Legitimization of the State in Inca Myth and Ritual

THE ROLE IDEOLOGY plays in the development and maintenance of stratified societies is a widely debated research question in the social sciences. Over the past 20 years there has been a movement away from seeing religion as an epiphenomenal force in the formation of state societies and toward a perspective that emphasizes “the role of ideology in the legitimization of authority and iniquitous arrangements of wealth and power” (Demarest 1989:97). Exemplary of this trend is a series of recent books and edited volumes exploring the role of ideology in the development of complex societies in the Americas and elsewhere.1 As Paul Friedrich has said, “Ideology is a system, or at least an amalgam, of ideas, strategies, tactics, and practical symbols for promoting, perpetuating, or changing a social and cultural order; in brief it is political ideas in action” (1989:301). While specific ideologies are frequently seen as expressing the will of some social group or class, they are continuously being redefined and reformulated by individual social actors. Most germane are recent studies indicating that particular types of myths affect the direction of history as groups of individuals actively manipulate myths to promote their own causes (Urton 1990) and use them to explain specific events (Sahlins 1981a, 1985).

In this essay, I discuss how the corn-planting and harvesting rituals performed in Cusco, the capital of the Inca, were used by the rulers to promote their elite status. I then show that these rituals were reenactments of the legendary conquest of the region by Manco Capac and Mama Huaco, the first mythical Incas. In doing so I illustrate how, within ancient stratified societies, myths and their ritual reenactments promote and perpetuate the divine nature of the elite by identifying them with organic powers of reproduction and by suggesting that the hierarchical system in which the society functioned was part of a natural order established at the beginning of human history. As elsewhere, in the central Andes of Peru, myths were used to foster the development and perpetuation of social hierarchies by providing elites access to powers beyond the realm of ordinary individuals. This access to the supernatural, established in the mythical past and reiterated in the present through rituals, legitimated the classification of the elite as separate and superior social beings. Viewed in this way, the development of a mythology and a ritual system that supports the ruling elite’s claim to power is a critical element of successful chiefdom and state craft.

Agriculture as Warfare among the Inca

Corn was the most important crop for the Inca Empire (see Figure 1). It was a major source of nutrition and the base for the corn beer called chicha, which was consumed during all rituals. Corn production in the Inca Empire occurred on a number of socioeconomic levels. It was the basic food crop for the peasant communities located between 2,600 and 3,600 meters above sea level. Villages located either below or above this production zone exchanged their regional produce for corn, or gained direct access to this critical crop through the establishment of colonies in corn regions. Corn was also a major tribute item provided to the state. Grown on state-controlled fields with the use of corvée labor (mit’a), corn was stored in massive granaries established around the regional administrative centers of the Inca. The major deities of the Inca—the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, and Thunder and Lighting—were assigned large tracts of corn land. The produce from these fields was used to support the cults of these deities.

The growing season for corn in the Cusco region is from mid-October to early May. The fields are plowed in August before the initial planting and are harvested...
several weeks after the corn has begun to dry in the fields. The “breaking of the earth” (plowing) in August began the corn cycle that concluded eight months later with the cutting of the dry corn stalks and harvesting of the ears. The ceremonial calendar identified, through solar observations, a specific day on which the emperor ritually began the new corn season by plowing and planting a sacred field. Two chroniclers indicate that the day of the first earth breaking was determined by the sun setting between two great pillars on the hill of Picchu as seen from central Cusco. The ritual plowing that was correlated with this solar event was one of the most important annual ceremonies held in the Inca capital.

Garcilaso de la Vega provides a detailed description of ritual corn plowing and indicates that during his time in the imperial city (1539–60) he saw the royal harrowing ceremony two or three times. He notes that it took place in a field in Collcampata, in a sector of Cusco now called San Cristóbal, on the slope of the hill of Sacsahuaman (see Figure 2). Garcilaso de la Vega states that the plowing ritual was held at Collcampata because, according to Inca mythology, this was the first field dedicated to the Sun. Since Collcampata contained the palace of the first legendary Inca, Manco Capac, the dedication of this field to the Sun was most likely believed by the Inca to have occurred just after his mythical conquest of the Cusco Valley. Garcilaso de la Vega writes:

This terrace was tilled and cared for by those of the royal blood, and none but Incas and Palla [women of royal blood] could work in it. The work was done amidst the greatest celebrations, especially at ploughing time, when the Incas came dressed in all their insignia and finery. The songs they recited in praise of the Sun and their kings were all based on the meaning of the word hailli, which means triumph over the soil, which they ploughed and disemboweled so that it should give fruit. The songs included elegant phrases by noble lovers and brave soldiers on the subject of their triumph over the earth they were ploughing. The refrain of each verse was the word “hailli,” repeated as often as was necessary to mark the beats of a certain rhythm, corresponding to the movements made by the Indians in raising their implements and dropping them, the more easily to break the soil. [Garcilaso de la Vega 1989(1609):244]

As Zuidema (1977:230) and van de Guchte (1990:335–338) have pointed out, the Inca closely associated warfare and agriculture. This association is made clear in Garcilaso de la Vega’s careful word choice of “disemboweling” to describe the preparation of the field for planting. The earth was seen to be defeated, cut open, with its insides removed during plowing. The association between warfare and agriculture is made unquestionable by the haylli, which is sung throughout the celebration.

The word haylli is translated by some modern writers as “a song of triumph,” but the earliest lexicons of Peru, including that of Domingo de Santo Tomás (1951[1560]) and the Arte y vocabulario (1951[1586]), specifically state that these songs were sung at the time of war and during agricultural practices. The early Spanish writer González Holguín provides numerous glosses for the term that link it with both war and agriculture, including “Haylli, joyous song in warfare, or fields well finished and defeated” (1989[1608]:157). An early indigenous writer of the Andes, Pachacuti Yamqui Salcamayhua (1950[1613]:248, 275–276) indicates that a haylli could be sung after a successful battle or on the eve of an expected victory. He suggests that hayllis were sung in Cusco at the end of Tupa Inca Yupanqui’s triumphal campaign in the northern Andean
Figure 2
The modern city of Cusco.
highlands, and by the Inca generals Challcuchima and Quisquis after divination foretold that Atahualpa would gain control of the entire empire through the military defeat of his half-brother Huascar.

Likewise there are numerous references in late-16th- and early-17th-century documents from Peru indicating that hayllis were sung both at the initiation and completion of the corn season. Unlike the chronicle of Garcilaso de la Vega, however, these other documents generally suggest that the first earth breaking, as well as the first harvest, occurred in a *chacara* (field) east of Cusco called Sausero. Bernabé Cobo, a Jesuit priest who spent most of his life in Peru, provides three important references to the field of Sausero and the corn ceremonies that took place there. The first is contained within his description of the Cusco ceque system, a network of some 328 shrines that surrounded the city of Cusco.5

The third was named Sausero. It is a chacara of the descendants of Paullu Inca to which, at sowing time, the king himself went and plowed a little. What was harvested from it was for sacrifices of the Sun. The day when the Inca went to do this was a solemn festival of all the lords of Cuzco. They made great sacrifices to this flat place, especially of silver, gold, and children. [Cobo 1980(1653):43]6

Elsewhere in his chronicle, Cobo describes the corn-planting rituals that took place at Sausero in more detail. He writes that in the ninth month of the year a large number of sacrifices, including llamas (called sheep by the Spaniards) and guinea pigs, were made at Sausero before the corn planting could begin:

These sheep were from the livestock of the [Inca and the] Sun, and with this sacrifice the *chacara* called Sausero was sown. This job of seeding was done with great solemnity because this *chacara* belonged to the Sun. What was harvested from it was for the ordinary sacrifices made in addition to the ones described above. All during the time that the seeding was done, in the middle of the field there was a white sheep with its ears of gold, and with this sheep there were numerous Indians and *mamaconas* [devout women] of the Sun pouring out much *chicha* in the name of this sheep. Since they were finishing the sowing, a thousand *cuis* [guinea pigs] were brought by shares from all the provinces... This sacrifice was made to the Frost, the Wind, and the Sun, and to all things that seemed to them capable of making their own fields grow or capable of harming them. [Cobo 1990(1653):143–144]7

Like the first plowing of Sausero in August, the corn harvest was also marked with large-scale rituals. According to Cobo, the harvest was ceremonially begun by young men who had recently been initiated into manhood. The young warriors were elaborately dressed and sang a *haylli* as they gathered the crop. Then the field was again plowed by the noble Incas, who were “wearing the tunics that they had won in war” (1990[1653]:140).

Cobo was not the only chronicler to write of the importance of Sausero. Cristóbal de Molina, a longtime priest in the Hospital for Natives in Cusco, also wrote of the plowing and harvesting ceremonies that occurred there. His description of the Sausero rituals is especially interesting because it supports Cobo’s claim that the harvest was conducted by the newly initiated males of Cusco and it also provides information on the location of the field. However, unlike Cobo, who suggests that the corn gathered at Sausero was offered to the Sun, Molina indicates that the crops were used to support the cult of Mama Huaco, the sister-wife of Manco Capac. Furthermore, Molina notes that corn ceremonies occurred in this particular field because it was where the legendary founders of Cusco first planted corn:

They called the month of April *Ayrihuay*. In it they harvested the fields and also gathered and brought in the harvest, which they called *Aymuray*. And those gentlemen who received arms went to the field of Sausero to bring in the maize that had been harvested there, which is below the arch where they say Mama Huaco, the sister of Manco Capac, the first Inca, sowed the first maize. That field was venerated every year to the body of Mama Huaco. Making from the maize, the chicha that was necessary for the service of that body. [Molina 1989(ca. 1575):118; my translation]

The arch to which Molina refers in this quote is that of Arco Punco (also called *Arco de la Plata*). Although the arch has been destroyed, a street in Cusco east of Li-macpampa still retains its name, and the location of the former arch is indicated in Wiener’s (1880) map of Cusco. The area below the arch corresponds to the sector of Cusco near the end of the old airport. Molina’s description of the location of Sausero is supported by older Cusco citizens who still remember the area being called by this name. Furthermore, Agurto Calvo (1980), Sherbondy (1982:198–199), and Ardiles Nieves (1986) each suggest that Sausero was located in this region (see Figure 2).

Bartolomé de Segovia (1943[1553]:51–52) observed the Cusco corn harvest ceremony in April of 1535, just three years after the arrival of the Spaniards in Cusco. His rare eyewitness account describes Inca nobles going out of the city to a place in the direction that the sun would rise. There, over 600 richly dressed nobles stood in two parallel rows waiting for the sun. As it rose they began to sing. They slowly increased the volume of their singing until noon when it reached full intensity. Then they lowered their voices as the sun set. Segovia also describes the planting ritual in Cusco, during which the ruling Inca was the first in the empire to break the earth. After the ruling Inca started, the field was worked by
Two drawings by Guaman Poma de Ayala (1980[1615]:224, 1050) illustrate the ruling Inca tilling a field in August, assisted by three nobles. The men are aided by four royal women who help plant the seeds. As they work they sing a haylli.

These references illustrate that the proverbial struggle of man against nature gave rise to dramatic ritual actions for the Inca. In the words of van de Guchte, “For the Incas the land was there to be conquered” (1990:338). Each year, at the beginning of the agricultural cycle, the Inca, accompanied by his sister-wife and his immediate subordinates, plowed the first field of corn. This ritual was codified in the language of warfare. The Inca, a warrior-king, plowed the field, ritually defeating and disemboweling the earth. During this elaborate ceremony joyous hayllis of warfare or of fields well defeated were sung. Eight months later, the mature corn was harvested by the newly initiated warriors of the society, and preparations were begun for the next planting season. These rituals were repeated each year, since they were believed by the Inca to be critical to maintaining humankind’s relation with nature and the successful completion of each agricultural cycle.

Within the corn rituals of Cusco the ruling Inca stood as a majestic figure. He alone had the power to defeat and capture the reproductive powers of nature for society. Thus he was the first to ritually break the earth. The fact that the ruling Inca was the only person...
in the empire who could hold this powerful position served to legitimate, promote, and perpetuate the divine nature of Cusco elite.

The Origins of Agriculture and the Mythical Conquest of Cusco

Myths provide a way of seeing the existing social order as the product of events that occurred outside it, frequently in a primordial setting of time or space (Malinowski 1954[1926]). The Pacariqtambo origin myth of the Inca begins with the emergence of Manco Capac and his royal brothers and their sister-wives from a cave south of Cusco in the region of Pacariqtambo. The myth tells of Manco Capac's journey from Pacariqtambo to the Cusco Valley and a battle that took place between these first Incas and the indigenous people of the region.13 Sarmiento de Gamboa's chronicle, based on information collected in Cusco in 1572, provides the most detailed retelling of the Pacariqtambo origin myth. As most origin myths, the Pacariqtambo myth can be analyzed from a number of different perspectives. Elsewhere both Utton and I have examined the mythical journey of the first Incas to the Cusco Valley and the role of Manco Capac as a stranger-king.14 Here, I will examine the same myth in relation to the origin of agriculture and the corn-planting and harvesting rituals of Cusco (see also Zuidema 1993:336–341).

Sarmiento de Gamboa (1906[1572]:33–43) wrote that some six leagues (approximately 33 kilometers) from Cusco there was a place called Pacariqtambo, in which there was a hill called Tambotoco with three windows or caves. The caves were called Marastoco, Sutictoco, and Capactoco. Four men and four women, the first Inca, are said to have emerged from the central cave of Capactoco. The men were named Manco Capac, Ayar Auca, Ayar Cache, and Ayar Ucho, while the women were called Mama Oello, Mama Huaco, Mama Ipacura, and Mama Raua. These eight Inca are said to have begun to walk toward the Cusco Valley taking with them various objects, including gold utensils, a sacred llama, and corn seeds.13 They visited a number of locations on their way north looking for the best agricultural land. During their journey all the brothers except Manco Capac met ill fates. Ayar Cache was sealed into a cave and both Ayar Auca and Ayar Ucho were transformed into stone. It was only Manco Capac and his four sisters who arrived at the Cusco Valley. As they descended into the valley, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco tested the soil with a staff trying to find the most fertile fields. The legend, according to Sarmiento de Gamboa, continues:

They went searching, testing the earth with a pole or staff and smelling it, until they arrived at Huanaypata, which satisfied them. And they noted its fertility, because sowing it perpetually, it always produced well, and gave more the more it was sown, and after its crop it was not sown. They decided to usurp that land and adjacent ones by force, in spite of the owners and the indigenous of that place. . . .

And arriving on the land of Huanaypata, which is near where now is the Arco de la Plata, road of the Charcas, they found settled there a nation of indigenous Indians called Huallas. . . . And Manco Capac and Mama Huaco began to settle and to take the land and water against the will of the Huallas. And in this they did many bad and violent actions. And because the Huallas rose in defense of their lives and land, Mama Huaco and Manco Capac committed many cruelties against them. And they say that Mama Huaco was so fierce, that she killed one of the Hualla Indians, cut him up and ripped his entrails out, and took the heart and lungs in her mouth, and with an haybinto—which is a stone attached to a rope with which she fought—in her hands she went against the Huallas with diabolical determination. And as the Huallas saw this horrible and inhuman spectacle, they feared that the same would happen to them, being simple and timid, and thus they abandoned their homeland. And Mama Huaco saw the cruelty that they had done, and fearing that for it they would be dishonored as tyrants, decided not to leave any of the Huallas. . . . And so they killed all they could put their hands on, and taking infants from their pregnant mother's wombs, so that no memory remained of these miserable Huallas . . .

[Later the Inca] returned to Huanaypata, the land they had usurped from the Huallas. And from the sowing they had done they collected a splendid maize crop. [Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906(1572):38–40; my translation]14

The above passage tells of the first Incas' arrival in the Cusco Valley and their battle with the indigenous Huallas for the field of Huanaypata. During this fierce battle Mama Huaco killed and disemboweled a Hualla warrior. Then Mama Huaco attempted to kill all the members of this indigenous group, even to the extent that she took infants from their pregnant mother's wombs. After the successful outcome of the battle for the Cusco Valley, Manco Capac and Mama Huaco planted the first corn seeds in the field of Huanaypata and reaped a full harvest.

Juan de Betanzos, longtime resident of Cusco and author of one of the earliest chronicles of Peru, recorded another version of the mythical conquest of the Cusco Valley. Important for this study is that Betanzos (1987[1557]:20) also mentions Mama Huaco's brutal defeat of the Hualla. He notes, however, that the Hualla were growers of coca and chili peppers in the valley. This seems an unusual statement, since the Cusco Valley, located at 3,300 meters, is too high for either of these tropical crops.

It should also be noted that the field of Huanaypata, the fertile area where Manco Capac's golden staff first sank into the ground and in which Mama Huaco captured and cut open the Hualla warrior, was situated
near the field of Sausero, where the corn was ritually planted and harvested by the ruling Inca (see Figure 2). Both Sarmiento de Gamboa and Molina describe these fields as below the arch that marked the eastern entrance to Cusco during the early colonial period. Furthermore, Molina writes that Mama Huaco was believed to have sowed the first corn in the field of Sausero, and that the annual harvest from this field was used to support her cult. It is clear that the fields of Huanaypata and Sausero were both linked with the first corn planting in Cusco and with Mama Huaco's battle with the indigenous forces of the valley.

The emergence of Manco Capac from the cave of Tambotoco and the defeat of the indigenous inhabitants of Cusco by Mama Huaco has long been presented as an indigenous explanation of how the Inca came to rule the region. While I agree with this position, I believe that this myth also explains how nature was first tamed by society (also see Zuidema 1993:364–368). According to the myth, corn was given to humankind at the time of the first Incas' emergence at Pacaritambo. Manco Capac and his royal siblings arrived in the Cusco Valley bearing these seeds. On entering the valley, they found it to be occupied. Betanzos's version of the myth suggests that the indigenous people of the valley were growers of coca and chili peppers, both products of the jungle. The indigenous people of the valley were, in other words, both primeval (indigenous) and wild (jungle), and as such are analogous to the powers of nature. These powers were defeated by the corn-carrying first Incas. Most notably, Mama Huaco won the battle by tearing the insides out of a Hualla warrior in the very field that would later provide the Incas their first corn crop. Similarly, Garcilaso de la Vega writes that the royal Incas, dressed for war, "disemboweled the earth so that it should give fruit." It was a battle over the fertility and reproductive rights of the earth as Mama Huaco even killed the infants who lay within the wombs of the pregnant Hualla women. Furthermore, this battle is said to have taken place in the area that the royal Incas first plowed, the harvest of which was dedicated to the cult of Mama Huaco. For the Inca, agriculture was war, and the original battle between humankind and nature took place between the first Incas and the primeval occupants of the Cusco Valley. The first Incas' victory over the Hualla resulted in the socialization of nature and the development of agriculture.

Rituals as Mythic Reenactments

This essay began with a discussion of how each year in Cusco the ruling Inca led the nation in a conquest of fields; the annual beginning of the corn season. Agricultural production in the Andes took on the metaphor of warfare. The corn rituals of the Inca were performed with the elite draped in their finest war regalia, and the earth breaking itself was syncopated with joyous songs of agriculture and warfare. In the second section of this essay, I discussed the arrival of the first Incas in the Cusco Valley as recorded in the Pacaritambo origin myth. On one level, the myth tells of the origins of agriculture with the arrival of corn to the Cusco Valley with Manco Capac and Mama Huaco. On another level, it addresses how humankind came to dominate nature. The annual ground-breaking ceremony in Cusco by the ruling Inca was a ritual reenactment of the battle that took place between humankind and nature. That battle, fought by Manco Capac and Mama Huaco against the original inhabitants of Cusco, was won by direct, albeit mythical, ancestors of the Cusco elite.

Ritual actions and origin myths do not simply occur as isolated institutions in societies; they can be understood as precipitates of broader social processes. Origin myths in ancient stratified societies functioned as important means to support the privileges of the rulers. The source of social inequality is defined and justified through the primordial actions of cultural heroes. The reenactment of those actions, within the codified contexts of rituals, reestablished the ruling elites' ancestral linkages with mythical personages and events as well as their access to universal forces.

The elite of Cusco reinstated and redefined their right to rule through their control of rituals and their dominant position in the state cosmology not only in corn-planting and harvest ceremonies but in most, if not all, state-sponsored celebrations of the imperial city. For example, the festivals of Inti Raymi and Capac Raymi occurred near the June and December solstices respectively, astronomically significant times when the sun's motion on the horizon seems to stop and then change direction (Bauer and Dearborn 1995:22). In Cusco, the time to begin planting corn, August, and the time of its harvest, April, were also marked by major festivals during which the sun was observed. These rituals reflect how intimately related agriculture, the sun, and the ruler were in Inca ideology. The ruling Inca was both head of state and central figure in all public ceremonies involving sun worship and agriculture. Direct participation in these ceremonies by the ruler of Cusco confirmed his position as a semidivine being and as the primary authority of the empire. As the central figure at all public ceremonies, the ruling Inca stood as the sole mediator between the populations of the Andes and the cosmogonic forces of the heavens.

There is evidence that similar rituals of mythic reenactments by elites occurred among other, more ancient chiefdoms and states of South America (see Figure 1). Recent excavations along the coastal desert...
of Peru have recovered startling evidence of such reenactments among the Moche (A.D. 100-600). In the 1970s, Donnan (1975) identified a central theme in Moche iconography, which he calls the Sacrifice Scene (see Figure 4). In this scene a bird-headed figure presents a goblet of blood to a rayed figure while a number of other figures look on. It was thought that the Sacrifice Scene was a purely mythological event until excavations at the site of Sipán in 1987 revealed tombs of royal personages wearing the regalia of the figures in the scene (Alva and Donnan 1993). These finds indicate that the scene, based on mythic events, was periodically reenacted across the kingdom by the elites of Moche society. It now seems clear that the ruling Moche, like the later Incas, promoted their sacred status through their association with mythical beings, and some of their most important ritual obligations were reenactments of their ancestors’ primeval victories.

**Conclusion**

Origin myths reveal not only expressions of basic social relationships but also endorsements of present-day social arrangements. Within complex societies, and especially chiefdoms and states with semidivine rulers, this takes on a particularly recognizable form. The mythic heroes are not vague primogenitors of the past but the direct ancestors of the ruling elite. It is the actions of the elite in the mythic past that bring about the current social order, and those actions are repeated in rituals by individuals perceived to be their descendants. Thus, within the general confines of state ideologies, rituals and myths are used to support the ruling elites’ privileged positions, and through them the powers of the state become inextricably mixed with the maintenance of the social order. As access to resources, land, and labor slowly became centralized in the hands of a few, so did the ability to schedule, lead, and participate in ritual ceremonies that rendered the mythical past meaningful. The centralization of power and authority in early complex societies may have run concurrent with the abilities of the leaders to legitimate their positions through myth and ritual. The use of the mythical past by a society’s elite is perhaps the best means of legitimizing authority since it is in that arena that the existing social order is defined.

**Notes**

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1. On the Americas, see Conrad and Demarest 1984 and Demarest and Conrad 1992. For other societies, see Chang 1983; Godelier 1977; Miller and Tilley 1984; and Shanks and Tilley 1987. See Demarest 1989 for a review of these and other works on the role of ideology in the development of complex societies.


3. “Este andén labraban y beneficiaban los de la sangre real y no podían trabajar en él sino los Incas y Pallas. Hacia con grandísima fiesta, principalmente el barbechar. Iban los Incas con todas sus mayores galas y arreos.

“Los cantares que decían en loor del sol y de sus reyes todos estaban compuestos sobre la significación de esta palabra haillí, que en la lengua general del Perú quiere decir ‘triunfo’: como que triunfaban de la tierra barbechándola y desen-
trañándola para que diese fruto. En estos cantares entremezclan dichos graciosos, de enamorados discretos y de soldados valientes, todo a propósito de triunfar de la tierra que labraban. Y así el retreucan de todas sus coplas era la palabra hatili repetida muchas veces, cuantas eran menester para cumplir el compás que los indios trae en un cierto contrapaso que hacen barbechando la tierra, con entradas y salidas que hacen para tomar vuelo y romperla mejor" (Garcilaso de la Vega 1901[1609]:256).


5. This information was most likely copied from a work dating to 1559 by Polo de Ondegardo.

6. "la tercera se llamaua, sausero, es una chacara de los decendientes [sic] de Paulu inca; a la qual en tiempo de sembrar yua el mismo Rey, y aarau un poco. lo que se cogia della era para sacrificios del sol. el dia que el inca yua a esto era solerense fiesta de todos los señores del Cuzco: hacian a este llano grandes sacrificios, especialmente de plata, oro, y niños" (Cobo 1980[1653]:42).

7. "Los cuales eran del ganado del Inca y del sol; y con este sacrificio se sembraba la chacara de Sausero la cual sembraba perpetuamente, siempre acude de una manera, y más da, mientras más la siembran, y antes se esquilma no sembrándola, determinaron usurpar para sí aquellas tierras y comarca por fuerza á pesar de sus dueños y naturales [de] aquel asiento. . . .

"Y llegando á las tierras de Guanaypata, que es cerca de donde agora es el Arco de la plata, camino de los Charcas, halló allí poblados una nación de indios naturales llamados Guallas, que arriba se dijo; y Mango Capac y Mama Guaco comenzaron á poblar y tomarlas las tierras y aguas contra su voluntad de los Guallas. Y sobre esto les hacian muchos males y fuerzas, y como los Guallas por esto se pusiesen en defensa por sus vidas y tierras, Mama Guaco y Mango Capac hicieron en ellos muchas cruelidades. Y cuentan que Mama Guaco era tan feroz, que matando un indio Guilla le hizo pedazos y les sacó el asadura y tomó el corazón y bofes en la boca, y con un haybinto—que es una piedra atada en una soga, con que ella peleaba,—en las manos, se fué contra los Guallas con diablóca determinación. Y como los Guallas viesen aquel horreo é inhumano expéctculo, temiendo que dellos hiciesen lo mismo, huyeron, ca simples y tímidos eran, y así desampararon su natural. Y Mama Guaco, visto la cruel que habían hecho, y temiendo que por ello fuesen infamados de tiranos, parecióles no dejar ninguno de los Guallas . . . Y así mataron á cuantos pudieron haber á las manos, y á las mujeres preñadas sacaban las criaturas del los vientres, porque no quedase memoria de aquellos miserables Guallas, . . . volvieron á Guanaypata, tierra que habían usurpado de los Guallas. Y de la sembrera, que habían hecho, hallaron gran fertilidad de mieses" (Sarmiento de Gamboa 1906[1572]:38–40).

15. The proximity of these fields is also indicated in Cobo’s description of the Cusco ceque system. In this system a series of shrines were organized along hypothetical lines which radiated from the center of Cusco. Huanaypata (Guanaypata [Cobo 3:4]) is mentioned as an important field of the Inca in the text of the ceque system document (Cobo 1980[1653]:43). It represented the fourth shrine along the third ceque of Collasuyu. The field of Sausero (Co. 2:3) is presented as the third shrine on the second ceque of Collasuyu (Bauer 1992).

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