and exerting influence along the coast and over the eastern slopes of the southern Andes including the Cuzco Basin where cataclysmic events would occur. The result would be the truncation of the Aymara influence and the submergence of the still flowering Chimú Kingdom²¹. In this region bounded by Lake Titicaca to the south and Cuzco to the north, the Inca people emerged, expanded, built, and developed an Empire that became one of the greatest in the world. “Initially a small tribe of uncertain origins . . . their conquests dwarfed those of earlier Andean peoples and are more comparable in their extent to those of the great empires of the Old World.”²² This Empire, known as Tawantinsuyu, the Land of the Four Quarters, stretched 3500 miles from Chile and Argentina to southern Colombia.²³

Motivated by curiosity and their sense of legal scruples, the Spaniards sought to determine who the Incas were and from where they came. In response to their inquiries

²¹ Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 147.

²² Nigel Davies, *The Ancient Kingdoms of Peru*, (New York: Penguin Books, 1997), 108.

²³ Richardson, *People of the Andes*, 27.

“the Indians answered with long quasi-historical and semi-legendary accounts.”²⁴ The Spanish chroniclers collected many of their accounts from the *quipu-kamayoc*, the Inca version of a chronicler charged with keeping government accounts.²⁵ From these sources come the Inca origin tales that began, as did those of many Andean groups, with mythical figures who emerged from holes in the ground. Variations on this theme relate tales of ancestors emerging from Lake Titicaca or from mountain caves. Although the origin myths of the Incas vary from source to source, several elements appear consistently enough to provide a composite that is generally accepted as the standard. This standard version was common among the people to the north and east of Cuzco according to Pedro de Cieza de León, who relates this version as provided by descendants of Wayna Qhapaq²⁶, an Inca who died in the 1520s. The first Incas, four brothers named Ayar Manco, Ayar Cachi, Ayar Uchu, and Ayar Auca, and their wives who were their sisters, emerged from the middle of three caves at Paccari-tambo, located fifteen miles south of Cuzco.²⁷ These Ayar brothers assumed leadership over the *ayllus* (kin groups) that emerged from the other two caves.²⁸ One of them, Ayar Manco, also known as Manco Capac, eliminated his three brothers and in sole command of his expedition stopped in the Cuzco valley in the place where a rod of gold, which he threw from time to time to test the soil, embedded itself deep in the earth.²⁹ From this point on accounts of Inca lineage disagree as to the number of Incas involved, their names and their birth order, and the motivations for their actions as rulers. These differences can be attributable not only

²⁴ Métraux, *The History of the Incas*, 39.

²⁵ The *quipu-kamayoc* was the keeper of the *quipu*, a collection of knotted cords that was used to record information relevant to the state. The degree to which these cords may have served as writing is not clear.

²⁶ Quechua orthography changed in the early 1990s. Spellings of both Spanish and Quechua words vary according to the sources consulted and therefore spellings within this paper vary.

²⁷ Métraux, *The History of the Incas*, 46.

²⁸ Cieza de León, *The Incas*, 31.

²⁹ Métraux, *The History of the Incas*, 46.

to the expected variances of oral history but the fact that the post-Conquest historians wrote with different motives and perspectives. Philip Ainsworth Means classifies these sixteenth century chroniclers as being of the Toledan School or the Garcilaso School. The former, under the guidance and considerable influence of the Viceroy Don Francisco Toledo, sought to denigrate the Incan legacy by portraying the Incas as usurpers, tyrants, and murderers. This agenda served to legitimize the hegemony of the Spaniards in Peru. In contrast, El Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, the son of a Spanish father and Inca mother, presented an origin in which the Sun created a man and woman and placed them on an island in Lake Titicaca. He gave the pair a staff of gold and a charge to go wherever they wished but to settle down in the place where the staff should sink into the earth when they struck the earth with one blow.³⁰ The pair journeyed northwards and ultimately the staff vanished into the earth near the city of Cuzco where the people were living in a dismal state of vice and confusion. They responded to the opportunity to follow the brother and sister and their Father, the Sun. Thus Manco Capac and Mama Ocllo founded their city and proceeded to teach the people agricultural techniques and domestic arts. The Garcilaso version shows a culture-hero of pure and benign character who rescues the forlorn.³¹

The narratives of the colonial chroniclers are problematical but nevertheless provide an account of the growth and consolidation of the Inca Empire. Using their accounts and the evidence contributed by archeologists historians now accept an Inca lineage in which the first four Incas, Manco Capac, Sinchi Roca, Lloque Yupanque, and

³⁰ The central deity of the earlier Tiwanaku civilization was the Staff God; the significance of the staff in Tiwanaku, Huari, and Chimú societies related to the subsistence patterns of their economy, agriculture and herding.

³¹ Philip Ainsworth Means, *Ancient Civilizations of the Andes*, New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1942. See also, Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 46, and Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 3-17.

Mayta Capac are deemed mythical. The three that follow, Capac Yupanqui, Inca Roca, Yuhuar Huacac, and the earlier life of Viracocha Inca are categorized as “unknown.” Viracocha Inca’s son and heir was Pachacuti Inca Yupanqui and it is with his reign that the Incas moved from obscurity and began the expansion that led them to forge an empire.³²

The rise of this empire was rapid and raises the valid question, how did it accomplish so much in so short a time? The great secret of the Incas was their ability to organize and administrate. Having briefly examined the societies, states, and empires that preceded the Incas, it is clear that they did not develop their statecraft in a vacuum, but rather built upon, borrowed, reorganized, and re-consecrated roads, methods, towns, and temples from the remains of past efforts. Under Viracocha the Incas began to dominate surrounding tribes but did not establish true hegemony until the reign of his son, the warrior, visionary, and builder, Yupanqui Pachacuti. During the reign of Viracocha, the Chancas, a loosely organized group of warlike *ayllus* from the Central highlands, began to dedicate themselves to conquering the world around them. Leaving Paucaray, their principle town, they arrived in due time on the outskirts of Cuzco intent on conquering the Incas. According to one Inca legend the inhabitants of the city fled with the exception of Pachacuti, six other nobles, and Pachacuti’s tutor, Mircoymana.³³ The majority of the colonial historians attribute the ultimate victory of the Incas over the Chancas to Pachacuti. The process included at least one other major battle in addition to the siege of Cuzco and a power struggle between Viracocha, Pachacuti, and another son of Viracocha named Urco. Doubts about the details of the victory notwithstanding,

³²Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 148.

³³Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 26. The number eight represents a multiple of the dual and quadripartite principles that are so significant in Inca social structure.

Pachacuti emerged as the victor who led the Incas to new levels of conquest and empire building.

In the early fifteenth century, under Viracocha, the Incas were engaged in periodic and reciprocal warfare with neighboring groups during which they pillaged shrines and houses, seized land, and took captives who were then incorporated into Inca communities. It was not the custom for either the Incas or their neighbors to leave a military presence within a vanquished community. The pattern of raiding, plundering, and kidnapping changed during this time as the Incas began to place officials among subjugated people in order to ensure the collection of tribute and conscription of labor. The subjugated community retained its traditional leaders and landholding patterns and new community relations were achieved through intermarriage. Inca women were betrothed to the local *kuracas*³⁴ of the conquered community and the community in turn sent its daughters to become wives and concubines of the Inca.³⁵ Pachacuti continued these practices as he continued to expand and consolidate Inca hegemony in the Andean region. His power base was comprised of the members of his *panaqa*³⁶ and other members of his *ayllu* who were either military leaders, overseers of conquered provinces, or priests of the shrines connected with his *panaqa*. Linked with, but subordinate to, this ruling group were the *kuracas* of the subjugated people who acted as liaisons between their own communities and the Inca ruling class. The *kuracas* held a position that was

³⁴ *Kuraka* is the Quechua term for a chief whether at the community level or higher. The Spanish word *cacique* is an equivalent term.

³⁵ Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 59.

³⁶ A *panaqa* was a type of landholding company that each Inca formed upon ascension to office for the purpose of supporting his wives, their descendents, and a cult to honor his mummy and memory after he died. See Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 174.

both ambiguous and conflicting and extremely important in the Andean world where reciprocity formed the basis of the socioeconomic system.

As the Incas continued to extend their administrative system, subject societies made adaptations that dramatically altered the political landscape of the Andean world. Although early scholarship tended to present a monolithic view of the process of Inca expansion, recent research reveals that “varied political and economic relationships among the diverse societies produced a volatile political climate.”³⁷ For this reason the Incas tailored their policies to accommodate the existing systems as long as it did not present a threat to imperial stability. They acted to balance two potentially conflicting goals: “coordinating local political organizations and minimizing the possibility of allied resistance.”³⁸

One way they accomplished this end was to discourage horizontal bonds between societies and establish a vertically oriented system with offices filled by ethnic Incas and elites from subject groups. A second method employed used forced internal resettlement through the program of *mitmaq*. The term *mitmaq* or *mitimaes*, refers to the practice of sending members of an *ayllu* community to settle in distant areas for the purpose of accessing additional resources needed by the home community. Although the practice pre-dates the Incas, they expanded its use to effect economic balance and political control within the Empire.³⁹ For example, Tupac Yupanqui took ownership of some coca fields in the Chillón River valley and due to a scarcity of local labor ordered that the fields be

³⁷ Terence N. D’Altroy, *Provincial Power in the Inka Empire* (Washington and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992), 130.

³⁸ *ibid.*,

³⁹ Karen Spalding, *Huarochirí: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 36-44. Spalding references a study by John V. Murra, *Formaciones económicas y políticas del mundo andina*, that contains a thorough discussion of the *mitmaq* and its related practice of vertical control. See also Murra’s “The Economic Organization of the Inca State” (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1956) Chapters 2 and 8.

cultivated by *mitmaq*. A similar situation occurred in Cochabamba when Tupac Yupanqui conquered the valley and claimed certain fields. He assigned a *mitmaq* both to cultivate the fields and guard the borders. Thus, the state employed the *mitmaq* and redistributed entire *ayllus* in order to gain better political control as well as for economic efficiency.⁴⁰

The apex of Incan political power emanated from Cuzco and consisted of four administrators who were responsible for the administration of four quarters called *suyu*. Each *suyu* contained numerous provinces and each province was ruled by an Inca appointed governor who directed an array of imperial and local elites and functionaries. In turn, each province was subdivided into *sayas* (later called *repartimientos* by the Spaniards) that subsumed a varying number of *ayllu*⁴¹ The *ayllu* was formed of a number of lineages and was regulated internally by an ethic of sharing and cooperation. It served as the basic political and productive unit of Andean society.⁴² “The tie between the *ayllu* and its land and other resources meant that Andean communities were bound together socially, politically, and economically, making them convenient units for resettlement or mobilization for state activities.”⁴³ In addition, the native elites who held positions of authority with their *ayllus* were recruited by the Incas to hold low-level administrative positions within the imperial government.

The vertical structure of Incan political organization was also dual so that while the empire was quadripartitioned pairs of the quarters formed opposing hierarchical

⁴⁰ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 187.

⁴¹ D’Altroy, *Provincial Power*, 130.

⁴² Spalding, *Huarochiri*, 28.

⁴³ D’Altroy, *Provincial Power*, 131.

halves.⁴⁴ Dualism is a recurring theme in the Andean world occurring in political, social, religious, and artistic contexts. Throughout the empire, the province, the community, and the *ayllu* sociopolitical structures were divided into upper (*hanan*) and lower (*hurin*) halves. The failure of Spaniards to recognize this duality contributed to misunderstandings and conflicts concerning the fundamental character of Inca rule.⁴⁵

The Inca administration also employed a decimal hierarchy that paralleled and intersected both the dual, vertical structures and other forms of native authority. Officials used this system to oversee units ranging from 10,000 heads of households down to groups of ten heads of households. The decimal organization related to both census figures and the ongoing organization and assignment of labor obligations.⁴⁶ The census was taken every six months and a strict caste system governed the resulting division of labor. The people were divided into ten age categories and each group had assigned tasks and every one worked, boys, girls, men, women, and even the handicapped.⁴⁷ This decimal system was unevenly applied throughout the empire but was thoroughly implemented in the Bolivian highlands and along the central spine of the Peruvian sierra, the heartland of the empire. D'Altroy explains that the installation of this centralized authority based on "principles of duality integrated with decimal hierarchies, was

⁴⁴These halves have been classified by some scholars as moieties despite the fact that they do not fully conform to the classic kinship model. D'Altroy, *Provincial Power*, 131. See also, R.T. Zuidema, "Hierarchy and Space in Incaic Organization," *Ethnohistory* 30(1983): 49-75.

⁴⁵ Lists of the Incas may have recorded parallel, rather than directly successive, rulers. See Pierre Duviols examination of the issue of dual dynasties in "Algunas Reflexiones acerca de las tesis de la Estructura Dual del Poder Incaico," *Histórica* 4 (Diciembre de 1980): 183-196

⁴⁶ Catherine J. Julien, "How Inca Decimal Administration Worked," *Ethnohistory* 35(Summer 1988): 258. As in the case with dualism, Spanish chroniclers "recorded only partial descriptions of Inca practice and failed to grasp the logic and principles which guided it."

⁴⁷ Sara Castro-Klarén, "'May We Not Perish: The Incas and Spain,'" *The Wilson Quarterly* 4(1981): 166.

facilitated by the similarities of the sociopolitical systems of the Inka and surrounding societies.”⁴⁸

The Incas courted the compliance of subject societies and emphasized religious ritual and ceremonial activity over coercion. Both local and imperial administrative functions were wrapped in the ideological traditions of reciprocity that also permeated the Andean world before, during, and after the time of Inca domination. At the same time, however, the Incas also attempted to reshape at least some Andean groups in order to assimilate them into their grand design for a unified culture.

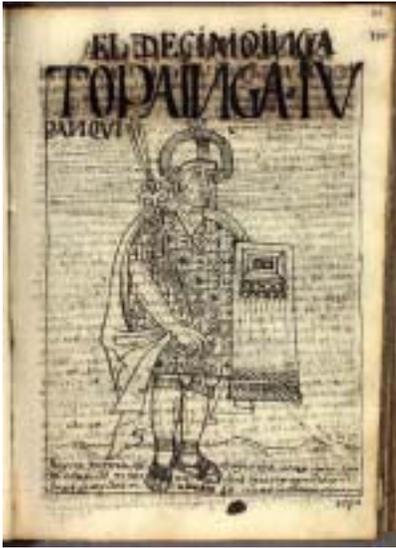
In the pre-Incaic Andean world, reciprocity was the means of ordering relations among the members of societies who did not use money. Reciprocity “was found throughout the Andean region and provided links among the diverse kinds of economic organization that existed within the vast territory of the Incas.”⁴⁹ In its earliest form it governed relationships among the rural *ayllu* communities. The Inca state appropriated reciprocity and adapted it first to regulate relations between various lords of the region in the early days of Inca hegemony and later, during the peak of Inca power, it was reconfigured to fit the needs of a fully developed empire.⁵⁰

When Pachacuti conquered the Chancas, he gained much military prestige and the loyalty of local lords and allies; he did not, however, possess sufficient authority over them to demand laborers for the building program he wanted to complete. It was necessary to first invite the local lords to Cuzco and entertain them with food and drink, and to show his generosity by giving them women, clothes, coca, and other luxury goods.

⁴⁸D’Altroy, *Provincial Power*, 132.

⁴⁹Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 37.

⁵⁰ See Franklin Pease “Chapter IV Reciprocidad” and “Chapter V Redistribución” in *Curacas, Reciprocidad y Requeza* (Lima: Pontificia Universidad Católica del Perú Fondo Editorial, 1992), 91-145.



“Only then could the Inca present his request (*ruego*) and ask the chiefs’ cooperation in providing the necessary workforce to carry out the project at hand.”⁵¹

Storage facilities were among the first things built as the empire expanded, in part because it was necessary to accumulate wealth for continuing distribution in the process of reciprocity. The sixteenth-century chronicler

Juan de Betanzos explained that when a project was completed “the Inca Yupanqui ordered the chiefs and lords to come together, and to those who . . . had rendered services to him, he granted numerous favors, giving them clothes and women from his lineage, and permitting them to rest on their lands for one year.”⁵²

Reciprocity at the opposite level of society permeated the *ayllu* community and affected every part of life. Whereas at the upper end reciprocity was oiled by generosity, at the *ayllu* and/or household level it was proscribed by kinship. Karen Spalding treats these kinship relationships in her chapter “The Human Landscape”⁵³ and explains that kinship “was not the source but the expression of the reciprocal rights of people to the aid and support of specific other people among whom they lived.”⁵⁴ Furthermore, access to kin was synonymous with access to wealth. According to Polo de Ondegardo, “The woman who was held in most esteem as a marriage partner was she with most kin, and not the wealthiest, because she who had more relatives brought with her friends and

⁵¹ Diez Canseco, *History of the Inca Realm*, 40.

⁵² Juan de Betanzos in Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 41. Note: Inca Yupanqui is the same Pachacuti, or Pachacutec, or Inca Cusi Yupanqui that succeeded Viracocha and who reigned more than thirty years, reconstructed Cuzco on a magnificent scale, rebuilt the temple of the Sun, conducted many wars, and initially organized the state.

⁵³ Spalding, *Huarochiri*, 9-41.

⁵⁴ Spalding, *Huarochiri*, 27.

people, which was what had most value as the greater thing, and in this they placed high honor and authority and power.”⁵⁵ Through marriage the kin of each partner became linked and the new expanded household multiplied the network of support and assistance available to all within the group. “These *compadres* helped each other in their work, and in other necessities, and when they were sick, and in eating and drinking and in celebrations, and at the time of sowing and the time of death, to mourn, and in all the times of their lives. And afterwards their sons and descendents, grandchildren and great grandchildren would aid each other and keep the law of God.”⁵⁶

From this basic level the network of labor obligation was organized throughout the Inca world through a very old Andean concept known as the *mita*. The *mita* served to regulate labor on an orderly, cyclical basis. Through the *mita* all labor in the Andean world was performed on a rotational basis whether for the *ayllu*, for the local *kuraka*, or for the Inca state. “The significance of the term *mita* goes beyond that of a system of organizing labor. It contains a certain Andean philosophical concept of eternal repetition.”⁵⁷ The days and seasons were divided into *mita* and the constellation of the Pleiades was known as the *onqoy* (disease) *mita* during the rainy season, and as the *colca* (storehouse) *mita* during the season of harvest and abundance. The *mita* represented an ordering of time that was cyclical and moved between order and chaos. When the *Taki Onqoy* movement began in the 1560s, it was announced by its preachers as a *mita* event, an end of a cycle of Spanish domination and a return to Andean dominance.

⁵⁵ Polo de Ondegardo in Spalding, *Huarochirí*, 27

⁵⁶ Felipe Guamán Poma de Ayala [Waman Puma], *El Primer Nueva Corónica y Buen Gobierno* Tomo I, Edición crítica de John V. Murra y Rolena Adorno. Jorge L. Urioste, trans.(México: Siglo XXI Editores, S.A., 1980), 794.

⁵⁷ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 184.

The Incas successfully built on Andean cultural structures, transforming them to achieve hegemony throughout the western region of South America. “The same institutions that in the beginning permitted the growth of the Inca state were the ones that made it fragile and vulnerable in many respects.”⁵⁸ Reciprocity, for example, produced an ever increasing demand for new sources of riches to satisfy the requests of the nobles, *kurakas*, and others who served the Inca. The increased need was also fed by the continuation of the early custom of treating deceased rulers as if they were still alive by means of the mummy cults. This practice became a menace as the increasing numbers of mummies, including the rulers’ women and servants, had to be supported, and the close presence of this growing “inner circle” in residence at Cuzco led to further alliances, privileges, and intrigues. In addition, the absence of a fixed law of succession left the field open to the “most able” of the pretenders to the throne, a custom that encouraged civil war.

If the rise of an Andean chiefdom from obscurity to imperial power had been meteoric, its rapid collapse was almost incomprehensible. The fratricidal war between Huascar and Atahualpa that divided the power of the Inca state on the eve of the arrival of the Spaniards is the most visible factor that allowed the Inca Empire to collapse in spectacular fashion. A number of less visible, underlying causes weakened the empire and aided the European conquerors. The name “Tawantinsuyu” that speaks of “the four regions united among themselves,” may not have been used, or even known, until it was employed by the Spanish chroniclers near the end of the sixteenth century. Inca hegemony operated without abolishing the major ethnic groups within its realm because

⁵⁸ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 222.

the state depended on their socioeconomic structures.⁵⁹ The result was an absence of national unity, in spite of Inca efforts to establish state institutions including the religious cult of *Inti*, the Sun of the Incas, and a national language, Quechua, that served to facilitate trade but may, or may not, have been intended as a means of unifying the state. Even as Quechua prevailed as a trade language throughout the realm, local dialects continued to be used according to Spanish records that refer to both the “general language of the Inca” and the “language of the people” (*el habla de la gente*). Likewise, the cult of *Inti* did not replace the regional *wa’kas*, the idols of the people. Pachacuti rebuilt the temple in Cuzco and placed *Inti*, the Sun god, in the central place of honor. He moved the image of *Viracocha* to the right and *Chuquiylla*, the lightening deity, to the left. With this new arrangement, the Sun ceased to be the exclusive cult object of the Inca ruling class and became instead part of the new official state religion. The inauguration of a state religion did not, however, alter the practice of Andean communities who continued to venerate and sacrifice to their numerous *wa’kas*. This arrangement was encouraged by Pachacuti who awarded regional *wa’kas* places in Cuzco to reduce the likelihood of rebellions by natives who would not want to risk reprisals against their idols present in the city. In spite of these concessions, and the possible unifying effect of the use of Quechua throughout the land, the pressures of Inca hegemony weighed on the people. In the final decades of the Incas’ extraordinary empire the increased demand for labor to support state institutions (especially men for warfare), the growing use of *mitimaq*, and widespread discontent within the many ethnic groups served to weaken the state from within. Widespread discontent among the dominated groups gave way to desire to rid themselves of Inca rule and made them receptive to the Spaniards who came to do battle.

⁵⁹ Patterson, *The Inka Empire*, 69-72. Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 223-225.

“Only afterward, with the misery and suffering that battered the people under Spanish rule, was there a surge of nostalgia for the Inca past.”⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Rostworowski, *History of the Inca Realm*, 226.

CHAPTER 3

DISEASE, DEATH, AND DEMOGRAPHIC COLLAPSE

“There was then no sickness; they had no aching bones; they had then no high fever; they had then no smallpox; they had then no burning chest; they had then no abdominal pain; they had then no consumption; they had then no headache. At that time the course of humanity was orderly. The foreigners made it otherwise when they arrived here.”¹

The vanguard of the Spanish army that would conquer and control the Andean world arrived well ahead of Francisco Pizarro and company, a vanguard of microbes, not men. As early as the 1520s traders from the northern communities of the Inca realm who exchanged goods with Panamá brought home pathogens to which the people had no previous exposure and, therefore, no immunity. The most virulent and deadly of these diseases was smallpox, but a number of similar viruses that produced fevers, chills, and skin eruptions also made their rounds. When indigenous people later spoke of these diseases to European informants they sometimes used the same, or interchangeable, words to designate different viruses. This fact made the task of tracing epidemics more complicated. However, for the purpose of discussing the effects of depopulation on the ultimate collapse of the indigenous Andean world, it is sufficient to understand that there was a series of epidemics that wreaked havoc. The measles-type viruses, the smallpox

¹ *The Book of Chilam Balam of Chumayel*, trans. Ralph L. Roy, in Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Company, 1972), 36.

virus, and the insect borne bacteria that caused typhus together combined to produce pandemic rounds of infection with disastrous results.²

Evidence of the earliest epidemics is “entirely hearsay, because the Incan people had no system of writing.” The sources are secondary accounts written by Spaniards and Indians born after the conquest, sometimes years and even decades after the epidemics of the 1520s.³ From the first cases that appeared in 1520, the diseases quickly spread and reached the highest levels of Inca society. By the time the Europeans made first contact with the north coast of Peru at Tumbes in 1528, the Sapa Inca Huayna Capac had succumbed to smallpox and left a bloody struggle for power between two of his sons, Huascar and Atahualpa. The subsequent division of strength within the Inca Empire facilitated the conquest accomplished by Pizarro and his group who, within a matter of weeks, conquered the power base of the Empire and initiated the first period of domination.

The demographic collapse of Peru has been the subject of much historic investigation in recent decades. Experts from several disciplines have used various methods to construct models for estimating the pre-contact population. Heated debate continues to rage as new studies and new opinions emerge. According to Noble David Cook, the issue of the pre-contact population is a matter of faith as much as fact. In his book, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620*, he explains that historically and philosophically the issue is important because it is intrinsically bound up with the Black Legend and the nature of the Spaniards and their conquest. The Spaniards were evil

² See E. Wagner Stern and Allen E. Stern, “The Sixteenth Century,” in *The Effect of Smallpox on the Destiny of the Amerindian* (Boston: Bruce Humphries, Inc. Publishers, 1945). Also, Henry F. Dobyns, “An Outline of Andean Epidemic History to 1720,” *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 37(November-December, 1963): 494-501.

³ Alfred W. Crosby, Jr., *The Columbian Exchange*, 51.

indeed if one uses the figures found in the chronicles of Bartolomé de las Casas whose figures indicate they caused the loss of millions of lives. If the numbers were much lower, the consequences of contact were less vile and can be accepted and judged within the framework of fifteenth and sixteenth century European thinking⁴. However, understanding the real impact of depopulation on Andean psyches, as well as on the physical health and economic well being of its societies, is of greater importance than evaluating the European image of Spanish conquistadores. To understand the impact, it is first necessary to determine the size of the Indian population in Perú when contact with the Old World began.

The basic source for historical demography is the census and the Incas were diligent in collecting information on their subjects, recording details of age, sex, class, as well as numbers of animals and accountings of material goods.⁵ The information was recorded on the knotted-string devices called *quipus*. The *quipocamay*o was the official sent at regular intervals to each province where he met with the leaders for a review and updating of the records. The numbers of births and deaths were noted. The population was organized into age categories and some from each province would be selected and separated for special services and sent from the area. This was the case for young girls chosen as *acalla*, women for the Inca, as well as those set apart as *yanacona*, servants to the nobility. Although Inca censuses were frequent and detailed they present problems for the historian trying to determine demographic data because the Inca system recorded status, not exact chronological age. Some groups, such as the *yanacona*, were not counted at all. The biggest hurdle is that most of the census *quipus* were destroyed

⁴ Noble David Cook, *Demographic Collapse: Indian Peru, 1520-1620* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 2.

⁵ Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 76-77.

during the early conflicts of the conquest. “The Inca probably knew the exact population of the area under their control, but we shall never know. Even if a cache of Inca *quipu* censuses is discovered, we can decipher only the numbers, not the categories counted.”⁶

Lacking sufficient census data, several methods are used to estimate pre-contact populations of groups who have no written language. One can examine the archeological evidence, evaluate the carrying capacity of the ecosystems supporting a given society, and analyze its social and political structures. Additionally, scholars make estimates using depopulation and/or disease mortality ratios. In the Andean case, archaeological evidence from Peru’s Inca Empire yields information about the patterns of settlement, urban centers, and population densities for certain locales. Extensive research has been done regarding the social and political institutions of the pre-Inca and Incaic states. And, because population growth is limited by the carrying capacity of the ecological system supporting a given society, an examination of the agricultural potential of the Andean economy provides many clues.

The Andean region presents a geographical and ecological environment that is commonly described as vertical. In this vertical arrangement, a variety of climates and microenvironments occur within a relatively small area moving from the coast to the high mountain valleys. Within a day one can walk from a temperate zone where vegetable gardens are guarded by thorny cacti, upwards past potato fields where the air is decidedly chilly, and on to the quiet, barren world of cold springs and *ichu* grass where *llamas* and *alpacas* feed. Agriculture is risky as rainy seasons are unpredictable at least half of the time. In the high valleys and on the altiplano the daily fluctuations in temperature during the dry season mean that the indigenous tubers and cereals freeze and thaw daily.

⁶ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 11.

Andean communities learned to overcome this forbidding and bewildering ecology. They worked out effective methods of exploiting their peculiar world and over time produced agricultural surpluses sufficient to sustain several great highland civilizations.⁷

The social organization developed by Andean peoples to engineer the adaptation to their vertical world was complex and based on two overriding principles, self-sufficiency and community. As Stern described it in his chapter, “Pre-Columbian Landscapes,” members of a given *ayllu* would settle in various ecological zones to produce the variety of crops needed to support the entire *ayllu* abundantly through an elaborate interchange of products and labor. For example, a core group would be situated in the temperate zones between the altitudes of 2500 to 3500 meters to produce the staple crops of maize and potatoes. Other *ayllu* members would herd llamas and alpacas, hunt game, or extract salt at higher altitudes (3500 to 4500 meters). In the lower valleys and hot lands still others cultivated *aji* (hot peppers) and coca, fruit, cotton, and so forth. The complexity of the economic, agricultural, social, and political organization of the Andeans at the time of conquest factors into the process of estimating their numbers.

Examining social organization and political institutions to determine population data is the least accurate methodology. That there exists a relationship between the complexity of a society and its size can be demonstrated, but one can only infer in very general terms the apex of a population in relationship to its societal complexity. Clearly hunter-gatherer and nomadic societies never supported large populations, whereas sedentary groups that used intensive and extensive irrigation agriculture could support very large numbers. As societies become larger they become structurally more complex.

⁷ Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 4.

However, even though this relationship is direct it is not concomitant; population growth leads the way and structural changes follow. Furthermore, according to Henry F. Dobyns the really serious limitation of estimating population based on socio-political structure is “the extreme scarcity of hierarchically organized states whose administrative structure is based upon a theory of uniformly populated governmental entities.”⁸ Cook’s concern regarding this method is not the scarcity of societies suitable to serve as models but the basic unsoundness of the methodology, especially in the Incaic state. Even the Incas, as the most competent administrators of ancient America, could not meet the requirements of a system that required a continuous redistribution of people by distributing them so as to conform to a statistical model. “People were distributed as a result of the immediate and long-term requirements of the state, not on a need to maintain an ideal number of 100 *hataruna* in a given territory.”⁹

An additional method for estimating Peru’s indigenous population at the time of conquest uses a depopulation ratio such as the one used by John H. Rowe in his work sampling the Rimac and Chincha of the Peruvian coast, and the Yauyos, Huancas, and Soras of the central highlands. This method is straightforward and according to Stern is clearly understandable. “Known population figures for precontact groups and later census figures for the same population unit are used to derive a ratio. The ratio is then applied to estimate the total regional population from a known census total.”¹⁰ Straightforward though this method may be, it has produced a wide range of population estimates by different scholars. Henry Dobyns’s estimate of 37.5 million at one end contrasts sharply with the 6 million Rowe calculated. C.T. Smith’s estimate of 12 million and Nathan

⁸ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 58.

⁹ *ibid.*,

¹⁰ *ibid.*, 41.

Wachtel's 10 million represent intermediate results. As Cook affirms, the difficulty lies with the inadequate statistical samples used to construct the depopulation model. He carefully analyzes the data used by each of these scholars and finds problems with each case. Rowe was one of the first to use the depopulation method based on the above mentioned samples, which he chose because he had available figures from both the Inca period (ca. 1525) and the Toledo era (ca.1570). Under Cook's scrutiny, however, flaws in Rowe's methodology appear. Rowe calculates a total number of inhabitants by using a 5:1 ratio with the number of known taxpayers. The difficulty is in establishing the number of taxpayers because the age of tributary in Inca time was imprecise compared to the precise records available under Toledo's regime. Also, the statistical sample used was inadequate and in addition, according to Cook, Rowe failed to use the exact figures that were available to him.¹¹

Cook assesses the estimates of Henry Dobyns and notices the clear influence of Woodrow Borah and Sherburne F. Cook and their work with the case of Mexico. According to Cook, Dobyns uses little direct evidence from Peru and the evidence he chose to use was at times unreliable. For example he used a 1685 report that mentioned a road between Paita and Lima where 2 million Indians once lived but only 20,000 remained. This report was made by Gabriel Fernández de Villalobos, a soldier of fortune, farmer, slave trader, merchant, smuggler, shipwreck survivor, and occasionally a prisoner, who was not likely a man to take great pains with his figures. Cook takes issue with Dobyns' use of such inadequate and unreliable evidence. "... Dobyns based his Andean estimates primarily on the experience of an inadequate sample of population change in a small number of geographical regions. His hard evidence for high

¹¹ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 42.

depopulation ratios for Peru is fragmentary. Further, Dobyns did not ferret out all the evidence.”¹²

C.T. Smith arrived at his estimate of 12 million through a complex process that included the use of census data from 1940, a fact that Cook sees as problematical because the number of infants was drastically undercounted and the out migration to coastal communities from the highland communities used in the sample was not factored into the equation. In short, although Smith’s estimates and his scholarship in determining his estimate may be better supported with evidence than the findings of both Rowe and Dobyns, they are still suspect.¹³

Nathan Wachtel used the dates of 1530, 1560, and 1590 to construct his model for estimating the preconquest population of the Inca Empire. Working first with the 1560 and 1590 populations and rates of depopulation, Wachtel proceeded to calculate the 1530 population. His work is based on data for four groups, the Chupacos, Hananhaunca, Yucay, and Chucuito. By his own admission these groups comprise a sample that is too small to be a reliable basis for generalizations; nevertheless, he used them for his final estimates.¹⁴

In addition to the methods used by Rowe, Dobyns, Smith, and Wachtel, another way to apply the depopulation ratio model for preconquest population estimates is by direct analogy with the depopulation of Mexico. Latin American historical demographers Borah and Cook spent years working on the case of Mexico and estimate that the rate of population decline for the coastal area averaged 6.87 percent annually between 1534 and

¹² Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 44.

¹³ See also Means, *Ancient Civilizations*, 296-297.

¹⁴ Nathan Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished: The Spanish Conquest of Peru through Indian Eyes, 1530-1570*, trans. Ben and Siân Reynolds (New York: Barnes & Noble Import Division, Harper & Row Publishers, Inc., 1977), 87-91.

1573 and in the same period the highland regions experienced a decline of 3.74 percent. This means that in less than a century after the Spaniards arrived in Mexico the population declined from approximately 25.3 million to 2.6 million. Using a similar rate of decline for Perú, the total precontact population would have been 14.5 million. Most researchers accepted the work of Borah and Cook as the most reliable, but two problems with such direct comparisons should not be overlooked. First, is the fact that the dates used are chronologically similar but with respect to the relative moment of first contact they do not coincide. Because the rate of decline was most rapid in the first years following contact, this inconsistency is relevant. Second, the geographic, climatic, and demographic differences between México and Perú are significant. In México, the central plateau was densely populated and people lived in villages with relatively easy access to each other. In contrast Perú's highland people lived in smaller groups scattered throughout the mountain basins with difficult access. In México trade and communication between the coastal areas and the highlands was well established, while in Perú river valleys were often separated by stretches of desert and interchange was less established. More of the people in Perú lived at higher elevations than the people of México and they lived relatively more isolated. Because elevation affects the health of people and influences disease, the Peruvians may have suffered less from the epidemic cycles than their Mexican counterparts did.

A review of the methods used and problems encountered in trying to estimate the precontact population of Perú using depopulation ratios forces one to conclude that it is a technique that is useful only at a certain level. And as Cook points out, "the method unfortunately gives us the results we expect. Researchers who anticipate large totals get

them, and those who envision a more moderate population project intermediate figures.”¹⁵

A final method to consider in estimating the precontact population of the Andean region uses disease mortality models. The research of modern medical researchers can establish many details about prior populations through mortality estimates of known epidemics that afflicted the Andean world in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. This process is complicated by many factors, however, beginning with the difficulty of correctly identifying the disease agent. Early chroniclers depended on sources that used various names for the same disease or, conversely, used the same name for different diseases. Also, the much greater susceptibility of Andeans to European diseases meant that the mortality rate was much higher. The overall health of the affected populace was a determinant in the mortality rate for those who became ill, and the effects of warfare, famine, and overwork elevated the mortality rate. The altitude in the Andes was an additional significant factor as evidence indicates that elevation affects both the course and outcome of several types of epidemics. And, because both the people and the disease agents continue to evolve over time, the Indians may have become more resistant, and/or the diseases less virulent during the first century after contact.

Despite these difficulties those who have studied early Peruvian epidemics concur on a chronology of the worst epidemics of the initial colonial period from 1524 to 1591. Hemorrhagic smallpox was the vanguard force that extracted the first casualties of the conquest. Not only Huayna Capac and his chosen heir died in the first round of the epidemic but tens of thousands of Andeans perished. “In 1530-32 a series of epidemics, probably smallpox and measles, passed through all of Peru. In 1546 plague, or typhus,

¹⁵ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 54. Stern and Stern, *Effect of Smallpox*, 16-17.

beset the inhabitants of the region. From 1558 to 1560 an influenza epidemic perhaps coincided with a recurrence of hemorrhagic smallpox.”¹⁶ After factoring in previously enumerated variables Cook’s careful analysis of the disease mortality model concludes with an estimate of the Peruvian population in 1520 between 3.25 million and 8 million.

To determine the preconquest population in the face of much conflicting opinion and problematical methodologies Cook discarded the least useful and chose to examine the points of confluence between the most reliable models. The ecological model, one of the most reliable predictors, produced an estimate of 13.3 million. “This highly tentative number is about as good as any other figure one is able currently to derive from the method given the large number of variables and the insufficient evidence.”¹⁷ The depopulation models, which are the most widely used, also produce the widest range of estimates. However, at the lower end, an average of the best estimates makes any number lower than 3.2 million suspect.¹⁸ At the upper end, distilling the best estimates produces an upper limit of slightly over 14 million. The maximum number supported by the disease mortality models, as stated above, is 8 million, the maximum number based on carrying capacity is approximately 13 million, a maximum based on once social structure model yields an estimate of 11.5 million.

Al fin y al cabo, Cook determined a valid range for the total precontact population of the Andean region to be no less than 5.5 million and no more than 9.5 million. As he pointed out, “the ‘exact’ population of Peru in the sixteenth century will never be known. It was impossible to establish the ‘exact’ population of the United States in 1970, using a

¹⁶ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 62.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, 108.

¹⁸ *ibid.*, 111.

census staff of thousands, sophisticated techniques, and advanced computers.”¹⁹ For those seeking a single figure, Cook offers his estimate of 9 million, “made after careful weighing of the evidence, rather than being purely an act of faith.”²⁰

Establishing the initial population at 9 million, the next matter for examination is the extent of the demographic collapse and the subsequent effect on the lifeways of the indigenous people groups affected by the conquest, those that made up the colonial territory administered by the Spaniards. George Kubler in his article “The Quechua in the Colonial World” states that Peru and Bolivia did not suffer epidemics “as strong as occurred in Mexico.”²¹ Henry Dobyns, citing Juan B. Lastres, Louis Baudin, and additional unnamed historians, refutes Kubler’s position and presents evidence that the indigenous population suffered great losses of population due to epidemic disease.²² Dobyns acknowledges that because the aboriginal disease environment had already been altered before the Spaniards arrived, full accounts of the initial impact of European disease agents on a virgin population are not possible. However, a sufficient number of accounts agree “that the mortality that occurred was of a scale equal to, or exceeding, that in central Mexico.”²³ The first contact of an entirely susceptible population with a new disease often causes total extinction of small groups within a few years. Knowledge of the decimating impact of hemorrhagic smallpox on other susceptible populations, such as the case of Iceland in 1701, supports the assumption of a very high mortality rate among the Andean people in the 1520-1526 epidemics, and the “Andean population may well

¹⁹ Cook, *Demographic Collapse*, 112.

²⁰ *ibid.*, 114.

²¹ George Kubler, “The Quechua in the Colonial World,” *The Handbook of South American Indians*, vol. 2, *The Andean Civilization*, (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946) 334.

²² Dobyns, “An Outline of Andean Epidemic History,” 494.

²³ *Ibid.*, 496.

have been halved” during this period.²⁴ The nature of the colonial government saw consistent interchange between Spain and Peru that fostered repeated introductions of smallpox until it became endemic in the highland populations. Smallpox was a previously unknown disease that struck swiftly. Within days it transformed healthy people into oozing horrors barely recognizable even by close family members. The psychological effects were enormous as even if one survived, the effects, in the form of scarring, left the victim “in such a condition that they frightened the others with the many deep pits on their faces, hands, and bodies.” Some lost their sight, a fairly common aftereffect of smallpox.²⁵

As noted previously, a number of diseases spread through these regions in the early colonial period with devastating results. In 1546 an epidemic of measles swept through the Andes causing innumerable deaths of people and animals. Also, the records of Cuzco record that the llamas and sheep in all Peru suffered from an epizootic that also began in 1546.²⁶ All early Spanish chroniclers tell of the catastrophic decline in the indigenous population. Indian women were especially vulnerable and became so enraged by the invulnerability of the Spanish conquerors to the epidemic diseases that “they kneaded infected blood into their masters’ bread and secreted corpses in their wells—to little effect.”²⁷

Although these epidemics account for the major part of the demographic collapse of the Andean region, factors of warfare, abuse, exploitation, and psychological stress must also be considered. The Spanish conquest initiated a period of cruel oppression.

²⁴ Dobyns, *Outline of Andean Epidemic History*, 497.

²⁵ Crosby, *Columbian Exchange*, 57.

²⁶ Dobyns, *Outline of Andean Epidemic History*, 499. See Stern and Stern, *The Effect of Smallpox*. 11-15.

²⁷ Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, 38.

“If an attempt were made to recount in detail the cruel actions and the massacres the Christians have perpetrated and each day are perpetrating in Peru, that relation would be such that all we have recounted of their actions in other parts of the Indies would seem as nothing, by comparison, both in quality and quantity.”²⁸

The earliest censuses taken after the Spanish arrived show a marked decline in the male population due to warfare and the extractions of tribute.²⁹ The birth rates fell during the last half of the sixteenth century, a further indication of the trauma of the conquest. Documents of the period also “refer to individual or collective suicides and practices of abortion, at the same time betraying a mood of despair and serving as a form of protest.”³⁰ A document addressed to the Archbishop of Lima in 1582 tells of Indians “driven to suicide by despair and the desire to escape ill treatment; some hang themselves; some fast to death; others take poisonous herbs’ and women even kill their babies at birth ‘to free them from the torments they suffer.’”³¹

In addition to the direct effects of disease, warfare, and psychological stresses suffered by the indigenous people, the deconstruction of their social and religious order provoked long term changes in their lifeways that affected their health and longevity. In the *Relaciones geográficas de Indias [1562-6]* they expressed their view of their changed situation. The investigators asked the Indians if their numbers had increased or declined, if they enjoyed better or worse health, and what caused any changes that had occurred.

²⁸ Bartolomé de Las Casas, *The Devastation of the Indies: A Brief Account*, trans. Herma Briffault (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 119.

²⁹ *La visitación de los pueblos de los indios [1549]* Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, España, Justicia, legajo No. 397. This “visitation” in 1549 shows a marked decrease in the population, especially the male population. In almost every village listed, the number of houses is as great, or greater, than the population. Sf. 171v. indicates that in the time of the Incas there were 4000 men in the province and at time of the “visit” there were 1200 men and 436 widows.

³⁰ Leslie Bethell, Ed. “The Indian and the Spanish Conquest,” in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, Volume 1, Colonial Latin America (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 213.

³¹ Nathan Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 94.

The concensus was that they now did not live as long and were in poorer health. They gave as reasons for the decline warfare, epidemics, migrations of population, and overwork. Ironically, some of the people believed that their decline in longevity was due to working less, being freer and better fed.



“...And they lived longer in the old days than now, and they attribute this to the fact that they ate and drank less then...And because they indulge in more vices than before and have more freedom, they live less healthy lives...They lived longer because before, they say, they led more orderly lives than they do now, and because there was not such an abundance of things, nor did they have the opportunities which they now have to eat and drink and indulge in other vices, and with all the work they had to do when the Inka reigned, there was not even any wine, which generally shortens life.”³²

Such apparent contradiction can possibly be explained by the fact that a sense of too much freedom corresponds with a void left by the loss of former social and religious structures and a collapse of traditional patterns of conduct. Although the disintegration of economic, social, and religious systems will be discussed at greater length within the context of the conquest culture, the relationship of demographic changes to the destructuration of Andean society is clear and was apparent to the people who experienced them. If they now thought they were working less, they also felt that the work was in a sense absurd because it had been divorced from its previous connection to religion, family, and community. The Spanish tribute labor they endured was onerous

³² *Relaciones geográficas de Indias [1582-6]*, ed. M. Jiménez de la Espada (Madrid, 1881-98, 4 vols; re-ed. 1965, 3 vols), I, 88-9, 120, 222, 330, in Bethell, *The Indian and the Spanish Conquest*, 214.

and the references they made to alcoholism were revealing. Under Inca rule drunkenness was forbidden and severely punished. The freedom to indulge in drunkenness indicates that the former rules for living had changed and many Indians could and did seek escape from a meaningless world through alcohol.

Andeans had a sense of being overburdened as continuing depopulation meant *mit'a* obligations fell on fewer shoulders. In 1562, the Chupachos who belonged to the *encomienda* of Gómez Arias Dávila complained about their lot.

“At present they pay tribute *differently* from the way they paid it to the Inca: and now *they give more*.”³³

“They find it more difficult to pay tribute now than in the time of the Inca because then the Indians were many and at present they are far fewer.”³⁴

The demographic collapse in the first period of Spanish rule, 1532 to 1571, was catastrophic and sufficient to dismantle existing state organizations and economic structures without additional pressures from a colonial regime that was intent on enriching the conquerors at the expense of the conquered. The horror of the diseases, disfiguring and painful, leaving scars in the body and in the psyche, played a major role in the destruction of the Andean way of life. It is part of the collection of forces that produced the millenarian movement, Taki Onqoy, and the attempted military revolt in 1571.

³³ Ortiz de Zúñiga, *Visita*, fo.11r (declaration of Don Diego Xagua, chief *curaca*, in Nathan Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 102.

³⁴ *Ibid.* fo. 17r.

CHAPTER 4

FOR JESUS' SAKE? THE SPANISH QUEST FOR GOLD AND GLORY

“...el *Ynga* chapetón y el español chapetón, que por señas hablaron. Y preguntó al español qué es lo que comía; responde en lengua de español y por señas que le apuntava que comía oro y plata.”¹

The facts of the encounter between Spaniards and Andeans are well known. The stories and pictures of mounted, armored conquistadores can be found in history textbooks from elementary grades upward. Accounts of the ransom paid for Atahualpa and his subsequent execution, intriguing etchings of the riotous city of Potosí set on its mountain of silver, and tales of internecine struggles among the original band of *hidalgos* serve to pique our interest and leave us awed. Indeed this encounter was an awesome happening and the forces and events that produced it are many faceted and complex; so, too, are the results.



From the sixteenth to the twentieth centuries this collision of two worlds has been described by Western historians who, according to Sabine MacCormack, tend to divide Andean history into a “before” and “after” the destruction of the Inca Empire and to

¹ The Indian and the Spaniard converse using hand gestures. . . the Indian asked the Spaniard what he customarily ate; replied the Spaniard “silver and gold.” Guamán Poma *El Primer Nueva Corónica*, 342.

perceive the history of Peru as irrevocably ruptured by the Spanish invasion of 1532.² Some historians characterize the sociopolitical world of the Incas by references to European antecedents such as the sixteenth century monarchic and ecclesiastical ideals. In the twentieth century Marxist saw the Inca Empire as a socialist state and deftly traced and described both its development and disintegration as such.³ More recently there has been growing interest in “pursuing explicitly Andean vantage points.”⁴ The growing availability of published archival sources has allowed historians to ask new questions and examine issues from other than a Western point of view and to discover that there are “certain continuities in the Andes that span the Inca and early colonial periods, and often reach even into the present.”⁵ These continuities were impacted by the European encounter and by the establishment of colonial rule. In diverse and sundry ways the Andeans of necessity engaged the invaders. They collaborated, co-operated, assisted, resisted, appropriated, sabotaged, and redeployed European colonial projects, utopias, and relationships.⁶

Steve Stern in his essay on the paradigms of conquest explains that the conquistadores brought with them three major frameworks, or objectives, each of which was a “quest whose highest expression was a utopia.”⁷ The impossible dream in Spain could become reality in the New World for those seeking material riches, the evangelization of the heathen, and a new social order in which they would be released from the subordination and constraints of a rigid, old society. The lust for gold and riches

² Sabine MacCormack, “Myth, History and Language in the Andes,” *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 2(1993): 247.

³ See Patterson’s *The Inca Empire*, and Spalding’s *Huarochiri*.

⁴ MacCormack, “Myth, History and Language in the Andes,” 248.

⁵ *ibid.*, 249.

⁶ Steve J. Stern, “Paradigms of Conquest: History, Historiography, and Politics,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 24 (Quincentenary Supplement 1992): 23.

⁷ Stern, “Paradigms of Conquest,” 7.

is known to the point of providing a stereotypical image of Spanish conquistadores. The rush for treasure, however, went beyond the initial plundering of temples, graves, and shrines and from the immediate establishment of tribute collecting. The conquistadores moved quickly to establish a number of profit-making enterprises and commercial investments that continued to grow over time whereas the “plunder economy” eventually came to an end.

The second well known image of the Spanish conquerors is that of the missionary- priests who arrived with visions of an America that could become a Christian paradise peopled by newly converted souls untainted by Old World corruption. They derived their authority from the Spanish Crown and the Church of Rome as both institutions sought to convert the pagans and legitimize imperial exploits around the globe. The missionaries and priests accompanied the initial conquest expeditions and provided not only prayer and legitimacy but political advice as well. They served as advocates and defenders of the colonists’ interests, as allies of one or another faction during political infighting and debate over social policy, as protectors of the Christian mission, and as the conscience that denounced excessive cruelty and exploitation of the Indians. As advocates they were drawn into the political arena and into developing their own power bases and authority relationships. Priests and missionaries were not immune to the lust for riches and power and some shamelessly exploited the labor and tribute of Indians, monopolized access to them, and resorted to cruelty and violence in their efforts to evangelize them.⁸

The third objective, or utopia, was the less well known desire for social precedence that involved escaping the constraints of class order in Spain and attaining

⁸ Stern, “Paradigms of Conquest,” 9-13.

honor and authority in a new society.⁹ The conquistadores quarreled and took offense at every slight, real or imagined. They rushed to establish their authority over a network of concubines, slaves, servants, and clients proclaiming their loyal service to God and King while at the same time, blatantly resisting the local authority of both. They exuded an air of defiance; *nadie me manda a mí, yo soy el mandón de otros* (Nobody bosses me. I give orders to others.).¹⁰

From the mix of motives that fueled the hopes and dreams of gold and glory, the early conquerors and colonists struggled to find ways to coexist and collaborate with each other while mediating these new relationships within a world still controlled by the Church and the Crown. This struggle was complicated not only by the internal tensions of competing interests among the colonists but also because they “contended with a formidable array of Indian initiatives and responses.”¹¹

In this new and complex world where cultures collided, the Spaniards set out to establish a colony of the Crown and made amazing progress in spite of the lack of harmony among the competing interest groups, or utopias as described by Stern. In fact, the infant colony grew and thrived in the crucible of the early wars of conquest, including the first pan-Indian revolt and year long siege of Cuzco in 1536-37, and the series of civil wars that raged for more than fifteen years. James Lockhart, in his book *Spanish Peru*, points out that although these civil wars were primarily personal feuds between the Pizarrists and the Almagrists they also pitted the rich against the poor and the well-

⁹ For an in-depth look at the original band of conquistadores see James Lockhart, *The Men of Cajamarca: A Social and Biographical Study of the First Conquerors of Peru* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1972).

¹⁰ Stern, “Paradigms of Conquest,” 9.

¹¹ *ibid.*

established against the newly arrived.¹² It has been often assumed, in light of so much early conflict, that colonial social and economic models developed later, during the rule of Viceroy Toledo, or at the earliest after the end of the civil wars in the 1550s. In reality, all the main population centers and all the main economic and social trends had taken shape by 1545 or 1550, and in some cases much earlier. This spontaneous and undirected colonial development occurred concurrently with the conquest and civil wars.¹³ As the power of the original band of conquistadores operating in the Inca heartland slowly declined, the royal power of Spain slowly consolidated its power, radiating from Cuzco throughout the Central Andes.

After the fall of Cuzco in 1533, Francisco Pizarro led the way in dividing the Andean villages loyal to the Inca into *encomienda* grants. Inhabitants of an *encomienda* were required to pay tribute to and provide labor for the *encomendero* in exchange for military protection and religious instruction. This *encomienda* model was superimposed on the existing complex network of trade and production that spanned the region in the unique vertical arrangement that allowed Andeans to maximize productivity in their ecologically fragile world.

The first group of *conquistadores*-turned-*encomenderos* were far more adept at war than managing estates and establishing a workable government. In the first chaotic years the Amerindian population rapidly declined from epidemic diseases as the number of European immigrants continued to increase, shifting the balance of power in favor of the Europeans. Even the groups who had been originally allies of the Spaniards grew disillusioned with invaders who brought disease and devastation that ultimately proved

¹² James Lockhart, *Spanish Peru 1532-1560: A Colonial Society* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), 5-7.

¹³ *ibid.*, 7.

worse than the dominion of the Inca lords. During the first generation the productive capabilities of Andean communities strained to support the escalating demands of an ever growing European community. Many Andeans became bitter as the abuses of the *encomenderos* multiplied and the devastating diseases continued to take their toll.

The bitterness and disillusionment grew after an initial response in which a number of subject groups within the Inca Empire chose to aid the arriving conquistadores. The one hundred sixty-eight brave and audacious conquistadores who overthrew the Inca dynasty had to rely on alliances forged with these dissident Andean groups, such as the Wanka and Cañari peoples.¹⁴ While the crisis in Tawantinsuyu at the moment of Spanish invasion has been understood in light of the power struggle between Huáscar and Atahualpa, that struggle was only part of the equation. The fact is that a parallel history of the conquest, an Andean history, is interwoven and forms an indispensable part of the conquest and the establishment of the colonial regime.¹⁵ In addition to the royal power struggle, the expansion of Tawantinsuyu in the early part of the sixteenth-century created new administrative problems and additional stresses on subject populations. Andeans sought solutions that would reorder the cosmos and reorganize religion in a way that would be in concordance with their cyclical world view. In essence the Inca Empire, with its ever-growing demands for labor and goods to support its system of reciprocity, began to pass through a process of deconstruction, at times marked by violence, at other times slow and deliberate, and during which Andeans subject to the dynasty in Tawantinsuyu began expecting a change, a cosmic change.

¹⁴ See John F. Guilmartin, Jr., "The Cutting Edge: An Analysis of the Spanish Invasion and Overthrow of the Inca Empire, 1532-1539," in Kenneth J. Andrien, and Rolena Adorno. *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991) 40-69.

¹⁵ Liliana Regalado de Hurtado, "De Cajamarca a Vilcabamba: Una Querrela Andina," *Histórica* VIII (Diciembre 1984), 179

Liliana Regalado de Hurtado claims that the Andean people considered the presence of the Spaniards tangential in a course of confrontation that they perceived to be not against the Spanish Crown, or the invaders who fought the Incas, but against the “Lords of Cuzco.” “Furthermore, the immediate crisis was a crisis of their society and, moreover, (or for certain), cosmic.”¹⁶ The seeds of expectation sown before the Spaniards arrived would flower in the decade of crisis, the 1560s, and produce the millenarian movement, *Taki Onqoy*.

Living with an underlying expectation of a coming cosmic change, the first generation of Andeans became enmeshed in the colonial system, with greater or lesser degrees of success. When Francisco Pizarro distributed the first *encomiendas* to the “men of Cajamarca” he only established the fact that the Indians would pay tribute to the *encomendero* and render him personal service; he did not specify the amount of tribute. Consequently, “los abusos a que esta situación dio lugar, fueron incontables.”¹⁷

In Andean society people accessed goods and resources through their kinship ties. The localized kin-group, the *ayllu*, provided the land and labor when a new household was established, and that household owed service to the *ayllu* in return.¹⁸ These *ayllus* were nested, from those at the level of a household up to one that encompassed the entire ethnic group and its entire region. At each level, the individual made claim to goods and

¹⁶ Hurtado, “De Cajamarca a Vilcabamba, 182. Trans. Henson.

¹⁷“The abuses that ensued were innumerable.” Pilar Remy S., “Tasas tributarias pre-toledanas de la provincia de Cajamarca,” *Historia y cultura* 16 (1983), 67. Trans. Henson

¹⁸The traditional *ayllu* can be defined as any group whose members regard themselves as “brothers” owing one another mutual aid and support, in contrast to others outside the boundaries of the group. Karen Spalding, “*Kurakas* and Commerce: A Chapter in the Evolution of Andean Society,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53 (November 1973), 583.

services based on his membership in the *ayllu*. From the level of a local community to more extensive levels of the society, an *ayllu* had a *kuraka*¹⁹

The *kuraka* was a chief who held membership in the *ayllu*, exercised authority over it, spoke for it, and was tied to it by reciprocal loyalties and responsibilities. The extent of the rights and powers of a given *kuraka* depended on the size and organization of his particular *ayllu*.²⁰ It was the *kuraka* who maintained the rituals of the group, settled disputes among *ayllu* members, and protected its weaker and less prosperous members. Under Inca rule the *kuraka* also interfaced with the state to enforce the *ayllu*'s obligations to the state for tribute payments, labor obligations and sacrifices to Inca deities. In return, the *kuraka* received special access to the goods and services of his *ayllu*. Even as some land was reserved to the Inca in every community, so some land was designated for the *kuraka* and the members of the group worked it. Because the *kuraka* had special access, he had opportunity to increase his wealth and the ability to widen the sphere of his influence. He accomplished this by carefully distributing wealth and favors and thus reinforcing the members' obligations to him. The *kuraka* did not make demands, however, but used the form of petition or request to elicit the aid of his kinsmen. Spalding cites the example of a *kuraka* from Huánuco who, when he needed aid, "begs the Indians to give it to him because there is no specific thing that they are obliged to give him."²¹

The Spaniards recognized these *karacas* as leaders of their communities and chose to use them as such. They extended them legal status equivalent to that of the

¹⁹ *Kuraka* is synonymous with the term *cacique* and roughly translates as "lord" or "chief."

²⁰ According to Spalding, Holguín's *Vocabulario* translates the Quechua word *kuraka* as "lord of the people" or "he who speaks for all."

²¹ *Visita de Huánuco*, I, 28, in Spalding, "Kurakas and Commerce," 585.

hidalguía of Spain and the right to hold private property and sign contracts. Depending on the status of a *kuraka* in terms of the group he represented, he could enjoy additional accoutrements of privilege such as the right to own a horse, carry weapons, and be exempt from labor service and the sumptuary laws that applied to the Indian masses. Although the Spanish conquerors recognized the leadership role of the *kuraka*, they did not fully understand the framework of the *ayllu* system with its interconnected obligations and exchanges. The Spaniards could not access native labor without using the *kuraka* unless they resorted to force. Even though that labor, once accessed, functioned within a European market model, the *kuraka* solicited the labor from the Indians in his role as their chief.

Spalding gives an excellent illustration of how this model was misconstrued when seen through Spanish eyes. A Spanish chronicler observed Indians building a house for don Francisco Nina Paucar who were given “nothing but food of coca and *ají* and some meat during the time that they work and this is the payment that he gives them and this is ancient custom among them.”²² What the Spaniards did not understand is that the food and drink were only part of the value the workers received. This particular work detail was part of the lifelong exchange of services and obligations in which they participated as *ayllu* members. These Indians received from their *kuraka* ongoing provisions and protections that provided the incentive to continue supporting the system.

Although the Indian masses tended to continue supporting this system in the sixteenth-century, the *kurakas*, with enhanced contact and opportunities within Spanish society and its European based economy, modified their behavior and values over time to conform to the culture of the conquerors. The *encomenderos*, likewise, had to adapt, with

²² Visita de Huánuco, I, 75, in Spalding, “*Kurakas* and Commerce,” 589.

or without understanding, to a system of reciprocity in order to maintain good working relationships with the *kurakas* that would maintain the bountiful flow of goods and labor. This necessary co-operation did not preclude, however, conflict, abuses such as whipping and looting, and rape of *encomiendas* Indian women by the *encomenderos*' hired hands, be they Spaniards, blacks, or mestizos.²³

The *kuraka* became enmeshed in the parallel *encomienda* system employed by the conquering Spaniards. In exchange for the right to exact tribute, the *encomendero* had to protect the Indians and see to their religious welfare. The *kuraka* was the nexus of this dual system. Like his *kuraka* counterpart, the *encomendero* could use lordship over "his" people to enrich himself; however, the privilege was tempered by the responsibility to forge long lasting colonial relationships.²⁴ These early *encomenderos* understood that alliances with the local lords could form a foundation for colonial exploitation and only later would they discover that the foundation was unstable and could crumble under pressure. For the time being, the *encomenderos* depended almost exclusively on the labor and goods provided by Andeans and based on their relationships and traditions. To collect their tributes the early *encomenderos* had to respect at least some of the traditional rules governing Andean labor and tribute payments. Households continued to hold rights to crops produced on *ayllu* lands for local use. To pay tribute, households and *ayllus* contributed labor hours to work other lands specifically designated to satisfy outside claimants.²⁵ Polo Ondegardo commented that Indians would rather go as a community to work fifteen days on other fields than give up a few potatoes grown in the family plot to

²³ Peter Flindell Klarén, *Peru, Society and Nationhood in the Andes*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 45.

²⁴ Steve J. Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of the Spanish Conquest: Huánanga to 1640*, (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1982), 28.

²⁵ Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 40.

meet tribute demands.²⁶ In a case where the tribute debt was textiles owed to the *encomendero*, he had to provide the wool for the Indian weavers. “Such practices – by no means exceptional in early colonial Peru – respected the rule that peasants supplied to claimants labor-time rather than raw materials or local subsistence products.”²⁷

While Spanish elites, and *encomenderos* in particular, learned to appropriate the existing Andean networks, the Andeans also learned to appropriate European commercial enterprises. For example, by 1547 Indian workers and traders had become successfully involved in mining activities and coca production. One group of Lucanas Indians worked local gold and silver mines for their own benefit. Also, with coca fields no longer held by and for the Incas local groups became involved in production and trade. One group sold coca to meet tribute demands and had sufficient left to support themselves. Another group had enough left after paying their tribute to buy pigs and cattle.²⁸ “By the 1550s, the Chancas and Adrián de Vargas, a Spanish entrepreneur, agreed to build an *obraje* half-owned by the Indians, who sold some of the finished textiles to their *encomendero* in Cuzco.”²⁹



Individual Andeans also reacted innovatively to the new colonial economy. Ethnic families and *ayllu* arrangements were not without internal tensions, especially since the arrival of the Europeans, and now dissatisfied individuals who were willing to abandon or loosen *ayllu* ties could explore new options offered by colonial society.

²⁶ Juan Polo Ondegardo, 1554, “Informe . . . al Licenciado Briviesca de Muñatones. . . .” *Revista Histórica* 13 (Lima, 1940), 169, in Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 41.

²⁷ *ibid.*

²⁸ *ibid.*, 38.

²⁹ *ibid.*

Silverworkers, stonecutters, and other skilled artisans found profitable niches in the new society. Some maintained *ayllu* connections, but many joined the ranks of *yanaconas*, a pre-Spanish servant class, who had already lost all *ayllu* associations. For the first few years after the discovery of silver at Potosí, *yanaconas* comprised the majority of the workforce. Lockhart explains that “by a rough political mechanism, each yanacona was assigned to a Spaniard. The *yanacona*, operating on his own, extracted ore, smelted it . . . and delivered a set weekly quota of silver to his master.” Because the *yanacona* could keep any surplus for himself, some of them accumulated sizeable fortunes.³⁰

The use of the *encomienda*, a European institution, over time broke up functioning indigenous networks of economic, social, and religious ties. In addition to abuses of all sorts in all relationships, the *encomienda* model “encouraged small-scale, parochial interests and challenged Andean efficiency. They were a major cause of a new poverty.”³¹ Traditional Andean rulers, who had at first embraced the Spaniards and endeavored to appropriate advantages through the new order, by 1559 were petitioning the King for relief from the *encomienda* system. Among those signing the petition were lords from the Wanka and Xuaxa groups who had opened the way for the Europeans, motivated by their hatred of the Inca. Now they assured the King that they had accepted the Christian faith and were willing to pay a *servicio* that would be greater than the royal fifth if, in exchange, they could return to their ancient (perhaps pre-Inca) status as “natural rulers.” The lords of more than seven ethnic groups, some of whom had been enemies since pre-Inca time, gathered at Mama to discuss the *encomienda* issue with the Dominican friar Domingo de Santo Tomás. They claimed:

³⁰ Lockhart, *Spanish Peru*, 219.

³¹ John V. Murra, “Nos Hazen Mucha Ventaja,” in Kenneth J. Andrien, and Rolena Adorno, *Transatlantic Encounters: Europeans in the Sixteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1991), 79.

“We have gathered at this settlement of Mama to . . . entreat Your Majesty . . . that he give an order we be placed in personal dependency on the royal crown . . . and that we be granted jurisdiction to elect among us mayors, judges and *regidores*, and other officials.³²

The Spanish crown had always welcomed the royal fifth but feared the growing power of the Peruvian colonial elites and consequently began to assert more control over the course of colonial development. In 1542 and 1543 Charles V had introduced the New Laws aimed at curbing the power of the *encomenderos* and eliminating the formation of a colonial nobility that would ultimately challenge the power of the crown. Now the initial willingness of the Andean Indians to cooperate with the *encomenderos* faded as Spanish demands for labor continued to escalate, especially after the discovery of the mountain of silver in Potosí. The discovery of this high-grade ore in 1545 coincided with the depletion of plunder and re-invigorated interest in mining after two earlier minor gold rushes, one in southeastern Peru and another in the region around Quito. For the next twenty years the Andean economy was shaped by the mining activities in Potosí as it drew the labor of countless Indians and demanded strategic commodities to sustain the vast urban population that sprang up. All of Peru was connected economically to the demands of Potosí and Potosí was in turn connected to Lima, the City of Kings, the capital and conduit of royal power and point of contact with Spain. Mining the mountain of silver at Potosí fomented activity in a “far-flung Andean internal economy of production and exchange that included Northern Argentina, the central valley of Chile, and coastal Peru and Ecuador. This extraordinary development would lead one Peruvian

³²“*Nos abemos juntado en este asiento de Mama para . . . suplicar a su Majestad . . . que nos manda poner e ponga en su cabeza e corono real . . . e que nos den la dicha juridicion para que entre nosotros se elixan alcaldes juezes e regidores e otros oficiales. . .*” in Murra, “Nos Hazen Mucha Ventaja,” 82.

viceroy to say that ‘if there are no mines, there is no Peru’.”³³ The new mining boom demanded an ever-greater supply of laborers from an Indian population that was steadily declining.³⁴ It provoked numerous abuses of that labor as Spaniards immediately began *mit’a* drafts, marching Indians in chains from their homes to the hot mine shafts. “If a conscripted native died, the greedy Spaniard was likely to sever body from head with his saber rather than stop to unlock the shackles which linked groups of men to keep them from fleeing.”³⁵ Although Pedro de la Gasca prohibited the abuse of the *mit’a*, his orders were written on “wet paper,” a Spanish expression that describes rules that are not enforced. A decline in mining activity followed the first frenzied rush because the easy to reach veins were quickly depleted. In 1563, however, mercury was discovered in the mines at Huancavelica that allowed Potosí miners to switch to a new refining process just being perfected in Mexico.³⁶ The pressures on Andeans once again began to increase their numbers continued to decline.

The European diseases that preceded the arrival of Francisco Pizarro had wreaked havoc among the Indian population for decades. In addition to European diseases, native involvement in the civil wars that raged between the greedy Spaniards and the exploitative nature of the entire colonial regime caused further depopulation. The Spanish had plundered the native storehouses of food and taken the able-bodied men off to work the lands of the *encomendero*, as well as to mine the silver, and to build churches for the Spanish God. “As manpower from the villages was diverted from indigenous production to other pursuits, the sophisticated and intricate Andean terracing and

³³ Klarén, *Peru*, 43.

³⁴ Klarén, *Peru*, 49-50. Patterson, *The Inca Empire*, 138-143.

³⁵ Henry F. Dobyns and Paul L. Doughty, *Peru, A Cultural History*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1976), 86..

³⁶ Klarén, *Peru*, 44. Dobyns and Doughty, *Peru*, 86.

irrigation systems quickly fell into a state of decay and disrepair.”³⁷ Harvests declined, food shortages increased, and widespread hunger and despair reigned in the native communities as the 1560s approached. The level of their despair was reflected in changing social trends such as increased suicides, infanticide, and alcoholism.

While the *encomenderos* were privileged to exact tribute from the Andeans, they were also charged with the responsibility of overseeing their evangelization. The establishment of the Catholic Church among the indigenous people was essential to the colonization process. The conversion of the Indians to Christianity signified “acceptance by the vanquished of the new authority of their conquerors while it provided the latter with a useful rationale and justification for conquest.”³⁸

To discharge their responsibility the *encomenderos* sent the *doctrineros* to teach the *ayllu* Indians the doctrines of the Church. The Franciscans arrived in 1534, the first of several religious orders that would form the Church’s initial evangelistic efforts in the Andes. Followed by the Dominicans, Agustinians, Mercedarians and lastly the Jesuits in 1570, these “five holy orders provided the bulk of missionaries who served on the front lines of the conquest.” They established *doctrinas*, or evangelical units, at the parish level that were to evangelize and civilize the indigenous groups “through methods that combined both persuasion and coercion.”³⁹ Many of these priests also became entrepreneurs in the developing colonial economy and used their positions to promote their commercial interests. Initially, the Indians did not hesitate to cooperate with the priests and their Christian deities. Religious rituals had vital economic value because relations with the gods determined outcomes. Ritual life in the *ayllu* drew the community

³⁷ Klarén, *Peru*, 49.

³⁸ *ibid.*, 54.

³⁹ *ibid.*, 55.

together as it was connected to cooperative productive tasks. These ritual-filled community work projects served to hold in check rivalries and disunities within the group and helped sustain and revitalize the relations of kinship and reciprocity.⁴⁰ The Andean people added the Christian deities to their pantheon and accepted mit'a obligations to work on building churches and care for the priests' animals and lands.⁴¹ Such acceptance was entirely consistent with the age-old pattern of Andean political thought that directed societies to seek to control, or obligate, or appease their enemies rather than destroy them and the supernatural powers of their gods. Andeans, therefore, proved receptive to Catholicism even as they interpreted it through their own cultural matrix.

Although the Andeans accepted Catholicism, it was not a new brand of Christianity without old-world taint that some missionary/priests had envisioned. Old world taint arrived with the clerics, remained, and flourished in the New World. In addition to the temptations of the marketplace, many priests abused their positions and especially secular clergy who, when working with the indigenous population were notably "less idealistic and more morally decadent than their missionary counterparts. . . they became notorious for extracting excessive payments for ecclesiastical services and often colluded with the *encomenderos* and *corregidores* in the exploitation of Indians."⁴² Guaman Poma de Ayala devoted a section of his chronicle to "The Fathers" and recounted numerous examples of their abuses. "The priesthood began with Jesus Christ and his Apostles, but their successors in the various religious orders established in Peru

⁴⁰ Stern, *Peru*,

⁴¹ The term "deities" rather than "deity" is used to indicate the indigenous view of God, Jesus, the Holy Spirit, the Virgin Mary, etc

⁴² Klarén, *Peru*, 56.

do not follow this holy example.”⁴³ He described the priests as irascible, arrogant, severe, and altogether lacking in humility. They engaged in business but were untrustworthy in their dealings. Among the most egregious complaints against the priests were those claiming sexual exploitation of women. “When these holy fathers are living as husband and wife with Indian girls and begetting children, they always refer to the half-castes as their nephews. With the aid of a little hypocrisy they make sin seem more attractive, so that it spreads and corrupts one girl after another.”⁴⁴ The indigenous Andean women, especially those who were servants, were sexual chattel for *encomenderos*, *corregidores*, and *doctrineros*. Guaman Poma was not alone in recording the abuses. In testimony recorded in the *Archivo General de las Indias* in the early seventeenth-century, the Indians of Ychopinco complained about F. Juan de Salazar’s failure to preach in Quechua for over two years and reported that “furthermore, he had eight young women in the town without counting the young girls that he had corrupted. He spent nights dressed in Indian garb going to his pleasures and did not put on his cassock until the sun was up.”⁴⁵ The complaint also mentions various robberies he committed as well the public beating and tonsuring of a relative of the *kuraka*. Contrary to the teachings of the Church, even on Sundays and holy days he forced the young



⁴³ Huaman Poma, *Letter to a King: A Peruvian Chief's Account of Life Under the Incas and Under Spanish Rule*, Christopher Dilke, ed. (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1978), 144. Note: Spelling variations of Guaman Poma de Ayala in Spanish versions and Huaman Poma in English versions of this work.

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, 147.

⁴⁵ “Además tenía ocho mancebas en el pueblo sin contar las niñas a que había corrompido. De noche, paseaba en hábito de indio yendo a sus placeres y no vestía la sotana sino bien entrada la mañana.” Trans. Henson, (A.G.I. Lima, 1632) in Bernard Lavallé, “Las Doctrinas de indígenas como núcleos de explotación colonial (siglos XVI-XVII), *Allpanchis* XVI, no. 19 (1982), 155.

people to work at looms set up in the church and in the cemeteries (in essence making the house of God a house of commerce).⁴⁶

Guaman Poma's list of abuses by "the Fathers" is very long, dominated by examples of the sexual abuse of women and punishments meted out against the men who at times dared to defend them. On one occasion a priest compelled his church treasurer to hand over his daughter arguing that "it was more honourable for the girl to be a priest's woman than an ordinary Indian's wife."⁴⁷ Compliance with priest's plan would insure a steady supply of wine, bread, and meat and life-long job security. If the father chose not to comply he would be "whipped, discharged from his post and sent to the mines."⁴⁸

Another particular complaint voiced by Guaman Poma was the failure of most priests to adequately learn the native languages, without which they could not preach a sermon each week or understand the confessions believers were required to make. "Of course, they still feel themselves to be capable of instructing the Indians when they only know a handful of phrases like, 'Lead the horse,' 'There's nothing to eat' and 'Where are the girls?'"⁴⁹

In spite of the many abuses and failings of missionaries and priests, there were exceptions such as Domingo de Santo Tomás, a Dominican friar who arrived in 1540. Santo Tomás led a campaign against the egregious abuses of the *encomiendas* that included a plan by which Indians could purchase their freedom from *encomenderos*. He published the first Quechua grammar and dictionary in 1560 and described the Quechua language as "civilized, abundant, regular and ordered." Such an assessment of the

⁴⁶Lavallé, "Las Doctrinas de indígenas, 155. (As result of the charges brought against him F. Juan de Salazar was exiled from Peru.)

⁴⁷ Guaman Poma, *Letter to a King*, 148.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*,

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, 152.

language gave support to his view that Andeans were a civilized people who had lived in a “rightfully constituted state.” His views regarding language were based on an Aristotelian statement, later expounded by Aquinas, that “it is language that distinguishes man from the other animals and qualifies him for a social life, life in a state.”⁵⁰ As an Andean advocate, Santo Tomás participated in a traveling debate with Juan Polo de Ondegardo, a defender of *encomenderos*’ rights. Santo Tomás called for a colonial society “run by councils of native chiefs in alliance with agents of the Crown and Church,”⁵¹ echoing the proposal made by the lords who gathered at Mama in 1559.

The relationships between *encomenderos* and *kurakas*, between *kurakas* and *ayllu* members, between the centers of economic demand, and those centers that functioned as suppliers of that demand, all began to unravel by 1560. The demand for labor began to inspire sabotage efforts among the natives. *Kurakas* in Huamanga refused to send Indians to work in the city in 1563 and in another area shepherds cost their *encomendero* more than 7,000 sheep through theft or neglect. The inexorable demand for labor to sustain the mining economy drained *ayllu* resources and left the Indians, *kurakas* as well as their kinfolk, reconsidering collaboration with the colonials.

The Spaniards recognized the looming crisis, describing and analyzing the situation in numerous political works, legal treatises, and memoirs. An economic slowdown due to declining production in the mines alarmed Madrid because Hapsburg Spain had come to rely heavily on its Andean colony to fund its ambitious political aims in Western Europe. The Crown acknowledged three areas of difficulty: the problem of

⁵⁰ Aristotle, *Politics*, trans. by H. Raciman (Cambridge, Mass: 1944), 1,10-12; Aquinas, *In libros politicorum Aristotelis exposition* (Rome, 1951), lectio 1,23, in Sabine MacCormack, “The Heart Has Its Reasons: Predicaments of Missionary Christianity in Early Colonial Peru,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 65(August 1985), 449.

⁵¹ Klarén, *Peru*, 56.

perpetual *encomiendas*, the failure to adequately evangelize the indigenous people, and the inefficiency of the royal administration.⁵² In addition, the neo-Inca state in exile at Vilcabamba was an ongoing threat. The rebel Inca, Titu Cusi, effectively controlled a wide area from his base in an inaccessible mountain location east of Cuzco. The inhabitants of more than a dozen provinces that fanned out to the eastern tropical regions of the Andes paid tribute to the Inca. The location of Vilcabamba had religious as well as strategic importance. The area included the mountain city of Macchu Picchu, the protected sanctuary of the native priests and the Virgins of the Sun.⁵³ Should Inca power be restored, the cult of the Inca, Son of the Sun, would also be restored.

A growing sense of chaos flowed from the steady deterioration of relationships between the Hispanic and Indian worlds. “Demographic decline and instability, humiliation and dependence, growing demands for labor – all tended to expose the erosive consequences of an alliance among partners whose fundamental interests clashed.”⁵⁴ In the Andean world disease and untimely death were the results of disorder in social and religious relationships. If the relationships were not restored, a major catastrophe would ensue. Fear and disillusionment moved through Indian communities, and so did radical dreams. Some began to dream of a world free of the Spaniards, a world restored to the Andean construct.

⁵² Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 175.

⁵³ *ibid.*, 172.

⁵⁴ Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 49.

CHAPTER 5

REVIVAL, REFORM, REVOLT, CHANGE AND CONTINUITY

“Cuando todas las vías de seguir viviendo aparecen cerradas, y aún las graves dificultades del pasado evocan añoranza por la extrema dureza del presente, solamente una sociedad convencida de sus creencias y de su historia puede pretender sobrevivir.”

Rafael Varón Gabai¹

Within a generation of the Spanish Conquest the average Indian had witnessed the death of most of the people he knew, by violence or by disease. Crops had failed, animal herds had been decimated, tribute-obligations continued to escalate, and the Indians had little or no recourse. As the quality of their lives declined and their days became nightmares, Andeans dreamed radical dreams. How could they confront this new world? What options did they have? They could accept colonial authority and continue dying. They could support the Inca in exile at Vilcabamba – descendent of their ancient oppressor – who was little by little giving up his armed resistance. They could lay hold of their own gods and their own millenarian customs. Desperately and bravely, they chose the last option that manifested itself in the indigenous movement now called the *Taki Onqoy*, or “dance of desperation”². This movement called Andeans to reject Christianity and to seek power from their traditional gods.

¹ When all the ways to keep on living seem closed and the extreme hardness of the present evokes nostalgia for an exceedingly difficult past, only a people convinced of their beliefs and of their history can hope to survive. Trans. Henson

² Rafael Varón Gabai, “El Taki Onqoy: las raíces andinas de un fenómeno colonial,” in Luis Millones, comp., *El Retorno de las Huacas: Estudios y Documentos Sobre el Taki Onqoy Siglo XVI* (Lima, Perú: Taller Gráfica de Asociación, 1990), 331.

Before the Spaniards came, and before the Incas established their state in the Andes, “the ancestral deities worshipped by Andean peoples permeated all aspects of life,” and the power of these gods over material life mediated social relationships and reinforced the privileges and authority of both political and religious elites.³ From the personal idols of an individual household, worshipped intimately and in secret, to the public and communally worshipped *wak’as*,⁴ the Andean religious mythology provided “an explanatory vision, an internally coherent world view capable of interpreting experience.”⁵ For example, when groups of *ayllus* came together each year to ask for the rains on which they all depended, it was understood that the rains would be a gift bestowed on them in exchange for their services rendered to the appropriate god, an understanding consistent with the reciprocity that governed all their relationships. Failure of rains to appear did not mean a failure of the Andean knowledge system but rather a failure to render proper homage to the thunder god. When in time the rains came, Andeans rejoiced and proceeded to plant crops; their world view was intact.⁶

Initially, the Andeans did not hesitate to cooperate with the priests and their Christian deities. The Inca Empire, as an organized state, had superimposed a state religion that incorporated the various indigenous beliefs. The Incas also worshipped a creator God at the top of the hierarchy, followed by the sun, and then the lesser *wak’as*. The Andeans had adapted to the imposition of Incan religion and now they understood that when the Spaniards arrived and conquered them, the Spaniard’s Christian God conquered the *wak’as* that controlled and protected their world and the Incan realm as

³ Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 13.

⁴ The spelling of *wak’a* is the latest orthography for Quechua, as opposed to the earlier form, *huaca*. This applies to the spelling for *Taki Onqoy*, which replaces the earlier spelling, *Taqui Ongo*

⁵ Stern, *Peru’s Indian Peoples*, 14.

⁶ *ibid.*

well.⁷ The Spanish clergy had reinforced their religious hegemony through the *Instrucciones* (Instructions) dispensed from Lima in 1540 and 1551. In the first instance, the local priests were told to involve the people in the destruction of their deities, the *wak'as*, an act designed to bind them to their new faith. The second *Instrucción* stated that all who had died in Peru prior to the arrival of the Christian Gospel were in Hell. “The ancestors’ condemnation to Hell was a statement that they were defeated and impotent before the Catholic God.”⁸

Now, the leaders of the *Taki Onqoy* explained that the Spanish God created the Spaniards, their country, their foodstuffs, and their animals. The *wak'as* created the foods, animals, people, and natural elements of the Andean world, but they had been driven out at the time of conquest. Although withered and dying from lack of ritual sacrifices, now the *wak'as* were resurrecting. To avenge themselves for the neglect they had suffered, they would send sickness and death to Indians who accepted the Christian baptism. The baptized ones would become wandering spirits with their heads turned down and their feet up in the air, or they would be turned into *llamas* or *vicuñas*. *Taki Onqoy* adherents could hasten the *wak'as* reconquest by resuming their traditional fasts and sacrifices and by “not eating the things of Castile, nor using them in eating or dressing, nor entering the churches, nor responding to the call of the priests, nor calling themselves by Christian names.”⁹ Furthermore, they should return to the old rituals:

⁷ *Wak'as* in this instance refers to spirits inhabiting the natural realm, rocks, streams, lakes, etc.

⁸ Karen Spalding, *Huarochiri: An Andean Society Under Inca and Spanish Rule* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1984), 245.

⁹ Cristóbal de Molina, *Relación de las fabulas*, (1574) in Jeremy Mumford, “The Taki Onqoy and the Andean nation: sources and interpretations” *Latin American Research Review* 33 (Winter 1998): http://web7.infotrac.galegroup.com/itw/infomark/850/507/30534427w3/purl=rcl_EAIM_0_A20... accessed 30 March 2001.

“...that they should fast certain fasts as was their custom in the time of the Incas, and should not eat salt, nor *aji*, nor corn, nor copulate with their women, only drinking a drink of water . . .”¹⁰

They were told to resume animal sacrifices to the *wak'as* and that preachers would come in the name of the *wak'as* of Titicaca and Tiaguanaco, and other principal *wak'as* that exercised power in the time of the Incas, and that these *wak'as* would conquer the Christian God.

The preachers of the *Taki Onqoy* defined the world in a new way that included elements borrowed from the Spanish. They announced that the *wak'as* that heretofore had inhabited natural elements would now indwell men. The priests taught this concept of “indwelling,” or “incarnation,” as a central Church doctrine; Jesus Christ was God incarnate. When a *wak'a* embodied an Indian it made him speak, tremble, perhaps roll on the ground, and/or make faces. The followers venerated the possessed one and the *wak'a* that he held in his body. The veneration took the form of celebrations with dancing and drinking that lasted for several days. The *Taki Onqoy* was not the only “idolatrous” activity at work among the Andeans during this time of crisis. In many parts of the former Inca Empire, people had continued to practice their ancient religion to greater or lesser degrees. Molina noted that “the Indians have returned to the worship of their pre-Hispanic cults in general . . . This apparent resurging, or continuing and adapting of Andean religious beliefs, did not have homogenous characteristics throughout all of Peru, but to the contrary:

During this time there were many types of apostasy in distinct provinces, some danced as evidence of a *wak'a* indwelling the body, others trembled for the same reason. Others shut themselves up in their houses and shouted.

¹⁰ Cristóbal de Albornoz, *Información de 1570*, in Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 130. Trans. Henson.

Others flung themselves from the rocks and were killed. Others jumped into the rivers, offering themselves as sacrifices to the *wak'as*".¹¹

According to Varón, not all of this activity was the result of the *Taki Onqoy* given that such expressions of religious fervor were pan-Andean and pre-Incaic. "On the other hand, it is relevant in all cases to note the intensity of indigenous reaction to the colonial presence in those moments of crisis."¹²

Taki Onqoy doctrine also announced new concepts of both time and space.¹³ Employing Andean concepts older than the Inca Empire, the *Taki Onqoy* preachers proclaimed that the *mit'a* of the Christian God was over. Indians willing to be faithful to this new cult of the *wak'as* would be admitted to a new empire. In their ancient worldview, four races and four suns had preceded the Inca Empire, each age had lasted one thousand years, and each ended with immense catastrophes. Although now discounted by archeological evidence, the Incas at the time of the conquest counted the founding of their dynasty from 565 A.D. Inca prophecies said their empire would be destroyed by strange beings, white and bearded.¹⁴ According to the accounts of Cristóbal de Molina, the *Taki Onqoy* movement reached its peak in 1565. In this new world a dual universe, with a center at Pachamac and a center at Lake Titicaca, would replace the former world that consisted of a four-part universe, based on the four directions of the horizon. The new world would be free of the Spanish.

The *Taki Onqoy* movement had a connection with military rebellion. Some sources assert that the neo-Inca state in exile at Vilcabamba actively fomented the

¹¹ Varón, "Raíces Andinas," 343. Trans. Henson

¹² *ibid.*, 345.

¹³ For an in-depth discussion of Andean concepts of space see Liliana Regalado de Hurtado, "Espacio andino, espacio sagrado: visión ceremonial del territorio en el período incaico," *Revista Complutense de Historia de América* 22(UCM. Madrid 1996): 85-96.

¹⁴ Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 181.

movement. The evidence more strongly suggests, however, that as the doctrines of *Taki Onqoy* spread, Titu Cusi, head of the dissident remnant, took advantage of the movement's momentum and sent his own messengers to frontier districts with plans for a new campaign against the Spaniards. The Spaniards received a word of warning in two separate letters that arrived in Cuzco in April of 1565. These letters warned that the Indians were making preparations for a revolt. In one valley where the people were believed to be very loyal, they had made more than three thousand pikes with bronze tips. In various places, the Indians collected arquebuses and horses; they sent their herds of *llamas* and *vicuñas* into the mountains; and they withheld their normal donation of grain for the poor. The Spaniards discovered that messengers were circulating throughout the land announcing a revolt. The revolt was to be initiated on the same day as a planned attack on the Spaniards by the Araucanians of Chile and the Diaquites of Tucamán. Titu Cusi was to come out from his refuge in Vilcabamba in support of this uprising. One letter noted that a messenger had been observed preaching the sect, apparently the sect of *Taki Onqoy*.¹⁵

The Spanish leaders considered the options: war or diplomacy. They decided to initiate negotiations with Titu Cusi, which ultimately proved to be successful. Titu Cusi, in exchange for the continued recognition and independence of the neo-Inca State, promised to “dismantle the league and conspiracy he had hatched with the chieftains of the kingdom to rise in rebellion at the time of his ordering” . . . and “to accept the Holy Gospel and the commandment of Our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹⁶ He resisted Spanish efforts to

¹⁵ Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 171-177.

¹⁶ Historical Archives of Cuzco, libro becero no. 5, fo. 60r: and Matienzo, *Gobierno del Perú*, in Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 178.

entice him to take up residence in Cuzco and remained in Vilcabamba until his death in 1571.

The Spanish leadership was equally concerned about the religious rebellion, the *Taki Onqoy*, and moved swiftly and relentlessly to extirpate the idolatry. Cristóbal de Albornoz, a Spanish priest and “ambitious ecclesiastical bureaucrat was appointed by the Bishop as a *visitador* (inspector) to find and punish the leaders of the movement.¹⁷

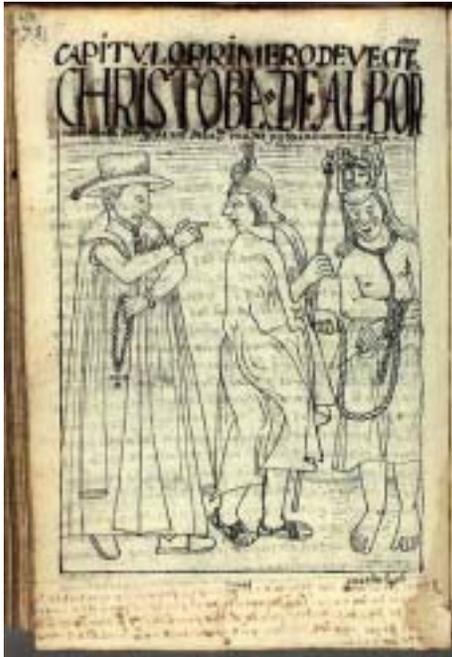
Molina, Albornoz, and all other sources agree that the movement began between 1565 and 1566 but do not agree about the extent of its diffusion. Its center was Huamanga, but there were converts in Cuzco, Arequipa, Lima, and even La Paz. Varón points out that Albornoz used ambiguous language and failed to present witnesses who would support the presence of the sect in an area even as wide as the entire bishopric of Cuzco. Molina, however, indicated that the sect was believed and celebrated not only by the rural Indians but also by those in the cities and even by some Spaniards.¹⁸ In one area where the total population was no more than 150,000, Spanish authorities claimed to have found 8,000 followers of the sect. What is more significant than the area of diffusion is the fact that the local lords, the *kurakas*, participated, and/or consented, thus making the heresy extremely dangerous, “the most damaging that there has been since this land was conquered.”¹⁹ The Spaniards were appalled that the movement commanded the respect or participation of so many: women and men, young and old, *kuraka* and peasant, *ayllu* Indian and Hispanized yanacona, all seemed to be under its spell.

“Everybody believed in it and kept what [the taquiongos] said, chiefs as well as Indians,

¹⁷ Mumford, “The Taki Onqoy and the Andean Nation,” 4.

¹⁸ Varón, “Raíces Andinas,” 340.

¹⁹ Luis Millones, ed. *Las informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz: documentos para el estudio del Taki Onqoy* (Cuernavaca, 1971), 3/30 in Stern, *Peru's Indian Peoples*, 55.



and old people as well as boys and girls.”²⁰ The admonitions to separate themselves from Spanish society included the abandoning of tribute payments and rejection of labor drafts. If the people were willing to do all the *taquiongos* “told them to do, all their affairs would go well. They and their children would enjoy health, and their fields would yield handsomely.”²¹

Albornoz was relentless in his efforts to discover the idolaters and, “according to their rank, or their degree of guilt, they were flogged, fined, had their hair cut off, or were sent into exile.”²² The process of seeking out and punishing idolaters lasted throughout the rest of the sixteenth century, but the eminent threat of the initial outpouring of the *Taki Onqoy* revival diminished rapidly after the 1560s.

The Spaniards not only dealt with the military and religious uprising, they also recognized the urgent need for economic and political reforms that would enable the colonial model to survive. The looming crisis was described and analyzed in numerous political works, legal treatises, and memoirs. The political struggles that plagued Peru during the civil wars were over but new tensions arose between the treasury officials and the viceregal government. With no new *encomiendas* to award, the viceroys and interim rulers used state income to buy the loyalty of the colonial Spaniards. An economic crisis arose because the Spanish Crown’s demand for income grew, while income from Peru

²⁰ Millones, ed. *Informaciones*, 2/54 in Stern, *Peru’s Indian People*, 55.

²¹ Millones, ed. *Informaciones*, 2/109, in Stern, *Peru’s Indian People*, 53.

²² Wachtel, *The Vision of the Vanquished*, 183.

dwindled. Production in the mines of Potosí had slowed to a trickle due to the exhaustion of the surface deposits and the steady fall of available labor. In addition, commerce declined as Peru began to produce foodstuffs previously imported from Spain such as wine, olive oil, and wheat.²³ After suffering through several incompetent Viceroy in the decade prior to 1570, and as the immediate evidences of the *Taki Onqoy* faded, a new Viceroy, Francisco de Toledo, arrived with the vision and energy to carry out sweeping reforms.

As part of his determined effort to pacify all of Peru, he organized an expedition in 1571 to capture Tupac Amaru, successor of Titu Cusi. The Spaniards seeking to destroy the Inca remnant at Vilcabamba arrived to find that a smallpox epidemic had ravaged the region. Roads and bridges were unguarded and the contingent of soldiers met little resistance. Tupac Amaru was attempting to flee to the Mañaris country in the tropical rainforest to the west when he was captured by Martín García de Loyola. “The last Inca, still wearing the *llautu* (royal headband), was brought to Cuzco in chains. He entered on foot, followed by prisoners and booty seized by Spanish soldiers.”²⁴

The city was filled with people on September 21, 1571. More than one hundred thousand souls, Spanish citizens and Indians with their *kurakas* had gathered to witness the death. “All the open spaces, as well as roof tops and windows of the parishes . . . were so full of people that a fallen orange could not have reached the ground, so closely packed were they.”²⁵ The Inca approached on a donkey draped in black and from the scaffold faced the assembled crowd. As the executioner unsheathed the cutlass, the

²³ Spalding, *Huarochiri*, 142.

²⁴ Wachtel, *Vision of the Vanquished*, 182.

²⁵ D. Baltazar de Ocampo in Alfred Métraux, *The History of the Incas*, translated from the French by George Ordish (New York: Schocken Books, 1970), 161.

Indians “gave such a cry of grief one would have thought that judgment day itself had come. Even the Spanish spectators showed their sorrow with tears and sad faces. When the Inca saw this he raised his right hand in a noble gesture and let it fall. He alone was calm. All this noise was followed by a silence so profound that there cannot have been a living soul among all the people in the square, or near it, who moved.”²⁶ Don Francisco de Toledo, the fifth Spanish viceroy, gave the order to cut off the Inca’s head. “The moment the head was struck off all the cathedral bells were rung and the bells of all the monasteries and churches in the town. The execution caused the greatest sorrow and brought tears to everyone’s eyes.”²⁷

The public execution of Tupac Amaru was a frightful sight for the crowds in Cuzco. The execution of Atahualpa had signaled the beginning of the Spanish Conquest, the execution of Tupac Amaru now confirmed it. The failure of the neo-Inca State to mount a successful reconquest, the failure of the *Taki Onqoy* prophecies to materialize, and the suppression of its leaders further diminished the movement as an organizing force of resistance to Spanish domination. By removing the threat of the neo-Inca state, eradicating the *Taki Onqoy* movement, and reorganizing colonial infrastructure, these reforms strengthened the economy and the position of colonial elites. “After a generation of first attempts which ended in crisis, Toledo was to lay a more enduring foundation for the evolution of a colonial society in the Andes”²⁸ The Andeans could not hope to rid their world of the ever more powerful Spaniards and the archaism that generated the *Taki Onqoy* as a means of resistance was now altered to produce ways of accommodation.

²⁶ Ibid., 162.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Ibid., 79.

The *Taki Onqoy* was considered a marginal episode by the few chroniclers who mentioned it and was unknown to the majority of students of Andean history. The first substantial mention came when Clements Markham translated the unedited *Fábulas y ritos de los Incas* into English in 1873. In 1915 a Peruvian medical doctor, Hermilio Valdizán, did his doctoral thesis on “Mental Alienation Among Primitive Peruvians” and presented the *Taki Onqoy* as a prehispanic dance that was similar to the St. Vitus’ epidemic in Medieval Europe. Inaugurating an ethnohistorical perspective, George Kubler wrote an article in 1944 on the Manco Inca in which he referred to the *Taki Onqoy* as a “hostile fusion of Christian symbols and Quechua mythology” and for the first time presented the *Taki Onqoy* as a messianic cult.²⁹ “In contrast, an article by John Rowe in 1957 situated the *Taki Onqoy* within the context of the general rebellion instigated by the Inca in exile at Vilcabamba.”³⁰ These historians used the chronicles of Cristóbal de Molina, written in 1574, which, until then, provided the best information and the most extensive mention of the *Taki Onqoy*.

In 1963 Luis Millones made his first visit to the Archivo de Indias and had the good fortune to discover, among the papers laid out on his table, the testimony of Jerónimo Martín, a man of Huamanga, who told of a sect that urged the people to reject the God of the Spaniards. This apostasy, known as *Taqui Onqoy*, or sometimes as *Aira*, was that same sect that had spread through the indigenous community in the mid 1560s and about which Cristóbal de Molina had written. Millones wrote one article outlining the essential elements of his findings relevant to this event but did not pursue his

²⁹ George Kubler, “A Peruvian Chief of State: Manco Inca (1515-1545),” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 24(1944): 253-276, in Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 337.

³⁰ John Rowe, “The Incas under Spanish Colonial Institutions,” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 37 (1957): 155-199.

investigation at that time. According to him it was not for lack of desire nor lack of interest and encouragement from his colleagues but, “as with so many colleagues, I had a full schedule of classes in distant locations, too many students to take care of, etc., etc.”³¹ In time, Millones returned to his project and has continued to investigate and evaluate the phenomena known as Taki Onqoy. During the interim, the nature of this early colonial movement captured the attention of other historians who investigated the movement, despite limited material until 1971 when the papers of Cristóbal Albornoz were published and a new generation of scholars began to examine these events.

In light of the ongoing and growing interest in this movement, Millones realized the need to thoroughly prepare his findings. In his book, *El Retorno de las Wak'as*, Millones presents several sets of primary documents relating to the *Informaciones de Cristóbal de Albornoz*: the *Información de servicios* (Cuzco, 1569); *Información de servicios* (Huamanga, 1570); *Información de servicios* (Cuzco, 1577); and *Información de servicios* (Cuzco 1584). Additional appendices to the documents from 1584 are included as is a series of indexes for all the documents, one topical, one onomastic, and one that lists the many *wak'as* of the Andeans.

Albornoz made his *visitas* and recorded the results for the purpose of demonstrating his work as an extirpator of idolatry among the people. He hoped that his efforts would advance his career in the church. For that reason he carefully recorded the names and numbers of the idolaters, the names of the *wak'as*, the punishments he meted out, and every negative aspect of the movement.³² Varón confirms the importance of Albornoz' writings as an historical source, “owing to the fact that the author indicates

³¹ Luis Millones et al., *El Retorno de las Huacas: Estudios y Documentos del Siglo XVI* (Lima: Taller Gráfico de Asociación Gráfica Educativa, Tarea, 1990), 12.

³² Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 13.

which towns he visited, their principal divinities and the people he sanctioned, for their participation in the indigenous cult and for other, divers reasons.”³³ Varón warns that, as is always the case with primary sources, one must take into account that the documents abound with exaggerations and witness testimony that is inaccurate. Appreciation of Albornoz’ work did not rise to the heights of his ambition; he failed to reach a place of prominence in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.³⁴

Alluded to, but not included in Millones’ book, are the writings of Cristóbal de Molina and Guaman Poma. Molina, Spaniard and priest to the Andeans, was fluent in Quechua and a serious student of indigenous culture. He preached in Quechua, helped with the translation of the *Doctrina Cristian*, and was close to the centers of power and activity at the highest levels of the colony. (He accompanied Tupac Amará to his execution in 1572.) He also was avid in fighting idolatry and in his *Fábulas y ritos de los Incas* he writes about the *Taki Onqoy* based on the information he received from the cleric Luis de Olvera³⁵ of Parinacochas. Molina’s work relating to the *Taki Onqoy* is considered trustworthy because his knowledge of the events, the religious background of the Andeans and Inca rituals was first hand. Apart from Molina and Albornoz, the only other sixteenth-century source that mentioned the *Taki Onqoy* was Guaman Poma who made brief mention of it within a long list of divinities and gave more attention to the personal honesty of Albornoz as a priest and extirpator than to the sect itself.³⁶ Within the *Informaciones* of Albornoz are references to other documents in the archives in Cuzco, but until now no one has located them. Andean historians still hope to find

³³ Varón, “Raíces Andinas” 334. Trans. Henson

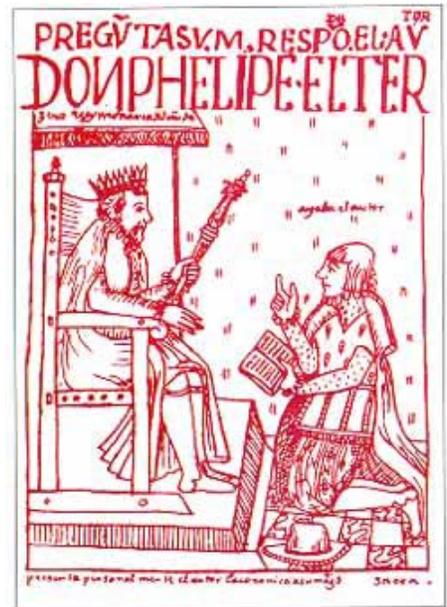
³⁴ Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 12.

³⁵ Note: Some sources transcribe the name of this priest as Olivera, but, according to Varón, the most trustworthy sources use Olvera.

³⁶ Varón, “Raíces Andinas,” 335.

additional sources that will shed light on this event and provide greater understanding about the resistance effort that, like the armed rebellion at Vilcabamba, hoped to empower the people.

Sara Castro-Klarén also acknowledges the importance of “the reports that the priest Cristóbal de Albornoz presented to his superiors, hoping to be rewarded for the many services he had rendered to Church and Crown.”³⁷ These reports provide a type of rough outline of the politics of evangelization, or the politics of extirpation, that operated in Spanish America at that time. The encounter delineated in Albornoz’ work offers many opportunities for investigation by anthropologists, historians, and those interested in intellectual history and the tension between dominant ideologies and their corresponding systems of resistance. And it is at this juncture, according to Klarén, that the *Taki Onqoy* can be understood as a method of resistance that, as it evolved in response to new types of domination, advanced and appropriated new functions in the process of contending with the ideologies against which it struggled. Nathan Wachtel and Steve Stern also have investigated the *Taki Onqoy* and analyzed it as a form of social resistance in the face of foreign domination and the dismantling of the Andean world by the Spanish colonial state. Wachtel calls this happening a “period of destructuretion” and maintains that the Spaniards, in appropriating the Incan institutions in their efforts to



³⁷ Sara Castro-Klarén, “Discurso y transformación de los dioses en los Andes: del Taki Onqoy a ‘Rasu Ñiti’,” in Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 407.

establish hegemony and maintain order, ultimately brought about disorder, a disorder that caused the people to seek a new world, radically different from the old one.³⁸ Stern referred to the *Taki Onqoy* as a historical watershed that expressed the painful truth “that conflict between Andean and European elements of colonial society that was at once inescapable, irreconcilable and decisive.”³⁹

The *Taki Onqoy* called for resistance to all things Spanish and for a revival of pre-Hispanic, even pre-Incaic, religious practices. The *Taki Onqoy* emerged as a conviction that the indigenous divinities would return and retake their former jurisdiction. Klarén divides the forms of resistance taken by the Andeans into four types. First of all there were the survivors of the ruling class of the Inca Empire who opted for a military response and gathered at Vilcabamba to prepare for war. Guaman Poma embarked on a different kind of resistance through compiling his masterwork, *El primer nueva corónica y buen gobierno*, directed to Phillip III to convince him of the great merits of the Peruvian people and the extent to which they were abused by the Spaniards. A third avenue of resistance was undertaken by many *kurakas* and other individuals who could access the courts. They turned themselves into a body of litigants in Andean society and temporarily succeeded in putting the brakes on the colonial efforts to extend their extractive economies through the end of the sixteenth-century and into the early part of the seventeenth. It is the fourth avenue that sought to not only to resist further

³⁸ Nathan Wachtel, *Los Vencidos. Los Indios del Perú frente a la conquista española (1530-1570)* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1976) in Millones, *El Retorno de las Huacas*, 408.

³⁹ Stern, *Peru's Indian People*, 56.

brutalization by the Spaniards but to drive the newcomers out altogether. The followers of Juan Chocne, a preacher of the *Taki Onqoy*, struggled to revive the local gods, the *wak'as*, that would not only fight the Spaniards and their God, but would defeat them and rid the world of the pestilence and the wars they had brought with them.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ Klarén, “Discurso y transformación,” 412. Trans. Henson

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The *Taki Onqoy* was clearly a resistance effort, one that manifested the mechanism of archaism. Patterson described archaism as “the imitation of something old, or the incorporation of the old into new contexts. . . . Archaism is especially common during major episodes of class and state formation, when people are making their own histories while the existing social order is being decomposed and reconstituted.”¹ This is what happened in the calamitous aftermath of the Spanish Conquest of Peru. It had happened many times before in the long history of the Andean people as documented by archeologists. The earliest known to date occurred in the Early Horizon Period during the second century B.C. when villagers of the Ica Valley revived pottery styles that had been used two hundred years earlier. This happened during a period when the Topará state was expanding and encapsulating the nearest neighbors of the Ica. Archaisms involving reinterpretations of mythical beings occurred during the formation of the Huari and Tiwanaku kingdoms in the sixth century A.D.

In other times and in places far removed from Andean communities, millenarian movements much like the *Taki Onqoy* occurred. The Ghost Dance Revival in the North American Midwest in the nineteenth-century is one example. Also, the nativist revival led by the Delaware prophet Neolin in the eighteenth-century in the Ohio Valley has

¹ Thomas C. Patterson, *The Inca Empire: The Formation and Disintegration of a Pre-Capitalist State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1991), 35.

many parallels with the *Taki Onqoy*. Both are examples of encounters with European invaders and colonial processes in which widely divergent “worlds” collide. Stern, writing on issues of class and community among indigenous highland groups in South America, acknowledges the trap of presenting colonized peoples as homogenized communities.² Certainly, the Delaware and their indigenous neighbors, as well as the Andean “Indians,” encompassed a wide range of ethnic identifications. However, a comparison of these two revitalization movements demonstrates the fact that such groups tend to “reach backward”, to draw from those past patterns and rituals that were successful in managing societal needs, and use them, albeit in new ways, to confront new societal needs

The pressures of expanding hegemonic colonial states brought similar problems to both the indigenous North Americans and the Andeans and two such problems, in particular, were critical in terms of physical and spiritual survival. Both groups suffered from the depopulation that resulted from European diseases. Both groups were confronted with the missionary zeal that endeavored to convert them from their heathenism and replace their old gods with the European, Christian God. Among the Delaware, as among the Andeans, a millenarian movement reached back to revive old rituals and lifeways and to reconfigure them with the incorporation of some aspects of the new, colonial culture and religion with the hope of reacquiring spiritual power. The acquisition of power would enable them to rid themselves of the conquerors.

In the case of the *Taki Onqoy*, the promises made were not only to expel the invaders into the sea, but to restore order, health, and an abundance of food. Such

² Steve J. Stern, “The Struggle for Solidarity: Class, Culture, and Community in Highland Indian America,” *Radical History Review*, 27 (1983), 21.

promises were reasonable and tied to the real needs of the people who were suffering the agony of disease and failed crops. The meaning of the words *Taki Onqoy* themselves relate to issues of health and good order. To get rid of the Spaniards would be to get rid of the pestilence that arrived with them. Historically, Andeans had held annual fiestas and dances, such as the *Situa*, a dance designed to chase away disease. At other times for specific needs the *Ytu* dance was celebrated, for example after a bad earthquake, or when the rains failed to come and sickness increased.³ The Delaware Indians also had old rituals that were used to protect health and, like the Andeans in the face of the European-induced crisis, they revived them with new elements borrowed from European concepts. The reworking of the old into new forms to deal with current crises when all other customary sources of power have failed is archaism. Archaism can involve resistance, and archaism can involve and/or lead to syncretism that provides the means to accommodate, as it ultimately did in the Andes. When the *Taki Onqoy* failed to rid the Andean world of the Spaniards, and when instead the Spaniards executed the last Inca, Tupac Amaru, a new myth appeared, the myth of *Incarri*⁴ that survived the years of colonial oppression, and survives today, “in a type of subterranean world in order to prevent its absolute and complete obliteration.”⁵

Following the execution of Tupac Amaru on his orders, Viceroy Francisco de Toledo proudly wrote to a correspondent in Spain that, “no Inca, ‘either dead or alive’

³ Varón, “Raíces Andinas,” 374-375.

⁴ The myth of *Incarri* was born when Atahualpa was executed. According to this myth, Atahualpa was beheaded and the head hidden deep in a tunnel in the Andes. Someday the body and head will be reunited, and *Incarri* will return to life on the holy hill of Pachamama. If God (a new victorious divinity) permits, the Son of the Sun will reign again and the sacred order, of justice, harmony, and peace will be restored in the Andes.

⁵ Klarén, “Discurso y transformación,” 413. Trans. Henson.

now remained in the last stronghold of the old religion, ‘no descendant of theirs, and no captain or idol.’”⁶

After 1571 the Andean people were forced to accommodate, at least on the surface. To varying degrees they were assimilated into a Hispanic world and some of the native elites had a good deal of success. The Indian masses continued to incorporate the teachings of Christianity into their own belief system and created a syncretistic Catholicism that remains throughout the Andean region. Each year an example of such syncretistic Catholicism is reenacted in the Altiplano of Bolivia:

In the mining city of Oruro it is the Friday of Carnival. Bolivian miners attend mass and then proceed to the mines to pour libations to the *Tios* (anthropomorphic figurines with erect phalluses kept in each mine shaft) and finally offer a white llama in sacrifice. The mines will be closed for a week following these rituals so that the *Tios* will reinvigorate the veins of ore. These rituals are performed in conjunction with the veneration of the Virgin of the Mineshaft. In the countryside Fridays are believed to be especially maleficent and not good for sacrifice; in the cities and in the mines, however, Fridays are deemed to be good days for sacrifice. The first Friday of each month and the Friday of Carnival are especially propitious, these are the days when devout Catholics perform the stations of the cross in memory of Christ’s sacrifice.⁷

⁶ R. Levillier, *Gobernantes del Perú. Cartas y Papeles*, vol. 4 (Madrid, 1924), 342, in Sabine MacCormack, *Religion in the Andes: Vision and Imagination in Early Colonial Peru*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 250.

⁷ Thomas Abercrombie, “To Be Indian, to Be Bolivian: “Ethnic” and “National” Discourses of Identity,” in *Nation States and Indians in Latin America*, Eds. Greg Urban and Joel Sherzer (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1991), 118.

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